

Reframing Heritage Language Education from an Intercultural Perspective:

The Case of Japanese Language Schools in Greater Vancouver

by

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B.A., Rikkyo University, 2009

A Thesis Submitted in Partial Fulfillment of

the Requirement for the Degree of

MASTER OF ARTS

in the Department of Pacific and Asian Studies

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Abstract

This thesis examines how Japanese language schools in the Greater Vancouver area function in the diversification of their pupils' backgrounds. The schools provide curricula which mainly consist of practices of Japanese language and cultural learning. Applying the content analysis of qualitative data derived from interviews with the school principals, the thesis investigates what emphasis the schools put on their educational policies and practices of the curricula. The maintenance of the learners' heritage language and culture have been argued as a primary function of heritage language schools such as the Japanese language schools. However, currently most of the Japanese language schools accept Japanese as a heritage language (JHL) learners who are not limited to those children of whom both parents are of Japanese descent and whose first language is Japanese. In addition, the schools accept learners who wish to learn Japanese as a foreign language (JFL) as well. The complexity of the learners' backgrounds indicate that the schools' function cannot be explained only as the heritage language/culture maintenance of those who are Japanese descent. The results of this study reveal that the school principals greatly consider the importance of nurturing pupils' intercultural competence (Byram & Zarate, 1997; Liddicoat & Scarino, 2013). In the current situation of the Japanese language schools, pupils naturally gain intercultural experiences inside and outside the classrooms. The schools' intercultural perspective enables us to reframe heritage language education to that which is connected to learners' development of accepting cultural differences.

Keywords: Heritage language education, Japanese language school, intercultural learning

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Acknowledgements

This thesis became possible with the guidance and inspiration from many individuals. First and foremost, I would like to express my deep gratitude to my supervisor, Dr. Hiroko Noro, for helping me to organize my research goals, for guiding me dependably and carefully through each stage of this project, and for being a supportive mentor. It was a great privilege to learn from her. Her patience and encouragement assisted me to keep progressing throughout this project. I also wish to sincerely thank Dr. Timothy Iles for his insightful and accurate feedback and encouragement when I needed help.

I am indebted to principals of Japanese language schools in the BC Japanese Language Teachers Association for allowing me to interview with them. I sincerely appreciate their generous support and all of their time that they spared for the project. Their passion for Japanese language education greatly inspired me to study their notable efforts and experiences in the schools.

I would like to thank Micaela Campbell and Valerie Secord for their helpful feedback. I am also grateful to the Department of Pacific and Asian Studies for their academic and financial support. Lastly but not least, I thank my family and friends for their genuine support and belief in me to pursue my academic goals.

Chapter 1. Introduction

This thesis examines the functions of heritage language schools based on case studies of Japanese language schools in the Greater Vancouver area. The term heritage language means “the language a person regards as their native, home, ancestral language” (Baker & Jones, 1998, p. 701). In Canada, the term is commonly used to refer to an immigrant language that is neither one of the official languages (English and French) nor one of the many indigenous languages. One of the most popular places to find heritage language education in Canada is at heritage language schools. Most of the schools are privately operated as supplementary programs and run on the weekends or afterschool during the week. The schools have two main functions: heritage language teaching and heritage culture teaching. Historically, heritage language schools have been considered essential for their function of maintaining ethnolinguistic and ethnocultural continuity among heritage groups by fostering communication and cultural understanding between different generations of immigrant descendants (Fishman, 1980; 1989).

However, studies have shown that current Japanese language schools accept pupils who are not limited to those children of whom both parents are of Japanese descent and whose first language is Japanese. Today’s Japanese language schools in the Greater Vancouver area have language learners from a variety of backgrounds; there are descendants of pre-war Japanese-Canadian families who experienced interment during World War II; third or later generation children of post-war Japanese immigrants; and second generation children with one Japan-born parent and one parent from another ethnic or cultural background. More recently, even learners from non-Japanese backgrounds with great interest in learning Japanese language and culture have begun to access these heritage language schools as well (Noro, 2003).

Consequently, the functions of language and culture teachings in Japanese Language schools can no longer be explained only within the framework of heritage transmission. A pupil's Japanese language learning can be understood in a variety of ways, as either part of heritage language maintenance or as part of foreign language acquisition and in either case the target language may be their first or second language, or may even be just one of many languages already spoken. Their Japanese language proficiency varies depending on their usage of the language at the home or the duration of study undertaken. A pupil's culture learning is also not limited to attaining knowledge about Japanese culture, but includes a diversity of cultural experiences which enable them to be aware of cultural differences between their own culture and the cultures of others they interact with at the schools. The boundaries between language and culture learning are usually not clearly defined in practices of curricula at the schools. Rather they are intertwined in complex ways with one another.

This thesis has as its goal to identify how the Japanese language schools function with the diversification of learners and, given this increased complexity, what policies and practices of curricula they put greater emphasis on in both the language and culture aspects of the schools' teaching/learning activities. In this regard, the schools tend to provide not only language/culture instructions to their pupils, but nurture the pupils' intercultural competences (Byram & Zarate, 1997; Liddicoat & Scarino, 2013) to accept the cultural differences that they find in the schools and to become cultural mediators who cut across boundaries while still remaining connected to their own cultural identity. To achieve this goal of mapping the functions of these schools in this particular multicultural context, I will examine the intercultural perspectives of the various schools.

Methodologically, I conducted semi-structured interviews with eight Japanese language schools. One of the greatest benefits of this particular research method is that it helps to illuminate the school operations from the perspective of the principal administrators who have been engaged in both teaching and administration of the schools for a significant length of time. The information attained in the interviews largely includes knowledge that is usually not explicit to outsiders. In order to extract these findings, content analysis will be performed to transcribed interview data. The content analysis is an effective analytical method for identifying recurrent themes among the data based on eight principals. The recurrent themes will suggest what views on school policy, curriculum, and learners' development are commonly shared among the principals, and the different approaches that are practiced in response to typical issues raised in the schools. The themes include topics such as organizing principles (the schools' histories, policies, and supporters), student body composition, curricula (course frameworks, pedagogical aims, practices, and other educational activities), and the multiple roles these schools play and the effects these schools have on their pupils.

The significance of this study is to analyze the present Japanese heritage language education from the perspective of the Japanese language schools themselves as institutional bodies. Heritage language education in North America has been studied using various research approaches. For example, prior studies have explored heritage language speakers' self-esteem with regards to their mother tongues and their sense of identity as multilingual speakers (e.g., Tonami, 2005; Chinen & Tucker, 2005; Oriyama, 2010), or they have explored the effectiveness of heritage language learning in language classrooms (e.g., Kondo-Brown, 2010). Although plenty of studies have been conducted focusing on heritage language speakers and classrooms, little attention has been paid to the system of practices and views of the heritage language

schools as institutional bodies. Nor has the manner in which these institutions approach the intercultural perspective of language education been clearly discussed in many studies.

Although, attempts have been made to redefine heritage language education in light of official multiculturalism and the policy shift towards international language education in provincially-run language programs (Nakajima, 1997; Oketani, 1997; Tavares, 2000), independent heritage language schools seem to more often than not be discussed one-dimensionally; defined in the context of heritage language development by a child of non-English immigrant parents rather than to spotlight the diversity of learners in these schools. This thesis will provide in-depth information about the operations of current Japanese language schools in the Greater Vancouver area, and examine how the heritage language schools function more inclusively for pupils from various backgrounds as places of intercultural education.

Chapter two is dedicated to summarizing the historical background of Japanese language schools in British Columbia. My main focus of the historical review is to confirm changes in the history of Japanese language schools from early 20th century. The changes indicate the transition of various Japanese immigrant groups and their descendants who wished to maintain Japanese heritage language and culture at the schools throughout their history.

Chapter three provides a literature review to elucidate three major themes pertaining to this study: Language Maintenance, Language-Culture Relationship, and Heritage Language Education. First, I discuss how states of individual bilingualism have been analyzed in the literature of language maintenance. The concept of language maintenance is primary for heritage language education with a purpose of producing bilingual speakers. Second, I examine relationships between language and culture. The two factors constitute the main functions of Japanese language schools but, as is the nature of language and culture, they are complexly

intertwined. The scope of this part of the chapter focuses on the role of language in the development of ethnicity and cultural identity. The nourishment of cultural identity is related to the enhancement of one's cultural awareness and increased intercultural competence. Lastly, I provide a brief review of heritage language education in Canada and discuss how heritage language learners and heritage language schools have previously been studied.

Chapter four introduces the methodology used in this thesis with details about how I conducted interviews with the principals of these Japanese language schools. The interviews were semi-structured with open-ended questions referring to topics such as teaching experience, school characteristics, curriculum structure, difficulties in teaching, and outcomes of language/culture teaching.

Chapter five provides evidence for my findings using quotes extracted from my interviews with the principals. The findings are organized around themes identified from the content analysis of interview data. The aims of this chapter are to illustrate the realities of the Japanese language schools from the points of view of the principals and disclose what learning/teaching activities actually occur.

Chapter six discusses the functions of Japanese language schools based on observations taken from my interview findings. Since the schools accept learners from various backgrounds, their functions are multifaceted. In this discussion chapter, I will examine how the schools provide Japanese language teaching to fit pupils who have individually different goals for their language acquisition. I will also examine the culture learning processes in the schools. Although the word 'culture' was not frequently used in comments from the principals, interview findings suggest that the principals feel a great necessity for culture learning in order to provide their students with a more fruitful experience by enhancing their intercultural competence through

participation in the school. This multiple functionality show the flexibility and salience of these schools in their ability to offer a learner-centered approach to education through their curriculum and in their ability to sustain the vitality of their schools.

Chapter seven is a concluding chapter that provides a summary of my findings and analysis and discusses possibilities for future studies about heritage language schools.

Chapter 2. Historical Background of Japanese language schools in Vancouver

Since the first period of Japanese immigration to Canada in the early 1900s, Japanese language schools have been operated to support the Japanese language development and ethnic identity maintenance of Canadian-born children who have Japanese background. In this section, we discuss historical changes in Japanese language schools in British Columbia divided chronologically into two periods, the pre-war period (1906-1941) and the post-war period (1950s-present).

2.1. The Pre-War Period (1906-1941)

The historical records and studies indicate Japanese language schools worked actively and contributed to Japanese communities in British Columbia from 1906 to 1941 (Sato & Sato, 1980; Okumura, 1992; Noro, 1997, 1998, 2012). The first school was founded in 1906 and more and more opened as the number of Canadian-born Japanese children began to increase. There were 54 schools in operation by 1941. In the pre-war period, the schools provided Japanese language and cultural education to Japanese descendants who were born into Japanese immigrant families (Okumura, 1992; Noro, 2012). The descendants are called 'Nisei' (second generation). According to Noro, at that time, the Japanese education of the second generation was the largest concern of their parents who had kept strong connections to and ethnic pride in their Japanese roots. The Japanese language schools also played an important role as community centre in each local community. However, all the schools were forced to close when Japan became an enemy country of Canada due to the attack on Pearl Harbour in December of 1941.

As noted above, the first all-day Japanese school was established in 1906 in Vancouver. In those days, most Japanese immigrants, who are called 'Issei' (first generation), did not have a

strong intention to settle in Canada permanently (Noro, 1998). Thus, they considered that their children's Japanese education was necessary for them to prepare for returning to Japan. The all-day school aimed to provide an educational opportunity which was similar to public schools in Japan. The use of curriculum and textbooks in the school followed the instructions from the Ministry of Education in Japan.

However, around the mid-1910s, the school's Japanese educational policy was beginning to be questioned as more Japanese immigrants were deciding to stay in Canada rather than go back their homeland. At that time, the number of children from Japanese homes was increasing in public schools of British Columbia. Concerns over the Japanese school's policy was related to the parents and teachers' fear that their Canadian-born children might be more segregated from Canadian society if the school was regarded as rearing young Japanese nationalists with an ethnocentric perspective. For the Nisei children, the necessity for Japanese language learning was typically to communicate with their parents who usually had a weak command of English, and for getting jobs in Japanese communities due to the social and economic restrictions placed on the Japanese population living in British Columbia. In addition to these practical reasons, Noro (1998) points out the symbolic meaning of Japanese language to the Japanese immigrants. The Nisei children's Japanese learning was considered important to maintain their ethnic identity.

As part of the dilemma between Japanese ethnic identity maintenance and assimilation to Canadian society, the school became the subject of controversy as to whether it would continue to be a main source of education for Nisei or whether it would become a supplementary school with a selected focus on Japanese language education. After long discussion, the school chose a path of supplementary education. In 1919, the school officially published their new school policy

to confirm its supplemental function and changed its name to Japanese Language School. According to Noro (1998), by the mid-1920s most of the other Japanese schools in British Columbia had become supplementary schools with language-centered curriculum as well. In 1923, the Japanese Language School Educational Society was founded to discuss the matter of suspicion and hostile views towards the schools based on the perception of non-Japanese Canadians that these schools were nurturing Japanese nationalism. Teachers and Japanese community leaders in the Society reached a consensus that in order to operate harmoniously with the general public they needed to acknowledge the responsibility of the Japanese language schools for promoting better public understanding and cooperation with local white groups (Noro, 1998).

Tsutae Sato, who was a principal of a Japanese language school and one of the founders of the Society, stated that the Society kept its firm policy of fostering 'good Canadian citizens'. Most Japanese teachers at that time recognized that the Nisei children should be able to behave first and foremost as Canadian citizens. Teaching Japanese language and culture were considered effective to support the children's identity and self-confidence as Canadian citizens of Japanese background (Noro, 1998). From this point of view, Japanese language schools also played a role as a community centre that enhanced a connection between Japanese and Canadian cultures in the communities. Specifically, the schools offered mediation between local public schools and parents; socialization of parents (e.g. involvement in the volunteer work for schools, participation in seminars and lectures for adults); a secure place for youths to make friends; and a physical space for recreation and for holding community events (Sato & Sato, 1980; Noro, 1998).

2.2. The Post-War Period (1950s - present)

The outbreak of war between Japan and Canada in 1941 changed the lives of Japanese-Canadians drastically. The Japanese language schools were shut down during the wartime. The opening of new schools had to wait until the early 1950s. The experience of internment and discrimination during and after World War II negatively affected the Japanese-Canadians' motivation for passing down Japanese language and culture to their children (Noro, 2006). The Nisei parents especially showed a tendency to avoid teaching Japanese language to Sansei (third generation) (Noro, 2012). Gradually, some Sansei and Yonsei (fourth generation) have gravitated back to the Japanese language schools for learning their ancestral language and to discover and/or maintain their ethnic identity. However, the unfortunate wartime experiences of Japanese-Canadians left a great impact, resulting in weak linguistic and cultural links between the generations (Makabe, 1998; Noro, 2012).

Since the 1960s, Canada has taken steps to develop its multiculturalism. With the revision of immigration regulations in 1967, Canada became more receptive to Japanese immigrants. The Japanese immigrants who came after the release of these new regulations are called 'new immigrants' to distinguish them from those descendants who have pre-war Japanese ancestry in Canada. With the expansion of Japanese immigrants, the number of Japanese language schools was eventually increased again mainly in Vancouver and Toronto in order to support the educational demands of the children of these new immigrants. Noro (2006) writes that at its peak there were twenty private Japanese language schools operating in Vancouver.

According to the National Association of Japanese Canadians (NAJC), the profile of the new immigrants is much different from the pre-war immigrants. The majority of new immigrants who came to live in either urban areas of Vancouver or Toronto were wealthier and highly

educated. They were more inclined to intermarry and, unlike the pre-war immigrants, they did not need to rely on their connections with the Japanese community (Makabe, 1998). The term 'Nikkei' is widely used to indicate a person of Japanese ancestry living outside of Japan (NAJC, 2005). Shimo (2010), however, points out that few of these new immigrants identify themselves as 'Nikkei'. Their image of Nikkei in Canada indicates people who emigrated to escape from their poor economic conditions, integrated inter-generationally with Canadian society and experienced hardships such as harsh working conditions and racist prejudices (Shimo, 2010).

Although the comparison of profiles between the pre-war and post-war Japanese immigrants presents differences, based on interviews with parents of the post-war Japanese language schools in Toronto, Noro (1987) identifies similar reasons for the children's Japanese language learning at the pre-war and post-war schools. The findings include six major reasons: (1) to maintain communication between parents and children; (2) to preserve parental authority; (3) to foster children's ethnic pride as Japanese; (4) to enhance mutual culture understanding between Japan and Canada; (5) to communicate with relatives in Japan; and (6) to take advantage of future career opportunities. Among the reasons, the concerns for parental communication, children's ethnic identity maintenance, intercultural development and future career advantages are similarly observed in the pre-war Japanese language schools.

When Japan experienced economic prosperity in 1980s, the overall number of Japanese immigrants decreased, but the number of Japanese woman immigrants has been continually on the rise since the 1990s. This rise is related to the increase in intermarriages between Japanese women and Canadian men (Noro, 2012). The intermarriages create bilingual families whose children study in Japanese language schools. Japan's economic boom gained the interest of the general Canadian public in Japanese language learning as a means of expanding business ties in

the early 1990s. With the rise of awareness of the significance of Asia in the global economy, the government of British Columbia started to offer Japanese and Mandarin programs for students who were interested in Asian-Pacific studies in the public school system (Noro, 2006). The fever of Japanese language learning meant that the Japanese language schools in British Columbia were now competing against the Japanese language program offered in public schools. As a result, the Japanese language schools encountered financial difficulties (Noro, 2006). According to Noro, some of the schools started to offer new programs for non-Japanese background learners in order to overcome the financial crisis. Since Japan's economic boom cooled down around 1993, the support of the government of British Columbia toward the Japanese language program has declined. However, the Japanese language schools have kept accepting new students from intermarried families and non-Japanese background groups, especially non-Japanese Asian families (Noro, 2006; 2012). The new students of non-Japanese background usually attend the schools because of their interest in Japanese language and pop culture such as, Japanese anime, manga, TV dramas, and pop music (Noro, 2012).

Consequently, in the present Japanese language schools, there are three main groups of Japanese language learners: Japanese-Canadian descendants who have pre-war Japanese-Canadian ancestors, the children of 'new immigrant' families and intermarried couples, and non-Japanese background learners. According to a survey conducted by the Japanese Language Teachers Association in British Columbia, approximately 1,400 students were enrolled in the associated Japanese language schools in 2000. With regards to the historical transformation of the Japanese language schools throughout the pre-war and post-war periods, Noro (2006) states:

Although, the Japanese language schools have been transforming themselves from educational institutions specifically intended to Canadian-born Japanese Nisei to

educational institutions promoting Japanese language and culture among non-Japanese learners, there are few elements that remain unchanged. (p. 98)

As examples of these unchanged elements, she points out the parental and teacher enthusiasm for Japanese language/culture maintenance and the role of the schools as a place where children can nurture friendship and a respectful understanding of their heritage culture (e.g. customs, manners, and ethics). Also, the adaptability of these schools as they have coped with changing social conditions related to Japanese language and its community is significant as a historical characteristic of the schools.

Chapter 3. Literature Review

This study aims to elucidate how Japanese as a heritage language is conceptualized by examining the roles of Japanese language schools in the Greater Vancouver area. We identified three major themes pertaining to our study: Language Maintenance, Language-Culture relationship, and Heritage Language Education. These themes have been studied cross-disciplinarily. The scholarly works we examine include both theoretical and empirical studies.

Section 3.1 will discuss language maintenance in relation to ideas of additive and subtractive bilingualism. It will then introduce how the model of ethnolinguistic vitality can analyze individual bilingual development through sociological, socio-psychological, and psychological variables. Section 3.2 will review the literature which illuminates complex relationships between language and culture, especially the role of language in the development of ethnicity and cultural identity. Section 3.3 is a general overview of literature on heritage language education, which is divided into three parts: 1) Heritage Language Education in Canada, 2) Heritage Language Learners, and 3) Heritage Language Schools. The conclusion of this chapter will be in Section 3.4.

3.1. Bilingual Development – Dynamics of Individual Bilingualism

Factors contributing to an individual becoming bilingual are numerous, but Grosjean (1982) refers to migration of a group of people, governmental language policy, and education as especially influential factors of bilingualism. García (1998) points out that in the context of elite education, bilingual education is recognized as advantageous to cultivating those *lingua franca* languages that are considered prestigious in international communication. However, bilingualism or instruction in two languages, one of which includes a minority mother tongue among

immigrant and refugee populations is still considered less advantageously and more controversial in many parts of the world (García, 1998).

In this section, we discuss studies of bilingual development representative of minority language speakers' bilingualism. First, we identify types of bilingualism. The typology will help us to explore dynamics of bilingualism, and explicate the movements of languages, language maintenance, and language loss. Second, the models of ethnolinguistic vitality will be introduced to illustrate how the background of groups/individual bilingualism has been analyzed from sociological and psychological aspects.

3.1.1. Types of Bilingualism

In general, the term, 'bilingual' is used not only to indicate one's ability of using two languages in everyday life, but also to imply that his/her ability is at the level of educated native speakers of both languages (Valdés, 2001). However, individual bilingualism is usually formed in more complex situations. The two types of bilingualism, additive and subtractive bilingualism were first defined by Wallace E. Lambert (1975). In the additive bilingual situation, a second language is added, but unlikely to substitute or expel the first language and culture (Baker, 2006; Lambert, 1980). A subtractive type of bilingualism occurs when the acquisition of a second language impacts, replaces, or demotes the first language. Thus, Guadalupe Valdés (2001) argues perfectly balanced bilinguals (i.e. those who utilizes two languages like two monolinguals, or have equal levels of linguistic skills in both languages) are hardly ever produced in reality. She explains that individual bilingualism is various and exists based on varying abilities in both languages over a continuum. The following figure of the bilingual continuum is adapted from "Heritage language students: Profiles and possibilities" by Guadalupe Valdés (2001, p.41).

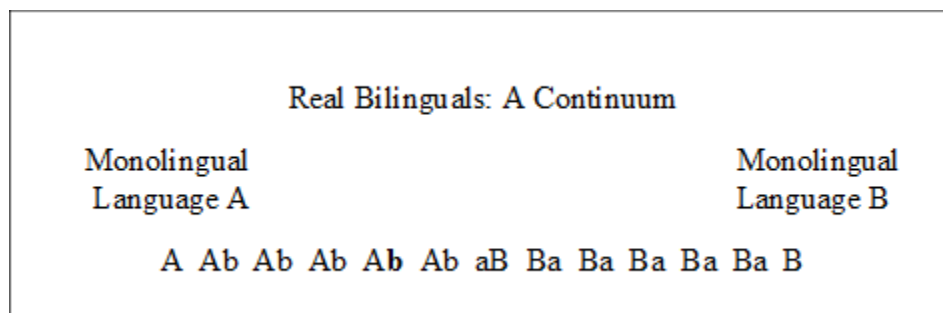


Figure 1. The bilingual continuum.

In Figure 1, the combinations of Languages A and B are illustrated with different sizes of letters. The difference indicates a speaker's different strengths in the languages. Individual bilinguals fall into various combinations along the continuum with differing levels of proficiencies and abilities. They are not monolinguals in each language nor are they complete bilinguals in both languages. Also, a single bilingual's profile may be dynamic rather than stable over his/her lifetime. Valdes pointed out that the dynamics of a bilingual's profile can be influenced by his/her background experience and schooling.

The dynamics of bilinguals are sometimes analyzed with respects to movements – 'language shifts' and 'language maintenance'. In general, a 'language shift' is located in a decreasing numbers of speakers of a language, lessened use of a language in particular domains, a decline of concentration of language speakers in a particular population, or a dropping level of individual/group language proficiency (Baker & Jones, 1998). Usually, 'language maintenance' indicates the comparative stability of a language in terms of its population and distribution of speakers, its practiced usage among all ages of people, and maintaining the language usage in specific realms such as in the home, at school, and within religion (Baker & Jones, 1998).¹ The

¹ The different settings and obstacles can be discovered in various minority (or heritage) languages. Valdés (2006a) discusses that some of the languages; such as Spanish and Arabic, have large population of speakers in the United States and elsewhere of the world. Thus, the language groups in the country does not have much pressure for language maintenance and feel a danger of language death in comparison with indigenous languages which are not spoken outside of a single particular setting.

origins of bilingualism, as noted earlier, include the factors that stimulate language shift and maintenance. For example, intermarriage between a bilingual immigrant from a minority language community and a monolingual from a native majority language community may result in a language shift in the bilingual towards the stronger majority language, or it may result in support of bilingual person's motive for minority language maintenance in children. Valdés (2006a) argues that arrivals of new immigrants can contribute to revitalizing and maintaining vitality of the associated minority language in a country. However it is not promised that the languages are transmitted inter-generationally and maintained by descendants of the newcomers. Individual language shift is usually rapid and ongoing as a person's preference for his/her linguistic identity is changeable over the course of his/her lifetime. Valdés (2001) states, "that given societal/residential mobility, it is often difficult to maintain individual bilingualism across generations, even when societal bilingualism is stable" (p. 52).

García and Diaz (1992) argue that there is a general pattern of language shift between generations of immigrant families. The pattern is referred to as a 'three generation shift' (García & Diaz 1992, p. 14). For instance, in the United States the first generation of immigrants retain their first language while they learn English. The second-generation speakers are involved more with English environments and start shifting towards English even if they speak the first language of their parents at home and in ethnic communities. The usage of the first language is eventually terminated by the third generation. Thus, the third generation speakers become completely English dominant. Baker (2006) points out that the "three generation shift" does not apply to all cases of immigrant language shifts.² He argues that occasionally fourth generation speakers desire to retain the language of their ethnic origins such as in the communities of

² The process of language shift may also differ depending on the age of the first generation speaker's immigration (e.g., 1.5 generation).

Punjabi, Italian, Gaelic and Welsh in Britain. As a reason of the wish for reversing the language shift, he assumes that “assimilation into the majority language and culture does not give self-fulfillment” for some immigrant descendants (Baker, 2006, p. 78).

The revival approach of immigrant descendants to maintain ethnic identities through their ancestral language learning can be considered as one of possible repercussions of subtractive types of bilingualism. Baker (2006) argues,

(Subtractive bilingualism) may relate to a less positive self-concept, loss of cultural or ethnic identity, with possible alienation or marginalization. For example, an immigrant may find pressure to use the dominant language and feel embarrassment in using the home language. (p. 74)

In contrast, the additive bilingualism brings positive affective and cognitive effects on one’s language development. (Baker, 2006; Landry et al., 1991).

3.1.2. Ethnolinguistic Vitality

Landry and Allard (1992) have developed a model that determines individual additive/subtractive bilingual development. The model includes sociological, socio-psychological, and psychological variables and is based on the concept of ‘ethnolinguistic vitality’ developed by Giles, Bourhis and Taylor (1977). In their attempt to analyze the role of language for ethnicity and intergroup relationship, Giles et.al developed the taxonomy for the structural variables affecting the vitality of each ethnolinguistic group. The variables include status, demographic, and institutional support factors. The taxonomy is useful for examining the types of ethnolinguistic groups and to exemplify how the groups deal with intergroup situations. However, the authors also refer to the exclusiveness of individual variables in the taxonomy as its limitation. They note “the individuals in ethnolinguistic groups which have little collective

vitality cannot be expected to behave in the same way in an intergroup situation as individuals whose groups have much vitality (p. 318). Landry and Allard's model (1992) complements the individual aspects by adding psychological variables.

First, as the sociological variables, Landry and Allard recognize demographic, political, economic, and cultural factors that affect the "relative power of the majority and minority ethnolinguistic groups in a community" (p. 173). The power of the ethnolinguistic groups indicates how the groups are likely to behave as active and distinctive bodies and their prospects for persistence and advancement. Second, for the socio-psychological-level analysis, the authors argue that the degree of individual speaker's exposition toward the first and second languages in various social contexts is determined by "relative demographic, political, economic, and cultural power or capital of each ethnolinguistic group" (p. 173). The individual linguistic contacts may occur interpersonally, through the media or educational systems. The contacts in the language network support the development of a bilingual person's competencies in each language and create his/her beliefs and attitudes towards the languages and the value placed upon the languages. Thus, Landry and Allard identify two main factors, 'the language aptitudes and competencies' and 'the cognitive-affective disposition' at the psychological level of the model. The psychological factors will have an influence on individual learning and individual use of the languages. Furthermore, the individual's cognitive-affective disposition will contribute to language maintenance (additive) and loss (subtractive) (Landry & Allard, 1992: p. 175).

3.2. Language and Culture

In this section, we will explore the literature that analyzes complex relationships between language and culture, especially the role of language in the development of ethnicity and cultural identity. The analysis for the language-culture relationship will extend to discussions about how

language learning can enhance one's cultural awareness and intercultural competence. As for a clarification of the term 'culture' in this section, we will engage with it as a general concept unless any specific interpretation is provided.

3.2.1. Ethnicity in Relation to Language and Culture

Heritage languages are usually connected to the speakers' ethnic or cultural backgrounds. Yet, how are ethnicity and culture connected to language? Fishman (1989) claims that ethnicity is linked to language indexically, implementationally, and symbolically. He provides three dimensions of ethnicity: paternity, patrimony, and phenomenology. According to Fishman, paternity is a central experience of ethnicity. Paternity indicates "recognition of putative biological origins" and "the heredity or descent related 'blood', 'bones', 'essence'" and so on "derived from the original putative ancestors of a collectivity and passed on from generation to generation in a bio-kinship sense" (Fishman, 1989, p. 25). Patrimony implies a set of behaviours or acts. This dimension of ethnicity is linked to "questions of how ethnic collectivities behave and to what their members do in order to express the membership" (Fishman, 1989, p. 28). Phenomenology is "the subjective interpretation or meaning that people attach to their paternity" (Baker & Jones, 1998, p. 114). Fishman (1989) claims a salience of language for an ethnic group's identity:

It becomes clearer why language is more likely than most symbols of ethnicity to become the symbol of ethnicity. Language is the recorder of paternity, the expresser of patrimony and the carrier of phenomenology. Any vehicle carrying such precious freight must come to be viewed as equally precious, as part of the freight, indeed, as precious in and of itself. (p. 32)

Skutnabb-Kangas (1981) points to the symbolic value of mother tongues. She suggests the difference of mother tongues is often applied to define an ethnic group which belongs to a linguistic minority. The recognition of a mother tongue is important for linguistic minority groups in the process of raising ethnic consciousness and integration into majority societies. Also, the symbolic value of a mother tongue is related to one's socialization and internal identification:

The language passes on the cultural tradition of the group and thereby gives the individual an identity which ties her to the in-group, and at the same time sets her apart from other possible groups of reference (the language acting as a preserver of boundaries). Since this socialization process to a large extent occurs with the aid of language, language itself comes to constitute symbolic representation of the group. (Skutnabb-Kangas, 1981, p. 15)

Both Fishman and Skutnabb-Kangas agree with the symbolic value of language for ethnicity. On the other hand, Paulston (1994) suggests that ethnicity does not always preserve a language: "Ethnicity will not maintain a language in a multilingual setting if the dominant group allows assimilation, and incentive (especially socio-economic) and opportunity of access to the second language (L2) are present" (p. 31).

Gilles et al. (1977) uses Taylor (et.al.) to discuss the salience of language in comparison with cultural background and geographic residence. According to the study, "ethnic group members identify more closely with someone who shares their language than with someone who shares their cultural background" (Gilles et al., 1977, p. 326). About the preference for language over cultural background Gilles et al. state:

Indeed, one has no choice over ethnicity in terms of heritage, but one can exert more control over which language variety one can learn or use in addition to one's mother tongue. In this sense then, acquired characteristics (patrimony) of one's identity would be attributed by others as truer expressions of an individual's ethnicity than those characteristics ascribed by virtue of birth (paternity). (p. 326)

Skutnabb-Kangas (1981) also indicates the connection between language and cultural background with respect to the language development of a child in a bilingual family. According to Skutnabb-Kangas (1981), if a child fails to become bilingual, "the child may have a less satisfactory relationship with one or both of the parents" (p. 78) whose mother tongue is not shared with the child. Consequently, the child "may be unable to have any share in this particular parent's cultural heritage or to acquire any very profound knowledge and understanding of it and of the parent's background" (Skutnabb-Kangas, 1981, p. 78).

