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A DESCRIPTIVE STUDY OF JAPANESE BILITERATE STUDENTS IN THE UNITED STATES: BILINGUALISM, LANGUAGE-MINORITY EDUCATION, AND TEACHERS' ROLE

A Dissertation Presented

by

YOSHIKO NAGAOKA

Submitted to the Graduate School of the
University of Massachusetts Amherst in partial fulfillment
of the requirements for the degree of

DOCTOR OF EDUCATION

September 1998

School of Education

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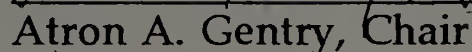
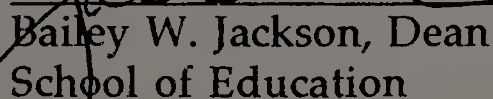


Atron A. Gentry, Chair

Robert W. Maloy, Member

Charles K. Smith, Member



Bailey W. Jackson, Dean
School of Education

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Finally, I wish to dedicate this dissertation to my family: to my parents, Junji and Masami, and to my sister Yoriko and brother Toyoki.

ABSTRACT

A DESCRIPTIVE STUDY OF JAPANESE BILITERATE STUDENTS
IN THE UNITED STATES: BILINGUALISM, LANGUAGE-MINORITY
EDUCATION, AND TEACHERS' ROLE

SEPTEMBER 1998

YOSHIKO NAGAOKA, B.A., GAKUSHUUIN UNIVERSITY
M.Ed., UNIVERSITY OF MASSACHUSETTS AMHERST
Ed.D., UNIVERSITY OF MASSACHUSETTS AMHERST
Directed by: Professor Atron A. Gentry

Japanese students in the United States have an opportunity to receive education in American public schools and in Japanese weekend supplementary schools guided by the Ministry of Education in Japan. This "bi-schooled" situation emphasizes positive aspects of educating biliterate children. However, developing literacy skills in both English and Japanese is a complicated task for students.

Focusing on maintenance and development of literacy skills in Japanese as a first language, this study provides an intensive description of the Japanese writing experiences and practices of four ninth graders and of teaching experiences of three Japanese teachers in one weekend school in the United States. The students are native-born Japanese who have received more than five years of education in both American and the Japanese weekend school. All three teachers have experience teaching in Japan and have lived in the United States for over seven years. There is gap between the present situation of Japanese bi-

schooling students and these teachers' standards in the weekend school. Investigating these students and teachers allows us to perceive this gap.

Data collected through a phenomenological in-depth interview method is presented in the following three aspects: students' self-understanding, their positive perspectives on learning two languages, and their difficulties under current conditions of bi-schooling. Also from teachers' perspectives, the teachers' observations of problems in the students' essays, their perception of problems in the students' bi-schooled situation, their strategies for instruction in Japanese composition, and their understanding of the role of Japanese weekend schools are examined. The examinations of thirteen students' writing samples by the teachers were included in the interviews.

The findings identify important insights and approaches in the following areas: bilingual education, language-minority education, and teachers' roles, including their academic expectations of students, in educational settings. This study has implications for meaning of bilingual education, issues of language-minority education, the importance of teachers' awareness of issues and problems faced by language-minority students, the importance of parental involvement in education. In addition, it has ramifications for Japanese education in the United States as well as Japanese bilingual education in Japan.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Introduction

Much research has been conducted to attempt to explain the process and outcome of acquiring and learning two languages. Recent discussions of bilingual education and education for language minority students emphasize the positive outcomes of learning two languages in exploring different cultures. These discussions arise as a result both of the increasing number of children who have been brought up with more than one language, and of the necessity of transcultural interaction due to the closer relationships among different cultures and nations in the world. With the development of technology, the world has become smaller and will become smaller still in the near future. The project of improving education for bilingual and biliterate children is crucial for the future relationships among different cultures in the world. In particular, improving the relationship between the Western world and Eastern world is a challenge because of the apparent differences in language and culture.

Learning two languages requires not only communicative proficiency, but also literacy proficiency, because four language skills—listening, speaking, reading, and writing—are integrated with each other for language development in general. The language skills in one area cannot be developed without synchronized development of the other language skills. The more one seeks a deepened understanding of different cultures and languages, the more one needs to improve one's language skills as a whole.

Literacy proficiency takes more time to acquire and learn than communicative proficiency; however, the higher the literacy proficiency is, the closer the relationship between two different cultures can be. The issues in literacy learning need to be discussed for the sake of the literacy education of bilingual children in the future.

The question of how children can achieve a level of successful academic language proficiency in two languages in different educational settings is a very interesting question for educators to explore. Educational practices play a significant role in helping students academically succeed in two languages. In many cases, the teachers' role affects the students' learning process not only in language, but also in the other subject matters. This fact implies that the ways in which teachers deal with their students influence the students' academic success or failure to a large degree.

In this Chapter, an overview of education for Japanese children outside Japan is presented in order to discuss the importance of literacy education for bilingual children. In 1.2, the historical background of Japanese education outside Japan is introduced. Focusing on Japanese students attending Japanese weekend schools in the United States, the education for their Japanese literacy proficiency is discussed in 1.3, and in the role and the educational guidelines of the Ministry of Education in Japan 1.4. The issues facing Japanese biliterate students are summarized with the Japanese teachers' observations in 1.5. Given this knowledge of Japanese education outside Japan and the particular situation of Japanese students, several research questions are presented in 1.6. The discussion continues on to the significant implications for a few aspects of literacy education, and these

implications are supported by the important theoretical contexts brought out in Chapter 2.

1.2 Background of Japanese Education outside Japan

Rapid and sustained Japanese economic growth and the global developments of the past twenty years have led to a dramatic increase in the number of Japanese employees and their families living outside Japan. From 1971 to 1990, the total number of Japanese children outside Japan grew almost six times, from 8,662 to 50,842 (Sato & Nakanishi, 1991a, p. 18; Sato & Nakanishi, 1991b, pp. 128-131). In 1997, the Ministry of Education in Japan reported that from 1992 to 1996 there were approximately fifty thousand Japanese children residing outside the nation with the right to receive Japanese compulsory education *gimu kyooiku* in elementary and junior high school (lower secondary schools) [Grades 1-9] (1997a, pp. 3-5) (see Figure 1.1).

For these "expatriate" children, the Ministry of Education, with help from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and other community groups, provides Japanese education in at least two types of schools (The Ministry of Education, 1993, p. 479). One of these, *nihonjin gakkoo* (hereafter traditional school) educates Japanese children outside Japan in the same national curriculum as the schools in Japan. The other type of school is called Japanese weekend supplementary school, *hoshuu jugyookoo* (hereafter weekend school). The weekend schools are designed to maintain, at a minimum, the students' linguistic and mathematical abilities in the Japanese style of education. In the weekend schools, the students primarily learn Japanese literacy together with

mathematics, among other subjects, while attending a *genchikoo* (local school) during the week.

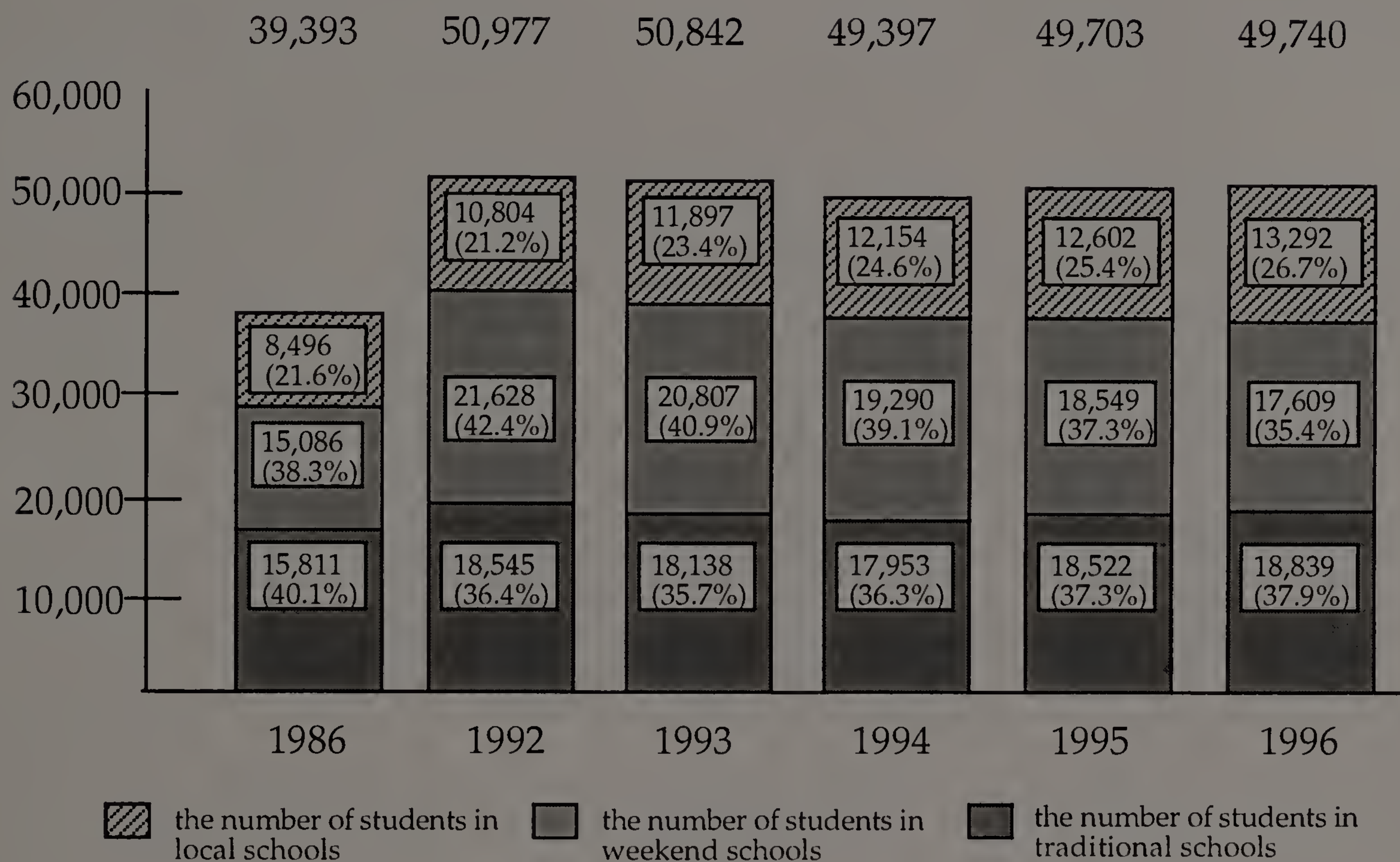


Figure 1.1
the number and percentage of students outside Japan
attending three kinds of schools

(The Ministry of Education, 1997a, p. 5)

The first traditional school was established in Taipei, Taiwan, in 1953. The first weekend school established in the United States was founded in Washington D. C., in 1958. In the 1960s, weekend schools were established in New York City (1962), Philadelphia (1964), Chicago (1966), San Francisco (1968), and Los Angeles (1969). The number of weekend schools has rapidly increased in the United States; twenty-six such schools were established in the 1970s and twenty-three more in the 1980s (The Ministry of Foreign Affairs,

1995, p. 9). There are presently 174 weekend schools and ninety-two traditional schools worldwide (The Ministry of Education, 1997a, pp. 39-46). Of these, seventy-nine weekend schools and three traditional schools exist in the United States (ibid.).

All Japanese schools for children outside Japan at the level of compulsory education are sanctioned and supplied by the Ministry of Education with textbooks based on a whole year curriculum (The Ministry of Education, 1997a, p. 16). Compulsory education, *gimu kyooiku*, is the major educational system in Japan governed by the Ministry of Education. Curricular standards are specified in a national Course of Study, and textbooks are evaluated by the government (U.S. Department of Education, 1987, p. 5). The Ministry of Education presents the educational content for Japanese children outside Japan in both traditional and weekend schools as follows (1997a, p. 12, 14):

> In traditional school, education is provided in the same way as education in Japanese elementary and junior high schools in Japan. The textbooks are distributed by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Japan. The total number of days that the children attend the school is about 210 days, which might vary, depending on the natural and social situation in the region. In order to take advantage of the opportunity to have an enriched international education, the schools provide an education emphasizing the specific history, geography, music, language, etc., of the country where the school is located.
>
> In weekend school, the students receive education mainly in Japanese literacy and possibly in other subject areas: arithmetic/ mathematics, science, and social studies. The total number of days that the children attend the school is forty to fifty. For students attending a local school, the Japanese way of life, Japanese customs, etc., could be emphasized in the weekend schools. The teachers should choose only important content from the textbooks, because they can not cover everything.

Both types of Japanese schools are expected to maintain the level of excellence of the national curriculum as required by the Ministry of Education. Eligibility for attending these schools is usually based on the expectation that the children will return to Japan and receive Japanese education after their temporary stay in another country. The Ministry of Education defines the students who attend both types of schools as "Japanese children outside Japan," *zaigaishijo*, viz., the students who are temporarily receiving their education outside Japan and who will later come back to Japan (Sato & Nakanishi, 1991a, p. 5). In particular, the Ministry of Education provides some special support for education in weekend schools, so that the students will be able to promptly readjust to the Japanese traditional education when they return to Japan. This special support results from the concern of the parents and the Ministry of Education regarding the education received in the local schools. Some students may receive American higher education after their family has gone back to Japan; however, most students do go back with their family because of their age or parental decision. These children are categorized separately from Japanese children who emigrate with their parents to the country outside Japan, because education for the emigrant children is fundamentally different from that for the "Japanese children outside Japan (*zaigaishijo*)" (ibid.).

There is a third type of school available to some Japanese children: private schools that have branched out from schools in Japan, or private schools founded by a company (*shiritsukoo*). Such private schools are categorized either as whole day school, *zen'nichisee* or as after school, *hoshuubu* (Japanese Overseas Educational Services, 1992). The percentage of

private schools in Japan is far smaller than that of public schools supported by national funds. National and local public schools constitute 99.3% of all elementary schools and 94.2% of all junior high schools in Japan, while the rest are private schools (The Ministry of Education, 1997b, p 23). The Ministry of Education has reported that there are four whole day schools, *zen'nichisee* in the United States: Tennessee Meiji Academy, Keio New York Academy, Seigakuin Atlanta International School, and Nishi Yamato Academy California Branch (1997a, p. 11). Many of these private schools contain a feature of the international schools, *kokusai gakkoo*, where students are educated from an international perspective. The Ministry of Education defines the international schools as whole day educational institutions founded by Japanese private school corporations, wherein the same education provided by private schools in Japan is delivered to Japanese children outside Japan (ibid., p. 10). The after schools are usually for the purpose of preparing for the severe high school and college entrance exams of the Japanese educational system. None of these private schools are included in this study, because they do not fall directly under the jurisdiction of the Ministry of Education.

1.3 The Role of the Ministry of Education

Since most education for Japanese children outside Japan is centralized by the Japanese government, the Ministry of Education undertakes to furnish a number of services for those children. The services are provided with the help of the Ministry of Foreign Affair of Japan and Japanese Overseas Educational Services (hereafter JOES), so that Japanese children outside Japan

will have the same opportunity as their peers in Japan to receive compulsory education. These services are provided mainly for traditional schools and weekend schools all over the world. The guidelines for these services are as follows (The Ministry of Education, 1997a, pp. 16-20):

1. sending Japanese teachers to Japanese schools outside Japan
2. supporting Japanese children outside Japan
   - i providing free textbooks
   - ii developing supplementary drill books (available by mail-order)
   - iii counseling for education outside Japan
3. providing the students with a better and enriched education in educational institutions outside Japan
   - i selecting particular outside Japan schools as objects for the Ministry's research
   - ii selecting schools to cooperate with the Ministry's research on the education of Japanese children outside Japan
   - iii sending teachers' groups to provide instructions for weekend schools
   - iv training principals and teachers
   - v preparing educational materials for Japanese children outside Japan
   - vi sending directors for international interchange
   - vii servicing communication networks of personal computers
4. certifying, with the minister's special approval, the degrees granted by educational institutions outside Japan
5. organizing the Center of Education (in Japan) for Japanese children outside Japan
6. dealing with the safety of educational institutions outside Japan.

First, given its concern for educating Japanese children outside Japan and its desire to financially support educational institutions outside Japan, the Ministry of Education sends Japanese teachers from Japanese public

schools in the compulsory education system to schools outside Japan for a three-year period (1997a, p. 16). This is a major service for organizing education in both traditional and weekend schools. The weekend schools have fewer Japanese teachers sent from Japan than traditional schools. The number of the students in weekend school reflects this situation. For instance, six teachers were sent for the first time in 1974 to weekend schools where there were more than one hundred students (Sato & Nakanishi, 1991a, p. 68).

The three services included in the second item are provided for all Japanese children outside Japan at their request. 1) The free textbooks are provided, upon request, to each child through the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Japan, which consumes a large portion of the national education budget. The Ministry's budget for the free distribution of textbooks amounted to approximately 39.6 billion yen in the fiscal year 1990 (Asian Cultural Center for UNESCO, 1991, p. 41). The textbooks are those that are most widely used in Japan, and are based on the national whole year curriculum suggested by the Ministry of Education (ibid.). The textbooks are sent only to those who are outside Japan and who have the right to receive the compulsory education (The Ministry of Education, 1997a, p. 16). 2) For readjustment to the Japanese educational system after a temporary absence, the supplementary drill books can be purchased from JOES in Japan (ibid., p. 17). JOES developed these drill books by following, for the most part, the textbooks broadly used in Japan; they are intended for those who do not attend the traditional schools outside Japan. With the drill books, the students should be able to maintain and improve their fundamental

academic skills. The drill books cover Japanese, Arithmetic/Mathematics, Science, and Social Studies, and are for use for elementary school (Grades 1-6) and junior high school (Grades 7-9). Using these materials, students can learn the content on their own in the following manner: the students complete the drills and tests from the drill-books, send them to JOES, and shortly thereafter receive the corrected drills and tests along with instructions for arriving at the correct answers. The number of students ordering the service in 1995 was 13,604, and 43.7 % of Japanese children outside Japan who did not attend traditional schools used this service (1997a, p. 17). 3) In two cities in Japan, Tokyo and Osaka, JOES provides a counseling service for those seeking a Japanese education outside Japan. Parents and their children can consult with a specialist regarding their educational options outside Japan (with information provided concerning the differences among Japanese traditional schools, Japanese weekend schools, and local schools), the process of transferring to schools in Japan upon return to Japan, and so forth. The number of families utilizing this service in 1997 was 4,154 (ibid.).

The third item subdivides the ways that students are provided with a better and enriched education in educational institutions outside Japan. 1) The Ministry of Education selects certain schools for three-year periods in order to research innovative educational methods, so that better guidance can be provided to Japanese schools abroad. This service was started in 1988, when the first school selected for this project was the Manaus Japanese school in Brazil (Sato & Nakanishi, 1991a, p. 54). There were three schools selected for 1996: the Manila Japanese school (the Philippines), the Honolulu Japanese weekend school (United States), and the Jakarta Japanese school

(Indonesia) (The Ministry of Education, 1997a, p. 17). 2) Since 1996, the Ministry of Education has undertaken practical research of certain educational issues in Japanese and weekend schools that require prompt attention. Thus, some Japanese traditional schools and some weekend schools are asked to cooperate in the Ministry's research for two-year periods. In 1996, seven such schools were selected: the Rotterdam Japanese school (the Netherlands), the Mexico Academy Japanese course (Mexico), the Nairobi Japanese school (Kenya), the Johannesburg Japanese school (South Africa), and the San Diego, Detroit, and Los Angeles weekend schools (United States) (ibid.). 3) Since 1974, when financial support for weekend schools had been expanded to a large degree, and with the rapid increase in the number of Japanese students outside Japan, special teachers' groups have been sent to some Japanese weekend schools having no Japanese teachers sent from Japan, in order to provide educational instruction for these schools (Sato & Nakanishi, 1991a, p. 46). Furthermore, Japanese teachers who have been sent to traditional schools outside Japan sometimes also travel to neighboring regions without either Japanese traditional or weekend schools, in order to provide educational instruction to the Japanese children in these areas (The Ministry of Education, 1997a, pp. 17-18). 4) Since the first principals' meeting was held in Bangkok (Thailand) in 1972, the annual principals' meeting has been held in the four different districts: the Asia & Pacific district, the South America district, the Middle East & Africa district, and the United States & Europe district (Sato & Nakanishi, 1991a, p. 177). In these meetings , Japanese principals share and discuss issues pertaining to the traditional schools. Moreover, an annual meeting for teachers in weekend schools has been held

in the United States and Europe (The Ministry of Education, 1997a, p. 18). 5) In addition to JOES's services, the Ministry of Education started to organize educational material for Japanese schools abroad in 1967 (ibid.). The Ministry of Education helps JOES (Japanese Overseas Education Services) develop educational material specifically for Japanese children outside Japan, including science materials and educational computer systems, with special consideration given to the challenges that arise in delivering a Japanese education in a wholly different educational and social environment. For instance, they have prepared color videotapes for science and social studies with which the students can learn these subjects visually. Furthermore, the establishment of libraries in Japanese schools outside Japan has been undertaken as a five-year-plan since 1997 (ibid.). 6) Since 1990, the Ministry of Education has been sending international directors to selected educational institutions outside Japan for three-year periods; these directors generally have experience with different cultures, are open-minded, and have an interest in international education (ibid.). The directors contribute to activities promoting international exchange in order that Japanese students and the non-Japanese children of the region share their cultures, education, and sports with each other. There are quite a few schools that received international directors in 1996: the Singapore Japanese school (Singapore), the Chicago Japanese school and Japanese weekend school, the New York Japanese school and Japanese weekend school (United States), the Mexico Japanese school (Mexico), the Brussels Japanese school (Belgium), the Cairo Japanese school (Egypt), the Kuala Lumpur Japanese school (Malaysia), the Hong Kong Japanese school (China), and the Düsseldorf Japanese school

(Germany) (ibid.). 7) Finally, the Ministry of Education has since 1990 been developing a communication network for personal computers, in order that institutes and schools in Japan and outside Japan can communicate promptly with one another. Through this network, teachers and their students can get information about Japanese education, culture, and current events in Japan (ibid., p. 19).

As for the fourth service, the Ministry of Education provides degree approvals to certify that children receiving an education in Japanese schools outside Japan have the same degree as elementary, junior high, and high school students in Japan (ibid.). With their degrees, students from schools outside Japan have the same right to take the entrance exams for high school, college, or university. Moreover, so far as their teaching certification is concerned, teachers in these institutions are treated in the same way that Japanese teachers in Japan are. This is based on "the regulation regarding certification in Japanese educational institutions outside Japan" in Notification No. 114 (from 1991) of the Ministry of Education (ibid.).

Fifth, the Ministry of Education established "the center of education for children outside Japan" at Gakugei University in 1978 (ibid.). At the center, special research groups focus on the education of children outside Japan, discuss the issues involved in such education, study the present situation of such education, etc. This center is a national institute funded by the Japanese government. The specific work for Japanese schools outside Japan done at the center consists of the following: 1) research regarding education process and pedagogy; 2) development of teaching materials; 3) special workshops for teachers dealing with returnees; 4) experimental studies regarding bilingual

and bicultural education; 5) research related to special instruction for handicapped children; 6) practical guidance report of teachers sent from Japan; 7) collection, maintenance, and distribution of information and materials regarding returnee education; and 8) office support for financial and human services personnel at the center (ibid.).

The sixth and final service was recently established because some Japanese institutions outside Japan sometimes find themselves in unsafe situations, like riot, political chaos, etc. (ibid., p. 20). Recent memorable incidents include the shooting of the Japanese principal of the Nairobi Japanese school on his way to school (August 1996), and the occupation by Peruvian guerrillas of the public house for Japanese teachers sent from Japan (December 1996). The Ministry of Education provides a special safety service for educational institutions outside Japan. To protect the teachers in these institutions, safety guidance groups are sent from Japan.

These services indicate that the Ministry of Education is, to a large degree, concerned with the education of Japanese children outside Japan in both traditional and weekend schools. The primary educational goal set by the Ministry of Education targets the Japanese students outside Japan who have the right to receive Japanese compulsory education. Yet some services provided by the Ministry of Education are only for those who attend weekend schools. In other words, the Ministry of Education provides some services for both traditional and weekend schools by accrediting educational institutions outside Japan; yet the primary educational goals are differently treated in traditional schools and weekend schools because of their different features. The different features of these two kinds of school, along with availability by

geographical location, help determine the choice by students (and their parents) to attend either a traditional or a weekend school.

1.4 Japanese Education in the United States

There are twelve cities in the world that have both types of school: Agana (Guam), Chicago, and New York City, the United States; Rome, Italy; Amsterdam, the Netherlands; Zürich, Switzerland; Madrid, Spain; Düsseldorf, Hamburg, and Frankfurt, Germany; Brussels, Belgium; and London, England (see Table 1.1).

Table 1.1
the number of students in traditional and
weekends schools in twelve cities in the world

place	traditional school	weekend school
Zürich, Switzerland	88	33
Düsseldorf, Germany	908	40
Madrid, Spain	144	90
Amsterdam, Netherlands	374	94
Hamburg, Germany	244	129
Brussels, Belgium	307	144
Frankfurt, Germany	291	179
Rome, Italy	30	36 *
Agana (Guam), US	66	128 *
Chicago, US	286	857 *
London, England	952	1518 *
New York, US	389	3788 *

Of these, only five—Rome, London, and all three cities in the United States—have more students attending the weekend schools than students attending the traditional schools of the same area (refer to the numbers marked with *

in Table 1.1) (Sato & Nakanishi, 1991b, pp. 141, 151, 160, 170, 180). For example, New York city had 389 students in a traditional school and 3,788 students in three weekend schools in 1990 (Sato & Nakanishi, 1991b, pp. 141, 170). Almost ten times as many students attend the weekend schools as compared to the traditional schools. By contrast, only about 1.6 times as many students go to the weekend schools in London, with 1,518 students in weekend schools and 952 students in traditional school (ibid., pp. 151, 180). Of course, the choice of attending either a traditional or weekend school could be limited according to the availability of the schools in a particular region. Different regions usually tend towards one of the two kinds of school (e.g., Asia tends to have traditional schools, and the U.S. towards weekend schools) (see Figure 1.2 & 1.3).

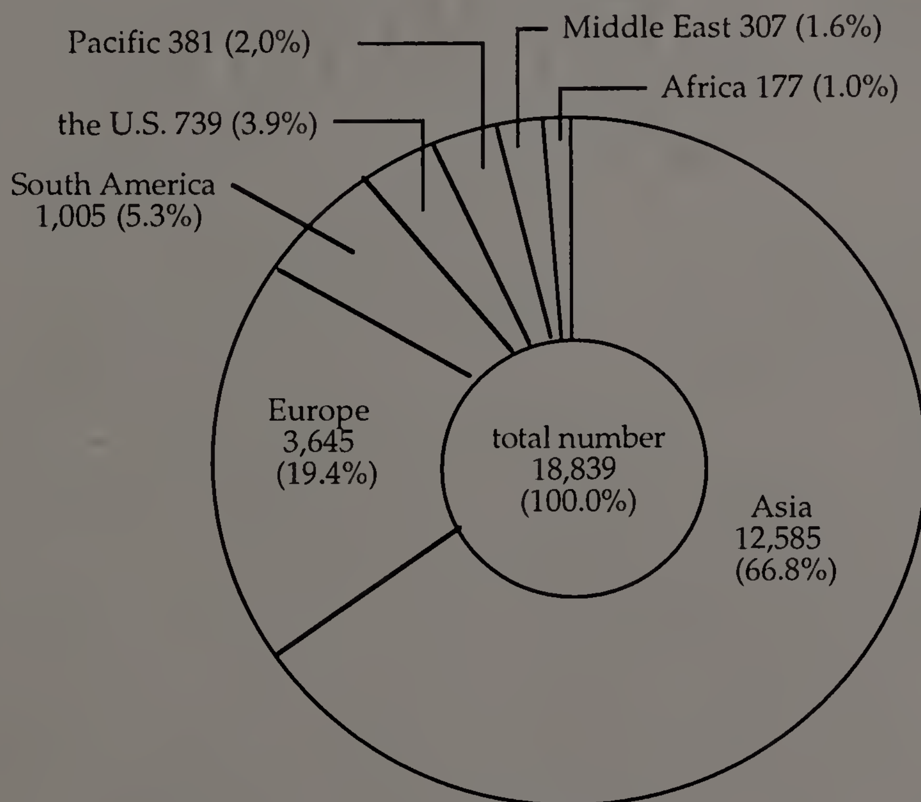


Figure 1.2
the number and percentage of Japanese children attending traditional schools (5/1/1996)

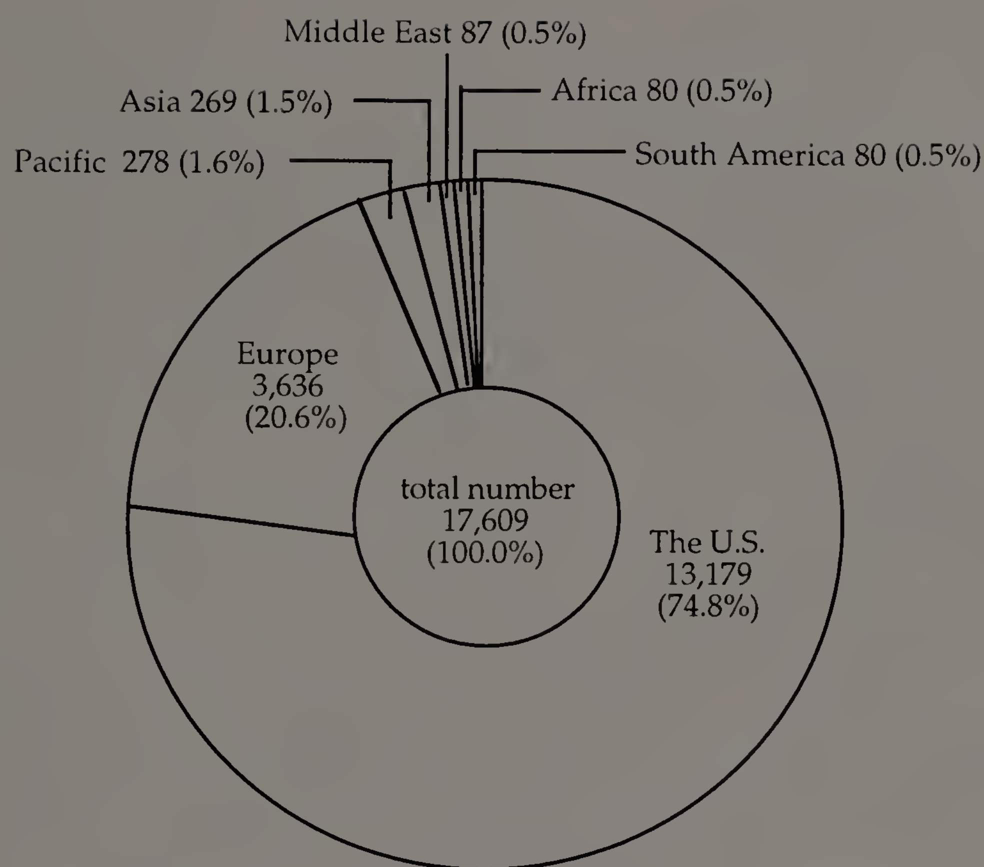


Figure 1.3
the number and percentage of Japanese children attending Japanese weekend schools

The Ministry of Education reported that 37.4 percent of the total number of Japanese children residing outside Japan live in the United States, which is the highest proportion in the world (1997a, p. 4) (see Figure 1.4). Of these, 70.9 percent of Japanese children attend American public school on weekdays and study in weekend school on weekends. Another 25.1 percent attend traditional schools only, and 4.0 percent receive their education exclusively in American schools, private schools, or other settings (ibid., p. 5). Only in the United States is it observed that the number of students attending weekend schools is larger than that of the students attending traditional schools. Unlike non-resident Japanese students in the rest of the world, those in the United States generally receive an American education during the

week and maintain their Japanese language ability through the weekend schools.

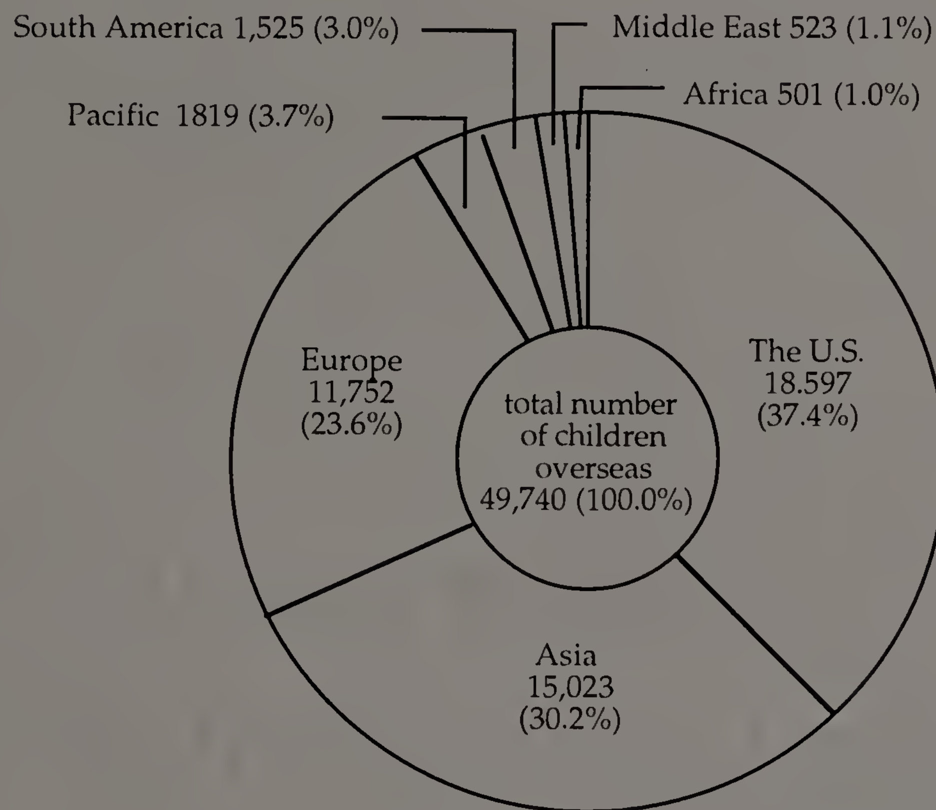


Figure 1.4
the number and percentage of Japanese children outside Japan (5/1/1996)

[Note: Figures 1.2, 1.3, and 1.4 are from the present educational situation for Japanese children outside Japan (The Ministry of Education, 1997a, p. 4, 7, 9)]

Thus, education in weekend schools in the United States must be considered a higher priority than that in traditional schools. This phenomenon seems to reflect the two primary educational expectations of Japanese parents, viz., that their children receive an American education in English, and that they still learn and/or maintain the Japanese language at the weekend schools. The number of students attending the two different kinds of school in the United States and in England shows that Japanese parents seem to have a preference for education in English. The Japanese government seems to interpret this

phenomenon as a positive step toward Japanese "international education." Sato and Nakanishi postulate that the Ministry of Education and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, from the viewpoint of Japanese international education, plan to improve education in weekend schools because the Japanese students experiencing the local schools of a foreign country will play an important role in Japanese internationalization (1991a, p 57). For internationalization in Japan is often interpreted as fluency in English along with Japanese literacy skills.

1.5 Statement of the Problem

This study focuses on the Japanese students in the United States who attend both American public school and Japanese weekend school. These students will be referred as "bi-schooling" students and the situation as "bi-schooled." These words "bi-schooling" and "bi-schooled" are original terms. More specifically, this research explores problems which Japanese bi-schooling students experience in maintaining and improving their Japanese writing skills in their bi-schooled situation. Also, issues in teaching these bi-schooling students will be discussed from the teachers' perspective.

Obviously, the bi-schooling students experience completely different educational environments from Japanese students in traditional schools. The Japanese bi-schooling students face two very different educational situations in two different languages. The students are expected to learn English and Japanese, which is not an easy task under any circumstances. A great deal of time must be devoted to bilingual students in order that they develop and improve both their first and second languages. It is very time

consuming for them to develop not only their communication skills, but also their level of academic language proficiency in two languages. Since bi-schooling students attend American school for the majority of the time, its impact on Japanese literacy proficiency in Japanese weekend school is deserving of study. They colloquially and academically explore English language in school and outside school, while they have only a limited time available for speaking and learning Japanese at home and in their weekend schools. Such students, having received American literacy education for an extended period of time, usually experience some difficulties in Japanese. In other words, the bi-schooling students whose educational experience comes more from American schools than from Japanese schools in Japan do not meet the level of academic achievement in Japanese literacy education at weekend schools. A study in Toronto, Canada examining the weekend school students' proficiency in reading by Cummins et al. (1984) concluded that LOR (Length Of Residence) in Toronto had a demonstrable effect on the students' Japanese reading skills, and AOA (Age of Arrival) also influenced their English learning processes. These results are significant and should explain some of what is involved in acquiring literacy skills in two different languages. Also, other factors can be considered as to why their Japanese reading skills are weaker. For example, bi-schooling students may lack practice in Japanese literacy, since they attend English-language schools and are immersed in an English-speaking culture. The amount of time that the students spend on Japanese and English literacy reflects their literacy proficiency in each language. The relative time spent on literacy education in

the two languages is clearly an issue in Japanese literacy education at weekend schools.

Bi-schooling students often leave Japan before receiving any advanced literacy education; consequently they need the literacy education at weekend schools in the United States. In weekend schools, the bi-schooling students are expected to achieve the same national standard at least in Japanese literacy and math skills, and to learn these subjects at the same rate as students in traditional schools. Japanese literacy is taught in a "*kokugo*" (national language) classroom which includes speaking, listening, reading and writing. The "*kokugo*" textbooks with instruction guidelines for each grade are provided by the Ministry of Education. The guidelines are designed by a group of government officials, researchers, and teachers who specialize in the subject (Asian Cultural Center for UNESCO, 1991, p. 26). In the Japanese national guidelines for *kokugo*, two categories are presented as goals: *hyogen* (expression) and *rikai* (understanding). For example, the goals set by the Ministry of Education for a *kokugo* classroom at the junior high school level are "to accurately understand and appropriately express the national language, to develop thinking and creative skills, to enrich language sense, to increase the recognition of the national language, and to develop an attitude of respect for the national language" (The Ministry of Education, 1989a, p. 7). Of course, these goals are also set for Japanese children receiving education in Japan or in Japanese traditional schools. Nevertheless, teachers in the weekend schools are expected to keep to the same timetable of national language/*kokugo* as their counterparts in Japan, even though the class is only

held on weekends. Furthermore, weekend school is usually held on Saturdays and may not even be a full day of school.

