Case Studies of English-Japanese Bilingual Children in New York
Parents' Cultural Attitudes and Children's Cultural Identity

Fujiu Motoko
The Department of English As Global Language, Fukuoka Jo Gakuin University, Fukuoka, Japan
e-mail: fujiu@fukujo.ac.jp

To investigate how parents' cultural attitudes, along with their language policies and practices at home, interact with their children's awareness of their cultural identity in immigrant families, the author conducted case studies of three Japanese families permanently residing in New York City. Adopting a post-modern view of identity, the author proposes a model in which the children's identity is viewed as ripples in a pool of water affected by multiple factors in their social circumstances. To explore their identity from this perspective, the author employed semi-structured interviews with the parents and children in their homes, along with a method developed by the author to get the children to express their feelings towards their two languages and cultures through drawings. The children were interviewed by the author three times and after the second and third interviews, they were asked to draw visual representations of their feelings about various factors in their environment, including aspects of both of their cultures. They were told to draw themselves in the center of a series of concentric circles and then to draw the things and activities they liked best in the circles closest to themselves and things they disliked in circles further from themselves. The interviews and ripple drawings suggest that the parents' personal and family histories and cultural attitudes influence their children's cultural identity. In all three families, the parents expressed a belief that Japanese language proficiency is an essential element of Japanese identity, and this belief appeared to be successfully transmitted to their children. However, the parents seemed to struggle to find optimal ways to support their children's language development. In addition, the status of Japan and Japanese culture within the historical and social contexts in which the families lived appeared to have an influence on both the parents' and children's cultural identities as Japanese.

親の文化的態度と子どもの文化的アイデンティティー
―「水上の波紋」としてのアイデンティティー：ニューヨーク在住の日本人家庭を例に―
藤生始子、福岡女学院大学人文学部英語学科

本稿は移民家庭における親の文化的態度および言語使用が子どもの文化的アイデンティティーとどのように関わりあっているかを調査するため、ニューヨーク市に永住目的で滞在する3家族の例を取り上げた。著者はアイデンティティーをポストモダン的観点からとらえ、社会的環境の中の様々な要素に影響されうる、いわば「水上の波紋」のようなものであると考える。調査は親と子どもに対する家庭でのインタビューと、筆者が構築した「絵で子どもの感情や文化に対する考えを表現する方法」により行われた。インタビューは3回行なわれ、2回目と3回目では、子どもに自分の周りを取り巻く2つの文化やそれに関連する人物や物事を描いてもらった。この絵は、子ども自身を真ん中に描き、好きな人・物・活動を自分の近くの輪に、嫌いな人・物・活動を自分から離れている輪に描くという指示のもとに描かれた。インタビューと「波紋」の絵を分析した結果、親の生育歴・家庭環境や文化的態度が、子どもの文化的アイデンティティーに影響を与えていることが示唆された。さらに、どの家庭においても親は「日本語は日本人としてのアイデンティティーの核である」と主張し、その思いは子どもに伝わっているようである。しかしながら、どのようにして子どもの日本語能力を伸ばしていくかに関して、親は苦闘していると述べている。また、日本や日本文化が生活している社会の中でどのように評価されているかも日本人としてのアイデンティティーに影響を与えていることが示された。

INTRODUCTION

Although most aspects of a child's physical appearance are genetically determined, the way children feel about themselves is not innate or inherited, but rather, it is learned (Siraj-Blatchford & Clarke, 2000). In the process of socialization, bilingual children come to develop a sense of belonging to groups in which they interact in languages that they choose according to the social context. Because of the dominance of the majority language in their school environment, however, immigrant children may experience a loss of confidence in themselves and feel apologetic about or even ashamed of their home language, cultural traditions, and by extension, themselves (Inn, 1983). Thus, their bilingual experience may negatively

affect the construction of their cultural identity.

Insofar as languages represent the core values of a child's identity, it is the experiences bilingual children have in each language that appear to influence their cultural identity (Hamers & Blanc, 2000). The researcher taught Japanese to the children of Japanese immigrants in New York City for approximately a year, and found that many of these children expressed their cultural identity in relation to their language proficiency, stating, for example, "I am both American and Japanese because I can speak both languages" or "I am American because I am not good at Japanese".

In order to investigate the bilingual experience of such children, it is crucial to understand their home environment, the main source of their Japanese language and cultural input. While teaching the first-grade class at a Japanese Saturday school[1] in New York from April 2001 through March 2002, the researcher encountered a variety of language policies and attitudes among the parents towards their native culture as well as the dominant culture and towards their first and second languages, even within the limited sample of children from the same ethnic group in the same class at the school. Hamers and Blanc (2000) suggest that bicultural identification is strongest when parental language attitudes regarding both a child's dominant language and his or her heritage language are positive, and when the heritage language is used for home literacy as well as for oral communication. Gardner (1968) showed that parents' positive attitudes towards a culture were related to similar attitudes in their children and supported greater achievement in second language learning. Thus, the decisions taken by immigrant parents to maintain their heritage language and to raise their children bilingually have important implications for the development of their children's identity.

In this study, I investigate how the attitudes of Japanese immigrants towards their heritage culture as well as the cultures in their social contexts, along with their language policies and practices at home, interact with their children's awareness of their cultural identity. The aim of this study is to explore the meaning-making processes of the bilingual experience of three Japanese families permanently residing in New York City by giving voices to the parents and their children. I consider this the initial stage of a longitudinal study, which I view as an optimal way to depict their life stories. Ideally, the longitudinal study will follow the children's bilingual/bicultural experiences from this initial stage through their high school education.

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

A postmodern understanding of identities is that they are multiple and complex, and unstable across time and space. This understanding moves beyond dualistic notions of good/bad, male/female or even appropriate/inappropriate. Identities are seen to be dynamic and multiple, and always positioned in relation to particular discourses (Burkitt, 1974; Grieshaber & Cannella, 2001; Schecter & Bayley, 2002; Norton, 1995). Schecter and Bayley (2002) describe bilingual identity as "the ephemeral quality of the bilingual persona in fluid societal and situational contexts" (p. 171). For Norton (1995), the social identity of a language learner emerges out of the learner's interaction with the learning context, rather than being the fixed property of the individual. Hammers and Blanc (2000) state that ethnolinguistic identity is a

consequence of the socialization process the child undergoes, and is a dynamic mechanism developed by the child which can be modified by social and psychological events throughout his or her life. Thus, identity is not a state of being, but rather it should be considered "as a movement" (Kanno, 2003, p. 10). This identity construction movement occurs through negotiation within children's social contexts in such a way as to provide the most benefits for their self-esteem (Noels, Pon & Clement, 1996).

The concept of identity/identities in this study has much in common with these postmodern perspectives. The participants' identities are not conceived in a dualistic manner—positioned on a linear continuum between American-oriented Japanese and Japanese-oriented American. Instead, I would like to suggest that the children's identity should be viewed as ripples in a pool of water affected by multiple factors in their social circumstances. In order to cause a ripple effect, a child has to have a central core that represents his or her essential characteristics. One child may throw a plastic ball in a mountain pond, another might throw a huge iron rock in the ocean, while a third might prefer splashing a piece of wood in a puddle on the pavement. Each child has his/her own individual central core that, when thrown in a variety of "water", will create unique ripples.

