Bilingual Strategies and Activities Adopted by Non-Japanese Working Mothers in Japan

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Many foreign parents living in Japan attempt to raise their children as bilingual and bicultural, and those who choose to do so recognize that it is imperative to have well thought-out language strategies to foster their children's linguistic competence, and to be intentional with activities that will further their children's exposure to their dual heritage and cultures. Quantitative and qualitative data was obtained via an online questionnaire from 145 foreign mothers attempting bilingual and bicultural child-rearing. This questionnaire also investigated the challenges and difficulties, and the support the mothers received, with this paper focusing on three of the specific areas of bilingualism and biculturalism covered in the questionnaire: communication strategies, cultural transmission, and identity. Results highlight the strategies of communication used by the parents to develop their children's languages, and are analysed to identify the cultural activities to which their children are exposed. The paper will also examine the cultural identity that the parents in the study prefer for their children.

多くの在日外国人の親は子供をバイリンガルかつバイカルチャラルに育てようと試みており、子供の言語能力を育成するには熟慮された言語戦略を持ち、2つの伝統文化体験を促す活動に計画的に取り組むことが必須であると考える。本研究では、日本において子供をバイリンガルに育てている外国人の親が実践している言語学習ストラテジーや慣習について調査した。オンラインのアンケートを実施し、145名の外国人の母親から量的質的データを得た。その結果、子供の言語能力を高めるために親が使用したコミュニケーション戦略が顕著に表れていることがわかった。この結果をもとに子供が経験した文化活動についても議論していきたいと考えている。また、本研究に参加している親が子供に望む文化的アイデンティティについても調査していく。

Japan has experienced a significant increase in the number of foreign residents over the past few years (Jiji Press, 2018), and between 1992 and 2013 international marriages made up 4.3% of the total marriages in Japan (Ministry of Health, Labor, and Welfare, 2015). With this increase comes a rise in the number of children born into families of mixed cultures, where one or both parents do not speak Japanese. In many of these families, bilingual child-rearing becomes a priority because language transmission in immigrant or intermarried families serves both a pivotal role in exposing children to their dual heritage, and as a cultivator of identity (Jackson, 2006).

For many intermarried or immigrant parents, socializing children into their culture through the use of their native language is seen as a positive symbol of cultural pride and a tool that strengthens family cohesion (Schwartz, 2010). As an example, we see the native English-speaking mothers living in Japan in Kane's (2013) study who cited a sense of pride in their identity as English speakers as a reason to raise their children as bilinguals. Even though many intermarried or immigrant parents may wish to raise their children as bilingual and bicultural, this is challenging in a society, such as Japan, where there are few resources to cater for multicultural and multilingual child-rearing in many parts of the country (Gaynor, 2018). For many families not living in major cities such as Tokyo or Osaka, "the default option is assimilation and such families are left to fend for themselves" (Gaynor, 2018, p.5).

Therefore, parents attempting to be linguistic and cultural transmitters within their families in a society such as Japan must have well thought-out language strategies (Paradowski & Michałowska, 2016) to foster bilingual competence and carry out cultural activities so that their children are exposed to their dual heritage. In the present study, the researchers investigated the strategies and practices adopted by foreign working mothers in Japan to foster bilingual competence in their children, and the types of cultural activities to which parents exposed their children. Data comes from an online survey administered to 145 foreign mothers in Japan participating in bilingual and bicultural child-rearing. The authors aimed to document the respondents' experiences and contribute to the literature focusing on the Japanese experience.

Bilingual Communication Strategies

One of the crucial factors determining the languages a child will speak is the parental language input patterns (De Houwer, 2007). Depending on the familial situation, there are several language strategies that can be chosen, and a number of scholars (see De Houwer, 2007; Grosjean, 2009; Yamamoto, 2001) have shown the advantages and effectiveness of these language strategies. The four most prominent of these are:

- the One-Parent-One-Language (OPOL) strategy, where each parent speaks their own language;
- the Minority Language at Home (ML@H) strategy, where the language spoken at home differs from the community language;
- the Time and Place (T&P) strategy, where different activities are utilised to promote language development, and
- the Mixed Strategy (MS), where everyone mixes their languages as they are bilingual or multilingual.

