Acculturation and Identity of Bilingual Heritage Students of Japanese

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This article examines how the additive acculturation model for immigrant minorities is reflected in the acculturation process and identity development of six Hawai'i-based bilingual heritage university students of Japanese. It also demonstrates how social interactions, language behavior, and identity contribute to the diversity and complexity of the individual acculturation experience. This article argues that through the process of integrating majority and minority languages and cultures these heritage language students were able to develop empowering identities that help them succeed in the mainstream educational system.

＜日本語を継承語とするバイリンガル大学生の文化変容とアイデンティティー＞

ハワイ大学マノア校　　近藤ブラウン・妃美

本稿の目的は、ハワイ在住の日本語を継承語とするバイリンガル大学生の文化変容過程とアイデンティティー形成を分析することである。日本語使用能力の異なる６人の研究対象大学生は、各自、肯定的な多言語／多文化のアイデンティティーを形成してきた。しかし彼等の多言語／多文化アイデンティティーのありかたは多様であり、日本語／日本文化と英語／アメリカ文化という二つの文化圏の枠内だけでは説明できない。つまり、ハワイ特有のローカル・イングリッシュの使用やローカル・アイデンティティーの存在が複雑に関わっているのである。本研究は、近年の言語少数派教育研究同様、伝統的同化政策に疑問を投げかけるものである。つまり、多くの移民子弟が主流学校で成功しているのは、彼等が完全同化したからではなく、むしろ確固とした独自の文化の基盤を培い、肯定的なアイデンティティーを形成してきたからだと主張する。

INTRODUCTION

With the number of Japanese going overseas for business and education steadily rising since the economic boom that began in the 1970s, increasing numbers of Japanese children are becoming Japanese-English (J-E) bilinguals as they accompany their parents on such sojourns and enroll in local schools in English-speaking countries or international schools in other areas of the world. Most of the recent research on such children living in the U.S. has focused on the academic achievement and adjustment strategies of *kaigai shijo* (overseas Japanese schoolchildren who plan to return to Japan) or *kikoku shijo* (Japanese returnee schoolchildren), with the primary concern being their academic and social/cultural readjustment after they return to Japanese society (e.g., Minoura, 1991; Okamura-Bichard, 1985; White, 1992).

Less attention has been devoted to the children of Japanese who have moved abroad permanently. While not under as much pressure to keep up with their peers in Japanese schools, these second-generation immigrants may also learn Japanese as their heritage language. Hawai'i, with its high concentration of Japanese-Americans and overseas Japanese, has a particularly large number of such J-E bilingual heritage learners of Japanese. At the University of Hawai'i at Manoa (UHM) alone, hundreds of these students take various levels of Japanese language courses for different academic and occupational purposes each year. While my own recent studies (Kondo 1997,

1998a, 1999) have investigated political, social, and pedagogical factors that affect American J-E bilingual heritage students' Japanese language acquisition and maintenance, the language behavior of these students has not yet been examined within an acculturation framework.

The purpose of the present paper is therefore to investigate the bilingual and bicultural experiences and identity development of Hawai'i-based bilingual heritage university students of Japanese. It examines how their varying language behaviors and divided identities interact with their diverse and complex acculturation experiences.

DEFINING BILINGUAL HERITAGE STUDENTS OF JAPANESE

Researchers disagree about how to define bilingualism (Baker, 1996; Grosjean, 1982; Hakuta, 1986; Romaine, 1995). Minimal definitions emphasize the beginning stages of contact between two languages, while more demanding definitions describe a speaker who has native-like command of two languages (Romaine, 1995). Most linguists working in the field, however, have proposed or adopted middle-range definitions of bilingualism, although some are broader than others (e.g., Fantini, 1985; Saunders, 1988; Valdés and Figueroa, 1994). The present paper also adopts a middle-range definition. The bilinguals in this study:

(1) are not "balanced bilinguals" (see Baker, 1996) who demonstrate equal fluency in both languages. All of my informants have lived in Hawai'i all or almost all of their lives and speak English as their dominant language. In other words, like many other second generation immigrants to the U.S., they have developed "a greater functional ease in English for dealing with most contexts and domains outside of the home and immediate community" (Valdés and Figueroa, 1994, p. 17); and

(2) have achieved various levels of Japanese language proficiency. For example, some may speak Japanese fluently and appropriately in various social situations and use the language regularly or even daily, while others' Japanese may be limited to short utterances or fragments, although typically, their understanding of Japanese is superior to their production skills. The degree of their Japanese literacy skills also varies considerably.

In this study, what I mean by "heritage students of Japanese" is second generation Japanese residents of Hawai'i who have chosen to study their parental/home language, Japanese, in a formal setting. Therefore, they are exposed to Japanese to a certain degree outside of the classroom -- mostly at home.

CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

Within the area of applied linguistics, acculturation may be broadly defined as "a process in which changes in the language, culture, and system of values of a group happen through interaction with another group with a different language, culture, and system of values" (Richards, Platt and Platt, 1992, p. 3). In traditional acculturation models such as Gordon's (1964) assimilation model, all minority groups are viewed as being subject to a linear, assimilative acculturation process in which

they gradually give up their native linguistic and cultural traits. However, more recent studies argue that minority groups' acculturation processes may also be "nonlinear" and "additive"; in such cases, they maintain their own culture and distinct ethnic identity while adapting well to the mainstream society (e.g., Berry, 1980; Gibson, 1988; Golden, 1990; Lebra, 1972; Oketani, 1997a, 1997b; Padilla, 1980). Furthermore, some of these and other recent minority education studies emphasize that additive acculturation processes facilitate pride in both of the language and cultural backgrounds, enhance self-esteem, and encourage members of minority groups to achieve success in mainstream schools (e.g., Delgado-Gaitan and Trueba, 1991; Dornbusch, Prescott and Ritter,1987; Gibson,1988; Golden, 1990; Krashen, 1998; Nieto, 1996; Portes and Rumbaut, 1990; Walko, 1989).

Two socio-historical models of minority achievement -- Ogbu's (1991, 1993) cultural model of minority achievement and Gibson's (1987, 1988, 1991) accommodation without assimilation theory -- provide a macro-structural framework for conceptualizing minority students' linguistic, cultural, and academic behavior in relation to their historical and social positions in society. They propose that additive acculturation is associated with positive academic accommodation and that it is the dominant acculturation pattern among immigrant minorities (Gibson, 1987, 1988, 1991; Ogbu, 1987, 1991, 1993). Ogbu (1991, 1993) explains that "voluntary" immigrant minorities (e.g., Asian Americans) have positive academic attitudes and adaptation strategies conducive to school success for the following reasons. First, immigrant minorities have a positive "dual frame of reference" with respect to status mobility, that is, they compare the opportunity structures of the host country and the country they and/or their parents left and perceive better opportunities in the host society. Second, because of this positive dual frame of reference, immigrant minorities develop a "folk theory of success," that is, a sense of trust in mainstream school and society. They believe that education offers the best chance for succeeding in the host society. Third, immigrant minorities develop a "nonoppositional cultural frame of reference" with respect to their acculturation process; they consider that mastery of the mainstream language and culture -- which is essential for their social adjustment and academic success -- augments but does not replace their home language, culture, and ethnic identity.

Within Ogbu's and Gibson's models, the distinction of minority status in terms of "voluntary (immigrant) minorities" and "involuntary minorities" is central in analyzing the adaptation patterns of minority groups (Gibson and Ogbu, 1991). In other words, their accommodation models are presumably reserved for voluntary immigrants. For instance, Gibson (1987) contrasts immigrants' additive mode of acculturation with involuntary minorities' tendency toward assimilation as follows:

> Immigrants appear to see the acquisition of academic learning and skills in the majority culture as an additive set of skills to be drawn upon as appropriate, while involuntary minorities more frequently see school learning as replacing their traditional culture. Put another way, some minority groups view school learning and acculturation in a linear fashion leading ultimately to assimilation. Others see school learning and acculturation in a multidimensional fashion whereby new skills and values are incorporated into the old culture, transforming but not replacing it. (pp. 273 - 274)

A common criticism of Ogbu's and Gibson's conceptualization of additive acculturation is the problems that arise in using rigid minority status topology to analyze the adaptation patterns and educational behaviors of minority groups, such as the inability to explain intragroup differences in educational behavior and adaptation strategy and the reinforcement of stereotypes (Davidson, 1996; Goto, 1997; Lee, 1994; Mehan, Hubbard and Villanueva, 1994; Matute-Bianchi, 1986; Pieke, 1991). These critics do not deny the importance of taking into consideration broader historical and socioeconomic contexts in understanding minority students' academic performance. Their main argument is that a socio-historical framework of minority achievement is too deterministic and static in that it ignores the diversity, dynamics, and complexity of individual minority students' social, cultural, and academic experiences that may occur within a given minority group.

Another problem with Ogbu's and Gibson's additive acculturation models -- although it has rarely been addressed in recent studies conducted on the mainland U.S. utilizing these models -- is that conceptualizing the acculturation process of immigrants and their children in America as the process of accommodation between their minority culture and mainstream middle-class American culture may overlook the complexity of the cultural and linguistic environment specific to the host communities. In the case of Hawai'i, for example, the prevalent use of Hawai'i Creole English (HCE) rather than standard American English and the emergence of a local identity clearly differentiated from that of mainland Americans may add to the variation and complexity of immigrant minorities' acculturation processes.