In this study, I accept the fact that the children's self-perceptions might be different when they are in a primarily American situation such as school than they may be in a primarily Japanese situation such as home. In addition, the ripples around the core may not necessarily be perfect rings, because they are shaped in relation to their social contexts and even interact with other ripples from other people (parents, relatives, friends, and teachers). As a classroom teacher, I see students' interactions as the ripples influencing each other in the classroom, imagining that these ripples will change as they move outside the classroom and as they move on into the future. Thus, the ripples may differ depending on how, when, and where the children place themselves in the "water" of their daily lives.

For this study, the concept of a "hybrid cultural" identity, in which bicultural children are thought to create their own cultural identity by combining a variety of cultural factors in their environment, was thought to be appropriate. Bilingual children do not develop two identities; rather, they integrate both their cultures into one unique identity (Hamers & Blanc, 2000; Yoshida, 1999; Kanno, 2003). The negotiation of constructing these "hybrid cultural" identities is a process of struggling with power and language ideology in the dominant culture in the society where the children live (Pavlenko, 2001, cited in Kanno, 2003). Especially in the case of young children, the learning context suggests certain identities for the learners that they have little power to resist (Toohey, 2000). The focal children in this study are found to face these "powers" of authority in both their home and school environments. Their identity construction is all about negotiation processes with these powers so that they can eventually find their own, unique, and irreplaceable value in themselves.

RELATED RESEARCH

Research on identity often deals with identity construction during adolescence or young adulthood, so there are not many studies relating to the development of identity in young children, especially research from sociocultural perspectives (Toohey, 2000). One of the goals of this study was therefore to

investigate identity construction in early childhood, as it was felt that this process would have a life-long effect on the participants' self-perception.

Children do not enter the world with a conception of self, but rather they develop this cognitive notion as they grow up (Bandura, 1986). Burns (1979) suggests that language is one of the important sources of self-conception. He states that self-concept is perceived through language and its development is facilitated by the use of language. According to Kohlberg (1973), children from four to ten years of age tend to think that powerful authorities hand down a fixed set of rules which they must obey. For young bilingual children, needless to say, the authorities of their heritage language are usually their parents.

The children who participated in this study were able to identify groups that belonged to each of their cultures and linguistic networks. This fact seems to suggest that they were at a transitional stage in their cognitive development suggested by Piaget (1954)—that is, that they had already acquired the logic needed to construct groups and classes, although these recognized groups were not limited to cultural groups, but also included groups classified by gender, physical characteristics, and skin color.

The transitional process for bilingual/bicultural children is highly complex, as they are exposed to many different contexts in which they need to find their own ways of belonging, and the transition may not occur simultaneously in all contexts. In addition, the child's ability to coordinate two perspectives forms the basis of social thinking at this stage (Crain, 1992). As Oosterwegel and Oppenheimer (1993) suggest, the self-concept consists of the real or ideal self-concept considered from either the individual's own perspective or the perceived perspective of others. The focal perspectives for young children, in many cases, are those of their parents.

Thus, much research on bilingual development suggests that parental attitudes exert a crucial influence on children. Gomez and Yawkey (1980) find that children's appraisal of themselves is highly correlated with their perceptions of their parents' appraisals of them. They also state that for young bilingual children, family relationships seriously influence their ability to develop a healthy self-concept, to become motivated to achieve, and to succeed in school. In addition, Branch & Newcombe (1986) suggest that parents play a critical role in shaping their children's racial attitudes and that parents' active intervention may contribute to raising children with strong racial/cultural self-esteem.

While the crucial roles played by parental attitudes and practices in the home must be acknowledged, it would be problematic to understand language socialization at home as a one-way process in which caregivers inculcate the values, knowledge, and linguistic repertoire of their culture into their children (Schecter & Bayley, 2002). The current study therefore adopts the view that children, even young ones, exert influence on cultural practices in the home; that is, their practice is not merely subject to their parents' control, but rather, it interacts with that of their parents. It was therefore felt that giving children their own voice to speak out through visual representation in the form of "ripple diagrams" in this study would reveal certain aspects of the children's inner worlds which constantly interact with their environments.

CASE STUDIES

Participants

The focus of this study is on three Japanese families who all reside permanently in Manhattan, New York, and the influence the parents' attitudes have on the cultural identities of three young children in these families: Aki, Mari and Charles[2]. All three children had been students in the first grade class I taught at the Japanese Saturday school in New York from April 2001 through March 2002. I began this study in March 2003 when they had just finished second grade at the Japanese school. Background information on the parents is presented in Table 1.

TABLE 1: Parents' Background Information (as of August 2004)

Child	Parent	Highest Degree/Education Received	Age upon Arrival (in Years)	Present Age (in Years)
Aki	Mother	B.A. in Japan	29	46
	Father	B.A. in Japan	30	47
Mari	Mother	B.F.A. (Bachelor of Fine Arts) in U.S. (One academic year at a high school plus all of college in the U.S.)	27	35
Charles	Mother	High school in Japan	26	44
	Father	Vocational school in Japan	32	51

Next, background information about the three children is presented in Table 2.

TABLE 2: Children's Background Information (as of August 2004)

Child	Age of Arrival in U.S.	Visits to Japan	Japanese Schooling (At Saturday School in NYC)
Aki	Born in U.S.	1) 21 days during July/August each year from 1996 to 1999 2) 10 days during December 1999 3) 21 days during July/August each year from 1997 to 2002 4) 42 days during July/August 2004	From April 2002 through present
Mari	3 years	1) 14 days during December 1999/ January 2000 2) 30 days during June/July 2001 3) 21 days during March/April 2002 4) 14 days in April 2004	1) From April 2002 through present 2) Three-week summer programs in 2003 and 2004
Charles	Born in U.S.	1) 20 days in October 1997 2) 8 days in October 2000	1) From April 2002 to March 2004 2) Three-week summer programs in 2003 and 2004

Methodology

This study employs qualitative research methodology which combines semi-structured interviews with the parents and children in their homes and the analysis of visual representations drawn by the children. This methodology was chosen because the researcher strongly agrees with the notion of "narrative inquiry" introduced by Connelly and Clandinin (1990), who state,

> humans are storytelling organisms who, individually and socially, lead storied lives. The study of narrative, thus, is the study of the ways humans experience the world. (p. 2)

In this study, therefore, the role of narrative is considered as the meaning-making process of human experience (Kanno, 2003).

The interviews were conducted twice in March/April 2003 and once in August 2004 in the participants' homes. Each interview session lasted less than one hour for the children and one to two hours for their parents. Data was collected not only about their actual verbal and behavioral reactions to the questions, but also about their physical environment at home, as it was thought that the home environment might reflect the participants' lifestyles and attitudes towards both Japanese and American cultures. The researcher conducted the interviews of the parents in Japanese and interviews of the children both in English and Japanese, depending on the level of the children's language proficiency as well as their level of comfort using the languages. Each interview was recorded and transcribed. Factual data was also collected from the parents via email and telephone; however, all data collection with the children was done in person.

In addition to the interviews, the researcher's experience teaching the children at a Japanese Saturday school in New York City from April 2001 through March 2002 also provided opportunities to observe the cultural practices and academic progress of the children in the Japanese school setting, which is also a part of their life experience and may contrast with their practices in the home.