Yamamoto (2001) investigated 111 families attempting Japanese-English bilingual child-rearing in Japan. She found that, in families where at least one parent spoke the minority language at home, all the children spoke the majority language (Japanese), but not all spoke English. Her data showed more children spoke English if both parents spoke it at home, or if both parents spoke English and just one parent spoke Japanese as well. She proposed the, "principle of maximal engagement with the minority language," providing rich input in the minority language and finding ways to interact with the language optimally: "the more engagement the child has with the minority language, the greater her or his likelihood of using it" (p. 128). Grosjean (2009) recommends that parents who wish to raise their children bilingually use one language in the home, meaning that one parent may have to speak their second (or third) language to the child so that everyone is using just one language at home.

Grosjean (2009) further explained:

> This strategy has a clear advantage in that the weaker language will receive much more input than if only one parent uses it as in the one parent—one language strategy. In addition, things will be clear in the child's mind: at home, language X is spoken, and outside the home, it is language Y. (p. 2)

Families have also seen success with other communication strategies. Döpke's (1992) study investigated six small children in families following the OPOL strategy in German-English bilingual households. Döpke found that those children whose parents were most consistent in applying their OPOL approach achieved the highest level of competency in both languages. This was further supported by Takeuchi's (2006) study of 43 children in Australia, whose Japanese mothers implemented the OPOL strategy. She concluded that a mother's consistent use of Japanese, coupled with an insistence that the child use the language in return, directly correlated with the child's level of active use of Japanese. Although there are additional factors that contribute to the success of bilingual child-rearing, such as the age of the children and the level of societal and educational support (Döpke, 1988; Lanza, 1997), the literature (De Houwer, 2007; Takeuchi, 2006;

Yamamoto, 2001) shows that parental input patterns play the major role in intergenerational language transmission.

Cultural Transmission

Berry's (2005) model of acculturation strategies points out a number of cultural and psychological changes a person goes through in an intercultural context. The four categories are assimilation (when individuals acquire the host culture and disregard the heritage culture), separation (when individuals keep their original cultural identity), integration (when individuals maintain their original cultural identity while interacting with the other culture), and marginalization (when individuals have little interest in either keeping their culture of origin or adopting the other culture). When children come into a family living in an intercultural context, new feelings may arise, and some parents may want to pursue child-rearing practices they are familiar with. This may include language, attitudes, or behaviour that may define them culturally (Crippen & Brew, 2013). Kuramoto et al.'s (2017) research into multicultural child-rearing in Japan reveals parents from English-speaking countries tended to engage in activities which would expose their children to their heritage. The parents in Kuramoto et al.'s (2017) study believed that this might have been due to a combination of factors such as the social desirability of their native language, as well as the availability of teaching materials and resources.

Identity

Language symbolizes identity for many individuals from intercultural or immigrant families (Chisolm, 1994). It is believed that denying access to, or not acknowledging the need to learn, the family language amounts to denying children their cultural heritage, and that this can have negative consequences (Yoshida & Oikawa, 2012). The children in Oikawa and Yoshida's (2007) study described their mothers exposing them to their native language and giving them cultural knowledge to help them develop their identity. In Kuramoto et al.'s (2017) study on multicultural child-rearing in Japan, some mothers wanted their children to identify with both cultures or with the mother's home culture. In the study, one American mother wrote: "I want my child to feel that both of her countries are equally important but I suppose deep down I hope she identifies more as an American" (p. 13). There are other mothers who wanted their children to identify with the local culture. Although Japan has seen an increase in foreign nationals and their children, there is still great emphasis placed on "being Japanese" and pressure to conform to uniform standards (Kuramoto et al., 2017; Oikawa & Yoshida, 2007). Ito (2006) described foreign women from Asian countries being pressured to assimilate into Japanese culture and to bury their cultural beliefs and identity. This may push some

mothers towards encouraging their children to identify with the local culture. This was the case for a Filipina in Kuramoto et al.'s work who revealed that: "In Japan, Filipinos are looked down upon [and] for this reason it is better for my daughter to feel Japanese but it is sad for me" (p. 13). Parents play a major role in shaping a child's self-perception and identity. Usually mothers are even more important than other relationships in cultural formation and identity, given the availability of interaction with the child (Almonte-Acosta, 2008).

The Study

The aim of the study was to describe the language strategies and practices adopted by foreign parents raising bilingual and bicultural children in Japan. The research focused on the communication strategies adopted by non-Japanese parents (reported by the foreign working mothers who responded to the questionnaire) attempting bilingual child-rearing, the cultural activity exposure for their children, and the identity they wished for their children. These were chosen as the focus for this paper as data collected in our questionnaire remained unanalysed and the authors felt it was worthy of examination.