Another problem results from the Japanese bi-schooling students' increasing facility with English. For example, because of their knowledge of English, Japanese bi-schooling students use inappropriate words or expressions in their writing – ones which Japanese monolingual students in Japan would not use. In fact, these words and expressions may be unfamiliar to Japanese teachers and other students in Japan, and may not even be used in Japanese social contexts. Such words might be English words spelled out in Japanese "*katakana*," which is used primarily to present borrowings from foreign languages. This tendency is commonly seen as one of the problems found by Japanese teachers. Japanese students apply their knowledge of English, their second language, to speaking and writing Japanese. Their writings include not only words, but a number of unique grammatical and semantic arrangements invented by the students to express a thought or idea. A linguistic point of view could explain this tendency as a code-switching or code-mixing process, a borrowing process which is always possible between any two languages (Gumperz, 1982; Oksaar, 1983; Gibbsons, 1987; Singh et al., 1988; Hamayan & Damico, 1991). According to Hamayan & Damico, there is evidence that code-switching occurs when one of the languages is weaker than the other (1991, pp. 63-64). Specifically, in this study, this is referred to as a "secondary" congruity and interference, where the students' second language influences their first language, by contrast with a "primary" congruity and interference, where the students' first language influences their second language. It is crucial to distinguish between the stronger and

the weaker language, which is not the same distinction as that between first language and second language. Although Japanese bi-schooling students' first language is Japanese and their second is English, their English literacy proficiency can be stronger than their Japanese proficiency in some content areas. This fact is related to their experiences with English literacy education in American school and/or their experiences with Japanese language and literacy in traditional schools in Japan before their arrival in the United States.

Students who have been bi-schooled in the United States for over five years tend to have problems in writing Japanese. According to Cummins, five years is a critical length of time for students who learn literacy in two languages (1982). These students' Japanese language proficiency is influenced not only by their experiences in two different languages and cultures, but also by the academic expectations of the different schools. The bi-schooling Japanese students who have attended American public schools for five years or longer typically have few problem meeting the American academic requirements, having become accustomed to reading and writing in English. Many of them are academically successful in English literacy. But the bilingual bi-schooled experience seems to create problems that interfere with their Japanese literacy, which is learned only on weekends at weekend school.

Besides the issues mentioned above, the usage of language and the meaning of using language in a shared community play a significant role in the students' developing Japanese language proficiency. From the notion of communication roles in the study of *Donahue* discourse, Carbaugh emphasizes the importance of common meanings structured by social norms

(1990, p. 144). This is to be explained through the concept of metalinguistics from a socio-linguistic perspective (Heath, 1983; McClure & McClure, 1988; Scotton, 1988; Carbaugh, 1990; Scotton, 1990). The concept of metalinguistics usually explains how ones understand the usage of language. Using the notion, Heath discusses (1983) children's awareness of language usage in shared language communities. For example, the Japanese students' knowledge in writing structure (their knowledge of how to write) is not only transferable between two languages, but also shared in an academic community (classroom, school etc.). "Normal" or "acceptable" language and language usage in literacy are based on both the students' and teachers' knowledge of how to achieve literacy. The knowledge and the expectation of academic language are shared in a particular group in school. Although the Japanese bi-schooling students have experience developing academic language proficiency in weekend schools and probably at home, it should be recognized that in many cases the literacy education in weekend schools tends to be focused on reading, not writing. This also reflects the educational situation of Japan. Writing education in Japan in the national language (*kokugo*) is not only lumped in with reading education, but it is also stressed less than reading education. The Ministry of Education suggests that the number of classroom hours for writing should be 105 (out of 306) for Grades 1 and 2, and 70 (out of 280 or 210) from Grades 3 though 6; the Ministry also recommends that teachers include more actual writing activities in class (1989a, p. 5; 1989b, p. iii). According to the 1992 report by educators from Japanese schools in New England, the United States, the number of classes for writing education in Japan increased by 33 % (p. 35), which is still one third of

the total *kokugo* education. Also both the teachers and the students in weekend schools tend to be less motivated in developing writing proficiency, because they must deal with the difficult "bi-schooled" situation and its limited time frame. This is an aspect of "metalinguistic awareness."

At two conferences of Japanese teachers, one held in Springfield, MA in 1993, and another in New York City in 1995, the issues of Japanese students in weekend school were described and discussed by teachers from Japanese weekend schools in the northeastern region of the United States. The teachers discussed the following problems that bi-schooling students face: an overwhelming amount of homework from Japanese school in addition to the assignments from their American schools; a lot of pressure to achieve what the two schools expect of the students; difficulties in learning two languages; low self-esteem in catching up with the standard of traditional Japanese schools; and so forth. The following three issues always seem to be considered at Japanese weekend schools in the United States:

1. *Teachers' concerns about the shortage of time available to complete a whole year curriculum*
2. *Difficulties in teaching students with varying degrees of experience with the Japanese school system in Japan*
3. *Profound differences in cultural and educational practices between American and Japanese schools*

First, time constraints lead to a situation in which students have difficulties in keeping up with the national standard that Japanese students in Japan are expected to reach. The teachers agreed that the responsibility of covering the entire year's Japanese curriculum is unrealistic. Although Japanese literacy and mathematics are commonly the only two subjects taught at weekend schools, the few classroom hours a week on each subject

are not enough for students to digest the week's curriculum. Some Japanese teachers adopt the following strategies to overcome the time constraint issue: (1) They teach only what they feel are the most important parts (units) of the curriculum, (2) they cover all the units but not in depth, or (3) a combination of (1) and (2). Despite these strategies, the problem remains that students have less opportunity and motivation to learn all the material as compared to their peers living in Japan. Japanese bi-schooling students spend most of their time on school work required by their American schools, and thus have a limited amount of time to devote to their Japanese weekend school. This can lead to poor performance of the students. Besides the time constraint, the mere fact of being bi-schooled may also contribute to the students' poor performance. The students may feel that poor performance in weekend schools is acceptable, since they may think that their work in the American public schools takes priority (Cummins, 1984). Moreover, teachers may not expect their bi-schooled students to develop Japanese literacy proficiency to the same degree that their Japanese students in Japan would.

Second, it is difficult to provide each student with an education which meets her/his needs since the weekend school has a limited number of classes. In their weekend school classes, teachers have to teach students with various backgrounds from various school and with various language experiences, at least compared with the standard Japanese traditional school. Teachers mention that some students have no difficulty reading and writing Japanese in the traditional Japanese school environment, while others have a hard time following the Japanese standard. Teachers have difficulties teaching students who have more English background knowledge from

American school than experience in the traditional Japanese school. Problems could be found in the students who have stayed in the United States for longer durations. In many cases, students with more experience of American education fall behind a Japanese standard which would be readily achieved by students who had just arrived from Japan. Because of this phenomenon, the range of students' varying educational experience in a classroom is always an issue in the weekend schools.

Third, the Japanese teachers attending the two conferences discussed the fact that the students tend to apply their educational experience in American public school to Japanese education in weekend school. This fact relates to the problem mentioned above regarding the length of the students' educational experience in the United States. In weekend school, students sometimes act in the ways to which they have adapted in their American schools. For example, some students behave more freely than they should in a Japanese traditional classroom. As for Japanese literacy, students with more experience in the traditional schools in Japan are generally more proficient in literacy, while the students with longer American school experience write a Japanese that is influenced by English.

Usually the students with less proficiency in Japanese literacy are Japanese-born and don't have any problem speaking Japanese. Even though they have lived in the United States, many bi-schooling students do not seem to have troubles in speaking, but in writing Japanese. Their speaking ability comes from their experience in Japanese language at home and in the weekend school. Most bilingual students have no problems in oral communication in English, but they may have difficulties achieving

academic literacy proficiency (Cummins 1984). With respect to literacy proficiency, it is necessary to distinguish between bilingual students' communicative proficiency and academic language proficiency. In their writing, some bi-schooling students have problems that are rarely seen in the writings of Japanese monolingual students in Japan: inappropriate vocabulary usage, lack of *kanji* (Chinese characters), English influences in their Japanese, lack of background knowledge about Japan, lack of opportunity to practice Japanese, etc.

The teachers in weekend schools are native-born, and many of them were trained to be teachers in schools in Japan. The Japanese teachers point out a clear academic gap between their students at weekend schools and those Japanese students who receive their entire education in Japan. The teachers who have received their entire education in Japan are in a unique position to observe their students' difficulties in writing and how they differ from the difficulties of students in Japan. Yet the fact that teachers expect that their bi-schooling students will achieve at the same level as their students in Japan itself causes problems. Therefore we must be aware of the effects of teacher's expectations, which give them a significant responsibility and power (Englander, 1986; Cadzen, 1988; Bloome & Willett, 1991; Cooper & Holzman, 1989; Gingras & Careaga, 1989; Milk et al., 1992; Bierlein, 1993).

1.6 Purpose of Study

The purpose of this study is to explore the issues of bi-schooling students and their teachers as the former develop competence in writing Japanese. Both students and teachers are involved in the Amherst Japanese

weekend supplementary school in Massachusetts (United States). The bi-schooling students are expected to be successful in achieving the "appropriate" academic literacy skills in the traditional Japanese writing education at the weekend schools, yet they many times do not meet the level of academic "expectation" of their teachers. More specifically, this research is focused on how and what kind of difficulties the bi-schooling students experience fulfilling the "expected" academic requirements of Japanese language and literacy, particularly in writing, at the weekend school. Furthermore, this study attempts to answer the following questions: how do the students experience attending two schools and learning two languages?; how do the students feel about being bilingual?; how do bi-schooling students maintain and improve their first language in addition to the second language?; what kind of problems do the teachers perceive in the students' writing?; how do the teachers understand the teaching of students in a bi-schooled situation?; how should the teachers deal with the Japanese bi-schooling students as language minority students in writing education?; how might they develop strategies and improve writing education for bi-schooling students in weekend schools?; and how do they describe their situation as teachers teaching under the auspices of the Ministry of Education?

In order to focus on these issues, this study will examine both the students' experiences with, and the teachers' perceptions of, the apparent difficulties (of the students) with respect to Japanese writing education in the bi-schooled situation. The study will first focus on the bi-schooling students' experience of the bi-schooled situation and of their writing experiences in the weekend school. Second, by referring to the students' writing, the difficulties

and problems in Japanese writing practices will be discussed from the teachers' perspectives. The teachers' view of teaching Japanese writing in weekend schools will also be discussed. Another line of inquiry will examine the students' and the teachers' motivation level. The relevance of such an inquiry stems from the claim of metalinguistics to the effect that low teacher expectations will diminish some students' self-esteem, because the teacher equates nonstandard dialect with deficient academic ability (Cummins & Swain, 1986). The Japanese teachers may feel that the bi-schooling situation should allow them to be satisfied with academic performance that is lower than that of students who receive a traditional Japanese education. This expectation may lead to the lowering of the students' own expectations of academic achievement.

The following factors will be examined from both the students' and the teachers' perspectives: the teachers' and the students' views of the students' language skills and writing level; the effects of learning two languages at the same time; difficulties in Japanese writing; the students' lack of Japanese language/background; time constraints in the bi-schooled situation; the students' motivation in learning Japanese; and attitudes toward being bilingual. Moreover, the following factors will be analyzed from the teachers' position: their difficulties in teaching bi-schooling students; their observations of bi-schooled students; their struggles in requiring excellence from the students; their thoughts on how to improve the teaching of writing to these bi-schooled students; and finally their concerns with parental involvement at the weekend school. In addition to the writing problems of bi-schooling students, the discussion will explore conflicts between the

teachers' academic standards and the students' problems in the bi-schooled situation. These factors are significant in teaching literacy to bilingual students (Cummins & McNeely, 1987; William and Snipper, 1990; Garcia, 1994). Thus the study contains the following research questions:

a. Students:

- a-1. How do the students evaluate their language skills in both Japanese and English?
- a-2. How do the students evaluate their Japanese writing?
- a-3. Do the students code-switch/code-mix in writing? If so/if not, how do they describe their experience of code-switching and code-mixing?
- a-4. How do the students transfer their knowledge of writing structures from one language to the other?
- a-5. What kind of specific problems do the students observe in their writing?
- a-6. How do the students recognize their lack of a Japanese background?
- a-7. How do the students perceive the time constraints of the bi-schooled situation?
- a-8. Do the students have a positive or a negative attitude toward learning the two languages (English and Japanese) at once? If so/if not, how?
- a-9. Do the students have the motivation to succeed academically in their weekend schools? If so/if not, how do they feel in terms of motivation?

b. Teachers:

- b-1. How do the teachers evaluate writing samples completed by bi-schooling students?
- b-2. What kind of problems do the teachers observe in the students' writings?
- b-3. What kind of problems that may be specific to bi-schooling students do the teachers observe in the students' writings?
- b-4. How do the teachers perceive the students' difficulties involved in learning in the "bi-schooled" situation?
- b-5. What do the teachers report concerning the issue of time constraints in teaching bi-schooling students?

b-6. What kind of expectations do the teachers have of their bi-schooling students in comparison with their expectations of Japanese students in traditional school?
b-7. How do they view parental involvement?
b-8. What do the teachers suggest for improving the literacy education of bi-schooling students?
b-9. How do they perceive the role of weekend schools?

These research questions focus on how bi-schooling students face the difficulties of maintaining and improving their first language, and on how bilingual students or language minority students experience learning two languages (a question which has been researched in various other studies). Furthermore, the teachers' expectations and suggestions for teaching bilingual students are described.

1.7 Significance of the Study

This research will move beyond the particular case of writing education for Japanese bi-schooling students. The difficulties and obstacles of Japanese bi-schooling students point to three larger concerns: American bilingualism, education for language-minority students, and the role of teachers. This study can offer many new and important insights in these educational areas. Also, this research will impact upon future Japanese education at weekend schools in the United States and future Japanese bilingualism.

First, this study can impact on the ideas and practices of current American bilingual education, and also may provide some ideas for the future of bilingual education and literacy education for bilingual students in the United States. In the United States, a great deal of research on bilingual

students' learning processes has been undertaken, focusing on the communicative, cognitive, academic, and literacy language skills in the second language (usually English). Yet not much research has been done to show how the students could keep improving their literacy competency in their first language. A majority of bilingual students in the American school system either lose or maintain their first language only minimally. However, the example of Japanese bi-schooling students in this study can provide a different view of bilingualism and bilingual education. Thus the various definitions of bilingual education will be discussed in this study.

Research on literacy education for Japanese bi-schooling students would also be useful in the discussion of whether and how bilingual students can maintain their first language in the United States. Many scholars have long believed in the importance of simultaneous development and improvement in the first language and literacy proficiency, while research about American bilingual education has primarily focused on developing and improving the students' proficiency in English, their second language (Fradd, 1987; Hamayan & Damico, 1991; Krashen, 1991; Krashen, 1994). This study would illustrate the real situation in which bilingual students try to maintain and improve their first language alongside their schooling in English. Also, this study would provide a better understanding of first language literacy education for bilingual students, and point out the importance of teaching strategies that help children continue to learn their first language literacy. These strategies may provide new insight for bilingual education. The discussion in this study will be of importance to first

language maintenance and improvement as well as to second language development.

Second, considering all the factors involved in bilingualism, including racial diversity, the value of English and other languages, funding, etc., the goal of maintaining and improving both the languages of bilingual students may be unrealistic in the United States. Since Japanese bi-schooling students are Japanese citizens, they have the option of pursuing a traditional Japanese education in addition to their American education. By contrast, most American minority and immigrant students do not have such an option, but receive the standard American education. Assuming that learning a language in an educational setting gives an identity to students, language minority and immigrant students cannot help but give up their identity, since in many instances they lose their own language and culture. If there were educational institutions in the United States where minorities could maintain their identity in their own traditional education, they might feel less pressure to succeed in mainstream American education. These are all significant factors to consider when discussing whether and to what extent students should maintain and develop their language skills and literacy proficiency in their first language.

Other issues in the education of language minority students will also be considered. This study will address the difficulties which students may face when their background experience differs from the school curriculum. Japanese students try to maintain the language proficiency expected in traditional Japanese education, despite the fact that their American educational experience forms the larger portion of their education. Also, the

Japanese bi-schooling students have a different background from the students in Japan, yet they are expected to perform at the same academic level as the students in Japan. These Japanese students have different experiences and backgrounds which can interfere with their success in the Japanese traditional education. These circumstances are crucial due to the fact that they cause students to struggle with the gap between their background and the expectations of the teachers arising from the traditional school curriculum. Minority students in the United States are forced to follow the traditional American education that they may be unfamiliar with. Many studies have examined these issues in urban school settings (Oakes, 1885; Smith, 1989; Gentry, 1994; Thompson & Sharp, 1994). The problems that Japanese bi-schooling students experience have many similarities with the problems of social pressure that language-minority students may face and that cause low self-esteem and lack of motivation. The Japanese students' "bi-schooled" situation can thus be applied to the problems of language minority students in the United States.

This study will also contribute to the discussion of the motivation level required for academic success on the part of minority students in the United States. Japanese bi-schooling students need to be more motivated than Japanese students in Japan in order to attain academic success in the traditional Japanese education. This is due to the fact that minority students, because of their different educational experience and background, need to try harder than the children in the majority in order to achieve educational success. But in many cases, language minority students are less motivated than the majority students on account of their situation. The case of Japanese

bi-schooling students could suggest that the issue of minority students' low self-esteem arising from the gap between the students' background and the teachers' expectations should be carefully examined in all educational settings. In general, then, discussing students' low self-esteem may ultimately help future educators prepare for dealing with language minority students in other schooling situations.

Third, from another perspective, the role of teachers will be considered, and in particular the issue of the academic expectations pursued by the teacher. Teachers tend to set academic standards based on the school curriculum, their school experience, their academic background, and their knowledge. Dealing with language minority students, teachers face the necessity of learning and understanding the issues that may be affecting the students, and of learning and understanding the situation in which the students may find themselves. The teachers also need to be aware of the intersection of the two factors, traditional education and the students' educational background. With such knowledge, they may be able to devise teaching strategies that will meet the needs of language minority students. It is very important for the teachers to try not to teach the traditional education, but to try to learn how they themselves can contribute to their students' learning. Through this process, teachers can facilitate and lead their students in a positive direction, so that the students, together with the teacher, can overcome problems as they arise. Although language minority students have to work harder to succeed in their traditional education, with their teachers' understanding and help they may become motivated to learn how to succeed in the mainstream education. It is teachers' attitudes, among other

things, that can either lead the students to success or to failure in that mainstream.

Fourth, this study will suggest a new direction for Japanese education in weekend schools. The problems and issues described in this study will be presented to teachers and to the Ministry of Education in order to lead them onto a new path for Japanese education in the United States. This research can provide to the Ministry of Education a better understanding of those Japanese students living in the United States and/or outside Japan that attend weekend schools. In addition, teachers should gain a new perspective on dealing with bi-schooling Japanese students, including, for instance, a better understanding of bilingual students, more effective ways in connecting their experiences or knowledge with the students' actual situation, and more patience in dealing with Japanese students who may show unexpected behavior when compared to Japanese students in Japan. New perspectives and innovations in Japanese education in the United States can also lessen the problems of returnees (*kikokushijo*) who go home to receive education in Japan after their experience as bi-schooling students.

Finally, this study will also provide a new perspective on Japanese bilingualism in Japan. What we learn from the issues and experience of Japanese bilingual students in the United States can in turn be applied to the experience of returnees, Chinese orphans, Brazilian returnees, immigrants, foreigners in Japan, etc., in short, to the experience of all who are learning Japanese while they attempt to maintain their first language. This research might broaden the view of those dealing with bilingual children in Japan by opening up the discussion of whether and to what extent those children

should maintain and develop their first language while they learn Japanese as their second.

1.8 Overview of Chapters

The core of this study deals with the experience of Japanese students who are developing their written proficiency in Japanese while learning English writing in the United States, and who thus expect to become biliterate. The discussion emphasizes the important roles of schools and teachers in coping with the specific difficulties arising from the situation of biliteracy. This study points out important aspects of literacy education for those who are learning more than one language.

Chapter 1 contains background information on Japanese education outside Japan. The historical background and the present condition of Japanese education in both the United States and the rest of the world are presented. The two primary types of Japanese education outside Japan—traditional and weekend schools—are described, and the guidelines of the Ministry of Education in Japan are discussed. The various services provided by the Ministry of Education for both styles of school are delineated. Reports from two Japanese teachers' conferences indicate issues in weekend schools.

Chapter 2 provides a review of literature and the theoretical context of this study. Also, the rationale and importance of this study are indicated. This chapter discusses such areas in pedagogical/educational research as bilingual education, education for language minority students, and the teachers' role in educational settings.

The methodology of this research is presented in Chapter 3. An account of the in-depth study through a phenomenological method of interviewing is provided. This study presents detailed information about the students and teachers who participated in it, and in particular, information about their experience in the United States, their experience in both Japanese and English, and the prior educational experience in Japan of both students and teachers. This chapter includes a discussion of research procedure, the interviewing process, and methods of data collection.

Chapter 4 presents an analysis of the data collected in interviews with both the students and the teachers. The following items are investigated: the students' self-understanding; the students' positive perspectives on learning two languages, the students' difficulties under current conditions of *bi-schooling;* the teachers' observations of students' problems in writing; the teachers' awareness and understanding of problems in the students' *bi-schooled* situation; the teachers' strategies in teaching writing to the students; and the teachers' understanding of the role of Japanese weekend schools.

A summary of the research and the findings are presented in Chapter 5. The implications and significance of the findings are discussed. Applications of this study to educational settings both in the United States and in Japan are suggested.

1.9 Definitions of Terms

Term	Definition
Academic Achievement	Level of academic proficiency obtained by students based on evaluations from the classroom teacher
Academic Language Proficiency	The ability and competency to read and write according to formal educational standards
American Bilingual Education	The theories and practices of teaching non-native English students for the primary purpose of developing their English as a second language
Bilingual	The ability to express, use, learn, and identify two languages
Bilingual Education	The theories and practices of teaching bilingual (see above) students two languages which are expressed both orally and in writing
Bi-schooled/Bi-schooling	The condition by which students attend two separate and independent schools with two standards of literacy
Communicative Proficiency	The abilities and competencies to exchange thoughts, ideas, messages, or information in social contexts
First Language	The language that one has primarily acquired and learned
LEP (Limited English Proficiency)	The oral and written English abilities and competencies which are not fully expressed, used, learned, or identified by non-native English speakers

Low Self-Esteem	Inferior feelings of satisfaction with oneself, and with one's work, when comparing oneself to others who experience average and/or superior self-satisfaction
NEP (Non-English Proficiency)	Absence of oral and written abilities and competencies to express, use, learn, and identify English
PEP (Potential English Proficiency)	The oral and written English abilities and competencies of non-native English speakers which are not shared with native English speakers
Primary Congruency	The positive effect of the first language on the development of one's second language acquisition (see secondary congruency)
Primary Interference	The negative effect of the first language on the development of one's second language acquisition (see secondary interference)
Secondary Congruency	The positive impact of a second language (see primary congruency) on the development of one's first language practices
Secondary Interference	The negative impact of a second language (see primary interference) on the development of one's first language practices
Second Language	A language that one acquires and learns in addition to his/her primary language
Teachers' Academic Expectations	Educators' expectations that students develop and improve their abilities and competencies to meet certain educational standards

CHAPTER 2

REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

2.1 Introduction

In this chapter, the three major theoretical contexts are reviewed: bilingualism, language-minority education, and teachers' roles in the educational setting. The main goals of this study in relation to the review of literature are: (1) to define bilingual students; (2) to define bilingual education; (3) to define literacy proficiency; (4) to define academic literacy skills in a school setting; (5) to define language-minority education; and (6) to learn about the process of learning two languages. The areas covered in this review of literature paralleling the above goals are the following: the definition of bilingualism for goal (1); bilingual education in the United States for goal (2); communicative and literacy proficiencies for goal (3); classroom culture, the roles of teachers, the power and authority of teachers, and teacher's expectations for goal (4); educational equality and equity for goal (5); and code-switching, background knowledge, shared language community, and motivation for goal (6).

The following discussions are developed for the purpose of analyzing the issues facing Japanese biliterate students in the United States. The literature review strives to define the Japanese students and the bi-schooling situation, and to format each issue presented in the data analysis.

2.2 Bilingualism

In this section, various theories and notions of bilingualism are introduced. First, the different perspectives and definitions of bilingualism

are discussed. From this discussion, the notion that bilingual people should not simultaneously learn their first and second language, but develop each language depending on their experience in practicing each language, emerges. The more preferable bilingual situation is that wherein the two languages are employed separately by the language users.

Second, the discussion moves on to bilingual education in the United States. Along with the historical overview of bilingual education, the focus is on how bilingualism has been perceived and what sort of programs are available in the United States. The currently most popular form of American bilingual education is a transitional program in which students' knowledge of their first language is used to develop English as a second language. Yet the goal of such a program only looks to developing and improving the students' English, while maintaining their first language is considered less important. The argument questions whether this current form of American bilingual education pursues "true" bilingual education.

Third, the notion of "code-switching" and "code-mixing" is introduced from a linguistic perspective, and its positive and negative perceptions are discussed. Although the notion is applied for the purpose of supporting the transitional bilingual program in the United States, overall discussion stresses that the "code-switching" process in learning two languages is a positive outcome of acquiring and learning two languages, but not pursuing one of the two.

Lastly, the definitions of communicative practices and reading/writing practices are explored in terms of the similarities, differences, and relations of the two. Along with this discussion, bilingual students' communicative and

literacy proficiencies are further considered in relation to educational expectations. Furthermore, the importance of literacy education in the search for successful bilingual education is pointed out.

2.2.1 Definition of Bilingualism

Over the past twenty years, issues of bilingualism have been the topic of extensive research and discussion (Lumbert & Tucker, 1972; Cummins, 1981; Cummins, 1982; Garcia, 1983; Cummins, 1984; Cummins & Swain, 1986; Fradd 1987; McConvell, 1988; Cummins, 1991; Hamayan & Damico, 1991; Hakuta & Pease-Alvarez, 1994). Most researchers approach these issues from a linguistic, a psychological, and a social perspective. Garcia's definition is as follows (1983, pp. 3-4):

> *Linguistic character*: Children are able to comprehend and/or produce some aspects of each language beyond the ability to discriminate that either one language or another is being spoken. This condition allows many degrees of linguistic competence within the boundaries of bilingualism, including that of a child who has memorized one or more lexical utterances in a second language.
>
> *Psychological/developmental character*: Simultaneous development must be apparent in both languages. (This is contrasted with the case in which a native speaker of one language begins a course of second language acquisition.) The bilingual development occurs concurrently with cognitive/ conceptual changes regarding the perception and processing of linguistic information.
>
> *Social character*: Children are exposed "naturally" to the two languages as they are used in social interaction during early childhood. This condition requires a substantive bilingual environment in the child's first three to five years of life. In most cases this exposure occurs within the nuclear or extended family, but this need not be the case; visitors and extended visits to foreign countries are examples of alternative models and environments.

Although these areas are accorded different treatment in each study depending on the aspect focused upon in a particular study, they are not genuinely separable in the actual process of a child's bilingual language acquisition.

Further, the term "bilingualism" has been defined with various terms and connotations in each study. In the early theoretical discussion, Bloomfield talks about the "true" bilingual children who can equally control two different languages as native speakers (1933, p. 56). Such children are called "balanced bilingual," "coordinate bilingual," or "equilingual." A "coordinate" bilingual is someone who has simultaneously acquired two languages from birth in distinctly different contexts (e.g., a child who has moved back and forth between two different countries when growing up), while a "compound" bilingual is someone who has a dominant first language from birth and subsequently is exposed to a second language. More specifically, a coordinate language system refers to an individual language process in each language, whereas a compound language system is one wherein there is the borrowing of knowledge from one language to the other (Gardner, n. a.). William and Snipper have raised the possibility that the two types of bilinguals mentioned above (compound and coordinate bilinguals) may or may not be "balanced" (or "true") bilinguals (1990, p. 40). This argument is based on the question of what a "true" bilingual is, and on the consideration that people controlling two languages can never have the same language experience as native speakers. In other words, it is impossible for "true" bilinguals to have the same amount of time and experience in using the language as native speakers who live with the language in the "living"

shared language community. From the perspective of language proficiency, Some scholars claim that even balanced bilinguals are usually more proficient or dominant in one of their two languages, although they may not be dominant in the same language in all areas.

In another definition of bilingualism, the dichotomy between folk bilinguals and elite bilinguals is often discussed. Fork bilinguals are described as those who are placed in a situation of having to learn a second language in order to survive. For instance, immigrants, refugees, and minorities are often so classified. By contrast, elite bilinguals are those who have the choice of learning another language(s) for the sake of international interaction. Most elite bilinguals are valued and treated as important in society, and they are also supported by their parents. Nonetheless, the question arises as to whether elite bilinguals are in fact given the choice of learning two languages. The children who are raised in an international environment are usually not those who decide to live in such an environment. Most times, parents or some other adult figure is involved in the decisions concerning a child's education and surrounding environment.

Although the approaches taken and the definitions of bilingualism given in each study may differ, all the studies argue whether it is to the advantage or disadvantage of children to be bilingual. Numerous studies have been conducted to examine the following topics: the relation of L1 and L2, children's language proficiency in L2, children's academic language skills and schooling, language and children's identity issues, the role of the parents in a child's language development, and so forth. For instance, Lumbert and Tucker (1972) examined French-Canadian children learning English in order

to evaluate the impact of parental attitudes toward school as well as the impact of home environment on bilingual students. In another study, Garcia (1983) examined children of Hispanic descent (Chicano, Puerto Rican, and Cuban) in terms of MLU (Mean Length Utterance) in English (L2) and Spanish (L1) in order to determine the relationship of language proficiency between the two languages. One last example occurs in Hakuta and Pease-Alvarez (1994), who researched the English (L2) and Spanish (L1) proficiency, language shifts, and language choice of Mexican-American children in California.

The discussions of each study focus on different areas: the target population, the target language, the target language skill (listening, speaking, reading and writing), the evaluation method, and the standard set for evaluating language (Mackey, 1972; Swanson & Watson, 1982; Cummins, 1984; Chambelain & Medeiros-Landurand, 1991). A determinate definition of bilingualism and of the specific language skill in a specific language is a crucial requirement for any examination of bilingual children and any discussion of bilingualism. The measurement of a student's language skills and proficiencies will be discussed in more detail in section 2.3.3.

2.2.2 Bilingual Education in the United States

In the research on bilingual education in the United States, the target population is usually "folk bilingual" children: language-minority students, immigrant children, and children whose parents do not speak the language of the majority. The primary discussion of American bilingual education has been based on the issues of developing English as a second language. In

discussions of American "bilingualism" or "bilingual education," students who have a dominant language other than English have been often called "Limited English Proficient" ("LEP"), "Potential English Proficient" ("PEP"), or "Non-English Proficient" ("NEP"). Fradd questions this three-fold categorization by claiming that the following three kinds of students could all be considered "LEP" students: a student with balanced and full proficiency in both L1 and L2; a student with balanced yet comparably limited proficiency in both L1 and L2; and a student dominant in L2 (1987, p. 8).

After World War I, the traditional educational system only provided instruction in English for those students who needed to learn English as a second language. This was called "English only" instruction. In the arguments about bilingual education in the United States, many people have opposed this "English only" concept (Crawford, 1989, p. 44). This opposition is often based on a commitment to equal educational opportunity for all children from all backgrounds. Title VI of the Civil Rights Act and the 1968 Bilingual Educational Act (BEA) moved away from "English only" instruction to bilingual education. Malakoff and Hakuta reported (1995, p. 31) that:

> Title VI of the Civil Rights Act ultimately provided the enforcement mechanism through which the courts could order that limited-English-proficient (LEP) students be served (Title VI prohibits discrimination on the basis of "race, color, or national origin" in the operation of any federally assisted programs --45 C.R.F. Sec. 80). The Bilingual Education Act (BEA), on the other hand, established the federal role in bilingual education and allocated funds for innovative projects and support programs such as graduate fellowships and program evaluation.

Since the BEA of 1968, the Bilingual Educational Act (BEA) of 1984 has further moved away from "English only" immersion programs and has provided increased governmental financial support for bilingual programs.

At present many American schools provide LEP, PEP, and NEP students with the special English instruction usually given in ESL programs. According to a 1994 GAO report, the American bilingual education system currently consists of six types of programs. They are "developmental (maintenance) bilingual," "English immersion," "ESL," "structured immersion," "submersion," and "transitional bilingual" programs (GAO, pp. 24-25). The description of these programs provided by the GAO is shown in Table 2.1 and Table 2.2.

Table 2.1
Bilingual Education Programs (I)

Transitional Bilingual Education	This is an instructional program in which subjects are taught in two languages -- English and the native language of LEP students -- and English is taught as a second language. Bilingual programs emphasize the development of English-language skills as well as grade promotion and graduation requirements. These programs are designed to enable LEP students to make a transition to an all-English program of instruction while receiveing academic subjecst instruction in the native language to the extent necessary. Trasitional bilingual education programs vary in the amount of native language instruction provided and the duration of the program.
Developmental Bilingual Programs	There are programs in which native-English-speaking and LEP students receive instruction in both English and the native language of the LEP students, with the goal of bilingual literacy for both groups.
English as a Second Language	This is a teaching approach in which LEP students are instructed in the use of the English language. Their instruction is based on a special curriculum that typically involves little or no use of their native language and is usually taught only in specific school periods. For the rest of the school day, the students may be placed in regular (or submersion) instruction, an immersion program, or a bilingual program.

Quite a few American schools provide transitional bilingual programs. The transitional programs provide LEP, PEP, and NEP students the opportunity to learn various subjects in their native language until they are ready to receive instruction in English. The combination of ESL and transitional programs have been considered progressive programs that enhance the students' learning processes in English with the help of their first language.

The concept, practice, and success of transitional programs have largely replaced the traditional practices and ideas of "English only" instruction. In contrast to "English only" instruction, "transitional" programs have shown many positive results due to the students' ability to transfer their knowledge, communicative skills, and academic skills in their first language into their second language skills as a whole (Cummins 1981; Spener, 1991; Krashen, 1991). Krashen defined the characteristics that a "well-designed" program should have: (1) comprehensible input in English in the form of high quality ESL classes and sheltered subject matter teaching; (2) subject matter teaching in the first language without translation, which provides the background knowledge that will make the English input more comprehensible; and (3) literacy development in the first language which will transfer to the second language (1991, p. 5). McGuire defined a "transitional bilingual-bicultural curriculum" as (1982, p. 32)

> A program of instruction that uses a student's language other than English and cultural factors in instruction only until the student is ready to participate effectively in the English language curriculum of the regular school program. Until the student is ready to participate effectively in the language curriculum, instruction in the language arts of the language other than English is provided and English is taught as a second language.

Transitional programs use both English and the first language to help students learn English. This change in instructional methods arose when educators took into account the fact that the bilingual students' knowledge in their first language is an important influence in helping them learn English as a second language (Cummins, 1981; Cummins, 1982; Cummins, 1984; Fradd & Vega, 1987). This influence is considered a "primary" congruency, a concept mentioned in Chapter 1 (1.4).

The movement toward transitional bilingual programs has been based on the theory that bilingual students' "Common Underlying Proficiency" (see Figure 2.1) is a significant factor in helping the students transfer cognitive, academic, and literacy-related skills across languages (Cummins, 1984, p. 142). Cummins stresses that this transfer is likely to occur from minority to majority languages (ibid., p. 143). This concept is often explored from a linguistic perspective in connection with code-switching or code-mixing (which will be discussed in more detail in 2.2.3).

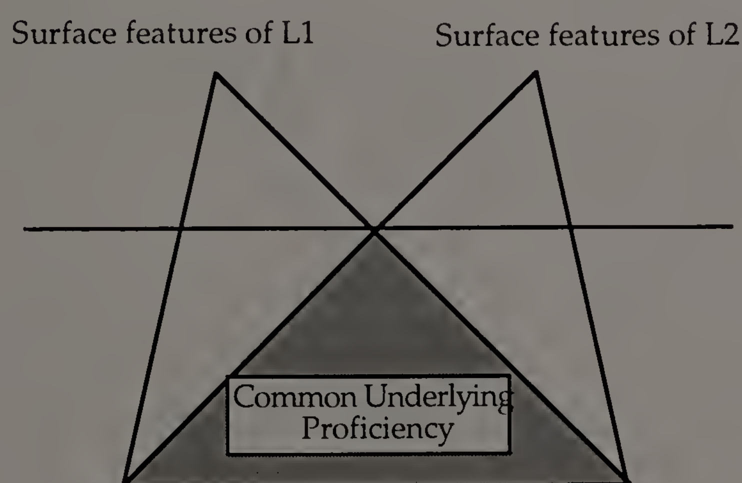


Figure 2.1
Common Underlying Proficiency

Unlike the transitional programs, developmental programs allow bilingual students to continue developing and improving their second language (see Table 2.1). In the United States, the developmental (maintenance) type of program is essentially based on a bilingual and bicultural curriculum. According to McGuire (1982, p. 31) a developmental program is

> a program of instruction that uses, maintains and develops skills in a student's language and culture. Additionally, it introduces, develops and maintains all the necessary English skills for the students to function successfully in English. The program of instruction includes traditional English language and culture curriculum.

The U.S. Department of Education reported that government funding increased to 84 percent for transitional bilingual programs that contain an English language instructional component, while only 0.2 percent of funding is for developmental (maintenance) programs (1986). This result was reported after the Bilingual Education Act of 1984 wherein federal legislators promised $176 million for bilingual education in 1985 (Stein, 1985). Stewner-Manzanares reports that at least seventy five percent of Part A funding (instructional programs) was reserved for transitional bilingual programs (1988, pp. 6-7). Fradd mentions that developmental bilingual instruction programs are so new that they have not been evaluated longitudinally (1987, p. 42). The exclusive focus on English development could be one of the reasons that developmental (maintenance) programs receive less support than transitional programs.