Some studies (e.g., Kawamoto, 1993; Sato, 1985) suggest that HCE is a salient marker of "local identity" and that some people who identity themselves as "locals" may resist the use of standard English because it is associated with the identity of mainland *Haole* (Caucasians). The "local" identity is both cultural and political: it is cultural in the sense that it shares language, lifestyle, values, and norms that are referred to as local culture; it is political because it symbolizes local people's attempt to maintain their control over Hawai'i's social, economic, and political future (Okamura, 1992). A recent study (Adachi, 1994) suggests that younger Japanese-Americans in Hawai'i establish their middle-class identity by speaking Standard English, while at the same time they retain their ability to speak HCE. Adachi (1994) also argues that male Japanese-Americans use HCE particularly often and thereby project a local-style macho image. According to Tamura (1994), the acculturation process of older nisei (second generation Japanese) was complex because HCE was their native dialect and therefore their attachment to HCE -- not to Japanese -- created their ambivalence toward learning standard English.

Drawing on Ogbu's and Gibson's work emphasizing socio-historical factors of acculturation strategies, this study investigates how Gibson's additive acculturation model is reflected in Hawai'i-based bilingual heritage students' acculturation processes. At the same time, this study argues that Gibson's socio-historical framework of acculturation for immigrant minorities is not sufficient to explain the considerable intragroup differences in language behavior and cultural identity that exist among

these students.

STUDY

Methodology

Data were gathered between the fall of 1995 and the summer of 1997 at the University of Hawai'i at Manoa (UHM) as part of a wider, interdisciplinary study of postwar second generation Japanese-American university students' Japanese language learning, academic achievement, and identity (Kondo 1998b). The method used in this study falls into a qualitative mode of inquiry which is supported by an interpretavist/naturalist paradigm: reality is seen as socially constructed, multiple, and complex (Glesne and Peshkin, 1992; Lincoln and Guba, 1985). In the initial stage of investigation, I conducted interviews with numerous bilingual heritage students on and off campus, all of whom were my students at the time. By adopting two approaches for starting interviews suggested by Agar (1980), I invited students to tell their life stories and/or talk about their daily lives. It was during this process that I made a decision to focus on a small number of students in my investigation into acculturation and identity. Since each student's life story was highly complex and dynamic, I judged that it would be best to examine a small number of students whose narratives best represented the participants of a survey (N =145) I conducted on bilingual heritage students' language use and attitudes (reported in Kondo-Brown, in press).

After having made this decision, I conducted semistructured interviews in Japanese or English with 20 bilingual heritage students of Japanese at UHM. All of these students have a Japanese mother but their father's ethnic background varies. Eventually, I selected six focal informants whose language behavior and ethnic identities represented the range of patterns seen among the 20 students I had interviewed. Except for Alan, these informants were born and raised entirely in Hawai'i; Alan was born in Okinawa and came to Hawai'i as a toddler.

In 1997, I conducted several structured, tape-recorded interviews in English with each focal informant for a total of approximately four to seven hours per student. I then compiled six biographic narrative texts composed entirely of each informant's own words. These transcripts and my notes taken from the previous unrecorded interviews with them became the main descriptive data for this study.

In order to assess the focal students' Japanese language proficiency, I had ACTFL (the American Council on the Teaching of Foreign Languages) testers evaluate their oral Japanese proficiency. I also had the focal students take two intermediate levels (*sankyu* or Level 3, and *nikyu* or Level 2) of the Japanese Language Proficiency Test (JLPT or *Nihongo noryoku shiken*; Association of International Education and The Japan Foundation, 1993, 1995).

Focal Students' Background Profiles and Recent Language Use Patterns

As mentioned above, the six focal students were selected to represent the range of language use and ethnic identities seen among the 20 students I had interviewed. Data on their background and Japanese language proficiency is summarized in Table 1.

TABLE 1: Profiles and Japanese Language Proficiency Test Results of Focal Informants

	Residential Area	Mother's Background	Father's Background	K-12 schools	OPI*	JLPT (%)	
						sankyu	*nikyu*
Craig	Honolulu, middle class, multiethnic	Japanese from Tokyo	American of mixed ethnicity from Honolulu	Local private schools and international school in Japan (2 yrs)	Advanced -- High	99	90
Lori	Honolulu, middle class, predominantly Japanese	Japanese from Tokyo	Japanese from Tokyo	Local private schools	Advanced -- High	93	81
Jon	Suburb of Honolulu, middle class, multiethnic	Japanese from Tokyo	Japanese from Kanagawa	Local private and public schools	Advanced	93	63
Amy	Honolulu, middle class, predominantly Japanese	Japanese from Tokyo	Japanese-American from U.S. mainland	Local public schools	Intermed-iate -- High	88	40
Alan	Honolulu, middle class, predominantly Japanese	Japanese from Okinawa	Japanese-American from Hawai'i	Local private schools	Intermed-iate -- Low	63	NA
Susan	Windward side of O'ahu, middle class, multiethnic	Japanese from Okinawa	Japanese from Okinawa	Local public schools	Intermed-iate -- Low	33	NA

* Oral Japanese proficiency as rated by ACTFL testers.