Methods

Data Collection and Analysis

From June to October 2018 a questionnaire was shared with potential respondents through various SNS women's groups, along with Special Interest groups (SIGs) and Chapters of the Japan Association for Language Teaching (JALT). The questionnaire was voluntary and anonymous, with participants understanding that the data collected would be used for research purposes. Gift certificates (¥5,000, ¥3,000, and ¥2,000) that were drawn by lottery, were offered to the respondents, to show the researchers' appreciation. The questionnaire was designed by the authors, employing both open-ended and closed questions, and was titled "Foreign Working Mothers and Child-Rearing" (see Appendix for the parts of the questionnaire on which this paper is based). This is the second paper examining and analysing the data collected. A previous paper entitled "Foreign Working Women and Child-Rearing" was published in the JALT post-conference publication in 2018 (Landsberry & Kanai, 2018). Findings from the questionnaire published in the earlier paper, indicated that many working foreign mothers experienced a number of challenges. These challenges included lack of personal time, stress, language issues, and issues related to their children's schooling, including the cancellation of classes due to contagious illness (Landsberry & Kanai, 2018).

As the questionnaire was administered using Google Forms, the data was automatically collated on a spreadsheet. Concept coding as defined by Saldaña (2016, p. 119) was used to

identify salient themes in the data submitted for the open-ended items. Responses within each theme were then tallied and converted into percentages for reporting purposes. It should be noted here that the coding process was carried out by one researcher. Had the second researcher also contributed to the coding procedure, interrater reliability could have been calculated thereby improving the validity and reliability of the results.

The Questionnaire

The questionnaire consisted of six different sections:

- Section 1 - collected the respondents' demographic data.
- Section 2 – collected data regarding the respondents' work life.
- Section 3 – covered their family's structure and bilingualism.
- Section 4 – investigated their hopes for their children's identity, and the different activities they exposed their children to for their bicultural and bilingual development.
- Section 5 – examined the familial and social factors that affected their lives.
- Section 6 – covered the challenges and difficulties that they faced.

The questionnaire also investigated how the respondents dealt with these challenges and difficulties mentioned in Section 6 in their everyday lives, along with the hopes they held for Japan becoming a more accepting place for foreign women to live, work, and raise their children. Although the questionnaire investigated all of the above, this paper focuses on the results from sections three and four only.

Several questions used Likert-type scales. In order to collect more precise data, the neutral option in the middle of the scale was omitted and, rather than a scale of five, a scale of one to four was adopted (Edwards & Smith, 2014). All questions which were open-ended, requiring longer answers, were optional.

The Pilot Study

A pilot study was carried out with peers and colleagues before the official questionnaire was released, in order to confirm its comprehensibility and effectiveness. Using the results and feedback from this pilot study, some changes and additions were made to the questionnaire to improve understandability and collect richer data.

Findings and Discussion

The Participants

One hundred and forty-five responses were collected from mothers from different regions across Japan. They identified themselves as 44.1% North American, 19.3% Oceanian, 7.6% British, 5.5% European, 4.1% citizens of the European Union, and

13.8% from other regions such as Eastern Europe, Central Asia, Africa, South-East Asia, the Caribbean, and South America. Due to the Brexit negotiations happening at the time of data collection, British citizens were grouped separately from the European Union.

While some of the respondents had been in Japan for more than 40 years, the average length of residence in Japan was in the 16-20 year band. Respondents had an average of 1.72 children, which is above the national birth rate of 1.43 (McCurry, 2018), and the majority (at 75.2%) had a Japanese partner. Their average age was 41.4 years old.

Although the questionnaire was targeted at foreign working women, 5.5% of the respondents said they were from Japan. However, their responses indicated that they were non-Japanese, and as the questionnaire was anonymous, it was impossible to question them regarding their answer or circumstances. It is possible that they had attained Japanese citizenship, or that they were born in Japan to bicultural families. Because of these possibilities, and because their answers indicated that they were non-Japanese, they were included in the analysis.