On the other hand, some studies suggest language skill is not always necessary and with only cultural background, a person can be considered as a member of an ethnic group. For example, according to Giles et al. (1977), Franco-Americans in Northern Maine could only speak English, but their cultural background emerged as the salient dimension of their ethnic identity.

Grosjean (1982) writes that bilingualism – "the regular use of two or more languages" (p. 1), and biculturalism – "the coexistence and/ or combination of two distinct cultures" (p. 157) are not necessarily coextensive. For example, monolingual speakers can be bicultural such as in the case of French-speaking Bretons or English-speaking Scots, if "they share the beliefs, attitudes, and habits of two (at times overlapping) cultures" (Grosjean, 1982, p. 157).

As Fishman (1989) suggests, the most important symbols of ethnicity may be language. However, the salience of language in relation to ethnicity and cultural background is complex and intertwined with various social setting, ethnic groups, or an individual's identity.

3.2.2. Language in Relation to Culture: Fishman and Kramsch

As discussed earlier, one's ethnicity is crucially interrelated to his/her linguistic and cultural backgrounds. Language and culture fundamentally involve a very complex relationship. To begin with, one must decide whether we deal with culture in relation to language or view language in relation to culture (Risager, 2006). In this section, the relationship between language and culture is considered from the perspective of 'language in relation to culture' while approaches provided by Fishman (1989, 1991) and Kramsch (1998) are reviewed briefly.

Fishman explains the relationship between language and culture from three dimensions:

- (1) Language is indexically related to its culture
- (2) Language is symbolically linked to its culture
- (3) Language is linked to its culture in part-whole fashion (Fishman, 1991)

In (1), the author points out that a language is more functional to thoroughly and easily express its associated culture's objects, customs, concerns, values and beliefs than any other language. This point of view is indirectly connected to a notion of linguistic relativity which is commonly called Sapir-Whorf hypothesis. In this hypothesis, it is argued that different languages induce different worldviews for their speakers. The framework for this hypothesis was first developed by Edward Sapir in the 1920s, and formulated in Benjamin Lee Whorf's published work about the Hopi and English languages in 1956 (Jackson II & Hogg, 2010). The hypothesis has had a significant impact on the field and brought many controversies as well. For example, the hypothesis could be used to legitimize a discriminatory view, as if a group of people were

shackled within a certain boundary of language and could not develop or extend their thoughts outside the territory of their language (Kramersch, 1998). Such an intolerant understanding is hard to accept, but nowadays, a weaker version of the Whorfian hypothesis is used and supported by findings that indicate semantic differences in languages having their origins in cultural differences (Kramersch, 1998). Fishman applies a weakened version of Whorfian hypothesis in his work and clarifies that “in the long run, all languages are equally capable of expressing any and all sociocultural realities” (Fishman, 1991, p. 21). There are multiple solutions, for example, by directly borrowing words from Language A to Language B, a translation loan (using B’s word translated from A), and creating new words for Language A’s term in Language B. However, Fishman (1991) notes, in the short term, the language associated to the culture can express the cultural artifacts and concerns most effectively.

Second, the symbolic link between a language and its associated culture implies that native speakers of the language are performers of the associated culture. Thus, because of the symbolic link, cultures are typically labeled as national attributes; for instance, American culture, British culture, Chinese culture, Japanese culture, and so on. Fishman (1989) argues that a culture can exist vibrant and hold intergenerational continuity with the people’s use of its language under the symbolism.

The third dimension, ‘the part-whole relationship between a language and its associated culture’ indicates that the language not only indexes and symbolizes the culture, but also creates a part of the culture. Fishman (1989) mentions that many cultural objects such as, law, religion, songs, tales, riddles and everyday greetings are performed through language (p. 471). In a later publication, Fishman refers to the part-whole relationship between language and culture by providing a stronger and more extended point of view:

(In) this fashion, via the part-whole relationship that exists between an ethnolanguage and its traditionally associated ethnoculture, that child socialization patterns come to be associated with a particular language, that cultural styles of interpersonal relations come to be associated with a particular language, that the ethical principles that undergird everyday life come to be associated with a particular a language and that even material culture and aesthetic sensibilities come to be conventionally discussed and evaluated via figures of speech that are merely culturally (i.e. locally) rather than universally applicable. (Fishman, 1991, p. 24)

Claire Kramersch, one of the most well-known researchers in the field of language and culture in language learning/teaching, also provides an analysis of the aspects of language in relation to culture. Although her approach includes some relatively close views to those of Fishman's, she applies a concept 'cultural reality', instead of arguing culture based on a holistic and essentialist understanding which Fishman provides (Risager, 2006). A definition of cultural reality is not explicitly mentioned in a Kramersch's book, *Language and Culture*, but the concept is discussed in respect to common experience or shared knowledge between members of a community or social group (Kramersch, 1998; Risager, 2006). Of the relationship between language and cultural reality, Kramersch (1998, p. 3) writes:

- (1) Language expresses cultural reality
- (2) Language embodies cultural reality
- (3) Language symbolizes cultural reality

The first point of the three aspects of language in relation to cultural reality is fairly close to the Fishman's idea that 'language indexes culture', but Kramersch puts more focus on how a language is used by a group of people, based on common experience; more focus is put on facts and ideas rather than the salience of the language itself.

The second idea, about a language embodying cultural reality, recognizes the reciprocal relationship between language and culture. Kramersch (1998) discusses further:

(The) members of a community or social group do not only express experience; they also create experience through language. (...) The way in which people use the spoken, written, or visual medium itself creates meanings that are understandable to the group they belong to, for example through a speaker's tone of voice, accent, conversational style, gestures and facial expressions. (p. 3)

In the first two aspects, Kramersch (1998) indicates that language can be understood as a social practice that involves meaning-making and interpretations (Liddicoat & Scarino, 2013). The third aspect is very similar to Fishman's notion of the symbolic link between a language and its associated culture. However, Risager (2006) points out that, "while Fishman is particularly interested in the macro-sociolinguistic and political aspects, Kramersch is thinking more of the linguistic interaction at the micro-level" (p. 15). Particularly, Kramersch (1998) argues that "language is a system of signs" (p. 3) which carries cultural value. The Kramersch's theory hypothesizes individual speakers' language comes to be a symbol of their social identity, while they distinguish themselves from others by using language.

3.2.3. Heterogeneity of Culture

In the previous section, we have seen several aspects of language in relation to culture. When cultures are discussed as national attributes carrying symbolic values, each culture tends to be standardized and recognized as being homogeneous to a specific national group of people. However, this understanding is actually referring to the geopolitical location of a particular culture rather than the culture itself (Liddicoat & Scarino, 2013).

Kramersch (1998) argues that culture is composed of three layers: the social, the historical, and the imagined. The third layer of culture, the imagination, is crucial. A linguistic community is not only identified with its production of facts and cultural artifacts, but also how members of the community think, dream and share their accomplished and unachieved imaginings. Kramersch (1998) points out that “(t)hese imaginings are mediated through the language, that over the life of the community reflects, shapes and is a metaphor for its cultural reality” (p. 8). Since the shared imaginings metaphorically represent the culture, they are not entirely equal to its culture nor are they thoroughly consistent among the community.

Fishman (2001b) also refers to the dynamic dimension of culture. The cultural ‘knowings’ which are associated with a specific language “can be overridden or overtuned, supplemented or modified, discarded or forgotten, but it is certainly not justified to say that the resulting ‘remainder’ is ‘the same culture’ as that which existed ‘originally’” (Fishman, 2001b, p. 4). Both Kramersch and Fishman’s views suggest that culture exists dynamic rather than stable.

Language educators have reported that the cultural ‘imaginings’ and ‘knowings’ are sometimes recognized as ‘traps’. Feuerverger (1997), who provides a study about teachers in a heritage language program in Toronto, reveals that many of the teachers feel their students having a quite limited understanding of their own culture. The problem here is that the students only have their immigrant parents as learning resources about their culture. Therefore, their understanding of the culture may be restricted to the parents’ perspective as immigrants, or their own imaginings of their home country and culture. According to Feuerverger (1997), under these circumstances, the teachers and the program aim to provide opportunities for the children to view “their culture as a modern and meaningful one” so that they can appreciate “their heritage culture, their Canadian culture, their multicultural identity, and themselves” (p. 48). If one’s

cultural understanding is restricted to a particular perspective, it will be difficult to recognize oneself and his/her relationship with heritage culture from the big picture. This point will be reviewed in a later section of intercultural competence.

Also, people's understanding of their heritage culture is not only for being transmitted intergenerationally, but also reproduced. Doerr and Lee (2010) argue that a person's 'metacultural awareness' for heritage culture emerges in the moment that he/she does a particular daily action that is considered to involve 'heritage practice' by the person. The authors use the example of the traditional Japanese card game, *hanahuda*, being played by the children of Japanese immigrants. If their Japanese heritage culture is conceptualized in their action of playing the card game, their practice itself may affect the increase of their awareness toward the heritage than the *hanahuda* cards themselves as artifact (Doerr & Lee, 2010).

3.2.4. Cultural Identity

As the sense of ethnicity indicates, a language that is spoken by a social or cultural community is tied in with the group's identity. Membership may strengthen individual members' sense of belonging and self-esteem towards the group, and awareness of importance in historical or intergenerational continuity of the group through using the language (Kramsch, 1998). Fishman (1991), who takes a strong position for the salience of language in cultural identity discusses that one's language shift generally accompanies changing of his/her culture.

On the other hand, as Giles et al. (1977) points out, some groups' cultures are still observed as valid without the actual use of their affiliated languages³. Maloof et al. (2006) who provide analysis from their study conducted at a Vietnamese heritage school suggest that cultural identity

³ The typical examples of such groups are the Yiddish of Jewish culture, the Gullah of American Black culture, and the Indian languages of East Indian culture in the Caribbean (Kramsch, 1998, p. 69).

is not necessarily tied to language; some of the students at the school identified as members of the Vietnamese community even though they had limited functional competence in the Vietnamese language. From the outcome of their study, the researchers conclude that the maintenance of ‘integrative cultural identity’ may still be possible without the presence of a strong additive bilingualism.

An ‘integrative cultural identity’ is realized among individuals who deal with more than one culture, such as immigrants, through their appreciation for values and sense of belonging to dual (or multiple) cultures (Maloof et al., 2006). This state of cultural identity is a possible occurrence in what Kramsch (1998) describes as “modern, historically complex, open societies” (p. 66). In such societies, it is difficult to distinguish a clear boundary between any social groups and identify who belongs to the groups based on what linguistic backgrounds or cultural identities.

The immigrant’s complex sense of cultural identity is often discussed with respect to transition and diversification. In general, immigrants bring a sense of self that may reflect cultural and social values of their home countries. Thus, it is believed that the immigrants commonly experience changes in their cultural identities in their process of adaptation in the host countries. In order to explain the change of cultural identity, three dominant models – the assimilative, the counterbalancing, and the situational models, have been applied in many studies (Ward, 2001; Maloof et al., 2006). The assimilative model has a focus on immigrants’ assimilation while they obtain competence on the host culture. The counterbalancing model identifies immigrants’ home and host cultures balancing out rather than contesting. The situational model views that individuals can select modes of their cultural identity flexibly and dependably on social contexts while they keep multiple cultural domains such as home and host cultures.

Kramersch's understanding for the multiplicity of one's cultural identity fits with the above-mentioned situational model. The model has gained significant attention from international and intercultural arenas (Ward, 2001). The ultimate feature of this model is the view of individual identity as situational, and the conceptualization of home and host culture identities as independent domains. In the view of situational identity, individuals are capable to hold multiple identities (Malooof et al., 2006)⁴. Thus, they continue to negotiate flexibly following the context of communication.

In terms of the multiple cultural identities, Kramersch (1998) questions the 'one language = one culture' equation which does not work very well particularly with individual multilingual speakers or in multicultural societies like America, Canada, and various European nations.

The cultural identity of multicultural individuals is not that of multiple native speakers, but, rather, it is made of a multiplicity of social roles or 'subject positions' which they occupy selectively, depending on the interactional context in which they found themselves at the time. (Kramersch, 1998, p. 82)

Although the relationship between one's language and his/her cultural identity is complex and not completed without other social factors, it seems to be reasonable to describe language as "the most sensitive indicator of the relationship between an individual and a given social group" (Kramersch, 1998, p. 77; see also Phinney, 1990). Kabuto (2011) argues that a language is a system of cultural tools. Thus, the researcher illustrates how as a child learns to become biliterate in a bilingual situation she comes to recognize her identity and express her life with narratives in

⁴ Malooof et al. (2006) mention how it is possible for individuals to operate in the case of situational identity:
 "(1) Guide their identity enactments according to the value system of more than one culture;
 (2) Value their identities as members of more than one culture; and
 (3) Feel a sense of belonging in more than one culture simultaneously" (p. 259).
 These criteria are also commonly discussed in literatures of intercultural competence.

two languages. The Kabuto's study verifies that language learning can nourish one's state of cultural identity.

In the next section, we explore how one's language learning involves culture learning with regards to the learner's cultural awareness and intercultural competence.

3.2.5. Cultural Awareness and Intercultural Competence in Language Learning

Since language and culture are complexly linked, language learning is inevitable in dealing with the more or less cultural perspective regardless of whether the target language is a foreign or heritage language to the learners. As Kramsch's 'language-embodies-culture' approach indicates, teaching a language is teaching meanings associated with the language. It does not necessarily imply that the language and its culture are coextensive, but the language is considered privileged as a first step to enter the culture through language education (Liddicoat & Scarino, 2013).

In the field of foreign language education, educators have commonly considered it a natural educational aim to promote learners' interests, knowledge, and acceptability towards foreign cultures, people, and countries (Sercu, 2002). Therefore, for the educators, it is a typical attempt to raise the learners' sense of awareness towards others who speak different languages and have different cultural conventions, behaviours, values, and beliefs from their own. The learners' sense of the other is conceptualized as a cultural awareness that is accompanied by reflections of the learners' understanding about their own culture and identity (Risager, 2000).

For heritage language education, it is important to raise learners' awareness toward language-associated culture as part of their heritage. Baker and Jones (1998) describes a language separated from its culture as "like a body without a soul" (p. 620). Thus, they point out that the maintenance of heritage culture will be helpful to keep the learners' usage of their heritage

language that is often vulnerable to the power of language shift. For heritage culture teaching, the teacher's role is more than just introducing the culture. According to Feuerverger (1997, P. 42), heritage language teachers are highly cognizant of the children's cultural and linguistic "baggage" brought to schools.

Liddicoat and Scarino (2013) argue that one's language learning involves "both an act of learning about the other and about the self and of the relationships which exist between self and other" (p. 2). This sort of cultural awareness through language learning has been studied with respect to intercultural competence.

According to Sercu (2002), the intercultural competence is "a concept typical of postmodernist views of society, with their interest in cultural difference and the relationship to 'the Other', no matter whether this 'Other' is different from a national, ethnic, social, regional, professional or institutional point of view" (p. 62). The term intercultural, which is sometimes alternatively called cross-cultural, usually denotes contact between two (or more) cultures or languages across nations, or it denotes the communication between people from different linguistic/cultural backgrounds in a same country (Kramsch, 1998).

In language learning, an intercultural perspective is distinguished from a cultural perspective (Liddicoat & Scarino, 2013). The cultural perspective is yielded in the development of a learner's knowledge about the culture of a target language. In the process, the learner will recognize the existence of different sides of the world where other languages are spoken and different cultural values are held and probably different worldviews prevail. The cultural perspective, however, may not accompany any transformation of the learner's existing identity. Thus, the learner remains external to the culture.

The intercultural perspective entails a learner's engagement with the culture of a target language and aims at transformation of the learner's existing identity to a more intercultural identity as a consequence of their learning. Byram and Zarate (1997) describe intercultural speakers as cultural mediators that cut across boundaries but carry their own cultural identity with them. Thus, to be an interculturally competent person, it is necessary to understand the values of a new culture and contribute to the other person's understanding of his/her native culture while getting involved with the new cultural context (Byram & Zarate, 1997; Sercu, 2002)⁵. Liddicoat and Scarino (2013) mention the following as a minimum indicator of this sort of intercultural competence:

- Accepting that one's practices are influenced by the cultures in which one participates and so are those of one's interlocutors
- Accepting that there is no one right way to do things
- Valuing one's own culture and other cultures
- Using language to explore culture
- Finding personal ways of engaging in intercultural interaction
- Using one's existing knowledge of cultures as a resource for learning about new cultures
- Finding a personal intercultural style and identity (pp. 23-24)

⁵ For culture learning of language learners, teachers or administrators of language programs need to select particular cultural content and tasks. Sercu (2002) provides some recommendations for the criteria of selecting cultural content. It is especially important to ask, "whether or not this body of knowledge is of any use or interest to particular learner group", and to "consider whether these learners can relate to and understand the information presented to them" (p. 67). Also, the contents need to be helpful for raising the learner's awareness of cultural difference. For example, the cultural information about different interpersonal relationships, body language, visiting conventions and ritual behaviours may be useful. Such cultural content will also promote reflection on the learner's own culture and what they practice 'normally' in their everyday lives.

Language learners who wish to put themselves in someone else's shoes through language learning tend to put emphasis on the cultural authenticity of what knowledge they aim to acquire (Kramsch, 1998). From the learners' point of view, a native speaker of the target language is recognized as the most authentic norm. However, Kramsch (1998) discusses two main problems with locating an authentic model in the image of native speakers: (1) the desire for authenticity might have a danger of devaluing their own authentic selves as learners and; (2) what is considered to be authentic or appropriate in one context might be inauthentic or inappropriate in a different context even within the same national society. A culture typically exists heterogeneously as mentioned in an earlier section.

According to Liddicoat and Scarino (2013), many studies suggest moving the focus of the target in second language learning from the native speaker to the intercultural speaker with the concern of taking the learner's position as insider rather than outsider. The researchers also refer to the importance of viewing a culture not just as a body of knowledge but as a dynamic series of practices in language learning:

Although there will be some place for cultural facts in a language curriculum, it is more important to study culture as a process in which learners engage rather than as a closed set of information that he/she will be required to recall. (p.23)

In other words, with the intercultural perspective, language learning places more emphasis on learners' autonomy. Sercu (2002) points out that today's teachers no longer organize their teaching in a way that leads learners to a single answer or single solution to a question. She writes:

Language-and-culture courses should also include tasks that promote the development of the skill of meta-reflection on the learning process, as well as self-regulated learning

strategies. Tasks should take care to enhance learner's self-esteem, self-awareness and self-confidence in setting out their own learning path and assessing their own achievements in a realistic way. (Sercu, 2002, p. 71)

It may sound paradoxical, but “learning how to learn about culture” and “developing the ability to learn beyond the classroom” come to be more important as goals of culture learning in the language classroom (Liddicoat & Scarino, 2013, p. 30).

3.3. Heritage Language Education

In this section, the literature pertaining to heritage language education is explored with three main themes: Heritage Language Education in Canada, Heritage Language Learners, and Heritage Language Schools.

In the first part, the definition of heritage language and values of heritage language education will be explored by examining how heritage language education has been discussed and provided in Canada. The second part will discuss heritage language learners in particular; identification of the general characteristics of heritage language learners will show the common advantages and struggles in their heritage language learning, and highlight differences between the learners and typical foreign language learners. Lastly, as a popular place of heritage language education, heritage language schools are introduced with analyses of their institutional organization and general function. The discussion will also illustrate what community or parental concerns and expectations for heritage language maintenance are involved in the schools.

3.3.1. What is Heritage Language?

The definition of heritage language is changeable depending on the study, but most studies will agree that heritage language is “the language a person regards as their native, home, ancestral language” (Baker & Jones, 1998, p. 701). In some studies, heritage language is

described as a “minority language”. However, Kelleher (2010) points out that the term “minority language” is problematic for two reasons: Firstly, “minority” tends to mean smaller population with negative social connotations in comparison with a majority group and secondly, in some particular communities or social settings, a minority language is spoken more often than the dominant language, such as English and French in Canada (Beyton & Toohey, 1991).

Thus, the term “heritage language” has been discussed with respect to the speaker’s ethnic background. Fishman (2001) identifies three types of heritage languages in the United States: immigrant, indigenous, and colonial heritage languages. However in Canada, the term heritage language is commonly used to refer to languages that are not official languages (either English or French) nor are they indigenous languages (Cummins, 1992; Duff, 2008). Mostly, the term refers to languages that have been brought by ‘newer’ immigrants to Canada. The use of the term for immigrant languages characterizes a different status for these languages as opposed to the status given the official languages and indigenous languages. This study adheres to the Canadian terminology of heritage language for our scope on immigrants’ heritage language maintenance in Canada.

3.3.1.1. Heritage Language Education in Canada

The discussion of heritage languages in Canada originates with the country’s concern for dual official languages, especially the social status of the French-speaking groups which are often described as official minority language communities. When the worldwide movement for reconsidering the identities of ethnic minorities was vitalized in 1960s (Fishman, 1981; García, 1998), there were increased demands for protecting the civil rights of minority groups in Canada. In this period, French communities expressed strong resistance to assimilation with English Canada (Esses & Gardner, 1996; Carey, 1997; Tavares, 2000). The communities urged for their

language and culture to be recognized as equally important to that of English-speaking Canadians with their predominantly British cultural heritage. In 1965, the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism was established. The bilingual and bicultural policy was created to enhance national unity between French and English Canada (Carey, 1997).

In the social and political discussions between the French and English groups, other minority linguistic groups voiced their concern about their relative status in the society (Esses & Gardner, 1996; Tavares, 2000). Based on their desire to achieve better rights as Canadian citizens, they raised their voices to claim their contributions for the development of Canada and the need of acknowledgements of their ethnic heritages as a valuable part of Canadian society (Tavares, 2000). Thus, along with the enactment of the Official Languages Act, which assured Canadian bilingualism in 1969, the multiculturalism policy of 1971 was adopted to promote recognitions of ethnic diversity in Canada (Esses & Gardner, 1996).

The multiculturalism policy of 1971 and the subsequent Canadian Multiculturalism Act of 1988 support the maintenance of language and cultural heritage of all ethnic groups and sharing them with other Canadian peers (Esses & Gardner, 1996). The federal multiculturalism policy encouraged provincial governments to consider the expansion of heritage language programs (Tavares, 2000). The various reasons for supporting heritage languages have been argued in political, social and educational realms in Canada such as to confirm the policy of multiculturalism and appreciate people's diverse cultural and linguistic identities; to assist minority children's smooth assimilation to mainstream schools by developing solid linguistic skills and knowledge of their first language; and to make an official appeal for tolerance of linguistic and cultural diversities in order to promote the settlement of new immigrants in the country (Duff, 2008).

Cummins (1993) discusses two general types of programs for heritage or minority language pupils: transitional programs and enrichment programs. The transitional programs are largely provided in the United States. In these programs, teachers facilitate minority language “as a temporary bridge to help children keep up with academic content while they are acquiring proficiency in the school language” (Cummins, 1993, p. 1). The aim of the program is to support educational equity for the children in their transition from the use of a minority language to English. In this type of program, a pupil’s “heritage language is used only as a vehicle of arriving at that goal, not as a goal in itself” (Hornberger & Wang, 2008, p. 22). Therefore, the development of the children’s minority language ability as bilinguals is usually not the focus.

On the other hand, the enrichment programs that are more often associated with Canadian institutions apply “the minority language as a medium of instruction or to teach the language as a subject on a longer-term basis in order to develop proficiency in that language as well as in the majority language” (Cummins, 1993, p. 1). Thus, the goal of the programs is bilingualism (or multilingualism). This type of enrichment program is the basis for the majority of Canadian heritage language programs. Canadian provinces such as Manitoba, Saskatchewan, Alberta, and British Columbia⁶, have all provided ‘Heritage Language Bilingual Education Programs’ (Baker, 2006).

Baker (2006) explains the characteristics of two different arrangements of heritage language programs in Canada. In the heritage language bilingual programs, heritage languages (e.g. Ukrainian, Italian, German, Hebrew, Yiddish, Mandarin Chinese, Arabic and Polish) are used as the medium of instruction for about half of the day. However, in other heritage language programs, heritage languages are taught as subjects about two and a half hours per week. Those

⁶ The review of provincial heritage language programs from 1987-1990 in British Columbia is provided by Beyton and Toohey (1991).

heritage language lessons are usually offered during the lunch hour, afterschool, and at weekends. According to Baker, currently more than sixty languages are learned using this style of the heritage language lessons in Canada; these heritage language lessons are frequently offered in supplemental schools run by immigrant groups and community-based organizations (Baker, 2006; Valdés et al., 2006). Fishman (1980) called such supplemental schools ‘ethnic community mother tongue schools’. Since these schools are operated independent of the public education system, they are undocumented by the government (Fishman, 2001; Baker, 2006).

Official Canadian policy has promoted multiculturalism and supported the preservation and enhancement of the use of languages other than English and French (Esses & Gardner, 1996). However, heritage language education is not always viewed positively by all Canadians (Baker, 2006). Since the focus of Canadian language policy is on the national unity of the two solitudes – English and French – advancing multiculturalism through the empowerment of other heritage languages has been more controversial. As Carey (1997) points out, the heritage languages have been funded separately from programs for multiculturalism and the tension between official bilingualism and multiculturalism has always been existed because language is mostly regarded as the key factor of the culture.

3.3.1.2. Significances of Heritage Language Education

Heritage language education in Canada has taken an enrichment focus on enhancing the bilingualism of children from minority language groups under a national policy of multiculturalism. However, the children’s heritage language education is still occasionally viewed controversially. Cummins (1992) points out that the dominant Anglophone and Francophone groups support a maintenance of official languages, but recognize not much benefits to promoting heritage languages for themselves, for Canadian society as a whole, or for

the children from various linguistic backgrounds. The common belief is that the educational focus of the children should be on their acquisition of English (or French) and their integration into Canadian society rather than sustaining their heritage which could become linguistic and cultural barriers between them and their Canadian peers (Cummins, 1992, p. 285). In addition, opponents view the heritage language education as expensive and deleterious to the children's academic success in Canadian schools.

In the literature on bilingual education, the value of heritage language education has been argued positively with respect to individuals' academic, cognitive, psychological development as well as their career prospects and societal economic advantages. In addition, it has been determined that is of benefit to the overall wellbeing of multiculturalism.

First, as an effect of bilingual education on a learner's academic success, many studies reported bilingual students' excellent educational achievements (Cummins, 1993; Shibata, 2000; Doerr & Lee, 2009)⁷. Second, a positive effect on the learners' cognitive development has been argued, finding that a bilingual learner is more sensitive to linguistic meanings, a more flexible thinker, and better at concept formation (Hakuta, 1986; Cummins, 1993). Also, a bilingual learner's proficiency in their heritage language is considered to be a support for their psychological wellbeing, for their self-esteem, self-confidence, and a positive recognition of their ethnicity and multicultural state (Shibata, 2000).

Raising learners' proficiency and their attitudes towards their heritage culture has a positive effect on the development of their current social relationship with people inside and outside the language community and on their future career opportunities (Krashen, 1998a; Doerr

⁷ Cummins (1993) states that academic and emotional difficulties sometimes encountered by minority bilingual children in mainstream schools are caused by the "treatment they received in the schools which essentially amounted to an assault on their personal identities" (p. 16) rather than their usage of multiple languages.

& Lee, 2009). Both of the outcomes are beneficial not only for individual learners, but also for the Canadian society as a whole. The learners' better social relationship will help to foster mutual acceptance and appreciation of both mainstream and heritage cultures (Shibata, 2000; Fishman, 2001a). Economic value of heritage languages has also been discussed as one of the social advantages of heritage language education. From this perspective, heritage language speakers are viewed as national resources for international trading and diplomacy based on the belief that the linguistic skills of the speakers are advantageous in dealing with countries where the language is commonly spoken. This 'languages as resources' orientation within heritage language education will be reviewed more in the section of international language.

Krashen (1998a) argues that heritage language development enhances intergenerational communication between learners and elders in the language's community. Through their common language, the learners can benefit from the elders' wisdom and knowledge. In addition, based on his views of language as a marker of social group membership, Krashen points out that less interaction with the heritage language and less proficiency in the heritage language may cause a sense of alienation from one's heritage language group. From research conducted on Korean heritage language speakers, Cho and Krashen (1998) identify three major situations of psychological conflicts that the speakers feel as a result of their less developed heritage language skills: (1) intergenerational communication; (2) interaction with the heritage language community and; (3) contacts with other speakers of the language (especially in their parents' home country).

The Canadian Education Association reported that teachers, parents, and children generally showed their satisfaction with heritage language programs based on surveys carried out

by various school boards throughout Canada in 1990. The advantages cited in the survey were summarized as follows:

- Positive attitude and pride in one's self and one's background
- Better integration of the child into school and society
- Increased acceptance and tolerance of other peoples and cultures
- Increased cognitive and affective development
- Facility in learning other languages
- Increased job opportunities
- Stronger links between parent and school
- Ability to meet community needs.

(Canadian Education Association, 1991, p. 48)

While numerous studies attest to the importance of promoting heritage language education, heritage language learning is still likely to be viewed as a luxury (Cho & Krashen, 1998). Krashen (1998a) points out barriers to heritage language development; such as, lack of the heritage language input through interaction and media; learners' negative attitudes toward the heritage culture due to their desire to fully integrate into the mainstream culture (Tse, 1998); a reluctance to use the heritage language as a result of ridicule and correction from other more proficient speakers (e.g., native speakers of the language) (Krashen, 1998b); and the absence of programs for learning the heritage language. Krashen discusses how the establishment of heritage language schools can deal with most of the barriers. To illustrate how we can mitigate the risk of these barriers and create better conditions in the heritage language classes, we can consider Andersson (1977)'s analyses for significances of bilingual education program.

In his analyses, Andersson first claims that the program needs to provide a place where both the child and parents have a sense of security. Teachers are required to be more than skillful at teaching and must be sensitive and observant of what their pupils are interested in. Sensitive teachers can assist pupils' development of their feeling of joy and eagerness for learning.

Second, the pupils' positive feelings are connected to their motivations for learning the language. The learners' motivations for learning is generally complex, but in the case of heritage language learning, they include the desire to preserve and improve the use of the heritage language, the wish to understand and develop cultural values, an interest in exploring self-identity, the desire to be bilingual, and the desire to belong to the community (Compton, 2001, p. 148). According to Andersson, one of the most common mistakes made by teachers who want to avoid putting too much pressure on a pupil is to not challenge him/her enough: "The teacher not only must have high expectations of the pupils (.) but also must not forget that the pupils have high expectations of him/her" (p. 206). As a method for increasing motivation in their students, Dörnei (1994) proposes some useful strategies for teachers that focus on aspects of the language, the learner, and the learning situation levels (see pp. 281-282).

Another important aspect of a bilingual education program is the individual learner's positive self-image. For the effective bilingual education, the program is required not only to offer excellent educational qualities for the language instruction, but also to facilitate a supportive atmosphere for fostering a learner's positive self-image and sense of identity, their confidence and self-esteem as well. The learners' affirmative self-image with regards to language learning is also related to the first two aspects of language learning highlighted by Andersson - the need for a feeling of security and a motivation for learning. Shibata (2000) suggests that the reasons for learning a heritage language should be clearly defined for both the

parents and the children in order to facilitate the supportive atmosphere necessary in a heritage language school and its associated community.

3.3.1.3. The Relationship between Ethnic Identity and Heritage Language Maintenance

In the heritage language development, ethnic identity has been considered to be an influential aspect of the individual learners' self-concept. Although ethnic identity has been studied using a variety of approaches, there is no agreed upon definition for the concept (Phinney, 1990). Collier and Thomas (1988) argue that ethnic identity is a crucial form of cultural identity since it entails self-identification and acceptance as a member of an ethnic group with shared heritage and culture. Although one's ethnicity is mostly determined by parental backgrounds, ethnic identity is still perceived diversely because of individual differences for how one recognizes oneself ethnically (Phinney, 1990). One's ethnic identity is commonly argued as being multifaceted and changeable depending on time and context (Noro, 2007). Components of ethnic identity include not only self-identification and membership in a group, but also incorporate the idea of 'belongingness' (how much the individual feels a part of the group), 'centrality' (how important the group is for personal identity), 'evaluation' (positive or negative feelings about the group) and 'tradition' (how much one practices ethnic behaviours and values) (Maloof et al., 2006).