The recent Japanese language use patterns reported by the focal informants are presented in Table 2. The range of Japanese language proficiency and use seen in Tables 1 and 2 can be taken to represent different stages on a continuum of bilingual proficiency: while Craig and Lori are located at the higher end of bilinguality, Alan and Susan are located at the lower end, and Jon and Amy fall somewhere in between.

TABLE 2: Focal Students' Reported Recent Japanese Language Use

Contexts of Japanese Use	Craig	Lori	Jon	Amy	Alan	Susan
Speak Japanese with mother	4	1	2	1	4	3
Speak Japanese with father	4	1	4	4	NA	3
Speak Japanese with grandparent(s)	1	1	1	1	3	3
Speak Japanese with siblings	NA	1	4	NA	4	4
Speak Japanese at work	1	1	1	4	3	4
Speak Japanese with friends	1	1	4	4	4	4
Speak Japanese to the researcher	1	1	1	1	4	4

1 = always, 2 = half, 3 = only fragments, 4 = hardly ever or never, NA = non-applicable

ACCULTURATION AND IDENTITY OF FOCAL INFORMANTS

In analyzing the focal students' narratives, language proficiency and use, I found that their acculturation processes matched Gibson's (1987, 1988, 1991) accommodation without assimilation model. In other words, all six had acquired the linguistic skills and cultural knowledge necessary to meet the academic and social demands of mainstream schools, while maintaining various degrees of bilingualism/biculturalism and positive ethnic identities. At the same time, my analysis has revealed four distinct cultural/ethnic identities salient to the focal students: bilingual/bicultural Japanese-American, local Japanese, American of Japanese ancestry, and "local". These four identities, described below, suggest a considerable intragroup variation in the types of accommodation without assimilation strategies. I will demonstrate, however, that all four of these identity categories are empowering identities.

Bilingual and Bicultural Japanese-American

For students like Craig and Lori who have achieved high levels of Japanese proficiency, identities focused on bilingualism and biculturalism are important. Both of these informants have parents who not only place importance on education in mainstream American school as a key to their children's success in mainstream America, but who also make active efforts to encourage their children to maintain Japanese language and culture.

Craig and Lori socialize most closely with Japanese-speaking peers -- usually either bilingual peers from Hawai'i or Japanese peers from Japan -- and maintain strong social ties with Japan. They identify themselves both as Japanese and American; they do not think they belong to just one

nationality or one culture, and therefore, they are unwilling to give up their dual citizenship. For instance, Lori stressed how much she enjoys her bilingual and bicultural life and expressed her desire to maintain her dual identity:

> I still have dual citizenship. It would be really hard for me to choose just one nationality or identity. I don't want to choose just to be American or to be Japanese. Although I was born and raised in Hawai'i and taught in English at school, I have been immersed in Japanese at home all my life . . . . I really enjoy right now going back and forth between Japanese and English or between two different cultures. I want to maintain my dual identity and make the most of both countries and cultures.

Craig and Lori recognize few national boundaries to their future career search, and they desire to make the most of their bilingual and bicultural backgrounds to move up in society. Because of this strong sense of dual affiliation, Craig criticizes the Japanese tendency not to regard him as Japanese due to his bilingual upbringing and multicultural background, which differentiates him from mainstream Japanese:

> Unfortunately, the Japanese in Japan do not seem to consider me as a Japanese because I grew up in Hawai'i speaking English . . . . In Japan, even if you're Japanese with Japanese citizenship and speak Japanese, if you lived someplace else and go back to Japan, or if you're not ethnically pure Japanese, Japanese people do not think of you as Japanese. I don't think it's good.

Both Craig and Lori have an extremely positive attitude toward bilingualism and biculturalism and consider their linguistic/cultural repertoire as their "cultural and linguistic capital" (Bourdieu, 1966, cited in Corson 1993, p. 10). They express a strong desire to transmit their bilingualism and biculturalism to the next generation because it would not only place their future children in an economically advantageous position but also enrich their cultural experience.