Study Limitations

Perhaps the greatest limitation was that the responses were all obtained through a questionnaire and were therefore self-reported. It was also limited to working mother respondents and therefore contained no male voices, or those of mothers who were full-time carers. The fact that the questionnaire investigated other matters, not related to the focus of this paper, may have affected the way the mothers responded, and therefore may have had an impact on the reported bicultural outcomes. The questionnaire was also administered in English, so the responses were limited to those able to understand and respond in English. It would be ideal to conduct the project again, perhaps interviewing some of the respondents and triangulating the data for it to be more robust. Questionnaires could also be provided in other languages to both males and females, resulting in a more inclusive and diverse data set. Furthermore, data analysis was conducted by one researcher only and the findings were not confirmed by any other researchers. Interrater reliability was not calculated and this is something that should ideally be addressed when conducting a similar study in the future.

The Language Strategies Adopted by Foreign Families

The languages the respondents used at home consisted of English 91.7%, Japanese 69%, Spanish 6.9%, Chinese 2.1%, German 2.1%, Romanian 1.4%, American sign language 1.4%, and other languages, such as French, Italian, Swahili, Jamaican patois, Hungarian, and Bulgarian. These families with one or more non-Japanese parents adopted the different language strategies shown in Table 1.

Table 1

Language Strategies Employed

Language Strategies Employed	Number	Percentage
One parent/person, one language	48	33.1%
Mixed language use	44	30.3%
Minority language @ home	33	22.8%
Time and place	17	11.7%
Lingua franca	2	1.4%
Non-native	1	0.7%

The most popular strategy was the OPOL strategy, at 33.1%. In this strategy each parent speaks their own language to the children. This strategy was first documented by Ronjat in 1913 and has become a pivotal strategy for parents wishing to raise their children bilingually. While OPOL is often the most popular strategy, it is not always the most successful. As De Houwer (2007) reported in a study of 2,000 bilinguals growing up in OPOL environments in Belgium, more than a quarter were unable to speak one of their parents' languages. As discussed earlier, this was also confirmed by Yamamoto (2001) for children being raised in Japan. The amount of input a speaker receives in a language is an important element of their language development and will ultimately determine the proficiency they will have in the language, and therefore their level of bilingualism (De Houwer, 2007; Grosjean, 2009; Yamamoto, 2001).

The next most popular strategy was mixed language use, at 30.3%. This is where families mix their languages as all members are bilingual or multilingual. This is more of a reality than a strategy, and is often adopted by families living in countries such as Belgium or Switzerland, where different languages are spoken side by side in the community.

Minority language at home was the third most popular, with 22.8% of respondents employing this strategy. This is where the home language is different from the greater community. This was followed by the time and place strategy at 11.7%, where a regular time and place is chosen to contribute to the child's bilingual language development. Another strategy used by parents was the *lingua franca*. This involves speakers using a second or even third language to communicate together in a common language, and this was employed by 1.4% of the respondents. The least popular strategy, at 0.7%, was the non-native strategy, where parents each use their second language to talk to their children. This strategy is challenging, as it requires parents to have enough proficiency in the language across a broad number of topics to be able to communicate with their children throughout their lifetimes. (For more information about language strategies see

Barron-Hauwaert, 2011).

Table 2 shows the activities that parents engaged in with their children to give them bilingual exposure. The top five activities were *using media content and listening to music from both cultures* (79.3%), *reading books from both cultures* (72.4%), c*elebrating holidays for both cultures* (71%)*, learning manners and behaviour for both cultures* (70.3%), and *using materials from the parent's home country or in the parent's language* (68.3%).

Table 2

Bilingual Exposure

Bilingual Exposure	Number	Percentage
They watch media content/ listen to music from both cultures	115	79.3%
They read books from both parents' cultures	105	72.4%
We celebrate holidays for both cultures	103	71%
They learn manners and behaviour for both cultures	102	70.3%
Use learning materials from your home country or those in your language	99	68.3%
They Skype, Facetime, talk on the phone etc. with relatives and/or friends overseas	97	66.9%
Networking with other bilingual and bicultural families	94	64.8%
Relatives and/or friends visit from overseas	90	62.1%
Frequent trips to your home country	86	59.3%
Minority language classes (on Saturdays or another day)	32	22.1%
All of the above	21	14.5%
None of the above	0	0%
Other	17	11.7%

Note. As individuals gave multiple responses, totals do not equal 100%.