As mentioned above, this study considers identity construction to be like "ripples in the water" which are influenced by various factors in the participants' social circumstances. Therefore, in the interviews with the focal children, the author asked questions about such factors, including their awareness of their cultural identity in relation to particular contexts, their emotional attachment to things and people related to their cultural identity, social contexts that make them aware of their cultural identity, and their opinions about Japanese language learning. When interviewing the parents, the researcher asked questions not only about their language policies and cultural attitudes at home, but also about their past experiences and social/linguistic networks.

Especially in interviewing the children, the researcher took care not to lead the participants. The guided questions were seemingly simple; however, the researcher believes that they were appropriate for the children considering their cognitive level. Since the participant children were only seven to eight years old and it was thought that they might have difficulty expressing their feelings and cultural awareness in words, the researcher asked them to represent their emotional attachment to people and things in both of their cultures by positioning images of these people, activities and things on a series of concentric circles.

In the interviews conducted in April 2003, the researcher drew sample concentric circles and asked the children to copy them. In the interviews conducted in August 2004, the children were given paper with concentric circles already drawn on them.

In both sessions, the researcher intentionally refrained from introducing the concept of "water ripples" to the children. The children were simply told to draw a picture of themselves in the center and then draw pictures of each of the things the researcher would say thereafter, placing those that they liked closer to the picture of themselves and those that they disliked further away. The wording in Japanese was: 「自分を真ん中に描いて、これからいうものが好きだったら自分の近くに、嫌いだったら遠くに描いてね。」["Draw yourself in the middle, and then, if you like the things I say from now on, draw them close to you, and if you don't like them, draw them far away from you."] Thereafter, the instructions were all questions in Japanese, such as 「＿はどこに描く？」["Where would you draw ＿?"], with several follow-up questions in English for clarity. All three children made these drawings without the presence of their parents. These "ripple drawings" were then analyzed as representations of the children's cultural identity. Both the actual drawings and the representations of them made by the researcher to facilitate analysis are presented in the Findings section below.

FINDINGS

In this section, case studies of three children of Japanese parents who are permanent residents in the U.S., Aki, Mari, and Charles, are discussed. Interview excerpts include both the original Japanese and English translations. The English translations of Japanese excerpts was double-checked with two native speakers of English who are highly proficient in Japanese.

Case 1: Aki and Her Family
Parents' narratives
Family history

Aki's parents had a strong motivation to live in New York City when they came to the U.S. in 1987. Both parents had relatives who had immigrated to the U.S. before World War II and sent them American toys, magazines and food which gave them very attractive images of American culture and lifestyles. However, Aki's parents had a resistance to accepting these relatives as role models because they were assimilated into American society and did not speak Japanese at all.

Aki's mother has worked as a Japanese language teacher and many of her colleagues have diverse cultural backgrounds. She teaches origami crafts at Aki's American school regularly and is an active PTA member. Her father works for a Japanese company as a bilingual staff member.

Aki's mother does not have a solid Japanese network in New York. Instead, she has many English-speaking friends, although she does not intentionally avoid Japanese. However, both parents have regular contact with Japanese people through frequent visits of friends from Japan.

Language policies and practices in the home

Both parents speak Japanese at home. However, they use English with Aki when she talks about her day at her American school. Their use of English with her was observed during the interview sessions for this study.

Expectations concerning Aki's Japanese language development and cultural attitudes

Aki's mother has not set exact goals for Aki's Japanese proficiency and Japanese identity. In other words, she does not force Aki to acquire a high degree of Japanese proficiency or to develop a strong Japanese identity. Rather, Aki's mother thinks that sending Aki to the Japanese Saturday school is a way of giving her more options for the future, as can be seen in the following interview excerpt. (Words in parentheses in the interview text were added by the researcher for clarity.)

Interview Excerpt 1 (March 16, 2003)

Researcher: あきちゃんにどの程度日本語を身につけてほしいですか？
[How proficient do you expect Aki to be in Japanese?]

Aki's Mother: 今は英語と日本語の差はすごくあります。圧倒的に日本語のボキャブラリーは少ないです。それはそれでいいんです。読み書きを習いながら、絶対に（日本語の学校に）しがみついていてくれて、２０，３０あるいは４０になったときもう一度やり直そうと思って、そういう時勉強したらきっと伸びると思うんです。もしそうならなくてもいいんです。それは彼女のチョイスですから。でも台は押さえておきたいんです。そのチョイスをするときに、日本語学校に行ってたら選べたのにという後悔をさせたくないんです。勉強は何歳になってもできるから。
[Right now, her English is much better than her Japanese and her vocabulary in Japanese is very poor. But I think it is OK as long as she goes to the Japanese school to learn to read and write. When she grows up, at the age of 20, 30, even 40, if she wants to study Japanese again, she will become much more proficient (in Japanese). I wouldn't mind if she didn't, though. It's her decision. But I want to secure a foundation (for learning Japanese) for her. I don't want to make her regret not having options because she didn't go to the school. She can study at any age.]

Researcher: 自分が日本人であるという自覚は継続して持ってほしいと思いますか？
[Do you expect Aki to maintain her Japanese identity?]

Aki's Mother: 私は日本で生まれ育って、日本の文化が身についてますよね。そういう部分は（あきは）アメリカ人だと思うんですよ。水が流れる音を聞いて「あ、せせらぎが聞こえる」という風にはならないと思うんですよ。ただ、自分のルーツには「せせらぎが聞こえる」感覚があるんだなと発見したときにはもっと（日本語を）勉強してくれると思うんですよ。それをいっぱい見せて、ピックアップできる状態を作っておきたいんですよ。
[Well, I grew up in Japan and I think my way of thinking is Japanese. But Aki's is American. She does not hear a sound of a brook the way we Japanese hear it. But in the future, if she finds her Japanese self in her cultural roots, she may be motivated to study Japanese. I want to show her many things and allow her to choose what she wants for herself.]

Both parents consider the Japanese language to be an essential element of Japanese identity. For them, the use of Japanese language includes learning the Japanese way of thinking, feeling, and behaving,

as seen in Interview Excerpt 2.

Interview Excerpt 2 (April 21, 2003)

Aki's Mother: 私はすごく日本語が好きなんですよね。自分の言語だし。日本語って言うのは楽しい
ものだから、私にとって。言葉によっていろんなことが表現できるし、私にとって豊
かな言語は日本語だから。この楽しみを持たないというのはさみしい。それはあきに
もわかってほしいなと思う。
[I really like Japanese. To me, (learning and using) Japanese is a source of great
pleasure. A language enables one to express many things, and Japanese is a rich
language for me (to do that), and so it would be very sad not to be able to pass on this
pleasure to Aki.]

Aki's Father: 私を日本人と言わしめている根本は何なのかと、やっぱりそれは日本語ですよね。
[For me, I consider Japanese language as the root of my Japanese being.]

Concerns and dilemmas.

As illustrated by the following interview excerpt, Aki's father is concerned about Aki's cultural identity
as a Japanese.