Local Japanese

Bilingual heritage students like Jon identify themselves most strongly as "locals" in Hawai'i, but at the same time, being Japanese is also an important part of their identity. Jon socializes mostly with his English-monolingual Asian-American friends from Hawai'i -- including other Japanese-Americans -- and sees few cultural boundaries between himself and these local Asian-American peers. At the same time, he maintains relatively high fluency in Japanese and has a strong sense of pride in being Japanese. He also remains relatively close to his grandparents and other relatives in Japan and sees them often. Like Craig's and Lori's parents, Jon's parents not only encourage him to achieve in mainstream school but also encourage him to speak Japanese at home and appreciate Japanese culture. In the following interview quote, Jon expresses his sense of being a "local" as well as his pride in being Japanese and speaking the language:

> Being local is living in Hawai'i long enough so you know everything about it. I'm pretty much adjusted to Hawai'i culture 'cause a lot of local people can't even tell that I can speak Japanese. I like Hawai'i's culture because it's a mix of everything, you know. If I could, I would stay in Hawai'i because I've lived here my whole life and just have the sense of being home . . . . Although I definitely consider myself a local, I'm very Japanese as well. I think I stick to a traditional Japanese hard work ethic. I'm proud that my parents are Japanese, and I have 100% pure Japanese blood, even if I'm local. I'm proud of being able to speak Japanese because it's my heritage language and it is the only language I use with my grandparents and relatives in Japan.

Thus, Jon's local identity gives him a strong sense of belonging to and appreciation for multicultural Hawai'i, where cultural/ethnic diversity is accepted, while his Japanese identity encourages him to maintain a traditional Japanese hard work ethic and to move up in society. Since Jon's Japanese identity is so strongly associated with the traditional Japanese hard work ethic, on campus he flatly denies identification with the younger-generation Japanese from Japan who do not seem to live up to such cultural standards. Jon said that many Japanese students from Japan who come to Hawai'i to study English as a second language are very visible due to their tendency to act in a group, as well as their non-traditional hairstyles and possession of brand products. Jon said he does not talk to any of these students because they do not seem to be serious about their studies:

> Students from Japan who come here to study English don't study so much, yeah. .... When I play basketball at UH(M) with my friends, there is usually one group of Japanese basketball players. They bleach their hair and have Nike clothes on. ... they're different, yeah. I don't talk to them.

Just like Craig and Lori, Jon stressed the economic and cultural advantages of bilingualism. He desires to have a career in which he can make the most of his bilingual background locally. He said that the world is evolving toward a global society in which multilingual and multicultural knowledge is highly valued, and he hopes to "get rich off of that."

American of Japanese Ancestry

Students like Amy who claim to be "Americans of Japanese ancestry" identify themselves most strongly as American, but at the same time they maintain their identity as Japanese. Like the parents of students in the previous groups, Amy's parents not only expect her to achieve success in mainstream American society but also to maintain Japanese language and culture. Amy considers her middle-class American identity and Japanese background to be nonoppositional: the traditional Japanese cultural values such as hard work and self-discipline are compatible with middle-class Americans' cultural values and encourage Japanese-Americans to achieve in mainstream American society. Amy also claimed that being Japanese is part of her American identity, since Americans assert individual differences. In her view, speaking Japanese, which is central to her identity, does not disqualify her from being American because her American identity allows for individual differences:

> Speaking Japanese is . . . an important part of my identity. It is just a part of my whole life. I just take it for granted that I speak Japanese. . . . In America, there is no one culture. I mean American culture is ethnically and regionally so diverse that there are less rules for being American. . . . If you're American, you're allowed to be different. . . . I speak Japanese to my mother but nobody says, "Oh, she's from Japan" or "She's a foreigner." Just because I speak Japanese, people don't perceive me any differently. They just think, "Oh, that's really cool." That's about it. I can be just another American.

Amy mentioned, however, that she often experiences cultural distance or alienation from local people in Hawai'i because she does not normally speak HCE. She explained that her father -- who was raised on the mainland and talks differently from local Japanese -- has always been strict about her speaking standard English; therefore, she never picked up HCE, even though she has been surrounded by HCE speakers in school all her life. She seems to accommodate little to local cultural and linguistic norms. Amy said she prefers "mainland culture" to "local culture," which is embedded in language use:

> Mainland culture is the culture I'd rather be in than local culture. For example, I'm comfortable with people who can speak their opinions or like certain things . . . . if you ask a local Japanese girl about something, she would be, like, "Oh, I don't know." You know, it's so typically local Japanese.

Amy recalled that most students at the public schools she attended were local Japanese-Americans and that she always felt excluded from the group. She explained that this was not because she spoke Japanese, but because she spoke standard English, which is also central to her identity. Amy complained that they did not accept her as Japanese -- even though she speaks Japanese -- but instead labeled her *Haole* (Caucasian) because she speaks standard English and does not dress in local style.