Despite a dearth of published and available bilingual resources, particularly for those living outside of major cities, bilingual families make an effort to engage in activities for their children's bilingual development. These include *reading books from both parent's cultures* and *using materials from the parent's home country or those in the parent's language.* Families that use English as a minority language tend to have access to materials and resources that greatly outnumber those of other minority languages. They also participate in activities such as *networking with other bilingual or bicultural families* (64.8%)*,* which could

benefit not only the children but the entire family. This is extremely important for bilingual families that may live in more rural areas, as there is generally less choice of activities available to them.

Two thirds of the respondents also took advantage of modern technology by using platforms such as Skype and Facetime to keep in touch with friends and family overseas.

One of the open-ended optional sections enquired whether the respondent felt that their children had different strengths in the minority language compared to their siblings. Of those families which had more than one child, thirty-nine percent of responses indicated that the elder child's bilingual skills were more advanced than those of the younger sibling(s). This was evident when a participant, aged 21-25, from Oceania said, "Oldest is stronger in the minority language" and another, aged 41-45, from the European Union said, "Younger child is weaker with minority language." Birth order has been found to affect language development, with children born earlier showing greater linguistic abilities than their later born siblings (Oshima-Takane & Robbins, 2003). Even though the explanation for this remains unconfirmed, it is thought to be because the earlier-born child receives more individual linguistic input, which does not need to be shared with any siblings (Oshima-Takane & Robbins, 2003).

It must also be acknowledged that the amount of exposure to the minority language will affect a child's linguistic skills and their preferred language. For example, a parent's heavy work schedule leading to the child spending extended time at Japanese day care, or with Japanese grandparents, will limit bilingual exposure. This was seen when a participant from North America, aged 31-35, said, "My younger son had less time with me as I had a longer commute and a heavier work schedule. His English is the weakest." Another, aged 46-50, from Oceania said, "English is the second language due to environment and childcare." Another, also aged 46-50, from Oceania said "The youngest was looked after a lot more by her father or his parents, and her English is a lot weaker."

It has been confirmed that a bilingual's language development depends on the quantity and quality of the language input received (Hoff & Luz Rumiche, 2012; Ortega, 2009; Place & Hoff, 2016). Multiple studies have shown that the amount of input received in the minority language is of paramount importance and is one of the main contributors to bilingual acquisition (Bridges & Hoff, 2014; De Houwer, 2011). The amount of input in a language is therefore considered to be a reliable indicator of how proficient the speaker will become in that language. If a parent is too busy to provide input, the child's bilingualism will suffer as a result.

Despite all of the cognitive benefits (Bialystok, 2011; Bialystok et al., 2005), heightened intellectual skills (Hakuta, 1990), and a more flexible mindset (Bialystok, 2011;

Bialystok et al., 2005) in different situations that bilingualism is said to offer (Bialystok, 2011; Bialystok et al., 2005; Hakuta, 1990), our research revealed that there are still parents who hold a negative view towards bilingualism. Although this was only one participant's response, we feel it is worth mentioning as parents with this opinion do not support or encourage their child/children's bilingualism. This was evident when a North American mother, aged between 36-40, said, "Her father is resistant to using English for any family communication, and was not enthusiastic or supportive of my efforts to teach our daughter my native language (English)."

The data also revealed that 28.5% of the children preferred Japanese. As one mother, aged 36-40, from the European Union said, "...but my youngest doesn't bother speaking to me in French, even though I speak to her in French, she answers to me in Japanese." Another comment was from a mother, aged 41-50, from Oceania, who said, "Younger son mostly uses Japanese and tells me he has forgotten his English, even though understanding everything." This trend is commonplace among bilingual children and the community language often becomes the children's language of choice. This is particularly prevalent after the children begin to attend day care or school, as the community language is seen to belong to their peers and friends (Hoffman, 1985).

Fourteen percent of responses also showed that, even though children are from the same family and have perhaps been exposed to the same activities for their language development, differences between their bilingual ability can also arise. Each individual's bilingual experience differs, and this is completely natural (Barron-Hauwaert, 2011). Changes in country of residence, family circumstances, occupations, and numerous other factors change a family's linguistic landscape and impact on their children's bilingualism.

Table 3 reveals the respondents' hopes for their children's identity. More than 75% of the respondents hoped that their children would *identify as both cultures,* and nearly 7% responded that they hoped their children would *identify as my culture.* Almost 18% responded with *other,* leaving options for their children's identity more open.