Interview Excerpt 3 (April 21, 2003)

Researcher: 将来、日本で教育を受けさせたい、日本の大学に入れたいとか、そういうことを考え
ていらっしゃいますか？あるいはそれはもう子供の自由でとか...
[Do you have a plan to send Aki to a school or a university in Japan or you think it is
her choice?]

Aki's Father: 日本語ができるようになれば、どこで勉強してもいいんですけど。このままアメリカ
の学校にずっと行くと、（あきは）アメリカ人になってしまうと思うんですよ。それ
はすごくいやですね。
[If she learns to speak Japanese, I don't care where she studies. (But) if she keeps on
going to American schools like she is now, I think she will become totally American. I
really hate that idea.]

Aki's narrative

Perceptions of her bilingual/bicultural environment

Aki was born and grew up in Brooklyn. She has regularly visited Japan from the age of one for a few
weeks a year, as shown in Table 1. She likes to read English books very much. She likes Japanese toys
such as origami and Pokemon, but is not particularly interested in Japanese books and food. She shows
emotional attachments to both Japan and America, as can be seen in the following interview excerpt.

Interview Excerpt 4 (March 16, 2003; interview conducted in English at this point)

Aki: I want to be both in Japan and in America at the same time, but it's impossible. I like
Japan because it's fun and I can go to many favorite places by myself, but I don't have
friends, so that's boring. But here I have a lot of friends, but I can't go to my favorite
places by myself.

Researcher: Do you want to go to a Japanese school in Japan so that you can make lots of friends?

Aki: ....yeah.!

Feelings about learning Japanese and attending Japanese school

As seen in Interview Excerpt 5, Aki has a positive opinion about going to the Japanese school, even though the homework doubles her workload. She enjoys talking to her friends in Japanese at the school. Nonetheless, she still feels that she is being forced to go. This indicates her dilemma about being asked to learn two languages simultaneously. She considers attending Japanese school an obligation, and her real motivation to learn or use the language is to communicate with her friends. Moreover, when I observed her in class, Aki appeared to have an inferiority complex regarding her Japanese proficiency several times, even though she got straight As throughout the academic year.

Interview Excerpt 5 (March 16, 2003; interview conducted in English at this point)

Researcher: What do you think about the Japanese school?
Aki: Great, interesting.
Researcher: Why?
Aki: I like *Kokugo* [Japanese], I like *Sansu* [math], I like *Taiiku* [P.E.], I like—I like everything.
Researcher: How do you feel about the Japanese homework?
Aki: Question marks, question marks, question marks in my head.
Researcher: But you have been doing very well.
Aki: *(Shakes her head)*
Researcher: So, then, going to the Japanese school is something that you feel you have to?
Aki: Have to, because my mom pushes me to do the homework.
Researcher: Do you know why you go to the Japanese school?
Aki: Because I am Japanese and I can be half Japanese and half American. Mom wants me to be like that
Researcher: What about you? Do you want to be like that?
Aki: Yes.
Researcher: Is it frustrating when you speak Japanese to your friends at the school (because you are more comfortable in English)?
Aki: No. (I feel) happy.

In July of 2004, Aki attended a public elementary school in Kobe for about two weeks. In terms of her Japanese skills, she found the Japanese language arts class not so difficult, but the social studies class was very challenging for her. Two weeks was not long enough for her to make friends, although she really enjoyed swimming in the outdoor swimming pool, which is a typical summer activity at a public elementary school in Japan. This temporary school visit did not seem to motivate Aki to learn Japanese or to connect her with Japanese culture more than before. Rather, interaction with peer native speakers of Japanese gave her the impression that her Japanese "sounded different", which might have exacerbated her inferiority complex in Japanese.

Things associated with Japanese cultural identity

Aki does not seem to have particular emotional attachments to Japanese food or movies. Instead, what she thinks make her feel Japanese are social interactions with people speaking Japanese, as seen in the following interview excerpt.

Interview Excerpt 6 (March 16, 2003; interview conducted in English at this point)

Researcher: When you eat Japanese food, do you think you are Japanese, or (do you think) it's just food?

Aki: I think it's just food and it's just from Japan.

Researcher: When do you feel you are Japanese?

Aki: In my house….and in the Japanese school…….and in Japan.

Aki's ripple drawings

The following is a reproduction of the drawing Aki made on April 21, 2003. A schematic representation the researcher made for analysis purposes is shown on the next page, with labels for each figure and double circles for those related to Japan and Japanese culture and single circles for things related to America and American culture. People, activities and things related to the children's family are labeled "A", those related to their schools are labeled "B" and those related to other topics are labeled "C".

Figure 1a: Aki's First Drawing (Original)—Drawn April 21, 2003

When asked to depict her emotional attachment towards things and people in both cultures in terms of a ripple diagram in the first interview, Aki positioned overall academic matters in Japanese around the periphery, but she placed people who speak Japanese closer to the center. This explains her statements in the interview indicating that communication in Japanese is enjoyable even though she considers attendance at the Japanese school to be an obligation. On the other hand, Aki placed things related to academic activities conducted in English, such as books, math, and the American school, toward the center of her drawing, while friends at the American school and their mothers were placed in the second ring. Thus, even though there is a difference in her emotional attachment to academic activities conducted in English and Japanese, Aki positioned the Japanese language and the English language symmetrically. This suggests that the term "language" symbolizes both academic and social activities to her.

The ripple drawings Aki produced on August 19, 2004, however, showed several changes. In her second drawing, Aki positioned the English language closer to the center than Japanese. She mentioned that learning Japanese, especially kanji, had become more difficult. As indicated above, the temporary school visit in Kobe might not have exerted a positive influence on her motivation to learn Japanese. She also positioned herself speaking Japanese in the right margin of the central ring, while she put herself in the center when speaking English. Thus, at this time, Aki appeared to give more weight to academic learning than her depiction in her social interactions in her two languages.

Figure 1b: Aki's First Drawing (Researcher's Schematic Representation)

A-1 お母さん (mother)
-2 お父さん (father)
-3 アメリカにいるいとこ (a cousin in U.S.) The cousin visited her two days before the interview.
-4 おばあちゃん (grandmother)
-5 おじいちゃん (grandfather)
-6 お母さんの日本のおうち (mother's home: Nara)
-7 お父さんの日本のおうち (father's home: Kobe)
B-1 アメリカの学校 (two friends at the American school)
-2 日本人学校 (the Japanese school)
-3 アメリカの学校 (her American school)
-4 アメリカの学校の先生 (her American school)
-5 アメリカの学校の宿題 (homework at her American school)
-6 日本人学校の宿題 (homework at her Japanese school)
-7 英語の本 (English books)
-8 日本の本 (Japanese books)
-9 アメリカの学校での遊び (play at her American school: soccer)
-10 アメリカの学校のお友達の両親 (parents of a friend at her American school)
-11 漢字 (kanji)
-12 アメリカの学校の算数 (math at her American school)
-13 日本人学校の算数 (math at her Japanese school)
-14 日本人学校の先生 (a teacher at the Japanese school)
-15 アメリカの学校の先生 (a teacher at her American school)
C-1 アメリカの映画 (American movies)
-2 日本の映画 (Japanese movies)
-3 アメリカのうどん (American food: meat)
-4 折り紙 (origami: a crane)
-5 日本にいる友達 (a friend in Japan)
-6 日本語 (Japanese)
-7 英語 (English)
-8 日本のみそ汁 (Japanese food: miso soup)

The drawing Aki made in the summer of 2004 is reproduced below. Three elements which are shown in the researcher's schematic representation (A-3, Aki's cousin in the U.S., B-1, friends at her American school, and B-18, a teacher at her American school) have been deleted in order to protect the privacy of the individuals represented, since Aki had written their real names.