Among the bilingual programs available in the United States, only transitional and maintenance programs provide the bilingual students with education in their first language. Although the literature points to a great

number of positive outcomes in these transitional programs, American bilingual education presently focuses more on developing LEP, PEP, and NEP students' English as a second language, than on maintaining and developing their first language. The "primary goal of American bilingual education is not to teach English or a second language but to teach children academic and social skills through the language and cultural perspective they know best and to reinforce this in the second language, English" (Boca & Almanza, 1991, p. 4). Krashen describes the arguments against first language maintenance, which, in general, insist that since English is the official language of the United States, taxpayers should not have to support the maintenance or development of minority languages" (1994, p. 66). Fradd distinguishes two contrary environments for developing bilingual students' language abilities: the additive environment and the subtractive environment (1987, pp. 12-13) (see Figure 2.2). Although the additive bilingual environment is the preferred setting for bilingual students, most bilingual students in the United States are presently in a subtractive bilingual environment.

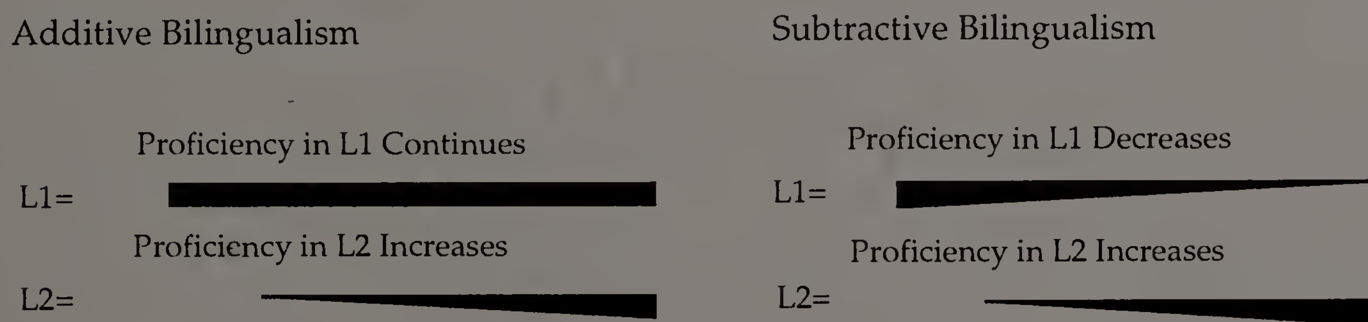


Figure 2.2
Additive and Subtractive Bilingualism

There are few developmental programs available in the United States, yet the prevailing transitional programs in American bilingual education

emphasize the students' English competency as a second language. This fact may reflect the concerns of the American government and of the general public with the variety of racial groups in the society, and their view of the value of English and other languages. Fradd emphasizes the fact that "public concern over the use of languages other than English has created a backlash against maintenance programs" (1987, p. 27). Furthermore, according to Fradd, the American public has been led to believe that students kept in programs that use a non-English language for instruction are at risk of failing to master English (ibid., p. 42). This perspective is seen in one of the arguments against transitional programs, i.e., that the students appear to learn faster in regular classrooms conducted in English, as in the traditional classrooms of "English only" instruction (Hayakawa, 1989).

Compared with submersion programs (see Table 2.2), transitional bilingual education programs are not necessarily better, Krashen claims, because these transitional programs can hinder the development and improvement of English (1991, p. 3). Moreover, some of the recent discussions of bilingual education have been critical of transitional programs. For the transitional programs seek to replace entirely the students' first language with a second language. In Fradd's terms, a student's first language is seen as a temporary method of communication and instruction until the student can make the transition into English (1987, p. 51). Meyer and Fienberg report that "the primary objective of bilingual education is the development of English-language proficiency at the earliest possible age, to expedite the transition of language-minority limited-English-proficient (LM-

LEP) students to classes for which English is the sole medium of communication" (1992, p. 91).

Table 2.2
Bilingual Education Programs (II) (GAO, pp. 24-25)

Immersion	This is a general term for teaching approaches for LEP students that do not involve using a student's native language. Three variations are the following:
Sheltered English (Sheltered Subject Matter Teaching)	This method is characterized by using simplified vocabulary and sentence structure to facilitate understanding of the regular curriculum for LEP students. Teachers use slower, more concise speech, with increased wait time after posing questions. In addition, teachers make instruction more visual by using "realia" (objects and activities related to real life), manipulatives, pictures, and chartsto define and demonstrate to provide comprehensible (visual/concrete) input.
Structured Immersion	This involves teaching in English, but it has several differences from submersion: the teacher understands the native language, and students may speak it to the teacher, although the teacher generally answers only in English. Knowledge of English is not assumed, and the curriculum is modified in vocabulary and pacing, so that the academic subjects will be understood. Some programs include some language arts teaching in the native language.
Submersion	This involves placing LEP students in ordinary classrooms in which English is the language of instruction. Students receive no special programs to help them overcome their language barriers, and their native language is not used in the classroom. Also called "sink or swim," submersion was found unconstitutional in the Supreme Court's decision in Lau v. Nichols, 414 U.S. 563 (1974).

Many researchers emphasize the importance of bilingual students' knowledge of their first language in the continuous development of their second language (Fradd, 1987; William & Snipper, 1990; Krashen, 1994). Despite these researchers' claims, developmental programs are not regarded

as significant programs compared with the transitional programs of American bilingual education. The question then arises as to whether American approaches to LEP, PEP, and NEP students in transitional bilingual education, which focuses only on the development and improvement of the second language, English, can in fact be called "bilingual" education. For the educational system itself would produce non-bilinguals by allowing the students to lose their first language.

Another criticism of transitional programs is based on the comparison with Canadian bilingual education. American transitional programs stand in contrast to Canadian bilingual education, which combines both the "structured immersion" program and the "heritage language" program. Heritage language programs are provided for students whose native language is neither of the two official languages, English and French, and who wish to be instructed in their native tongue. In Canada, bilingual education not only contributes to the development of bilingual students' English in an immersion program, but also devotes a program to the maintenance of their first language. Canadians call the combination of the maintenance, or heritage, program and immersion program "bilingual education," and have accomplished very much with their English "immersion" programs. Canadian researchers have proposed that an instructional alternative called "structured immersion" would be more appropriate than the type of transitional bilingual education found in the United States (Fradd, 1987, p. 32).

Assuming that students' first language knowledge helps them learn English as a second language, the simultaneous development and improve-

ment of their first language should help them continue to improve in their second language. Thus it seems that first language maintenance or even first language development programs should be favored over transitional programs. Chamberlain and Mediros-Landurand highlight this position by appealing to the effects of language loss: while learning a second language, a person loses proficiency in his or her first language, and this may affect one's general ability to learn (1991, p. 127).

In order to provide a truly bilingual education, educators must know something about the students' proficiency in both languages, not just about their proficiency in English (Hamayan & Damico, 1991, p. 44). Theoretically, if knowledge of the bilingual students' first language helps them to learn and develop English as a second language, simultaneous development and improvement of the first language should help bilingual students in transferring their knowledge, language skills, and literacy proficiency into English. Krashen lists the following reasons for maintaining bilingual students' first language: (1) for the sake of the contributions of languages other than English to American society; (2) for the sake of the linguistic and cultural pride of PEP students; and (3) because of the positive influence of the first language on the development of the second (1994, p. 65). Also, for a multi-lingual society and multicultural education, there must be respect for the minority students' native language, culture, and ethnicity; this should encourage them to continue to develop and improve their native language and maintain their identity (Bennett, 1990; Banks, 1991b; Bull et al., 1992; Davidman & Davidman, 1994; Eckermann, 1994; Grossman, 1995; Trudell, 1993). Different races, cultures, and communities would value the

preservation of their cultures and languages to different degrees and in different manners. As Meyer and Fienberg make clear: "From the perspective of students and their parents, the objectives may be somehow different, and different objectives may be differentially important for children from different language groups" (1992, p. 91).

2.2.3 Code-Switching/Code-Mixing

One factor that complicates the learning processes of bilingual students is "code-switching," a concept that comes to us from linguistics. Arguments about the communicative and literacy proficiency of LEP students were often made in terms of "code-switching" and "code-mixing." "Code switching" describes the process in which bilingual students express themselves by shifting between their first and second languages, and occurs both in oral and written usage. Cummins' aforementioned notion of a "common underlying proficiency" explains "code-switching" as a positive effect of bilingual education. Researchers demonstrated this effect in order to show the value of replacing "English only" instruction with transitional bilingual education in the United States. Gibbons describes the "code-switching" phenomenon as follows (1987, p. 80):

> Code switches of this type tend to take place at sentence or phrase boundaries. The "salting" of a discourse with elements from another code requires knowledge of the latter, but not necessarily high bilingual proficiency. Such code-switching may not always be entirely conscious, but its effects are often accessible to introspection

As another outcome in learning two languages, "code-mixing" explains how language learners create a third language by mixing their first and second languages, and do so in both oral communication and in reading and writing. Singh et al. (1988) mention the fact that there exists the possibility of mutual charitable interpretation, if not among speakers of different languages, surely among speakers of different varieties of the same language. The words or expressions that result from code-switching may be correctly interpreted and understood, or misinterpreted and misunderstood by the hearers or readers. LEP students might create unique words or expressions which native English students might never come up with. The unique words or expressions come to have the status of independent language or that of mixed words and expressions from the origin languages. Gibbons (1987) especially focuses on "code-switching" or "code-mixing" in the interaction between languages. As concerns LX, the language which is mixed from L1 and L2, it is important to stress that it must not be confused with "learners' pidgin," because it develops through the knowledge of two languages and is a code through which social relations between the speaker and hearer can be revealed (Oksaar 1983, p. 23). Thus the outcome of "code-switching" or "code-mixing" depends on the language, the people sharing the language, the situation of language use, and the language environment.

In school settings, the unique outcomes of code-switching may not always be accepted by teachers, since the teachers use the scales or standards of native language speakers to evaluate the communicative and literacy proficiency of (non-native) speakers. But Hamayan and Damico point out that "a common misconception, especially among teachers, is to take code

switching as an automatic indicator of inadequate language development or a weak language system that reveals poor bilingual ability" (1991, p. 63). They underline the importance of code-switching as a skill that evolves through high levels of proficiency in both languages (L1 and L2) (ibid.). Another observer of this process, Scotton, claims that the specific outcomes of code-mixing depend on the existence of "lexicon-driven congruencies" (1992, pp. 30-31). Also, Lanza describes language mixing at the stage of language input and discusses how primary language can be mixed with secondary language (1997, pp. 50-52). Overall, code-switching is considered a positive process in learning two languages. It not only profits the second language with knowledge from the first language, but also conversely. Code-switching is always possible between any two languages (L1 to L2 and L2 to L1), as discussed in Chapter 1 (1.5).

2.2.4 Communicative and Literacy Proficiency

According to Cummins and Swain (1986) and Cummins and McNeely (1987), the discussion of whether a student is orally proficient or literacy proficient is crucial in attempting to define the language proficiency of LEP students. The distinction between academic language skills and communicative language skills needs to be elucidated in both first and second languages. The reason for this is that bilingual students who on the surface have no problems in oral usage may experience difficulties in reaching the level of literacy expected for academic achievement (Cummins 1984). Thus it is necessary to take account of the distinction between conversational and academic language skills. Many scholars emphasize the need to understand

that conversational skills and literacy skills are directly related (Egan, 1991; Staton, 1993). Thus, although literacy is learned differently from oral communication, the processes and practices of how to produce written texts cannot be acquired completely separately from oral communication.

There are some common processes in acquiring and learning oral and written communication, despite the differences between the two. Depending on the level of literacy, oral proficiency or oral communication may influence a student's literacy proficiency. Harste et al. (1984) describe this as "the oral language supremacy assumption" that the oral language must be in place before written language. As Lindfors points out, children in early stages of literacy development express their feelings or personal experiences in a written form that is closer to the forms and patterns of speech (1991, p. 369). In such situations, the written forms and outcomes reflect the oral proficiency of the children.

The common understanding of the relation between oral and written communication is that each form of communication influences the other in the acquisition and learning of language. Wray and Medwell point out that the process of learning to talk clearly has much in common with the process of learning to read and write because spoken language has much in common with written language. Nonetheless, they also stress that written language differs in important ways from spoken language, and awareness of these differences is in itself an important feature of becoming literate (1991, p. 71). While the strong relation between spoken and written language is recognized, many researchers admit that the transition from spoken language to written texts or vice versa is difficult, because the forms of spoken

expression differ from forms of written expression. Smith et al. postulate that writing is based on speech-thought, but is not exactly like it (1976, p. 231). They explain that "speech-thought is abbreviated and casual in its grammar and is punctuated with pauses, inflection, and gesture: writing must be complete and more carefully designed for communication with the reader" (ibid.). In another discussion of the difference between oral and written communications, Gumperz et al. (1984) study the transition from oral to written language and emphasize the relation of the two as follows (p. 3):

> First, each speaker must begin with control over the conventions of spoken discourse: the linguistic devices used to convey the informational structure of the clause, sentence, and turn, and the conventions used to signal relations between parts of the discourse. Second, as the speaker brings this knowledge to bear on the written mode, the writing context changes the task: no longer is the speaker able to rely on response from an interlocutor. The writer must carry out the communicative task without benefit of moment-to-moment feedback as to whether the listener is following the argument, understanding the point in general and various items in particular.

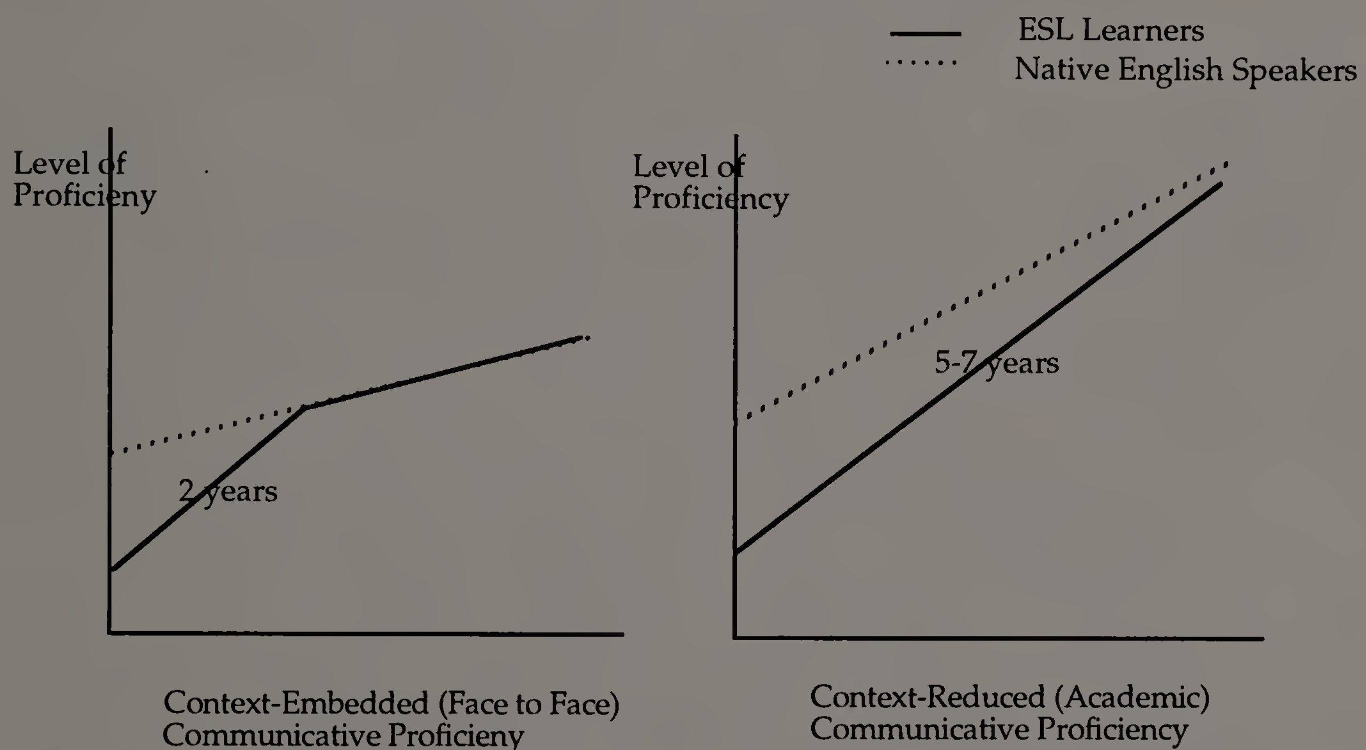
In another discussion, Vygotsky notes that "writing requires deliberate analytical action on the part of the child. In speaking, the child is hardly conscious of the sounds he pronounces and quite unconscious of the mental operations he performs" (1962, p. 99). Beaman says that "because written discourse allows the writer more time to structure his or her ideas, it will naturally be more planned than its spoken counterpart" (1984, p. 50). According to Luetkemeyer et al. "*literacy* is variously defined as access to a limited body of written works, functional literacy, access to written materials, the ability to read and/or write, or control of a writing system" (1984, p. 265). In order to become a "good" writer, it is necessary to experience writing

processes in terms of interacting with readers in the same way that speakers interact with their interlocutors.

Definitions of literacy proficiency in first and second languages have been quite broad. Literacy is generally considered reading and writing. According to Snow's definition, literacy consists in the activities and skills associated directly with the use of print -- primarily reading and writing, but also such derivative activities as playing Scrabble or Boggle, doing crossword puzzles, alphabetizing files, and copying or typing (1991, p. 208). It takes more time to acquire literacy than to learn to communicate orally since the tasks involved in the former are complex and culturally dependent (ibid., p. 209). Since written communication is emphasized in the school setting as well as in the home environment, educational approaches are important when it comes to learning how to write. Michaels and Cadzen (1986) focus on the importance for literacy of oral collaboration with teachers or peers. As Cummins indicates, it is important to examine the very complex relationship between language proficiency and educational achievement in bilingual education (1984, pp. 130-131). Literacy competency is often considered separately from children's conversational skills, since it is at a higher level of knowledge than communicative skills. It is learned primarily in a school setting, and is evaluated by teachers according to a given curriculum. The two major dimensions of language proficiency have been thematized under the rubrics BICS (Basic Interpersonal Communicative Skills) and CALP (Cognitive Academic Learning Proficiency). In addition, Cummins (1984) discusses these two dimensions as "context-embedded" (oral) communication and "context-reduced" (reading and writing) communication (p. 139). Figure

2.3 shows that it takes more time to achieve a high level of Context Reduced proficiency than a comparable level of Context Embedded proficiency (Cummins, 1982)

Figure 2.3
Length of Time Required to Achieve Age-Appropriate Levels of Context-Embedded and Context-Reduced Communicative Proficiency (From NABE Journal 5 No. 3: 35)



How best to develop and improve LEP and PEP students' English proficiency depends on whether one focuses on communicative or academic proficiency; for example, one difference in the two kinds of proficiency is that literacy proficiency is more influenced by the time spent on it. Although the rates in developing writing communication differ depending on the student, it takes time (and for some a considerable time) to develop English writing (journals) for ESL learners (Peyton & Staton, 1993, p. 8). August et al. recommend that NESIC (National Education Standards and Improvement Council) should consider that LEP students may take longer to achieve the performance standards set for fluent English speakers (1995, p. 21). It has been

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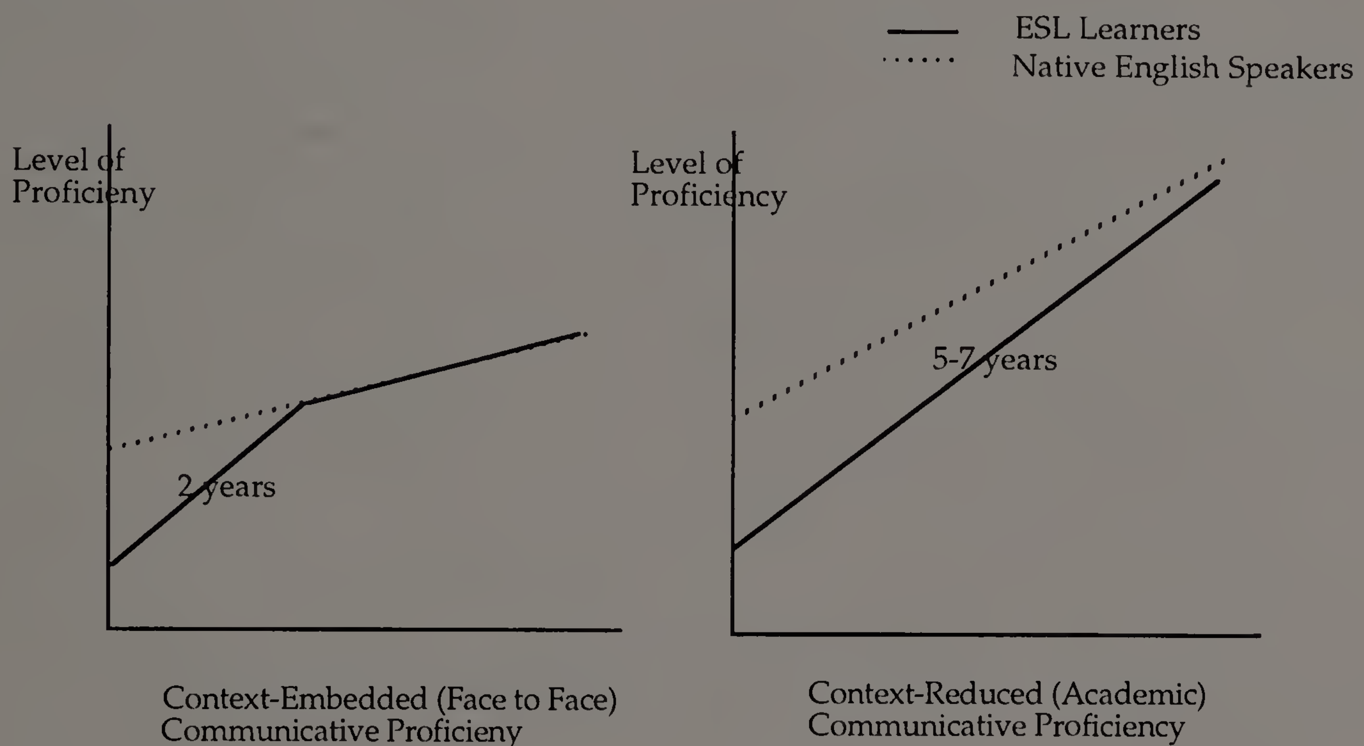

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suggested that bilingual programs should be implemented over a long enough period of time for the benefit of the students (Garcia, 1994, p. 6). Until the bilingual students achieve a high literacy proficiency level, they experience the complicated processes of second language literacy acquisition in both their second and first languages, in contrast with monolingual students.

Other factors beside the lengthy time involved also affect the complex literacy learning processes. Schick et al. identify such important variables in writing achievement as "student, family, media/print, school skills, teacher, and school" (1992, p. 155). They stress that various elements are involved such as age, sex of student, literacy level, emphasis on academic language, family discussion, family literacy discussion in family, and so forth (ibid., p. 156). As important as these various factors are, educational input is still more important when considering the processes of becoming successfully literate. Michaels describes the importance of writing activities in classroom settings, in terms of face-to-face classroom interaction where the skills of literacy are presumably acquired" (1981). In addition to the interaction between teacher and students in the classroom, many other factors influence the acquisition and learning of written communication.

These other factors can complicate literacy acquisition. The home environment has a major impact. Cultures of literacy in the home might include the sharing of literacy knowledge by parents, literacy stimulation of children, parents' expectations, and so on. For instance, Becker describes some interactive home/school factors in literacy development in the following way (1991, p. 82):

> The children whose efforts at home were positively reinforced by their parents demonstrated a generalized set of higher expectations for their school performance... Their parents' high expectations for home responsibility became for the children a combination of motivation and reward, encouraging the successful completion of home tasks and the confidence to undertake school-related one.

Snow postulates that the degree of "literacy" of home culture is a determining variable in a student's acquisition of school-literacy (1991, p. 228). Children from well-educated families with extensive literacy-related experiences are very likely to succeed in schools, no matter what their entry-level competence in English (Saville-Troike, 1991, p. 7).

It is crucial that researchers conceptualize bilingual language issues as language literacy issues, rather than issues of bilingual education (Banks, 1990, p. 9). That is, for those language-minority (bilingual) students who experience different literacy learning from those in the mainstream, the understanding of bilingual education should consider literacy as a whole including communicative skills. For LEP, PEP, and NEP students, becoming fluent in English conversation is important, but accomplishing academic achievement in English should be seen as a separate task. However, the bilingual students' situation of learning literacy in two languages complicates the process of achieving literacy. Some complicating factors are the lack of time to practice their first and second language literacy proficiency, the lack of communicative skills in the second language, the linguistic mismatch between home and school, and the direct transference of their first language literacy proficiency into their second language, among others (Cummins & McNeely, 1987; William and Snipper, 1990).

No matter which language (the first or the second language) bilingual students are learning, the time they need to spend on learning and developing literacy skills is significant. In particular, they need more time than native English students in learning English literacy. This relates to the fact that bilingual students lack some communicative skills in English. As mentioned earlier, some literacy skills are based on spoken language. Lack of oral English skills prevents bilingual students from applying such knowledge to reading and writing. Further, the home environment of bilingual students influences their development in the second language. Parents who do not have knowledge of English, either spoken or written, cannot provide their children with the direct help to enhance their success in learning a second language in an educational setting.

Scribner and Cole claim that we now know a lot more about the methods, techniques, and theories required to make a systematic analysis of the component skills involved in reading and writing (1991, p. 245). Literacy itself is a very complex process among language competencies. Researchers must therefore carefully consider literacy education for bilingual students because of the different complicating factors that affect the literacy acquisition of non-native speakers (McCarthy, 1991).

2.3 Language-Minority Education

This section explores education for language-minority students and hinges on the notion of educational equality. For the purposes of the following discussion, language-minority students include children who have a dominant language other than the language used among mainstream children (immigrant children, limited language proficient students, and

culturally and linguistically different exceptional students), and children who are raised in a non-mainstream language, i.e., a non-standard language. First educational inequality and inequity are explored. The relation between academic failure and social context is stressed in the discussion of educational equality. For example, socio-economic background comes up in treating the quality of education in urban educational settings, and the social pressures associated with being different from the mainstream are presented in connection with the consideration of the experiences of Japanese returnees. In addition, the curriculum helps shape the social context, and therefore it too affects the learning processes of language-minority students.

Second, this section continues by focusing on low self-esteem and the lack of motivation that can result from the aforementioned factors. The fact of being minority students interferes with the motivation and confidence of language-minority students. Language-minority students are expected to work harder than mainstream students in order to reach the same level of academic success as the latter. Many times, teachers' attitudes toward a minority either positively or negatively affect the students' level of motivation. In Gentry's words, a student's academic success can depend on "the hope factor" (1994, pp. 16-17).

Third, various measurements of minority students' language proficiency in the school curriculum are discussed in terms of educational equality. This discussion of curriculum and of assessment of performance in that curriculum focuses on standardized tests (IQ tests), comparisons with native speakers, and teachers' standards. Here the question of the fairness of

these assessments comes up given the typically unfair nature of comparisons between language-minority and mainstream students.

Fourth, the background knowledge of students is pointed out as one of the more practical elements in language learning. With different background knowledge from that of mainstream students, minority students score lower in assessments of their language proficiency. Moreover, the background knowledge of language-minority students varies from individual to individual, based in part on the time spent in the shared language community and on individual interest.

Finally, the concept of a shared language community raises issues similar to those stemming from differences in background knowledge. Each community expects its members to follow certain rules or agreements. By following them, people in the community can communicate and understand one another. This crucial point in understanding the usage of language in a specific community—the metalinguistic awareness of rules and agreements that make communication better—is introduced.

2.3.1 Educational Inequality and Inequity

Educational inequality and inequity are frequently discussed in educational research (Eysenck, 1971; Montagu, 1974; Ferge, 1981; Gumbert, 1981; Oakes, 1985; Smith & Chunn, 1989; McCarthy, 1990; Gentry, 1994; Miller; 1995). Nationality and ethnicity are the crucial starting point for discussing educational equality and equity for individual students in the United States. As briefly mentioned in 2.2.2, a historical turning point in bilingual education occurred when parents of language-minority students went to court for

educational equality (*Lau v. Nichols*, 1974), appealing to Title VI of the Civil Rights Act. Norgren and Nanda report (1988, p. 188):

> The 1974 case of *Lau v. Nichols* (414 U.S. 563, 94 S. CT. 786) reviewed the issue of the degree to which government had responsibility for providing bilingual education. The plaintiffs in the case, non-English-speaking students of Chinese ancestry, charged the San Francisco school system with violating their civil rights by failing to provide them with adequate instruction in their native language and thus denying them a meaningful opportunity to participate in the public educational program.

Many scholars have pointed out that the educational system itself can cause racial inequality. For many language-minority students (including non-native English speakers and students with non-standard dialects) fail to achieve academically in their language and literacy classes because the educational standard is set by and for the mainstream students. Montagu stresses that the unequal receptivity to conditions for learning and intellectual development is due not to group genetic differences, but group cultural differences, to culturally produced impediments in the ability to learn and to think at comparatively equal levels of abstraction (1974, p. 18). Valdés focuses on three major factors in the poor academic achievement of non-mainstream children: genetic, cultural, and class (1996, pp. 16-19). Each of these factors can influence, positively or negatively, the students' academic success. Ferge agrees and claims that discussions of educational inequality or inequity should not only be based on nationality and ethnicity, but also on socio-economic background, sex, language, and regionality (1981, pp. 20-27).

Educational inequality is more frequently observed in urban educational settings. Haymes stresses that the local setting of a school needs to be identified in pedagogical discussions (1995, pp. 2-3): "*Race, Culture, and*

the City asserts that pedagogy must be linked to how individuals and collectivities make and take up culture in the production of public spaces in the city, with particular emphasis on how they use and assign meaning to public spaces within unequal relations of power in an effort to 'make place.'" According to Gentry, "even as economic and social trends in central cities were creating environments less equitable for poor and minority children in schools, public and political rhetoric moved away from Social Darwinist determination" (1994, p. 26). Although the socio-economic status of urban families may be one of the biggest factors influencing educational inequality for minority children, the other factor of being non-mainstream (different from mainstream) can explain many of the critical situations facing minority students in schools.

Another factor in educational inequality is social, cultural and peer pressure. In discussing the cultural arguments about school failure, Valdés states that "although the line between theories of cultural difference and cultural deprivation is a fine one, it can generally be said that advocates of the cultural difference or mismatch perspective ordinarily attribute value to the backgrounds of nonmainstream children" (1996, p. 17). Using the example of Mexican-American children, Trueba emphasizes the fact that older migrant children often describe in stronger terms their experiences working in the fields, moving around the country, living in unsanitary conditions, and feeling humiliated in school (1990, p. 127). Finally, White has described the peer pressure and hardships of Japanese students who returned from different educational and cultural backgrounds overseas to Japanese schools (1988, p. 66):

> Like children everywhere, Japanese children are keen observers of detail and notice anything out of the ordinary. If one of their number wears something unusual, brings a different sort of lunch to school, or talks or behaves in a strange way, he or she will be teased by the others and exposed to great pressure to conform. This teasing sometimes assumes violent and physical form in *ijime*, or bullying, and makes the "odd one" feel permanently stigmatized: it is hard for returnees to feel confident that they will ever be accepted by the group.

These Japanese returnees also experience pressure from teachers of English. Sometimes native Japanese English teachers in public school feel uncomfortable teaching returnees who speak English more fluently than they. Japanese children overseas talk about attending English classes upon returning to Japan, i.e., about pretending to be poor in English pronunciation so that the teacher will feel more comfortable teaching English in the class. In this connection White postulates that returnee students who have learned English overseas must "forget" their "foreign" English and adapt to Japanese-style English because of peer pressure (ibid., p. 67).

These factors, i.e., socio-economic background or social pressures, are attributable to social constructs rather than to genetics. Byrd and Maloy assert that "educators have used intelligence tests as though they measured 'native' capacity, thereby implementing racist ideologies long after most social scientists recognized that race is a social construct, not a biological one" (1996, p. 48). In various social contexts, many educational approaches and curricula, including various tests, induce low self-esteem and lack of motivation in the educational environment, and these topics are discussed in the next section.

2.3.2 Language-Minority Students' Low Self-Esteem and Lack of Motivation

Lower self-esteem and/or lack of motivation cause students to give up on academic success. There are several reasons for language-minority students' low self-esteem and lack of motivation: the pressure to learn the mainstream language, the time spent catching up with majority students, the difficulties in achieving academic success at the level of the majority students, etc. The low self-esteem and low motivation due largely to negative ethnic identity are often cited as reasons for low academic achievement and concomitant behavioral problems among black, Native American, and Hispanic adolescents (Flowers, 1991, p. 85). Oftentimes, having compared themselves to the mainstream students who achieve academic success with more ease than they do, language-minority students and limited language proficient students accept their situation and give up on succeeding in school. In other words, the unequal educational situation brings language-minority students to lower their self-esteem.

The drop-out rate correlates strongly with the occurrence of language-minorities in the American educational system. There are many studies demonstrating how tracking systems separate white middle-class students and black lower-income children, thereby creating lower self-esteem in black minority students. The tracking system in present-day American education creates curriculum inequality for minority students as compared to mainstream students in terms of assessing their intelligence. The tracking system in present-day American education assesses intelligence in a culturally biased way, and as a result minority students are unfairly placed in the low-

track curriculum. Oakes (1985) stresses that lower-class and minority youngsters are less likely to do well on IQ tests because of differences in their language and experience, which consequently makes the minority students feel less motivated than white middle-class students. Concerning IQ tests Eysenck notes that "there is much agreement between psychologists about the degree to which tests are subject to cultural bias..." (1971, p 52). Gentry discusses the fact that tracking has negative effects such that average-track and especially low-track students experience lowered expectations, a watered-down curriculum, and lowered self-esteem (1994, p. 33). These negative effects contribute to a higher drop-out rate for minority students. One of the reasons for dropping out of school stressed by Garibaldi and Bartley is the lack of educational attainment and lower academic skills; dropping out then leads to difficulties in keeping long-term jobs (1989, pp. 230-231). Tracking, as well as other structures operating in American education today, have failed to provide equal educational opportunity for the many students from different ethnic or national backgrounds.

Furthermore, in the classroom, teachers play a significant role in creating more or less self-esteem and motivation for language-minority students. The students lose self-esteem and the motivation to succeed in school when teachers take the attitude, based on their assumptions about the students' academic performance (assumptions which they might have formed earlier when teaching language-minority students), that language-minority students are incapable of achieving at a certain academic level. Cummins points out that male educators already have low academic expectations for minority students and that few have had any training on

issues related to bilingualism, which consequently leads to the assumption that the difficulties of minority children are a condition of their bilingualism and "disadvantaged" background (1984, p. 91). Teachers also can significantly influence the values, hopes, and dreams of their students (Banks 1991a, p. 141). In order to foster student motivation for learning, teachers can adopt several strategies: they could create agreements for a learning community, they could advise their students more extensively, and they could initiate different curricular and institutional strategies (Donald, 1997, pp. 96-100). Consequently, "the hope factor" for minority students, fostered by teachers, would help the former get out of the lower class and find a reason for living (Gentry, 1994, p. 16).

2.3.3 Assessment of Minority Students' Language Proficiency

In discussions of educational inequality, researchers often debate the assessment of students' language proficiency within the educational framework. In investigating minority students' language proficiency, different researchers apply different factors in their research, e.g., intelligence, communicative competencies, reading/writing competencies, cognitive skills, vocabulary, grammar, etc. From a psychological position, Swanson and Watson (1982) categorize the following factors in assessment of language: functions of language; metalinguistics, competence, and performance; language and behavior regulation; speech acquisition; language acquisition (nativistic, behavioristic, and interactionistic); language components (phonology, morphology, syntax, semantics, and pragmatics); and language disabilities. The factors discussed by Chambelain and Medeiros-Landurand

(1991) are: psychoeducational assessment, adaptive behavior assessment, medical/developmental assessment, cognitive assessment, etc.

Such factors mentioned above are usually specified in each study according to the study's focus and purpose, and the testing method varies for the purpose of the research. For example, many studies apply standardized tests in assessing minority students' intelligence and language proficiency. As mentioned earlier, the IQ test is most frequently used for assessing students' intelligence. Also, Swanson and Watson (1982) list quite a few other standardized instruments, e.g., individually administered intelligence tests, language structure tests, general language ability tests, among others. Many times such standardized tests come in for criticism because the results are shown only in statistics, and the validity and reliability are questionable as concerns individual differences and test-taking strategies. Barona and Barona point out that "confusion between ability and achievement tests often creates major difficulty in the assessment of minority and limited English proficient students, partly because the tests themselves are not always valid reflections of the purposes for which they were intended" (1987, p. 184).

In order to assess minority students' language proficiency, comparisons with the standard set by native speakers are often undertaken. Regarding language function, it seems natural to compare language-minority students with monolingual (mainstream) students. However, it can also be unfair to measure minority students' language proficiency by the mainstream standard, since language-minority students attempt both to maintain their home language and to develop the mainstream language. According to Cummins, "the lack of demonstrated validity of tests used to identify

learning disabilities in monolingual contexts should make us extremely cautious about relying on such tests in a bilingual context" (1984, p. 85).

Finally, in a discussion of the evaluation of minority students' language proficiency, teachers' standards, which may be affected by the mainstream standard, need to be considered along with academic expectations. In both monolingual and bilingual contexts, the combination of test scores and clinical experience, together with teachers' and parents' observations, can often provide clues concerning the nature of a child's academic "problems" and the "intervention" strategies that might help the child to overcome these problems (ibid.). Academic problems are observed and evaluated by teachers in the school environment. Teachers generate their standards on the basis of their own educational experience, the school curricula, community standards, national standards, etc. They then apply their standard in evaluating students' language proficiency in the classroom. Perterson insists that "the ability to speak a language other than English should never be the sole determinant of whether a teacher is competent or should be accredited" (1990, p. 259). The ways in which teachers evaluate students are discussed in more detail in Chapter 2 (2.4.3).

2.3.4 Background Knowledge

The assessment of language proficiency firmly relates to students' background knowledge. Lack of background knowledge hinders the academic success of language-minority students in both communicative and literacy proficiency. The opportunities and the time to experience language used in the "real world" influence the students' background knowledge and as a

result their literacy practices. For example, one of the most frequent criticisms of standardized tests is that they contain cultural biases that make the test unfair to individuals from cultural and socioeconomic minorities (Swanson & Watson, 1982, p. 84). Non-mainstream students are less likely to obtain high scores because of the lack of background knowledge of the language that mainstream students know more naturally. The important point is that language-minority students, including students who speak dialects, are not to be treated in the same way as mainstream students.