> When I was growing up, local Japanese-American students always said I'm *Haole* because I sound and act *Haole*. I don't speak pidgin English or I don't wear a T-shirt, shorts, and slippers [=sandals] to school every day and so somehow I'm not Japanese. Even if I can speak Japanese and use the language in my everyday life, they didn't somehow see me as Japanese. It was very frustrating.

Amy added that, unlike her high school classmates who were mostly "local Japanese," many of her college classmates have multicultural/multinational identities similar to hers and offer her a supportive environment. She stressed that her college peers -- mostly students who are majoring in engineering like she is and who come from a variety of immigrant backgrounds -- want to achieve in mainstream school and society; at the same time, they maintain their home language and culture like she does:

> About 70% of my peers . . . have at least one parent who came from a foreign country, so ethnically I have a wide variety of friends, who are Filipino, Chinese, Japanese, and mixed . . . like my friend Ann -- she is originally from the Philippines. My friend Ed, he came from China. My friend Kali, her parents are from Japan. My friend Chris, she is Filipino, but she was raised in Germany. We all attended local public schools, and we are just like any other American students who want to achieve well in school and get ahead in society. At the same time, at home, we talk to our parents in a language other than English and it doesn't bother anybody because we all do.

"Local"

Receptive bilingual heritage students like Alan and Susan identify themselves as "locals" and have an extremely positive attitude toward Hawai'i's harmonious and friendly multiethnic culture. Their attitudes towards the use of HCE, or "local English", may vary, however, as illustrated by the difference in Alan's and Susan's opinions.

Alan, like many other fourth and fifth generation Japanese-American males (see Adachi, 1994), considers HCE an important component of local identity.

> Local English is what I've been speaking my whole life, so it's important to me. It is the language I use with my friends and family members . . . . It's just part of my whole life.

Although he sees speaking HCE as an important part of being a "local," Alan stressed that he does not reject speaking standard English because he believes it could help him get a better job.

> Standard English is also important to me to communicate well at work. Right now I'm worried about getting a better job, and I think I should speak well, yeah.

Susan, on the other hand, claims to speak only standard English. She explained, "I understand when local people speak pidgin English, but I don't feel so comfortable with speaking it myself." She agreed that speaking HCE is a linguistic marker among local people, especially local males of various ethnic backgrounds. However, she asserts that even if she does not speak it, she has never experienced cultural alienation from her local peers. She even noted that her Caucasian boyfriend, who was not born in Hawai'i, is considered a local because he is a long-time resident of Hawai'i and his language behavior and lifestyle have become "local":

> He came here when he was ten, and so he's pretty much used to local ways. He's pretty laid back and can interact with local people in pidgin English. . . . . He likes to work and have fun. He doesn't seem to be like someone from the mainland because he's so Hawaiianized.

These assertions by Susan may seem to contradict Amy's story, in that both young women claim to speak only standard English, yet their attitudes toward and experiences with local people are completely different. One reason may be that while neither Susan nor Amy speaks HCE, Susan

uses certain intonation patterns and linguistic structures specific to the Hawaiian dialect of standard American English, but Amy does not. For example, Susan employs a downward intonation for some types of question formation -- a common pattern in the Hawai'ian dialect. Another element of the Hawaiian dialect seen in Susan's English is the frequent use of the *yeah* tag in casual conversation. These speech habits give a Hawaiian touch to Susan's "standard English" and may serve as the key to her acceptance in the local community. It would seem, then, that if one does not use HCE in Hawai'i, a critical factor in determining acceptance in or rejection by the local community may be whether or not one speaks the Hawaiian dialect of standard American English.

Despite their differences in the use of HCE, both Alan and Susan have a strong sense of belonging to Hawai'i. Both socialize with local peers from various ethnic backgrounds and identify less as Japanese. For example, Alan commented:

> Being local is just growing up in Hawai'i, you know, picking up other different cultures and understanding all different kinds of ethnicity. Just let people do what they want. Being local also means to be friendly . . . . I don't identify myself as a Japanese much, because Japanese people seem to be always pushing around and, to them, everything should be perfect, yeah. Work, work, work. Too much stress. In Hawai'i, things are slower, and local people are more relaxed . . . . My friends are all local guys. They are ethnically very mixed, but all speak like me, local English.

Compared to the members of the other identity groups, Alan and Susan have the fewest social ties with Japan. Neither has been particularly encouraged to speak Japanese at home, although they have maintained more or less daily exposure to the Japanese language and culture. Nonetheless, although they may not use Japanese as a main tool of communication in their families, given a chance, they desire to improve their Japanese language skills. For instance, Alan said:

> Japanese is my heritage language so I wanna learn the language, you know. I have a Japanese friend who was raised here but speaks fluent Japanese. I think it's good, and I wish I could do that.