Language preference commonly follows one's awareness of their ethnic identity (Oketani, 1997). In the case of heritage language learning, even a retrospective evaluation of an ethnic group affects whether the language of the group is maintained or not. For example, in Feuerverger's study (1991) of heritage language students in a university, a group of Japanese Canadians showed the lowest level of ethnic identity maintenance among eight ethnic descendant groups. The influential factor was found in the history of Japanese-Canadian experience in

Canada, especially their internment and migration during and after World War II. These traumatic historical events profoundly affected the group's ability to transmit and maintain their ethnic identification with Japan and the Japanese language. On the other hand, it is found that the economic promotion of Japan in the 1980s positively revitalized an interest in learning Japanese among third generation Japanese-Canadians in her study.

Individual's heritage language learning is helpful to develop their sense of ethnic identity and positive understanding for their group's cultural values. Chinen and Tucker (2005), and Oketani (1997) conduct studies regarding the ethnic identity of Japanese heritage language students. In Chinen and Tucker's quantitative research, Japanese-American adolescents who study in a Saturday Japanese heritage school in Los Angeles are analyzed with respect to their sense of ethnic identity, attitudes toward the school, and their self-assessed Japanese language proficiency. Oketani takes another qualitative approach by examining how Japanese-Canadian youths' additive bilinguality (English and Japanese) affects their positive socio-psychological attitude towards their ethnicity and sense of multiculturalism in the metropolitan Toronto area. In her research findings, "the students felt comfortable living in Canada's multicultural society and did not see themselves as a disadvantaged minority even though they grew up in a linguistic-minority situation" (p. 115). Both Chinen and Tucker's findings and those of Oketani's justify the study of additive bilingualism and suggest that one's balanced bilingual development contributes to strengthening his/her identity.

Also, Oketani (1997) points out a reciprocal relationship between the students' identity and their Japanese language proficiency: "specifically, those who identify strongly with their Japanese cultural heritage develop strong Japanese reading skills, but weak cultural identification is associated with weaker development of Japanese skills" (p. 116). The reciprocal relationship

between one's ethnic identity and proficiency in their heritage language is argued in other studies as well. Cho (2000) discusses that individuals who possess a high degree of proficiency in their heritage language hold a firm ethnic identification and a strong sense of affiliation with their ethnic group. Language proficiency also contributes to the individuals' greater understanding and knowledge of cultural values, ethics, and manners. Therefore, heritage language learning is strongly connected to studying a group's culture.

3.3.1.4. International Language: Languages as Resources

Beginning around 1993 or 1994, the term 'heritage language' began to be displaced by the term, 'international language' in the literature on provincial education systems⁸ in Canada (Nakajima, 1997; Oketani, 1997; Tavares, 2000). Although the heritage language education in Canada has been supported with an ultimate aim of creating a Canadian cultural mosaic, the term heritage language has not always been favorably accepted. Baker and Jones (1998) note that one problem with the usage of the term 'heritage' is that it fundamentally points more to the past and less to the future; to the traditional rather than the contemporary. In this regard, Nakajima (1997) points out a main reason of rejecting the name Heritage Language Program in Ontario: "(The name) emphasizes the aspect of the transmission of past-cultural heritage by specific minority language groups, and loses a focus on the aspect of language acquisition which is valuable for individual children's personality development as a whole" (p. 10). Thus, the Ontario government expects that changes to the program's name will encourage children from all backgrounds to

⁸ In 1993, the members of the Western Canadian Protocol for Collaboration in Basic Education —Manitoba, Saskatchewan, Alberta, British Columbia, Yukon Territory and Northwest Territories - agreed to aim at developing a common curriculum framework for "international languages" (Tavares, 2000). In 1994, the term 'heritage language program' was changed to 'International Language: (Elementary)' in Ontario (Nakajima, 1997; Oketani, 1997).

participate in the new International language program without consideration of their belongingness to a specific heritage group (Nakajima, 1997).

However, it begs the question as to why the term ‘international language’ has been selected to replace ‘heritage language’? The most typical definition of international language is *lingua franca*. According to the Encyclopedia of Bilingualism and Bilingual Education, the term international language is defined as “a high prestige, majority language used as a means of communication between different countries speaking different languages (e.g. English, French)” (Baker & Jones, 1998, p. 702). Gottlieb (2005) provides a definition of international language from a different point of view. She defines international languages as “certain languages, for reasons rooted in history, have achieved the status of languages of wider communication on the international stage” (p. 138). The two different definitions of international language provide a question if a language is recognized as an international language by the use of majority population in multiple regions or sectors.

Carroll (2010) points out that status as an international language is changeable depending on the definition on applies to the term ‘international language’. For instance, Japanese language is mostly used as the main medium communication or as a major *lingua franca* within Japan itself (Carroll, 2010, p. 188). However, in Gottlieb’s definition for international language based on the language use in a particular international stage, Japanese language can be considered as an international language in intra-Asian business communication and fields of technology transfer, training, and development (Carroll, 2010).

Tavares (2000) argues that the replacement of the term ‘heritage language’ with ‘international language’ coincided with a shift in language educational policy which redefined heritage languages not only as an element of multiculturalism in Canada, but also as a national

resource for international communication and global career participation. The author points out that this focus on globalism means less emphasis on cultural maintenance and more emphasis on the application of languages in a field of multilingual global economy. This tendency is congruent with ‘the language as resource orientation’ that has been promoted since the late 1980s and early 1990s (Hornberger & Wang, 2008). The ‘resource’ here indicates the potential of multilingual citizens in global areas of education, trade, and diplomacy. Hornberger and Wang (2008), however, point out a flaw in this sort of orientation, to the extent that it is only heritage languages that play a useful or strong presence on the global economy stage that are treated as favorable for learning. They claim that, “placing the value of heritage language primarily in terms of economic utility in this manner ignores one of heritage language learner’s most important assets – cultural and familial inheritance” (p. 23). Thus, other heritage language groups whose status is less valued in terms of economic competitiveness have tended to see this official approach to language maintenance as irrelevant or counterproductive to their efforts to maintain a heritage language and culture.

Fishman (1991) discusses the starting point of heritage language maintenance⁹ as being “the view that language is a resource at the level of societal integration and social identification” (p. 7). We cannot dismiss an important fact that promoting heritage language education will not only produce more individuals proficient in multiple languages, it will also enrich the cultural states of individuals and assist them in defining themselves in today’s multicultural societies with its increasingly blurred boundaries between social groups. Fishman (1991) notes that, “the triumph of internationalism will not kill off local identities nor local socialization goals. The modern and the traditional coexist, each fulfilling different needs in society and in personality”

⁹ In Fishman’s term, it is described as “RLS (reversing language shift)-efforts” (Fishman, 1991, p. 7).

(p. 31). Heritage language education can have an aspect of promoting learners' internationality, but at the same time, the personal connection between the language and individual learner's identity firmly exists as a theme of heritage language education.

3.3.2. Heritage Language Learners

3.3.2.1. Who are Heritage Language Learners?

Like the unstable definition of 'heritage language' it is equally difficult to define the term 'heritage language learners'; it is a complex task which cannot be concluded with a simple assessment of one's linguistic abilities and verification of individual learner's connection between their first and second languages. Hornberger and Wang (2008) review the definition of term 'heritage language learner' based on multiple studies (e.g. Campbell & Peyton, 1998; Draper & Hicks, 2000; Scalera, 2000; Valdés, 2001). The definition has a tendency to either be too broad if a learner is only distinguished by his/her exposure to a non-dominant language or learning experience of the language outside the formal education system, or it has a tendency to be too limited if the definition only puts emphasis on a learner's high level proficiency in the heritage language. Based on Fishman's analysis of types of heritage languages (indigenous, colonial, and immigrant languages), Valdés (2001) points out that heritage language learners are individuals who have personal connections to endangered indigenous languages or immigrant languages that are not normally taught in school. The definition is attached to the salient aspects of language from a historical and personal perspective of the individual learner rather than the actual proficiency of the individual speaker.

With regards to heritage language learner proficiency, Kondo-Brown (2010) notes that, in studies of heritage language acquisition and pedagogical theories, heritage language learners are considered to have acquired some competence in the heritage language through their language

usage and socialization at home, but not as having attained full control over their language usage because of the language shift to the dominant language in society. According to Kondo-Brown (2010), the proficiency levels of heritage language learners differ widely dependent on at least three main factors: “their diverse L1 (first language) backgrounds, degree of HL (heritage language) use and related socio-psychological factors (i.e. identity, attitudes, and motivations)” (p. 24). These factors also play a role in the varieties of language spoken by the heritage learner. Valdés (2001) argues that many immigrant students in the United States tend to become speakers of the non-prestige variety of their heritage language.

Varieties of language can be categorized by the different levels of formality and the varying registers that are often used: High-level varieties would include such language as that that would be used in lectures at postsecondary schools and in the writing of academic papers; Midlevel varieties would generally be those used in newspaper articles, novels, and interviews; Low-level varieties of language are used in intimate and informal conversations. The chances of the learners’ acquisition of higher varieties in heritage languages is generally dependent on their individual status as a first generation who immigrated to a country, the prestige of the language group in the given society, and the availability of access to situations where high-level registers are used (such as academic and religious settings or administrative contexts) (Valdés, 2001). Kondo-Brown (2010) discusses the importance of teaching academic language to heritage language learners when they attempt to learn their heritage language in language classrooms. She points out three effective ways of fostering the learner’s knowledge and skills in formal/academic language: (1) having more opportunities for oral communication to utilize the formal variety; (2) explicit instructions and training in the language with the emphasis on registers; and (3) participating in classroom activities focus on the high-level registers (p. 32).

3.3.2.2. Cultural and Socio-Psychological Struggles of Heritage Language Learners

Heritage language learners often confront cultural and socio-psychological struggles in milieus where their heritage language is defined as the non-dominant language. In such situations, they frequently find themselves marginal to both dominant language and their heritage language. Also, contestations often arise between their heritage culture and the dominant culture, and between the dominant ideologies and the ideologies of their ethnic groups, home country, or local community (Hornberger & Wang, 2008). These types of struggles are fundamentally connected to their identities as heritage language learners. Hornberger and Wang (2008) discuss that the learners will eventually gain the notion of “multiple selves/identities which are situated and contextually defined, regulated by self and others and constantly negotiated, contested, shaped and reshaped” (p. 7) over the course of their heritage language and culture learning. For the heritage language learner, their identification as a member of the mainstream group and of other ethnic (heritage) language groups can be flexible and negotiable based on the individual learner’s choices. In order for the learners to recognize possible co-existence of multiple membership and to better define themselves, Hornberger and Wang claim that Freire’s (1974, 1995) problem-solving and self-discovery approach is a helpful tool. The point of Freire’s approach is to enhance the learner’s recognition of the fact that the way they choose to present themselves is not limited by a single perspective (Steinberg, 2010).

Heritage language loss refers to the disappearance of familial and community heritage which is linked to intimate communication, socialization, and the transmission of ‘funds of

knowledge'¹⁰ and experience from elders to children (Krashen, 1998; Hornberger & Wang, 2008). Kourtzin's (1999) study reveals the personal impact on individuals and communities that suffer from a lack of heritage language acquisition. The study was conducted on 21 Canadians who are descendants of five different ethnic backgrounds to examine the contestant identifications between their individual heritage language and English. Duff (2008), in her survey of linguistic profiles of heritage language learners in Canada, provides a succinct summary of the themes uncovered by Kourtzin's original study:

[T]he breakdown and thus aversion to extended family relationships resulting from L1 (heritage language) loss, the reluctance to invite school friends home, and the personal dissonance of not even understanding oneself speaking in the now-forgotten L1 in home videos at younger age. Participants reported feeling anger, frustration, shame, and disappointment with such outcomes, thus experiencing negative self-image and negative views of their ethnic cultures and a feeling of identifying with neither their HL nor the dominant English culture. (Duff, 2008, p. 81)

Learning heritage language will support learners by strengthening their adaptability to multicultural and multilingual contexts and reducing possible anxieties over their identities (Krashen, 1998).

¹⁰ 'Funds of knowledge' refers to "historically developed and accumulated knowledge (e.g. skills, abilities, strategies, ideals, ideas, practices and cultural events) that is regarded as important" and fostered within a household and community. 'Funds of knowledge' has typically been discussed in comparison with common 'academic knowledge' that is taught in schools. For example, Moll et.al (1992) points out that Mexican households possess cultural and intellectual resources which are valuable for sharing in classrooms.

3.3.2.3. Comparisons between Heritage and Non-Heritage Language Learners in Foreign Language Classes

The characteristics of heritage language learners become more distinct when they study their heritage languages in foreign language classes with non-heritage language learners. For foreign language teachers, a heritage language student means a person who grows up in a home where a minority (foreign) language is spoken, who is a speaker of or at least has receptive skills in the language and who is, to some extent, bilingual in the heritage language and another official language (Valdés, 2001). Not all heritage language students have excellence in proficiency in their heritage language, but they are commonly viewed as being different from the other students in foreign language classes with respect to their developed functional abilities in the language.

Kondo-Brown (2010) compares the general challenges for both foreign and heritage language educators. For the foreign language educators, one of their challenges of instructing advanced-level learners is how to facilitate the learner's exposure and opportunities for utilizing the target language in realistic and conceptualized settings. On the other hand, a primary concern of heritage language educators is how they can provide optimal instruction to those students that have already attained the language background or have already immersed themselves in the linguistic and cultural repertory of the target language.

The heritage language learners' proficiency is usually not what is captured or assessed in foreign language descriptions (Valdés, 2006b). Thus, to foreign language educators, it causes more concern for how to deal with the learners who have acquired advanced level of fluency in their heritage languages, but had little or no experience of practicing their literacy skills with formal instructions (Kondo-Brown, 2010). The unbalanced language proficiency of the heritage language learners can be characterized in relation to the distinction provided by Jim Cummins

(1981) in his BICS/CALP theory. In the BICS/CALP theory, Cummins identifies the distinction between Basic Interpersonal Communicative Skills (BICS) and Cognitive Academic Language Proficiency (CALP). Although the theory was originally provided to conceptualize a minority child's language proficiency in English as their additional language, it also has been applied to the development of one's first language (González, 2008). BICS refers to general conversational fluency in a language. Whereas, CALP relates specifically to 'academic' proficiency that is achieved through schooling with the development of a student's oral and written abilities for understanding and expressing complex concepts and ideas (Cummins, 2008). The issues that are raised in instructing heritage language students in foreign language classes at postsecondary institutions typically involves the heritage language students' struggle between their BICS and CALP in the language.¹¹

Because of their acquired linguistic skills, the heritage language learners are sometimes considered as "false beginners" (Krashen, 1998b) in the foreign language classes. However, not all of the learners are successful or advantageous in these classes. Hornberger and Wang (1998) refers to a French teacher's comment that described the language performance of heritage language learners by using a metaphor of "Swiss Cheese" which has many unpredictable holes (p. 22). Krashen (1998b) argues, with respect to learning grammar, non-heritage language students may perform better than heritage language students and be able to receive higher grades on grammar tests, even if the non-heritage language students are unable to handle simple

¹¹ Kondo-Brown (2010) illustrates typical claims of the issues, for example:

Issues concerning the placement of these students; work on subgroups of HL students whose proficiency levels in spoken and written language skills are critically unbalanced; issues of individual differences in HL proficiency levels among postsecondary HL students; and finally, work that deals with discrepancies between HL learners' advanced levels of informal, non-prestigious language varieties and their low levels of formal, prestigious language varieties. (p. 29)

conversations in the language that the heritage language students are quite capable of engaging in.

Duff (2008) discusses several studies of heritage language students' linguistic profiles and experiences in the setting of foreign language classes. One of the studies is provided by Shinbo (2004) for Japanese heritage language students in university-level Japanese language courses. The students' reasons for studying Japanese in the university courses are reported as being in order to "improve their proficiency, especially grammar and reading/writing (Japanese characters in particular), to enhance their identity as Japanese-Canadians, to speak more fluently to increase the range of registers in their repertoire, and to maintain and build on their existing Japanese skills" (Duff, 2008, p. 79). In addition, the students expressed their confusions about Japanese grammar and about terminologies for grammatical rules that are commonly taught in Japanese as a foreign language classes. They were not familiar with doing a word for word translation from Japanese to English, and converting their knowledge into literal form.¹² Also, lacks in sociolinguistic repertoire (such as honorific, humble, and polite forms) that are used in formal settings were commonly observed in the heritage language students' performances. The students who reported their use of Japanese with family and friends revealed that they often communicated with them by using a mix of Japanese and English or employed English.

Further studies are required to investigate how the foreign language classes can be managed functionally for heritage language learners as mixed-ability classrooms. However, Kondo-Brown (2010) mentions that a differentiated instruction model is proposed for the heritage language learners by some researchers because of its flexible goal setting. Since generally each heritage language learner holds individual differences in the heritage language

¹² The heritage language students' confusion in learning grammar rules is similarly reported by college and university-level Spanish as a foreign language programs in the United States (Valdés, 2006b).

proficiency, more or less individualized instruction is required in teaching those students.

Kondo-Brown states that future study on the issue of individual differences will be needed to contribute to further curriculum development in this field.

3.3.3. Heritage Language Schools

Heritage language and culture instruction is commonly provided in private or community-based ‘schools’ that are sometimes called ‘ethnic schools,’ ‘ethnic mother tongue schools,’ or ‘heritage language schools’. The style and content of the curriculum varies with each school. Fishman and Nahirny conducted research on schools in the United States during the 1960s. They identify three major structural types of schools based on the frequency of instruction and overall number of lesson hours per week: All Day Schools, Weekday-Afternoon Schools, and Weekend Schools (Fishman & Nahirny, 1966). All Day Schools are private schools that offer educational programs which are equivalent to general American public schools. The schools adopt heritage language and cultural instruction as part of the regular day-to-day school curriculum. Weekday-Afternoon Schools and Weekend Schools are supplementary schools. Weekday-Afternoon Schools have sessions in the afterschool hours one or more times a week, and Weekend Schools meet either on Saturdays or Sundays.¹³ In this study, the term, “heritage language school” is used to indicate a supplementary school which mainly offers heritage language lessons.

Fishman and Nahirny (1966) argue that the main purpose of ‘the ethnic group schools’ is teaching ethnicity to their pupils. In the schools, the ethnicity is internalized and becomes an

¹³ The three categories define the structures of heritage language schools, but by no means explain policy and content of instruction in each school. Bradunas (1988) adapts the three categories of heritage language schools to organize a project on investigating heritage language schools from various language groups in the United States with researchers in each field. She wrote that, “although the categories helped us at the beginning of the project to focus on the variety of programs in operation, we did not find them as useful afterwards in analyzing and presenting our findings” (p. 19).

object “to be “studied,” “valued,” “appreciated,” and “believed in”” by the pupils (Fishman & Nahirny, 1966, p. 93). For example, Doerr and Lee (2010) who studied a Japanese heritage language school in the United States claim:

Japanese heritage language education offers fertile ground for analyzing the many ways of inheriting language and determining what the act of inheritance represents. Heritage language education raises questions about what it means to be “Japanese”, how “knowing Japanese language” relates to “being Japanese,” and who has the right to certify that someone knows the Japanese language. (p. 194)

In other study, Fishman (1980) described the school using his definition of ‘ethnic mother tongue schools’; the author assures that the bond of language and ethnicity is pivotal and persistent.

According to Fishman, language carries a driving force to represent ethnic greatness and authenticity. Therefore, the functional mother tongue of the first generation becomes a cultural ‘ethnic’ mother tongue while the language is learned in school and heard in various community contexts by the second or third generation (Fishman & Nahirny, 1966). Fishman (1980) points out that the language maintenance of immigrant descendants tend to be considered necessary for development of moral character.

Another crucial theme of the heritage language school is intergenerational transmission of linguistic and cultural heritage. Bradunas (1988) views the schools as “one of many possible means by which young people learn about their parents’ and communities culture” (pp. 5-6), and also as “an attempt by ethnic communities to keep open the option for their children of identifying themselves on a cultural continuum with their parents” (p. 13). Shibata (2000) points out that the school plays a role not only for heritage language instruction, but also as a center of the ethnic community for sharing cultural values and identity. In the studies about heritage

languages in the United States, the schools are frequently considered to demonstrate immigrants' special adaptation to the country's environment (Fishman, 1980; Bradunas, 1988; Maloof et. al, 2006). The linguistic and cultural maintenance in the schools is believed to foster the group's conscious perception of their cultural legacy and aid in their successful integration into the mainstream. Thus, Doerr and Lee (2010) discuss that the heritage language school is "not merely a place to reproduce "heritage" by passing it on to students, but it is also a productive site where ways to imagine "heritage" and "inherit" it proliferate" (p. 191).

The students who attend the heritage language schools can be various in their ages, socioeconomic backgrounds, and interests. The schools may offer heritage language classes to a wide range of ages from preschoolers to seniors, or target a particular age group such as primary school students and high school students. Although sometimes the schools have their own facilities for classrooms, generally the classes are held in community centers, churches, temples, and rented classrooms in local public and private schools. Most of the schools are operated by school boards or committees that are comprised of volunteer parents, administrators, teachers and other community members. The support from parents is especially significant as they sometimes serve as teachers, administrators, or committee members. The school board/committee members are in charge of meeting administrative duties and finances. Curriculum planning and decisions are usually assigned to the teachers. The teachers may have various professional experiences and backgrounds. They may have received little or no pre-service/in-service training at the schools. Some of the schools may be governed under the administrative and financial support of institutions of national language and culture in home countries or by religious organizations. However, most heritage language schools rely to a large extent on voluntary contributions. The school staff may receive a small honorarium, but in most

cases, they work on a voluntary basis. Also, the staff and parents are frequently involved in fundraising activities for the schools because the schools are rarely able to cover the costs of running the program using the tuition fees alone which may be set at a minimum.

While maintenance of the heritage language schools need collective support and the participation of community members, it is generally only a few people or a single individual that initiates the establishment of the school itself (Bradunas, 1988; e.g. Shibata, 2000). Their reasons for establishing the schools may be associated to their expectation that a formal school setting would be helpful for children to foster language and cultural development, something that may be difficult to accomplish in a home environment (Bradunas, 1998; Shibata, 2000; Maloof et.al., 2006). In addition, as is discussed in the previous chapter, what heritage language learners usually need is more knowledge in the area of reading and writing in the language. Bradunas (1988) points out that the immigrant parents' schooling experiences in their homelands may variably influence their ability to provide a formal conveyance of language and knowledge to the children.

The community members who are involved in heritage language schools may hold strong feelings toward their heritage language and its maintenance (Bradunas, 1988; Valdés, 2006b). Yet, the concentration on language instruction varies among the schools. In this regard Fishman and Nahirny (1966) contend that, "language maintenance within ethnic schools¹⁴ may be either furthered or replaced by "other ethnic subjects"" (p. 105). They separate the ethnically related subjects by 'symbolic-intellectual-cultural subjects' and 'traditional-festive subjects'. The symbolic-intellectual-cultural subjects relate to the group's religion, history, and culture; these subjects are taught in descriptive ways rather than urging the pupils' behavioral practices. For

¹⁴ Fishman and Nahirny's term of 'ethnic schools' include 'heritage language schools' in the study as one of types of the schools.

example, for symbolic-intellectual-cultural subjects, teachers may tell historical stories or explain the meaning of traditional holidays and associated celebrations. While learning traditional-festive subjects may involve the pupils' performance of folk singing, folk dancing, folk arts, and actual cultural celebrations. Bradunas (1988) discusses that the schools offer a great opportunity for children to learn about factors of ethnic culture and to practice cultural behavior that may be largely different from the mainstream. However, she also warns that cultural learning at the schools can lead to the standardization of cultural expression since "(the subjects) are learned in the school settings, are automatically accepted as authentic and real" (Bradunas, 1988, p. 17).

We have already seen that the heritage language schools frequently have financial concerns. Compton (2001) points out that the heritage language schools in America significantly contribute to the country's linguistic diversity, but the staffs of the schools often encounter enormous institutional challenges as well. The challenges are "raising public awareness, cultivating broad-based support, improving articulation with other groups and institutions, improving curriculum and materials, developing teachers, and fostering support among parents and elders" (Compton, 2001, p. 149).

Positive interest from the general public for heritage language maintenance and heritage language school is essential to develop effective and good quality heritage language teaching and learning. It is desirable for the schools to represent a good model of linguistic diversity in order to raise public awareness of the local availability of language learning opportunities. One of possible reason for the lack of awareness the general population has about heritage language schools is that the schools themselves might have never advertised outside their own neighborhood. Due to the lack of advertisement, the general information about the school and classes is rarely reaches people outside of the small community. For disseminating information,

the schools may have difficulty keeping their information up to date because available number or levels of classes are usually not fixed and they vary each year depending on factors such as the number of enrolled students and the availability of teachers and facilities.

What Compton mentions as the “broad-based support” for heritage language schools includes financial support from government and human service organizations, site support from local schools and colleges, and volunteer and financial support from parents. In addition, she points out that networking between heritage language schools will aid in promoting better heritage language teaching and learning. For instance, the schools would be able to share materials and knowledge of heritage language education and develop teachers’ training. Collaboration between schools could also lead to the possibility of networking with other institutes of mainstream education. Hornberger and Wang (1998) indicate that there is a disconnect between heritage language and mainstream educations:

For those who do exercise their right and establish HL (heritage language) schools, there appears to be a de facto “don’t ask, don’t tell” policy operating between public education and HL schooling. In other words, HL schools do not ask the formal education system for assistance, nor do mainstream educators offer it. (p. 25)

Compton (2001) argues that the collaboration between heritage language schools and public schools and universities is feasible, for example, by giving accreditations from school districts to the students’ accomplishment in language learning programs offered at heritage language schools.

Improving curriculum and materials is a perpetual concern for heritage language educators. As the previous section discussed, constructing a curriculum for heritage language learners is not a simple task. Since the heritage language schools are supplementary schools, the

teachers need to take care about what they can offer for students in the limited lesson hours. Also, the individual heritage language learner's skills for the language often greatly vary. Therefore, a 'learner-centered approach' (Kondo-Brown, 2010) is crucial for the language instruction in the schools. Some of the schools offer programs with several types of curricula for different age group learners in order to respond to "the different linguistic needs of learners who are at different point in the life cycle" (Compton, 2001, p. 154). Valdés (2001) claims the need to establish "a coherent body of pedagogical theories about what can be accomplished in a classroom setting relative to out-of-school acquisition, functions and rewards" (p. 50) for advancement in the effectiveness and theoretical foundation of heritage language instruction. She mentions that the theories will also contribute to enhance the actual outcomes of heritage language education. Hornberger and Wang (1988) also point out the lack of an "established mechanism for assessing the HLL (heritage language learner) s' achievement in the HL (heritage language) or for measuring the efficacy of these HL schools" (p. 25). The adoption of such assessments of heritage language learners and schools will greatly help to reward their language learning. For the development of materials used in heritage language schools, the advancement of the use of computer technology may be beneficial as well (Compton, 2001). For example, the teachers and learners can access large number of useful information about language and culture. Also, they can use web-space (e.g. blackboard) as an option for correspondence, education, or providing supplemental learning materials.

Heritage language teachers are required: 1) to be knowledgeable about effective pedagogy and methodologies for various levels of heritage language learners; 2) to have a good understanding for the languages and cultures that they teach; 3) to be skillful at providing curricula, materials, and assessments for their pupils (Compton, 2001). However, most of the

heritage language schools have fundamental problems as far as lack of teacher's education, resources for teaching methods, and availability of materials. Due to the small budget of these language schools, it is difficult to attract highly educated teachers. There is also a lack of networking between heritage language organizations that would allow for movement of teachers and information regarding availability of positions. Moreover, the educational and language barriers associated with the teachers, who themselves are immigrants and educated in the non-English environment of their home countries, may affect how the teachers seek training opportunities in formal education setting (Duff, 1998). One solution for strengthening teachers' professional development at a low-cost would be for the schools to cooperate with one another, or with local universities, or community colleges to provide teacher training workshops and to enrich in-service teacher training at the schools (Compton, 2001).

As mentioned earlier, the participation of parents and other community members is essential for operating heritage language schools, not only for financial or volunteer reason. The thoughtful involvement of parents and other community members for language maintenance and celebrations of cultural events at the schools can also be a great help for strengthening and deepening pupils' language learning experiences. Besides, if parents and children had more interest in language maintenance and were gratefully aware of its importance, a school would be better able to overcome many of institutional challenges discussed above (Fishman & Nahirny, 1966).

Generally, parents have a positive perception of the heritage language schools their children attend. The parents, even those who rarely speak the language at home, generally believe that the children could maintain their heritage language/culture and ethnic identity through attendance at these schools (Bradunas, 1988; Kondo-Brown, 2010). However, the

children mostly feel burdened by having to attend the schools as their extra academic work (Kondo-Brown, 2010). They may complain that the school subjects are tedious but that they enjoy meeting with their friends at least (Bradunas, 1988). The strength of parents' belief in linguistic and cultural maintenance may be dependable on their sense of obligation and the level of seriousness that they approach the idea of linguistic/cultural continuity. Based on previous quantitative studies about the effectiveness of heritage language instruction at community-based schools, Kondo-Brown (2010) pointed out that a child's proficiency in their heritage language does not correlate with how long they attend the school. Although some of the parents may expect their children to build high-level proficiency, the children's accomplishments in heritage language learning are not limited to their linguistic performance. Bradunas (1988) mentions that, for some members of an ethnic community, "knowing the language" has possibly different meanings from having native-like language skills. The individual knowledge is perceived from their behaviors, sense of norms, and understanding of cultural ideas in various places in the community – at home, school, church, or markets. Therefore, the general idea of being knowledgeable in the language is based on "how well they demonstrate general familiarity in appropriate settings" (Bradunas, 1988, p. 15) rather than to what extent they can utilize the language in comparison to their abilities to use English. Thus, Fishman (1989, 1991) refers to the need of community cooperation for language maintenance since a classroom is not adequate to provide the pupils opportunities for the language use in various cultural contexts.

With respect to the cultural familiarity which is nurtured from heritage language learning, Fishman and Nahirny (1966) also indicate the following accomplishments: "following church services in the mother tongue", "love for the ethnic culture", "closer relationships with parents and grandparents", and "strong interest in ethnic art, music, and dance" (p. 107). These abstract

accomplishments are the “abstract rewards” (Morimoto, 1989) that illustrate the impact of language learning on cultural maintenance and the recognition of ethnic identity.

3.4. Conclusion

Heritage language schools have been studied in the context of ethnic schools for minority groups. From the perspective of bilingual education, the minority languages are understood as attached to individual ethnic groups. Thus, traditionally heritage language education has tended to be discussed in a course of language transition or retention that entails a contrast to mainstream education. In this context, a heritage language school is considered to be a place of socialization for the minority group’s children. The framework of “ethnic minority” or “heritage group” often indicates that language learning in the school is a special option for a particular group of children. However, as Kramsch (1998) discusses, in today’s multicultural society, it is far more difficult to define clear boundaries between ethnic groups. Since one can hold multiple cultural backgrounds, his/her cultural identity is not always restricted by membership in a particular ethnic group. It can be assumed that a shift from “heritage” to “international” language programs in Canadian provincial education systems occurred in consideration of the current multicultural situation. The shift was brought about with an intention to redefine “heritage” which calls for successors of a past tradition, to “international” which opens to future developments.

Lack of research on heritage language schools has been claimed for long time. Bradunas (1988) points out that the linguistic achievements of the schools are likely to be treated questionably by sociolinguists and thus remained understudied. However, as we have seen, the heritage language schools include not only a function of language education, but also of cultural education. Since the studies focusing on heritage language schools are few, it is very hard to find

literature discussing the multicultural perspective of heritage language schools with practical data. In this study, we will attempt to examine current heritage language schools from the general to the specific to gain a better understanding of Japanese language schools. It will be beneficial to analyze the schools not only as institutions of language education, but also as more complicated organizations that include a variety of functions. This approach will help us to understand the various roles the schools play in Canadian society at large rather than just amongst a specific Japanese language group community. This study will also provide in-depth information about the administration of these schools. In particular, interview findings will illustrate the experience of school principals and their understanding of the role of their schools in the lives of students and the wider community. The close data gathered about the schools will be helpful to update and fill in the gaps in studies on heritage language schools conducted thus far.