Figure 2a: Aki's Second Drawing (Original)—Drawn August 19, 2004
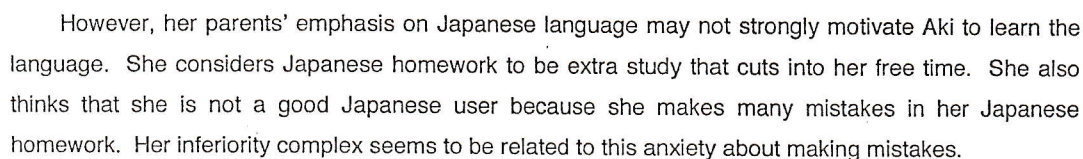

Parents' attitudes and Aki's perception of her cultural identity

It seems that Aki's multicultural awareness has been influenced by her mother's multicultural experiences in New York, as well as by the educational support at her American school[3] and the social contexts in which she grew up. Her friends come from diverse cultural backgrounds such as Korean, Polish, and Iranian, as well as American and Japanese. Moreover, Aki has shown interest in learning French, Russian, and Spanish. She knows Japan to be a part of Asia, which is next to Europe, where one of her friends comes from.

Her mother's efforts to transfer Japanese culture, for example origami, positively affect Aki's perception

of Japanese culture. Aki showed a strong emotional attachment to origami, and she herself teaches it to her friends at her American school. At her Japanese Saturday school, I observed that she was eager to play with origami during recess.

Figure 2b: Aki's Second Drawing (Researcher's Schematic Representation)

A-1 お母さん (mother)
-2 お父さん (father)
-3 アメリカにいるいとこ (cousin in U.S.)*The cousin went to school in Japan with Aki.
-4 おばあちゃん (grandmother)
-5 おじいちゃん (grandfathers in Kobe and Nara)
B-1 アメリカの学校の友達 (friends at her American school)
-2 日本人学校の友達 (a friend at the Japanese school)
-3 日本の学校の友達 (friends at a school in Japan)
-4 日本人学校 (the Japanese school)
-5 アメリカの学校 (her American school)
-6 夏に行った学校 (a school that she visited in summer)
-7 アメリカの学校の宿題 (homework at her American school)
-8 日本人学校の宿題 (homework at the Japanese school)
-9 日本の学校の宿題 (homework at the school in Japan)
-10 英語の本 (English books)
-11 日本語の本 (Japanese books; novels)
-12 アメリカの学校での遊び (play at her American school: tag)
-13 アメリカの学校の友達の両親 (parents of a friend at her American school)
-14 漢字 (kanji)
-15 アメリカの学校の算数 (math at her American school)
-16 日本人学校の算数 (math at the Japanese school.)
-17 日本人学校の先生 (a teacher at the Japanese school)
-18 アメリカの学校の先生 (a teacher at her American school)
C-1 日本語のマンガ (Japanese comics)
-2 アメリカの TV (American TV programs)
-3 日本の TV (Japanese TV programs)
-4 折り紙 (origami)
-5 ポケモン (Pokemon)
-6 日本語 (Japanese)
-7 英語 (English)
-8 日本語を話している自分 (herself speaking Japanese)
-9 英語を話している自分 (herself speaking English)

However, her parents' emphasis on Japanese language may not strongly motivate Aki to learn the language. She considers Japanese homework to be extra study that cuts into her free time. She also thinks that she is not a good Japanese user because she makes many mistakes in her Japanese homework. Her inferiority complex seems to be related to this anxiety about making mistakes.

Case 2: Mari and Her Mother

Mari's mother's narrative

Personal history

Mari's grandparents lived in the U.S. for eight years before Mari's mother was born. Although Mari's mother was born in Japan, her parents sent her to an international kindergarten, hoping that she would learn English from an early age. Mari's mother thinks that her home environment was somehow

Americanized. When she was an eleventh grader, she followed in her parents' footsteps and came to America herself. She finished high school and continued studying in the U.S. until she completed her bachelor's degree. After that, she went back to Tokyo to work for a Japanese publisher. She got married and then divorced over a two-year period. She then came to New York with Mari in 1999 when Mari was three years old.

Paradoxically, Mari's mother has a strong Japanese cultural identity as a result of being exposed to different cultures over a long period of time beginning in childhood, as suggested in the following interview excerpt.

Interview Excerpt 7 (April 5, 2003)
Researcher: 日本人であるという自覚を強くもっていらっしゃるということですか？
[So, do you think you have a strong Japanese identity?]

Mari's Mother: はい、私自身、早く（日本を）離れてしまったのと、そういうアメリカナイズされた家庭に育ってしまったので、日本にいながら日本とか日本的なものへの憧れが常に強かったんですよ。でもどうもそぐわないところがあるなと思って色々試してみたり。自分の頭の中での(日本の)理想が揺れ動いていて。
[Yes. This is because I left Japan when I was very young and my home was somehow Americanized. I longed for Japan and Japanese culture even when I was in Japan. However, I found there were parts of me that were not well suited to Japanese society, so I tried many things. The ideal (Japan) was constantly changing in my head.]

Despite this admission, in another part of the same interview presented here as Excerpt 8, Mari's mother clearly states that she believes Mari has a solid identity as a Japanese.

Interview Excerpt 8 (April 15, 2003)
Researcher: （まりちゃんが）自分はアメリカ人であるという意識を持ってしまうかもしれないという心配はありませんか？
[Aren't you afraid that Mari thinks she is American?]

Mari's Mother: それはないですね。
[No, not at all.]

Researcher: それじゃ、日本語ができるかどうかと日本人であるということは別と...？
[So do you think being Japanese does not require Japanese proficiency?]

Mari's Mother: 日本人のくせに日本語があんまりよくできないということは、とてもよくわかっていると思います、彼女。
[Oh, Mari seems to be well aware of the fact that even though she's Japanese, she can't speak Japanese very well.]

Researcher: 英語を話しているときはアメリカ人で、日本語を使っているときは日本人のような認識を持つ子もいるんですが...
[There are children who think they are American when they speak English and they are Japanese when they speak Japanese.]

Mari's Mother: ああ、これは小さなことなんですけど、本当に小さいときから私の仕事の都合でよく海外に連れて行ったんですよね。そのたびによーくパスポートを見てたんですよ。そういうときには、「まりは日本人だからね」って言う話をしてきたんですよ。
[Oh, this may be a trivial thing, but from the time she was very young, I took Mari with me on business trips to foreign countries many times. Each time, she would stare at her passport. At those times, I would tell her, "That's because you are Japanese."]

Thus, we see that Mari's mother considered it a fact that Mari is Japanese rather than viewing her identity as "ripples in the water".

Language policies and practices at home

Mari's mother always speaks Japanese to Mari, no matter which language Mari uses. I did not hear her use English with her daughter even once during the interview sessions. I therefore asked her about this in the part of the second interview conducted in the spring of 2003 which is presented below.