Fradd provides an example: "... consider a lesson about foods found at a fast food restaurant. The learner needs to know more than a list of foods. The sequence of language-use events is as important as the set of vocabulary to be used. To effectively negotiate the purchase of two hamburgers, a milk shake, a Coke, and fries, speakers must have an understanding of the culture of the fast food restaurant" (1987, p. 147). The sooner non-native speakers get accustomed to living in a cultural situation and to being surrounded by active language practices, the better they understand the language replete with the background knowledge of the particular culture.

Even native speakers absent for a period of time from their home country lose the opportunity to experience in practice the new expressions or words of a culture. Consequently, they can lack a certain knowledge of vocabulary or expressions that have newly arisen. Language is not a fixed thing, but the outcome of active and creative people who share a culture. Furthermore, the children who have not had enough language experience in living situations struggle with the lack of vocabulary or background knowledge when they communicate with people from their home culture.

This is similar to the fact that many times students who have no knowledge or interest in a certain content-area cannot write about that content using the specific vocabulary for describing its particular elements, as Hudelson claims in his discussion of content-area literacy (1991, pp. 108-111).

2.3.5 Shared Language in a Community

Language is shared with people in a certain community, and it could not be understood without agreement among the members of that community. In other words, people in a group, e.g., a particular community, culture, society, region, and country, agree on the rules of the language shared with one another. Talk of a shared language community comes from a socio-linguistic perspective. The attitudes and knowledge of the group members help establish the possible roles that speakers can take in that group (Gumperz, 1972, 1982, 1984). This concept of shared language in a community has also been explored in considering how children learn language in social contexts, viz., how they learn what kind of purposes they should express, what kind of communication styles they can use for expressing themselves, and in what kind of situation they should express themselves (Lindfors, 1991, p. 11). The community can be restricted to two people communicating with each other, or can extend to the national level at which large numbers of people participate in the language community. Gumperz & Hymes put forth the hypothesis "that any utterance can be understood in numerous ways, and that people make decisions about how to interpret a given utterance based on their definition of what is happening at the time of interaction" (1972, p. 130).

Metalinguistic awareness is the focal point in discussions of shared language and language usage in a particular community. Metalinguistic awareness is a notion that describes the "understanding" of the usage of language. In a community that straddles two different language domains, for example, members of that community must have "awareness of codeswitching as a way of speaking" and an "acceptance of it as a normal way to talk" (Heller, 1988, p. 7). Heath describes in her ethnographic study how the forms, occasions, content, and functions of reading and writing differ in the two different communities of Trackton and Roadville (1983, p. 231).

If the focus is on literacy, "normal" or "acceptable" language and language usage are more often expected to be learned in the educational environment. The knowledge of both students and teachers concerning how to achieve literacy are shared in the educational settings. In the students' experience of learning to read and write, teachers play a significant role, as do institutional and curricular factors. Gumperz & Hymes discuss this educational and pedagogical aspect of language learning in connection with the concept of a shared-language community; in many cases, only academically acceptable language is taught and language unsuited to the academic situation is corrected in the educational setting (1972). All the discussions in this section (2.3) point toward the importance of teachers' involvement and teachers' roles in school.

2.4 The Role of Teachers

Section 2.3 above discusses the many factors involved in language-minority students' academic failure. Each factor is powerfully associated with

the teacher's role in the educational setting. This section thematizes the roles of teachers in terms of their responsibility, power, and expectations in class. Before discussing these three topics, various definitions of culture are introduced. Culture is often argued about in studies of ethnicity, but culture can also be observed on a much smaller scale. We may thus focus on how classroom culture is to be interpreted as a social context, and how the teacher and students structure that culture.

Second, based upon the notion of classroom culture, the power of teachers over students is discussed. Teachers use their power in providing academic lessons, while they simultaneously can misuse their power by focusing exclusively on controlling the students. The Initiation-Response-Evaluation sequence is presented as a research method for examining the power structure in the classroom at a micro-level.

Third, teachers' multiple expectations in a classroom culture are addressed. In academic lessons, teachers expect students to provide "correct" answers, and they expect them to behave "appropriately." These two kinds of expectation are different, and teachers may give academic grades that reflect social behavior rather than academic performance. In an extreme case, a student who behaves "inappropriately," according to the perspective of a specific teacher, might even be diagnosed as "learning disabled." Moreover, teachers have other expectations too beyond academic performance and appropriate behavior.

Finally, the concluding part of this section lays out certain responsibilities of teachers, e.g., that they maintain a learning attitude, and that they keep responding to new challenges with innovative teaching

strategies. This section concludes by suggesting the responsibilities of the "ideal" teacher. Flexibility, particularly in dealing with students from various cultural backgrounds, is especially recommended.

2.4.1 Classroom Culture

Various studies introduce the idea of the culture of an educational setting. Here "culture" is used not only with reference to regional, ethnic, social, or national norms, but also to those found in a given community, family, classroom, or any kind of group. For example, from the perspective of the culturalist tradition, Giroux discusses culture as "a set of ideas and practices in which specific ways of life are integrated" (1981, p. 125). Different perspectives and approaches to culture derive from functionalism, structuralism, anthropology, cognitive anthropology, symbolic inter-actionism, and linguistic anthropology (Bloome, 1988, p. 2). Malinowski (1945) advocates the functionalist theory of culture: since human beings are animals, they are merely "human physiological drives molded and modified by the conditions of culture" (p. 42). From a cognitive anthropological perspective, Goodenough claims that culture is equated with behavior and not with the standards that govern behavior (1981, p. 52). He emphasizes that "learning is essential to the definition of culture." Geertz's symbolic interactionist position, by contrast, asserts that culture is public, and does not exist in someone's head (1973, p. 10). He believes that culture consists of the socially established meanings that people share with one another (ibid., pp. 12-13). Finally, from an ethnographic perspective, Spradley and McCurdy refer to culture as "the acquired knowledge that people use to interpret their

world and generate social behavior, but not behavior itself" (1987, pp. 2-3). Although culture is argued about from various positions, it is typically defined as a certain norm structured by people in a group.

Many recent studies follow an ethnographic approach. According to Spradley, "ethnography is the work of describing a culture. The central aim of ethnography is to understand another way of life from the native point of view" (1980, p. 3). Smith explains that "ethnography is an approach to inquiry whose primary heuristic is culture, that is, it seeks the explanation for behavior in the sets of understandings unconsciously shared by members of a society or social group" (1986, p. 264). According to the ethnographic approach, cultures should not be interpreted in terms of the researcher's prior hypothesis or taken for granted based on prevailing theoretical models (Spradley, 1980; LaCompte & Goetz, 1982; Macias, 1989; Wolcott, 1989; Yates, 1989; Atkinson, 1990; Ely, 1991). Otherwise differing cultures might be inaccurately assimilated to one another, and specific cultures may be treated too generically. Yet many times people do not interrogate what constitutes "appropriateness" in a certain culture. The specific existence of each culture needs to be carefully examined, instead of generalizing from it to "Culture" in general: "One should, of course, hasten to caution against the danger of stereotyping a culture" (Peacock, 1986, p. 5). The different aspects of a classroom's culture, for example, can be recognized as a plurality of cultures. Ethnographic research could attempt to search for various cultures at this micro-level.

Classroom culture is constructed by the teacher and the students who have acquired a sense of what a class should be from their entire educational

experience. Often the relationship between teacher and students as culture is invisible and taken for granted, e.g., the teacher asks questions and the students provide the correct answer. This invisibility stems from the fact that such a tradition in education has created a certain norm that people have observed over a long period of history. Peacock (1986) claims that "traditions and conventions are silent in the sense that they are often unconscious" (p. 4). Classroom interaction is a social event that presents the tacit cultural, historical, and political features embedded in the relationship between the teacher and the students. The cultural features include the teacher-student relationship; the different cultural values and norms of the teacher and students; and the assumed sense of self-identity of the teacher and students.

For example, in the classroom setting, children with no previous knowledge about schooling do not perform as well as those who have such knowledge. When children refuse to behave according to school rules, it may be because their behavior is based only on their specifically *acquired, learned,* and *experienced* culture. In other words, such children may be confused as to how to behave in the class, which is different from their already acquired culture. Meanwhile, they may (or may not) try to adjust to the situation by quickly learning the new situation through the experiences of sharing the culture with others. When children find it necessary to conform to the classroom culture in order to succeed in school, they may learn this specific culture by following the culture of the school system, teacher, and their classmates.

2.4.2 Teachers' Power

In the relationship between teacher and students, the teacher's expectations and the students' responses are affected by the hierarchical structure of the classroom. In their research on classroom interaction, many scholars have described the hierarchical status of teacher and students (Green & Wallat, 1981; Philips, 1983; Edwards & Neil Mercer, 1987; Edwards & Westgate, 1987; Bloome, 1989a; Bloome, 1989b; Mehan, 1989; Bloome & Willett, 1991). Microanalysis in ethnographic research attempts to search for various cultural phases in the relationship between teacher and students. Bloome and Willett provide a micropolitics of classroom interaction that analyzes power relationships and power agendas (1991, p. 208). The power and authority of the teachers in the classroom may influence the learning processes of students whose background and culture are neither considered nor respected. The teacher may control the floor based on her/his authoritative position over the students, a position which might at times extend beyond academic matters. This cultural aspect of teaching can give rise to political issues in education, when, for example, teachers misuse their power over students in "teaching." In such a situation, the classroom culture, which the teacher primarily creates, can exclude children who come from diverse backgrounds.

Initiation-Response-Evaluation (I-R-E) sequences in classroom interactions verbally and non-verbally demonstrate the relative status of teacher and students, their social and cultural norms, and their identities. In a microanalysis of classroom interaction, Bloome and Willett define Political Frames with I-R-E sequences as Community and School, Academic Lesson,

Conversational Structure, Conversational Substance (ibid., p. 218-228) (see Figure 2.4). The main concern of I-R-E sequences is the teacher's power over the students. In the academic lesson, the teacher initiates the classroom conversation and expects the students to provide a correct answer in a certain form. Usually, the teacher gives the students help so that they can answer according to the teacher's expectations. Bloome (1989a) explains that "frequently, the teacher will provide additional information or hints that can help the student provide the correct answer" (pp. 106-107). In addition to the teacher, other students provide hints, help, and even an atmosphere conducive to helping a target student find and give the correct answer. Bloome and Willett categorize this interaction as Substance of Conversational Interaction Level (1991, p. 223-228). Sometimes, however, the student's response may be different from that which the teacher intended to teach in the lesson.

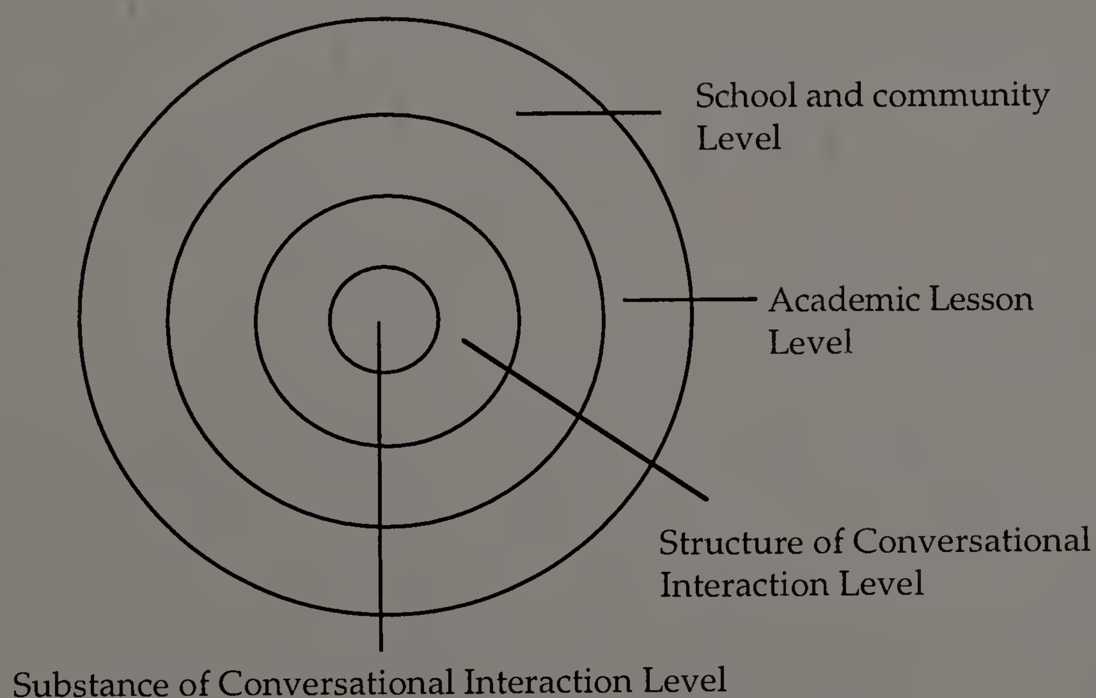


Figure 2.4
One View of Multiple Levels of Reciprocal Influence on Political Dynamics Related to Classroom Interaction (Bloome & Willett, 1991, p. 219)

The teachers consciously or unconsciously may use their authority and power to direct the students to behave in "good" and "appropriate" manners. Cadzen mentions that a "pervasive feature of the content of teacher talk is the expression of control -- control of behavior and of talk itself." (1988, p. 160). In another example, Cooper claims that "if we insist that students adopt what we see as the values of our community (our values), we will effectively withhold power within academic discourse from all students who come from a different generation, a different ethnic background, a different race, a different sex, a different economic class" (1989, p. 219).

2.3.3 Teachers' Expectations

In many cases, teachers frame certain classroom tasks or homework assignments by expecting students to follow certain directions or to provide specific answers. Especially in language or literacy classes, a specific correct answer is often expected by the teacher both in classroom and in homework assignments. The appropriate attitude in the classroom setting is created by the cultural, social, and political agreements obtaining in the classroom; this attitude includes, at a minimum, that the students are to try to provide correct answers and to try to use correct form. Researchers have examined many of the academic expectations of teachers concerning language proficiency. Teachers judge whether the students have attained "acceptable" language proficiency by checking the appropriateness of words, grammar, expressions, contexts, styles, and situations. In second-language classes, pronunciation, morphology, syntax, vocabulary, and meaning are evaluated by teachers (Omaggio, 1986, p 276).

Teachers also expect a "good" attitude and behavior from the students during academic lessons in the classroom. Teachers expect the students to respond with the appropriate attitude in the classroom, but students might not provide the "right" answer to the teacher's question, might talk to other students without responding to the teacher, or might act in a way unrelated to the teacher's intentions or expectations. Such negative student behavior is categorized under "Substance of Conversational Interaction" in a political dynamics as well as "Academic Lesson" and "Conversational Structure" (Figure 2.4) in the micropolitics concept of Bloome and Willett (ibid., p. 218-223). Thompson and Sharp postulate that "'good' or 'bad' standards of behavior tend to be perceived from the position of the person making the judgment" (1994, p. 5). Many scholars define what constitutes "appropriate" or "inappropriate" student behavior from the teacher's perspective (McManus, 1989; Macht, 1990; Kauffman et al, 1993). Kauffman et al. define "appropriate" behavior according to the teacher's demand for "good" and "teachable" academic and social behavior. According to them, "most teachers indicate that the following types of behavior are critical for success in their classrooms" (1993, p. 8):

> following their established classroom rules, listening to their instructions, following their written instructions and directions, complying with their commands, doing in-class assignments as directed, avoiding breaking classroom rules even when encouraged to do so by peers, producing work of acceptable quality for his or her skill level, and having good work habits (e.g., making efficient use of class time, being organized, staying on task).

When students behave inappropriately in class, the teacher may display her/his negative evaluation by ignoring, punishing, or engaging in

physical contact with the student, by giving verbal directives with sarcasm and a raised voice, or by making facial (and bodily) signals, etc. (Englander, 1986, pp. 10-13, 27-29). The students' inappropriate behavior may cause the teacher to feel unsuccessful in leading academic lessons. The teacher may correct the students' behavior in order to continue the lesson, yet students may remain off-track and not follow the teacher's intentions by demonstrating an inappropriate attitude, e.g., by talking with neighboring students, talking about unrelated topics, or walking around the classroom.

In actual teaching situations, teachers do not analytically sense or comprehend their own multiple expectations. Teachers are often unconscious of precisely what it is they are evaluating in classroom interaction. In school, teachers attempt to evaluate students based on the capacity of the latter for handling certain attitudinal learning and literacy skills, even though teachers often evaluate students with a very different and unconscious set of social criteria based largely upon communicative style (Gilmore, 1987, p. 98). According to Gilmore, teachers may make judgments as to whether students are doing well or badly based on the classroom behavior of students in literacy classes (1987, p. 99):

> The major literacy achievement problem identified and voiced repeatedly by teachers, parents, administrators, and even the children in the community was "attitude." A "good attitude" seemed to be the central and significant factor for students' general academic success and literacy achievement in school. This concern with attitude is by no means unique nor restricted to this particular study site.

Teachers' multiple expectations are sometimes an influence in unfairly evaluating students who behave "inappropriately."

Behavioral problems can be hypothesized to reflect inadequate or inconsistent performance relative to the teacher's expectations or even to the school's expectations (Goldstein, 1995, p. 11). Some children are diagnosed as learning disabled because of their behavioral problems in the classroom. Of those, some may have biological problems in following school work, but the others behave inappropriately in the classroom because they may have psychological or environmental problems. Focusing on "culturally and linguistically different and exceptional" (CLDE) students, Boca and Almanza define CLDE students in two categories: those with mental problems who may not be able to physically function in the school environment, and those with social problems who may have emotional/behavior learning disorders, mental and moderate mental retardation, and speech and communication disorders The latter students make up approximately 90 percent of those who are categorized as CLDE students; and they often fall into this category on account of inadequate schools, inappropriate instruction, or inappropriate schooling (ibid., p. 3). Teachers' multiple expectations and the misuse of their power can also give rise to the latter kind of behavioral problems, with the result that some students are labeled "learning disabled," and some LEP students labeled as bilingual exceptional students (Erickson & Walker, 1983; Boca & Almanza, 1991). Kauffman et al. (1993) have identified four developmentally significant factors consequent to inappropriate behavior: academic failure, aggression, depression, and problems with peers (pp. 12-16). Teachers not only need to expect that their students will perform in "appropriate" ways, but they also need to persist in discovering the reasons

behind the students' academic failure or inappropriate behavior (Weiner, 1980; Englander, 1986; Kauffman, et. al., 1993; Thompson & Sharp 1994).

2.4.4 Teachers' Responsibilities

Teachers always experience controversial issues due to the federal, state, and local requirements in the school district; administrators' demands; and the actual practices involved in teaching the students. Fiscal year funding is determined for each program at the national and state level (Bierlein, 1993). Teachers deal with these budgetary limitations in running their programs. Further, the local community and school administration expect teachers to work hard to provide the "best" education possible for the students. Moreover, teachers have the responsibility not only to teach, but to learn about the many issues involved in a particular school setting. Teachers' training programs emphasize that the willingness of teachers to participate in staff development programs is an important factor in permitting schools the ability to offer special student programs, e.g., programs for ESL students (Minicucci, 1992, p. 13).

One other responsibility of teachers is to evaluate students. Although teachers struggle with the complications that arise in dealing with students from different backgrounds, they can unwittingly label students that do not succeed by carelessly evaluating them. Much research shows that minority students are often disabled or disempowered by schools (or by teachers) in very much the same way that their communities are disempowered in interactions with societal institutions (Cummins, 1981, p. 377). Here the

teachers have a great deal of responsibility, and their interaction with students can be either praiseworthy or censurable.

Milk et al. require the following abilities and attitudes from teachers of language-minority students (1992, pp. 3-4):

1. an awareness of the kinds of special instructional services that second language learners experience at different stages of participation in bilingual and ESL program

2. the ability to work collaboratively in teams that include specialists and non-specialists in bilingual and ESL programs

3. an understanding of how classroom settings (both social and physical) can be arranged to support a variety of instructional strategies

4. an understanding of second language acquisition principles and how these can be incorporated into learning activities that require two-way communicative exchanges between teachers and students as well as between students

5. an understanding of "how pupils use their existing knowledge to make sense of what is going on in their classroom, and aware[ness] of ways in which pupils might misunderstand content that seems clear (even obvious) to the teacher"

6. the ability to draw parents of bilingual learners into classroom-related activities and to tap into the "funds of knowledge" which parent and community members can contribute to enhancing the instruction of language minority children

7. the ability to deliver an instructional program that provides "abundant and diverse opportunities for speaking, listening, reading and writing along with scaffolding to help guide students through the learning process"

8. the ability "and disposition to create and to bring students into classroom dialogue"

9. the ability to "assess dynamically the initial 'ability' of individuals and groups so that instruction may be aimed above (but not too far above) that level"

10. a disposition "to be tolerant of responses that are divergent from the teacher's point of view and to incorporate the culture of language minority children into the curriculum."

Such responsibilities are easily suggested by researchers, administrators, the local community, and state and national politicians, but it is the teachers who face the task of implementing them in classroom practice. Teachers should note that these expectations toward teaching may or may not work with all students from all backgrounds. Many times theoretical and academic frameworks do not match the reality of dealing with students as individuals. When certain strategies applied by teachers do not work for some students, teachers have the responsibility to figure out what would work better, even if their only guide is trial and error. Hopefully, teachers can be patient in such a situation, without becoming frustrated and abusing their power over their students.

CHAPTER 3
DESIGN OF THE STUDY
3.1 Introduction

As mentioned in Chapter 1 (1.6), this study examines the Amherst Japanese weekend supplementary school in South Hadley, Massachusetts (United States). The focus is on the issues bi-schooling students face in maintaining and developing their Japanese writing proficiency. In order to study these issues in-depth, a thorough study was designed. Three major goals were set for this research: 1) to evaluate the students' writings; 2) to learn about Japanese bi-schooling students' different views concerning their developing Japanese writing competence while they are at the same time developing their English in American public school; and 3) to explore teachers' views about the students' bi-schooled situation and about their own experience in Japanese writing education.

The focus is on four fifteen-year-old Japanese ninth graders at the (junior high level) weekend school. These students all had more than five years experience both in American public school and in the Japanese weekend school. Also, three teachers of the second, sixth, and eighth grades at the weekend school were surveyed. All three teachers were born in Japan, received their entire education in Japan, and had experience teaching in Japanese schools in Japan. The teachers' backgrounds in the United States do vary, but all of them have been in the United States for over seven years. More detailed information concerning the participants is introduced in section 3.3 ("Descriptions of the Participants"). The four students and one of

the teachers have, incidentally, already participated in pilot studies of this author.

Since this research is a descriptive report of the present situation and of other issues related to Japanese bi-schooling students' writing, the following three sets of data were collected for this study: 1) students' writing samples, 2) data from interviews with the four bi-schooling students, and 3) data from interviews with the three Japanese teachers. Students' writing samples were collected from their classroom work and some of their other writings.

The method of interviewing used for both students and teachers was based on the "phenomenological interview" designed by I. E. Seidman (1991). Seidman emphasizes that "people's behaviour becomes meaningful and understandable when placed in the context of their lives and the lives of those around them" (Seidman, 1991, p. 10). The contents of the original in-depth interviews with each participant were scheduled for three different occasions, and consisted of three ninety-minute sections (ibid., pp. 11-12):

I. *Interview One: Focused Life History establishes the context of the participants' relevant experience up to the present time.*

II. *Interview Two: The Details of Experience allows participants to reconstruct the details of their experience within the context in which it occurs in the study.*

III. *Interview Three: Reflection on the Meaning encourages the participants to reflect on the meaning their experience holds for them.*

Having used this method in the past, it was clear that the three parts cannot be completely separated from one another. Also, in interviews during the author's pilot studies, some participants showed hesitation in talking

about their personal history. For these reasons, instead of dividing the three interviews from one another, the "in-depth" interviews were conducted with no time limit, at one time, without separating the three content areas. In other words, the interviewer conducted the interviews while considering the structure of the content of all the original "three in-depth" interviews. In order to collect data successfully for this study, the researcher considered the most important condition to be flexibility and an interviewee-centered atmosphere, with an appropriate rapport between interviewer and interviewee. Such a comfortable atmosphere with a "controlled rapport" facilitated, for each participant, the disclosure of information about himself or herself (Seidman, pp. 73–74).

Interviews with the participants were open-ended. The following interview questions were asked of the students: 1) what kind of experience had they had in their Japanese writing before they came to the United States?; 2) what sort of writing experience did they have in weekend school(s)?; 3) how had they experienced learning and developing Japanese writing while attending American public school on weekdays and the Japanese weekend school on Saturdays?; 4) what kind of difficulties and obstacles had they had in learning and developing Japanese language and literacy in addition to learning English, and in particular, what kind of difficulties and obstacles had they had in learning and developing Japanese writing practices in weekend school while learning English?; and 5) how do they perceive the bi-schooled situation of learning Japanese in addition to learning English in American public school?

The open-ended interview with the three Japanese teachers involved the use of randomly selected student writing samples written by the four students. Before each interview was conducted, the teachers had been asked to review the writing samples and to give a brief comment on them. In the interview, they were first asked to expand on how they assess the writing samples in the context of their experience in teaching bilingual Japanese students. Then they were asked, based on their comments on the students' writings, to provide feedback in an overall evaluation of the writings. The interviewer asked the following questions: how do you, the teacher, evaluate the students' writings as compared with your "standard" ninth grade writers?, and what kind of words and written expressions do you point out as "non-standard"? The teachers were also asked about their concerns regarding the difficulties and obstacles in the students' "bi-schooled" situation, about the teaching strategies which they had developed to cope with the students' situation, and about their thoughts and ideas for improving the present situation.

3.2 Description of the School

This research focuses on the Amherst Japanese Language School for Children in South Hadley, Massachusetts, which is one of the two Japanese weekend schools in Massachusetts (the other is the Japanese Language School of Greater Boston). South Hadley is located in Western Massachusetts and is a half-hour drive from Springfield, the largest city in Massachusetts after Boston. Five major post-secondary institutions occur in the area: Amherst College, Hampshire College, Mount Holyoke College, Smith College, and the

University of Massachusetts. Furthermore, four Japanese companies have settled in this part of Massachusetts: Jado Wire (Sumitomo Denko), Marubeni Trading Company, Shin Ohji Seeshi (paper), and Tsubakimoto Chain.

With support from the Ministry of Education and the "Japan Club" founded by the four Japanese companies, the Amherst Japanese weekend school was established in 1971. The organization of the school was undertaken primarily by the Japan Club; however, in 1992 it ceded its role in organizing the school to PTA members in the following special committees: educational affairs (*kyoomu*), accounts (*kaikei*), committee reports (*koohoo*), events (*gyooji*), and library (*tosho*). For the most part the Japan Club now only provides the weekend school with financial support.

The students are mainly the children of visiting scholars at one of the five colleges and of the employees of the four Japanese companies. The other students are born in the area, of whom at least has a Japanese-born parent. Although the student body changes yearly, the number of students usually ranges from thirty to forty children in the following grade levels (see Table 3.1): kindergarten level (ages 3, 4, and 5); the elementary level (Grades 1 though 6); the junior high school level (Grades 7 through 9); and high school level (Grades 10 though 12). Since the Ministry of Education only finances compulsory education (*gimu kyooiku* , viz., Grades 1 though 9), kindergarten and the classes at the high school level are supported by the Japan Club and monthly tuition (forth to fifty dollars for each student). Nevertheless, the children in the kindergarten form a plurarlity in the overall student

population, since they usually make up about one-third of the total number of the students in the school.

Table 3.1
the number of the students in Amherst Japanese Language School for Children, Massachusetts

Year	Grade	Elementary						Jr. High			High school			Total
	Kinderegarten	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	
1997	10	3	2	4	3	1	4	0	1	2	2	1	0	33
1998	8	2	3	2	2	3	2	1	2	1	0	3	1	30

The classes last three hours on Saturday mornings at South Hadley Center Church. After the morning meeting, where announcements are made by the principal, the teachers, and parents, the students go to their classrooms with their teachers. During the three classroom hours the students and teachers take a break for about 15 minutes. The length of the break time is usually decided by the teacher, depending on how much they have covered in the lesson plan before the break. The break is an important time for the students to interact with one other in Japanese. Some students will go outside to play soccer or catch when the weather is nice, and some stay inside and talk with their Japanese friends. In these ways, the students spend enjoyable time together speaking Japanese.

The school runs for about forty days a year. The first semester starts April 1 and ends July 31. After a summer vacation period of one month (August), the second semester begins September 1 and lasts through December 31. Immediately following the end of the second semester, the third semester starts (on January 1) and runs through March 31. Unlike the

American educational system, the new school year starts in April, not in September. As a result, the students usually belong to two different grades during the first semester of the weekend school, e.g., the fourth grade in the Japanese weekend school and the third grade in American school.

3.3 Description of the Participants

The pseudonyms of the four ninth graders are as follows: Akira Nakayama (Akira), Hideo Higashi (Hideo), Chieko Aida (Chieko), Nobuo Yamamoto (Nobuo). Hereafter they will be referred to by their first names (in parentheses). On weekdays, Akira and Hideo attend Longmeadow High School in Longmeadow, Massachusetts, and Nobuo and Chieko attend Amherst Regional Junior High School in Amherst, Massachusetts. On Saturdays, they spend three hours at the Amherst Japanese weekend school. The descriptions of each student from the perspective of the teacher/researcher follow.

Akira has been in the United States since he was in the fourth grade. He first went to school in Amherst and later moved on to Longmeadow. He is the most active and verbal of all the students in the classroom. He does well in mathematics, but he lacks the ability to concentrate on his studies, particularly in Japanese language class. He solves math problems quickly when competing with the other students, but sometimes he lacks the accuracy to get the correct answer. Akira has some problems in reading and writing Chinese characters (*kanji*), and he is also at times ill-prepared for *kanji* quizzes. He is very interested in Japanese pop music and familiar with many of the new pop songs. Also he likes to talk about new trends in Japan, i.e.,

musicians, fashions, the newest technology (walkman, CD players, etc.), and so on. He brings new CDs and other music-related items sent from Japan and shares them with his classmates, sometimes in the classroom. His parents expect him to go to a highly competitive high school in Japan that accepts many returnees. He has been practicing writing with the teacher/researcher for the entrance exam.

Chieko, the only girl in the class, was born in San Francisco. She went back to Japan when she was four months old and attended Japanese elementary school. She came back to the United States every summer until she returned to the United States in 1991 when she began the third semester as a fourth grader in the Japanese school. Among the four students, Chieko has had the longest experience in Japanese school in Japan. She likes reading and writing Japanese and can write Japanese *kanji* (Chinese characters) with very few difficulties. She is more proficient with Japanese vocabulary and expressions than the other students in the class. Her Japanese vocabulary is better, and she is more proficient with Japanese expressions, than the other students in the class. It seems that she finds mathematics more difficult than Japanese. Since the other boys are very good at mathematics, she seems to be overwhelmed by how quickly they solve math questions. When she can take the time to solve math problems, she can do very well. She is usually quiet in the classroom. Since her best girlfriend in the same grade went back to Japan in 1993, she now does not have a Japanese "body" to hang around with either in the classroom or outside school. Not having her best friend in the class and being the only girl with three boys somehow seem to incline her to a quiet attitude in the classroom.

Hideo was in Chicago for four years starting with his third semester in the third grade, then moved to Longmeadow in September, 1994. He adapted well to the Japanese style of education in the Chicago weekend school where class started at 9:00 am and ended at 3:00 pm. Also there were about 25 students in his class, which is much closer to an actual Japanese classroom in Japan than the Amherst weekend school. Hideo completes all his assignments and follows the teacher's instructions well. He is the quietest student in the class and does not express his thoughts or opinions unless he is called on by the teacher. With such manners he may be considered a "typical" student according to Japanese classroom standards. He is very good at mathematics and can compete with the other two boys, who are also very interested in mathematics and can quickly and accurately solve math questions. His Japanese is quite good, but he does not use as many Chinese characters (*kanji*) as necessary. Since he reads a lot of Japanese novels, he can recognize many *kanji*, yet he has not practiced writing them as much. Since Akira is a schoolmate in Longmeadow high school, they often spend time playing and doing homework together. The relationship with Akira (Akira's leadership over Hideo) is often seen in the weekend school classroom. Moreover, although Hideo is quiet in the class, he is very active in sports. He plays football for the high school.

Nobuo has been in the United States since he started the second grade. He has attended school in Amherst for over seven years and has been in the United States the longest of the four. He struggles with the Japanese language and style of education more than the other three students, but is motivated in his studies and is able to keep up with those who have had more Japanese

education. He is very interested in mathematics, and he excels at it. Moreover, he succeeds in math both in the weekend school and in his American junior high school. The transition in the mathematical vocabulary from English to Japanese does not seem to affect him at all. By contrast, he does not have much confidence in Japanese reading and writing. He thinks that reading and writing English is much easier than reading and writing Japanese. Since he has been in the American educational system the longest of the four, the vocabulary and expressions he uses in Japanese are more influenced by his experience in English than the other students. He likes playing various sports. He joined several sports clubs in the junior high school and has played for his school. After Akira moved to Longmeadow from Amherst, Nobuo has been spending more time with friends from the junior high school.

The three Japanese teachers interviewed are (all pseudonyms): Naoshi Fujitani (Naoshi), Takako Nagai (Takako), Miyoko Sakai (Miyoko); only their first names (in parentheses) are presented in what follows. Naoshi is a male teacher, and Takako and Miyoko are female. The teachers' educational backgrounds vary; however, all of them have received master's degrees either in Japan or in the United States. They are all married to a Japanese partner and have children.

Miyoko presently teaches the second graders, and the previous year she was teaching the fourth graders. She has been teaching in the weekend school for three years. Since she previously lived in California where her two daughters attended a weekend school, she has some knowledge of another weekend school to compare with the Amherst weekend school. Miyoko has

varied teaching experience: teaching English to Japanese junior high school students and teaching English to Japanese junior college students in Japan. She is a very dynamic teacher and applies her interesting pedagogical ideas in the classroom, often incorporating into her lessons her unique handmade teaching materials. Her interest in teaching shows itself in the stories of her struggles with the students and of the many different surprises in her classes.

Naoshi is presently teaching the eighth graders at the weekend school. He has taught various grade levels at the school for over six years. His background is unique. He was specializing in education by working towards a Ph.D. at Tokyo University, but right before completing his degree he abandoned the program. Meanwhile, he helped teach (as teacher's assistant) at a kindergarten in Tokyo. His personal interests vary, but he seems to be most interested in how children learn different matters. He is one of the most popular teachers in the weekend school, since he is very easy-going and tries to understand the students' situations. In particular, the boys are very fond of him both inside and outside the classroom. Naoshi often goes with the students to play soccer.

Takako has been involved in the Amherst school longer than any of the other teachers in the study (longer, in fact, than any other teacher at the school since the school first opened). For over twenty years, she has taught various grade levels. At present, she is teaching sixth graders. She also taught Japanese national language (*kokugo*) in a junior high school in Japan for a few years. She is a very serious and energetic teacher. She told this researcher that her motivation to be a teacher started when she was a child. She has long reflected on how to teach so that her students could understand

various subjects in a deep and emotional way. Her way of teaching *kokugo* always challenges students to learn Japanese literature in such a deeply emotional manner. She is also very open to new types of teaching that might be more appropriate to students growing up in a different generation. She readily shares her innovative idea of using comics (*manga*) as a way to teach the historical background of classic Japanese literature.

3.4 Procedures

The four students' writing samples were collected over the course of a year and came from classroom writing activities, homework, after school writing activities, and practice essays for the high school entrance exam in Japan. The third semester of 1995-96 in the Japanese educational system (January through March 1996) was the last semester during which writing samples were collected. From all the writing samples, a total of thirteen were randomly selected. Because the writing samples were later used in the interviews with the three teachers, they were all typed in Japanese in order to protect the students' privacy.

The interviews with the four students started on March 18, 1996. The researcher visited each student's house individually, and the interviews were conducted there. The first interview was with Akira, the second with Hideo, and the third with Chieko. These interviews were completed in the third week of March, 1996. The fourth interview with Nobuo was undertaken the following weekend on March 30, 1996. After the writing samples had been collected by the end of March, 1996, the interviews with the three teachers took place in April and May of 1996.

Each interview with the students and teachers was recorded on audio-tape. The total amount of time taken for each interview is shown in Table 3.2. The recorded data was then transcribed in Japanese. The transcripts from the interviews totaled more than two hundred pages in Japanese.

Table 3.2
the amount of time taken for each interview

students	amount of time (minutes: second)	teachers	amount of time (minutes: second)
Akira	96:30	Miyoko	80:44
Chieko	87:30	Naoshi	79:37
Hideo	100:30	Takako	109:30
Nobuo	93:38		

The Japanese writing samples and the transcribed interviews were subsequently translated into English by American doctoral students from the University of Chicago, Melissa Wender and Michael Eastwood who specialize in Japanese literature and history at East Asian studies program and who are accordingly fluent in Japanese. In this way, this research is accessible to an English-speaking audience. All four students, their parents, and the three teachers were asked to sign consent forms (See Appendix B). All individuals in the study are identified by pseudonyms for publishing purposes, and further permission (to publish these results, etc.) can be sought from the participants as necessary.

3.5 Data Analysis

The teachers' responses to the writing samples were divided according to the following three categories: 1) evaluation of the writing as a whole; 2) problems in Japanese writing due to the students' bi-schooled situation; and 3) problems in writing in general. The second item, which includes "non-standard" words and expressions in general, is further broken down into four subcategories: i) incorrect expressions and grammar; ii) influence of English, e.g., *katakana* words; iii) insufficient vocabulary or insufficient knowledge of Chinese characters (*kanji*); and iv) insufficient background knowledge. The third category is important due to the fact that certain problems in Japanese writing are found not only in bi-schooled students, but also in Japanese students in general. At least three issues arise in a discussion of this third category: i) the confusion of written language and spoken language; ii) the necessity of planning and polishing; and iii) writer's consciousness of the reading audience. The remarks of all three teachers tended to divide easily into the three general categories above, and this fact might arise from the nature of the questions the author posed in her interviews. The subcategories, however, are derived from the specific remarks made by the teachers themselves.