Chapter 4. Methodology

In the previous chapters, we reviewed the historical background of Japanese language schools in the Greater Vancouver area and the literature pertaining to our study. In this chapter, we will focus on the methodology of this study.

4.1. Qualitative Research Methods

This study aims to investigate functions of Japanese language schools from the schools' administration and principals' point of views. For the aim of this study, I applied qualitative research methods. Berg (2007) states the scope of qualitative research is "how humans arrange themselves and their settings and how inhabitants of these settings make sense of their surroundings through symbols, rituals, social structures, social roles, and so forth" (p. 8). This approach is effective not only for individual human subject research, but also for the research of communities and organizations. The inquiries for how Japanese language schools arrange themselves and their settings, and generate their structures and social roles are explicated by unquantifiable facts from the schools and their principals.

For the data collection of this study, I applied semi-structured interviews. The interviews were coordinated with a set of open-ended questions to principals of Japanese language schools in the Greater Vancouver area. The list of sample questions were sent to the participants by email beforehand. The interviews were conducted in Japanese. All the interviews were audio-recorded with consent from the participants. Afterwards, I transcribed the interviews from the recorded data. From the transcribed interviews, I provided a content analysis in order to extract recurrent themes among the interviews. At the same time, I translated parts of the interviewee's narratives into English.

4.2. Research Site

This study focuses on Japanese language schools in the Greater Vancouver area as a research site. This site was selected for the study mainly because it is an area with the greatest number of Japanese language schools in Canada. The Greater Vancouver area, which is also called the Metro Vancouver area, consists of twenty-one municipalities, one electoral area, and one treaty First Nation¹⁵. Municipalities include the cities of Vancouver, Richmond, Burnaby, Surrey, and Coquitlam. Japanese language schools in Greater Vancouver are located throughout the area.

As we have seen in the previous chapter, the Greater Vancouver area also has a long history of Japanese immigration, making it an important site for mapping how these schools have transformed over time. According to the 2011 Census¹⁶, the number of Vancouver residents who were born in Japan and have immigrant status in Canada is 10,295. That number is much larger in comparison to the city of Toronto¹⁷, another major metropolitan area of Canada.

4.3. Selection Criteria

The target population for my interview participants was principals of Japanese language schools in the Greater Vancouver area. The reason for selecting this particular population is based on the interest of this study to examine how the schools are currently operated from the point of school administration.

¹⁵ Metro Vancouver – “About us” (<http://www.metrovancouver.org/about/Pages/default.aspx>) , August 25, 2014.

¹⁶ Statistics Canada, (<http://www12.statcan.gc.ca/nhs-enm/2011/dp-pd/prof/details/page.cfm?Lang=E&Geo1=CMA&Code1=933&Data=Count&SearchText=Vancouver&SearchType=Begins&SearchPR=59&A1=All&B1=All&Custom=&TABID=1>) , August 25, 2014.

¹⁷ In the same census data, the number of Japanese-origin immigrants in Toronto is revealed as 5,930.

Statistics Canada, (<http://www12.statcan.gc.ca/nhs-enm/2011/dp-pd/prof/details/page.cfm?Lang=E&Geo1=CMA&Code1=535&Data=Count&SearchText=Toronto&SearchType=Begins&SearchPR=35&A1=All&B1=All&Custom=&TABID=1>).

In general, principals of Japanese language schools have teaching experience or they continue to actively teach classes at the schools while also fulfilling their duties as principals. Thus, the principals maintain both points of views as teachers and administrators. They have been engaged in creating and practicing their schools' policies. At the same time, they have enhanced their ideas and beliefs toward Japanese language education from their hands-on experience at the schools. Hearing about the principals' understandings and concerns for the schools will be helpful for illustrating the realities of the Japanese language schools.

4.4. Recruiting Participants

In the beginning of the recruitment of participants, I contacted a representative of the BC Japanese Language Teachers Association (JALTA) by email. JALTA is a non-profitable organization that promotes Japanese language education in British Columbia. Currently, sixteen schools are operated as associates of JALTA.

In the email, I explained the purpose of the study and asked if I could contact principals of Japanese language schools that are members of the association. Fortunately, the representative supported my request. The representative himself is a principal at one of the schools in JALTA. He helped me to inform the possible participants about the research and provided the other principals with my contact information.

After I received approval from JALTA, I contacted the individual principals of the Japanese language schools and invited them to be participants in the interviews. Eventually I received responses from eight schools' principals interested in participating in the interview process.

4.5. Ethics

This study received ethics approval from the Human Research Ethics Board in the University of Victoria. In order to protect participants' confidentiality, I use pseudonyms to refer to the participants' schools. For example, School A or School B is used to replace the actual names of schools in this thesis. I also deliberately avoid presenting information that could lead to identification of the participants or their schools such as the schools' websites, pamphlets, and other internal publications.

4.6. Participants

I have interviewed eight principals of Japanese language schools. Their schools are distributed widely throughout the Greater Vancouver area. Table 1. illustrates the year in which each school was established, the type of organization, weekly opening days, number of students, and available courses.

Table 1.
The Data of Interview Participants' Schools

Schools	Year of Establishment	Types of School Organization	Opening days (per week)	Approx. Number of Students (Sept. 2013)	Courses				
					Day Care	Preschool / Kinder	Elementary school	Middle / High school	Fundamental
School A	1906	NPO	6 days	350	●	●	●	●	●
B	1960	NPO	6 days	170		●	●	○	●
C	1971	Private	6 days	400	●	●	●	●	●
D	1978	NPO	1 day	30		●	●	○	●
E	1983	NPO	1 day	80		●	●	●	●
F	1985	Private	1 day	20					*
G	1988	Private	6 days	145		●	●	●	●
H	1992	Private	4 days	250		●	●	●	●

Note:

1. The Elementary and Middle/ High school level courses are offered in Heritage Language stream. The stream is designed for pupils who speak Japanese at home.
2. The Middle / High school level courses, which are marked ○, are not operated individually. The courses are combined with the Fundamental courses that are mainly designed as Japanese for foreign language learners.
3. The course of School F, which is marked *, is not provided in the framework of “Fundamental” in comparison with other Japanese as a heritage language courses. The school offers all of their courses as Japanese as a Foreign Language.

Two types of school organization were found in the Japanese language schools, NPOs (non-profit organizations) and private schools. The NPO schools (Schools A, B, D, and E) are operated by volunteer board members who are usually parents of current or past students. The private schools (schools C, F, and G) have been operated by their current principals for more than a decade. School H is also a private school founded by a former principal that has since been transferred to the current principal who is a participant in this research project. This particular principal manages one main school and four additional branches in the Greater

Vancouver area¹⁸. However, for the purpose of this research, the principal and I mostly talked about the main school as School H in order to put a focus on the largest school of the group.

All of the schools' principals are from Japan and native speakers of Japanese. The lengths of the principals' teaching careers vary, but more than half of the principals have had careers over twenty-five years in length. Many of the principals immigrated to Canada as a result of marriage. When I asked about the beginning of their career as Japanese teachers in Canada, three of the principals answered that their children or relatives at some point were students of the Japanese language schools that they currently work at as principals. Also, four of the principals reported that they had teaching experience in other Japanese language classes before they came to their current schools. Most of the principals explained that they started to be involved in the field of Japanese language education after they came to Canada.

4.7. Interviewing Principals of Japanese Language Schools

I conducted interviews over the period of September 1st to October 31st, 2013. The interviews took place in accordance with each principal's convenient time and place. Before the meeting, I sent a copy of a consent form and a sheet of sample questions to the principals (see Appendix I. & II.). Before starting the interview, I confirmed the content of the interview consent form with each principal, and asked his/her consent for the interview participation. Also, I asked the principals if I could audio-record the interview. I was able to obtain permission from all of the principals to audio-record the interviews. In addition to the recordings, I also took field notes during the interviews.

I met each principal once for interviewing. The interview was semi-structured with open-ended questions. I brought the sheets of sample questions to assist with the flow of interviews.

¹⁸ According to the principal of School H, total number of students among the five schools is less than five hundred.

Before starting the interview, I explained to the individual principals that we might not follow the order of topics in the sample question sheet and their personal opinions, interests, and stories about their experiences were rather welcomed for this research purpose. Also, I assured the principals that we might not need to cover all the questions on the sheet in the interview. The interviews took approximately one hundred minutes on average. All the principals were very cooperative in answering most of the interview questions. Five of the principals voluntarily showed me additional resources from their schools such as school schedules, textbooks, syllabi, pamphlets, and other memorial publications.

4.8. Analyzing the Data

4.8.1. Transcribing

In the process of analyzing the interview data, first I listened to the recordings several times for each interview. Then, I literally transcribe the recordings onto paper by handwriting. In a next step, I typed out the transcription with subheadings of topics and markers for significant quotes from the principals. The second version of the transcription was more like a report of the interviews than a literal transcription. It was created to frame topics addressed during the interviews. In this process of typing, I again listened to the recordings and checked if I had missed any information and whether there had been any misunderstandings in my first transcription. Also, I added data from my field notes to the second transcription.

4.8.2. Content Analysis

After I completed the second transcription of the interviews, I provided a content analysis to compare data. Content analysis is a common analytical process for qualitative research. In the analysis, both content and context of documents are analyzed to identify themes by examining

how they are treated or presented with respect to their rate of occurrence (Ritchie & Lewis, 2003).

From the content analysis, I identified four main themes from the transcription of interviews: 1) the schools' organization (the schools' histories, policies, and supporters); 2) the schools' pupils; 3) the schools' curricula (course frameworks, pedagogical aims, practices of curriculum, and other educational activities); and 4) the schools' multiple roles and effects on their pupils. The findings from each theme will be discussed in more detail in the next chapter.

When I conducted the content analysis, I used not only the interview data but also referred to additional resources about the schools such as their websites, pamphlets and other publications. The resources were especially useful for confirming official statements about school policies.

4.8.3. Translation

All the interviews were conducted in Japanese because the interviewer (myself) and participants (principals of Japanese language schools) were all native speakers of Japanese. During the analytical process of the interviews, I translated the participants' Japanese quotes into English. It was one of the challenging parts in the analysis because the translation required careful treatment.

From the audio-recordings of the interviews, I noticed that many of the principals' quotes did not conclude in full sentences. The endings of such quotes were omitted or kept vague as part of the continuum in conversation with the principals. I assumed that the occurrence of such incomplete sentences was based on the principals' hesitations to state personal opinions in a definitive way in the interviews. Also, subjects and clear reference to objects were sometime greatly lacking in the principals' quotes. This is a common way of speaking in Japanese in order

to avoid repetition if interlocutors have a mutual understanding of what is being referenced in the course of a conversation. At these points in the interviews, I naturally understood the subjects and the objects that were being indicated in the principals' narratives. However, when I transcribed and translated their quotes into English, I needed to rewind the recordings repeatedly to assure the references were correct. Thus, in the English translations of the quotes, I sometimes added words in brackets to fill the lack of information provided by the original quotes.

The participants' Japanese comments were carefully translated into English to keep their tones and modes of expressions in the process of analysis. However, I was aware of the difficulty of transferring the whole context identically from Japanese to English due to the absence of corresponding English phrases to Japanese ones, or to the limitations of my translation skill. This point may be one of the limitations of this study.

4.9. Limitation of this Study

This study aims to explore functions of Japanese language schools based on the data taken from interviews with the school principals. Thus, the study puts focus on the perspective of the schools rather than the voices of pupils that attend the schools and their parents. We can interpret the pupils and their parents' views indirectly from the principals' narratives that occasionally made reference to how the principals perceived the reactions of pupils and their parents. However, it is difficult to verify the actual thoughts of the pupils and their parents without interviewing them directly.

This limitation is indirectly connected to the significance of this study. In the literature of heritage languages, linguistic development of heritage language learners has frequently been studied with respect to bilingualism. However, there is a lack of holistic studies about heritage language schools. As far as I know, there is no national or provincial data recorded in reference

to how many heritage language schools are currently operating in Canada. Focusing on the administration of Japanese language schools will be helpful for updating information about heritage language schools in Canada and filling in the lack of data.

Also, as we have seen in the profiles of the interview participants, the principals of the Japanese language schools generally have a significant amount of teaching experience. They have seen many different cases of Japanese heritage language learners at the schools. Investigating teachers' voices is crucial to educational studies about the teaching-learning experience (Feuerverger, 1997; Goodson, 2003). To analyze the principals' views will be beneficial to a re-examination of the situation of the heritage language education that usually puts a greater focus on individual learners.

As a second limitation, we need to be aware that a researcher's subjectivity cannot be perfectly excluded from this study. For example, I developed the majority of questions that formed the basis of the interviews and these questions catered to my own research interests. Therefore, the interviews might be different from natural conversations wherein both interlocutors can freely select topics by themselves. The principals were assured their rights for not answering any questions without any risk. I also explained that they were free to extend discussions out of the frame of the sample questions sheet, but most of the participants tended to treat the sheet as a guideline for the interviews.

Before conducting the interviews, I expected to find more similarities among the interview data from the participants since they all have worked for Japanese language schools in the Greater Vancouver area. However, reflecting on the interviews, the participants had different points of emphasis, or they showed varying degrees of interest towards particular topics during the interviews. The varieties of reactions from the participants reminded me to not make any

generalizations about what a Japanese language school “should” be. The diversity of the schools is a key factor of this study.

The process of content analysis was helpful to enhance objectivity in this study. The comparison of the interview data revealed similarities and differences among the participants’ narratives in a systematic way.

Chapter 5. Findings from Interviews with Principals of Japanese Language Schools

This chapter presents findings from research interviews with the principals of eight Japanese language schools. In order to protect the research participants' privacy, the names of the schools are anonymized using the alphabet letters.

In Section 5.1., the operations of the Japanese language schools are illustrated from the points such as the schools' historical background and policies by using data from the school websites, pamphlets and the principals' narratives in the interviews. Section 5.2. puts focus on the pupils' backgrounds and how the school principals recognized the diversity of the backgrounds. In Section 5.3., the schools' curricula are explored from the curriculum framework for language learning, practices of cultural activities, and the schools' support for the pupils' continuous Japanese learning. Section 5.4 describes the schools' multiple functions and effects on their pupils.

5.1. Operation of Japanese Language Schools in the Greater Vancouver area

5.1.1. Historical Backgrounds of the Eight Japanese Language Schools

Japanese Language Teachers Association of British Columbia (JALTA) was formed in 1974 with purposes of promotion and development of Japanese language education. Currently, there are sixteen schools associated with JALTA. Eight of the schools' principals became participants of research interviews in our study. In this section, we view historical backgrounds of each principal's school.

As discussed in Chapter 2, Japanese language schools have a long history in Vancouver beginning from the early times of Japanese immigration. Of the Japanese language schools of JALTA (Japanese Language Teachers Association of British Columbia), School A is the first Japanese language school opened in Canada. The school was founded in 1906 as a primary

school for Japanese immigrant children who immigrated with their parents or were born in Canada. At that time, the children's Japanese education was the largest concern for the Japanese immigrant parents who had kept a strong connection and ethnic pride of Japan. The place of the school is historically known as a part of Japan-town which was a center of Japanese immigrant community from around 1910s to 1940s.

School A which opened initially as an all-day school taught not only a Japanese language related subject, but also other school subjects; such as mathematics, science, and history. Since around mid-1910, many children of Japanese immigrant parents started to attend Canadian public schools. Thus their parents shifted their focus on their children's English and Japanese language education (Noro, 1998). Reflecting on the parents' desire and their children's need for learning both Japanese and English, School A changed their policy as a Japanese elementary school to a supplementary school for Japanese language maintenance of Japanese children in 1919. The Japanese students who attended Canadian public schools came to School A afterschool hours for their Japanese language maintenance. During the one hundred and seven years history of the school, School A experienced forcible closure of the school from 1941 to 1952 and confiscation of school's facility when Japan became an enemy country for Canada during the Second World War. During the wartime, the school's facility was occupied by the Canadian Armed Forces and the half of the school's property and facilities was sold by the government. The remaining school's facility was restored with the efforts of the Japanese-Canadian community after the war and School A restarted in 1953.

School B is also known as a historical community-based Japanese language school in Greater Vancouver. The area of School B was historically known as a Japanese fishermen's community. The school was founded first in 1911 in the area with the support from a fishermen's

charitable organization. The school was operated for Japanese language maintenance of Japanese immigrants' children. In 1928, close to three hundred pupils were enrolled and six teachers were employed in the school. School B was forced to close in 1941 as well as School A. After the war, the school was reconstructed with a new school policy¹⁹ in 1960.

School C was founded in 1971. The school was opened by the principal who had been a teacher at other Japanese language schools in Vancouver. In the interview, the principal who has been engaged for the school for over forty years described the beginning days of the school. At that time, there were not any Japanese language schools in the area where School C is located. The road conditions of the Greater Vancouver area were not very well organized in those days. The children and their mothers who attended the Japanese language school downtown, suffered by the long hours of commuting every Saturday. Therefore, the opening of the new school was gladly accepted by the families. According to the principal, around seventy elementary children gathered as she started the school. School C was started in a living room of the principal's house. In the history of School C, the school's development evolved by moving its location several times from place to place; such as churches and classrooms of public schools. Currently the school is located inside a Japanese-Canadian community center.

School D was established in 1978 by the parents who desired for their children to receive Japanese language education. In addition to the demands for the children's Japanese language learning, the school's principal pointed out that in those days, the parents had soak opportunities in the Japanese language school for meeting other Japanese and exchanging information. The school is still operated by parents of the school's students even until the present.

¹⁹ According to the principal of School B, the reconstruction of the school realized in discussions and encouragement from a new interest in multiculturalism which were raised by a multiple of ethnic communities in Canada at that time.

School E was also established by the parents who had a keen interest in their children's Japanese language maintenance in 1983.

School F was opened in 1985 to respond a need for a Japanese-Canadian preschool/ playschool in the area. The area of School F is remote from the downtown of Vancouver and there was no Japanese language school nearby at that time. As in the case of School C, the absence of a local Japanese language school could be one of the great motives of the newly opening of a school in each area. In consequence, today's Japanese language schools are distributed over the Greater Vancouver and one or more schools exist in most municipal regions of the district.

School G has been operating at a local community center with the administrative support of the center since 1988. School G was started with a focus on preschool children's education. The school gradually developed its curricula in accordance with the growth of the children who come to the school and their needs of continuous education. As a result, the school currently provides not only preschool classes, but also classes for elementary school students (grade one to six), and middle/high school students (grade seven to twelve).

As the case of School G, the development of school curricula or the change of students' age groups has sometimes occurred in other schools as well. School H was founded in 1992 by a teacher who used to be a principal of another Japanese language school. At that time, the school mainly opened classes for adult Japanese language learners. According to the principal, due to the bubble economy of Japan in the late 1980s, many adult learners who had business interests in Japan attended the school. The adult class was offered until 2012, but the class was canceled for a school year in 2013. As a reason for the cancellation, the principal explained that the school has shifted their focus more on early childhood education for preschool/kindergarten children.

The principal reported, because of the growing number of the infant children in the school, it is difficult to prepare a classroom and a teacher for the adult class in the current situation.

From the survey for the historical backgrounds of the Japanese language schools, it is found that each school has been operated over decades. Especially, three of the schools (Schools C, F, and G) have been managed by principals who established the schools from the beginning of the schools. Also, it is found that three of the schools' founders were used to teach at other Japanese language school. They opened their schools at different places from the school as they became independent.

5.1.2. General Outline of Japanese Language Schools in this Study

In the Greater Vancouver area, Japanese language schools have generally operated for Japanese immigrant families who wish their children to maintain their Japanese language. The schools usually offer classes with three groups of children; preschool/kindergarten, elementary school, and middle/high school students. Historically, the main target of the schools is elementary school children who are in grade one to six. The children attend the school once a week for around ninety minutes to three hours of a class. In the class, it is common that the children study Japanese language through textbooks from Japanese elementary schools. The schools design elementary level classes as a six year program which is followed by a Japanese education system. The classes for preschool and kindergarten children is also quite popular in current Japanese language schools.

Four of the schools offer classes between Monday through Saturday and schedule each class at different times and days of the week, but each student attends their classes only once a week. Therefore, when it is compared to the regular public schools which children attend every

day for several hours, the Japanese language schools have made their efforts to provide their education in a very limited time as supplementary schools.

As mentioned earlier, Japanese language schools have been operated for Japanese children who try to maintain their heritage language in Canada. As the histories of Schools A and B suggest, the Japanese language schools were founded by support from Japanese immigrant parents and each local Japanese community. However, in the current Japanese language schools, the number of pupils whose parents are both ethnically and linguistically Japanese has been declining. In most cases, the children's mothers are Japanese who immigrated to Canada and their fathers are Canadian. The children who have Japanese mothers are not necessarily speaking Japanese in their home. Depending on their linguistic environments at home, some children have less opportunity to speak Japanese than the other Japanese-Canadian children.

Also, all the interview participants' schools offer classes for children who are from non-Japanese families or to those who speak English at home. The classes are usually named "the fundamental stream" (*Kiso-ka*) in comparison with "the heritage language stream" (*Futsū-ka*)²⁰ for children who have a Japanese parent or speak Japanese at home. In the fundamental stream, teachers use different textbooks from the heritage language stream, and teach Japanese as a foreign language class. In the eight schools of the present study, seven schools provide the fundamental stream except School F. School F does not particularly offer the fundamental stream, but provides classes mainly for children who learn Japanese as a foreign language. Each school has a different policy and curriculum for the stream. Although it is common to offer the

²⁰ The two streams are commonly described "Kiso-ka (Fundamental-stream)" and "Futsū-ka (Regular-stream)" in Japanese. The name of *Kiso-ka* suggests that pupils in the stream are supposed to build a necessary base or foundation from scratch. The *Futsū-ka* indicates that the stream is a traditional program of Japanese language schools. However, in this study, we applied the term, heritage language stream to the *Futsū-ka* for more clear presentation of the characteristic of the stream. Also, the term heritage language stream is often used as an English term of *Futsū-ka* in English publications of the schools.

fundamental stream from the elementary level, Schools E and H offer the stream also for the children of age five.

The scale and classroom size vary from school to school. Among the eight Japanese language schools, there are big schools which have more than two hundred students and small schools which have less than fifty students attending. Most schools offer classrooms for each school grade year or age of children in the elementary level of the heritage stream, but three of the schools offer the classrooms which are separated by the students' level of Japanese.

Depending on the number of students in a grade or age group, those who are in close grades and age groups often study in the same classroom.

The teachers of the Japanese language schools are usually native Japanese speakers. Three of the principals mentioned that the schools' teachers in the past consisted of home makers who did not have other jobs, but many of the teachers currently work in the schools have full time jobs outside the schools. Also, many principals commented that they employ people who have teaching experience in Japanese elementary schools or kindergarten, or/and hold a teacher's license in Japan.

The types of school organizations are varied in respect to school management. Of the eight schools, four (Schools A, B, D and E) are operated as non-profit organizations. These schools are managed by volunteer board members or/and parents of students. Teachers and principals are hired by the boards. Especially, Schools A and B have their foundations on local Japanese-Canadian communities: the schools have their own school facility and actively hold events for fundraising within their communities. In comparison with the schools as NPOs, Schools C and H are managed as private schools. The other two schools (Schools F and G) were

also privately operated by the principals, but the schools are managed with the help of local municipal community centers.

5.1.3. People and Organizations Supporting the Schools

One of the most important factors which support operations of the Japanese language school is assistance from the students' parents. The four of the eight Japanese language schools (Schools A, B, D and E) are operated by volunteer board members. In most cases, the volunteers are parents of students. The volunteer board members in the schools usually manage finances and operations of the schools, other than teaching duties conducted by teachers. In the interviews, three of the principals revealed that their schools have a chronic problem of finding people who can be in charge of the board members. One of the schools holds a two year term for each position of the board members, but actually most of the volunteer board members have served for more than a term for lack of successors. As a reason of difficulty in finding new board members, the principals claimed that current students' parents tend to be busy in their work and are not willing to actively participate in the schools' operations as before.

The parents' understanding towards the schools' policies is also necessary for the schools to provide better educational environments to children in the schools. The principal of School G claimed that the children's education in the school will not succeed without the parents' trust towards the teachers. Therefore, the school put an emphasis on communication between the children, mothers, and teachers. Also, the principal pointed out that the parents' participation in the school's activities will help them to understand the school's educational policy.

Also, some organizations offer support for the operation of the Japanese language schools in the Greater Vancouver area. JALTA (Japanese Teachers Association of British Columbia) provides teachers' training workshops twice a year in order to develop and share pedagogical

knowledge and skills to teachers in the Japanese language schools. Also, JALTA annually hold an event in which students of associated schools exhibit and perform their Japanese language skills. The Japan Foundation, the Japanese public institutions dedicated to the promotion of Japanese language and culture throughout the world, annually provides the Local Grant Program for Japanese-Language Education. By applying the grant program, JALTA and its associated schools have received financial supports for the teachers' workshops and purchases of teaching materials and resources.

In addition, the operations of Japanese language schools are based on the understanding of local communities. In the eight Japanese language schools, four of the schools rent classrooms²¹ from local public schools and municipal community centers, and three of the schools are located in Japanese-Canadian community centers. Only one school's facility is owned privately.

5.1.4. School Policies

Most of the Japanese language schools introduce their school policy, mission, aims, and school spirit to parents of prospective students on their websites or/and in school pamphlets. Also, I could hear about the school policies and aims from the principals in the interviews. Three recurrent themes are found from the interview discourses I had about school policies;

- 1) Promote understanding and interests of Japanese language and culture
- 2) Facilitate cultural exchange between Canada and Japan, and/or other multicultural, neighborhood and international groups
- 3) Develop children's talent as a global citizen.

²¹ Financial difficulty for renting class spaces and teachers' struggles for displaying classrooms at the rental spaces are common problems of the operation of heritage language schools.

For example, School A introduces their mission:

Our mission, as an educational and Community institution is to promote through educational and event programming the understanding of Japanese language and culture to all Canadians.

Actively uphold the history of Vancouver's Nikkei community and to facilitate cultural exchange with other multicultural, neighborhood and international groups. Our ultimate objective is to strengthen and enrich inter-cultural communication and understanding among our students and the broader local and global communities. (School A's website)

The statement describes the characteristics of School A that has their foundation on their historical Japanese-Canadian community as noted from the words "Nikkei community" and their "multicultural and international neighbourhood". Also, the statements shows the school's concern to open their community and to communicate with "the broader local and global communities". In the interview, the principal of School A mentioned that the school aims to foster a person who can contribute to their community. School A's mission statement does not clearly mention about developing their children's talent as a world citizen. The principal claimed that the children are already living as a world citizen in our Canadian multicultural society. Thus, she told me that the children need to be trained in their language for usage, not just for bare knowledge of Japanese in order to develop their future possibilities.

School B also supports the first and second themes about developing inter-cultural understanding of Canada and Japan. In the interview, the principal of School B emphasized that their school opened not just for Japanese Canadian descendants, but also for their neighbours, right from the beginning. According to the principal, this point of the school's policy is based on

the background of the school which was founded in a rise of the Canadian movement for multiculturalism.

About the policy of School C, the principal told me that the school aims to foster children as “bridges between Japan and Canada”. She explained that the purpose of the children’s Japanese language learning was to be considered as mainly to stimulate communication between children and parents. However, currently the school has shifted their aim to develop children’s ability to demonstrate and assert themselves in international societies through Japanese language education. This change of emphasis in the school policy seems to be brought by the diversification of the children’s background which becomes more multicultural than having both parents from Japanese origins.

School D introduces the school spirit and characteristics on their website. The school spirit includes themes about developing a better understanding of the Japanese culture and of the mutual relationships between Canada and Japan, and aiming to foster people who can contribute as citizens of the world through Japanese language education. As to the school characteristics introduced on their website, it is explained that the school does not only focus on developing children’s Japanese language ability, but also fostering the children’s thinking ability and a wide range of sensibilities. Also, since School D was founded by parents, the school policy is to have the focus on the students with the support from the home and school staff, all working together in cooperation to the betterment and advancement of the school. For example, School D explains one of their school characteristics as “to provide an opportunity for parents and children to communicate by helping with their homework, thus home learning takes place and the students become more familiar with the language.”

As well as School D, School E was founded by Japanese parents who live in the area of the school. School E introduces their educational aim on their website for both students of the heritage language and fundamental streams. School E explains their educational aim including the three themes as enhancing interests in Japan, cultural exchange between Japan and Canada, and producing global citizens:

Through Japanese language education, enhancement of interests in Japan and Japanese culture, the aim is to train human resources who can contribute to a mutual understanding and cultural exchange between Japanese and Canadian citizens. Also, (the school) aims to extend the talent of children who are born and raised in Canada and build their confidence and linguistic ability as international citizens by providing curricula to fit each student's individuality. (School E's website, translated by Kawaguchi)

Also, the characteristic of the school is introduced as; "to provide a stimulating and encouraging classroom experience where students can thrive and gain confidence in their understanding of the Japanese language." From the statement, it is found that the school puts an emphasis on fostering children's "confidence" through Japanese language education in the school.

The principal of School F reported her school's policy is to introduce and promote Japanese language and culture to Canadians. Among the Japanese language schools which participated in the study, School F is the only school which does not provide heritage language classes. The school is offered for English speakers who wish to learn Japanese language and culture. Therefore, the school seems to mainly operate as the place of Japanese and Canadian cultural exchanges rather than Japanese language maintenance.

School G has a different perspective on their school policy from other schools. The school began as a preschool and extended its classes for elementary, middle, and high school

students. According to the principal, the preschool students usually continued to study in the elementary level, but the preschool is still a core program of School G. The principal herself is also engaged in teaching preschool/kindergarten children. In the preschool pamphlet, the elements of the school policy are introduced as; “fostering children’s considerate attitude, motivation, and creativity.” These three elements – considerate attitude, motivation, and creativity, were explained by the principal as to her interpretations during the interview. The considerate attitude is not only for other people such as family and friends, but also for nature and the environment. In order to learn the importance of nature, the teachers sometimes take the children for a walk outside and give the children opportunity to get in touch with the neighborhood and its natural environment. In order to foster the children’s motivation, the principal’s objective was to let the children practice anything on their own as much as possible. If they can accomplish any little thing by themselves, the teacher will praise them. She claimed that the children may make many mistakes but they will also learn from their mistakes. The important point for the children is getting over their mistakes and moving on to the next step. About the children’s creativity, the principal discussed the importance of giving a suitable environment for children so that they can learn with an active attitude. For example, instead of giving manufactured toys, parents can donate some junk, such as boxes and papers for the children to use to make handicrafts. The principal commented,

It is necessary to create an environment that the children feel some inconvenience. If the children are satisfied with everything, they would not try to think by themselves. It is also important that the children feel bored. (Principal, School G)

In School G, the principal put emphasis on the children's learning through experiences. In addition to the preschool, the students have opportunities of hands-on experiences; such as having guest speakers and research presentations in the elementary school level classes.

In the preschool, teachers use Japanese language, but the school does not intend to especially build the children's Japanese language ability. Instead, the school puts stress on the three targets (of the school policy) through Japanese language. Children have great potential. We wish to provide childcare to them with the three targets through Japanese.

(Principal, School G)

In the interview with the principal of School H, I asked what kind of person the principal wished to bring up through the school's education. The principal informed to me that his goal is to bring up bilingual children. He assured me that it depends on the individual children's choice, but in the future it is desirable that the school could produce graduates who contribute to the relationship between Japan and Canada.

5.2. Pupils' Backgrounds

In 1930s, pupils in Japanese language schools were mainly from Japanese immigrants' family and had both Japanese-speaking parents. However, in the current Japanese language schools, pupils are from more varied backgrounds.