Interview Excerpt 9 (April 22, 2003)

Researcher: お母さまが絶対日本語で話すっていう方針でいらっしゃるから....
[It seems that's because you have a policy of always talking to Mari in Japanese...]

Mari's Mother: 私にとっては当たり前のことなんですよね。最初は（まりも）日本語で返すようにしてたんですけど、会話がなくなっちゃうんですよね、せっかくやっとお母さんが帰ってきたのに。まりもいらいらしちゃうし。しょうがないから、まりは英語でもいいよってことにしたんですけどね。長く説明すれば分かる年齢だから。日本での基礎もあるわけだし。
[For me, it's a very natural thing. At the beginning, I made her reply to me in Japanese, but our conversations would stop. Here I was, finally home from work, and Mari would end up frustrated. So I gave in and allowed her to reply to me in English. But I think she's old enough to understand me if I give her a long explanation, because she has a foundation in Japanese in Japan.]

From this excerpt, it is clear that Mari's mother thinks that Mari understands her Japanese even though most of Mari's responses are in English. However, she reported that she occasionally finds that Mari does not understand her when she tells a complicated story. In such cases, she replaces words or rephrases whole sentences in Japanese without using English, even though she knows it would be much easier just to explain in English.

Attitudes toward Japanese culture

Even though she works full time, Mari's mother makes *obento* (a Japanese boxed lunch) for Mari every single day. Her main concern is to prevent Mari from getting sick because she believes that Japanese food is very healthy. However, it is likely that she is also transmitting certain aspects of Japanese culture—such as an appreciation of aesthetic presentation and demonstrations of parental affection—through this practice.

Expectations concerning Mari's Japanese language development and cultural attitudes

Mari's mother wants Mari to acquire at least a high school level of proficiency in Japanese. Although she did not specify when, she also said that she wants to live in Japan for a few years to further Mari's Japanese education.

She showed some resistance to Mari's Americanized attitudes, such as calling her mother "Mom", as seen in the following interview excerpt.

Interview Excerpt 10 (April 22, 2003)

Researcher: まりちゃんに「Mom」とよばれたりするのは、どのように感じますか？
[How do you feel about Mari calling you "Mom"?]

Mari's Mother: もう、とっても嫌でした。日本にいる時でも、ママっていわれるのはすごく嫌で、いつも彼女には「お母さん」って呼びなさいって言ってきたんですよ。 アメリカに来てから、日本語で話してる時でも「Mom」って英語で呼び始めて、でも私は絶対に「お母さん」って呼びなさいっていってたんです。でも、だんだん、「Mom」と「お母さん」を使い分けるのが難しくなってきたんですね。それで、もう「お母さん」を無理強いしてないんですけど。
[I hated it. I didn't even like to be called "*Mama*" in Japan. So I always told her to call me "*Okaasan*" ("Mom" in Japanese). After coming to America, she started calling me "Mom" in English even when she spoke to me in Japanese, but I still insisted that she call me "*Okaasan*". But eventually, it became difficult for her to use "Mom" and "*Okaasan*" appropriately. So, I don't force her to call me "*Okaasan*" anymore.]

Concerns and dilemmas

Even though Mari's mother has a strong language policy and practice with her daughter, Mari does not seem to be motivated to learn Japanese. Mari's mother is therefore seriously concerned about Mari's use of English with her, as seen in Interview Excerpt 11.

Interview Excerpt 11 (April 5, 2003)

Mari's Mother: 私は彼女の日本語に危機感を感じているんですよね。彼女はあくまでも日本人ですし、生まれも国籍も親も日本人なんで。いつも彼女には日本のパスポートをどこまでも持っていくんだからねって言ってるんですけど。
[I feel a sense of crisis over her Japanese proficiency. Mari is, after all, Japanese; she was born in Japan, and her nationality and parents are Japanese. I keep telling her that she is always going to carry her Japanese passport with her no matter where she goes.]

Mari's narrative

Perceptions of her bilingual/bicultural environment

When Mari was five years old and had been living in America for two years, she went to Japan and lived in the care of her grandparents for a month while she went to a Japanese kindergarten. She really enjoyed being at the Japanese kindergarten and staying with her grandparents. Because of this pleasant memory of her stay in Japan, she has very positive images of her grandparents and life in Japan,

including memories of delicious food and wonderful hot springs. Perhaps because of this, she showed a strong interest in living in Japan again in the first interview, as seen in the following excerpt.

Interview Excerpt 12 (April 5, 2003; Mari had been talking in Japanese but had switched to English midway)
Researcher: 日本に住みたいの？どうして？
[You want to live in Japan? Why?]

Mari: もっと新しくて、もっときれいで、もっといっぱい好きな食べ物あって、もっとお勉強早くできる。だって、あの、１年生なのにもうできて、私は２年生なのにまだやっていないものがある。
[Because things are newer, cleaner, and there are lots more foods I like and I can learn faster. The first graders could already do things that I haven't learned yet, even though I'm a second grader.]

Researcher: 日本に住んでから、またアメリカに帰ってくる？
[Will you come back to America after living in Japan?]

Mari: 帰ってくる。[Yes, I will.] I will just visit there. When I become a grown-up, I will have enough money to come back and forth and back and forth and back and forth. And maybe I will go to many countries. But Japan will be my base. I will travel from Japan.

Despite this declaration, however, Mari is clearly more comfortable speaking in English and the use of that language seems to influence her cultural identity, as indicated in the following interview excerpt.

Interview Excerpt 13 (April 5, 2003; interview conducted in English at this point)
Researcher: What makes you feel you are American?
Mari: Well, what makes me a sort of American is, ah... when somebody talks to me in English, when somebody gives me American stuff like, ah.... when I was at a restaurant and they said, "Please pick some" and I wanted to answer in English because I'm more comfortable in English. And something surprises me, and I would say, "Wow!"

Feelings about learning Japanese and attending Japanese school

In spite of the fact that Mari has a strong emotional attachment to Japan and Japanese things, she finds learning Japanese very hard. In my classroom observation, I found that she often struggled with reading Japanese texts. In the following interview segment, I explored her feelings about learning Japanese and attending the Saturday school.

Interview Excerpt 14 (April 5, 2003)
Researcher: どうして日本語の学校にいっていると思う？
[Why do you think you go to the Japanese school?]

Mari: だって勉強するため。
[Well, to study.]

Researcher: いきたくないなって思うことある？
[Are there times when you don't want to go?]

Mari: うん、だって半分楽しくない。
[Yeah, because half of the time it's not fun.]

Researcher: 宿題は大変？
[Is the homework hard?]

Mari: うん。
[Yeah.]

Researcher: 日本人のお友達と日本語で話すの、面倒くさい？
[Talking with your Japanese friends in Japanese—is that tiresome?]

Mari: うん、面倒くさい。英語で話したい。
[Yeah, it's a pain. I want to talk in English.]

In terms of her Japanese language development, Mari feels inferior as a Japanese. In the second interview conducted in 2003, she mentioned that she chose her childhood boyfriend, who is Japanese, because she respects him for his excellent command of Japanese.