The interviews with the four students were analyzed and presented according to the following categories: 1) the students' self-understanding; 2) their positive experiences with and perceptions of being bilingual; and 3) their difficulties under current conditions of bi-schooling. The first category, self-understanding, can be divided into three kinds of self-evaluations: i) to evaluate their ability in Japanese; ii) to evaluate their ability in Japanese

composition (prior to coming to the United States); and iii) to evaluate their current ability in Japanese composition. The second category, concerning the students' positive views about being bilingual, is divided into the following three subcategories: i) shared aspects of Japanese and English composition; ii) translating knowledge from each language into the other; and iii) positive attitudes toward acquiring both languages. Finally, the third category, difficulties under current conditions of bi-schooling, discusses: i) the English influences on the students' Japanese compositions; ii) the deficiencies in the students' Japanese background; iii) the students' insufficient knowledge of words and Chinese characters (*kanji*); iv) the students' hardships based on insufficient time for studying Japanese; and v) the students' primary focus on their work in the local schools and their denigration of the importance of Japanese language academic abilities.

In addition to their observations concerning the writing samples, the interviews with the three teachers explore: 1) the teachers' understanding of problems arising from the students' bi-schooled situation, and 2) the teachers' strategies for instruction in Japanese composition. The first point includes the following five topics: i) insufficient time for studying Japanese; ii) disparity of academic ability among the students in the weekend school; iii) students' hardships; iv) educational compromises that are made due to the aforementioned disparity in students' academic abilities; and v) the teachers' personal awareness of the gap between the educational environment in Japan and that in the weekend school, which might include a sense of disconnection from the Japanese educational system. Secondly, each of the three teachers thoroughly presents his or her teaching strategies for Japanese

composition. The discussion of strategies is developed along with the teachers' opinions concerning the necessity of parental assistance.

3.6 Limitations of Study

A limitation of this study is that the writing samples of and interviews with Japanese bilingual students, as well as the interviews with Japanese teachers, were only collected at the Amherst Japanese weekend supplementary school. The number of participants is also limited. Including more participants and more data from different weekend schools in the United States would support the discussions of this study. Many of the variables in this study probably occur in the education of Japanese bilingual students at different weekend schools across the country.

Since this study is concerned with Japanese bilingual students in the United States, the discussion of how they maintain and develop their literacy proficiency in their first language may not be directly applicable to other racial groups in the United States. For each ethnic group holds different values regarding the question of whether and to what extent it should maintain and develop its first language, and these values are specific to the circumstances, conditions, and background of that ethnic group. Nonetheless, this study may in fact point to areas of overlap between other bilingual students in the United States and Japanese bilingual ("bi-schooling") students (in the United States).

Similarly, the experience Japanese bi-schooling students have in learning Japanese may not be completely applicable to other language minority students on account of different factors like socioeconomic status,

parental support, et al. However, Japanese students in the United States who receive both an American and a Japanese education can be categorized as minority students in the matter of school curriculum. The Japanese educational system certainly treats them as such by naming these bi-schooling students "returnees," and many of them have a hard time readjusting to the Japanese educational system when they have returned. This is one of the most troubling matters for both parents and students in the Japanese weekend schools who plan to return to Japan.

Further, the interviews included in this study may not exhibit a completely accurate reflection of the interviewee's views. Because of the fact that the interviewer is a teacher of the student-interviewees and colleague of the teacher-interviewees, they may have withheld talk about their "actual" views. This point is discussed as an issue that arises in interviewing one's students, acquaintances, or friends (Seidman, 1991, pp. 32-33). In particular, the students seem to have had a hard time telling their teacher/researcher about their "actual" evaluation of their Japanese writings. The students tended to say what the teacher/researcher wanted to hear, for, of course, the teacher/researcher expects them to be good in writing. The teachers who participated might have hesitated to tell their colleague (and acquaintance or friend) about their experiences of failure in teaching bi-schooling students. Alternatively, the interviews might have been smooth enough and provided the kind of atmosphere where all the interviewees comfortably expressed their views because of their genial relationship with the researcher/interviewer.

Translating the original Japanese data into English is not a completely linear process. Certain Japanese connotations just cannot be translated. Thus, in translating the data, certain nuances could have been lost or altered, and as a result the translations may not convey the interviewees' actual intentions or sense. However, the translator for this study was selected from among many possible people who have experience in translating from Japanese to English. Usually, writing in a non-native language requires more accuracy than the comprehension of that non-native language. In other words, reading and comprehending non-native language, then translating into one's native language, should lessen the inaccuracy. For this reason, native English speakers are the best translators from a foreign language (here, of course, Japanese) into English, their native tongue. Some might question the Japanese proficiency of an American translator. But not many people could be more qualified as a translator than the American Ph.D. students specializing in Japanese literature and history.

This study was carefully designed with the issues raised by the aforementioned limitations in mind. As to why this research focuses on the particular issues it does, it is confidently maintained that the issues are very significant. As a teacher/researcher, I have long been concerned with the specific issues addressed in this study. Moreover, many other Japanese teachers from different districts in the New England area have raised these and similar issues. Furthermore, the issues and criteria developed in the data analysis were mainly designed around the issues that all participants in this study pointed to either directly or indirectly.

CHAPTER 4
DATA ANALYSIS
4.1 Introduction

This chapter presents the issues connected with the writing practices (in Japanese) of Japanese bi-schooling students, as well as the attempts to deal with and understand these issues (and others) on the part of their Japanese teachers. The stories related by the four students and the three teachers (described in detail in section 3.3) are analyzed in order to get at these issues. Excerpts of the phenomenological interviews with the students and teachers are used as data. In the interviews, all participants were asked about their history in school and education, the practices of the weekend school which they currently attended or were employed by, and their concerns with those practices; the participants were asked to reflect on these three items in connection with the topic of Japanese writing and the bi-schooled experience. This chapter concentrates alternately on the data from the students and the data from the teachers.

On the basis of the research questions mentioned in Chapter 1 (1.6), the following major categories were originated to analyze data collected from the students and the teachers:

Students:
1. self-understanding
2. positive perspectives on learning two languages
3. difficulties under current conditions of *bi-schooling*

Teachers:
1. problems in Japanese composition for Japanese students in America
2. their understanding of problems in the students' *bi-schooled* situation
3. strategies for instruction in Japanese composition
4. their understanding of the role of Japanese weekend schools

In the data, the pseudonyms of participants (with gender in parentheses) are Akira (m), Hideo (m), Chieko (f), and Nobuo (m) (the four students), and Naoshi (m), Miyoko (f), and Takako (f) (the three teachers). The raw data are transcribed as precisely as possible. Heeding Seidman's rule—follow up, don't interpret (1991, pp. 63-64)—led to the following typographical conventions permitting the distinction between what the interviewees said and the researcher's interpretation: words added by the researcher to specify the implications of the interviewees are presented in parentheses (like this). English expressions including *katakana* (words of foreign origin) not commonly used by Japanese people in Japan are provided in square brackets [like this]. Also, some Japanese words and expressions are rendered in *italics* (with English translations following in parentheses) for emphasis.

4.1 Self-Understanding (students)

This section contains the students' evaluation of their Japanese language and writing skills in comparison to their English language and writing skills. This is based on research questions a-1 and a-2:

> Question a-1: How do the students evaluate their language skills in both Japanese and English?
>
> Question a-2: How do the students evaluate their Japanese writing?

Three following subcategories are included: (1) ability in Japanese, (2) self-evaluation of their Japanese compositions prior to coming to America, and (3) self-evaluation of their recent Japanese compositions. Furthermore, in

connection with the second category, the students were asked about their experience in learning Japanese writing in Japan in order to flesh out their "Focused Life History," for the research methods of this study emphasize the importance of such life histories.

The interviews were initiated by asking the students about their past educational experience in writing in Japan: "Tell me about your writing experience in school in Japan." Following this initial question, the interviewer asked about their writing experience both in weekend school and in American public school. After reviewing their own writing experience both in Japan and in the United States, the students were asked the question: "what do you think of your Japanese skills in general?" This question aimed at determining whether the students felt stronger in English or Japanese in both speaking and writing; however, the focus was more on writing. The interviews then moved forward to more in-depth content with the questions: How was/is your Japanese (writing) skills according to your teachers' evaluations?, and what sort of evaluation and grades did you receive on your writings? The review of their past writing education in general helped the interviewees answer these question.

4.2.1 Ability in Japanese

In the classroom at weekend school, the students often resent having to write in Japanese, either in class or for homework. They complain about how hard it is for them to write compositions in Japanese. Some say that they can write in English, but not in Japanese. After more than five years in the United States, none of the students seem to have problems communicating

in English. Further, at their American public schools they seem to succeed academically in their English literacy education. Of course, their Japanese communicative skills are those of Japanese natives, and their Japanese literacy proficiency is at a somewhat acceptable level. These are the teacher-researcher's observations. Yet what do the students "really" think of their Japanese (writing) skills?

While I have almost completely mastered English, I don't know as many words in English as in Japanese. Polite phrasing is difficult, but it is, after all, the language of my country, and I find it easier to write Japanese.
Akira

Between Japanese and English, in writing I am better now at using Japanese terms [and patterns] so it is easier to write, but because I don't know so many terms in English, it's probably easier for me to write in Japanese than English, and (my Japanese is) stronger. I did a little writing in school in America, but I do better writing in Japanese. Hideo

Now I'm attending an American school and don't use Japanese, so in speaking my English is improving rapidly while my Japanese gradually deteriorates, and I think they're reaching about the same level. In writing, however, although I intend to use a variety of words in English, I can't think them up well enough. Yet the number of words I know in Japanese is large, so as you might expect Japanese is better. At this point I know both of them, and so since each advances only a little at a time, they both feel difficult.
Chieko

I have plenty of chances to talk and write in English, so English comes out more freely. I do speak Japanese at home, but I never use it outside, and so I really have very few chances to speak it. Nobuo

All the students except Nobuo commented that they can write or speak Japanese better than English. The main reason they raised for this is the size of their respective vocabularies. This is one interesting aspect of bilingual

students' perceptions of their own language proficiency. The comment of some students that they "can write in English, but not in Japanese" makes it sound as if they have difficulty in writing Japanese because of their experience in English. This makes some sense, since in their present bi-schooled situation the students have more practice writing English than Japanese, and therefore the students feel more comfortable in English than Japanese. However, other factors need to be considered in examining this issue. The other factors will be discussed in section 4.2.3.

4.2.2 Self-Evaluation of Japanese Compositions (prior to coming to America) (students)

This section focuses on the students' evaluations of their own Japanese compositions prior to coming to America, with a special emphasis on the relation between the perception of their Japanese language ability and their educational experience. The researcher's questions first led the student interviewees to talk about their grades in *kokugo* (national language), and then more specifically about their grades in writing and/or their teachers' evaluation of their writing. This section also contains brief descriptions of the kind of writing education they experienced in Japan and how the Japanese teachers there provided guidance in their evaluations of the students' writing.

My ability in *kokugo* (national language) was ordinary, not especially talented. Mathematics was my specialty. Akira

I don't think my grades in composition were bad or anything. But it's true that I like reading more than writing. Hideo

My *kokugo* (national language) was, well, it was okay. For summer vacation homework, I wrote about going on a trip, but I wasn't especially good at composition.
Chieko

I was good at arithmetic and physical education, but I had a tough time with *kokugo* (national language).
Nobuo

All of the students stressed that they were average or not good at Japanese writing or *kokugo* (national language) before they came to the United States. It seems that they did not have much writing experience in their Japanese schools. Overall they do not seem to remember much of the writing experience they had in Japan. The reason for this is probably that the Japanese students were too young to have much formal writing education (Grade 1 thorough 3). Another reason no doubt stems from the fact that the structure of *kokugo* (national language) classes in the Japanese educational system emphasizes reading more than writing (this is discussed abovein section 1.5).

Interestingly, two boys mentioned their interest in mathematics in discussing *kokugo* (national language). This may be due to the fact that *kokugo* and *suugaku*(mathematics) are the two major subjects in the Japanese school system (the two subjects are often tested for in private junior high and high school entrance exams). Since *kokugo* (national language) classes address all four language skills (listening, speaking, reading and writing), the question of what grades the interviewee received in *kokugo* (national language) class was probably not precise enough to single out the students' writing experience. To the specific question about the guidance received from

teachers on Japanese composition, the students told the interviewer the following:

Making overly short contents a little longer, writing my examples concretely, and writing specific, simple samples so that a close reader would understand them; that kind of thing got fixed. When it came to words, I was told that I just used *desu* (polite be-verb ending), that I should use one kind of word (ending), and when I switched in midstream from polite expression to informal style, (which were) almost to myself in my own words, and to write using Chinese characters as much as you can. Akira

I got corrected on where I should make breaks, and the teacher taught me how to make titles. There was also instruction on writing by first grasping one's own ideas and ideals. Then I had comments like, "well written" and "you should write in more detail." Hideo

I often received the comment, "This is well written." I was corrected for things like starting a new paragraph in my writing. Chieko

The teacher would say things like, "Well done." The teacher would say, "Make this concrete," or, "Change your word usage," and instruct me in things like Chinese characters and outlines [outline]. Nobuo

Although they went to different public schools in various regions, the guidance of the teachers in Japanese composition seems to overlap quite a lot. The general comments on writing in Japanese schools are usually "very well written," "well written," and "work a little harder." Detailed comments, as the interviewees pointed out, include "write more concretely," "give more examples," "unify the verb endings," "use more *kanji* (Chinese characters)," "start a new paragraph," "change the title," "change the word usage," and "organize the outline." Such comments on writing may be universal—

American public school teachers may well provide similar comments on their students' writings.

4.2.3 Self-Evaluation of Japanese Compositions (current)

This section moves from the students' evaluations of their Japanese ability in general (in 4.2.1) to their evaluations of their Japanese writing ability. The evaluations are focused on their Japanese compositions in relation to their evaluations of their English writing and the grades they have received in American public school. Based on their evaluations of both their Japanese and English writing, the researcher asked about specific difficulties in writing Japanese compositions.

My grades in English [writing] are normal, around a B. Japanese is about the same, I guess. I didn't have many occasions to write Japanese compositions before, so I was a bit awkward, and I wrote about my relations with friends, food, snacks, differences between songs, and other simple childish things like that. Now, I've improved to where I can write in a flash on the differences between presidents or the distinctions between politicians, because for tests I practiced writing them repeatedly for Nagaoka sensei's (Ms. Nagaoka's) class and for my tutor. Akira

In English writing class, I receive around a B. In Japanese compositions, I can't write the thing I want to say very well, and everything ends up shorter right away. So I think it's my weak point. Before I didn't like to write at length, but I studied with the focus on composition and I've written a lot. I sort of got the hang of how to write so now I can write fairly well. Now, at least, I've reached the point where I can get a concrete idea of what I want to write, and I've written about a lot of different things, so if I can fiddle a little with the samples I wrote before, I can produce a different writing.
Hideo

Once I start writing I can fly through the writing, but before I start, because I don't know what to write, or it takes so long and I get bothered and it's hard for me to do the organizing [do organize], so I'm still not very good at composition - it's tough for me. What I'm weak at in writing is (that) my introduction [introduction] and conclusion [conclusion] aren't very clear; I guess it's the way I order things. If I had to write a composition for a test, it would be tough. For compositions in Japanese, compared to Japanese (students) in Japan I think I'm the same or a little lower down. When I go back to Japan, I get the feeling that I'll have to struggle extra with composition and the like. Chieko

As one who was good at writing English, my grades were always A or B. But in Japanese composition, diction and Chinese characters are hard, and I am not good and hated it. My use of words in Japanese ends up limited, and so I spend long stretches pondering, "How can I find a way to write more concretely?" It's a little bit too much for me to make Japanese middle school third year level (the ninth grade), and I'm quite far from my teacher's expectations. Nobuo

Even though the Japanese students admit that they are better in Japanese than English in section 4.2.1, none of them mention that they are good at Japanese writing; on the other hand, most say that they have received fairly good grades in their American schools. This may be due to their sense of inferiority to Japanese students in Japan, or knowledge that they have not had many opportunities to write in Japanese, in comparison to Japanese students in Japan. Furthermore, the interviewer was their actual teacher, and she emphasized writing education more than the other teachers in the weekend school. This might have made the students hesitate to say that they were satisfied with their Japanese writing. Another interpretation would appeal to facts mentioned in 4.2.2: the students' limited experience with Japanese writing education in Japan, and the methods of instruction of *kokugo* that teach reading and writing together.

All except Akira mention difficulties in writing Japanese, and Nobuo seems to be completely negative about his Japanese writing skills. He said that it will be hard to reach the level of (Japanese) ninth-grade. Chieko by contrast stated that she could receive a ninth-grade writing education even though she might need to make more effort to be better than average. The difficulties with Japanese writing pointed out Hideo, Chieko, and Nobuo included the inability to write at length, organization problems, inability to articulate ideas, word usage, Chinese characters, and so on.

Both Akira and Hideo talked about practicing Japanese writing for their high school entrance exam, and both have become more confident in writing Japanese as a result. Akira claimed: "I've improved to where I can write in a flash on the differences between presidents or the distinctions between politicians." Hideo commented: "I sort of got the hang of how to write so now I can write fairly well. Now, at least, I've reached the point where I can get a concrete idea of what I want to write." Practicing writing seems to have made both feel confident in Japanese writing in varying degrees.

4.3 Positive Perspectives on Learning Two Languages (students)

This section focuses on the students' experience in learning both English and Japan. More specifically, it is the positive experiences that are discussed in this section. Three subcategories are treated: (1) translating knowledge between the two languages; (2) shared aspects of Japanese and English composition; and (3) positive attitudes toward acquiring both languages. The questions asked by the interviewer were based on research questions a-3, a-4, and a-5 (from section 1.6):

Question a-3: Do the students code-switch/code-mix in writing? If so/if not, how do they describe their experience of code-switching and code-mixing?

Question a-4: how do the students transfer their knowledge of writing structures from one language to the other?

Question a-5: do the students have a positive (or a negative) attitude toward learning the two languages at once? If so/if not, how?

In order to answer research questions a-3 and a-4, the specific questions of the interviews were initiated by asking "which language (English or Japanese) first comes to mind when you write?" Then the interviewer continued to search for more detailed information about the writing of their English and Japanese compositions, and how they code-switch in writing, no matter which language they first come up with when writing.

The interviewees' comments on code-switching are discussed. The notion of code-switching applies at two levels: (1) the level of words and expressions, and (2) the level of writing structures. The data are analyzed based on the notions of code-switching and metalinguistic awareness. The Japanese bilingual students reported code-switching at the former level; at the latter level, knowledge of how to write (metalinguistic awareness) is required. (This has been discussed in the following sections: 1.6, 2.3.3 and 2.3.5.)

Regarding research question a-5 (do the students have a positive (or a negative) attitude toward learning the two languages (English and Japanese) at once? If so/if not, how?), only the positive attitude is treated in this section, and the following section (in 4.4) deals with negative attitudes. Given their positive perceptions about being bilingual/biliterate, the

following questions were asked in order to learn more about their interpretation of why they maintain Japanese while learning English: "if there were a choice between a Japanese traditional school and a Japanese weekend school, which would you like to attend?," "which school (American or Japanese weekend school) do you think of as a higher priority when it comes to studying?," and "would you still attend the weekend school if you knew you were not returning to Japan?"

4.3.1 Transferring Knowledge between the Two Languages

As we learned from the section on self-understanding, all the students have become quite proficient in English after more than five years experience in American public schools. Although most of them believe that their Japanese is stronger than their English, all of them seem to lack confidence in writing Japanese (4.2.1). Their reports of code-switching (if they have experienced the actual process) would demonstrate the transfer of knowledge between the two languages; examination of code-switching may answer the question as to which language is stronger. Here are the reports focused on code-switching of words:

When I do interviews or things in English, sometimes there are difficult English words, and I write Japanese (in those cases) or English compositions (sometimes) after looking up the words I didn't know (either English or Japanese) and understanding them. Akira

For simple sentences, I think in English, but when it comes to saying things I want to say or my ideas I still think first in Japanese and then write after searching for a close word in English. When I've written something similar in English, or when I'm writing in Japanese about something that's an issue in America, it floats up in English and I turn that into Japanese. For example,

if "Bill Clinton" floats up, I think, isn't that a little weird? and when I get it, I can write (in Japanese) "Kurinton Daitooryoo (the President Clinton)."
Hideo

When I write in English, I think up Japanese words in Japanese and look them up in the dictionary. When I write in Japanese, sometimes I think, "what was that word again," and when I remember the English word, then I ask my mother or look it up in the dictionary to understand the Japanese. It's about 50-50 between the times that English and Japanese words won't come. Because I know two languages, sometimes when I can't think in one language I can think or search the dictionary in the other language, which is an advantage, you see.
Chieko

When I write in English I think in English, and Japanese doesn't occur to me at all. However, when I write in Japanese, I write (the appropriate Japanese word) after (the word) vocabulary [vocabulary] floats up in my head and I use an English-Japanese dictionary. Moreover, when I think "I can't write everything in Japanese," I frequently write it first in English and then translate it directly into Japanese.
Nobuo

As previously discussed, many researchers have discussed and examined code-switching processes in the oral and written practice of bilinguals. The Japanese students are not exceptional. Even though the students may be stronger in one or the other language, either in fact or according to their own perceptions, it seems that the Japanese students code-switch both from English to Japanese and from Japanese to English. All of them mentioned that they can write in both languages by looking up words in either Japanese-English or English-Japanese dictionaries, and this is something that at least Chieko sees as an advantage.

Hideo's example of "Bill Clinton" shows the two processes of using code-switching and becoming a "coordinated" bilingual (according to Gardner's concept). When "Bill Clinton" in English is independent from "Clinton Daitooryoo (the president)" in Japanese, he reports that he can write

either way without using a dictionary, viz., without depending on code-switching. By contrast, when he cannot think of Japanese words, he has to depend on code-switching, probably by using a dictionary.

Nobuo's situation differs from that of the other students. This may be because he came to the United States when he was in the second grade, and younger than any of the other students at the time they arrived. The results of Cummins's study concerning AOA (Age of Arrival) and LOR (Length of Residence) may be confirmed by this particular group of students. However, Chieko's background is also interesting in terms of AOA and LOR. She was born in the United States and had opportunities to come back to the United States every year after she went back to Japan when she was four months old. After receiving three years of Japanese education in Japan, she came back to the United States to receive education in American public school. These circumstances show that not only AOA and LOR, but also previous educational experience influences the students' language proficiency, especially in literacy.

As Chieko states, the students learn both languages and explore them at a certain level; in general, however, the more they study English, the less their Japanese improves, and vice versa. It seems that the amount that bilingual students improve in both languages is equal to the amount that monolingual students improve in one language. The question about code-switching is this: which language is the base, or knowledge source, when code-switching occurs in both directions between the two languages? It seems that both languages are sources of knowledge at the level of development of these students. Thus either changing the main source from the first to second

language (in this case, from Japanese to English) or maintaining both languages as sources could be an option. Regarding this particular case of Japanese bi-schooling students, the parents, institutions, and nation expect them to maintain both languages.

4.3.2 Shared Aspects of Japanese and English Composition

Since the students receive literacy education in both American and Japanese schools, the question arises as to whether there are similarities in the writing processes of the two languages. Thus this section moves from code-switching at the level of words to the transferring of knowledge about writing; this kind of transfer requires metalinguistic awareness. The student interviewees describe the process as follows:

There are various ways to write, but roughly, the way I learned to write compositions in Japanese school is the same as the way to write compositions in America, so America and Japan are both almost exactly the same. I know how to write English compositions, so I think I can probably write in Japanese too. In America, there's a five paragraph [paragraph] (form) that has five paragraphs [five paragraph], and in the first paragraph you write what you'll say, and then you write at least three paragraphs of examples, and finally you write the conclusion [conclusion]. Japanese can hold incredible meaning with less volume than English, so when you write three examples in one paragraph, it's three paragraphs, but it ends up the same as five paragraphs in English.
Akira

For example, when you're writing a composition on personal impressions, it seems similar in either Japanese or English — however I learned structuring and how to write in Japanese compositions, and I can use it in English composition, and things work fine in English. My vocabulary [vocabulary] and the like are rough, but they've gotten better than before, and I've gotten to where I can write with organization. If you just learn how to write in Japanese, basically I imagine you can write well even in English.
Hideo

The way of writing in English by discriminating between introduction [introduction] and conclusion [conclusion] is the same method that I use to write in Japanese.
Chieko

The way of structuring writing with *intro* (an introduction), and then concretely writing the topic [topic], and then writing a conclusion [conclusion] is the same in both English and Japanese.
Nobuo

All of them stated that writing in English and writing in Japanese are similar. How to apply their knowledge of one to the other seems to vary. Hideo has succeeded in transferring his knowledge of how to write in Japanese to English writing; on the other hand, according to his remarks, Akira does it the other way around. As with the code-switching process, whichever comes first (knowledge of English writing or knowledge of Japanese writing), the students seem to apply the process in writing both English and Japanese. The direction of transferring knowledge about writing (either from English to Japanese, or vice versa) may relate to their actual language proficiency and their previous experience in writing.

Another interesting point made Akira rests on an apparent difference between English and Japanese. As he indicates, Japanese is a very high-context language, which means that a condensed sentence can have more meaning than a sentence of English with the same number of words. Jenkins and Hinds contrast Japan, a high-context culture, with the United States, a low-context culture, viz., one in which most of the message is explicitly coded (1987, p. 341). Akira makes this point in connection with length of writing. Nonetheless, the transferal of knowledge of writing structures is not directly affected by this difference.

4.3.3 Positive Attitude toward Acquiring Both Languages

Using both code-switching process and knowledge transfer, the Japanese students apply their knowledge in both English and Japanese writing to the other language. This helps students write in either language. In the interviews the students mentioned other positive aspects of learning both English and Japanese. These came up when they discussed their decision to maintain Japanese while developing their English, the importance of attending both schools, the meaning of attending weekend school (and not Japanese traditional school), the relative priority of Japanese and American school, the possibility of returning to Japan, etc.

My case isn't really exceptional — I mean, I lived in America so I learned English, and I'm Japanese so I learned about Japan, and because I know both Japanese and English I guess I have an advantage over Japanese who were born and grew up all the way in Japan. It wasn't just study, I actually lived there, so I know about Japan and I understand about the inside of the U. S. A. First off I'm in America, so I get to talk and go shopping and stuff with my friends: it's better to study English by experiencing various things. For pronunciation, the more you're with friends and talking to them the easier it is to learn; so it's better not to go to Japanese traditional school, but rather to go to the local school and then a weekend school. Especially with English, I mean, it's the easiest language to use in the world, so it's useful for the future if you learn it. Still, if you don't go to a weekend school for Japanese people, when you want to return to Japan and you've just forgotten Japanese and you haven't learned anything but English, it's tough. I mean, in the future I want to go back and forth between America and Japan, so it's good that I've been sure to study Japanese. Akira

There's a lot to study for local schools so it's hard, but going to the weekend school, even for three hours on Saturday, has been useful . Before long I'll definitely be going back to Japan, so after all, I think it'll be easier to know a little Japanese, and it's worth going to Japanese school just so I won't forget Japanese. However, since I've already come to America, after all I should learn a little English, play sports at an American school, and experience

friends and things. Whether I go back to Japan or not, you know I think it's good to acquaint myself with American matters and just not forget about Japanese matters while I'm in America. Hideo

Studying at Japanese school or at an American school? Whether I go back to Japan or not I think either one's about as important. With Japanese, originally I'm a Japanese person so if I don't know Japanese, you know, I write letters to my Japanese friends, and my friends and all my family are Japanese and speak Japanese, so like you'd expect communication is essential too and I have a feeling that I wouldn't want to forget Japanese. In addition English can be used almost anywhere in the world, and being able to talk different languages is, you know, a plus. I hold both Japanese and American citizenship, but even in America I look like a Japanese person from the outside, and if a war broke out my American citizenship could suddenly get taken away, and if, by chance, I had to go back to Japan, it's not just being able to speak Japanese, but I think I need to study things like composition and the Chinese characters that someone my age uses. To go back to Japan and get a good job and everything, if you can't write a composition to standards then you'll be in trouble. Now, studying both of them, you know, the amount of effort you put in is worth it. Chieko

After all, I do live in America, and I don't think I should ignore these studies when I'm in America, so I wouldn't go to Japanese traditional school. Whatever country you go to, you know, it's better to learn a lot about that country and know that country's language, and I think it's good to go to both the local school and a weekend school. It's very hard, but since I'm a Japanese person, it's important not to forget Japanese, and I don't want to forget it. In the future, I want to do a job where I can use both English and Japanese properly; so there's value in studying how to write Japanese. So for these reasons and to strengthen my Japanese, I won't quit weekend school.
Nobuo

The students seem to be seriously concerned with their bi-schooling. All of them commented positively on the importance of a high-level proficiency in both English and Japanese. Some do because they think English, as a widely spoken language, is worth learning. Nobuo thinks that people residing in a foreign country should learn the local language of that

country. Most of the students believe that they should maintain and develop Japanese in preparation for the time when they will go back to Japan, either willingly or unwillingly.

Furthermore, the four students insist that they do not want to forget Japanese because they *are* Japanese. Being Japanese, they want to communicate in Japanese with their Japanese family, Japanese friends, and other Japanese people, as Chieko points out. This shows how language crucially relates to people's identity. Although their Japanese identity is important to all the students, the fortunate situation of living in the United States encourages them to explore the English-speaking world. Hideo says that it is better for him to learn English even a little bit because, after all, he lives in the United States. Akira more specifically states that he thinks he has an advantage over people who have lived only in Japan because he knows both Japanese and English. All of them seem to have the desire to work in jobs where they can use both languages.

As briefly mentioned in 4.3.1, the students are expected to maintain and develop both languages by parents, their institutions, and the nation. Such expectations derive from the perceived value of the two languages. For bilinguality in Japanese and English could help maintain and improve the very important relationship between Japan and the United States. Moreover, from the viewpoint of the "leading industrialized nations," English and Japanese tend to be considered as very important languages to learn.

But a question arises: is there any language that it would not be worthwhile to maintain? The present value the world puts on a language seems to influence the answer given. In countries other than the United

States and England, Japanese children tend to attend Japanese traditional schools rather than weekend school; no doubt this fact reflects on the perceived value of different languages. The Japanese language seems worth learning or maintaining for the sake of business, yet other languages are also very much worth learning in order to build bridges among different countries. From the idealistic perspective of global relationships, no language is unworthy of being maintained or improved.

4.4 Difficulties under Current Conditions of Bi-schooling (students)

In this section, the discussions are on the students' bi-schooling situation and the specific difficulties involved in attending Japanese weekend school in addition to American public school. The difficulties are discussed under the following five headings: (1) English influences on creating Japanese compositions; (2) deficiencies in Japanese background; (3) insufficient knowledge of words and Chinese characters; (4) hardships based on lack of time; and (5) the students' denigration of their own Japanese language academic abilities. The interviewer asked the questions: what do the students think of attending two schools?, are there any obstacles or difficulties in such a situation?, and what sort of obstacles or difficulties do they experience in the weekend school? These questions were followed by research questions a-5–a-9:

Question a-5: do the students have a (positive or) a negative attitude toward learning the two languages at once? If so/if not, how?

Question a-6: what kind of specific problems do the students experience in their writing?

Question a-7: how do the students recognize their lack of a Japanese background?

Question a-8: how do the students perceive the time constraints of the bi-schooled situation?

Question a-9: do the students have the motivation to succeed academically in their weekend schools? If so/if not, how do they feel in terms of motivation?

The positive responses to research question a-5 have already been discussed in the previous section; in this section the negative responses to the same question are considered. In addition, more specific issues that arise when attending two schools and learning two languages are treated here.

4.4.1 English Influences on Creating Japanese Compositions

Since they have spent time developing their English and English writing skills, the students' knowledge of English has influenced their Japanese. Of course, their English knowledge helps them write Japanese, as mentioned above, but this knowledge can also interfere with their Japanese writing. The students describe this interference in the following remarks:

A teacher in my American school told me, "When writing in English, think in English, and do not think about the Japanese language." So lately when I write in Japanese, I think about English and my Japanese has gotten a little awkward. Akira

For example, July 4 is "July 4th" [July fourth] and "Independence Day," [Independence Day] and I wonder if I should say "*dokuritsu kinenbi*" (independence day) in Japanese. Words like that come up first in English,

Japanese word, it is easy to make up a Japanese sounding word based on the English words they know. Such words originating from foreign words are sometimes unrecognizable to native Japanese speakers.

4.4.2 Insufficient Knowledge of Words and Chinese Characters

The three writing systems of Japanese are *hiragana, katakana,* and *kanji* (Chinese characters). *Hiragana* and *katakana* are phonetic symbols, while *kanji,* having originated from Chinese characters, are independent words. The number of kanji that people are supposed to learn in school (up to Grade 9) is shown in Table 4.1 and 4.2.

Table 4.1
the number of kanji to be learned in elementary school [Grade 1 through 6]

Grade	1	2	3	4	5	6	Total
number of kanji	80	160	200	200	185	181	1006

(Ministry of Education, 1989a, pp. 165-168; Fujiwara, 1990, pp. 91-93)

Table 4.2
the number of kanji to be learned in junior high school [Grade 7 through 9]

Grade	7	8	9	Total
number of kanji	300	350	229	879

From kokugo textbooks for Grade 7 to 9
(Mitsumura, 1992, 1995, and 1997)

The Ministry of Education has specified approximately 2000 *jooyoo kanji* (frequently used *kanji*) that students are supposed to learn in compulsory education (Grades 1 though 9).

As presented above, the students understand their (perceived) superior ability in Japanese as being a result of their larger vocabulary in it rather than in English. Yet the size of their vocabulary, including the *kanji* they know, is smaller than that of Japanese students in Japan. The students reported difficulties in using vocabulary and *kanji* as follows:

In Japanese I'm a little short on remembering the Chinese characters. We have Chinese character tests and learn them in Japanese school too, but now I'm learning English words at school, so sometimes I don't know things like some of the high school characters and so there are words I don't know. When I, like, can read and I know the meaning of each of the characters, basically I know the contents, but I can't write the same number of Chinese characters as a Japanese in Japan. Akira

I don't do my Chinese characters very much, so they're a little hard. There are sometimes when I don't know how to read them, but mostly I get the meanings. When I read I try skipping the words I don't know, and I imagine similar words from the context, but when I write I don't try very hard to use Chinese characters, so I end up wanting to write in *hiragana*. Still, when I write in *hiragana*, it seems a little odd, and it's a problem (for the future), so I look up each one in the dictionary and write checking on the characters and stuff that I don't know, so it's tough. The words come to me, but when I try to use harder words they don't come easily, so I write and stuff after thinking for a little while. Hideo

What I'm weak at in composition is, not surprisingly, words and Chinese characters. I think I've forgotten a lot of words, so I feel like I strain more in Japanese. Japanese school isn't everyday, so the teachers teach us new words, but I just talk in English and since I don't use them I can't recall Japanese words quickly, and it often takes a while. Actually, I know them — they're somewhere in my head — but I just plain forget and can't think of them.
Chieko

In Japan I was good at Chinese characters, but now it feels like I just learn them for tests in Japanese school. For tests, I sort of look over them quickly, write them over and over, and have my mother test me, but I don't use them at all so I can't remember them all, and so I've gradually forgotten till I've become weak in them. With words and other things that I use and have heard so seldom, I lose confidence, so I ask my mother especially when I write. Nobuo

All four students mentioned the difficulties in maintaining vocabulary and learning new *kanji*. The latter is particularly challenging for the students. The main reason for these difficulties is that they do not have much opportunity to use them. Also, as Akira mentioned, learning English vocabulary in American school seems to prevent them from maintaining *kanji* and learning new *kanji*. *Kanji* are complicated symbols, and it hard for the students to memorize them and maintain their knowledge without practicing and using them frequently.

4.4.3 Deficiencies in Japanese Background

Since the students have been away from Japan for quite a long time, they have missed many opportunities for language use in many different social and formal occasions in Japan, even if they do use Japanese at home or at weekend school. Further, they have not had the opportunities to develop Japanese that native Japanese students of their age have had, since they left Japan before they were ten years old. In such a situation, how do they observe the relation between their background knowledge and their usage of Japanese in writing?

Well, I lived here throughout junior high, and I don't know contemporary matters about Japan, so my compositional topics and examples are almost all about American matters. When I write compositions in Japanese, I just come up with American examples and it's difficult to write Japanese compositions. Probably I can write better on American topics than Japanese ones. Last year I had just gone to Japan, and I was interested in Japanese matters. So when I heard from my cousin in college, "I studied every night till 2 or 3 a. m., but I didn't get into any colleges," and other stories, I (could) think and write in Japanese a composition on how tests in Japan are harder than in America and the rate of applicants to places is higher. Akira

When the Japanese word "*dokuritsu kinenbi*" (independence day) wouldn't come to me and I wrote "*indipendensu dei*" (independence day) in *katakana*, that was because you don't hear the word "*dokuritsu kinenbi*" (independence day) in Japanese very much. If it were English, you'd hear from the teacher about "Independence Day" and everyone talks about it a lot, but in Japan, people seldom talk about the phrase, "July fourth" [jurai fohsu], and most probably don't know about it. In Japanese, I've neither heard nor read the word, "*goi*" (vocabulary), and I've never used it either. Hideo

I don't go to school every day in Japan, and I do study at Japanese school with correspondence study, reading and the rest, but compared to kids in Japan I don't read very much Japanese, so I think I know about what a third year junior high student would. I don't know the word "*goi*" (vocabulary).
Chieko

When I write Japanese compositions, I often have no interest in the topic, and I don't know about it, so I can't get any ideas. I've never heard the word, "*goi*" (vocabulary), so I don't know it. Nobuo

Although the teacher interviewer assumed that the ninth graders should know the word "*goi*" (vocabulary) in Japanese, and asked all the students if they knew the word, no one knew it. This shows their lack of age-appropriate vocabulary and background knowledge. The reason that they do not know the word is given by all the students: I have never heard nor read the word and have never used it. It is important for people to learn language

through experience, by hearing, by reading, and by living in the world of spoken language.

Another more specific example of the students' lack of background knowledge is seen in the fact that it is hard for the students to describe or write things about Japan that they have not experienced. Akira's example articulately explains this matter: "When I write compositions in Japanese, I just come up with American examples and it's difficult to write Japanese compositions... I (could) think and write in Japanese a composition on how tests in Japan are harder than in America and the rate of applicants to places is higher."