Before the interview, I hypothesized that there are four groups of pupils' background in the schools: 1) children who have intermarried parents (one Japan-born parent and other background parent), 2) children who have a parent(s) second or later generation of Japanese-Canadian, 3) children who have both Japan-born parents, 4) children from non-Japanese background. In addition, I divided Group 4 into two sub-groups; children who have non-Japanese Asian background as NJ1 and the others as NJ2. In the interviews, I asked the principals for rough

estimates about the percentages of each background of the students' groups in the schools. As a result, seven of the schools' principals answered that Group 1 is the main student group in their schools except for School F. From the principals' responses, I found that the division between NJ1 and NJ2 in Group 4 was not very practical for the principals to estimate the children's percentages. Since the number of non-Japanese background children (Group 4) is small in most of the schools, the principals often reported the group's percentages as a whole without the divisions.

Table 2.

Percentages of the groups of pupils' backgrounds

	Parents of Pupils			
JPN language schools	Group 1 : Inter-language marriage (One of the parents is from Japan)	Group 2 : Second or later generation of Japanese-Canadian	Group 3 : Both of the parents from Japan	Group 4 : Non-Japanese background
School A	Total 80%		10%	10%
B	40%	25%	5%	30%
C	70 to less than 80%	20 to less than 30%	N/A	10%
D	Most of the students from Group1. Any comment was not remarked for percentages of other groups.			
E	Approximately 5 % of the students from Group 3. The principal mentioned that the ratio of students in the heritage language and fundamental streams was fifty-fifty.			
F	More than 90% of the students are from Group 4.			
G	Total 80%		Less than 10%	More than 10%
H	50 to less than 60%	10%	20 to less than 30%	Less than 10%

Note:

1. The percentages of the students above were given by principals of the schools. In the interview, they were asked to comment the approximate ratios of each group of students in their schools by their senses. Therefore, actual percentages of the students' group in each school can be slightly different from the data above.

In most cases the children of Group 1 have Japanese mothers. The children who have both Japanese parents (Group 3) is in the minority in most schools. School H has 20-30% of their students from Group 3, but the other schools answered that they have 10% or less students from the group. Since the fundamental stream is provided in most of the schools for students who speak English, I had assumed the schools to have a substantive number of students from Group 4. However, the children who are from non-Japanese families are not large in most schools, contrary to my expectation. Among the eight schools, School B has the largest percentage of students in Group 4. According to the principal of School B, the 30% of the whole school students are from non-Japanese Asian background (NJ1). This result is based on the fact that the area of School B is a well-known region having a large Asian community.

The question about children's background was supposed to roughly grasp general characteristics of pupils attend the Japanese language schools. However, it was found that the categorization of backgrounds is not always clear to the principals when they thought about their students in the interviews. Since the information about the children's background is related to individual children's privacy, the principals' knowledge was based on communications with the children and their parents. In most cases, they could guess a pupil's background by his/her family name. According to the principal of School E, seventeen years ago, when the principal came to the school, children who had Japanese family names were around 20% of the school. Yet, currently the student who has a Japanese surname is around 5% of the whole school.

Before commencing the research, I had expected that the data about ratios of Japanese and non-Japanese backgrounds students in each school could be easily delivered by the principals. Since curricula of the heritage language and fundamental streams were introduced in very different styles of classes in the websites of the schools, I assumed that the two groups of

Japanese and non-Japanese background students were simply separated between the streams. However, it was actually impossible for the principals to report the distribution of the student groups from the number of students in each stream because the students in those streams are not necessarily separated by their family backgrounds. In fact, the principals reported that a few non-Japanese background students attend the heritage language stream. These students usually have a good knowledge of the Japanese language based on their experiences of living in Japan or having Japanese speaking parents who used to live in Japan. Also, it was found that those children who have a Japanese parent learn in the fundamental stream. Depending on the individual children's circumstances, some parents choose the fundamental stream rather than the heritage language stream. For example, if a child does not have enough chances to speak Japanese at home, it may be difficult to attend the heritage language stream which uses textbooks from a Japanese elementary school. In this case, parents and teachers discuss ahead of enrollment whether it is better for the child to start his/her Japanese learning from a class of the fundamental stream in which Japanese is taught as a foreign language. The fundamental stream in most Japanese language schools originally was targeted for English-speaking children, but nowadays the program is also used as an alternative way of learning Japanese for children who have a Japanese-speaking family.

The distribution of the children with Japanese ancestry also differs in the schools. The children are often called Nikkei and their Japanese language skill is varied depending on each individual's circumstances. In School B, there are around 25% of the students who have second or later generation of Japanese-Canadian parents (Group 2). The parents who are Sansei (third generation), or Yonsei (fourth generation) are usually not fluent enough in Japanese to talk to their children in their daily life, but they wish their children to know and experience Japanese

culture. According to the principal, a few of the Nikkei children attend the heritage language stream, but most are studying in the fundamental stream.

From the principals' answers to the question about the pupils' background, it is significant to note that the pupils' backgrounds and their circumstances of learning Japanese are diversified in the Japanese language schools. The children of Group 1 usually have Japanese mothers but their fathers' backgrounds are possibly multicultural. More than one principals mentioned the parents of Group 1 including people from other Asian countries, such as China and Korea, or European background such as Italian-Canadians. In these cases, the children possibly learn not only Japanese as a heritage language, but also their fathers' languages.

5.3. The Schools' Curriculum

5.3.1. The Heritage Language Stream

5.3.1.1. Comparisons between Former and Current Pupils Learning Japanese as a Heritage Language

In this section, comparisons between former and present students who learn Japanese as a heritage language will be presented with comments from the principals of Schools C, B and D. The reason of picking up the data from these particular principals is that they started their career in each Japanese language school in different periods over the past forty years: the principal of School C opened the school in 1971, the principal of School B started teaching in the school in 1984, and the principal of School D came to the school in 1996.

➤ Case I: The principal of School C — experiences from 1970s to present

According to the principal of School C, when the principal started the school around forty years ago, pupils who came from Japanese background did not have much self-motivation or

interests in Japanese learning. They were good at listening to Japanese, but if they understand what a Japanese speaker said, they would not try to join in in the Japanese conversation by themselves. In order to enhance the children's motivation to speak Japanese, the principal stressed that they speak out in Japanese using simple phrases; "Hai (Yes)", "Iie (No)", "Arigatou (thank you)", and "Gomennasai (sorry)". The principal claimed, compared to the children in the 1970s, present pupils in the school have better Japanese speaking ability. They often watch Japanese cable television in Canada, and are interested in things about Japan. Their use of internet also connects them with family and friends in Japan. The principal remembered that she used to show Japanese videos to her students as learning materials. Current children would not need help to get information about Japan because most of them spontaneously learn about current Japanese culture through televisions and internet in their daily lives.

In the beginning of School C, the students of the school consisted of children from Nisei (second generation) and new immigrants' families. Although the principal herself was a "new immigrant"²², she said that she learned a lot about Japanese-Canadian history and their Canadian culture from the Nisei parents. For example, the school gave the children assignments during the summer break, as done in Japanese elementary schools, but a Nisei mother commented that to give an assignment during the break is not common in Canada. Also, when the principal referred to eating "*Onigiri* (rice ball)" for lunch in a conversation with the children, a Nisei mother expressed her complicated feelings about that. The mother explained that nowadays it is easy to suggest that children eat such kind of Japanese traditional foods, but when Japanese Canadians were expelled, they could not eat Japanese food freely. Thus, the principal put a stress on keeping a good communication between children, parents, and teachers in the school. The

²² The "new immigrants" particularly indicate Japanese who immigrated to Canada after a revision of Canadian immigration regulation in 1967.

principal explained that if a child observes how his/her parent participates in the school, the child can understand what the school provides for him/her.

Also, according to the principal, there were a few who frequently visited Japan in 1970s. Currently, it is popular for Japanese parents to take their children to Japan, and put them in Japanese elementary schools for a few weeks during the summer break of Canadian public schools. Many other school's principals also mentioned that the children's short visits in Japanese elementary schools are getting more popular than before among their students.

➤ Case II: The principal of School B — experiences from 1980s to present

According to the principal, the pupils in the 1980s and the 1990s, most pupils did not frequently visit Japan as present pupils do today. Since the children did not have enough opportunity to hear and read Japanese from televisions or books, their Japanese was not very strong. Some parents were able to speak English native like, but most parents spoke “broken English”. The parents wished to communicate in Japanese with their children, but the children did not have enough proficiency in Japanese to fully understand what the parents told them. As a result, the parents spoke Japanese to the children, but sometimes replaced Japanese words with English words in their sentences for their children's better understanding. Therefore, there were many children who spoke a mixed Japanese and English at the school. The principal pointed out that the children at that time believed what they spoke at home, the mixed Japanese and English, was actually Japanese because they did not have enough resources available to them about the Japanese language. The principal mentioned, in comparison to students attending the school during the 1980s, the current students seem to have a higher level of knowledge about Japanese culture. The principal suggested this could be attributed to the availability of Japanese TV programs, games, and more frequent trips to Japan.

The principal of School B also indicated current students' strong ability in Japanese conversations as the principal of School C commented. As soon as the principal started teaching in School B in 1984, she had found the students' Japanese proficiency weaker than she expected, even they came from Japanese families. According to the principal, in comparison to the prior generation of students, current students can apply Japanese freely in the level of general conversation, but they may not comprehend the language deeply. I asked her what kind of points particularly she noticed about the current students' linguistic competence. She answered,

For example, when the children try to tell a complicated story, they switch their language to English. Daily conversation is easy for them (if it is consisted by simple sentences). However, it seems painful for them to read, write and speak a bunch of long sentences such as from textbooks. (.....) There are some children who are capable, but as a general impression, it is difficult (for most children) to speak Japanese while they think.

(Principal, School B)

In addition, I asked if the principal thought there was a difference on the parents' part in the sense of making their children learn Japanese between the late 1980s and the present. The principal replied that current parents are divided into two groups, especially if the children's mothers are Japanese. Some of the mothers have a strict policy to talk to their children in Japanese no matter what for their Japanese language maintenance. They have a strong will to make their children into skillful bilingual (English/Japanese) speakers and push them to study Japanese. The principal described the project requires a mother's firm determination to obtain this goal, but few children attain a high level of Japanese proficiency with their mothers' efforts, even if they were born and raised in Canada. On the other hand, the principal pointed out if a Japanese mother can speak English fluently, her child will take it into account and tend to reply

in English even though the mother may strive to communicate with him/her in Japanese. The principal explained that the mother will gradually get used to the child's English responses to her Japanese, and end up speaking only simple things in Japanese. When the mother needs to explain complicated things to the child, she might use English for the child's better understanding. It is also pointed out by the principal that the children lose opportunities of using Japanese in their daily lives while they grow up in an English dominant environment. In consequence, the principal claimed that the heritage language classes facilitate the children's use of Japanese, but it is not expected that the children constantly built their Japanese skills if they practice Japanese only in the classrooms.

➤ Case III: The principal of School D — experiences from 1990s to present

The principal of School D looked back to when she came to the school in 1996. According to the principal, at that time, there were two groups of children; children who have Japanese and Canadian parents and children who have both Japanese parents, in the heritage language classes of the school. Since the children showed a good understanding of Japanese, teachers were able to provide instruction in the classes using only Japanese. Gradually the classes have gotten more children who use English dominantly, and have less knowledge in Japanese. Therefore, the teachers turned to the use of English as supplements to their Japanese instructions, so that the English dominant children would not feel stress in the classrooms.

As for a reason of increase of the English dominant children in the heritage language classes, the principal assumed that the children's Japanese mothers have turned to feeling tired of maintaining the children's Japanese. She reported if a child's father is an English speaker and does not understand Japanese, he may feel alienated when a Japanese mother speaks to the child in Japanese at home. In this case, the mother will hesitate to talk in Japanese frequently at home.

As another possible background, the principal suggested that Japanese mothers shifted to the use of English as their home language because speaking English is simply more convenient for communication for their families. The principal also mentioned how it is difficult to keep a child's Japanese up in an English speaking environment in Canada. Before a child starts attending a preschool, he/she may grow up in a Japanese linguistic environment by spending most of a day with his/her Japanese mother. However, once the child starts attending an English school, he/she will get accustomed to an English environment and become stronger in English than Japanese. The principal commented that what is needed to keep the children's Japanese is the Japanese speaking parents' strong will and effort.

5.3.1.2. Change of Japanese Mothers Lifestyle

In the interviews, four of the principals reported that they felt an increase in Japanese mothers who work in full-time jobs compared to before. Especially, the principal of School E stated that most Japanese mothers in the school have full-time jobs. The Japanese mothers make an effort to bring their children to the school although it is difficult for them to spare the time to take their children to school. The principal looked back to seventeen years ago when she came to the school. She commented, "Japanese mothers at that time seemed not to be so confident with their English. It was hard for them to jump into Canadian society by themselves, and work in a Canadian environment." According to the principal, many of the current Japanese mothers in the school have sufficient Canadian knowledge from their working-holiday experiences, studying as international students, or graduating from Canadian high schools and/or secondary schools. The Japanese mothers are fluent in English and confidently work with other Canadian colleagues.

The principal of School E also pointed out that the current Japanese mothers' lifestyle brings a big difference towards children's home linguistic environment. Since the mothers are busy in

their work, the mothers and their children have only a few chances of having Japanese conversations in morning before they leave for school and work, and then a short time at night. This situation causes the actual Japanese conversations that can take place between the mothers and the children are very limited. This is what the principal called “survival Japanese”, a conversation with short responses and common phrases. Also, usually elementary school level pupils need the support of their Japanese-speaking mothers for their assignments from a Japanese language school in many ways: for example, a mother will need to listen to a child’s reading of a textbook, and check his/her hand-writing. Yet, if the mothers are busy, it is difficult for them to help their children’s assignments regularly. The principal of School E suggested that in these points, there are definite differences from the former situation where most Japanese mothers had plenty time to speak Japanese with their children, and help with their children’s assignments at home. The current Japanese mothers’ lifestyle reported by the principals indicates that even though the children have Japanese speaking parents, it is not always a smooth ride into developing their Japanese language ability in their homes.

5.3.1.3. The Discussion of Using *Kokugo* Textbooks

In the elementary school level classes of the Japanese language schools, most children who study Japanese as a heritage language use *Kokugo* (language arts of Japanese national language) textbooks. *Kokugo* which literally means “language of the country” is differentiated from *Nihongo* (Japanese language) as a school subject (Gottlieb, 2009). In Japanese schools, the classes of Japanese language for Japanese students are called *Kokugo* classes which use *Kokugo* textbooks. *Nihongo* classes particularly indicate the classes for students who learn Japanese as a foreign language. Therefore, many Japanese language textbooks for foreign language learners are titled *Nihongo* but not *Kokugo*. The textbooks of *Kokugo* includes many stories from

different fields; such as literature, folklore, science, and history. The Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science and Technology in Japan (MEXT) certifies all *Kokugo* textbooks to be used in elementary schools in Japan. In the certified *Kokugo* textbooks, the textbook from Mitsumura Tosyo is commonly used in the Japanese language schools which participated in the research. The series of Mitsumura Tosyo's *Kokugo* textbooks are issued as twelve volumes for children's six years of learning in the Japanese elementary schools. Therefore, Japanese elementary school children study every two volumes from grade one to six. For example, if a child is in grade three, he/she will use "Sannenn Kokugo Jyo" (*Kokugo* for the grade third, the first volume) and "Sannnen Kokugo Ge" (*Kokugo* for the grade third, the second volume) throughout a school year. However, in the Japanese language schools of the Greater Vancouver, the elementary school level children use one volume of these textbooks each year. Since the children have a class at the Japanese language school only once a week, their classroom schedule is slower than the children of elementary schools in Japan. Consequently, when a child in the heritage language stream becomes a student of grade six, which is the final year of elementary school in Japan, he/she still uses the second volume of *Kokugo* for the grade three level in a Japanese language school. This gap between the children's ages and progress of curriculum is one of the common problems in the Japanese language schools.

If grade six students use a textbook of grade three, it would seem that the content of the textbook is too easy for them. Yet, according to the principals of the Japanese language schools, actually the textbook is still difficult for the students in some points. By contrast with the elementary school children who live in Japan, the students in Japanese language schools are usually not in a Japanese language environment except in their homes. Therefore, their knowledge of the Japanese language is hardly at the same speed as the elementary school

children in Japan. Especially, learning numerous kanji(s) is necessary to build literacy in Japanese, but there is a limitation of learning in a weekly classroom. From the point of a language level, the textbook gives hurdles for the students, even if the target of the textbook is originally for younger aged children. However, sometimes the themes of the contents in the textbook do not fit to the students' ages. Consequently, they may feel learning in the classrooms is tedious because the contents of the textbooks do not intrigue their interests.

Since *Kokugo* textbooks are originally made to be used in Japanese elementary schools, there have been a discussion about the suitability of the continued use of the textbook for children who learn Japanese as a heritage language at Japanese language schools. In the eight Japanese language schools, six of the schools use *Kokugo* textbooks in heritage language classes. Of the other two schools which do not use the textbooks, School E has stopped using the textbooks to take a major change of curriculum since three years ago. The principal of School E revealed her long time concerns for that the content of *Kokugo* textbooks has become not acceptable by heritage language students. In the textbooks, for instance, Japanese old tales are included, but it is difficult for the children to guess common animals and things of Japanese folklore in the tales. Also, she pointed out that the change of curriculum is provided in consideration of the teachers' needs in teaching the Japanese language (*Nihongo*) rather than *Kokugo*, even if their students learn Japanese as a heritage language.

Instead of using the textbook, the new curriculum of School E's heritage language stream consists by four elements; selected readings, building vocabularies, learning Japanese culture and four seasons, and studying for the Japanese Language Proficiency Test (JLPT) from grade five.

For the selected readings, the teachers choose reading materials not from the textbook, but based on the children's interests. The principal told of an example of the reading materials that

she had used in a senior class of the elementary school level. It was an autobiography of a Japanese famous soccer player. As one of the reasons that she selected the material, she told me that there were many children who played soccer in the class.

The Japanese Language Proficiency Test (JLPT), which is operated by the Japan Foundation and Japan Educational Exchanges and Services, is a common test for assessing Japanese language skills of Japanese as a foreign language speakers. Before conducting the research, I have heard about cases of high school students in Japanese language schools to challenge the higher levels of the test in order to attain certifications in their Japanese language skills. However, in School E, the teachers started to use some materials from the textbook of JLPT in classes of grade five and higher from 2012. The principal reported that the use of the materials from JLPT in the classes was experimental, but the teachers' feedbacks for the new curriculum were favorable. The materials from JLPT include more mature and formal expressions than other materials for children. These expressions are also introduced from grade five in Japanese elementary schools in order to learn formal speech. According to the principal, the teachers of grade five and six commented that the materials from JLPT are good because they fit to the children's ages and include various Japanese expressions. Although the classes used the textbook of JLPT as learning materials, it is not mandatory for the children to take actual JLPT. Also the principal told that the school curriculum is not structured as a unified program for a whole school. The details of the school curriculum is created each time by their teachers depending on the classrooms.

In the interview with the principals whose school use the *Kokugo* textbook, I also was told of their comments about the upsides of the textbook. The principal of School B claimed that the *Kokugo* textbook is still useful because the textbook covers many genres of stories – literature,

old tales, science, and history. The principal pointed out that usually the Japanese (*Nihongo*) textbooks for English speakers provide too much focus on the practice of daily conversation and give a less variety of topics in comparison with the *Kokugo* textbooks. The principal of School A commented that the *Kokugo* textbook is excellent material for children to learn about Japanese culture. While mentioning the upside of the textbook, she also claimed it is necessary for teachers to consider each class curriculum individually. The teachers may sometimes skip or substitute parts of the textbook with other materials in order to fill in the gaps between pupils' ages and the target age of the textbook. In addition, at the elementary school level, teachers adopt topics from other school subjects (e.g., mathematics, science, history, and music) in order to expand the academic vocabulary of the students.

In order to provide curricula that is fitting to the children who learn Japanese language in Canada, other principals also consider some methods and devices to facilitate the use of the *Kokugo* textbook, or/and create additional activities supporting different aspects from the textbook, such as:

The principal of School B argued that teachers need to be creative in using their teaching materials and in the assigned homework. The workbooks conforming to *Kokugo* textbooks are also published from Miitsumura-Tosyo, but exercises in the workbooks are usually too difficult for the children in the school. Instead, teachers give the children homework that is designed by the teacher more appropriate for their classes; for example, an exercise of filling in the blanks that is taken from texts from the textbook. The principal reported one of the difficult parts of teaching in the heritage language classes is to create homework and materials according to the children's Japanese ability.

School C has installed televisions which are used for the use of original digital teaching materials for all the classes since 2012. The principal of School C claimed that sounds and visuals of the materials aid the children to pay more attention during the classroom learning sessions. The digital materials are created in Powerpoint by teachers for each level of class. The stories in the textbooks are also sometimes introduced through the digital materials in the classrooms.

The principal of School D reported about setting individual goals in a classroom. She described, even children who use the same textbooks in a classroom, each child's goal in the classroom could vary depending on the individual. According to the school principal, teachers create materials for children based on their observations of the children. Therefore, the teachers do not push the children to finish all their homework every time, but instruct them to do as much as they can.

In School G, the principal puts an emphasis on hands-on learning in the school curriculum. The teachers of the elementary school level classes provide some activities in addition to teaching *Kokugo* in their class schedules; for example, cooking sweets, inviting guest speaker, and doing a research project which is followed by a class presentation. For the guest speaker's sessions, School G has invited Japanese speakers who are from many fields. From grade three, children from several grades attend and listen to a guest speaker's presentation. In the session, the children may not only listen to the presentation, but also try to understand the content and ask the guest speaker questions. The principal commented it is also a good chance for younger children to hear how older children ask questions to the guest speaker.

As for the students' research project, the teachers of School G propose one topic of research which is shared by the whole school body. According to the principal, the students have worked

on researching “nutrition in food” and “Samurai and Ninja” in the past. In the research project, the students are instructed to think and inquire about a research topic with their parents at home. In most cases, Japanese mothers help their children in their school homework. Yet in the research project activities, the children’s non-Japanese speaking fathers are also able to work together with their children since the topic can be also researched in English. The principal pointed out the activity helps to create more communication between the children and parents.

In School H, teachers use the *Kokugo* textbook for teaching *kanji* (characters adapted from Chinese characters in Japanese writing), but they select readings not limited to the textbook and also from other materials for each class. The principal of School H discussed that the textbook is necessary as a guideline of *kanji* learning. In Japan, elementary school students learn specific *kanji* which are selected by the Ministry of Education for *Kokugo* curriculum of each grade. The contents of the *Kokugo* textbook is arranged so that children can learn *kanji* in order by following a list of selected *kanji*. The concern about teaching *kanji* from the textbook was brought up by the principal of School B as well. The principal pointed out if children skip one chapter of the textbook, they will miss a chance to learn the new *kanji* in the chapter. Once a group of *kanji* is introduced as new words in a chapter, they will appear as learned words without “*furigana*” which indicates syllables of a word from past chapters. The principal reported that teachers have to follow the textbook in order to teach the selected *kanji* in order.

5.3.2. The Fundamental Stream

5.3.2.1. Reasons of Offering the Fundamental Stream

Currently most Japanese language schools offer classes with two streams, the heritage language stream and the fundamental stream. It is not clear as to when and where the idea of the fundamental stream was born in the history of Japanese language education at Japanese language

schools in the Greater Vancouver area, but the fundamental stream began to be offered around mid-1980s in Schools A and B. As to the reasons of opening the new stream, both schools' principals respond saying it was part of their schools' policies that the schools should be open to anybody, and be without any restrictions. In addition, the principal of School A mentioned that a number of Nikkei children who have ancestors of pre-war Japanese immigrants increased in the school when the school started to offer the fundamental stream. According to the principal, although most of the children's parents were not Japanese speakers, they wished their children to learn Japanese. The principal saying;

It could be my personal opinion, but Nikkei children who were born in Canada during the Second World War were interned even though they recognized themselves as Canadian. At that time, Issei (their parents) told them to behave as Canadian and they believed their children would not need to learn Japanese. (As a result,) the children did not acquire Japanese language. Then, their children (third generation) were born. While Japan has experienced an economic development and Japanese culture like Anime (animation) has become popular, the interests towards Japan have been increasing, and when the Nikkei descendants wished to learn Japanese and came to a Japanese language school, they had not inherited the Japanese language from their parents. Therefore, even though they came to the Japanese language school as Nikkei, they did not know much Japanese, so they attended fundamental classes. (.....) It is true that these children (who are from Japanese-Canadian families, but their parents are not Japanese speakers) had increased and it became difficult for them to study together with other Issei (first generation) children (at that time). I think it is not the only the reason (for opening fundamental classes), but I have heard about those kind of (background) stories. (Principal, School A)

The principal of School B told me that there were Japanese-Canadian students in the fundamental stream of the school, but also children with other family backgrounds; such as Chinese-Canadian, or Korean-Canadian students, came to the fundamental classes when she started teaching a class of the fundamental stream in 1984.

Also, to point out a benefit of offering the fundamental stream, the principal of School E said that the school can receive benefits by increasing the school body. According to the principal, because the number of Japanese-Canadian have not been dramatically increasing, it is difficult for the Japanese language schools to get new students. Thus, by accepting non-Japanese background children, benefits are brought to the school and make it possible to add cultural events for children.

5.3.2.2. Curriculum of the Fundamental Stream

Since students in the fundamental stream usually learn Japanese as a foreign language, the curriculum of the fundamental stream is different from the heritage language stream. First of all, *Kokugo* textbooks are not used in the classes of the fundamental stream. The teachers of the fundamental classes use other Japanese language textbooks for English students or/and their own materials. The heritage language classes are usually separated by the children's school year, but the fundamental classes are mostly separated by the children's level of Japanese. In School A, for example, five different levels of classes are provided in the fundamental stream. Thus, children need to take an assessment test before entering the classes.

From the principals' explanations about the curriculum of the fundamental stream, it is found that a communicative pedagogical approach is often applied to the stream. For instance, children repeatedly practice speaking and listening Japanese phrases with teachers, and infant children

sing along Japanese songs and play by doing Japanese handcrafts like origami. Although the children will have more grammatical practices when they step up to an advanced level class, compared to the heritage language stream, the focus on practicing Japanese writing is much lesser in the fundamental stream.

In general, the fundamental stream is offered from the elementary school level in order to separate “English speaking children” from the heritage language stream which starts from the elementary school level. However, three schools provide a fundamental class from the kindergarten level: School B opens a kindergarten class for English speaking children, School E accepts students in the fundamental stream from the age of five, and School H holds a class which is specifically targeted for the children from kindergarten to grade two.

As mentioned earlier, the classes of the fundamental stream are usually separated by the children’s level of Japanese, but Schools A, B, and D have classes specifically targeted for English speaking middle/high school children. Especially, in School B, classes for ten years and older children have been offered as Saturday classes since 1990. According to the principal, since the area of School B had more Japanese-Canadian residents than other areas, there were teachers who taught Japanese at local high schools at that time. In the high schools’ Japanese language courses, non-Japanese background students also studied with Japanese-Canadian students. The principal explained that many non-Japanese background children came to the school at that time in preparation of taking Japanese courses in their future high school. Also, the principal commented that the high school Japanese courses brought students to the Saturday classes because many of the students attended the classes while they studied Japanese in their high schools. About teaching the high school children, the principal said;

The high school children have already acquired a habit of studying and were keen to study Japanese. In comparison to the Japanese Canadian descendants who were brought to the school by their parents, the high school students came to the school because they really wanted to study Japanese. So, it was efficient to teach them and I did not need to worry about a problem of (lack of children's) discipline. Thus, it has been confirmed that if a child has attended the classes for four years, he/she can acquire quite a good amount of (Japanese language knowledge and skills). The school also hired teachers who have good English skills for the classes. (Principal, School B)

According to the principal, the number of non-Japanese background high school students in the school has decreased along with the cancellation of Japanese courses in the local high schools. As to the reason of the decline, the principal suggested that the high schools stopped issuing certification for a student's completion in a Japanese course. She commented that the students were used to be encouraged to study to obtain the certification which they could apply as an advantage towards their University level Japanese courses. However, the abolition of the reward system seems to have lost the students' motivation for learning Japanese. The principal claimed that most students in the current Saturday classes have Chinese backgrounds. The students gained interests in Japanese through Japanese pop culture, like Japanese animations and games.

5.3.2.3. Characteristics of the Fundamental Stream

As a characteristic of the fundamental stream, the principal of School A mentioned that parents' expectation for the children are different from what have seen in the heritage language stream. She told me that most of the parents did not mind that their children take one, two, or

three years in learning a list of basic Japanese vocabularies and mastering *hiragana*²³ writing. The Japanese language schools do not officially present requirements for children to study in the heritage language stream. However, because the curriculum of the heritage language stream usually follows a series of *Kokugo* textbooks, the children keep stepping up their classes from grade one to six in general. In the fundamental stream, since children are usually separated by their levels of Japanese, they can learn Japanese at their own speed. Thus it is possible for the students to stay in the same level class repeatedly.

Also, the motivation of the Japanese language seems to be seen as different between the students in the heritage language and fundamental streams by the principals. As mentioned about the Saturday classes of School B, many of the principals agreed that the students of the fundamental stream, especially teenagers, came to the schools for their own interests in Japan and Japanese culture. In contrary to the children in the heritage language stream, the teenage children are not forced to attend Japanese classes by parents or anyone. They voluntary attend the school for their fun. School F does not particularly offer the fundamental stream, but the whole school's curriculum is organized for English speaking students because most students in the school learn Japanese as a foreign language. The principal of School F commented that high school children in the school enjoy the school like a Japanese language club. Most of them are strongly interested in Japanese pop culture so that they can make friends and share their common interests in the school.

The fundamental stream is offered for any English speaking child, but from the interviews with the principals, it is found that other than the Japanese Canadian descendants,

²³ *Hiragana* is one of *kana* (syllabic writing) used in Japanese writing. The other type of *kana* is *katakana* which is primarily used for words adopted from foreign languages. Japanese writing consisted of a combination of three types of writing forms; *hiragana*, *katakana*, and *kanji*. In Japanese elementary schools, children master both writing of *hiragana* and *katakana* before they start to learn *kanji*.

there are groups of non-Japanese Asian Canadian students. The principal of School E explained that non-Japanese Asian Canadian children came to the school as one of their afterschool activities. If elementary school children's parents consider to send their children for activities in afterschool, many possibilities are considered such as; soccer, hockey, piano, ballet and foreign language study. The principal pointed out that parents of elementary school students in the fundamental stream seem to choose the Japanese language school as one of their children's activities. This casual attitude towards the Japanese language school is different from the traditional idea of Japanese background parents who take their children to the school for their desires of maintaining the children's heritage language. The principal also discussed the increase in the number of students in the fundamental stream of the school over this past ten years. According to the principal, the school had five to six students in a fundamental class in early 2000s, but currently the school holds approximately forty students in the fundamental stream. It means around half of the students in the school attend the fundamental stream.

In addition, half of the principals (Schools A, B, G, and H) mentioned that grand or great-grandchildren of "new immigrants" attend in classes of the fundamental stream. The principal of School G referred to the increase of parents who are Nisei (second generation) or Sansei (third generation) in the school's fundamental stream. The parents have less opportunity to use the Japanese language than their parents in their daily lives, but still they wish their children to learn Japanese.

Also, it is commented that few children who have Japanese fathers are studying in the fundamental stream. As a reason for this, the principal of School B suggested that the children usually spend more time with mothers who are non-Japanese speakers. Consequently, even if the

children's father is Japanese, their proficiency in Japanese is weaker than the same age children in the heritage language stream.

In conclusion, from the principals' comments about the fundamental stream, we found that various background students attend classes of the fundamental stream with different purposes of learning Japanese since the stream is widely opened for students who speak English dominantly.

5.3.2.4. Choice of the Fundamental Stream by Japanese Speaking Parents

The broad scope of the fundamental stream has recently brought Japanese parents and school teachers' considerations to the stream as a substitute option for children who have Japanese mothers and learn Japanese as a heritage language.

According to the principal of School A, in the past, the school could separate classes clearly by a fundamental stream for the children who cannot speak Japanese at home and a heritage language stream for the children who speak Japanese at home. Currently, most of the students have intermarried parents (one Japanese background parent and one other ethnic/cultural background parent). Particularly, a dominant number of the students have Japanese mothers. It seems if the children have Japanese mothers, they can speak Japanese fluently and attend heritage language classes without problems. However, actually depending on individual family linguistic circumstance, if one of the parents is not a Japanese speaker, some parents are not willing that their children speak Japanese at home. The principal assured me that some parents are still cooperative about their children speaking Japanese at home, even if either of them is not a Japanese speaker. The use of Japanese as one of the home languages depends very much on each family's decision.