Things associated with Japanese cultural identity

Mari has a strong emotional attachment to Japanese movies, food, and people in Japan; these make her feel she is Japanese even more than the fact that she has Japanese nationality. She was the only child in this study who associated Japanese things with her cultural identity. An example of this is shown in the following interview excerpt.

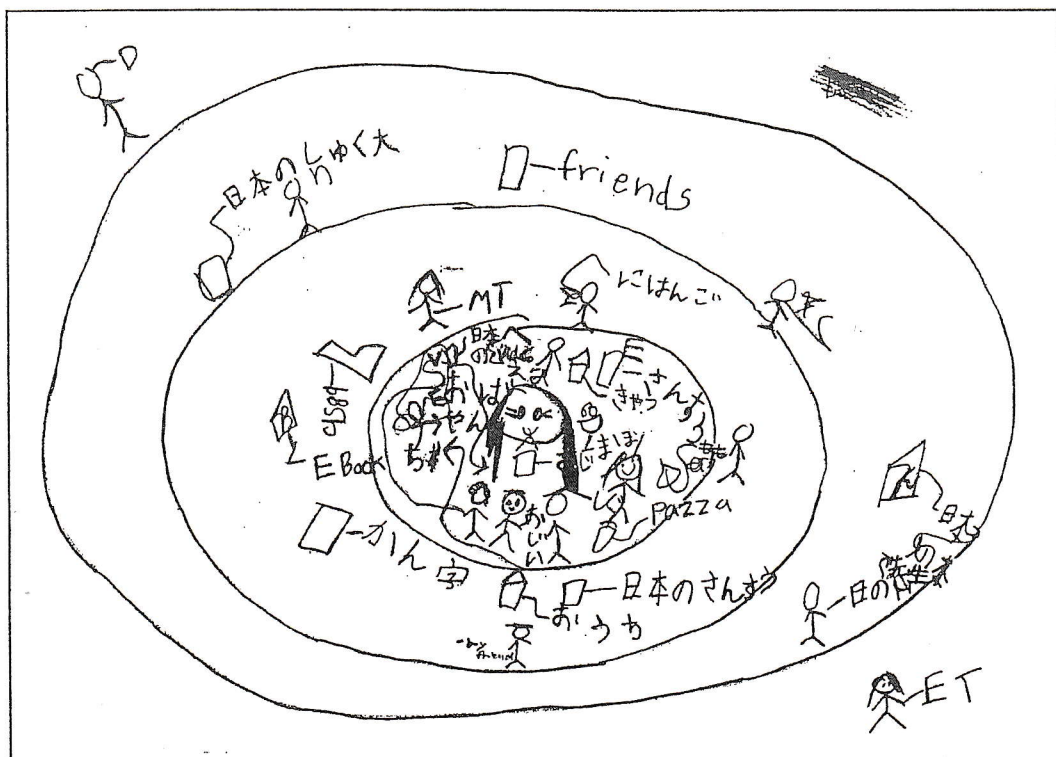**Interview Excerpt 15** (April 15, 2003; interview conducted in English at this point)
Researcher: When you saw it [the movie *Sen to Chihiro* ("Spirited Away")] in Japanese, did you feel you became Japanese or it's just a movie?
Mari: Yes, I feel I became Japanese.
Researcher: Why?
Mari: The main character が私と思う。[I think the main character is me.]
Researcher: What about Japanese food? When you eat Japanese food, do you feel you are Japanese?
Mari: I feel Japanese because, mmmm... it's like I'm in Japan and I'm having Japanese food. It's like Japan is in my head but I'm in New York.

Mari also seemed to associate Japanese family names with Japanese identity. Her mother married an American man in 2002 and took his family name. In May 2003, she gave a birth to a boy, who has both English and Japanese names. Mari seemed to be disappointed that her mother "gave up" her Japanese family name. She told me that she wanted to add her mother's last name to her name and give this additional last name to her younger brother. This comment made it sound as if she had become the one who carries and transmits aspects of Japanese culture attached to the last name in the new family.
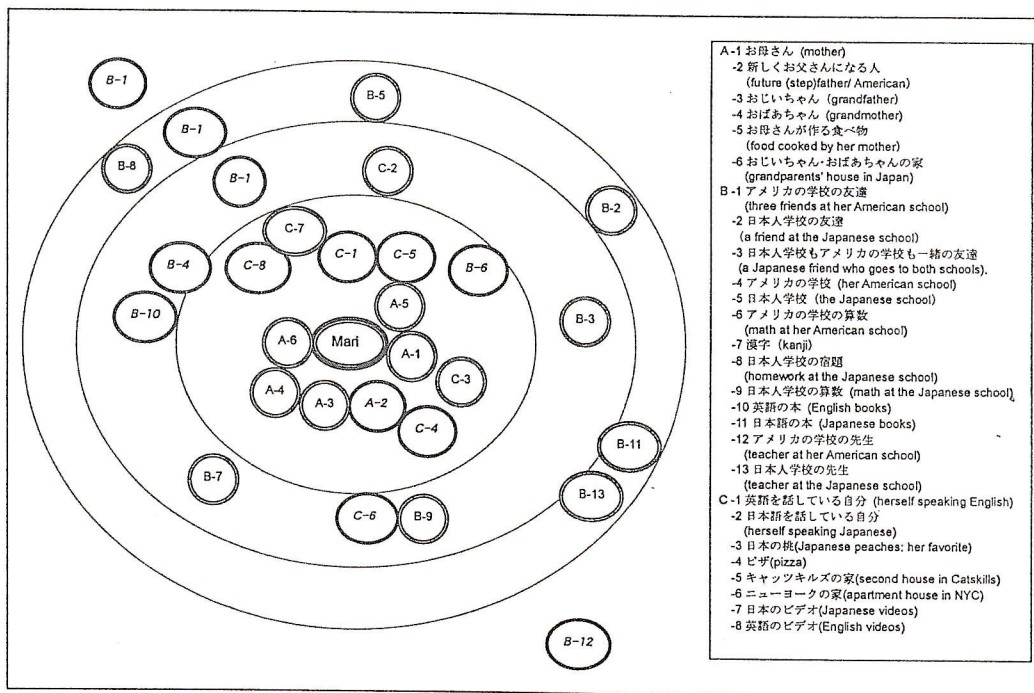
Mari's ripple drawings

The following is a reproduction of the drawing Mari made on April 22, 2003. A schematic representation the researcher made for analysis purposes is shown on the next page, with labels for each figure and double circles for those related to Japan and Japanese culture and single circles for things related to America and American culture. People, activities and things related to the children's family are labeled "A", those related to their schools are labeled "B" and those related to other topics are labeled "C".

Figure 3a: Mari's First Drawing (Original)—Drawn April 22, 2003

In her first "ripple drawing", Mari put her Japanese homework further away from herself than English academic matters. On the other hand, she drew her Japanese grandparents and their house in Japan as well as her mother and Japanese food in the central circle, closer to herself than English-speaking people, whom she placed in the second circle. She positioned a Japanese dish her mother made in the very center of her drawing. This may indicate the influence of her mother's attitudes toward Japanese food, as illustrated by the devotion she showed to making *obento* which I explained above.