4.4.4 Hardships Based on Insufficient Time

Attending both American public school and Japanese weekend school to learn two languages is one of the apparent difficulties for these bi-schooling students, as one can imagine. The interviewer focused on this issue of time constraint and asked the questions: "How difficult is it to handle attending both schools?," and "do you still think that you will attend weekend school, even though your parents say that you do not need to?" The difficulties connected with this issue were described by the students as follows:

> American schools had far more subjects than in Japan, and homework is an incredible load — Friday was the busiest. If I didn't have Japanese school, I think I would have rested on Friday (night), finished my homework on Saturday without going to school, and taken Sunday off. My parents said, "You're going back to Japan, so it's better to assure that you learn Japanese and the other things that middle schoolers in Japan study." If I quit Japanese school, I'd get left back at school in Japan, and I thought that it would be easier to go along with my parents, so I kept going. If my parents had said, it's fine if you don't go to weekend school, I think in the end I would not have gone.
>
> Akira

There were times when it was incredibly hard to do the homework for Japanese school. I don't think it's good to do it all on Friday, but study for local school was also hard, and Sunday had Monday's homework and things, so on Friday before sleeping I would think, "Now, what do I need for tomorrow?" I stayed up till 11 or so, and the latest was after 12 o'clock — I did it by cutting into my sleep time. If we weren't returning to Japan in the future, or if my parents would say, "it's just fine whether you go or not," I would think that it was a good experience, but it really is hard, so I don't think I would go. Hideo

Just like my languages, I go to two schools, and I can't focus on one, so sometimes they both get a little bit ambiguous, you know. Still, so I can do my best in both of them I have to get up early on Saturday, and I get less time to play with my American friends, and my homework is doubled so it's kind of hard, and really I'm so busy that I just get tired. Since junior high, homework at the local school has really increased, so now it's where it takes me two or three hours to do my weekend school homework too on Friday nights. In elementary and junior high school you learn Chinese characters and stuff so it's worth it, but in high school study for local school increases massively, and it's tough, so I think it would be fine if I didn't go [to weekend school]. Furthermore, San Francisco Japanese school doesn't have a high school section, and my parents say, "You don't have to go for high school."
Chieko

Local schools have a lot of homework, so it's very hard without the time [used] for Japanese school homework. My American classmates don't go to school on Saturdays, and it was very hard, so in my first year of junior high I thought about quitting. Going to weekend school was my parents' decision at first, but basically after I entered junior high I decided (to go there). It was because it was a pain, and I thought that I didn't need to study Japanese. Before then, if my parents had said, "You can quit," I would have quit.
Nobuo

All say that it is very hard to satisfy the requirements for both schools, especially homework. As Chieko says, "homework is doubled." Hideo describes this situation regarding completing homework for weekend school, as "cutting into my sleep time." To the question whether they would still attend the weekend school if their parents said that they were free to quit, all

four assert that they would not attend. Although they indicate the importance of attending both schools, the hardships involved in their situation seem to make them less motivated to satisfy both schools' requirements.

For immigrant children, language-minority students, and children of intermarried couples, these hardships need to be considered carefully. Should these children be taught two languages? Although learning two languages is a challenging task, pursuing biliteracy does seem to be reasonable because of the positive outcomes evident in the Japanese students' success in English and Japanese. Of course, the children can make that choice, but the choice would also be affected by the support from their parents, their educators, the community, and the nation. Without this support and the positive outcomes of learning two languages, the children would not be able to overcome the aforementioned hardships.

4.4.5 Self-Denigration of Japanese Language Academic Abilities

The students are expected to be accomplished in two languages; however, their motivation can sometimes be lessened because of the challenges of becoming bilingual and biliterate. In this difficult situation, how do the Japanese students justify their study habits for Japanese, and how do they view their responsibility to complete homework for the weekend school?

Especially after starting high school there were eight or nine subjects with homework for things like business class, computer lab, and carpentry lab. Still, I didn't forget that kind of homework, but sometimes I couldn't do my

Japanese school homework, and sometimes Japanese school got to be a bother. Akira

Compared to Japanese who go to school in Japan, I'm not very accomplished. But, if I was doing studies for both American school and Japanese school, and still I didn't catch up, I don't think I could have done anything about it. There's plenty to do in an American school, and I don't want to study any more on top of three hours in Japanese school. Even the teacher wants us to acquire the same abilities as students in Japan, but although she doesn't show it on her face it's like, "as much as you can." Hideo

Even though I try hard for new words and try to learn them, really if you don't talk with them you just forget them, and there's nothing you can do to change that. Even when I try my hardest, both languages just get indistinct, and I get tired out. You know, I don't think it's so great to go to two schools and have slightly weak areas, but depending on how you think about it, since I know two languages and can speak almost entirely fluently in them it seems unavoidable, and I wonder if the best I can do is just to push myself to the max. It's like the way it's okay even for teachers at Japanese school to not know some words. Chieko

When I returned to Japan as a second year in middle school, I realized that there was quite a gap. To try to catch up to the level of students in Japan, I meant to study Chinese characters and write every day even if it meant reducing my play time with friends, but in reality it hasn't worked that way. Now my study for school in America is my focus, and I often think that my studies for Japanese school are a pain and that I don't especially need to do them, so I think it's a little late to catch up now. Nobuo

Most students insist that they can only do so much. Due to the time constraints and difficulties in attending two schools, they recognize that they cannot work very much for the weekend school. In their lived situation, they cannot help focusing on studying for their American schools because they primarily attend those schools. As for Japanese weekend school, they feel unable to catch up with their peers in Japan, and forgetting Japanese language

seems "unavoidable," in Chieko's words. As Nobuo concludes, "it's a little late to catch up now."

It might seem unfair to the bi-schooling students to compare them with Japanese students in Japan. But teachers and parents tend to compare the bi-schooling students with students in Japan, because of the educational standard at the weekend school. This atmosphere may give rise to the fact that the students estimate their Japanese abilities as worse than their English abilities, even though their Japanese may be stronger than their English.

4.5 Problems in Japanese Composition for Japanese Students in America (teachers)

This section explores the understanding of the teachers interviewed of the issues and problems connected with the writing of Japanese bi-schooling students. The teachers' remarks are divided into seven topic areas: (1) their evaluations of the compositions of the students in general; (2) the confusion of written and spoken language in the work of the students; (3) incorrect expressions and grammar; (4) the necessity of planning and polishing; (5) the influence of English, (6) the insufficient background knowledge of the students; and (7) insufficient vocabulary and *kanji* (Chinese characters). Regarding (1), the teachers' general evaluations of the students' writings are presented on the basis of thirteen writing samples (see Appendix A) written by the four Japanese students. In addition, the teachers' lack of current professional teaching experience is discussed. Topics (2) through (4) focus on writing issues of Japanese students in general, and the rest ((5) through (7)) concern more specifically the situation of Japanese bi-schooling students and their problems with writing. The issues and problems discussed in this

section follow research questions b-1 through b-3 enumerated above (in section 1.6):

> Question b-1: How do the teachers evaluate writing samples completed by bi-schooling students?
> Question b-2: What kind of problems do the teachers observe in the students' writings?
> Question b-3: What kind of problems that may be specific to bi-schooling students do the teachers observe in the students' writings?

The researcher-interviewer initiated the interviews by asking the teacher to "tell me [the researcher-interviewer] about your observations and comments concerning the students' writings." Then, in order to learn about their previous experience in teaching and to review their past experience with or knowledge of writing education, the interviewer asked for the teachers' background with the question "would you tell me about your teaching experience in Japan?" The questions led toward their present teaching experience in the weekend school. Turning again to writing, the interviewer asked the teachers to "share with [the researcher-interviewer] the issues involved in writing education in the weekend school," and to "tell [the researcher-interviewer] the issues and problems in the weekend school in general."

4.5.1 Evaluations of the Compositions in General

The interview was initiated with the actual evaluations by the teacher-interviewees of the student participants' writings. On the previously provided writing samples, the teachers made comments ranging from the general to the specific. Based on these comments, the teachers talked about

their general evaluation of the students' compositions. Then the researcher specifically asked the teacher participants this question: "Compared with your idea of ninth graders in Japan, what do you think about this writings?"

I also have compositions that aren't so bad, but they really don't have much experience writing in Japanese, so I expect that some of these compositions, as they stand, wouldn't make passing marks at the middle school third-year level, you know. Even when they can write well, perhaps they should be written at a little greater length. Naoshi

These children came to America, so labeling them with "inferior" would be making [unfair] comparisons to Japanese children, but really they should be able to use more of the Chinese characters up to middle school third-year level, and if this were a Japanese school and they weren't using the characters sufficiently, as you'd expect they would probably receive some kind of notice. Miyoko

For compositions by a second or third-year student in middle school, the level of the topics of some of them are a bit low, yes. First of all, they don't think, "I'll try to write carefully," and their sense that "this is tedious" is blatantly apparent. The overall organization, argument, and emotional impact are absent. Written against their will because they had to as homework, it's as if they just fill the page (with blather), and though they write it has no meaning; I don't even think it's worth reading. Takako

Even though two of the teachers admitted that they do not know the actual writing level of ninth graders in Japan, all agreed that the students should write better as ninth graders. They raised some examples that made their standards for judging clear, e.g., the length, knowledge of Chinese characters, organization, argument, emotional impact, etc. These factors are the same as those that the students brought up concerning their problems in writing Japanese (discussed in more detail in later sections). The teachers'

reports indicate that the teachers have expectations and standards higher than that which the actual students can attain.

Another question concerns whether the teachers are familiar with the current educational situation in Japan. As some conceded, they do not know the writing level of today's ninth graders, and thus they may observe standards that they learned either from their own experience in school or from their teaching experience in Japan prior to coming to the United States. The teachers have been in the United States for quite a long time and have not recently been involved in Japanese education. They comment on their situation in the following ways:

> For about the last fifteen years, I haven't read any essays by third-year middle school students, so I don't know the level of the standard for third-year student compositions very well. Naoshi

> I think that current styles of Japanese and my Japanese are perhaps a bit distant from each other, and I have lost some confidence. Especially in the *katakana* words being used these days in Japanese, if one doesn't use them accurately one sounds out of date. If the teacher doesn't return to Japan every year, this also makes it difficult to judge the extent to which one may use words rendered in *katakana*. Miyoko

> I don't know the status of when one writes vertically or horizontally in Japan's schools. Both instructors and students search their experience to find which words have become Japanese, and I suppose it will always be necessary to investigate whether or not the English words we use all the time are used in Japanese. Takako

Naoshi and Miyoko implied that they hesitated to evaluate the students' writing by comparing them to students of their age in Japan. The admission made by Naoshi, that he didn't know "the level of the standard for

third-year student compositions very well," is interesting with respect to the issue of teachers' expectations. For the teachers' expectations are established not only by the national standard, but also by their educational background and their professional experience.

4.5.2 The Confusion of Written and Spoken Language

As briefly brought up in the previous section, the reasons that the teachers give for thinking that the students' writings do not reach a satisfactory level for ninth graders display at least some elements of a standard for successful writing. More specifically, all of them commented on the inability of the students to distinguish properly between written and spoken forms:

When you say composition, that means written language, yes. Spoken forms amidst written language or in a composition exert quite a strong influence. For example, phrases such as, "and that's how," or, "well," when used intentionally as rhetoric are fine, however I wonder if they're just lowering the quality of the compositions. The actions of speaking and of writing overlap in part, of course, but I think the task of writing requires a different ability from duplicating speech. Thus, being able to speak well does not guarantee good composition, and it is necessary when writing to supersede spoken language. Naoshi

I don't know how they compare to Japanese children, but perhaps because their awareness of the differences between written and spoken language is too low, their phrasings are not adequate for written language. Spoken phrases such as, "just," "and that's how," and, "it's all right that I went, but," are fine to write in quotes to show feeling, but they often mix spoken and written languages and do things like make explanations in spoken language. In other parts they properly use the *masu* (polite verb ending) form, so I suppose their ability to switch within compositions is not very developed. Miyoko

Sometimes when the grammar of spoken language might not be correct it still communicates (the meaning), but in Japanese, unlike English, written and spoken languages are distinguished. When used within quotation marks it's fine to use it, but I think that writing a composition without knowing formal language causes problems. Sometimes they are unable to distinguish between written forms and daily conversation; sometimes when writing formal compositions perhaps they don't know or perhaps they feel, "why would I turn formal here?," but there is an unruly freedom all over the place, you know. I've also had compositions with lots of words that were strange as written language.
Takako

All three pointed out that spoken forms were used too much and in improper ways in some of the writing samples. Acceptable ways to use spoken forms in writing are "as rhetoric," in Naoshi's words, or inside quotation marks (to show feeling), as both Miyoko and Takako asserted. This problem might extend beyond the specific problems of bi-schooling students. Japanese students in Japan probably have similar problems that teachers comment on. Informal writings, e.g., free writing, journals, etc., can include more spoken forms than formal writing. According to Tompkins' notion that informal writing is often thought of as a pre-writing activity (1990, p.33), yet the Japanese teachers seem to expect the writings to be completed more formally.

4.5.3 Incorrect Expressions and Grammar

In this section, inappropriate expressions and grammar are discussed. The points emphasized by the teachers focusing not so much on the Japanese bi-schooling students' specific problems arising from having to learn two languages, but more on general problems in writing. Here are their descriptions of these problems:

For written quality, in the compositions written on specific experiences, it could be because they're not used to writing in Japanese, but especially because of writing as if they were talking, they mistake things like the relation of subject and predicate, and the relation of clause and contention, and words within a sentence seem to lack consistency in their inflections. For example, they confuse the "*desu/masu*" and "*da*" forms, and their particles and adverbs will mismatch slightly. Naoshi

Yes, there were some mixed up "*masu*" forms and the "*da*" forms in the writing before. Also, there have been sections that made odd uses of particles such as "*wa*" and "*ga*" and that had strange connections of meaning in their words. There have been plenty of mistakes with *okurigana* (the combination of *hiragana* and *kanji).* Miyoko

Subjects were unclear, and there were some word connections and verb usage that were strange. I suppose it would be good to be consistent on the "*masu*" form and "*da, de aru*" form, yes. I've also had strange *okurigana* (the combination of *hiragana* and *kanji).* Takako

Naoshi points to problems of "the relation of subject and predicate, and [of] the relation of clause and contention, and [of] words within a sentence [that] seem to lack consistency in their inflections," all problems related to the confusion of written and spoken forms. Strange connections of sentences are pointed out by all three teachers. All of them also commented that the forms of verb-ending need to be consistent. Miyoko and Takako mentioned the strange *okurigana.* Other observations on grammar indicated inappropriate particles and adverbs.

4.5.4 The Necessity of Planning/Polishing

As in section 4.5.1, where the subject of revising is briefly discussed, this section focuses on the actual process of writing. The teachers describe

how the students could have written better work than the actual writing samples. This is a general issue in writing relevant to all students, not just Japanese bi-schooling students.

After writing, perhaps they could have made corrections themselves, but fundamentally I suppose they don't apply much polish. It's true for polishing too, but you know, I get the feeling they haven't worked hard at planning before they write. In compositions, in explaining something like their own thoughts or way of thinking, even though explaining more and fleshing it out would make it easier to understand, it seems that they lack the words. If they don't work out the structure to know where to put the climax or to make this part more interesting, then it just ends up as a string of facts.
Naoshi

There is no sense of an effort to have the person reading understand, and it seems as if they don't read it again themselves. If they read one more time, I think they could fix it themselves, but in the end it's not a composition that they spent time writing, and it's as if they just dashed off their experiences in a burst, and they are not fine pieces of Japanese usage. They're written solely in *hiragana*, but when they think, "If I can't even write something like this in Chinese characters it's embarrassing," then they need to re-read it using a dictionary again and polish it up so people could understand, you know. Even if it's not perfectly organized, you know, they don't even put the effort into a structure or how to effectively build up the part they most want to write. Miyoko

I think they just dash something off, thinking, "they're my own words so it shouldn't be hard to write them." They don't go to the beginning, then the end, and repeat the same things, and they're not polished. You know, I get the feeling they have never reread anything they wrote. They're too abbreviated, and one sees a lot of places in need of explanation.
Takako

All three teacher participants emphasize that the students need to polish their writing. The issue of planning is also pointed out in connection with the subject of polish. It seems that the teachers expect writings

completed through revising. They suggest that the students should explain more because some writings are abbreviated and do not convey the necessary detail. Miyoko even claims that "they are not fine pieces of Japanese usage."

Takako describes the possible reason that the students do not follow proper processes in writing: they "just dash something off," thinking that the words are "their own so it shouldn't be hard to write them." Whether this reason is applicable in the case of each of the students' writings or not, the fact is that polishing and planning seem to be a necessary part of the process of producing good Japanese writing, at least according to these three teachers.

4.5.5 The Influence of English

Apart from the general issues and problems in Japanese writing discussed above, specific problems arise in the Japanese writing of bi-schooling students; these specific problems are the focus in this and the following sections up through 4.5.7. The influence of English on the students' Japanese writings occurs through "code-switching," mentioned earlier. Some words that bi-schooling students use are not recognized by Japanese natives, since the former created the words using their knowledge of English. All teachers discuss this fact as an issue in the students' Japanese writing.

> The sentences that give the feeling of having come from English are all awkward as Japanese. When choosing themes while living here, they write about details from here so I think that expressions from English are fine just as they are, but if they were writing compositions for a Japanese school, probably they should write English expressions in *katakana*.
>
> Naoshi

Almost all the themes are from America, and perhaps when they tried to think how to say something in Japanese nothing came forth, but they used *katakana* words for verbs, wrote English directly, and there were some very English sounding expressions. For *katakana* words, there's the possibility of misunderstandings arising when they use them for their English meaning, and when there's already a set Japanese word, I think it would be better to write the Japanese. Miyoko

Kids living here don't know the difference between English words that are already Japanese words and those that aren't, so there are sentences and words written without change in English, and some just as if they were translations from English. Compositions that are written about American matters often have expressions that seem like English. They seem to write with the assumption that a teacher living in America will understand [their compositions], but if they were submitting them to a teacher who knew nothing about America, they would require explanations. Takako

The reason for recommending Japanese words instead of *katakana* is explained in Miyoko's comments: *katakana* words permit misunderstanding when they are used for their English meaning. Their comments imply that the words might be acceptable when the readers are teachers like themselves who also have extensive knowledge of and background in English. Naoshi makes this point in saying "I think that expressions from English are fine just as they are, but if they were writing compositions for a Japanese school, probably they should write English expressions in *katakana*." Regarding the readers' consciousness, all commented as follows:

I think it would be all right not to go to the trouble of putting English into *katakana*, but when writing a composition like that in a school in Japan it probably should be written in *katakana*. Naoshi

When we read we understand just fine, but if we assume that a Japanese in Japan were reading, then there isn't enough explanation. With *katakana*, they don't consider how they're used within Japanese and write just from a personal, selfish viewpoint, and with the way of writing subjective and self-

centered, readers don't understand. It's different from a diary, so training in writing so that people will understand is essential. Miyoko

Well, I don't really want to say all kinds of things (because I want) to encourage compositions, but when you read them if you don't tell (the students), "This would never get across your meaning" if they were submitting their compositions to teachers in Japan, then they (the students) wouldn't understand. Takako

Given the hypothetical situation of writing for Japanese teachers in Japan, all claim that some of the students' *katakana* words are not acceptable. They all admit that such words often occur when the students are writing about their experiences in the United States. But Miyoko and Takako stress that the students would be better off using Japanese words even though they might not have much Japanese vocabulary to describe their American experiences.

4.5.6 Insufficient Vocabulary/ Chinese Characters

This section presents the students' lack of vocabulary and of Chinese characters in their writing. The discussion of 4.4.3 showed the students' own views of the difficulties in maintaining vocabulary and learning new *kanji*. Here the teachers' views concerning this issue are focused on. The difficulty of maintaining vocabulary is one of the specific problems that all students learning two languages may have.

In Japan, they would be surrounded by Japanese and somehow they would get a rounded ability in Japanese, but because they're here that's difficult. There are things that exist only in Japan, and everyone in Japan knows them, so those words are elementary school common sense that almost cry out, you

mean you don't know vocabulary like that?, and common sense words for elementary schoolers just slip away so their (knowledge) is (full) of potholes. That kind of situation probably ends up reflected in their vocabulary, you know.

Naoshi

Compared to Japan's third-year middle schoolers, they can't write Chinese characters and correct *okurigana.* For kids who write even ordinarily, it feels as if they had a lot of words that were not normal for Japanese. When it's tiresome, they don't look up the Chinese characters but just write in *hiragana.*

Miyoko

When it's words like "compare" and "candy," I correct those with Chinese characters.

Takako

From the teachers' standpoint, the students use vocabulary that may not be appropriate, as Miyoko reports, or the students do not use vocabulary which the teachers expect the students to know. Naoshi mentions his surprise at this lack of knowledge: "There are things that exist only in Japan, and everyone in Japan knows them, so those words are elementary school common sense that almost cry out, you mean you don't know vocabulary like that?" Also, the usage of *kanji* is inappropriate and infrequent. Miyoko points out the necessity of using a dictionary to write more and more appropriate *kanji*: "when it's tiresome, they don't look up the Chinese characters but just write in *hiragana*."

4.5.7 Insufficient Background Knowledge

This section includes the teachers' thoughts on their students' lack of Japanese background knowledge. Having lived in the United States more than five years, the Japanese students report that there are some words that

they have never used or heard (4.4.2). The following discussion points out the importance of experience in hearing or reading in the target language, in living in the world of spoken language. The lack of opportunity and of background knowledge influences the students' oral and written language practices. In addition to the students' remarks, the teachers made the following observations on this issue:

> If they were in Japan, they would watch television, look at *manga* (comics) which their mothers may say is not an educational medium. Japanese would penetrate in these kind of forms, but here they only get it at home throughout the week, and it's an unavoidable handicap. Naoshi

> When the occasions to read or hear Japanese and to come into contact with the Japanese language itself are rare, one probably doesn't really improve at writing and conversing. If they were in Japan — maybe it's a passive, visual, unconscious education in Japanese — first off they would naturally come into contact with Japanese through their eyes, and I really think that they might naturally be able to read and write compositions and Chinese characters.
> Miyoko

> The children here don't know, you know, the distinction between the English words which have become Japanese and ones that haven't. Takako

The students write words unknown to Japanese natives because of their lack of knowledge of Japan. As Naoshi emphasizes, Japanese language in Japan would penetrate not in an educational medium, whereas "here the students only get Japanese at home throughout the week, and it's an unavoidable handicap." The teachers' observations corroborate the students' own observations concerning their insufficient backgrounds.

4.6 Understanding of Problems arising from the Students' Bi-schooled Situation (teachers)

This section focuses on how the teachers understand the issues and problems of the students' bi-schooled situation. This discussion is divided into the following four topic areas: (1) insufficient time; (2) student hardships; (3) compromises with students' academic abilities; and (4) the necessity of parental assistance. The section deals with the following research questions (see section 1.6):

> Question b-4: How do the teachers perceive the students' difficulties involved in learning in the "bi-schooled" situation?
>
> Question b-5: What do the teachers report concerning the issue of time constraints in teaching bi-schooling students?
>
> Question b-6: What kinds of expectations do the teachers have of their bi-schooling students in comparison with their expectations of Japanese students in traditional school?

The interviewer asked the teachers to tell her about their thoughts on the students' hardships in the bi-schooling situation, both in general and with respect to the students' writing.

4.6.1 Insufficient Time

In their discussion of the problems caused by insufficient time in 4.4.4 above, the students mentioned that their homework is doubled, and that it is thus hard for them to meet the requirements of both schools. Such hardships make them say that they would not attend the weekend school, despite its importance to them, if their parents said that they did not need to go. But

how do the teachers observe and interpret these hardships caused by time constraints?

I think that what's necessary to make people improve in a language or at least maintain it is an enormous volume of stimulation, so three hours is too few, and what I really wish is that I had more time. If you intend to go at the same rate of progress as Japan's schools, that means that what they spend a month accomplishing we have to finish in one or two tries. If you think about it realistically, it seems like a real challenge to raise the efficiency of three hours so high. What's probably possible is to see how closely one can approach the optimal within those limits. Naoshi

In the end, the task right before your eyes is that you have to do the curriculum, and of course there's too little time, so it's a really difficult thing, right. Compared to some weekend schools that start at eight or nine in the morning and go till three or four in the afternoon, this Japanese school has two or three hours, and in that time it's nearly impossible to do the several textbooks that they do! Miyoko

There's quite a lot of homework in local schools, so parents and children work hard together, and when it's Friday then they have to do homework for Japanese school. I think it's dangerous to do all the homework on Friday, crammed into one night, but it's impossible to do it all in three hours. Now, what they spend seven hours on in Japan, we can only spend one and one-half to two hours on, so the difference is large. Takako

All said that two or three hours is not enough time for the students to catch up with the Japanese standard. Takako seems precisely to understand the students' situation: "There's quite a lot of homework in local schools, so parents and children work hard together, and when it's Friday then they have to do homework for Japanese school." This comment jibes exactly with what all the students said about lacking time.

4.6.2 Students' Hardships

The teachers meet the Japanese bi-schooling students every week at the weekend school and observe the various problems facing them due to their attending weekend school while receiving the major part of their education at American public school. Furthermore, the teachers have contact not only with the students, but also with their parents. The teachers are held to be responsible for dealing with the issues involved at the weekend school. For their awareness of the students' problems in the weekend school is crucial in effectively teaching the students. The teachers have reported on these problems and issues as follows:

Children who come to Japanese schools have to do both Japanese and English, and I don't think they cover the same ground, but perhaps it's one and one-half to two times the load. It might be simple just to cut away the Japanese school, but they wouldn't allow that, so even if they despise it consciously, unconsciously they're still thinking, "the thing is, one day I'll go back to Japan," and they've probably known that since they were little. So they don't let it go, and what they do instead is keep a foot on either side. At home and at American school, and also with languages, I think they're always unconsciously switching, so the psychological mechanism changes too. In that sense, the degree of burden is probably high. Naoshi

When their time in America is limited and they're going to return to Japan — and you think of the hardships after returning to Japan — even though it's little by little they have to continue both, so it's hard, right. Even though Saturdays are tough, if they go ahead and do it, then when they go back to Japan it won't be so much like doing it all over from zero, and somehow they can pull things together. Everyone is playing both sides and can't make a final choice of "just one way," so in some sense they're just letting their half-baked approach burden their kids with the same load, you know. But because they play both sides and cause that suffering, in the future things will probably be easier. Because, you know, getting back Japanese once you've forgotten it is a harsh task. Miyoko

Simply to handle the large volume of local school homework, parents and children combined work hard, and when it's Friday and time to think, "All right, it's the weekend," they have to do homework for Japanese school. Studying for both English and Japanese takes endurance, you know. For people who've lived in the Japanese language world, and especially for kids, living in the English-speaking world is a difficult thing. In American school every day life is on the line, and every day scores come back to you, A+, A-, B, C, so they're completely committed to those. People embarrass themselves because they didn't know Japanese or the like — I think it's essential to show some understanding for kids who have the daily bitter experience of embarrassing themselves because they didn't know English or just didn't know what to do. Takako

Naoshi and Miyoko point out that the Japanese bi-schooling students must study Japanese even though they are in the United States, since they are going back to Japan in the future. Miyoko refers to the children's burden in learning both languages, but sees it as necessary since they will return to Japan: "when they go back to Japan it won't be so much like doing it all over from zero, and somehow they can pull things together." The burden is specified Naoshi—"At home and at American school, and also with languages, I think they're always unconsciously switching, so the psychological mechanism changes too. In that sense, the degree of burden is probably high"—and Takako—"Studying for both English and Japanese takes endurance, you know. For people who've lived in the Japanese language world, and especially for kids, living in the English speaking world is a difficult thing." Takako mentions the importance of understanding of the students' hardships: "it's essential to show some understanding for kids who have the daily bitter experience of embarrassing themselves because they didn't know English or just didn't know what to do."

Dealing with the students is not always an easy task for the Japanese teachers at the weekend school. They must be aware of the students' burden in learning two languages. Yet they must always struggle with the real classroom situation and attempt to teach the students in their class. Many times the teachers cannot deal with the students' problems in the classroom in the ways they would want. All three teachers present the "teacher's side of the story" concerning disparity in academic ability:

Putting children who have just come and children who have been here for years in the same year keeps them in the same year, but the problem of unevenness among students comes to stand out. If the disparity gets too great then I think one more teacher should be added, but you can have the children who finish (tasks) early, teach (the ones who have not finished them), or come up with other techniques to narrow the gap, so it's not like a teacher should be added [to each class] across the board. It's a little hard to judge where to draw the line, you know. If it's a large school, then organizational problems come up, but in a compact little school like this, I really think that it has to be judged each time on a case by case basis.

Naoshi

You know, it also matters how many children are here, but when children who have been in America four or five years come here with children who have been here all their lives and have just come to Saturday Japanese school without any preparation and say, "I appreciate any help you can give me"— well, if the parents don't help them to some extent, then both the children and the teachers are in a pitiful position.

Miyoko

If there are three or four people, there is always one child who's weak at reading and writing in Japanese, you know. The one who's "least talented" is always the one who knows it best and starts thinking things like, "I'm weak in Japanese; I can't do it; I'm the class goat." If a passive attitude to Japanese is built up in this way within this school education, it's not that much of a loss. The problem arises of whether or not to divide the class, but I think that sometimes both parents and instructors, and even these children should be reminded that from the standpoint of kids raised in English in America this

is an amazing thing, and that could prevent them from picking up a sense of inferiority.
Takako

Thus, the teachers face the conflict between understanding the students' hardships and their own desire to teach the students. A weekend school like the one in Amherst may have the institutional flexibility to deal with the disparity in academic level among students from different backgrounds, i.e., they may have enough teachers to meet the individual student's needs. However, such strategies might give rise to other situations in which students might feel inferior: a student might resent being in the class with the students who just came from Japan, or resent being taken from the regular classroom for his/her special needs.

4.6.3 Compromises with Students' Academic Abilities

Familiar as they are with the students' hardships, the teachers face the dilemma of either forcing them to learn at the Japanese level or of allowing them to achieve less by lowering their own academic expectations. As for writing, they acknowledge that the students write at a lower level than ninth graders in Japan. But they cannot push the students to work harder to overcome their weaknesses in writing, because of the students' plight. So how do the teachers feel about this situation?

Students are working at 150% overdrive, so I'm thinking about not working so hard but taking care of the basics. Trying to solve the kinds of problems for entry into a super-hard school, for example, is too hard, so even though there are various difficulties with the basics, for myself, I intend to teach an understanding of Japanese sufficient, at least, to communicate the basics of what's written in textbooks. And in mathematics, I mean to teach them enough to solve the basic problem in the textbook. Specifically, I believe I've

been careful to try not to drop anything that I could possibly avoid dropping, but you know. Well, things don't always go that way, you know.
Naoshi

With weekend school only on the one day of Saturday, within that window alone instructors are supposed to show everything that they study in Japan, but it's nothing more than an introduction, and there's no way to do it in-depth. On a time basis too, it's impossible to go back over the same ground, so it really is just a once-over, you know. For compositions, basically if it's something on the level of everyday life, they can say it in Japanese and write it in Japanese, and that might be all. Doing what the Ministry of Education says and catching up to the level of preparatory study for entrance tests is quite impossible.
Miyoko

It's not just in Japanese, and with three hours the strain really mounts, but my line of compromise is to allow them not to write every angle and character properly but I at least want to teach them so that they can read. The difference between being able to read and not being able to because they've never seen something before is large, and if they can just read, then I think they can write. Inability to write can be overcome through later effort, but I endeavor primarily to get through the textbooks so that when the students return to Japan they won't have to say, "What, I never heard of that before." Homework at local schools is also extensive, so when they get to where they can write like this, I completely want to think that that's fine. It's also important for them to work hard at the local schools, so now I've retreated and compromised.
Takako

Understanding the students' hardships and their needs at the weekend school end up in the compromises of the teachers with respect to the students' academic abilities. Regarding *kokugo*, all of the teachers want the students to be able to read, but none of them insist that the students become good writers of Japanese. In contrast with their comments on the students' writing, the teachers tend to think that "when they get to where they can write like this, I completely want to think that that's fine," as Takako says.

Naoshi and Miyoko also bring up the competitive entrance exams. Students must be concerned not only with coping with two different languages, but also with passing the entrance exams, which requires far more knowledge beyond the level of a textbook. For getting into a good college is one of the paths to a successful Japanese life. If one fails the exam, the difficulties in life continue until the end of life. In a way, the students are very fortunate to have the opportunity to learn two languages, but from another perspective, they run the risk of failing in Japanese society if they do not succeed in the entrance exams.

4.6.4 The Necessity of Parental Assistance

Much research into the academic success of bilingual children discusses the importance of the home environment in general and of the role of the parents in particular. In this section, the teachers' views of parental support are discussed. This is based on research question b-7: How do they view parental involvement?

> The mission of Japanese schools is simply to impart momentum and motivation, and then with that impetus have the rest done for us — the rest can only be done in the home. If mothers desire improvement or maintenance of Japanese, the home is simply the only place where Japanese enfolds the environment, so the three hours of Japanese school can only provide stimulation and momentum for the approaches worked out for the home. I think it is absolutely impossible to change those roles. Demanding that the Japanese schools do what the home can do is unreasonable, so I think the only thing to do is to assign roles. Instructional materials are progressing too, and insofar as the three hours of Japanese school mean momentum, they are worthwhile. It is not a real living environment, but it does make a situation of virtual reality, so perhaps the teachers can assist the parents (in their task).
>
> Naoshi

Especially in the lower grade levels, after the weekend schools have gone over something once, if the parents don't do it a second and a third time to a certain extent then it's difficult. If the parents don't put in an extensive effort, then the lower the grade level the more the kids will have trouble with even the easiest textbooks, and in a few years they might rapidly switch completely to English. Even if it's half in fun, if the parents help them — such as making flash cards, posting signs in the bathroom so that Chinese characters and Japanese words will catch their eyes, asking them about their textbooks, "What's the name of what you are you reading now; what kind of story is it?" and speaking to them at meals, even if it's only ten or twenty minutes — then it's really sad for the children! The content of the Saturday lessons is designed for Monday through Friday, and if the parents don't weave it through those days, when the children suddenly show up at weekend school, it's just unreasonable (to expect much), you know. I think that places a burden on the children. Miyoko

It's not sufficient to simply switch English into *katakana*, but as much as possible to take those English words and train them to be bilingual with questions like, "How do you say that in Japanese?" I think it can't just be teachers, but parents too, mutual conversations with the children, and conversation with siblings and with the whole family are all important for the effort to keep nibbling at the problem. It is essential to education that parents and teachers not try to do too much of the understanding for the children. Takako

According to all three teachers, parental support is a definite element if the students are to attain academic success in both their American and Japanese schools. The teachers again mention the limitations of what they can do in the limited time frame of the weekend school. If parents send their children to the school without providing them any support, the burden on the children grows even larger. Using Miyoko's words, if the parents don't weave Japanese into the Monday through Friday lives of their children, "when the children suddenly show up at weekend school, it's just

unreasonable (to expect much), you know. I think that places a burden on the children."

Since the children's educational situation is at least in part decided by the parents, parents need to work with their children without ceding all responsibility to the school. Bi-schooling students in particular need more parental support than native Japanese students receiving a mainstream education in Japan. Naoshi describes this in saying that "if mothers desire improvement or maintenance of (their children's) Japanese," home is the place to help them. He also mentions that the "mission of Japanese schools is simply to impart momentum and motivation, and then with that impetus have the rest done for us — the rest can only be done in the home." Takako claims that "it can't just be teachers, but parents too, [and] mutual conversations with the children, and conversation with siblings and with the whole family are all important for the effort to keep nibbling at the problem."

4.7 Strategies for Instruction in Japanese Composition (teachers)

This section discusses all the teachers' thoughts on how best to deal with the issues of the Japanese bi-schooling students. Thus research question b-8—what do the teachers suggest for improving the literacy education of bi-schooling students?—is the basis of this discussion. The interviewer asked the question: what are the strategies of teaching writing to the Japanese students that you have tried or that you think may work?

With an American school and a Japanese environment, students are under stress. To have them dissipate their stress, then, I think it's important to make a relatively understanding home atmosphere in order to get them to shrug off their tensions. Otherwise, in the Japanese language it's probably

easy to discern the configuration of where they stumble in compositions, Chinese characters, or the meanings of words. Since we work within the boundaries of the textbook, it's a question of how best to use the textbook. When teaching, I imagine the focus is on how clearly one can show an ability in writing that is distinct from that in speaking. Before coming to America, if the parents' term is two years, then the company or the Ministry of Education should offer some kind of assistance (although the assistance wouldn't actually be psychological counseling) to the children to help them prepare themselves and gain a perspective on how they would like to spend the two years. I believe the parents also have quite a challenge; however, I think that part of their "covering fire" for this time is the Japanese school. Basically, the instructor is a one person support group, you see. Support is a miserable job, so no matter how often they lose one doesn't drop out, but even when they lose one must support them from afar, and it's a relatively tough position.

Naoshi

You know it might be good to practice writing with the condition that we try to write so that Japanese in Japan would understand. Trying to rewrite once more while using the dictionary is also essential. It would probably be good if the teacher knew current usage in Japanese and could make corrections such as, "you can use *katakana*" to this extent, or "this sounds like English, it's strange," and could explain these things. Just by reading books and scanning the music page in a Japanese newspaper, you should get quite a few Chinese characters. The topics that students write are often about American subjects and they don't have topics in common with Japanese people, so if they read Japanese papers or even English papers for events occurring in Japan, they could acquire Japanese topics and that could be one more method of having them discuss and write about social tendencies. Then we could have them conduct discussions and make them speak in correct "*desu/masu*" form so people could understand, and if English terms came up we could immediately respond and have them explain it in Japanese. I think one other way could be to line up the written and the spoken, and then after having them speak have them try to write [the equivalent]. We could have the students listen to news, movies, or stories that they all know in English and ask them, "How would you communicate that in Japanese? After hearing something once, they could absorb it without translating, and then we could have them write it in Japanese in their own words and see how much they could write down. It would also be good to have them read essays written by children their own age in Japan, or to have them write and receive letters from students in Japan.