Also, the principal of School D pointed out that parents have different preferences regarding their children's Japanese learning. The principal told me that some parents strongly wish to maintain their children's Japanese by returning to Japan annually to help their children's language acquisition. On the other hand, some parents bring their children to the Japanese language school, but they think if their children stay in Canada, it is not always essential for them to study in the heritage language stream. The fundamental stream is thus acceptable as long as the children are willing to attend the school.

The principal of School A explained that the parents' preferences on the heritage language and fundamental streams are based on the differences of the curricula between the two streams. In the heritage language stream, teachers encourage students to learn *kanji* to increase their Japanese literacy. However, the principal said that some Japanese parents think it is not necessary to push their children to learn *kanji*. If the children do not feel inconvenienced in their Japanese speech in their everyday lives, the parents think it is good enough as long as the children can practice more Japanese conversation in the school. The principal spoke of the changes of Japanese parents' preferences and their children's distribution in the heritage language and the fundamental streams which have been seen in the past five years.

About the Japanese parents' choice of the fundamental stream, the principal of School D pointed out that generally Japanese-speaking parents might not need to be too obsessive about putting their children to classes of the heritage language stream. She commented it is much better to choose a class that is flexible between the heritage language and fundamental streams, rather than have the children come to hate the Japanese language, by being in a challenging condition for them. The children in the heritage language classes are supposed to be naturally able to understand Japanese. However, according to the principal, many of Japanese mothers' children

are not good at speaking Japanese even if they understand what their mothers said in Japanese. Especially, Japanese learning is a challenge for the children when they step up from the preschool level to the elementary school level. Also, when they become elementary students, their interests in Japanese gets weaker than before. The principal mentioned that some parents request that their children switch classes and continue their study to a class of the fundamental stream, usually from their second or third year in elementary school.

The principal of School A was also positive about Japanese mothers' children learning in the fundamental stream because of their family linguistic environment and the parents' preferences. Thus, it was mentioned about a difficulty in judging which class is most suitable for these children because their knowledge of their Japanese vocabulary is usually broader than the children studying in a beginner level of the fundamental stream. The principal revealed regarding the thought of providing three streams in the school curricula in the future: The first stream is for children who aim to build a high Japanese skill so that they will be able to use Japanese in their future job. The second stream is for children whose parents wish for their children to learn Japanese as a second language to the extent of obtaining conversational communication. The third stream is for children whose parents wish them to learn Japanese, although they are not in an environment of speaking Japanese at all. However, the principal commented that the realization of the three divisions is still difficult in the current school's condition in terms of numbers of children, teachers, and classrooms. Instead, since last year the principal has recommended the heritage language stream to parents who want their children to aim for a high level of Japanese skill and expect them to use Japanese for their future jobs. For the parents who prefer their children to have fun and stay friendly with Japanese rather than study the language

with tests, the principal has suggested them to consider the fundamental stream for their children, although they may feel the class is too easy at the beginning.

Furthermore, the principal of School B commented about the history of the school which has accepted many English speaking children as follows;

I think probably this school has already passed the phase of “students in a school will eventually switch to English speaking children” or “increasing the number of students who have a little Japanese language abilities.” (.....) When I talked to other schools’ teachers, I often heard children’s Japanese competency is getting lower and it becomes difficult to use a Japanese textbook from Mitsumura (*Kokugo* textbook) because there are many children who have only one Japanese parent. I think it is becoming a problem in other schools regarding how teachers can teach (Japanese) in this situation. In our school, we have already passed the situation and understood the difficulty since we have accepted many English speaking children as well. However, still we think the Japanese textbook is superb, we use it on purpose (...) and consider teaching it by adjusting the (curriculum) for individual children.
(Principal, School B)

Also, the principal mentioned that if even the children are from a Japanese speaking family, their skills of Japanese will weaken while they are growing up in an English language environment and their parents’ expectation for the children’s Japanese ability is decreasing. Therefore, when the students of the heritage language stream enter middle schools, the teachers suggest for them to continue their Japanese learning in the Saturday classes which are mainly offered for middle/high school English speaking students.

5.3.3. Preschool / Kindergarten Classes

In the history of Japanese language schools in the Greater Vancouver, the main target group of the schools' curricula has been for elementary school children. This point is supported by the fact that the first Japanese language school started as a Japanese elementary school. However, the Japanese language schools also provide classes for infant children. In the interviews, it was found that the principals have great interests in child care and early childhood education as an integral part of the schools.

Several types of classes for infant children are provided in the schools; such as toddler time for children of two years of age, preschool for children between three to four years of age, and kindergarten for children of four to five years of age. Schools A and C provide daycares in addition to these classrooms. The infant children's classrooms are sometimes combined by preschool and kindergarten levels, but half of the schools offer independent kindergarten classes. In most schools, the infant children's classes are provided mainly in the Japanese language, but School B provides both Japanese and English speaking preschool and kindergarten classes.

Many of the principals claimed that currently the number of infant children is increasing in their schools. The principal of School H told me that the school especially put emphasis on early childhood education. According to the principal, one third of the students in the school are attending preschool/kindergarten classes. School G which was originally started in 1988 as a preschool/kindergarten class have nearly half of the school's students in preschool/kindergarten classes. Both principals suggested that parents' interests and expectations of educating Japanese language to their children tends to be high when the children are very young.

The principal of School G claimed that the infant children's classes aim to provide childcare which supports the children's social, emotional, and cognitive developments through the use of

Japanese language. This point is generally shared by other principals of the Japanese language schools which offer preschool/kindergarten classes. In the preschool/kindergarten level, class activities seem to have a focus on helping children's early learning which builds their personality rather than the training of their Japanese language. The children will play by doing crafts and arts, singing along to Japanese children's songs, listening and reading Japanese picture books with teachers in the preschool/kindergarten classes. The practices of *hiragana* writing is also frequently provided in the classes, but the writing practices are usually just playful exercises as an introduction for the children.

In the education system of Canada, children four to five years of age is categorized as K-1 (kindergarten) which is the first year of primary education. However, in the education system of Japan, this age group of children are recognized as preschoolers. Also, the kindergartens in Japan are not part of the compulsory education system for the children from the ages of three to five. Based on the differences of early childhood education systems between Canada and Japan, it is found that the Japanese language schools each take their own approach in their educational policies of the kindergarten children.

The children of four to five years of age are considered as preschoolers in School A. The principal of the school commented that making children play using Japanese and fostering their interests in Japanese language are more important than teaching *hiragana* writing for this age of children. She mentioned it is not a bad thing to learn *hiragana*, but because infant children are weak in controlling their brushstrokes, it takes much energy in instructing the stroke orders or forms of *hiragana* to them. Some of the children individually start their writing practices earlier, but others start their practices from grade one in the school. Instead, the principal felt that the kindergarten teachers aimed to keep the children's interests in Japan and motivate them in their

writing and reading skills to smoothly transfer to grade one. The principal also explained that for the preschool/kindergarten level classes' policy of providing a general early childhood education rather than Japanese language education, the classes are combined with children from Japanese and English speaking families. When entering grade one, the children will be separated according "those who speak Japanese at home" in the heritage language stream and "those who are unable to speak Japanese at home" in the fundamental stream. The principal commented that because each children's path and goal differ, it was felt to be better to separate the classrooms at the elementary school level.

In School H, the children are separated by the heritage language and the fundamental streams from the kindergarten level. The kindergarten children of the heritage language stream are in a class which is designed as a preparation class for grade one. In this class, the children are given a full set of learning materials; printed homework, a diary, a writing exercise book, and a recording card of books read. They have to hand in their homework every week, but the other three assignments are provided as supplemental materials. The principal stated that the educational aim of this class is "building children's study habit" and "maintaining children's learning motivations." In order to encourage the children to attain the goals, teachers give them stickers every time they complete their homework as a reward.

The principal explained that in the heritage language education of Japanese, parents' highest interests are to educate their Japanese language to their children when the children are in their early elementary grades. Thus, the school put a focus especially on the children of age five. The principal addressed the group as children who are in "the biggest turning point" of the heritage language education of Japanese. He claimed that since the children are establishing their circadian rhythm in this period of their life, it would also make a difference in their Japanese

language development based on “how much Japanese language they load at this time.” The principal mentioned that while the children get busy in their Canadian kindergarten, many of the children’s Japanese mothers change their focus about the children’s Japanese learning because their children can at least communicate in Japanese with them. The principal explained it is effective to inform parents of their children’s Japanese competence in order to increase the awareness of their children’s Japanese language education. For example, the children’s diaries are posted on the classroom walls so that the parents can see and compare their children’s writing of the same age. The principal continued saying that when the children talk to each other, their parents may not notice a difference in the children’s Japanese abilities clearly. However, even if their Japanese levels seem to be similar in speech, differences could be found in their literacy. The principal informed me that it is difficult for parents to grasp the children’s actual Japanese skills if they stay in Canada. Also, the principal commented regarding the effects of raising the mother’s awareness and the children’s motivation in an early stage of the Japanese heritage language education to realize their children’s long term learning.

5.3.4. Teaching Japanese Culture in the Japanese Language Schools

The promotion of understanding and keeping the interests up of Japanese culture is one of the common themes of school policies in Japanese language schools. Introducing Japanese culture to students is considered equally important as learning Japanese language for the schools. In the interviews, I asked the following question to the principals: “Why is it important that students cultivate a better understanding about Japanese culture when they learn Japanese language?” From the question, it is found that there are several interacted reasons behind the teachers’ wishes for children to understand Japanese culture.

As a reason to teach Japanese culture in a Japanese language school, the principal of School E answered, “It is important to teach history (in a school), but before that, we wish for the children to keep their feeling of liking Japan and it is a primary goal.” The principal explained that since the school wishes for the children to keep their favorable feelings about Japan and consider Japan interesting, they teach Japanese culture in the school. She told me that if a child does not like Japan, his/her motivation for learning Japanese will vanish. This point is applicable not only for children learning Japanese as a heritage language, but also for children learning Japanese as a foreign language in the fundamental stream. The principal stated that in order to support the interests of the fundamental stream’s children, teachers customize their curriculum to include Japanese pop culture which the children like most.

Also, the principal mentioned that the understanding of Japanese culture will strengthen their Japanese descendant identities, as well as, learning the Japanese language. She claimed that the ethnic diversity of Canada should be accepted as something that is positive. She explained, “(having a Japanese mother is), no matter how people think, different from having a Caucasian mother. Meals at his/her home are also Japanese.” However, the principal expressed her wish for the children not to suffer for their differences or to suppress their identities. She also stated her thoughts as a mother herself:

I wish children would be proud of our heritage and accept it as a part of their identity. Others may see it as something that is favorable or not, but by holding on to their diversity, one day it may be something that they can use and be a benefit to contribute to Canadian society as a whole. (Principal, School E)

The principal of School D also mentioned that by learning about Japanese culture helps the children to get a better understanding of their backgrounds as children who have Japanese

mothers. According to the principal, Japanese parents' motive of making their children learn Japanese at the school is based on their wishes for the children to understand their home country's culture. The principal explained that children who were born in Canada may be aware that their mothers are Japanese and thus may feel a gap between themselves and their mothers. By learning the Japanese language, the children will learn their Japanese parents' culture and thus possibly develop more interests about their parents' background. The Japanese culture that the children learn in the school will be a connection between those children and their parents.

Most principals commented that children need to learn Japanese culture so that they can comprehend typical Japanese attitudes and how they can use their Japanese language in a proper way in all situations. The principal of School D pointed out differences between Japanese and English in communication. As an example, the principal mentioned that people need to indicate the subject "I" in a sentence when they state their own thoughts in English, but in Japanese communication, people often omit the subject and put more emphasis on interlocutors' cooperativeness. Also, she mentioned that in the use of honorific and polite languages, it is very important to be using the correct form in Japanese communication. She commented that the children will learn and become aware of the differences while they learn Japanese in the school. The principal of School B explained that children can start learning language anytime, but even if they can understand Japanese language, if they behave in a very different way from so-called "Japanese manners", it would be hard for them to communicate in Japanese society at large. She pointed out that not only learning the language, but also to be aware of Japanese attitudes is important for the children. Moreover, the principal of School A stated that the children's understanding of Japanese norms is necessary for them to acquire practical Japanese:

I think it is the same as any Japanese language schools, even if they (children) learn Japanese and study *kanji* and learn vocabulary, no matter how much knowledge they may obtain, if they cannot use it properly, it does not mean anything. In order to use the language properly, it is necessary to comprehend the Japanese mentality, customs and such cultural things entirely. For example, usage of the language found to be rude or inapplicable on occasions. Thus, in this way (the children's learning in the Japanese language school) becomes a (true) learning of the language. (Principal, School A)

Also, the principal explained further on this point of cultural learning, that it is not always understood well by just the teachers' explanation in the classrooms. Instead, the school provides many opportunities for children to meet and know various Japanese people, giving opportunities for them to use their Japanese language through school events and activities. As well as School A, most of the schools which provide preschool/kindergarten classes, have Japanese cultural and seasonal events in addition to non-Japanese traditional events; such as Halloween and Christmas, as part of their schools' schedules. The Japanese cultural and seasonal events include, *Otsukimi* (Moon viewing), *Osyōgatsu* (New Year celebration), *Setsubun* (Bean-throwing festival), *Hinamatsuri* (Doll festival), and *Undōkai* (Sports day). Through the events, children are able to experience Japanese customs and culture. As the principal of School A mentioned, the school events are effective in giving opportunities to communicate with other people in their Japanese language. Also, for the school's fundraising, staff members of School A make lunches and sell them during lunch time to the students and their families on regular school days. The principal commented, although it is originally part of the schools' fundraising activities, it functions as a good opportunity for children to speak Japanese when they help in selling the lunches or come to buy them. According to the principal, especially high school children who come from non-

Japanese families, seem to be grateful to be able to work at such a place. It also could help to raise their motivations to learn Japanese, for example, by receiving praises when they work there.

Besides, School A has offered a Japanese culture experience program to the public. The program is offered for children in grades five to twelve, once or twice a month and the school announces the program to be available not only for students of the school, but also for local public schools. In the program, volunteers provide many workshops for the children's Japanese culture experiences; such as calligraphy, tea ceremony, martial arts, Japanese dance, origami, Japanese songs, Kimono dressing, and Japanese traditional toys. When the children come to the school, they are put in groups of around ten, and taken on a tour to each workshop. According to the principal, approximately a thousand people participate in the program every year. Regarding the provision of the workshops, the principal commented,

First, I had thought I could introduce anything (in the workshops) because I am Japanese. But for the children, it could be a first and last Japanese cultural (experience). I thought that we should give a more accurate event since we cannot correct them later. I felt some apprehension regarding this. If we tell the children something wrong (about Japanese cultural things), the wrong information will spread according to what they have heard. Therefore, (now we ask) each field's specialists (to) attend the event to teach martial arts, tea ceremony, calligraphy, and Japanese dance. (.....) We aim to teach a more accurate Japanese culture (to the children). (Principal, School A)

From the principals' responses about children's learning Japanese culture in the Japanese language schools, it is found that most schools' teachers have made efforts to offer so called "Japanese-school style education" in some ways. The "Japanese-school style education"

indicates the schools' adoption of manners of Japanese schools to make the classrooms' environment more similar to actual schools in Japan. Offering the school events about Japanese culture seems to be related to the idea of "Japanese-school style education" since these events are held in Japanese schools as well.

In order to organize the schools' environments to be closer to schools in Japan, teachers of the Japanese language schools guide children to keep some disciplines at the schools. First, the principals of Schools A and C reported that they give direction to the children "to speak Japanese" at the schools. The principal of School A mentioned that she suggests to the parents to also use Japanese more than usual when their children have a class in the school. Secondly, according to most principals, their schools' teachers instruct some manners in the schools and classrooms; such as, greeting people, taking off their cap in the classroom, not drinking and eating in the classroom, tidying things up after use, not sitting on a desk, not interrupting a classmate's speech, and picking up litter in consideration of other people who use the classroom next. One principal mentioned that some of these manners may be practiced differently outside the schools, but teachers aim to make children follow these manners by telling them that "because this is a Japanese language school, therefore, let's do or let's not do this and that."

Many of the principals referred to a different pedagogical approach in the preschools/kindergartens in Japan and Canada. They reminded me that many preschools/kindergartens offer their own curricula in both Japan and Canada, but according to the principals, the major pedagogical approaches in the preschools/kindergartens are often described differently in the two countries. As an example of an approach in Canadian preschools/kindergartens, the principal of School A explained,

In Canada, for example, when we have group reading time, if a student chooses to leave the group and do something else, we tend to leave the child alone. Later when addressing the whole group, we try to include that other child. If the child continues to show no interest in joining the group, the child's choice is honoured. (Principal, School A)

In Japanese preschools/kindergartens, teachers commonly put an emphasis on the children's participation in group activities. Therefore, if a child continues to do a different thing while the other children listen to the teacher's reading, the teacher may suggest that the child come and join them.

The principal of School H clarified that the school has changed their policy in the preschool/kinder level classes into "Japanese-school style education." According to the principal, when the principal came to the school eight years ago, children in a classroom had difficulty remaining seated in their seats, and it was common for them to run about during the class. However, in recent years the school has switched their policy and has put more emphasis on the disciplining of children. The principal mentioned that the school used to accept anyone who wanted to attend the school, but after the school changed their policy, more parents who agree with the policy, bring their children to the school. The principal stated that currently it becomes difficult for new students to enter the preschool/kindergarten classes because of the large number of applicants in excesses of the quotas of each classroom. It seems some preschool/kindergarten children's parents desire their children to receive the "Japanese-school style education" in Japanese language schools.

The principal of School E also mentioned that parents want the school to provide classes based on the style of Japanese preschools/kindergartens. Therefore, School E employs teachers who have had teaching experiences in preschools/kindergartens in Japan for their

preschool/kindergarten level classes. The principal mentioned that it is difficult to make the classes completely consistent with the Japanese-school style, but they keep a relationship between the teacher and the student based on a manner found in Japanese schools. She commented that she wished “to adopt the good things of Japanese school style education”.

There are several ways to adjust to a Japanese language school’s environment that is closer to a school in Japan, but the Japanese language school needs to pay attention not only to the children, but also consider the teachers in the school to organize this environment. The principal of School B pointed out that the teachers also need to stick to their forms of disciplines because the Japanese teachers in the school are mirrors to students showing what Japanese people are and how Japanese adults typically behave.

I think teachers are not only for teaching Japanese language, but also they are carrying what Japan is behind them. For instance, if a teacher who is very good at teaching the language, sits on a desk, as some teachers here in (Canada) do, it seems to not be the typical Japanese style. I wish the teachers to teach the traditionally good things of Japan to the students. In the Japanese language school, teachers do not sit on a desk or do not wear jeans. Also, I do not want them to wear flashy makeup. I told them it would be a problem if they went to school wearing t-shirts. It is only for appearance, but also the teacher and students stand up when they greet each other in the beginning and ending of a class. Here (in Canada), a class will start (automatically) when the classroom becomes quiet after the teacher arrives. (Principal, School B)

In the beginning of this section, the reinforcement of Japanese descendant’s identity is pointed out as one of the reasons of teaching Japanese culture. Also, the findings indicate specific approaches of the Japanese language schools in organizing the schools’ environments to

be closer to Japan. However, through the interviews, the principals explicitly or implicitly indicated the importance of teaching Japanese culture based on their awareness of taking care of the children as Canadians. For example, the principal of School D mentioned her thoughts about offering their education to children from various backgrounds;

Even the children who have Japanese blood, if the children were born and grew up in Canada, they need to be introduced as being Japanese as Canadian. The teachers have to take the circumstances in which the children are raised into, and take this into account when providing their education. (Principal, School D)

The principal of School B claimed saying that Canadian traditions and customs are more important for the children because they are Canadians and living in Canada. While the children follow Canadian norms outside the school, they will learn Japanese culture additionally in the school. Japanese culture may not be a priority to being Canadian for the children. Therefore, the schools put their efforts to provide better Japanese cultural experiences for the children who learn about Japan in a different country.

5.3.5. Difficulties of Children's Continuous Learning of Japanese Language

In previous sections, it is reported that teachers may feel difficulties in assessing individual children's Japanese language skills, and in leading the children to a suitable path of Japanese learning on an individual level. In addition to the teachers' concerns, parents especially whose children learn Japanese as a heritage language, may wonder about where they should set their goal for their children's Japanese language maintenance. Particularly since the Japanese language schools are operated as a supplementary school, teachers and parents often encounter a problem in persuading the children to continue their learning in the Japanese schools.

In the interviews, five out of eight Japanese language schools' principals mentioned a difficulty in keeping elementary school children to attend the schools when they get older and become upper grade students. According to the principal of School A, before the children are in grade two, they enjoy learning the Japanese language very much. However, when they are in grade three or four, they start to compare themselves with other Canadian friends who do not attend Saturday schools and complain to their parents as to why they have to attend the Japanese language schools. In addition, "the greatest problem" of elementary school children happens when they join club activities outside the Japanese language school, such as, soccer or hockey teams. Because the sports teams usually have games on Saturdays, they gradually have to quit the school in order to participate in the games. The principal of School A reported that these are common problems of grade threes and fours. The principal of School E mentioned that the Japanese parents of grade threes and fours typically feel their children's necessity to spend more time for participating in their Canadian schools' activities and mingling with their classmates for their assimilation into the mainstream culture. Other principals also suggested that grade three and four children usually have difficult times in continuing their learning of Japanese at the schools.

The principal of School D reported when children become busy in sports and activities in their elementary schools, they tend to feel too tired to learn Japanese because they need to keep practicing their writing and reading of *kanji*. The principal pointed out that when children stop their Japanese learning, in most cases, the children themselves claim and refuse to attend the school, but moreover their parents give up on bringing the children to the school.

As the children advance in age, the demands on their time increases so that more time is spent in other activities, such as sports, and less time is devoted to the learning of Japanese

which requires a lot of memorization. Yet, those who are able to stick with their studies of Japanese, find a new desire to continue in their studies while enjoying their camaraderie with the other classmates. At times the challenges that are faced may be difficult, yet once they are met, it results in general confidence in oneself. (Principal, School D)

This children's learning process is suggested by other principals as well. The principal of School G commented, if the children get through the difficult time and are in grade six, they are going to strive in their learning of Japanese by their own determination. According to the principal of School A, when the children overcome the problems and graduate from the elementary school level to the middle school level, they can slightly realize that, "If I continue learning Japanese, it could be an advantage for me." Then, they would get more solid feelings that their Japanese skills are useful and be motivated to learn the language when they become high school students. Therefore, the principal explained, if a child keeps attending until the middle school level, he/she will be able to get more chances to develop their Japanese in future.

In order to support children's continuous learning of Japanese, the principal of School A pointed out that teachers need to support parents to survive the crisis in grades three/four. She reported when a child complained about attending the Japanese language school, if his/her parents easily let the child quit the school, teachers cannot give help in anything. Therefore, the principal suggested it is necessary to keep encouraging the parents first by appealing to the children's Japanese learning, that it would bring more hopes and possibilities for their future. It is also possible that the children may have feelings of regret of giving up their learning of Japanese when they are more mature. Three principals revealed that they have heard the children's regretful feelings through parents whose children quit the schools in the middle of their elementary school level. According to the principals, some of the children even expressed

resentment toward their parents and asked why they did not take more strict attitudes about attending the schools at that time because they are disappointed in their lack of ability in their Japanese speech now.

Many principals mentioned things regarding the children's continuous Japanese learning. Some children are motivated by their parents' efforts and support. Others are self-motivated, and others are a combination of both. The principal of School G mentioned a difficulty in leading children to continue in their Japanese learning if it is done solely by the teachers. The principal of School H mentioned the progresses in Japanese learning largely based on the support of their families. He recognized what the teachers of the Japanese language school can provide; that is to help in the children's and their families' endeavors.

From the interviews, it is also found that the principals feel they have difficulties in the education in the Japanese language schools because the schools are operated as supplementary schools. The principal of School B mentioned that elementary school children are usually find it hard to concentrate in their two hours of classes because they are already tired when they are in their afterschool. Therefore, teachers try to give the main lesson to the children, and what they need to study in the first thirty minutes of class. Then, they switch their materials to some games or readings which are useful to practice what the children have learned. The principal explained that it is the teacher's skill in making the children learn without giving them much feeling that what they are doing is actually study while in the class.

The principal of School H pointed out one of the difficulties of Japanese language education in the school is the influence of the children's home linguistic environment. He described that the children who learn Japanese as a heritage language have different Japanese language abilities. Because the children have very few opportunities to be exposed to a Japanese language

environment as compared to the children in Japan, their Japanese abilities are greatly affected by their home linguistic environments. He explained even if a Japanese mother strives to speak Japanese to her children, it is easy for the children to switch their language from Japanese to English when conversing with siblings.

The principal of School A suggested that teachers should be careful regarding each child's responses in the classrooms. Since each child is attending the school only once a week, the teachers hardly know what the children are speaking the rest of the week. Thus the expectation level must be made accordingly. She commented that the teachers' goals are to encourage the learning of Japanese by knowing what kind of things will help to encourage the children to feel favorable towards the Japanese language all through the week. Therefore, the principal recommends teachers to make the children feel happy as they leave their classes, especially if they had any problems or were scolded during classes. She stated, in the long view, for the children, their motivation to learn Japanese is more important than whether they neglected to practice the assigned week's *kanji* or not. She also claimed that the children can learn *kanji* later when they want to memorize them, but their desires to come to the school the following week and meet their friends again, is part of their motivation to continue their studies. The principal pointed out that the school's great aim is to "not make children dislike the Japanese language" and to support their motivation in continuous learning.

In order to support children's continuous learning of Japanese, the teachers of the Japanese language schools make efforts in various ways. For example, three of the principals suggested that the teachers try to create a classroom environment where children can get along well with each other and make friends so that they can aim to complete the elementary school level classes together. The principal of School C estimated around eighty percent of grade six students usually

step up to the middle school level after they graduate from the elementary school level in the school. According to the principal, the students learn and get through their difficulties together with their classmates. Since most children attend the school for a long time, the groups of children and their mothers build friendships in the school. The principal implied that the school provides more than just the Japanese language lessons to the community.

Also, most of the principals suggested the importance in giving encouragement to the children at the schools. The principal of School E pointed out that the children usually would not receive much praises from their Japanese parents about their Japanese. Therefore, she instructs other teachers to give praise saying: “Even if it is just a small thing, please praise children in a concrete way as much as possible.” By receiving praises, the children will feel pleasure in learning Japanese. The effect of giving praises to the children is also suggested by the principal of School C. The principal explained, especially in a case of a native Japanese speaking mother, it is common that she recognizes her child’s Japanese is much weaker than other same aged children in Japan, and she may take for granted the child’s progress and tend to not specifically praise him/her. The principal mentioned if the children receive praises more about their Japanese, they will become more confident and try to improve their Japanese positively. In order to encourage praises from parents, the principal always recommends the parents of new students by saying; “It could take only ten minutes. Please look at your child’s notebook and praise him/her” during the Opening Ceremony of the school.

For a more practical solution for children’s continuous learning, School H has recently provided their education through correspondence for children who have become busy with their club activities. According to the principal this offer is strictly provided for the children who have ambitions to return to the school when they have completed their club activities. In this system,

the children's parents visit the school to receive the learning materials, assignments, instructions, and feedback for the assignments from the teachers every week. The learning materials are the same as what the teachers use in their classrooms. The assignments are not only writing practices, but also include oral readings and are planned to support the children's daily practice and learning of Japanese at home. The principal described the characteristic of the system to be "like a metronome." The principal claimed the importance of the communication between the children and teachers through the assignments and constantly setting a weekly goal in order to keep the children's learning pace up so that they can return to their classrooms anytime.

About the continuous Japanese learning, the principal of School D commented, "(children will find) not only enjoyable things (in their learning processes), but teachers and parents wish for the children to select enjoyable things from the lessons and continue learning as much as possible." Because language learning requires students' spontaneous motivations, the influences of the Japanese language schools can be observed as supplementary. However, the principal of School E commented, "The teachers leave something for the children, through their time in the school. Even if it is just a little part of a child's life." She explained it could be a good or bad thing to the children, but the teachers wish to leave good things as much as possible and hope that the children will like their teachers and the school. She pointed out that what graduates remember of their experiences in the Japanese language school is usually not about their studies, but more about their memories with their friends, parents, and teachers. She also suggested the memories which children obtain through attending the school could influence the children and their lives in unexpected ways.

5.4. The Japanese Language Schools' Multiple Roles and Effects on Pupils

In the previous sections, the findings are reported from interviews with eight schools' principals of Japanese language schools regarding their operations and practices of Japanese language/culture curriculum. The interviews also aimed to seek to how the principals considered each school's role, in addition to its practices of teaching Japanese language and culture. For this aim, I asked the principals such of the questions below randomly in the interviews:

- Do you think your Japanese language school has any other roles other than to be a place of Japanese language education?
- When you compare school education with home learning, what do you think about your school's role?
- Canada considers multiculturalism as a national policy. Do you think your school takes a part of the Canadian multiculturalism?
- Do you think your school operates as a community or belongs to a Japanese-Canadian community?

From the principals' answers to the questions, it is confirmed that the principals considered their schools' roles with diverse perspectives.

5.4.1. Comparisons of Japanese Learning Experiences in School and Home

Most of the principals claimed that the schools' teachers aim to provide experiences that children might be difficult to obtain in their home environment through their Japanese teaching; such as Japanese cultural experiences, communication with other Japanese speakers, acquisition of study habits, and experiences of group learning and interactions.

The principal of School D mentioned about Japanese culture and seasonal events that the school offers to students and their parents. She explained, “Not every family can visit (their relatives in) Japan every year. However, since it is found that the Japanese culture in Nikkei families weaken through intermarriage, many may wish to experience Japan through the Japanese language schools.”

The principal of School E suggested if a child does not have other Japanese conversation partners except his/her Japanese mother, it is possible that the child will continue to talk baby-talk which he/she acquired from conversations with his/her mother. The principal reported that the school aims to “provide things that children cannot learn at home.” Especially, the principal claimed that teachers encourage children to try using Japanese that is at a higher level of communication than the simple phrases which the children are accustomed to using in conversations with their mothers. She commented that it is important for the children to develop their speech which is suitable for their ages so that they can gradually learn how to talk with other Japanese speakers properly in different situations.

The principal of School H mentioned that children can acquire a good study habit by attending the school. He described a role of the school is “like a metronome” of children’s progressive learning;

By attending the school, a child is able to constantly study no matter how he/she struggles with it. If he/she can make progress by studying in his/her home, it would be fine. Yet, home learning could be a huge burden for some parents. Also a child and parents will possibly lose their goal of learning Japanese (while they study at home). If the child attends the school, he/she can study with friends. Since classes are constantly provided, he/she can make progress naturally by following a class schedule. (Principal, School H)

As a comparison to learning in a Japanese language school or home, the principal of School B pointed out that the school has only a limited time to educate the children. In fact, for the children who attend less than two hours of classroom time a week, their total class hours are just around seventy two hours in a school year. Although the time that the children spend in the school is limited, the principal assured that the school still plays an important role in respect to providing opportunities of Japanese language learning. She pointed out children's experiences of group learning and interaction in the classrooms as examples of what the children can obtain only in the Japanese language schools. The principal informed me that some parents may feel that their children do not study well and just attend the school. However, the principal argued even it is once a week, if the children attend the school, they will read a Japanese book, and listen to their teachers at the school. The accumulation of the practices will make a difference in the children's Japanese development.