The participants choosing *other* included an Australian in her 40s who has been in Japan for 16-20 years who commented, "Ultimately both, but most importantly I want them to identify as themselves. Not be defined by a culture/race," Another respondent, an American woman in her 50s who has been in Japan for more than 30 years, said she hoped they, "Identify with own 'third' culture created by children of different cultural backgrounds" and another British woman in her 40s who has been in Japan for 16-20 years said that she hoped they, "Identify as a citizen of the world."

As identity is such a fluid phenomenon, one which can change over time and in context, it is difficult for anyone to clearly define. However, regardless of the parents' responses, their hopes showed that the children's bicultural identity would definitely form

a piece of the puzzle that would make up their greater identity.

Table 3

Identity Hoped For

Identity Hoped For	Number	Percentage
Identify as both cultures	109	75.2%
Identify as my culture	10	6.9%
Identify as their father's culture	0	0%
Other	26	17.9%

Conclusion

This study provides a window into the language practices of bilingual families and contributes to the existing literature about bilingualism and biculturalism in Japan. With an increase in foreign residents, it is only natural to see more intermarriage than ever before, and with more intermarriage and biracial children, Japan seems to be becoming internationalised from the inside-out.

This study showed that the OPOL strategy was the most popular approach for families attempting to raise their children bilingually. However, it must be remembered that the majority of respondents were from native-English speaking countries, a category of people that has shown a tendency to be more inclined than speakers of other languages, to raise their children bilingually (Kuramoto et al., 2017), given that English is a highly esteemed language in Japan (Yamamoto, 2001).

Whilst the respondents showed that they had many hopes for their children's identity, more than 75% hoped that their children *identified with both cultures*. This shows that most respondents felt that both of their children's cultures were equally important.

Responses showed that, regardless of the respondents' country of origin, they felt it was important to raise their children bilingually, and that they attempted to engage in various activities to promote bilingualism. They also showed that respondents were aware that language is viewed, not only as a transmitter of culture and heritage, but also as a way of socialisation into their minority culture.

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Appendix
Excerpts from the Questionnaire

Note: This appendix contains only the parts of the questionnaire referred to or analysed in this paper. For the entire questionnaire please see the article "Foreign Working Women and Child-rearing (Landsberry & Kanai, 2019).

Section 1. Demographics

Age

- 25 and under
- 26-30
- 31-35
- 36-40
- 41-45
- 46-50
- 51-55
- 56-60
- Over 60

Which region are you from?

- Oceania
- Japan
- South East Asia (outside Japan)
- Africa
- Central Asia
- Eastern Europe
- Europe
- The European Union
- The UK
- North America
- Central America
- South America
- The Caribbean
- The Middle East
- Other: _____

How long have you been in Japan?
- 5 years or less
- 6-10 years
- 11-15 years
- 16-20 years
- 21-25 years
- 26-30 years
- 31-35 years
- 36-40 years
- More than 40 years

Section 3. Bilingualism and You

Please tell us about the linguistic landscape of you and your family.

What languages do you speak at home? (more than one answer is ok)
- Japanese
- Chinese
- Korean
- English
- Spanish
- Other: _____

How would you rate your Japanese language skills? On a scale of 1-4; No Japanese - Native-like

What bilingual strategies/approach do you use with your child/children?
- One parent speaks one of the two languages to the child; we follow the one parent one language strategy
- We often mix our languages, everyone is bilingual or multilingual
- Everyone speaks the same language at home other than the community language; we follow the minority language at home strategy
- We separate the languages according to the time and place; we follow the time and place strategy
- We speak a third language as my partner and I have different languages; we follow the lingua franca method

- We speak our second language even though we are not native speakers; we follow the non-native strategy.

Please comment if you feel your child/children have different strengths with their minority language/s. For example, the older sibling is stronger in their minority language/s than the younger sibling/s etc.

Section 4. Multiculturalism/Biculturalism

What kind of identity do you hope for your child/children to have?

- Identify as my culture
- Identify as their father's culture
- Identify as both cultures
- Other: _____

What kind of cultural activities do you expose your child/children to? (more than one answer is ok)

- Minority language classes (on Saturdays or another day)
- Networking with other bilingual and bicultural families
- Frequent trips to your home country
- Use learning materials from your home country or those in your language
- Relatives and/or friends visit from overseas
- They Skype, Facetime, talk on the phone etc. with relatives and/or friends overseas
- They watch media content/ listen to music from both cultures
- They read books from both parents' cultures
- They learn manners and behaviour for both cultures
- We celebrate holidays for both cultures
- All of the above
- None of the above
- Other:_____