Miyoko

They have the chance to live in America, and this is an experience that children in Japan can't have even if they wanted to, an experience that others can't have, so I imagine that it's necessary to give them some advance guidance so that they will write about what excited them and how they felt. Although the order of writing Chinese characters and technical vocabulary are important things, I don't want study to be limited to Chinese character practice and test preparation, but even if it takes more time I want to have them make the words they learn and the new Chinese characters their own so they can use them in writing compositions, you know. They're fortunate to have the advantage of being able to use the English language in their lives, so when they feel the need to use English in their compositions, using *katakana* to write the words is fine too, but when they're told, "those *katakana* don't communicate anything," I think it's necessary to try to look up a perfectly fitting word in Japanese in an English-Japanese dictionary to match the perfectly fitting English word that they want to use. And when they can't find out with an English-Japanese dictionary, then it's probably necessary for the teachers or parents to spend the time it takes to help them out. The teachers and Japanese people around them know English, so what the students write passes, but sometimes I think that giving them too much understanding is wrong. When making them write a composition, I imagine that one needs to teach by deciding an image of the reader and saying something like, "You don't say that in Japanese so try somehow to turn that into Japanese," or, "Let's all correct the compositions together." It is important not to make them feel a sense of inferiority about the Japanese language or think timidly about it, but instead to have them take a sense of pride that they can use Japanese.

Takako

As strategies, Naoshi and Takako have tried (1) creating a comfortable atmosphere, and (2) prevent their feeling inferior to others. Strategies that they want to try in terms of writing education are:

1. to check *kanji* (Chinese characters) vocabulary to see where they stumble in writing.

2. to have the students practice writing on the condition that they try to write so that Japanese in Japan would understand.

3. to have them rewrite while using the dictionary.

4. to have them explain and correct their strange usage of *katakana*.

5. to collect Japanese topics and to have the students discuss and write about social tendencies in Japan.

6. to have them conduct discussions and make them speak in correct formal forms, then have them summarize in written Japanese.

7. to see how much they can absorb content without translating, and to have them write in their own words in Japanese about news, movies, or stories that they all know in English.

8. to have them read essays written by children their own age in Japan, or to have them write and receive letters from students in Japan.

9. to give them some advance guidance so that they will write about what has excited them and how they felt.

10. to help them make the words they learn and the new Chinese characters their own so they can use them in writing compositions.

11. to refuse to understand what the students write in Japanese with "an English accent" (including the teachers and Japanese people around them who know English).

Although the teachers acknowledge their limited time, they have many ideas of what they would like to try to help the students succeed in Japanese. If all these strategies could be tried, the education for Japanese bi-schooling students would become much richer than at present.

Naoshi mentions another understanding of the teachers' position: "I believe the parents also have quite a challenge; however, I think that part of their 'covering fire' for this time is the Japanese school. Basically, the instructor is a one person support group, you see. Support is a miserable job, so no matter how often they lose one doesn't drop out, but even when they

lose one must support them from afar, and it's a relatively tough position."
He thus describes the difficult position of teachers in a weekend school.

4.8 Understanding the Role of Japanese Weekend Schools (teachers)

This last section describes how the teachers struggle with the gap between the current situation at the weekend school and the goals of the Ministry of Education. This addresses the research question b-9: How do the teachers perceive the role of weekend schools?

> We can only proceed on the condition of three hours per week. Even [at that level], it's possible to bring some resistance into play, so there is no need to give up. Compared to Japanese traditional school, it doesn't begin to compete, and the goals are different. For five days they should absorb as much as they can about America, and we should take the viewpoint that those three hours give the children a certain amount of underlying ability.
>
> Naoshi

> After all, if you think about what it would mean without Japanese schools, even with Saturday alone, at least they can write Japanese to such an extent that they did (referring to the writing samples). After all, that is due in part to the Japanese schools. In that sense, after all, the Ministry of Education's officious kindness has provided for an overseas budget so that no matter what else, the Japanese language will follow in the wake of Japanese people, and in some sense, I expect it has borne a minimal degree of results.
>
> Miyoko

> I know it's unreasonable to make things the same as for a Japanese school, but when I think of the time when there was nothing at all, I think that's incredible progress! Compared to the time when there was no Japanese school at all, being able to study with companions is a luxurious thing.
>
> Takako

Even with all the struggles connected with teaching in weekend school, all three teachers stress the importance of the school. Regarding writing, Miyoko comments that "even with Saturday alone, at least they can write Japanese to such extent that they did (referring to the writing samples)." This is a positive outcome of the weekend schools. About the weekend school in comparison to Japanese traditional school, Naoshi points out that "it doesn't begin to compete, and the goals are different." This implies that the expectations of the weekend schools do not have to follow all the national standards.

Regarding the involvement of the Ministry of Education, Miyoko concedes that "after all, the Ministry of Education's officious kindness has provided for an overseas budget so that no matter what else, the Japanese language will follow in the wake of Japanese people, and in some sense, I expect it has borne a minimal degree of results." Since every ethnic group holds and follows different values, it might just be a specifically Japanese value to ensure that all Japanese, whether in the country or overseas, learn Japanese. But since "being able to study with companions is a luxurious thing" (as Takako says), it might well be to the benefit of all language-minority students if they had their own schools, supported by their community, region, society, and nation.

CHAPTER 5
FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION
5.1 Introduction

This chapter reviews the statement of the research problem (from Chapter 1) and the major findings of the research (from Chapter 4). Then the implications of this study are discussed on the basis of the findings concerning code-switching effects and American bilingual education, the necessity of support, the dilemmas that weekend school teachers face, and the importance of parental involvement. Moreover, recommendations for future study are made, including the application of this study to different weekend schools; a more precise examination of the relation between AOA (Age of Arrival), LOR (Length of Residence), and previous educational experience; more practical evaluation writing and writing education; a comparison of the writing of Japanese bi-schooling students with that of Japanese native students; and an exploration of the parents' perspectives. Finally, this research concludes with a discussion of the significance of the study briefly mentioned in Chapter 1.

5.2 Restatement of the Problem

The purpose of this study was to examine the issues and problems of Japanese bi-schooling students that involved developing their Japanese writing, and then to discuss the issues of weekend schools in the United States. The research questions are divided into two sections, concerning students and teachers respectively. The questions contain the following main

concerns: self-understanding (students), positive perspectives on learning two languages (students), difficulties under current conditions of *bi-schooling*, (students), problems in Japanese composition for Japanese students in America (teachers), understanding of problems under the students' *bi-schooled* situation (teachers), strategies for instruction in Japanese composition (teachers), and understandings of the role of Japanese weekend schools (teachers).

5.3 Summary of Major Findings

This section briefly reviews the major findings of this study from Chapter 4, in connection with the research questions from section 1.6 (questions a-1 through a-9 regarding students, and questions b-1 through b-9 regarding teachers). The summary of the findings follows the categories organized in Chapter 4. First, the students' self understanding, their positive perspectives on learning two languages, and their view of the difficulties under current conditions of bi-schooling are discussed. Then the discussion continues with the teachers' report on problems in Japanese composition for Japanese students in America, their understanding of problems under the students' bi-schooled situation, their ideas on strategies for instruction in Japanese composition, and their understandings of the role of Japanese weekend schools.

a-1. How do the students evaluate their language skills in both English and Japanese?

Pursuing this research question led to several interesting results. Three students out of four evaluated their Japanese abilities as stronger than their English abilities, since Japanese is still their native language. Only one student stated that his English is stronger than his Japanese. He translates English into Japanese when he writes. The age of arrival in the United States must be considered: this particular student came to the States when he was a second grader, while the other students came when they were at the end of third grade or at the beginning of fourth grade. One of the interpretations of this stems from the relation between AOA (age of arrival) and LOR (Length of Residence), on the one hand, and previous educational experience, on the other. This partially confirms the result of Cummins's study of Japanese students in Toronto (1984), to the effect that AOA influences not only the students' English learning processes, but also their Japanese abilities in writing. However, when discussing Japanese writing in particular (and not reading, as in Cummins's study), AOA and LOR need to be carefully defined, because one of the four students, who said that her Japanese is stronger than her English, had been in an unique situation where she went back and forth to the United States and to Japan after being born in the United States. Her education in Japan from Grade 1 through 3 must influence her Japanese literacy practices. In other words, AOA and LOR need to take into account the students' previous educational experience.

a-2. How do the students evaluate their Japanese writing?

With respect to their writing ability in Japanese (not to their Japanese ability in general), all the students said that they are doing poorly; however,

they reported that they receive fairly high grades in American public school. This interesting point was discussed from three different perspectives. First, the amount of time in practicing writing was considered. Since all the students receive their education primarily at American public schools, they obviously have more opportunity to practice English writing than Japanese writing. Second, the allocation and emphasis of writing classes in both the Japanese and the American school system were raised. Writing education in Japan is included within *kokugo* (national language) classes, together with reading, speaking, and listening, while American schools emphasize the (relative) independence of writing education. Third, and from the final perspective, the students' own expectations as to their Japanese writing ability were discussed. They seem to have higher expectations of their Japanese abilities, including their writing ability, because Japanese is their native language, and because most of them are concerned about returning to Japan and having to readjust to the Japanese educational system.

a-3. Do the students code-switch/code-mix in writing? If so/if not, how do they describe their experience of code-switching and code-mixing?

a-4. How do the students transfer their knowledge of writing structures from one language to the other?

A few interesting findings emerge from these research questions. At two different levels of code-switching—the level of words and the level of knowledge of language usage (writing structure)—all four students described their own experience with code-switching. The process occurs in both directions: from Japanese to English, and from English to Japanese, despite their evaluation as to which language is stronger. This process can be seen as

either positive or negative. The students can depend on both languages to write by using a dictionary; this is a positive aspect of code-switching.

a-5. Do the students have a positive or a negative attitude toward learning the two languages (English and Japanese) at once? If so/if not, how?

Overall, all students commented positively on the importance of learning two languages, in general. They reported that they prefer learning two languages despite the hardships, since they want both to explore the English-speaking world of the United States, and to maintain their Japanese for future use because they are Japanese. In addition to identity issues, the value of English and Japanese in the world was discussed. Both languages are worth learning for the sake of business and other international undertakings. Further, the discussion pointed out that all languages have value given the importance of all global relationships.

a-6. What kind of specific problems do the students experience in their Japanese writing?

The negative effect of code-switching was pointed out in terms of the English influence on Japanese. The students may come up with *katakana* (foreign origin) words which are not used among Japanese people (code-mixing) when the students neglect to look up words in a dictionary. Since they lack vocabulary or *kanji*, the work of looking up words in a dictionary increases the amount of time and effort of the already time-consuming task of writing itself. The discussion also considered the amount of time a piece of writing took the bi-schooled students compared with native Japanese students.

All students mentioned that their problems in Japanese writing included a limited vocabulary and limited *kanji* (Chinese characters). Since they do not have many opportunities to use them, it is hard for them to maintain or learn new words and *kanji.* The importance of daily practice in a living language environment was emphasized. Speaking only at home does not contribute much towards maintaining Japanese. Hence Japanese words and *kanji* need to be practiced as much as possible at home and in school settings.

a-7. How do the students recognize their lack of a Japanese background?

Another negative aspect of the students' situation is their lack of background knowledge; this relates to the importance of using Japanese words and *kanji.* Leaving Japan at an early age and spending the larger part of their lives in the United States caused their lack of Japanese background knowledge. They lack the background knowledge that native Japanese would naturally have, and this affects their Japanese language usage. The importance of practicing words and the necessity of life experienced in the target language world were stressed.

a-8. How do the students perceive the time constraints of the bi-schooled situation?

The students' bi-schooled situation, wherein they attend weekend school while receiving the larger part of their education in American public school, doubles the students' academic responsibilities and requirements. In such a situation, students face the issue of time constraints. The discussion focused on the students' difficulties in completing homework for both

schools. The limited time sometimes does not allow them to satisfy all the expectations of their teachers.

The hardship the students are experiencing in learning two languages is also discussed in connection with the necessity of parental, institutional, and national support. Without such support, the students would not be motivated to overcome the difficulties of their situation.

a-9. Do the students have the motivation to succeed academically in their weekend schools? If so/if not, how do they feel in terms of motivation?

Due to the hardship the students experience because of their bi-schooled situation, the students tend to denigrate the level of their Japanese academic abilities. They often think that the best they can do is to try their hardest, and that that still might not reach the teachers' expectations. Sometimes the students feel burdened and less motivated about reaching the expected academic level, which seems unavoidable.

The three teachers' perspectives on the weekend school, including their observations and understanding of the Japanese bi-schooling students' writing and of the bi-schooled situation in general, were then examined.

b-1. How do the teachers evaluate writing samples completed by bi-schooling students?

Overall, the teachers evaluated the writing of the bi-schooling students as lower than that of native Japanese students of the same age. The factors which caused the teachers to evaluate their writing in this way were the length, Chinese characters, organization, argument, and emotional impact.

Some of these factors matched up with the difficulties that the students themselves reported having with Japanese writing.

The teachers' educational and professional backgrounds were discussed. The teachers' own educational experience influences the way they evaluate the student's writings. It is their own learning and teaching experience that have given rise to the expectations and standards of the teachers, and these expectations and standards are used to evaluate the students' writing. Further, these teachers have been away from the current Japanese educational system for quite a long time. This places the teachers in a difficult position in evaluating their students' writing, since they may be unfamiliar with trends in current Japanese writing education or in the national standards, and since they might be unfamiliar with the contemporary usage of some words.

b-2. What kind of problems do the teachers observe in the students' writings?

b-3. What kind of problems that may be specific to bi-schooling students do the teachers observe in the students' writings?

The situation of the Japanese bi-schooling students complicates the teachers' evaluation of their writing. Writing itself is a complicated task, which Japanese natives themselves may struggle with. The problems in the writings of the students were divided into writing problems in general, on the one hand, and specific writing problems caused by the situation of having to learn two languages, on the other.

The writing problems in general that Japanese natives would also have included the confusion of written and spoken language; incorrect expressions

and grammar; and the lack of planning and polishing. These characteristics could be observed in the writings of Japanese students in Japan, according to the three teachers. The discussion went on to consider how Japanese teachers in general expect student writing to be formal, complete, and polished.

The specific writing problems attributed to the situation of learning two languages included the influence of English; insufficient background; and insufficient vocabulary and *kanji* (Chinese characters). More specifically, the unusual usage of the *katakana* that comes from code-switching is distinctive of the bi-schooled Japanese students. *Katakana* words originate from foreign words, many of them from English. Some *katakana* words written by the Japanese bi-schooling students would be unrecognizable to Japanese natives. The teachers commented that many *katakana* words used by the students needed to be changed so that Japanese natives would understand their meaning.

The other specific problems in the writing of the bi-schooling students were insufficient background knowledge and insufficient vocabulary and *kanji* (Chinese characters). These are the same problems that the students themselves identified in their writing.

b-4. How do the teachers perceive the students' difficulties involved in learning in the "bi-schooled" situation?

b-5. What do the teachers report concerning the issue of time constraints in teaching bi-schooling students?

Many of the bi-schooling students' difficulties were discussed by the teachers. From their own perspective, teachers also mentioned the issue of time constraints. They assume that the limited time creates hardships for the

students; at the same time, though, they face their own issues in trying to teach in this limited time. The teachers are expected to cover the yearly curriculum that whole day schools (traditional schools) follow. They know that it is impossible to cover everything, yet they struggle with the actual situation and the expectations of parents, the school, and the Ministry of Education.

Despite the time constraints, the teachers have a desire to teach as much of the content as possible, since they are concerned about the difficulties the students might have in catching up when they return to Japan. However, the teachers also understand the students' hardships in the bi-schooling situation, and struggle with the dilemma of expecting either too much or too little from the students.

b-6. What kind of expectations do the teachers have of their bi-schooling students in comparison with their expectations of Japanese students in traditional school?

As mentioned above, the teachers struggle to cover the whole year curriculum at the weekend school, at the same time that they try to provide a space for the bi-schooling students who are dealing with the specific hardships of that situation. With respect to literacy education, for example, all three teachers stressed that they have compromised with the students' academic literacy abilities. In other words, all said that they only ask the students to be able to read or recognize words in *kanji* (Chinese characters). They all consider writing important, but they think that writing is not really teachable given the bi-schooled situation.

b-7. How do they view parental involvement?

Help from the teachers is not enough to overcome the hardships of the students' situation. Parental involvement and support at home are also indispensable. The students, obviously, are the ones who are going through the hardships; they have to conquer the difficulties by themselves. But without the support of teachers, parents, institutions, the community, and the nation, the students would not be able to overcome the hardships involved in becoming bilingual or biliterate.

b-8. What do the teachers suggest for improving the literacy education of bi-schooling students?

Many ideas of how writing education at the weekend school can be improved were discussed by the teachers. The following strategies might be attempted in order to improve the writing education of bi-schooling students: (1) to check *kanji* (Chinese characters) vocabulary to see where the students stumble in writing; (2) to have the students practice writing with the condition that they try to write so that Japanese in Japan would understand; (3) to have them rewrite while using the dictionary; (4) to have them correct their strange usage of *katakana*, and to have them explain such usage; (5) to collect Japanese topics and to have the students discuss and write about social tendencies in Japan; (6) to have them conduct discussions and make them speak in correct formal forms, then have them summarize in written Japanese; (7) to see how much they can absorb content without translating, and to have them write in their own words in Japanese about news, movies, or stories that they all know in English; (8) to have them read essays written

by children their own age in Japan, or to have them write and receive letters from students in Japan; (9) to give them some advance guidance so that they will write about what has excited them and how they felt; (10) to help them make the words and the new Chinese characters they learn their own so they can use them in writing compositions; and (11) not to undersigned what the students write in Japanese with "an English accent" (including the teachers and Japanese people around them who know English).

Trying all these strategies would of course be unrealistic due to the previously mentioned dilemma; however, the teachers were willing to try the ideas as much as time allowed.

b-9. How do the teachers perceive the role of weekend schools?

Even with their concern about all the struggles and issues involved in the weekend school, the teachers acknowledged the positive outcomes of the weekend school and appreciated the role of the Ministry of Education in providing these overall benefits to the bi-schooling students. Obviously, in order to receive these benefits, the Japanese bi-schooling students must live with certain hardships. The possible application of something like Japanese weekend schools to the situation of other ethnic groups in the United States was also discussed.

5.4 Implications

This study has implications for various important educational issues in both the United States and Japan. An important finding concerning code-switching (that the process occurs in both directions, from English to Japanese

and Japanese to English) shows that children experience code-switching in either direction, no matter which language is stronger or weaker. In the United States, arguments both for and against bilingual education have been made by appealing to the notion of code-switching, yet only the uni-directional process has been stressed in these arguments. Since code-switching is in fact bi-directional, arguments on the merits of bilingual education should be made not on the basis of language processing, but on the basis of global relations.

The Japanese bi-schooling students struggle with their parents', teachers', school's, and nation's expectations that they learn two languages at a high academic level. The support of these same individuals and groups, however, plays a significant role in the weekend schools. This can be applied to any language-minority students: the community or nation should support the children who have an opportunity to learn two languages. The opportunity needs to be considered a very positive one, even beyond the value of the two languages in the eyes of the world.

Also, teachers need to be flexible when deciding how much to follow the national or school curriculum, on the one hand, and where to bend when facing the reality of the practical educational setting, on the other. As Cummins stresses, the "lip service paid to initial L1 instruction, community involvement, and nondiscriminatory assessment, together with the emphasis on improved teaching techniques, have succeeded primarily in deflecting attention from the attitudes and orientation of educators who interact on a daily basis with minority students" (1991, p. 386). Understanding

issues and problems of language-minority students should be recognized as a high priority for the educational system.

The involvement of the parents with the teachers and the school is a crucial factor. But the parents must be allowed to become involved without having to forfeit their particular cultural background. Auerbach mentions how cultural differences can be perceived by school officials as impediments to participation. Such officials view the "overcoming" of cultural differences as their goal, and attempt to "mold" parents to conform to school-determined expectations: parents must reorder their priorities so they can become involved in school-determined activities (1991, p. 402). But hopefully parental support can be encouraged and welcomed without the imposition of the school-determined culture on anyone. Such support, in the form of (for example) open communication between parents and teachers, or parental participation in school activities, can contribute positively to a student's academic career.

5.5 Recommendations for Future Studies

Based on the above findings, the following five areas can be developed for further study: (1) the application of this study to different weekend schools; (2) a more precise examination of the relation between AOA (Age of Arrival) and LOR (Length of Residence), on the one hand, and previous educational experience, on the other; (3) a reconsideration of the methods of evaluating writing; (4) a comparison of the writing of Japanese bi-schooling students and Japanese native students; and (5) an exploration of parental perspectives.

First, this study can be applied to the other weekend schools in the United States. Examining the writing issues and problems of other Japanese weekend school students would strengthen the findings of this research. Also it might bring out other important outcomes or factors for this kind of study.

Second, questions of AOA (Age of Arrival) and LOR (Length of Residence) came up in this study (Cummins, 1984). There was a significant influence of AOA and LOR on the students' writing proficiency. Moreover, previous educational experience should be combined with these two factors, in further examining language proficiency.

Third, in this study, students and teachers evaluated writing and writing education. Examining the Japanese national standard in writing would more specifically emphasize the students' writing problems. Also writing education might be differently defined by Japanese teachers in Japan. Exploring how Japanese teachers in Japan teach writing and evaluate their students' writings would provide an important contrast to the writing education in weekend school.

Fourth, the comparison of the writing of Japanese bi-schooling students and Japanese native students would emphasize the writing problems that are specific to Japanese bi-schooling students. Furthermore, the expectations of teachers are based on their educational and professional backgrounds and significantly affect their evaluations of student writing. Since the educational and professional backgrounds of teachers at weekend schools may vary, and since some may be unfamiliar with the issues in current Japanese education, the teachers in the weekend school often feel

uncertain in evaluating student writing. Providing writings by both students at weekend school and students in Japan would allow the teachers to be surer about evaluating the writings of bi-schooling students.

Lastly, this study stressed the importance of parental involvement in their children's education at weekend school, although the voice of the parents was not included. The examination of not only the students and the teachers, but also the students' parents, would make a future study more thorough. Parental concerns could contribute a great deal of input to this kind of study.

5.6 Conclusion

This study considers many factors significant to bilingualism, language-minority students, and the roles of teachers. The issue of whether a student should maintain his/her first language is a major discussion in American bilingualism. This study explores the education of Japanese bi-schooling students in the United States under the assumption of the importance of maintaining and further developing their first language. The value of a language in the world affects the choice about maintaining one's first language; nonetheless, maintaining and developing any language is crucial for future global relations among different ethnic groups and nations.

Maintaining and developing their first language is not an easy task for the children who are fortunate enough to have the opportunity to learn two languages. Children who will be able to deal with two languages and two cultures will be those who can count on the support of parents, instructors, schools, the community and the nation. With such support, the children can

conquer the difficulties of learning two languages and two cultures. For any language-minority student, the opportunity to face two languages and two cultures should be highly valued and preceded by various support. The language values in the United States and in the world in general need to be changed in the future. For example, the notion that "English is a valuable language to learn" in the United States can be changed to the view that "the more languages you know, the higher you are valued."

Of course the task of learning two languages is complicated, and this fact can decrease a student's self-esteem and motivation. The teachers themselves sometimes lower their expectations and make students feel that their low self-esteem or lack of motivation is acceptable. The teachers' positive attitude toward the students' difficulties in learning would by itself increase positive outcomes.

Teachers must also be flexible in weighing the need to recognize the diverse backgrounds of their students against the demands of the traditional curriculum. Students from different educational background should not have to suffer because of the traditional educational setting created by the institutional and national curriculum. Further, the teachers' own educational and professional background can also be a part of educational tradition. Dealing with students from different educational backgrounds, the teachers can try to understand the students' situation and contribute to their learning with a caring attitude.

Learning in-depth about Japanese bi-schooling students in the United States will contribute to the future of Japanese education for Japanese children overseas. This research can provide the Ministry of Education in

Japan with a better understanding of the issues and problems in the education of Japanese children overseas. This study will hopefully direct future innovations and changes in the education of Japanese children overseas so that students can learn better and be more successful in school.

Finally, this research will challenge the practice of Japanese language education in Japan and Japanese views about the relative value of languages. In the future, Japanese language education in Japan should consider the fact that the values concerning language and culture held by Japanese people can affect Japanese language education for returnees, Chinese orphans, Brazilian returnees, immigrants, and foreigners. The discussions in this study of the teacher's role in the educational setting could also contribute to better instruction for and understanding of Japanese teachers who have had difficulties with students from different backgrounds.

APPENDIX A

WRITING SAMPLES

English Translation

In the following writing samples, titles are indicated with an underline. Mistaken usage is also underlined, but is followed by an explanation in parentheses. For example, "(colloquial), (wrong /needs *kanji*), or (wrong *furigana*,, i.e. combination of *kanji* and *hiragana*). Brackets indicate wrong *katakana* usage, and English-influenced expressions. Boldface type denotes English words students inserted in their Japanese writing. Japanese phrases that are not translatable appear in italics.

Writing Sample 1
Chararinpon

During my valuable winter vacation, when I looked at the homework we were given, I [could not come up with an image] of what to write. When my older brother, who was home from college, read "My Recent Thoughts," he said, "You're irresponsible, so why not write, none." He called me "chararinpon" (probably a corruption of *charanporan*, meaning "irresponsible" or "sloppy"), but saying 'none' is fairly correct.

I think that economics and politics do not relate much to my daily life. The reason I say so is that as each day goes by, if that day is good, then that is **OK** for me. I cannot change the law, the school system, and whatever (colloquial), so there is no sense in thinking about them. If I am thinking, I only think about what is around me then. Maybe I'll go to the **mall**, maybe I'll go to sleep, maybe I'll study... If I am thinking, it's only about having fun.

As I wrote this, one conclusion came to mind. Basically I am not thinking about anything special very often. I think the word *chararinpon* that my brother used describes my lifestyle perfectly (colloquial).

Writing Sample 2
Memories of Summer Vacation

This summer was all (colloquial) great memories. I spent my first week in Japan in Utsunomiya. I stayed in the house of a friend next door to the house I lived in six years ago. My friend and his older brother had become very mature. Still, it brought back memories. The next day, I went to my friend's school with him for a trial enrollment. My friend's class was so quiet. When school ended, on the way home (wrong expression), my friend told me, "everyone was nervous." The next day the class gradually got

livelier. Then gradually I started to talk to others students. While we were talking, I realized he (not clear; seems to mean one of the students) was a classmate of mine six years ago in class two of the second grade. I remembered several faces. From that day on, almost every (colloquial) day was great. For one thing, I went to the elementary school that I had attended with (needs *kanji*) my closest friend. The school was the same. I had not forgotten anything about the schoolyard. The see-saw, the jungle gym, and the bars... I remembered everything. I especially remembered the place where were always fighting with class one. I did not get to see my elementary school teacher. That was my wish (probably means "too bad"), but the schoolyard and the classrooms (wrong *kanji*)brought back memories.

Writing Sample 3
[New Year's Eve] in New York

I spent New Year's Eve in New York this year. A friend of my mother's came and so we decided to show her that big city. It was also my first time spending [New Year's] in New York. The streets were an amazing (excerpt) sight. Wherever you looked you were surrounded (wrong *furigana*) by buildings. There was an unbelievable number (wrong *furigana*) of people. As we walked the streets, we saw many famous stores. But (colloquial) the impression left with me of New Year's Eve in the city was certainly not only a cheerful sight.

Just after we arrived in New York, we parked the car in a garage and walked (lack of *kanji* and spelling error)to the center of New York. As we walked along the sidewalk looking at the sights and casually looked to the side, a slightly dirty black woman was sitting on the corner of the sidewalk. She had a blanket on her and beside her was something like (omits adjectival particle; probably careless error) a big bag. As I walked by and looked closely for a second, I saw (it) was a child. In a large city like New York, people and mothers and children without homes are not uncommon. There are many people like them. But (colloquial), looking at the cheerful scenery of New York even then (colloquial) I could not (spelling mistake) feel relaxed. After coming home from New York, I thought about why the scene of that mother and child had [impacted] me so much. When (you) think of [Eve] (means New Year's Eve; this phrase, however, is used in Japanese only to refer to Christmas Eve) in New York, what probably comes to mind would be (wrong auxiliary verb) the scene of people with loud voices (either is using wrong *kanji* for "many people" or omits needed verb) greeting the new year in Time's Square that you see every year on the television. I had expected that kind of New Year's Eve. The mother and child covered in a blanket probably would be (wrong auxiliary verb) terribly different from my expectations and were a great shock.

Writing Sample 4
Minutemen (actually transcribed as "Minuteman" throughout)

This year, 1996, is a surprising year for Amherst. The (city/state -- mistakenly includes both) University of Massachusetts' basketball team, the Minutemen, have made it to the national semi-finals. The **NCAA** national finals begin with 64 teams, and the Minutemen have made it to the last four, the [final 4]. This is the Minutemen's first appearance. Ten years ago no doubt people would have thought this was a miracle. Ten years ago the Minutemen [program] was [falling apart], and no one had any expectations for them. The Minutemen's coach was fired and a newcomer named John Calipari became coach. Then (in) ten years, he fixed a [program] that [had fallen apart] and led (uses wrong verb) his team to the national championship, and finals. They have a superb [record] (uses *katakana* word *recoodo*, meaning musical record) of 31 wins and 1 loss, and their popularity is increasing. Lots of people wearing **UMass** hats are visible (wrong expression) in Massachusetts.

Writing Sample 5
What I've Been Thinking about Recently (Recent Thoughts)

Recently I have been thinking a lot (about) the school system. Recently in Japanese schools the number of teachers who are thinking about having schools make Saturday a holiday (uses misformed verb and incorrect particles; also omits one necessary particle).

I think the idea of having schools make Saturday a holiday (repeats same mistakes) will probably succeed in elementary schools, where not many students go to cram schools yet. I think, however (colloquial), that high school students, who go to cram schools, will be studying (colloquial) to practice for their exams (wrong expression) whether or not (colloquial) Saturday is a holiday. Trying to think about this from a different shape (wrong word in Japanese as in English), we see that this system is [taken from] American ideas, and it is clear that Japanese are beginning to show interest in the American system.

Writing Sample 6
My Trip to Japan
(goes back and forth between formal and informal verb endings)

This summer, on August 20, I went home to Japan for the first time in four years. After 11 hours and 15 minutes passed, we arrived at Narita Airport. An old friend named Tanaka Isamu was laying in wait (wrong expression) for me at Narita Airport. For now (wrong expression; meaning unclear) that day I'd (colloquial) been awake for 26 hours. The next day Tanaka and I went to Tokyo to play the virtual reality game NAMCD (insufficient explanation). Then (colloquial), three days later I said good-bye (wrong spelling) to Tanaka and took the *shinkansen* (bullet train) to my grandmother's house in Nara. I bought souvenirs and so on there. As I was relaxing at my grandmother's (wrong spelling) house, I got a phone call (uses wrong counter for phone calls). As expected, it was Kato's mother, and she invited me to come over to play. So (colloquial), the next day, I decided to go over to Kato Michiko's house. So (colloquial), the next day I left the house. First, I manage (wrong tense) to take the JR line from Osaka station to Nishinomiya but the station where I got off was falling apart like a rotten corpse (inappropriate expression; probably uses this phrase because "rotten" is slang meaning "sucks") and there were not even any vending machines and some guy (colloquial) was riding his bicycle in the station and it was just weird. What was even worse, however, was why would I have to go (colloquial) to Kato's house with (wrong *kanji*) that (wrong expression) Sato Keiko? Well (colloquial), I did get to Kato Michiko's house but, Surprise! (colloquial) Kato Michiko wasn't (wrong spelling) there. Then, after an hour, at last Micchan (nickname for Kato Michiko) came home (needs *kanji*)and we played. It was really fun. Well (colloquial), after that, we all lit firecrackers together. Though we just lazed around soon it was already 9 o'clock, and since Surprise! (colloquial) it took a whole hour to go from Nishinomiya to Nara, I got to Nara station at 10 o'clock, and then I still (had to) take a taxi home (wrong *furigana*) and went to sleep at 11:00 oh I was soooo tired (colloquial and wrong punctuation). So (colloquial), I went back to America.

So (colloquial and spelling error), my trip ended...

1. As expected, the difference between Japan and America is that America doesn't have any trains!!! (colloquial; excessive emphasis) I mean (colloquial) in Japan if there are trains and buses you can go anywhere, right? (colloquial) 2. One more thing is that things are expensive in Japan (and) America is sure better for prices (colloquial)! 3. Things are expensive in Japan, but they're sure cool (colloquial)! 4. Japanese houses are smaller than American houses. 5. Japanese munchies are yum-my (and) American snacks are just rotten (entire sentence is colloquial).

Writing Sample 7
Unfairness

Recently the students (needs *kanji*)in my class are doing unfair things. For example, more and more people have been saying that short boys do not play basketball well and that (they will not) choose them for their team. Just because you are short (colloquial; needs *kanji*) does not necessarily mean you are not good at basketball. Why do people do unfair things? Basketball is only one topic; there are some people being unfair in other topics (wrong word choice).

One of these is when I had a party and it came time to eat, boys eat more than girls so (the boys?) only gave (colloquial) (the girls?) a little. This boy is doing something unfair. Even though they are only girls, some girls eat a whole lot. I think girls and boys should be given the same amount (needs *kanji*). Another example (wrong *furigana*) is age (missing one of two *kanji*). Recently adults have become very unfair. Even if children try to say (wrong spelling) something important, adults say that it is just a child too (uses wrong subject particle), and do not listen. If adults come to visit, however, right away they listen to that person. That adult is doing something unfair. No matter how young (needs *kanji*) you are, you might have something more important (needs *kanji*) to say than an adult.

These sort of unfair people are making conclusions (needs *kanji*) based only on people's appearance. I do not think that is right. I would like people more (wrong word choice; probably means "rather," also misplaced) to make conclusions based on other people's inside self (wrong expression; probably "internal characteristics"). What I think is that unfair people do not know enough about that other person. I think that if people (need *kanji*) looked more at other people's inside self (same mistake), unfairness would disappear.

Writing Sample 8
Differences between America and Japan

Bullying in America and Japan are slightly different. The difference is that bullying in Japan is much worse than in America. There are probably also some points in common, but there are more differences. The common point is that bullies do not bully when (they) change classes (every year; needs explanation) or (they) are in a different class.

The first difference between Japan and America is the length that someone is bullied. In America, it is usually a temporary thing, and it is uncommon for someone to be bullied for a whole year until he changes classes. I have heard that in Japan, once bullying starts (wrong *kanji*) it never stops. The next difference is that in America it is rare for a child who is

bullied to attempt suicide. In America, it is uncommon for a bullied child not to have someone to talk to (needs *kanji*). In contrast, in Japan, usually the whole class bullies one child, and the bullied child does not have anyone to talk to. Or, that person (he talks to) cannot be much of a support.

No one can get rid of bullying all by himself. However, why is the content of bullying different in America and Japan? That is because in America, children change classes, and so children do not usually end up together with the same people. I think that if Japan did so, bullying would decrease (needs *kanji*) somewhat.

Writing Sample 9
[Subliminal Messages]

A subliminal message is a message that enters one's mind (or brain) when one is not aware. (Such) messages appear (needs *kanji*) in tapes and on television.

Subliminal messages are used in all sorts of places. Subliminal messages are played in convenience stores to prevent shoplifting, and there are even bookstores that sell as products tapes to not smoke (wrong word choice; probably means "quit" smoking) or for diets. In addition, in the incident in Waco, Texas, subliminal messages were used. The **FBI** played messages on the telephone pipe (wrong word choice; probably means "line"), trying to make believers be penitent (wrong word choice). Then, in a tape entitled "Mrs. Asahara's Preaching -- In Her Own Voice" that was shown on TBS, a message from Asahara Shoko was transmitted. In contrast (wrong word choice), original believers ended up returning to the cult.

Can subliminal messages really be used? Some people say it is just (wrong particle) to make someone be convinced, and other people say that a message is really included and that it can be used. I think that subliminal messages do exist. Of course people do not follow (needs *kanji*) the message exactly, but by chance they may perhaps do as the message (needs *kanji*).

Writing Sample 10
On American and Japanese Holidays

In Japan there is a holiday called the Emperor's Birthday. The people celebrate the emperor's birthday and schools and so on have the day off. However, in America there is no holiday like this. In America there are also no Athletics Day and no Labor Appreciation Day. Of course, there are holidays in America that Japan does not have. There are [Independence Day] and [Thanksgiving]. However, there is also a holiday that both countries have in common. That is Christmas. For some reason, Japanese people celebrate Christmas. Christmas is originally a Christian ritual. Of course

there are Christians in Japan, but it is a Japanese holiday that is even written on the calendar. As far as I know, there are not any Japanese who do not celebrate Christmas.

My opinion is that I think that this is because Christmas is an easy holiday for people to adopt. If that is the case, a Japanese holiday could become a holiday in America. Labor Appreciation Day could possibly become a holiday in America and in the whole world.

A holiday is a vacation day that the country has designated. If my reason is correct, various country's holidays might mix with other countries, and holidays that the country does not recognize (needs *kanji*)might emerge. Perhaps Christmas is this kind of holiday. Japan does not recognize (needs *kanji*) it but perhaps the people do.

Writing Sample 11
My Plans for the Future

Lately I have been thinking a lot about my future. When I say "future," however, I do not mean 20 or 30 years from now, but rather my plans for two or three years from now. In two or three years, I will graduate from middle school and go to high school. Here is where there is a problem. It is a very important choice whether I should graduate from high school in America, or go back to Japan and go to high school there. If I make a [bad] decision, it will influence (me) through college, and my life after that will also change.

If I stay in an American high school, I will not have entrance examinations, it will not cost money, and I will be able to study English slowly until graduation. If I graduate in America, I may be able to get into certain Japanese universities more easily than if I graduated from high school in Japan by taking a test for Japanese returnees. But (colloquial) I like Japan better, and even if I want to go home, school will be a problem.

If I go to a Japanese high school, I will be able to live in a country I like, to go to a Japanese school, and there will be lots of other good things, but still there will be (needs *kanji*) problems. It costs money, and when I go to college, I will have to pass a test on the same level as other Japanese students.

Whichever country I go to high school in, both (wrong expression) will have good sides and bad sides. Which place I go to a high school where also means deciding on my future, and so I wish to start talking about this carefully with my family and to make a [good]decision.

Writing Sample 12
--- (no title)

As you well know, November 25 is *Kanshasai* (Thanksgiving Day). But do (you) know how "Kanshasai" originally came about?