The principal of School B also referred to parents' attitude for children's Japanese learning. She claimed, because the children spend more time at home than at the school, it is necessary to support the children's learning mutually from home and the school. She explained it would bring better results if parents can support the children's Japanese learning; for example, by checking their homework or joining in a school's event. The principal pointed out that some of the parents just bring their children and leave the school without showing much interest in what the children are doing and what kind of things they learn in the school. She commented;

It is important for the children to attend the Japanese language school, but also the parents can be more aware of what their children learn here (.....) (The school) is not only for baby-sitting. Some parents understand it, but if they are busy in their work, they eventually lose their focus (on the school). There are some people who just pay tuition

and send their children to school, and they do not have any interest in what happens at the school afterwards. On the other hand, there are some parents who are earnest about their children's Japanese learning. Therefore, the parents influence greatly differs between these parents. (Principal, School B)

Also, she claimed the parents' participation is necessary because the school operates with the help of volunteers. The principal expressed her understanding for the busy parents who tend to be indifferent to the school's activities. However, she claimed mutual support from the school and home are important for the children's Japanese development;

Teachers sow seeds of Japanese language to the children and give water and try to bring them up in their learning at the school. Yet, the children's homes also plays a great role for the seeds to grow up well by giving more sunlight and nutrition. (Principal, School B)

5.4.2. Japanese Language School as a Community

In the interviews, all of the principals indicated each Japanese language school's function as a community from various perspectives; for example, a school functions as a source about Japan, a place of exchanging information and making friends, and as an ambassador of Japanese culture to local Canadians.

Three of the schools (Schools A, B and C) are located in buildings of Japanese-Canadian centers. Owing to the locations, the schools provide and participate in local community-based activities. School A which has the longest history amongst the eight Japanese language schools, has operated together with the Japanese-Canadian community center. The principal suggested the institutions have historically provided spaces for events and gatherings related to Japan as facilities of the Japanese-Canadians. The school has built relationships not only with local Japanese-Canadian groups, but also is open widely for the public. For example, the school offers

Japanese cultural learning experience programs to public, and participate in a local festival of celebrating Japanese-Canadian's heritage. School B is located in a Japanese Canadian culture center built on a local municipal community center site. The center aims to support people's intercultural learning between Japan and Canada. The school also participates in an annual community center festival. School C is located in the center of a Japanese-Canadian community. In addition to the community center, some other facilities associated with Japanese-Canadians exist in the area. In the facilities, a retirement home is located next to the center. According to the principal of School C, students sometimes visit the retirement home to perform what they have learned in the school as part of the school activities. Also, the school has held a Japanese festival to promote Japanese culture to people outside the school.

The principal of School E stated that "The Japanese language school is not only for teaching language, but is also another great and important part of the Japanese-Canadian community." She described that the school offers "something" that children cannot experience from other cram schools or private tutors. For instance, some children may meet each other only at the Japanese language school. In this case, meeting with friends can be a good reason to attend the school for the children. Also, the principal pointed out that the school takes a role as pupils' source about Japan. According to the principal, some high school students attend the fundamental stream of the school while they take a Japanese language course in high school. The principal commented the students may attend the Japanese language school because they expect more chances of having Japanese conversations or cultural experiences in the school.

To the principal of School G, I asked if she thought that her school is taking a part in Canadian multiculturalism. She answered that she believes the school is a part of Canadian multiculturalism. By suggesting the fact that many local people join in the school's festival every

year, she claimed an importance of sharing Japanese culture with the people through the school activity. Also, she suggested the school is used as a place of communication by students' mothers. According to the principal, when a child is very young, a mother's environment tends to be exclusive. By coming to the school with their children, the mothers can exchange information with each other and support each other. On the other hand, the principal of School D pointed out that the necessity of the school to be a place of a mothers' communication is changing in comparison to before. She reported that the school used to play important roles as an information center and as a place of making acquaintances for Japanese mothers. However, the principal pointed out that current students' mothers do not always need to rely on their connections in the school because they have other ways of obtaining information or meeting people; such as by the use of the internet.

5.4.3. The Outcome of Children's Learning Experiences in the Japanese Language Schools

In the interviews, the principals referred to the outcomes of education in the Japanese language schools, but their comments about their achievements are often understated because of their inclination to be self-effacing. As to the schools effect on the students, the principals mentioned that they were aware of having "something" that only the schools can provide. It is reasonable that the principals used an obscure term, "something" to describe the schools' effects. The findings about the Japanese language schools suggest that each school operates with diverse aims which are not merely defined as "successes" of Japanese language acquisition. Also, expectations towards the schools seemed to be varied depending on the demands of children and parents who utilize the schools. In this situation, it is very difficult to simply define what the final outcome of the schools is. As the previous sections suggest, the principals recognized their schools as more than a place of Japanese language education. From the compiled data of the

interviews, it is possible to address the outcome of children's learning experiences in the Japanese language schools in two contexts, "linguistic development" and "social development."

First, students can achieve Japanese linguistic development through their learning experiences in the Japanese language schools. The children who have Japanese parents gain opportunities of speaking Japanese to many other people by attending the Japanese language schools. The practices of Japanese communication in the schools will bring the children to a better understanding and skills about the Japanese language. According to most principals, by practicing Japanese in the schools and their homes, many heritage language students enjoy Japanese communications with their grandparents and relatives in Japan. Some of the students build friendship with their classmates in their Japanese elementary schools when they visit Japan. These positive experiences will increase their confidence and interests about Japanese language. Also, the children's long time efforts will possibly connect then to their future employability. Some principals introduced cases where students had studied or/and had work experiences in Japan after they graduated from the schools. Even if the children do not go back to Japan in their future, there will be possible situations to apply their Japanese language skills in their lives; for example, helping Japanese visitors and making acquaintances through the Japanese language.

Secondly, the Japanese language schools provide places and opportunities for children's social development. For many students who learn Japanese as a foreign language, Japanese language schools are places that they can experience a closer Japanese environment. Also, the students who learn Japanese because of their interests in Japan, such as Japanese pop culture, can find friends to share their common interests in the schools. The principal of School F indicated that some of the school's students enjoy attending classes with a feeling like it is more of a Japanese language club. Japanese environment in the Japanese language schools may affect the

students who learn Japanese as a heritage language as well. They will find cultural differences between Japan and Canada in practices of the schools. From the principals' comments, it is suggested that the children will possibly develop understanding of their Japanese parents, self-background, communities and cultural diversities through learning experiences in the Japanese language schools. The principals of Schools E and D mentioned that the children who have Japanese mothers may feel a cultural gap between them and their mothers. They explained the experiences of Japanese environment in the schools will help the children to understand something positive about their mothers' Japanese culture and their multicultural identities.

In the Japanese language schools, children can share experiences and create memories with their families, friends and teachers. The principal of School G discussed that parents' participations in the school's activities are effective to increase communication between children and parents. The principal suggested the participation of non-Japanese parents; such as Canadian fathers of heritage language students, may be helpful to extend their interests and understanding about children's Japanese language learning. The children also share experiences in classrooms with their classmates. Almost all principals suggested friendships in the schools is always a great reason for students to continue their Japanese learning. The principals revealed that some students encourage each other to graduate from the elementary school level of the heritage language stream. In addition, the children build relationships between their teachers while they attend the schools for a long time. In the interviews, two principals referred to their pleasure of having visits from graduated students.

About the social developments of children, the principal of School A pointed the children's character formation as one of the outcomes of the school's education. The principal revealed that many students express their appreciation of their friends in speeches given at the school's

graduation ceremony. The principal commented, “It is fortunate that they can express such kind of feelings and understand that they have been supported by others. It is a necessary point in the character formation that the school aims to have.” Similar remarks about the children’s speeches in the graduation ceremony are mentioned by other school’s principals as well. Also, the principals of Schools A and C mentioned that they can realize their fruits of their education when graduates come back to the schools as volunteers or as parents. The principals explained the returnees of graduates suggests that their experiences in the schools were positive and meaningful for them. Based on the favorable experiences, the graduates may be willing to help in the schools as volunteers, or wish their children to learn Japanese like they did.

5.4.4. Future Ideas and Prospects of the Japanese Language Schools

In the interviews, the principals were asked how they considered their role in the future development of the schools. The principals responded with their various ideas and prospects of the future Japanese language schools.

Three principals referred to their expectations about changes in students in the future schools. The principal of School B claimed that children in the school will be more diversified in the future. The principal of School E referred to a possibility of taking out the concept of a “heritage language” from the school curriculum in future. As a reason, she indicated that Japanese language abilities of students in the heritage language and fundamental streams have been getting closer lately in the school. The principal of School A expressed her wish to continue the school’s practices, but also suggested uncertainty about the future children’s environment. She pointed out a difficulty of predicting how the system of working holiday visas or immigration in Canada will change in the next twenty or thirty years. Then, she explained if any change is provided in the systems, the schools will also consider to adjust its curriculum

according to the children's social circumstances. Also, the principal addressed a possible increase in the number of future students in the fundamental stream. The principal assumed, since many current students have either a Japanese mother or father, it is possible that future parental attitudes toward Japanese heritage language maintenance will be different when the students become parents.

The possibilities of future development in Japanese heritage language students are also claimed by the principals of Schools C and H. The principal of School C expressed her belief that Japanese heritage language learners will be more global in the future. She described the heritage language students in the school have tended to stay in Canada where their parents emigrated from Japan. However, currently the principal finds that some of the students choose to go to foreign countries to study and work. She mentioned that the students can apply their sense of intercultural understanding as heritage language learners in different cultural environments of the countries. Also, the principal expected more students will go to Japan for their studies from now on. The principal of School H referred to his wish of fostering more bilingual children. He also mentioned that he hoped to build connections with people in Japan and send the school's graduates to Japan in the future.

Many of the principals referred to reviews of the schools' curricula as what they always need to consider for better teaching practices in the schools. The principals mentioned revisions of the curricula should be provided occasionally in order to seek more appropriate and effective learning for students. The principal of School E referred to her wish of studying more about second language acquisition. She indicated adopting other linguistic pedagogical methods which are untraditional in Japanese language teaching, but may be helpful to enrich Japanese language experiences. The principal also mentioned that connections with other heritage language groups;

such as, Mandarin and Korean are also important for the future development of heritage language education, although now the school does not have any contact with them.

Lastly, the principal of School G mentioned that she expects the returning of graduates to the schools in the future. The principal commented, “I would be grateful if graduates return to the school as volunteers, or help young children in the school.” As it is suggested in the previous section, the return of graduates is considered as positive consequences of the schools’ education by other principals as well. Also, when graduates return as volunteers or parents, it is beneficial for the schools in respect of the continuity of the school.

Summary

In this chapter, research findings are extracted from the data of interviews with eight principals of Japanese language schools. The findings indicate how the schools have been operated in the Greater Vancouver area, and what school policies have been used. As institutes of Japanese language education, the schools commonly offer two types of Japanese learning courses for their pupils that are defined as the heritage language stream for “children speaking Japanese at home” and the fundamental stream for “children dominantly speaking English at home.” Although, most of the schools’ curricula are provided with the two categories, the principals reported that the backgrounds of pupils who study in the streams are diversified in the schools. The Japanese parents’ choice of the fundamental stream indicates that the border between the children in the heritage language and fundamental streams has become blurred in comparison to before.

In the interviews, various opinions about Japanese language schools’ aims are expressed by the principals. The principals commented many things about pupils’ Japanese heritage language maintenance, which is a traditional aim of Japanese language schools, but they also emphasized

the importance of the school's activity in promoting Japanese language and culture. Rather than advancement of an individual child's Japanese language skills, most of the principals' commented about each school's teacher approaches suggesting their considerations in how to enrich the students' Japanese learning through intercultural experiences. Besides, from the findings, it is confirmed that the Japanese language schools are operated not only as places of Japanese learning, but also as communities for students, their families, and public who are interested in Japanese language and culture.

Chapter 6. Discussion

This chapter examines the functions of Japanese language schools in the Greater Vancouver area based on the interview findings. As discussed in Chapter 2, Japanese language schools have historically operated to provide Japanese language and culture teaching for descendants from Japanese background in Canada. However, the interview findings confirm that most of the Japanese language schools in the Greater Vancouver area now offer programs not only for Japanese heritage language students, but also for non-Japanese background students. Even the heritage students themselves come from a variety of backgrounds, often with only one parent having claims to Japanese descent. The complexity of the pupil's backgrounds suggests that the schools perform a diversity of functions that are not restricted to the aims of heritage language /culture maintenance.

In order to discuss the functions of the Japanese language schools in this chapter, I will focus on the functions of language learning and culture learning at the schools. Fishman (1989, 1991) claims three links between language and culture: 1) a language indexes its culture; 2) a language symbolizes its culture; and 3) a language relates to its culture in part-whole fashion. As the links suggest, language is a part of culture, but also forms a part or parcel of the culture (Fishman, 1989; Baker, 2006). The aspects of Japanese language learning and culture learning are also intertwined at the schools. For example, the schools' pupils learn about Japanese culture from their language classes, but they can also practice their knowledge of Japanese language through their cultural activities at the schools. Fishman (1989) acknowledges that "maintenance of the language is not enough for maintenance of the culture, but maintenance of a culture is impossible without maintenance of its language" (p. 471). According to Baker (2006), teachers generally support Fishman's thesis on the relationship between language and culture: "It is

possible to become bilingual and not bicultural or multicultural' is an oft repeated caution to teachers" (p. 298). The results from the interviews with principals of the Japanese language schools also demonstrate that they generally aim to build the children's Japanese cultural understanding through their language education.

Section 6.1. examines the curriculum frameworks of the Japanese language schools. The framework forms the basis of language and cultural learning that the schools offer to their pupils. Section 6.2. discusses Japanese language learning in the schools. The section will first explain the difference between JHL (Japanese as a heritage language) and JFL (Japanese as a foreign language) students in the schools and examine how the schools respond to some common issues that studies have discussed in regard to heritage language students' language learning. Section 6.3. is dedicated to exploring the schools' function of culture learning. The culture learning is related to various educational effects on pupils such as the development of Japanese linguistic knowledge, understanding of parents' culture, and character building. Section 6.4. discusses the intercultural perspective of learning in the Japanese language schools and considers how the approach is beneficial for pupils from various backgrounds.

6.1. Curriculum Frameworks of Japanese Language Schools

All of the Japanese language schools provide classes from preschool/kindergarten to high school level. In most cases, the preschool/kindergarten classes do not include many activities directly related to language education. They focus more on the important task of nurturing the children's personalities²⁴. Japanese language programs are usually offered from the elementary school level onwards with two streams, the heritage language stream and the fundamental stream.

²⁴ I will discuss the educational aim regarding the children's character building further in Section 6.4.3.

The heritage language stream is provided for children who learn Japanese as a heritage language. Usually, the children have opportunities to speak Japanese with their parents in their home environments. At the elementary school level of the heritage language stream, textbooks from Japanese elementary schools are commonly used and teachers use Japanese as the language of instruction. The heritage language stream is a traditional-style of education in Japanese language schools.

The fundamental stream is designed for children who learn Japanese as a foreign language. The children usually have less opportunity to learn Japanese outside of the classroom and Japanese is not spoken in their home environments. Unlike in the heritage language stream, in the fundamental stream teachers use English as the medium of instruction. The curriculum in the fundamental stream is often created based on a communicative pedagogical approach. The children start learning Japanese by listening to phrases and repeating after the teachers. They gradually study more grammar and Japanese writing as they step up to the intermediate/advanced levels.

According to the principals, their teachers build on the basic curriculum (as defined in the above paragraphs) and customize each class to accommodate the needs of the individual student or group. As such, assessing the students' Japanese language proficiency is very difficult in the schools and further complicated by the diversity of students' background. As Valdes (2001) points out, heritage language learners' bilingualism usually exists in a dynamic condition. The learners' ability to speak Japanese is oftentimes greatly affected by their home linguistic

environment. Therefore, it is significantly important for the teachers to consider facilitating the optimal personalized learning of individual students in the Japanese language schools²⁵.

In addition to the basic curriculum, most of the schools offer pseudo-Japanese environments to enhance pupils' exposure to Japanese culture. The schools model themselves after Japanese public schools by adopting school manners, such as greetings and etiquettes in classrooms. The comments from the schools' principals support their attempts at making pupils more familiar with the setting and academic norms in Japanese schools. They promote their understanding of Japanese culture through practicing the manners in the schools. For instance, these adoptive activities can be practiced by "enacting social conventions", "cultural rituals, and traditions using authentic visual and written materials", and "classroom visits by native speakers of the language for "question and answer sessions" (Baker, 2006, p. 298). These sorts of classroom activities are also pointed out as being influential in nurturing cultural awareness of heritage language learners (Baker, 2006). As is evidenced in this research, these sorts of activities are provided by most of the Japanese language schools in various forms such as instructing Japanese manners, offering cultural events, and inviting guest speakers into the classroom.

6.2. Language Learning in Japanese Language Schools

6.2.1. The Difference between Learning Japanese as a Heritage Language and Learning Japanese as a Foreign Language

When we discuss the Japanese language proficiency of students in the Japanese language schools, it is necessary to view separately the proficiency of Japanese heritage language (JHL) learners and the learners of Japanese as a foreign language (JFL). However, it is not simple to

²⁵ Kondo-Brown (2010) refers to the effectiveness of learner-centered curriculum for heritage language students. The learner-centered curriculum is created through negotiations between the teacher and students to determine the students acquired knowledge and what they wish or need to know (Kondo-Brown, 2010, p. 25).

distinguish between JHL and JFL learners in the present Japanese language schools because both types of learners can be found in the heritage language and fundamental streams. From the interviews, it is found that students do not always choose their educational stream based on their backgrounds. Instead, their choice to join either heritage stream or fundamental stream is mainly based on the degree of Japanese language usage at home. Therefore, if a student of Japanese background does not have the opportunity to speak Japanese at home, he/she may study in the fundamental stream that is generally considered to be the option for JFL learners. Conversely, a student who does not have a biological connection with Japanese sometimes chooses the heritage language stream rather than the fundamental stream based on their proficiency in Japanese, or on their having experienced living in Japan, and/or having Japanese speaking parents who are non-Japanese and have academic or career backgrounds in Japan.

The definition of ‘heritage language’²⁶ is problematic for the distinction it infers between heritage language and foreign language learners. The students of Japanese background include children who are third or later generations of Japanese-Canadian. In most cases, the children study in the fundamental stream because they need English instructions for learning Japanese (see Appendix III. for further discussion about the learners of Japanese background in the fundamental stream).

In this study, we define JHL students as those children who have their roots in Japan and learn Japanese language in the home environment through usage of the language with their family members. Valdés (2001) claims that the term, ‘heritage language students’ is applied by foreign language educators to imply the students’ usage of target language in their homes. To the educators, the heritage language students are different from traditional foreign language students

²⁶ Various definitions for heritage language are provided in studies. For example, see: Skutnabb-Kangas (1981); Baker & Jones (1998); Kelleher (2010) and Fishman (2011).

since most of them have already developed functional proficiency in the language before they start learning the language in the classrooms (Valdés, 2001, p.38). In the case of the Japanese language schools, the JHL students are still in a process of developing functional proficiency, but they are growing up in a relatively rich linguistic environment for Japanese language acquisition.

In addition to the home linguistic environment, differences between the JHL and JFL learners are also found in the principals' comments about the students' motives for learning Japanese. Three of the principals claimed that many adolescent students in the fundamental stream start learning Japanese because of their interests in Japanese culture. The principal of School F, which offers classes mainly for JFL students without a specialized stream for JHL students, explained that the JFL students enjoy learning Japanese as a hobby. She mentioned that the JFL students are different from common JHL students because they attend the school of their own free will without their parents' persuasion. The students' personal interest is a key connector between the students and Japanese language. In fact, the principal affirmed that if the students lose interest in the language, they find it easy to quit because they do not have any other connections with Japanese language outside of the school environment.

On the other hand, the JHL learners maintain personal connections with Japanese. In most cases, the parents of JHL students wish their children to continue with Japanese language studies and they bring them to the schools regardless of whether the child has an interest in learning the language. To this extent, the principals noted that the motivations to learn Japanese among the JHL students, especially the elementary school children, were weak in comparison with the motivations of JFL students. Despite their low motivation, many of the JHL students keep attending the schools for years. While surveying the average length of the students' schooling is not part of this research, it should be noted that according to the principals, the JHL students

commonly start to attend the schools from preschool/kinder level and study in the schools until they reach the age when they get busy with other school/sports activities. Many principals claimed when the children reach about grade three or four, the parents have difficulty persuading them to continue attending the schools. The principals also pointed out that the parents' effort is the greatest factor supporting the JHL students' Japanese learning.

6.2.2. Curriculum for Language Maintenance of Japanese as a Heritage Language Student

The language proficiency of JHL students benefits from parental interest in maintaining their child's heritage language. However, the difficulty of immigrant descendants' language maintenance has been argued in many studies (e.g. Grosjean, 1982; Garcia & Diaz, 1992; Cho & Krashen, 1998; Shin & Krashen, 1998; Valdés, 2001). It is commonly discussed that when a language group is a minority group within society, the mainstream language rapidly replaces the heritage language (Shin & Krashen, 1998). Similarly, according to the principals of the Japanese language schools, JHL children's usage of Japanese usually greatly decreases and their usage and knowledge of English become dominant when they start schooling in Canadian public schools. Also, there are the typical issues associated with heritage language learning found in previous studies such as heritage language learners' unbalanced proficiency levels in spoken and written languages (Kondo-Brown, 2010), their lack of knowledge and practice of formal varieties of language (Valdés, 2001), and their struggle to receive appreciation for their individual learning achievements given high expectations or comparisons to native-like language performance (Krashen, 1998b). In this section, we will discuss how the Japanese language schools handle those issues concerning the JHL students' Japanese learning.

➤ Teaching academic/formal varieties of Japanese

The difference between a heritage language learner's proficiency in casual/informal varieties of language versus their proficiency in academic/formal varieties of the language is discussed by such scholars as Guadalupe Valdés (2001) and Kimi Kondo-Brown (2010). The Japanese language school principals frequently commented on the problem of using the same *Kokugo* textbook that is used in Japanese elementary schools for their classes. We will not argue whether using the *Kokugo* textbook is suitable for the JHL students, but from the principals' comments, we find that the problems are bound up in the students' cognitive level of Japanese. As discussed earlier, the JHL students are usually exposed to Japanese in their home environments but, at the same time, this also means that the students' knowledge of Japanese can be limited by what they can learn from their home environments. Since the students mostly use Japanese for simple and casual conversations with their family members and friends, their fluency in Japanese is not equivalent to that of a Japanese native speaker in most cases. The gap between their English and Japanese language proficiencies grows even wider, once the children start to attend Canadian public schools and spend less time in their Japanese home environments. This point is made clear by the principal of School B in her comments about the Japanese proficiency of elementary school students in the heritage language stream. According to the principal, the students commonly run into difficulty when they have to explain complicated ideas or need to discuss multiple events in a specific order. One of the benefits of learning at a Japanese language school is that JHL students can practice using the academic/formal varieties that are hardly used in their home. The classroom learning experience will enhance the development of their CALP (cognitive academic language proficiency) (Cummins, 1981).

From the interviews, it is found that many of the JHL students attend Japanese public schools during summer break from their Canadian schools. Their level of CALP in Japanese is challenged by their experiences at the schools in Japan. Kondo-Brown (2010) points out that the heritage language learners' knowledge and skills of formal/academic varieties are crucial to continue their heritage language learning in language classrooms at postsecondary institutions.

As a specific aid for building the JHL students' CALP, the principal of School A introduced an interesting approach for the elementary level classes in the heritage language stream. In the classes, the students spend two thirds of the class time learning Japanese from the *Kokugo* textbook. Then, the teachers use the rest of the time for introducing other school subjects such as mathematics, science, music, and history. The principal explained that the learning time is offered to teach a variety of Japanese vocabularies which people would usually acquire through academic experience in Japan. This approach is helpful for the students to understand more complex concepts in Japanese, and also gives them effective challenges to apply their knowledge and acquired skills through the learning of new topics.

➤ Fostering Japanese literacy

The acquisition of high-level varieties of language is related to a learner's development of literacy skill. Nakajima (1996) argues that key factors of language maintenance are the learner's literacy and their attitude towards language acquisition. The Japanese language schools focus on writing and reading practices as a part of their core curriculum in the heritage language stream. The principal of School H mentioned that student compositions are a good indicator – not only for teachers, but also for parents – of their students' actual level of literacy in Japanese. As far as the importance of developing a positive attitude towards language acquisition, he also pointed

out that these practices also allow parents to gauge their child's Japanese literacy level and in turn may also enhance their attitude towards language maintenance.

For students, however, writing practice is one of the common obstacles in Japanese learning at the schools. For example, *kanji* learning is an essential part of Japanese literacy building from the elementary school level but, according to the principals, most of the students find the memorization of numerous *kanji* to be a very painful task. The difficulty of *kanji* learning for the JHL students is understandable. The students learn *kanji* in the weekly classrooms and hardly use it in their daily lives.²⁷ However, when they wish to obtain any information through things written in Japanese, knowledge of *kanji* is imperative. In other words, the students' Japanese literacy can lead them to an advanced level of language proficiency. Oketani (1997) suggests that one of the effects of high-level literacy is a better awareness of self-concept for JHL students. Yet, because the practice requires great diligence, one principal even revealed that the practice might oftentimes ruin the students' motivations for Japanese learning.

➤ Motivating and supporting students positive attitude towards language learning

Learners' attitude towards and motivations for second language learning has an influence on their learning outcomes (Lambert, 1974; Gardner, 1985). Anderson (1977) argues that pupils' motivation is a key factor for creating satisfactory conditions in a bilingual education program. However, as discussed earlier, the motivation of JHL students is observed as being relatively weak at the schools.

In the interviews, principals frequently commented about their wishes for their students to keep favorable feelings towards Japanese language. Three of them claimed that "praising the children's progress" is an important task for teachers. In her study of Japanese-English bilingual

²⁷ Shinbo's study (2004) also suggests that learning *kanji* is a common obstacle for Japanese heritage language students.

children in an English-dominant environment, Nakajima (1996) pointed out that parents tend to have high expectations for their child's Japanese abilities especially if the parents are native Japanese speakers. However, contrary to their expectations, language proficiency for these children does not necessarily reflect their parents' linguistic backgrounds. Similarly, one of my informants told me that the children in the heritage language stream tend not to receive much positive reinforcement from their parents due to their parents' high expectations. In such situations, the children may need mentors who can give them praise and encouragement in order to keep them motivated to learn. In order to stimulate motivation, Dörnyei (1994) argues that teachers' praise should contain informational feedback and should make note of a student's success as a result of their efforts. Conversely, teachers should avoid controlling feedback, which assesses a student's performance based on external standards (e.g., the comparison of success and failure based on the achievement of other students)²⁸. According to the school principals, their teachers also create and apply their own strategies for developing student motivation. For example, by providing volunteer opportunities for students that would allow them to use their Japanese experience and gain self-confidence (School A), by setting individual goals for students (School D), by complimenting any small achievements made by the students (School E), and by rewarding students when they complete a certain amount of homework (School H).

Support for continuous learning is also something strongly emphasized in these schools. Almost all the principals mentioned children's affection for Japanese language as the most effective factor in long-term learning outcomes. One principal claimed the school's ultimate goal in Japanese teaching is maintaining children's favorable feeling towards Japan. She stated that if the children lose their interest in Japan, their motivations for learning Japanese might eventually

²⁸ Krashen (1998a, b) points out that ridicule and correction from more competent heritage language speakers causes heritage language learners to be reluctant to use the language and results in less acquisition.

fade away. The principals' wish for the children's long-term learning is related to the accomplishment of Japanese heritage language maintenance. This teacher's view for producing "lifetime learners" as a success of heritage language education is similarly reported in other case study of heritage language programs.²⁹

6.3. Culture Learning in Japanese Language Schools

6.3.1. Cultural Understanding and Linguistic Knowledge

In the interviews, three principals in particular mentioned that understanding of Japanese culture is important for their pupils to be comprehensive and skillful Japanese speakers. The pupils' knowledge of Japanese culture is connected to their proficiencies in more varieties of Japanese language. For example, one principal noted that pupils needed to understand Japanese culture in order to apply sociolinguistic repertoires such as, honorific, humble, and polite forms of Japanese language. Bradunas (1988) argues that "knowing the language" might not always be equal to having native-like language skills. The individual's linguistic knowledge can be perceived from their behaviors, sense of norms, and understanding of cultural ideas. The Japanese language learners' cultural understanding supports their Japanese language learning by promoting their familiarity with and ability to demonstrate appropriate manners and follow the rituals associated with various social circumstances. Other principals also referred to pupils' culture learning in many ways, although more often than not they avoided using the word 'culture' in the interviews. The pupils' cultural experiences are interwoven with their language study.

²⁹ Valdés and Fishman et.al. (2006) "Secondary Spanish Heritage Programs in California", In *Developing Minority Language Resources: The Case of Spanish in California*, Clevedon, Multilingual Matters.

6.3.2. Learning Parents' Culture

Hornberger and Wang (2008) mention that, in the process of heritage language/culture learning, one's notion of multiple selves and identities becomes crucial. Parental support has a significant effect on this aspect of heritage language learning (Bradunas, 1988). Two Japanese language school principals commented that heritage language students enhance their understanding about their Japanese parents' culture in the schools. For the children who are born and grow up in Canada, the schools are communities that give them opportunities and experiences to participate in the Japanese society³⁰. Student knowledge about their Japanese parents' culture will lead to the children's discovery of their own background.

Even parents with a Japanese background that use Japanese only in a limited capacity in their daily lives or do not know or use the language at all, have a desire to see their children learn at the heritage schools. The principals of Schools A and G reported that the parents that enroll their children in these schools are often Sansei (third generation) and Yonsei (fourth generation) Japanese. According to the principals, the parents' main reasons for sending their children to the Japanese language schools is not the desire to make them Japanese speakers, but to allow the children to know about their heritage culture.

The children who have a Japanese background can discover their identity and personal connections with Japan through their experiences in the Japanese language schools. For example, finding friends of a similar age and background in the schools will help the children to recognize their affiliations and formulate their own ethnic identities. Heritage language schools play an

³⁰ Bradunas (1988) points out that another effect of the cultural presentation in heritage language schools is children's recognition of particular traditions that assist to "validate the parents' culture in the eyes of the children" (p. 16).

important role in pupils' ethnic identity maintenance (Fishman, 1980b)³¹. The relationship between acquisition of heritage language and a heritage language speaker's identity has been much studied. The speaker's language preference commonly indicates his/her awareness of their identity (Oketani, 1997). The speaker's loss or less developed heritage language can cause psychological conflicts in his/her self-identification (Cho & Krashen, 1998; Kourtzin, 1999; Duff, 2008).

While the literature emphasizes identity development as a key component of these heritage language schools and language learning, only a few participants clearly referred to the children's identities in the interviews. None of the principals expressed any strong opinions for the children's ethnicity such as: "the children have to speak Japanese in order to attain a sense of belonging to the Japanese-Canadian communities." The absence of concern for ethnic identity maintenance in the narratives of the principals interviewed may be an indication that the children's awareness of ethnic identity is considered to be an autonomous factor and not something that the schools can advise their pupils on directly.

Also, it is interesting to note that learning Japanese to ease communication between children and parents was hardly mentioned by the principals in the interviews. This contradicts the frequent claims that enhancement of communication between immigrant parents and their children is an important aspect of heritage language maintenance. The research outcome may indicate that the need for Japanese language has become less significant in their home communications. Soto (1997) points out that the pressures for heritage language/culture maintenance is more intense when the language group is put in a disadvantaged position to mainstream society. It is necessary to collect more data to discuss the ethnic vitality of the

³¹ Fishman used his term, ethnic mother tongue schools in his work (1980b) when he argues about heritage language schools.

Japanese-speaking group in the schools, but the principals' attitudes suggest that they do not have a strong sense of crisis in their activities of Japanese language/culture maintenance. Thus, the principals can flexibly consider that the children's multicultural nature cannot be reduced to a simple binary between Japan and Canada.

6.3.3. Character Building

The culture learning discussed above indicates that the schools' functions are not limited to Japanese language pedagogy. In the interviews, I asked the principals what sort of effect they thought their school programs had on their students. Surprisingly, the principals' answers indicated more about the schools' influences on character buildings (*Jinkaku keisei*) than on the advancement of Japanese proficiency. In order to understand the schools' effects on the children, it is necessary to explore how the abstract concept of 'character building' is interpreted and realized in the Japanese language schools.