Similarly, Susan stressed the importance of her heritage languages:

> Japanese, Okinawan, standard English -- all these languages are important to me. Japanese and Okinawan are important because they are important to my parents and they are part of my Japanese or Okinawan heritage. I want these languages to be important to my kids, too.

Susan noted that she often has to deal with the gap between her younger-generation local identity that stresses a laid-back, friendly, and stress-free lifestyle and her parents' Japanese/Okinawan culture, which emphasizes a traditional hard work ethic. In order to bridge the gap between these two cultures, she has developed a "border/boundary-crossing strategy" (see Mehan, *et al.*, 1994; Phelan, Davidson, and Cao, 1991):

> I consider myself local; that's how I see myself. Being local means just growing up in Hawai'i, understanding different cultures that are in Hawai'i, and accepting my parents' Japanese or Okinawan culture as well as my own local culture. In a way, I'm half and half. Because half of me is with my parents and their culture and how I grew up. But half of me is how the new generation is -- you know, how it is outside my family culture. My Okinawan culture is completely different from my local culture. For example, Japanese people just work hard and don't play -- that's how parents are. They are always talking about working hard, and not doing anything but work. Local people are more relaxed and like to have fun, you know -- not just work hard all the time. I can't act the same way with my boyfriend as with my parents because it's two different worlds. So I'm like two people. It's not that I like it or don't like it: it's just how it is. I accept it.

Like the bilingual heritage students in other groups, Alan and Susan grew up with an understanding that their parents place importance on their education and have been reasonably strict about their academic achievement. They both strongly desire to remain in Hawai'i and make a career on the islands because of their strong appreciation for Hawai'i's ethnic harmony and the prevailing practice of equal opportunity. They both repeated that they want to have a simple, relaxed, and comfortable life closely tied into the local community and its culture.

Changes in Acculturation and Identity

At this point, it must be noted that all focal informants said that although they are willing to accommodate dominant and home languages and cultures now, when they were growing up, they felt resistance or indifference to maintaining their home language and culture (Kondo, 1997). As shown in Table 3, the majority of the participants in my language use and attitude survey (fully reported in Kondo-Brown, in press) indicated that their interest in the Japanese language and their cultural roots increased after they became college students. In other words, these students' acculturation strategies were not static; they seem to have changed from assimilative to additive modes over the years.

Table 3: Survey Respondents' Interest in Heritage Language and Culture

Bilingual heritage language students' responses to the question: "After you became a college student, do you think that you became more interested in Japanese language and your cultural roots?" (*N* = 145)		
Responses	***n***	**%**
Strongly agree/ agree	86	59.3%
Maybe	41	28.3%
Disagree/strongly disagree	18	12.4%

Discussion of this change is beyond the scope of this study, but the understanding of such change is important and necessary. I recommend that in the future researchers investigate more closely the dynamic aspects of acculturation strategies and identity formation among language minority groups by analyzing the following two factors: changes in institutional support (see Baker, 1996; Davis, 1999; Kondo, 1997) and the developmental nature of ethnic identity (Cross, 1991; Phinney, 1989; Tse, 1998a, 1999).

When students talk about changes in attitudes toward their immigration background, some emphasize how college education helps them. For example, in a study I published earlier (Kondo, 1997), Lori's life story suggests that before she entered college, she did not appreciate her Japanese language background as much as she does now. She explained that this was probably because her elementary and secondary schools were very different from the university in terms of dealing with multilingualism and multiculturalism. Before she entered college, she felt a constant pressure from her teachers to learn English only, whereas her college teachers talked about promoting linguistic and cultural diversity. Alan also stressed how college education helped improve his appreciation of his cultural roots:

> The instructor talked about early Japanese immigrants who came here and how they succeeded. I was very impressed by all the stories that he told us . . . . He asked us to trace our roots. It was so interesting and I was really into that class. After I took that class, I became more interested in my Japanese roots. I've never had such a class. I'm really glad I took that class.

In some cases, positive changes in attitude may be the result of educational interventions at the college level -- ones that simultaneously help immigrant minority students redefine their identity and promote positive attitudes toward their heritage. For example, the Foreign Language Partnership Project conducted at UHM reported that the program helped its participants -- Filipino Americans -- develop a positive image of their heritage. For many of the participants, "this is the first time they have seriously considered identity issues and taken steps to make some changes that reflect their heritage" (Burnett and Syed, 1999, p. 114).