In English, *Kanshasai* is Thanksgiving. Originally it is a <u>ritual</u> (wrong *kanji*) that started in America. It began with the Puritans gathering to <u>celebrate</u> (mistake in *kanji*) the <u>blessing</u> (mistake in *kanji*) of the harvest and making a feast. <u>However</u> (colloquial), these days this explanation has been transformed, and now people say that the Indians and the Puritans enjoyed a feast together. <u>These days</u> (wrong expression), Indians and Puritans were fighting, so I think that it is impossible that they enjoyed eating together.

Because they cooked a [turkey], even now that tradition continues in America. When I think about it, why do people not cook [turkey] in Japan?

Because *Kanshasai* [took place?] (uses literal translation that makes no sense in Japanese) in New England, America, <u>still</u> (wrong particle) it is exclusively an American <u>custom</u> (mistake in *kanji*). (This sentence is unclear.)

Writing Sample 13
<u>Discovering Japanese</u>

One thing <u>really</u> (colloquial) different about Japanese and English that I have thought of is the way verbs are used.

In English, the ending of verbs, when you <u>say</u> (wrong spelling) she, he, I (,) they, we and so on, even occasionally the words <u>themselves</u> (wrong *kanji*), <u>change</u> (needs *kanji*). However, in Japanese the verb forms do not change no matter whom (you are talking to).

One more thing I noticed is the use of the word "to go" (wrong spelling of word omitted in translation). In Japanese, you say "I will go to your house," but when you say it in English, the translation <u>becomes</u> (wrong auxiliary verb) "I will <u>come</u> (wrong *kanji*) to your house"(wrong spelling or word omitted in translation). In this case, it seems that this case (implies) a focus on the person being visited (needs more explanation).

作文例１（山本信夫）　平成六年十一月

「ちゃらりんぽん」

　　せっかくの冬休みにでた宿題の説明を読むと何を書くかイメージができなかった。大学か帰ってきている兄が　最近よく考えていること」を読むと、お前なんかちゃらりんぽんだから、「ないっ」て書けばいい」っと言われた。ちゃらりんぽんと訳の分からない事を言う兄だが、　ない」って言うのはけっこう正しかった。

　　経済や政治の事は別に自分の日常生活に関係ないと思っている。　なぜかと言うと、僕と毎日その日ぐらしで、その日がよければそれでOK。法律、学校のシステムなんか考えていても自分で変えられる物ではないから考んがえても意味がない。考えるとしたらその場の事しか考えない。Mall 行ってこようかな、寝よっかな、勉強しよっかな．．．。考えるとしたら、楽しむことだけ。

　　こう書いていると、ある一つの結論が浮かんできた。基本的には特別なことはめったに考がえていない。兄が使うちゃらりんぽんとは自分のライフスタイルにぴったしな描写だと思う。

[illegible]その[illegible]よ[illegible]れば それ

よいんだ。OK。

[illegible]法律・学校へシステムを

人が[illegible]えつ[illegible]こむ自分と変えうれ

る物ではな[illegible]かう考えても意

味が[illegible]ない[illegible]えることになにを[illegible]場

へ手しか考えない、(いも[illegible]ルに行っ

こ[illegible]なった)(寝て[illegible])(勉強

てとし[illegible]な[illegible]考えると

とした[illegible]楽しむことが[illegible]

[illegible]つかって[illegible]てるくある一つの

結論が[illegible]法[illegible]く[illegible]本的には

特別なことをする。たにそがえてい

ない。兄が使うちりんぽん

とは自分のライフスタイルにぴ

たりした描写だと思う。

様子をしっかりとまとめて書けています。

もう少し深めて、自分が考えていない事実についてどう思うかも最後にかけるとも、とよかったです。

口語を用いると生き生きしますが、細かい部分に気をつけて書くこと!!

作文例２（山本信夫）　平成七年九月

「夏休みの思い出」

　　今年の夏はいい思いでばっかしだった。日本での最初の週は宇都宮で過した。六年前住んでいた家の隣の友達の家で泊まらせてもらた。友達とその兄はすっかり大人っぽくなっていた。だけどとても懐かしかった。翌日、友達の学校へ体験入学をしに登校した。友達のクラスはいかにも静かだった。学校が終り、帰り中に、「みんな緊張したんだよ」と、友達が言ってくれた。次の日のクラスはすこしずつ賑やかになっていった。そしてすこしずつ他の人としゃべれるようになった。話している間に六年前の（二年二組の）同級生だと分かった。いくつかの顔は憶えていた。その日からは調子のいい日々ばっかりだった。そのひとつは、一番親しかた友達たちといっしょに通った小学校に行った。小学校はそのままだった。校庭は一つも忘れてはいなかった。ブランコ、ジャングルジム、鉄棒、全部憶えていた。特に憶えていたのは、しょっちゅう一組と喧嘩していた場所。小学校の時の先生とは会えなかった。それは念願だったけど、校庭と校室はとても懐かしかった。

ジム、鉄棒、全部憶えていた。特に憶えてい

たのは、しょっちゅう一組と喧嘩していた場所。

自分が通っていた時の小学生の時の先生とは会えなかった。それは

今原だったけど、校庭と校室はとても懐しかった。

その先生が好きじゃなかったの!?

校庭のどこの辺なのかしら—?

教室!? 校長室!?

とてもしっかりと書けました。

懐しかった学校の思い出がよく伝わっています。

できたらもう少し詳しく、友達と話したことや授業の内容や

その感想についても書いてあれば、私も、もっと楽しく読めたと思います。

日本の学校びしたことがわかって、直也くんが

（例えば、上級生とのトラブルとか…!?）

この方が興味が重なあ…!!

辞書もきちんと使ったようですね!?

長岡

作文例３（山本信夫）　平成八年一月

「ニューヨークのニューイアーイヴ」

今年の大晦日はニューヨークで過ごした。母の友達が来たということでその大都市を

すごい

見せに行った。自分もニューヨークのイヴを経験したのは初めてだった。町の中は景色であった。どこを見てもビルに囲まれいる。人の数は驚くほど多いかった。町の中を歩くと有名な店などが数々あった。だがこの町の大晦日に印像にのこったのは決っして華やかな光景ばかりだけではなかった。

ニューヨークに着いた直後、車を駐車場に停めてニューヨークの中心へと歩いていった。景色を見ながら歩道をあいていてちらっと横を見ると薄汚れている黒人のおばさんが歩道の角に座っていた。毛布を被っていてその人の横には大きいバックみたい物があった。歩るき過ぎる一瞬によく見ると子供であった。ニューヨークの様な大都市では家のない人、親子は珍しくもない。その様な人は数々いる。だがニューヨークのにぎやかな景色をみながらでも気持ちは楽にはならい。ニューヨークから帰ってきた後、何故あの親子の光景が自分を非常にインパクトしたのか考えてみた。やはり ニューヨークのイヴは毎年テレビでみるように大声の人々がタイムズスクエアーで新年を迎える光景が頭に浮かんでくるだろう。自分はそのような大晦日を期待していた。だが歩道で毛布を被っていた親子はとんでもない期待はずれでショックであったのだろう。

ニューヨークのニューイヤーイヴ

絹田直也

今年の大晦日はニューヨークで過ごした。母の友達が来たということでその大都市を見せに行った。自分もニューヨークのイヴを経験したのは初めてだった。町の中は景色であった。どこを見てもビルに囲まれている。人の数は驚くほど多かった。町の中を歩くと有名な店などが数々あった。だがこの町の大晦日に印象にのこったのは決して華やかな光景ばかりだけではなかった。

ニューヨークに着いた直後、車を駐車場に停めてニューヨークの中心へと歩いていった。景色を見ながら歩道を歩いていてちらっと横を見ると薄汚れている男人のおばさんが歩道の角に座っていた。毛布を被っていてその人の横には大きいバックみたいな物があった。歩き過ぎる一瞬によく見ると子供であった。ニューヨークの様な大都市では家のない人

コクヨ ケ-31-G 20×20

子供がどんな状態だったの！？

親子は珍しくもない。その様な人は数々いる。だがニューヨークのにぎやかな景色を見ながらでも気持ちは楽にはならない。ニューヨークから帰ってきた後、何故あの親子への光景が自分を非常にインパクトしたのか考えてみた。やはりニューヨークのイヴは毎年テレビで見るように大声の人々がタイムズスクエアーで新年を迎える光景が頭に浮んでくるだろう。自分はそのような大晦日を期待していた。だが歩道で毛布を被っていた親子はとんでもない期待はずれでショックであったのだろう。

推量

あったからだ。

しっかりまとまって考えている内容し

しよくわかります。

自分のことだから

誰かな使うでしょう！？

コクヨ ケ-31-G 20×20

作文例４（山本信夫）　平成八年三月

「ミニットマン」

今年１９９６年はアムハーストでは驚く年である。マサチューセッツ州市立大学のバスケットボールチーム、ミニットマンは全国大会の準決勝までのこっている。この NCAA 全国大会は６４チームで始まり、そしてミニットマンは最後４チーム、ファイナル４にのこっている。これはミニットマン、初めての出場である。十年前にはこの様なことはきせきにしか思えなかっただろう。十年前のミニットマンプログラムは崩れていて、だれからも期待されていなかった。ミニットマンのコーチはくびになり、ジョン　カリパリと言う新人がコーチとなった。そして十年、崩れたプログラムを建て直し全国大会、準決勝まで彼のチームをつれてきた。３１勝１敗というすばらしいレコード持ち、人気が高まってきている。マサチューセッツの人々はUMass のぼうしをかぶるのがよく見える。

ミニットマン　絹田直也
今年 1996年 に アムハーストでは
驚く年である。マサチューセッツ州立大学の
バスケットボールのチーム、ミニットマンは全国大会の
準決勝までのこっている。この NCAA 全国大会は 64
チームで始まり、そしてミニットマンは最後 4 チーム、
ファイナル 4 にのこっている。これはミニットマン、初めて
の出場である。十年前にはこの様なことはきせきと
しか思えなかっただろう。十年前のミニットマンは
プログラムは崩れていて、誰からも期待されていなかった。
ミニットマンのコーチはくびになり、ジョン カリパリ
と言う新人コーチがコーチとなった。そして十年、崩れ
たプログラムを建て直し全国大会、準決勝まで彼の
チームをつれてきた。31勝 1敗というすばらしいレコード
持ち、人気が高まってきている。マサチューセッツの
人々は UMASS のぼうしをかぶるのがよく見える。

説明　どうして こういう ニックネーム　描写　why?

作文例５（山中晃）　平成七年三月

「最近よく考えていること」

僕が最近よく考えていることは学校のシステムです。最近日本の学校では土曜日に学校を休日させようと考えている先生が増えています。この、土曜日に学校を休日させようというアイディアは、たぶん塾にまだ行く人が少ない小学校に成功すると思います。だが、塾に行く高校生は、いくら土曜日が休みでも受験練習のため勉強してると思います。違う形から考えて見るとこのシステムはアメリカのアイディアから出していることになり、日本人はアメリカのシステムに興味が向いてきたということになります。

最近よく考えていること

僕が最近よく考えていることは学校のシステムです。最近、日本の学校では土曜日に学校を休日させようと考えている先生が増えています。

①この、土曜日に学校を休日させようというアイディアは、たぶん塾にまだ行く(人)が少ない小学校に（で）成功すると思います。

（handwritten）なぜですか。

だが、塾に行く高校生は、いくら土曜日が休みでも受検練習のため勉強してると思います。②違う形から考えて見るとこのシステムはアメリカのアイディアから出していることになり、日本人はアメリカのシステムに興味が向いてきたということになります。

（handwritten）自分の意見!?　子供はなにをするべき（土曜の休みに）

（handwritten）
・だんだんよくなってきています。
よく考えて、筋道を決めてから書くように。
言葉遣いに負けない位の構成が必要です。

作文例６（山中晃）　平成八年九月

「日本旅行」

今年の夏、８月２０日に４年ぶりに日本へ帰国した。１１時間１５分たつと成田空港へ到着しました。成田空港では、田中　功くんという昔の友達が待ちかまえてくれました。という今で僕はその日は２６時間起きてました。次の日僕は、田中くんと東京までNAMCDの立体感ゲームをやりに行きました。それから、三日後僕は田中くんにさよならをいい新横浜から新幹線でうちのおばあちゃんの家がある奈良まで行きました。そこで、おみやげなど買ってきた。おばあちゃんの家でのんびりしていると僕あてに電話が一通かかった、それはやはり加藤さんのお母さんで遊びにおいでとさそってくれた。そういうわけで僕は次の日加藤　道子の家に遊にいくことにした。というわけで次の日僕は家を出た。まず、大阪駅からJR線で西ノ宮まで行ったのはいいんだけどおりるとその駅はくさった死体のようにボロボロな駅でなんと自動販売機もなく駅の中でしらないおっさんが自転車をこいでるしもう不思議。しかし、もっといやなのはなんで僕が佐藤　恵子なんてと一所に加藤さんちへ行かなきゃならないの？まあ、一応僕は加藤　道子の家についたけどなんと！その加藤　道子がいなかった。それから、一時間後やっとみっちゃんがかえってきて遊びました。とても楽しかったです。まあ、その後みんなで花火をしました。ぐずぐずしているにもう９時になってしまい、なんと西ノ宮から奈良まで１時間かかるということで１０時に奈良の駅に着き、まだそれからタクシーで家まで帰えりねたのが１１時もうつかれたー。そいうことでアメリカに帰えった。

とうゆうことで僕の旅行が終わた．．

１やっぱりアメリカと日本のちがいは、アメリカには電車がないということだね！だって日本には電車とバスさえあればどこでも行けるでしょ。２もう一つは日本の物は高いやっぱ値段はアメリカよ！３日本の物は高いけどやっぱいいね！４日本の家はアメリカにくらべると小さい。５日本のおかしはおいしーねアメリカのおやつくさってるもん。

日本旅行

中西 賢

今年の夏、8月20日に4年ぶりに日本へ帰国しました。11時間15分たつと成田空航へ到着しました。成田空港では、山越工くんという者（その時の）友達が待ちかまえてくれました。という今じ僕はその日は26時間起きてました。次の日僕は、山越くんと東京まで（ゲームセンターに）NAMCOの立体感ゲームをやりに行きました。それから、3日後僕は、山越くんにさようならをいい新横浜から新幹線でうちのおばあちゃんの家がある奈良まで行きました。そこで、おみやげなど買ってきました。おばあちゃんの家でのんびりしていると僕あてに電話が一通かかった。それはやはり小川さんのお母さんで遊びにおいでとさそってくれた。そういうわけで僕は次の日小川祥子の家に遊びにいくことにした。というわけで次の日僕は家を出た。まず、大阪駅からJR線で西宮まで行ったのはいいけれどおりるところが駅はくさった死体のようにボロボロな駅でなんと自動販買機もなく駅の中でしょうないお、こんが自転車をこいでる。もう不思議。しかし、もっとリアなのはなんで僕が山村杏子なんてと一緒に小川さんちべ代かなきなろないの？まあ、一応僕は小川祥子の家に着いたけどなんと！その小川祥子がいなかった。それから、一時間後に祥子ちゃんが帰ってきて遊びました。とても楽しかったです。まあ、その後みんなで花火をしました。ぐずぐずしているともう9時になってしまい、なんと西ノ宮から奈良まで1時間かかるということで10時に奈良の駅に着き、またそれからタクシーで家まで帰りねたのが11時もうつかれた。ということでアメリカに帰えた。

ということで僕の旅行が終った。

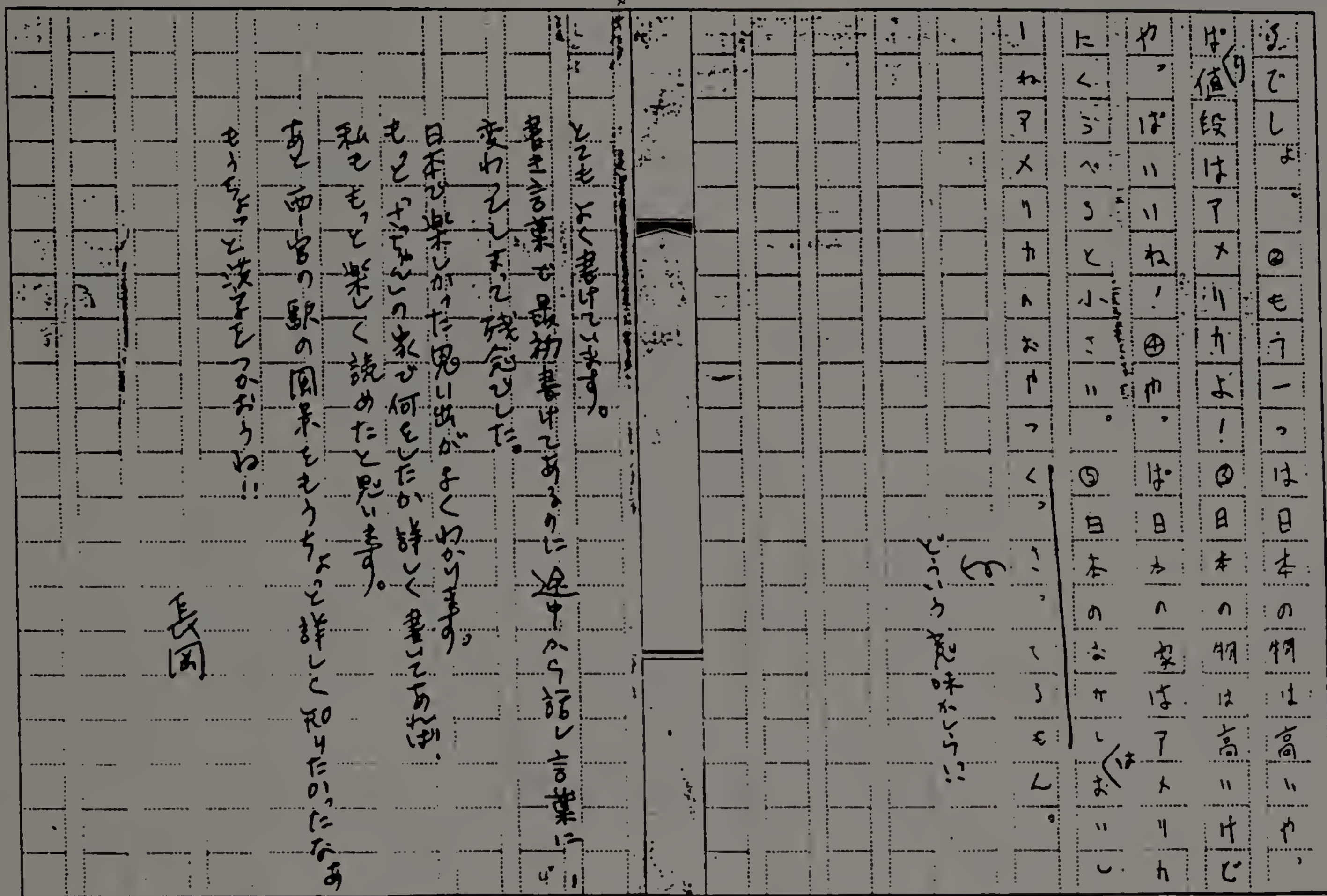
◎やはりアメリカと日本のちがいは、アメリカには電車がないということだね！だって日本には電車とバスさえあればどこでも行け

1行空けて!!

ひどいっネ!! 自分が言われた身になってごらんなさい。

特にこの辺りは…

何をして遊んだのかしら!?



ふでしょ。②もう一つは日本の物は高いや、
ば(り)値段はアメリカよ！②日本の物は高いけど
やっぱいいね！⊕中。ぱ日かへ家はアメリカ
にくらべると小さい。③日本のなかしおい
ーねアメリカへおやつくってるもん。

どういう意味かしら!!

とてもよく書けています。
書き言葉で最初書けてあるのに途中から話し言葉に
変わってしまって残念でした。
日本で楽しかった思い出がよくわかります。
もと「○ちゃん」の家で何をしたか詳しく書いてあれば、
私ももっと楽しく読めたと思います。
あと西宮の駅の風景をもうちょっと詳しく知りたかったなあ
もうちょっと漢字をつかおうね!!

長岡

作文例７（山中晃）　平成八年十一月

「不公平」

最近、ぼくのクラスのせいとは不公平なことをする。たとえば背がひくい男の子はバスケットがうまくないからチームには入れないと言う人がふえてきた。背がちいさいからといってバスケットがうまいとはかぎらない。なぜ人間は不公平な事をすつのだろうか？バスケットの話しはほんの一つの話題で他の話題でも不公平にする人もいる。

一つは、ぼくがパーティーをしていて食べる時間になった時、男の子は女の子よりも食べるから食べ物を少ししかあげない。この男の子は、不公平な事をしている。たかが女の子だといっても、すごく食べる女の子もいる。男の子も女の子も同じりょうだけあげたらいいと思う。他の例えは年れいである。最近の大人はとても不公平になってきた。もし子供が大事な事をいようとしても大人の人は子供もだからといって耳にしない。だが、大人の人がたずねて来たらその大人の人はすぐ聞いている。その大人は不公平な事をしている。いくら年がわかくてもその大人の人よりもだいじな話があるかもしれない。

こういう不公平な人達はただその人の外見でけつろんをだしている。それは正しくないと思う。もっと人は他の人の内性でけつろんをだしてほしい。僕が思うには不公平な人はその人をあまりにもしらなすぎるだけだと思う。ひとがもっと他の人の内性をみていったら不公平はなくなると思う。

作文の模擬テスト＃1 (11/17/95)

名前（[illegible]）

1. 「不公平」という題で、自由に論じなさい。(2ページ以内)
Write on the subuject of "unfairness" in your own creative way (no more than two pages).

最近 僕のクラスのせいとは
不公平な[illegible]をする。たとえば背が[illegible]
い男の子[illegible]スポーツがうまくないから[illegible]
[illegible]ないと言う人がでてきた。
[illegible]といってバスケット
[illegible]なぜ人間
は不公平な事[illegible]のだろうか。
[illegible]一つ[illegible]
(他の例は[illegible]
一つは[illegible]パーティーで
[illegible]食べる時間になった時 男の[illegible]
よりも食べるから食べ物を少ししかあげない。
[illegible]不公平な事[illegible]たかが
[illegible]といって[illegible]
[illegible]
あげた[illegible]と思[illegible]。他の例は年[illegible]である。最近の人は[illegible]不公平[illegible]
また[illegible]大切な事を言[illegible]
[illegible]大人[illegible]子供[illegible]
[illegible]耳に[illegible]。たかが大人[illegible]
[illegible]その大人の人は
すぐ聞いている。[illegible]
[illegible]いくら[illegible]

たかが大人の人が話そうとしたらその人は大人だからといって話を聞く。

解答用紙2

その大人の人よりも大事な話が
あるかもしれない。
こういう不公平な人達は
ただその人の外見でけっていを
だしている。それは正しくないと思う。
もっとその人の内面でけってい
をだしてほしい。僕が思うには不公平
な人はその人をあまりにもこうなると
きめつけたと思う。人がもっと他の人
の内面を見ていったら不公平はなくな
ると思う。

作文例８（東　英男）平成八年十一月

「アメリカと日本の違い」

アメリカと日本とのいじめでは、少し違う所がある。違う所とは、悪い意味で、日本の方がアメリカよりいじめがひどいことだ。共通点も少しはあるだろうが、ちがう所の方が多い。共通点とは、いじめっこはクラスが変わったりクラスが違うといじめたりしないことだ。

日本とアメリカで違う所はまずいじめられる長さが違うことだ。アメリカでのいじめは、一時的なものが多く、一年中、クラスが変わるまでいじめられるということは少ない。日本だと、いじめが一度初まるとなかなか終わらないと聞いたことがある。次に違う所は、いじめられっこが自殺を図ったりするのはあまりアメリカではないことだ。アメリカではいじめられっこにそうだんする相手がいないということはあまりない。それに対して、日本ではクラスのだいたいが一人をいじめ、いじめられる子に話し相手がいない。またあまり力になれない。

いじめをなくすというのは自分一人ではできないことだ。しかし、アメリカと日本とではいじめの内容がちがうのはなぜだろう。それはアメリカではクラスを変えていくので同じ人がいっしょになることが少ないからだ。日本もそうすれば少しはいじめがへると思う。

解答用紙　　受験番号＿＿＿＿　名前＿＿＿＿

アメリカと日本とのいじめでは、少し違う所がある。違う所とは、悪い意味で、日本の方がアメリカよりいじめがひどいことだ。共通点も少しはあるだろうが、ちがう所の方が多い。共通点とは、いじめっこはクラスが変わったりクラスが違うといじめたりしないことだ。
日本とアメリカで違う所はまずいじめられる長さが違うことだ。アメリカでのいじめは、一時的なものが多く、一年中、クラスが変わるまでいじめられるということは少ない。日本だと、いじめが一度初まるとなかなか終わらないと聞いたことがある。次に違う所は、いじめられっこが自殺を図ったりするのはあまりアメリカではないことだ。アメリカではいじめられっこにそうだんする相手がいないということはあまりない。それに対して、日本ではクラスのだいたいが一人をいじめ、いじめられる子に話し相手がいない。またあまり力になれない。
いじめをなくすというのは自分一人ではできないことだ。しかし、アメリカと日本とではいじめの内容がちがうのはなぜだろう。それはアメリカではクラスを変えていくので同じ人がいっしょになることが少ないからだ。日本もそうすれば少しはいじめがへると思う。

contradicted!!

作文例９（東　英男）平成八年十一月

「サブリミナルメッセージ」

サブリミナルメッセージとは、自分の知らない間にメッセージが脳裏に入っていくことをいう。メッセージはテープの中やテレビの中にもでてくる。

サブリミナルメッセージはいろいろな所で使われている。万引き予防のためのメッセージをコンビニでながしたり、禁煙やダイエット用のテープを商品として売っている本屋もある。それにテキサスのウェィコの事件にもサブリミナルメッセージが使われていた。FBI はメッセージを電話のパイプにながし、信者を改心させようとさせた。そして、TBS で放送された「肉声公開　麻原夫人の説法」と題されたテープの中に麻原彰晃のメッセージが流されていた。それに対して元信者が教団にもどってしまったということがおこった。

本当にサブリミナルメッセージは使えるのか。ある人はただの思いこませるだけだといっているし、ある人は本当にメッセージが入っていて、使えるという。僕は、サブリミナルメッセージというのは存在すると思う。もちろん完全にメッセージにしたがうというわけではないが、ふとしたことでメッセージどうりにしたがうということもあるだろう。

解答用紙　good!!　受験番号＿＿＿＿　名前＿＿＿＿＿＿

サブリミナルメッセージとは、自分の知らない間にメッセージが脳裏に入っていくことをいう。メッセージはテープの中やテレビの中にもでてくる。

サブリミナルメッセージはいろいろな所で使われている。万引予防のためのメッセージをコンビニでながしたり、禁煙やダイエット用のテープを商品として売っている本屋もある。それにテキサスのウェィコの事件にもサブリミナルメッセージが使われていた。FBIはメッセージを電話のパイプにながし、信者を改心させようとさせた。そして、TBSで放送された「肉声公開・麻原夫人の説法」と題されたテープの中に麻原彰晃のメッセージが流されていた。それに対して元信者が教団にもどってしまったということがおこった。

本当にサブリミナルメッセージは使えるのか。ある人はただの思いこませるだけだといっているし、ある人は本当にメッセージが入っていて、使えるという。僕は、サブリミナルメッセージというのは存在すると思う。もちろん完全にメッセージにしたがうというわけではないが、ふとしたことでメッセージどうりにしたがうということもあるだろう。

もし全員メッセージを受けた人がその通りに行動するとしたら…？

どんな結果を生むのか。

今回 ーで 問題にたった

他の例

作文例１０（東　英男）　　平成八年三月

「アメリカと日本の祝日について」

　日本の祝日で天皇誕生日というものがある。天皇の誕生を国民が祝って学校などが休みになる。しかし、アメリカではこのような祝日などない。他にも、体育の日や勤労感謝の日などアメリカにはない。もちろんアメリカの祝日で日本にないものもある。インディペンデンスデーやサンクスギビングなどだ。しかし、両方の国で共通する祝日がある。それは、クリスマスだ。日本人はなぜかクリスマスを祝う。クリスマスはもともとキリスト教の行事だ。もちろん日本人にもキリスト教の人はいるが、それにしてもカレンダーにも書いてあるほど日本の祝日になっている。自分の知っているかぎりで日本人でクリスマスを祝わない人はいない。

　自分の意見はクリスマスとは人に親しみやすい祝日だからと思う。もしそうなら日本の祝日などがアメリカの祝日の一っになるかもしれない。勤労感謝の日などもしかするとアメリカや世界の祝日になるかもしれない。

　祝日とは国が定めた休みだ。もし僕の理由があっているならいろいろな国の祝日が他の国とまざり、国がみとめていない祝日もでてくるのではないか。もしかするとクリスマスというのもその一っかもしれない。日本はみとめていないが国民がみとめているのかもしれない。

3/30

日本の祝日で天皇誕生日というものがある。天皇の誕生を国民が祝って、学校などが休みになる。しかし、アメリカではこのような祝日などはない。他にも[illegible]の日や勤労感謝の日などアメリカにはない。もちろんアメリカの祝日で日本にないものもある。インディペンデンスデーやサンクスギビングなどだ。しかし、二つの国で共通する祝日である。それはクリスマスだ。日本人もアメリカ人もクリスマスを祝う。クリスマスはもともとキリスト教の行事だ。もちろん日本人にもキリスト教の人はいるが、それにしてもカレンダーに書いてあるほど日本の祝日になっている。自分の知っているかぎりで日本人でクリスマスを祝わない人はいない。

indep...

自分の意見は、クリスマスは人に親しみやすい祝日だからと思う。もしそうなら日本の祝日などでアメリカの祝日の一つになるかもしれない。勤労感謝の日などもしかするとアメリカや世界の祝日になるかもしれない。why?

インディペンデンス デー 感謝祭

祝日とは国が定めた休みだ。もし僕の理由があっているならいろいろな国の祝日が他の国とまざり、国がみとめていない祝日もでてくるのではないか。そうするとク~~リスマスというのもその一つかもしれない。日本は[illegible]りないが国民がみとめていくのかもしれない。~~

国民がみとめてくるだろう。

~~カレンダーなどに書いてありますか。~~ 学校が休みになるのでしょうか。

クリスマスは、日本では、その為に休みになるのですか。それとも冬休みの一部なのですか。

国が認めていない祝日は学校や仕事が休みになるのか。

作文例１１（間　千恵子）

「将来の予定」

この頃よく考えていることは将来のことです。「将来」といっても、二十年、三十年も先の事ではなく、二、三年後の予定です。二、三年後というと、私は中学から卒業し、高校へ行く事になります。さて、ここで問題が一つあります。高校はアメリカで卒業するか日本へ帰って日本の高校へ通うか、というとても大事な選択です。ここで悪い決心をしてしまうと、大学まで影きょうし、その後の生活も変わります。

アメリカの高校に残る事にすると、受験もなく、お金もかからず、ゆっくりと英語を学びながら卒業できます。アメリカで卒業すると、ある日本の大学は海外子女用のテストで、日本で高校を卒業して入るよりは、少し楽に入れるかもしれません。。けれど、日本の方が私は好きで、帰りたくても、学校が問題になります。

日本の高校に行くとすると、好きな国に住め、日本の学校に行け、他にもたくさんと色々いい事はありますがまた問題がでてきます。お金がかかり、大学に入る時も、他の日本人生徒達と同じレベルのテストを通らないといけません。

どっちの国の高校へいくかは両方とも、いい面と悪い面があります。どこでどこの高校へ行くか、とは将来を決めてしまう事もあるので、これから、家族とよく話し合い、いい決心をしたいと思います。

これから、よく考えて[illegible]
将来[illegible]、二十[illegible]、三十代[illegible]
でなく、二、三十才の予定です。
というと、私は中学から卒業し、高校へ[illegible]
来になりません。さて、ここで問題が一つあり
ます。高校はアメリカで卒業するか日本へ帰
って日本の高校へ通うか、ということです。
な選[illegible]
大学まで影響（えいきょう）し、その後の生活は変わります。
アメリカの高校に入るかによって[illegible]
なく、五年[illegible]、ゆっくりと英語を学
びりから卒業できます。アメリカで卒業した
と、ある日本の大学は海外で[illegible]の[illegible]上で
日本で高校を卒業して入るよりは、少し楽に
入れるかもしれません。けれど[illegible]
私は好きで、通りたい[illegible]、学校も自由に[illegible]
ります。

め、日本の学校に行けば、近[illegible]
らいい事は[illegible]向先ができます。
お金がかかり、大学に入る時も、他の日本
生徒達と同じレベルで[illegible]い
けません。
どっちの国の高校へ行くかは両方とも、い
い面と悪い面があります。どこでどこの高校
へ行くか、とは将来を決めてしまう事もある
ので、これから、家族とよく話し合い、いい
決心をしたいと思います。

帰国の時もあるのよ。

作文例１２（間　千恵子）

「---」

十一月二十五日はおなじみの感謝祭である。けれど「感謝祭」とはもともとどのようにしてできたか知っているだろうか。

「感謝祭」とは英語でサンクスギビングだ。もとはアメリカで始まった業事である。清教徒が収穫の　福を　って集まり、ごちそうを作った事から始まったのだ。けれど、このごろはこの説が変形し、今ではインディアンと清教徒が仲良くごちそうした事になっている。この頃、インディアンと清教徒は戦っていたので、一緒に仲良くごちそうを口にする事は不可能に思われる。

彼らがターキーを焼いたため、今でもアメリカではそのしきたりが続いている。よく考えてみるとなぜ日本ではターキーを焼かないのだろうか？

「感謝祭」とは一番初めにアメリカのニューイングランドで場所を撮ったため、いまではまだアメリカだけの習　だ。

作文例１３

「日本語の発見」

一つ日本語が英語とちがうなあと思った事は、動詞の使い方です。

英語ではあなた、彼女、彼、私彼達、私たちなどとゆう具合に動詞の終り方、たまには言葉自信がちがってしまいます。けれども日本語ではだれに対しても動詞の形はかわりません。

あと一つ気付いた事は、行くとゆう言葉の使い方です。日本語では「あなたの家へ行きます。」と言うのを英語で言えば「あなたの家へ来ます。」とゆう日本語の訳し方になってしまいます。この場合、家を訪ねられる人中心になっているような気もします。

日本語の発見

山村 [illegible]子

一つ日本語が英語とちがうなぁと思った事は、動詞の使いかたです。

英語ではあなた、彼女、彼、私、彼達、私達などとゆう具合に動詞の終わり方、たまには言葉自信がちがってしまいます。けれども日本語では誰に対しても動詞の形はかわりません。

あと一つ気付いた事は、行くとゆう言葉の使い方です。日本語では「あなたの家へ行きます。」と言うのを英語で言えば「あなたの家へ来ます。」とゆう日本語の訳し方になってします。この場合、家を訪ねられる人中心になっているような気もします。

とても いい所に気付きましたね。

言語によって どのように世界をみるのか 後者の例は 次の感想文につながるけど、いかに言葉が人の見方、誰中心の言葉なのか 比較できますね。

APPENDIX B
CONSENT FORMS
English
Consent Form

(Your Name)

I _______________ agree to participate in a qualitative research undertaken by Yoshiko Nagaoka who is a doctoral student in School of Education at the University of Massachusetts, Amherst.

You will be asked to participate in an open-ended interview which will be conducted in March. The purpose of the interviews is to explore "how you perceive your experience in learning Japanese writing in the situation where you attend American school and Japanese weekend school." In particular, the study focuses on the difficulties and obstacles you may confront in learning Japanese writing in Japanese weekend school in terms of your experience in receiving primary education in American school. The interviews will include the following three questions; 1) your historical/personal experiences in schools in Japan, 2) your present experiences in learning Japanese writing at Amherst Japanese supplementary school, and 3) your perceptions/thoughts of learning Japanese writing at the school.

Also, your writing samples will be examined by Japanese teachers. The examination will be based on how you write as a ninth grader from the teachers' perspectives. More specifically, the writing samples will be commented by the teachers, in terms of your experience in attending Japanese supplementary school, your time constraint in learning in two schools, your background experience in Japanese language, and writing practices in Japanese at home and the Japanese weekend school.

In order to collect data, I will use an audio tape recorder during the interview, and make written transcripts from the records. During and after the process, you can review the records on the audio tapes at any time. The data will be used in the presentation and the dissertation which are planned to be completed in 1996 at the University. Please note that your anonymity will be protected in these course assignments; if you so desire. Pseudonyms will be used when you request this protection. If you are not satisfied with the process, you may withdraw from the interview at any time without prejudice. Also, if you would like to change your decision for some reasons after you sign this consent form, please inform me of the change immediately (413-256-3026).

Thank you for your cooperation.

_____________________ __________
Signature (Participant)/(parent) Date

_____________________ __________
Signature (Researcher) Date

Japanese

同意書

私、＿＿＿＿＿＿＿　は、マサチューセッツ州立大学アマースト校の博士過程大学院生、長岡慶子のリサーチに協力することに　同意いたします。

この研究リサーチの為に、決められた形にはまらずに自分の経験を話していただく、インタビューを、時間制限なしにお願いすることになります。このインタビューの目的は、アメリカで、土曜日の日本語補習校で国語、特に作文を教えているという経験について、日本人教師としてどのように考えているかについてを調査することです。特に、現地校で主に教育を受けている生徒に国語の作文を教えるにあたり、どのような困難や障害があるかという点について、話していただきます．質問内容は、次の三つの内容を含みます；1）あなたの日本における国語の作文を教えた経過的、個人的経験、2）あなたのアマースト日本語補習校での国語の作文を教えている経験、3）あなたの日本人補習校で国語の作文を教えていることに対する考えやその意味

データ集めのためインタビューをテープに録音することになります。そのテープとテープの書き下ろしがこの研究のデータになります。このリサーチの最中又は後に、録音されたテープをお聞きになりたい場合、いつでもお申し出下さい。データは、1996年度、同大学院の博士過程取得のための博士論文の中に掲載されます。将来、その論文が英語又は日本語で出版される可能性があることもご了承下さい。個人のプライバシーを守る為、希望があれば、発表とレポートの中で、匿名、ペンネームを使いますので、前もってお知らせください。インタビュー最中、或いは、後に、私的理由以外でこの研究の協力に不満をお感じになった場合、いつインタビューを中断して下さっても構いません。又、万が一、この同意書に署名した後に、何らかの理由で同意したことを変更したい場合は、性急にお申し出ください。(413-256-3026)

ご協力ありがとうございます。

（参加者署名）／（参加者保護者署名）　　　　日付け

＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿

（質問者署名）　　　　　　　　　　　　　　日付け

＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿

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