Character building, which the principals emphasized as one of the effects of heritage language schooling, is related to a child's positive emotional development such as having consideration and appreciation for others and their feelings. The principals' interests in the cultivation of children's sensitivities are observed especially in their views on childcare in the preschool/kindergarten level classes. The principals' concerns for child development seems to link to the Japanese concept of early training in child-rearing, *shitsuke*. The common English translation for the word *shitsuke* is 'upbringing', 'training', or 'discipline' but Hendry (1989) further elaborates on the term pointing out that the Japanese concept includes "the idea of the inculcation of good manners in a child, the passing on of daily customs, and the teaching of correct behavior" in its meaning (p. 11). According to Hendry's list, aspects of *shitsuke* can be observed in inculcations of greetings and other ritual phrases; etiquette; manners for food and

meals; cleanliness and order; doing things for oneself; morality; and a sense of distinction. In Hendry's study about Japanese methods for childcare of preschool-age children, she asked Japanese mothers questions related to the concept of *shitsuke*. However, as she reports: "it was sometimes difficult to pin people down to specific details of their practice by asking about [*shitsuke*] directly" (p. 71). Hendry concludes that it is difficult to measure the results of *shitsuke* because they are usually "on the whole diffuse" rather than systematized; her informants "found it difficult to extract from their whole life-style particularly important aspects" (p. 72). Similarly, aside from one interviewee, none of the other principals of the Japanese language schools referred to the word *shitsuke* in their interviews. However, almost all principals mentioned the general content of *shitsuke* as part of how they instruct their pupils.

From the principals' comments, we can identify that they teach and practice some Japanese customs that are found in Hendry's list and, of these proper greetings were most commonly mentioned by the principals. The Japanese term of greetings, *aisatsu* carries a wider meaning than just 'greetings' and incorporates various phrases. It can indicate universal 'greetings' (e.g. 'good morning', 'good night'), but also words corresponding to 'thank you' and 'sorry', and other conventional phrases which do not always have equivalencies in English (Hendry, 1989, p. 73). The principals referred to the importance of *aisatsu* with respect to nurturing the children's competence for social conventions in Japan. In addition to *aisatsu*, according to the principals, instructions for etiquette and habits of cleanliness are commonly provided in the schools. As an example of teaching morality as part of the *shitsuke* concept, Hendry reports that preschool children in Japan are taught to "think of others, be kind and sympathetic to them and to avoid causing people trouble or annoyance" (p. 82). The principals of

the heritage language schools also mentioned morality as an important part of positive emotional development in their pupils.

In Hendry's list, 'a sense of distinction' is the most abstract idea of *shitsuke*. Hendry contends that the idea is particularly noticeable in one's ability to distinguish between good and bad things, but that it also applies to distinguishing between various elements in life; for example, the distinctions between eating and playing, and studying and playing, and inside and outside the house. This sense of distinction seems to be recognized as an important notion for the children in the Japanese language schools. One particularly suggestive comment in this regard was when one principal mentioned that practicing Japanese *aisatsu* and other manners is helpful for pupils to distinguish the school's Japanese environment from their usual English environment.

Hendry notes that one particularly aspect of *shitsuke* that is important is the distinction "between self and others, or between the things one wants to do oneself and the limits imposed on these by the things other people want to do" (p. 85). One of the informants states the final goal of personal relations is to realize *kyōcyō*, which is a compound concept of "co-operation", 'harmony', and 'conciliation'" (Hendry, 1980, p. 85). The principals of the Japanese language schools also repeatedly spoke of their views on harmony and cooperation in the classrooms and viewed the schools as being an important element for enriching the children's positive experiences.

6.4. Intercultural Perspective of Learning in Japanese Language Schools

Culture learning is also discussed as one of the reasons for learning Japanese and attending Japanese language schools. For JHL students who attend the schools for the purpose of ethnic identity maintenance, the representation of culture in the classrooms is an effective way to

promote their heritage cultural awareness (Baker, 2006). For the JFL students who have an interest in Japanese culture, their desire for understanding the culture is the main motivation for learning Japanese. The interview findings suggest that JFL students enjoy meeting with friends who share common interests in Japanese culture at the schools. Also, it can be assumed that both JFL and JHL students (and their parents) expect to receive more authentic and direct Japanese experiences in the schools than any other places of Japanese learning. However, teaching Japanese culture is a complicated task and, in language education, how pupils learn the language-associated culture will affect how they learn the language.

When the culture is taught as a national attribute (e.g. “Japanese” culture), it is likely to bring a certain level of standardization in order to transmit recognizable images of the culture. However, standardization is sometimes considered problematic because, in the school settings, pupils automatically accept it as authentic; it is as if the cultural issues are always regarded as the static, rigid, uniform, and idealized object (Bradunas, 1988; Sercu, 2002). In the interviews, one principal expressed her concern that her school is always responsible for providing ‘correct’ information about Japanese culture as much as possible. This suggests that the principal recognizes the pupils’ tendency to accept any learned cultural facts as genuine.

As Kramsch (1998) notes, actual culture is not homogeneous rather ‘cultural reality’ is dynamic. Liddicoat and Scarino (2013) claim the approach to present culture as “unvarying and composed of discrete, concrete facts”, or “a set of the learnable rules”, or “a closed, final, and fixed phenomenon” is a problem for language teachers trying to facilitate students’ intercultural communication. The authors write:

Although there will be some place for cultural facts in a language curriculum, it is more important to study culture as a process in which learners engage rather than as a closed set of information that he/she will be required to recall (. . .). (p. 23)

In my interpretation, the cultural learning implied by the principals of the Japanese language schools indicates more of a fostering of the children's adaptability in different cultural manners, behaviors, and expressions than their amount of concrete knowledge about the culture. The schools provide events and activities for introducing Japanese rituals and cultural products (e.g. tea ceremony, calligraphy, and martial arts) to their students, but at the same time, the students autonomously learn and discover how Japanese speakers behave from their communication with teachers, classmates, and other adults in the schools. Those aspects of the culture learning in the schools support what Liddicoat and Scarino (2013) claim as the intercultural perspective that takes the language learner's position as an insider rather than outsider. In other words, a learner is required to participate in the language-associated culture group rather than viewing it from outside of the group. The intercultural perspective sets a goal in acquisition of intercultural identity through engagement with a new culture. The learners, thus, need to put themselves on a flexible border between self and other.

The desire for intercultural competence is implicitly described in the schools' policies and in various principals' comments that make reference to "fostering global citizens" and "nurturing children who can be bridges between Japan and Canada". While the term, 'global citizen' can be understood in various ways, in the Japanese language schools' context, it can be best defined as 'people who have intercultural competences.' Nurturing of global citizens indicates the enhancements of children's adaptability and tolerance for intercultural experiences through Japanese language education. The children's intercultural competence is not necessarily

defined by their proficiency in Japanese language, but it will be affected by their degree of understanding and acceptance of cultural differences; cultural difference here meaning the difference between an individual child's own culture and the other cultures which they meet in the schools. Intercultural learning is not only directed towards a better understanding of other's culture, but also results in the learners' better understanding of their own backgrounds, a nourishment of their own cultural identity, and an enhancement of perceptions towards the cultural environment around them. Those points of intercultural learning are more valuable for current Japanese language schools' pupils of both Japanese and non-Japanese background.

According to the principals, teachers in their Japanese language schools are not told to teach specifically about intercultural understanding in the classroom, but the beneficial conditions of intercultural learning exist in the schools as part of the pseudo-Japanese environment and cultural activities. Also, as mentioned earlier, it can be expected that the children naturally build their intercultural understanding through interactions with teachers, classmates, and other adults in the schools³². The goal of the children's intercultural learning may not be limited to their time spent in the schools. Their acquired intercultural skills are transferable to other varieties of cultural experiences with different cultures that they meet outside of the schools. Thus, as a result of the development of intercultural competence, the learners are able to become cultural mediators who cut across boundaries in various socio-cultural situations while they maintain their own cultural identity.

³² A child's sense of learning can be understood as "learner's autonomy" which Sercu (2002) explains as one of the factors of intercultural language learning.

Chapter 7. Conclusion

This thesis aims to identify how the core functions of language learning and culture learning in Japanese language schools in the Greater Vancouver area operate to accommodate pupils who are from diverse backgrounds. Various studies have discussed the purpose of heritage language learning with respect to immigrant descendants' ethnic identity maintenance and cultural heritages (Fishman, 1980; Bradunas, 1988). Little research has addressed the changing dynamic of the student population and its effect on curriculum. This study conducts semi-structured interviews with principals of the Japanese language schools to observe how the principals as the schools' teachers and administrators recognize the schools' functions and practices in their curricula. The results of the interviews with the principals indicate that they put emphasis on their pupils' interactive learning of Japanese language and culture. The discussions based on multiple research findings demonstrates that the schools are capable of providing a curriculum suited to the individual learners' needs in Japanese language and culture learning.

In language learning, JHL (Japanese as a heritage language) learners usually need a different course of instructions from JFL (Japanese as a foreign language) learners because of their acquired linguistic skills from their frequent use of Japanese language in homes. Most of the schools provide Japanese heritage language education in the heritage language stream. At the same time, they offer the fundamental stream for learners who wish to learn Japanese as a foreign language by receiving teachers' instructions in English. While there are sometimes different motives and interests in culture learning between the JHL and JFL learners, the intercultural perspective of the schools suggests that what is desired by the pupils is not always determined by their being Japanese. Instead, the pupils' individual cultural awareness and favorable acceptance of differences between their own culture and the cultures of others are

regarded as more central concerns in the schools' policies and the principals' comments. The intercultural perspective is meaningful for pupils who are from multiple ethnic/cultural backgrounds. The schools' emphasis on intercultural competence strongly illustrates that they see Japanese language and culture learning as a way to help students acquire tolerance for cultural differences in addition to enhancing self-awareness of their own cultural background.

The term “heritage” in the sense that it is used in the context of heritage languages connotes, but is not limited to, the following: minority language learning, ethnicity and ethnic identity, and cultural continuity of immigrant groups. In interviews, the principals rarely used the term “heritage language” when talking about students of Japanese descent. Instead, they addressed heritage language learners in the schools as “the children who speak Japanese at home” or “the students in Futsū-ka.”³³ The usage of the term heritage language is not always considered appropriate because it tends to distinguish the language learners based on their ethnic background — their blood relationship with the heritage group - rather than their self-recognition of belonging to the particular group. Baker and Jones (1998) also point out the traditionalism of the term, suggesting that it emphasizes a connection to the past rather than the contemporary. Thus, the infrequent usage of the term is a reflection of the changing dynamic of Japanese heritage schools. As increased enrollment in the fundamental stream by students generally considered ‘heritage’ students suggests, the border between heritage language and foreign language students has become blurred in most of these schools. In fact, the majority of students come from inter-language families. While the schools are there to provide Japanese language and culture learning opportunities useful in helping children of Japanese background identify with

³³ The “Futsū-ka” is commonly used as a Japanese name for the heritage language stream in the Japanese language schools. The direct translation of “Futsū-ka” is “regular” or “general course”.

their ethnic identity and the heritage culture from their parents, it is up to the individual children as to how they utilize and interpret this knowledge. The schools essentially attend to the children's linguistic and cultural multiplicities.

Tavares (2000) suggests that around the early 1990s in Canada there was a shift in emphasis from heritage languages to the broader concept of international languages. The shift is observed in changes to the provincial language education policy. The new policy attempted to provide opportunities for language learning to the broader population without consideration of whether they were members of a particular heritage language group (Nakajima, 1997). Thus, the policy of international language puts more stress on the advantages of language learning for international communication and global career opportunities than on the cultural maintenance of heritage groups. (Tavares, 2000).

Tavares's study emphasizes that heritage language education cannot only be situated in relation to an individual's affiliation with a particular ethnic community or a learner's personal connection to his/her 'heritage'. Acknowledging this is important but it must also be acknowledged that the shift in emphasis from heritage language education to international language education raises concerns as well. Hornberger and Wang (2008) suggest that the replacement of heritage language with international language dismisses the cultural and familial inheritance aspects of heritage languages by focusing on the economic utility of languages in the international context.

The importance of fostering pupils' internationality was also observed in the interviews with the principals of Japanese language schools. However, as a salient aspect of Japanese language education in the schools, they firstly deal with pupils' personal motives in addition to the pupils' development of internationality (e.g., the advancement towards global

academic/career stage or the acquisition of wider communication). The personal motives for Japanese language learning can consist of the pupils' interest in exploring their self-identity, their wish to understand cultural values associated with the language, and their desire to belong to a linguistic/cultural community (Compton, 2001). As Fishman (1991) points out about language maintenance, Japanese language learning in the schools involves both modern and traditional aspects that fulfill social and individual needs. Thus, in the present Japanese language schools that accept pupils from a diversity of backgrounds, Japanese language education holds both facets of heritage language and international language education.

The diversification of Japanese language education in the Japanese language schools indicates the development of the schools' perspective for intercultural language education. Japanese language schools in the Greater Vancouver area have taken a learner-centered approach by adjusting themselves to provide for their pupils needs³⁴. The operation of the fundamental stream is a good example of this flexibility. This flexibility has meant that these schools have been able to endure. The continuity of the schools is in part related to their maintenance of Japanese heritage group's cultural values in Canada, but also their ability to validate Canadian multiculturalism³⁵ through pupils' language and culture learning at the schools. The intercultural experience of the pupils enables them to extend their learning of Japanese language and culture from an understanding of "others" to a self-reflection of their own culture and social identification.

³⁴ The flexibility of Japanese language school curriculum can be found in operation in the schools even prior to 1941. The first Japanese language school in Vancouver was founded in 1916 as a day school that provided the same curriculum as public schools in Japan. However, the school gradually changed to become a supplemental school that taught Japanese language and emphasized bilingualism and better assimilation with Canadian society at large.

³⁵ "Canadian Multiculturalism: An Inclusive Citizenship"

<http://www.cic.gc.ca/english/multiculturalism/citizenship.asp> (May 12th, 2014)

This study analyzed the functions of Japanese language schools using data taken from interviews with the school principals. In future studies, we can re-analyze the findings of this study from the point of view of pupils or their parents in order to examine how pupils and parents perceive of their experience with Japanese language schools. Applying a similar type of research as was used in this study to other heritage schools of different languages will be an effective way of exploring various heritage language education programs. The principals interviewed for this study mentioned that the future of these schools is directly related to the increase in student enrollment in the fundamental stream and the expansion of preschool/kindergarten courses. As this study explicates, the situation of the Japanese language schools adapts to fit the needs of a dynamic and ever-changing student population. As such, continuous research will be necessary to monitor these changes and further enrich the field of heritage language schools and education.

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Appendix I. Sample Topics and Questions for Interview

(English Translation)

I. Your Work Experience at Your Japanese Language School

- How long have you worked for the Japanese language school?
- What is the reason for your involvement in the management of the Japanese language school?

II. Your Japanese Language School

Please tell us about the history of your school, for example, about the beginning and historical changes of the school.

- Who or what organization runs the school?
- How would you characterize your school?
- What is the main aim of the school?
- Why do you think Japanese language schools are necessary for your clients?
- Do you think that Japanese language schools have any other roles in addition to being institutions of Japanese language education?

III. Classes and Curriculum

- What is the most popular course (or class) in your school?
- Based on pupil backgrounds, what percentage represents each of the following groups in the school?
(Note: These percentages may be approximate.)
 1. The pupils who have one Canadian and one Japanese (first generation) parent
 2. The pupils who have a parent(s) who is second or later generation Japanese-Canadian
 3. The pupils whose parents are both born in Japan
 4. The pupils from a non-Japanese (NJ) family background
 - NJ1. Non-Japanese Asian family
 - NJ2. Others
- Does your school accept non-Japanese background pupils? If yes, does your school have a class specifically for these pupils?
- If you answer yes to the previous question, how many classes does your school have for non-Japanese background pupils, and how many pupils attend the classes?
- Do you think that your school experienced any changes, or was influenced in any way by accepting non-Japanese background pupils?

- Does the school have a standard curriculum for each course?
- In your school, does each classroom have a specific textbook for the course?
- Does the school have any events or activities in addition to classroom learning?

IV. Japanese Language Learning at your Japanese Language School

- What do you think about the significance of or purposes for Japanese language learning according to pupils and their parents in your school?
- When you compare pupils' home learning with studying in your school, what role do you think your school plays?
- What do you think the main reason is for pupils and parents in selecting your school?
- Do you think that your school has an influence or instructional effect on your pupils in any way?
- What are the obstacles to providing Japanese language education in your school?
- Do you think that understanding Japanese culture is important for learning Japanese language? Why or why not?

V. Japanese Language Schools in Canada

- Multiculturalism is a national policy in Canada. Do you think that your school takes part in Canadian multiculturalism?
- Do you think that your school belongs to the so-called 'Japanese community'?
- Which cultural values do you think should take precedence in your school- Japanese or Canadian?
- Do you think that Japanese learning by Japanese descendants and Japanese teaching at Japanese language schools receives enough respect in Canada?
- Has your school received any support from the government of Japan or British Columbia?
- Do you think that your school is effected by the educational policies or interests of the provincial or federal government?
- Do you think that social trends or shifting interests in the broader Canadian society have an influence on your school?
- Do you think that your school should contribute to Canada (or your local area) in any form?

VI. Future of Your Japanese Language School

- With concern for school management, what do you think are the difficulties faced in the management of your Japanese language school? Also what do you think are the strengths of your school?
- When you think about the future development of your school with respect to management, what developments or issues would your school have?

インタビューでの主なトピック及び質問例

一. 日本語学校でのご経歴について

- いつから日本語学校で、お仕事をされていますか。
- どのような経緯で、日本語学校の運営に関わることになりましたか。

二. 貴校について

学校創立のきっかけや変遷など、貴校の歴史について教えてください。

- 貴校はどのような形態で運営されていますか
- 貴校の主な目的・使命は何だと思えますか。
- 貴校の特色・特徴は何だと思えますか。
- なぜ貴校のような日本語学校が、そこを訪れる人々にとって必要だと思えますか。
- 貴校が日本語教育の場として以外にも役割を果たしていると思えますか。

三. クラス・カリキュラムについて

- 一番人気がある課程・クラスはどの課程・クラスですか。
- 貴校に通う生徒のバックグラウンドを考えたとき、以下のグループは、どのような割合になっていると思えますか。（感覚的、おおよそで結構です。）
 1. カナダ人と日本人の両親を持つ生徒
 2. 両親のどちらか（もしくは両方）が日系2世以降の世代の生徒（祖父母や縁戚が日本人）
 3. 両親が共に日本出身の生徒
 4. 日本人および日系の両親、家族を持たない生徒
 - NJ1. 日本以外のアジア系生徒
 - NJ2. NJ1 以外の生徒
- 貴校は日系以外の生徒を受け入れていますか。受け入れている場合、特別に日本語科などのクラスを設けていますか。
- （日系以外の生徒向けに、クラスを開講している場合）クラスは通常いくつありますか。何人ほどの生徒が受講していますか。
- （日系以外の生徒を受け入れている場合）日系以外の生徒を受け入れることで、何か変化や影響があったと思えますか。

- それぞれの課程、クラスに規定となるカリキュラム等を設けていますか。
- それぞれのクラスで、指定の教科書等を使っていますか。
- 授業以外にも課外行事やアクティビティを行っていますか。

四. 日本語学校で日本語を学ぶことについて

- 貴校で日本語を学ぶことは学習者や、その父兄にとって、どのような意味・目的があると思いますか。
- 生徒の家庭学習と学校教育を比べたときに、貴校に求められる役割は何だと思いますか。
- 主にどのような理由で、貴校が生徒や、その父兄に選ばれていると思いますか。
- 貴校は生徒にどのように影響や、教育的効果を与えていると思いますか。
- 貴校において日本語教育を行う上で、障害となるものは何だと思いますか。
- 日本文化について理解を深めることは、日本語を学ぶ上で大切だと思いますか。なぜですか。

五. カナダにおける日本語学校について

- カナダは多文化主義を政策として掲げていますが、貴校はその一端を担っていると思いますか。
- 貴校はいわゆる日系コミュニティに属していると思いますか。
- 貴校において、日本とカナダ、どちらの文化的価値観が優先されるべきだと思いますか。
- 日系の子女が日本語を学ぶことや、日本語学校において日本語を教えることがカナダにおいて十分に尊重されていると思いますか。
- 日本またはBC州政府から何か支援を受けていますか。
- BC州政府の教育方針や教育的関心の影響を受けていると思いますか。
- カナダ社会の社会的風潮や関心は貴校に影響を与えていると思いますか。
- 貴校がカナダまたは地域社会に貢献することは必要だと思いますか。

六. 今後の日本語学校について

- 学校運営について考えたとき、日本語学校として貴校を運営される上での難しさは何だと思いますか。また強みは何だと思いますか。
- 学校運営の視点から、今後の貴校の発展について考えたとき、どのような発展、またそれに対する課題があると思いますか。

Appendix II. Interview Participant Consent Form

You are invited to participate in the study entitled “*The Evolution of Japanese Language Schools in Vancouver area*” conducted by Mayo Kawaguchi.

Mayo Kawaguchi is a Graduate Student in the Department of Pacific and Asian Studies at the University of Victoria, British Columbia, Canada. I am currently completing this research as part of the requirements for a Master’s Degree. If you have any questions regarding the study, you can reach me by email at mayo.kawaguchi@gmail.com or telephone at 250-886-4139. My research is conducted under the supervision of Dr. Hiroko Noro. You can contact my supervisor at hnoro@uvic.ca.

In addition, you may review the ethical approval of this study or raise any concerns by contacting:

Human Research Ethics Office at the University of Victoria (1-250-472-4545 or ethics@uvic.ca).

Objective of the Study

This research is to explore how Japanese language schools operated and aim to play roles for Japanese language education in the Vancouver area. I am also interested in how Japanese language gains the interest of different groups and is taught to people from various backgrounds in the schools. I believe your contribution to this research will help generate a better understanding in the area of bilingual education.

Participant Selection

You are selected to participate in this study because of your participation in the management of a Japanese language school.

Research Method

Interview: The researcher will have an interview with you. The interview should take 50 to 70 minutes. Location of the interview will be mutually agreed upon to protect the participant’s privacy. If you agree, the interview will be audio-recorded. All information will be kept confidential. In the result of the study, pseudonyms will be used for you and your school’s names in order to protect the privacy of the participants.

Possible Risk

The risks of participation in this research will be no greater than the risks that you encounter in your everyday life. However, in the interview, I may ask questions to hear your personal thoughts on the school management based on your experiences that are possibly related to your privacy. You **do not** have to answer any questions if you feel uncomfortable or do not want to answer. You can tell the researcher to stop the interview at any time. If you can continue the interview, it will proceed with a different topic that you might feel more comfortable in answering. Also you are free to withdraw from the interview at any point without any consequences or explanations.

Voluntary Participation

Your participation is voluntary. You can choose not to answer any questions. If you do decide to participate, you may withdraw any time without any consequences and or any explanation. In the case of withdrawal, I will ask if you agree that the data obtained from the interview can still be used in my research. If the data cannot be used, relevant audio records and notes will be completely deleted and shredded. In order to compensate for any inconvenience, you will be given a small non-monetary gift when you complete the interview.

Anonymity and Confidentiality

The researcher will make all efforts to protect participants' anonymity and confidentiality. However, there may be limitations to this confidentiality and others may learn or assume your identity from the published study since there are not a huge number of people involved in the management of Japanese language schools in Vancouver area. To prevent and reduce any risk of harming your privacy, pseudonyms will be used to replace your real name and your school's name for the written project. In order to avoid identification of non-consenting individuals, the researcher will ask you **not** to use the name of third person parties if you need to refer to other persons in the course of interview.

Materials gathered will be stored in a secure location for the maximum duration of the project which is 5 years and will only be accessed by the researcher. All electronic data will be deleted from my computer and all paper records will be shredded and disposed of within 5 years maximum and/or after the completion of my Master's degree. The results of the research may be published in the form of a paper, academic journal, published article, chapter, book, or presented at scholarly meetings.

Agreement

Your signature below indicates that you understand the above conditions of participation in this study and that you have had the opportunity to have your questions answered by the researchers and that you consent to participate in this research project.

Name of Participant

Signature

Date

Audio Recorded Data: Participant is to provide initials, *only if you agree:*

- The interview will be recorded using an audio recorder. Extracts of audio records will be transcribed for data analysis. The audio-recorded data will only be available to the researcher.
 - Participant's Initials _____

インタビュー参加に関する同意書

私、川口真代はビクトリア大学太平洋アジア研究科の修士課程において、バンクーバー及び周辺都市の日本語学校の運営、教育についての研究を行っております。

研究目的

この研究は、現在、バンクーバー及び周辺地域において、日本語学校がどのように運営され、同地域の日本語教育の場として、いかに役割を果たしているのかを調査することを目的としています。またこの研究では、近年の日本語学校において、日本語がどのような人々に、いかなる関心を持たれて、学ばれているかを学校運営や、教育者の視点から聞き取ることを、ねらいとしています。

インタビューの実施方法

インタビューは、私、川口真代が行います。所要時間は約一時間ほどです。インタビューの時間や場所は、参加される方の都合のよい時間やプライバシーの守れる場所を事前にお伺いして、決めます。参加者の同意を得た場合、インタビューは録音されます。インタビューで得た全てのデータは、厳密に管理され、私以外が閲覧したり、持ち出すことはありません。プライバシー保護のため、参加者の実名や学校名は研究成果の中では、匿名化されて伏せられます。

研究に関わるリスクについて

この研究に参加する上で、参加者の方が日常生活で経験される以上のリスクを被ることはありません。しかし、インタビューにおいて、学校運営に関する考えや経験などをお聞きするため、参加される方のプライバシーに関わる質問をする可能性があります。それらの質問に答えたくない時や、返答に不安等を感じたときは、お申し出下さい。インタビューは途中であっても、いつでも休止及び中止することができます。休止した後、もしもインタビューを続けられるようでしたら、別の項目に話題を移して、お話を改めてうかがいます。

参加の自由について

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この研究の成果は、修士論文や学術紀要、記事や書物等の形で発行されたり、学会の場で発表される可能性があります。

お問い合わせ

この研究に関するご質問等は、川口（mayo.kawaguchi@gmail.com または 1-250-886-4139）までお問い合わせ下さい。また、この研究は、ビクトリア大学太平洋アジア研究科の野呂博子教授の指導の下、行われます。野呂教授へのお問い合わせは、hnoro@uvic.ca にお問い合わせ致します。

この研究はビクトリア大学において倫理委員会の承認を得ています。承認の確認やご質問は、ビクトリア大学の Human Research Ethics Office（1-250-472-4545 または ethics@uvic.ca）にご連絡下さい。

署名欄

上記の内容を承知し、理解した上で、本研究に参加することに同意します。

参加者氏名 _____

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Appendix III. Indications of the Operation of Fundamental Stream

Among the eight Japanese language schools that participated in the research, seven of the schools offer the fundamental stream along with the heritage language stream. The fundamental stream is often recognized as “classes for non-Japanese background students” in comparison with the heritage language stream. The distinction is given because the stream has traditionally offered Japanese language education for pupils who wish to learn Japanese as a foreign language. Thus, the stream is designed similarly to those Japanese language courses in foreign (or modern) language programs offered at other institutions. For example, the teachers provide instructions through English, teach Japanese language from beginner to advanced levels, and commonly use Japanese language textbooks for English speakers. These characteristics of the fundamental stream are different from the heritage language stream providing instructions for Japanese-speaking students. However, the research findings question whether the fundamental stream is operated only for non-Japanese background students.

In the interviews, the schools’ supporting factors for offering the fundamental stream are found in requests of parents and children who wish to learn Japanese language with a different curriculum from the heritage stream. The background of the parents and children can be either Japanese or non-Japanese.

The principal of School A pointed out that the school experienced an increase of *Nikkei*³⁶ students who have non-Japanese speaker parents when the school began to offer the fundamental stream around 1984. According to the principal, the student’s parents were Sansei (third generation) Japanese Canadians who immigrated to Canada in the early 1900s. Many of the Sansei generation did not learn Japanese from their parents as a result of their parents’ negative

³⁶ The definition of ‘Nikkei’ here is the descendants of pre-war Japanese immigrants in Canada.

attitude toward Japanese language maintenance. This negativity was based on personal experiences of internment and discriminations (Makabe, 1998; Noro, 2012). The principal explained that the economic development of Japan in 1980s revitalized the Japanese language group in Canada. Thus, the Sansei parents were motivated to make their children learn Japanese. Theoretically, Japanese is these children's heritage language but since they did not receive the language from their parents, they needed to be taught Japanese by using English with the methods of foreign language learning.

An increase in the number of non-Japanese speaking *Nikkei* students was also indicated by the principal of School B. According to the principal, at the time they opened their fundamental stream in 1984, the school began accepting many Asian students of non-Japanese background as well as the *Nikkei* students. Both School A and B are pioneers of the fundamental stream among the Japanese language schools. In other schools, principals did not mention in particular the acceptance of such non-Japanese speaking *Nikkei* students as their reason for opening the fundamental stream. However, it is found that Japanese background children who have grandparents or great-grand parents who were post-war Japanese immigrants (“new immigrants”³⁷) currently attend classes in the fundamental stream at four of the schools (Schools A, B, G, and H). The descendants of post-war ‘new immigrants’ seem to be in a similar home linguistic environment as the older generation of immigrants in 1980s. They are usually not able to speak Japanese at their home because of their parents’ lack of Japanese proficiency. They need to learn Japanese as a foreign language, but their parents wish them to learn Japanese in order to make them more familiar with their background. It is interesting to discover the recurrent phenomenon between the students who are the descendants of new and old Japanese

³⁷ Post-war Japanese immigrants, especially those who immigrated after the revision of immigration regulation in 1967 are called “new immigrants” to differentiate them from the group of pre-war Japanese immigrants.

immigrant groups in Canada. The phenomenon indicates a difficulty of intergenerational language maintenance, but at the same time, it shows the parents' timeless desire for their children to understand their heritage. This point confirms their ethnicity persisting even after their loss of Japanese language (Fishman, 2000; Lowe, 2005).

Another group of students in the fundamental stream comes from a non-Japanese background. However, if we look at the percentage of non-Japanese background students in each school, we can find the actual number of these sorts of students enrolled in the schools remains quite low. Based on interviews with principals, in four out of seven schools that offer the fundamental stream, the percentage of non-Japanese background students sits at around 10%. In the remaining three schools, School B has a comparatively higher number of these students at around 30%.³⁸

Furthermore, according to three schools' principals, the fundamental stream is sometimes selected by Japanese parents (first generation) as an alternative place for their children's Japanese learning. Second generation children usually learn in the heritage language stream because they are able to acquire a certain level of Japanese proficiency from their use of Japanese with their parents. However, when their use of Japanese at home is quite minimal, it is difficult for them to study in the heritage language stream. It is necessary to observe if the second-generation children's selection of the fundamental stream becomes a popular choice in other schools. According to the three principals, it is a recent phenomenon. The principals mentioned factors such as family structures, parents' lifestyles, and policies for Japanese

³⁸ Among the seven schools, the principal of School E commented that the number of students in the heritage language and fundamental streams is fifty-fifty in the school, but it is unclear what percentage of non-Japanese heritage background students are included in these streams.

language learning as influencing the choice for second-generation children to enter the fundamental stream.

We identified that the majority group of students in the schools consisted of children of exogamous couples (one Japanese background parent and one Canadian or other background parent). Baker (2006) discusses exogamous couples with respect to inter-language marriages. He observes that in inter-language marriages, the higher status language between the spouses' native languages is the one more likely to survive as the home language (p. 57). In Canada, this generally means that English (or French) becomes the dominant household language if it is the native language of one of the parents.

Generally in Japanese language schools, the parents' attitudes and motivations for their children's Japanese heritage language maintenance is essential for supporting the children's continuous learning. In the interviews, many principals implied that parental attitudes, preferences, and expectations for their children's language maintenance varied depending on the individual child's progress in language learning and the linguistic environment at home. The fundamental stream applies the pedagogy for foreign language education, but the presence of Japanese-background students in the stream suggests that the fundamental stream provides a different form of heritage language maintenance as well. In other words, the operation of the fundamental stream indicates a diversification of Japanese heritage in the Japanese language schools.