On the other hand, one of my focal informants reported attitude and identity changes that occurred before he entered college. Craig's life story (reported in Kondo, 1997) is a compelling case of how a change in school and peers dramatically transformed a minority child's attitudes toward Japanese language maintenance, bilingualism and personal identity. When he was in high school, Craig spent two years at an international school in Yokohama. Although he had resisted speaking or learning Japanese before he left Hawai'i, after he spent time in Japan Craig developed an extremely positive attitude toward bilingualism and a new identity as a bilingual and bicultural person.

Craig's story is a case of successful intervention away from the host country. Research suggests that an institutional intervention for K-12 heritage students in the host country can also be successful if such intervention is offered as part of the mainstream school curriculum (see, for

example, Tse [1998b] for a review of some of these programs). After reviewing a number of heritage language programs in the U.S. and Canada, Tse (1998b) concludes that:

> The most positive attitudes seem to be in those students who are in programs [that are] sanctioned by their day school and are integrated into the regular school curriculum. It is likely that students who perceive their school as recognizing the importance and value of having first language ability also develop such opinions. For this reason, community HL (heritage language) programs may not be able to promote the same high levels of interest and positive attitudes that day school programs would, although more investigation is needed. (p. 68)

Thus, we see that institutional support is a factor that influences acculturation processes and identity formation.

Another factor that should be considered is the developmental aspects of ethnic identity. Tse's ethnic identity model (1998a, 1999) suggests that there are four major stages of identity formation among ethnic minorities: unawareness, ethnic ambivalence/evasion, ethnic emergence, and ethnic identity incorporation. Consideration of developmental changes of ethnic identity helps in understanding the life stories told by some of the heritage students of Japanese who were not the focal informants of this study. For example, a student who now uses both Japanese and English with her parents told me that she spoke only English during her "rebellious" teenage period, although she knew her parents did not understand English very well. She explained that her parents wanted her to "behave" and become "like a Japanese girl", not "an American girl"; however she wanted to insist on her American identity then. She said her mother was always very strict about behaving "Japanese". She "obeyed" when she was a child, but during her teenage years, she strongly rejected the "ethnocentric attitudes" of her Japanese parents, who looked down on Americans' verbal and cultural behavior. This young woman's changing attitudes towards her languages can be more readily understood if they are viewed as reflecting the stages of Tse's ethnic minority identity formation model.

CONCLUSION

The present study suggests that Gibson's (1987, 1988, 1991) accommodation without assimilation model matches the acculturation process of the focal bilingual heritage students. While acquiring the linguistic skills and cultural knowledge necessary to meet the academic and social demands of mainstream schools, these students have at the same time maintained various degrees of Japanese language skills, a strong sense of cultural background, and a positive ethnic identity. Even those students who have little fluency in Japanese still value and respect their cultural heritage; given a chance, they, too, desire to improve their Japanese proficiency. The present study also suggests that varying degrees of J-E bilingualism and the prevalent use of local English (HCE) and local identity in Hawai'i add to the variation and complexity of Hawai'i-based J-E bilingual heritage students' additive acculturation experiences and identity development.

I have identified four cultural/ethnic identities among the focal informants: bilingual/bicultural

Japanese-American, local Japanese, American of Japanese ancestry, and "local". These identities are closely associated with the informants' language use or choice (see also Kanno, 2000; Nishimura, 1992; Peirce, 1995; McKay and Wong, 1996; Siegal, 1996; Tai, 1996) and their levels of Japanese language proficiency (see also Ochs, 1993; Oketani, 1997b). I have shown that all four are empowering identities that allow minority students to assert pride in their language and cultural backgrounds. This suggests that multilingualism and multiculturalism have positive effects on individual heritage language students, and that therefore, mainstream educational institutions should create ways to help such students achieve successful participation in both mainstream and minority worlds.

Nieto (1996) is probably right in asserting that "culture and language help to define the very soul of a people, and to insist on wiping them out is both an unusually cruel strategy and, in the end, a counterproductive one" (p. 4). An educational policy of assimilation which assumes that minority students need to give up their heritage in order to succeed is doomed to undermine the very qualities that enable many minority children to excel in school in spite of the odds (Gibson, 1991; Nieto, 1996).

At present, there seems to be little educational research that closely investigates the effects of such policies on heritage language students in Japan, where, Craig observes, "even if you're Japanese with Japanese citizenship and speak Japanese, . . . if you're not ethnically pure Japanese, Japanese people do not think of you as Japanese." The difficulty of having positive multilingual and multicultural experiences in Japan even among *kikoku shijo*, who constitute a relatively privileged group in the country (Goodman, 1990), has been reported in very recent research (e.g., Kanno, 2000; Yoshida, 1999). It is imperative to investigate the acculturation processes and identity development among less privileged language minority individuals in Japan and advocate a policy to assist them in achieving their full potential.

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