Figure 3b: Mari's First Drawing (Researcher's Schematic Representation)

A-1 お母さん (mother)
　-2 新しくお父さんになる人
　　　(future (step)father/ American)
　-3 おじいちゃん (grandfather)
　-4 おばあちゃん (grandmother)
　-5 お母さんが作る食べ物
　　　(food cooked by her mother)
　-6 おじいちゃん・おばあちゃんの家
　　　(grandparents' house in Japan)
B-1 アメリカの学校の友達
　　　(three friends at her American school)
　-2 日本人学校の友達
　　　(a friend at the Japanese school)
　-3 日本人学校もアメリカの学校も一緒の友達
　　　(a Japanese friend who goes to both schools).
　-4 アメリカの学校 (her American school)
　-5 日本人学校 (the Japanese school)
　-6 アメリカの学校の算数
　　　(math at her American school)
　-7 漢字 (kanji)
　-8 日本人学校の宿題
　　　(homework at the Japanese school)
　-9 日本人学校の算数 (math at the Japanese school)
　-10 英語の本 (English books)
　-11 日本語の本 (Japanese books)
　-12 アメリカの学校の先生
　　　(teacher at her American school)
　-13 日本人学校の先生
　　　(teacher at the Japanese school)
C-1 英語を話している自分 (herself speaking English)
　-2 日本語を話している自分
　　　(herself speaking Japanese)
　-3 日本の桃(Japanese peaches: her favorite)
　-4 ピザ(pizza)
　-5 キャッツキルズの家(second house in Catskills)
　-6 ニューヨークの家(apartment house in NYC)
　-7 日本のビデオ(Japanese videos)
　-8 英語のビデオ(English videos)

Several changes from this layout were apparent in the "ripple drawing" Mari made on August 20, 2004. Even though she said in the interview conducted that day that she still considers Japanese academic practice very hard, she positioned speaking Japanese and English in the central circle closer than books and schools. 「話す事は本とか学校よりも本当に本当に大事だから」["Speaking the languages is much more important than books or schools"], she explained. Also, I noticed that Mari made a space between herself and her mother this time, perhaps because in the new family she thinks that her mother has become closer to her American stepfather. Her stepfather mentioned that Mari becomes very defensive when he talks about Japanese culture or cultural practice, even though his comments are not judgmental.

Figure 4a: Mari's Second Drawing (Original)—Drawn August 20, 2004

Figure 4b: Mari's Second Drawing (Researcher's Schematic Representation)

A-1 お母さん (mother)
-2 新しいお父さん (stepfather, American)
-3 弟 (younger brother)
-4 おじいちゃん (grandfather)
-5 おばあちゃん (grandmother)
-6 お母さんが作る食べ物
(food cooked by her mother)
-7 おじいちゃん・おばあちゃんの家
(grandparents' house in Japan)

B-1 アメリカの学校の友達
(a friend at her American school)
-2 日本人学校の友達
(a friend at the Japanese school)
-3 日本人学校もアメリカの学校も一緒の友達
(a Japanese friend who goes to both schools).
-4 アメリカの学校 (her American school)
-5 日本人学校 (the Japanese school)
-6 アメリカの学校の算数
(math at her American school)
-7 日本人学校の算数 (math at the Japanese school)
-8 漢字 (kanji)
-9 日本人学校の宿題
(homework at the Japanese school)
-10 アメリカの学校の宿題
(homework at her American school)
-11 英語の本 (English books)
-12 日本語の本 (Japanese books)
C -1 英語を話すこと (speaking English)
-2 日本語を話すこと (speaking Japanese)
-3 日本の桃 (Japanese peaches: her favorite)
-4 ピザ (pizza)
-5 キャッツキルズの家 (second house in Catskills)
-6 ニューヨークの家 (apartment house in NYC)
-7 日本のビデオ (Japanese videos)
-8 英語のビデオ (English videos)
-9 アメリカの学校の先生
(teacher at her American school)
-10 日本人学校の先生
(teacher at the Japanese school)

Mother's attitudes and Mari's perception of her cultural identity

I sensed that Mari has a longing for Japan and Japanese culture (things/ people in Japan), much as her mother did. Although, as her mother pointed out, Mari's image of Japan is an "illusion" which does not perfectly reflect the reality of Japanese society, this favorable image of Japan may make her accept her cultural identity positively. As Downes (2001) has suggested, being exposed to a different culture can be an advantage for a child in building a solid heritage cultural identity.

Mari has a strong emotional attachment to Japanese food prepared by her mother. This suggests that her mother's practice of making Japanese *obento* for her has a positive influence on Mari's perception of certain aspects of Japanese culture.

On the other hand, her mother's strong language policies and practices do not seem to influence Mari's motivation to learn Japanese, as suggested by her negative reaction towards Japanese schooling.

Case 3: Charles and His Family
Parents' narratives
Family history

Charles's parents moved to New York in 1986. His father came to the U.S. with the intension of becoming a permanent resident. Being a photographer, he thought New York City was an ideal place to practice his career, even though he found the city was different from the image he had had of it before coming. Although the family's reason for immigrating was to further her husband's career, Charles's mother was in no way opposed to the move. In fact, she had actually longed for a chance to live abroad since before she was married. In the interviews, neither parent referred to relatives who had influenced their desire to live abroad.

The couple gave their son an English first name because they thought it would help him adjust to American society smoothly. They also gave Charles a Japanese middle name, but nobody calls him by it.

Since Charles's parents had decided to become permanent residents, his mother tried to learn about bilingual parenting by consulting a number of parents who were raising their children bilingually. She told me success stories of experienced parents who had encouraged the simultaneous development of both languages from childhood and also of couples who had supported English development first and Japanese later. This gave me the impression that she was seeking a "model" for raising her child bilingually.

Language policies and practices at home

Charles's mother actively supported Charles as he did his Japanese homework at home when he attended the Japanese Saturday school. As seen in the following interview excerpt, she tutored him as much as she could in order to ensure his academic achievement at the school.

Interview Excerpt 16 (March 29, 2003)

Charles's Mother: 日本語の宿題には1回3時間くらいかけますね。自分でやると1時間くらいで終わらせちゃうんですけど、私とやると間違えを直しながらやるもんだから、長くかかっちゃうんです。
[I spend three hours at a time helping him with his Japanese homework. If he does it by himself, he can finish it in an hour. But I often correct his mistakes while I am tutoring, so it takes so much time.]

Yet despite this dedication to supporting her son's Japanese studies, I often heard Charles's mother use English with her younger son while I was interviewing Charles. This practice suggests that she might emphasize Charles's academic achievement but not be as concerned about his use of English in communication with his parents.

Attitudes toward Japanese culture

In contrast to Mari's mother, Charles's parents were not concerned about transmitting Japanese food culture to their children, as illustrated by the following interview excerpt.

Interview Excerpt 17 (August 22, 2004)

Charles's Mother: 私がおでんを作っても、子供たちはまったく食べないんで、ミートソースのスパゲッティーを出すんですよ。お正月だって私たちがお雑煮を食べてる横で、(子供は)ピザベーグル食べてます。
[If I cook *oden* for dinner, they refuse to eat it. So I serve them spaghetti with meat sauce. Even at New Years, while we are eating *ozoni* (the traditional Japanese New Year soup), they sit next to us eating pizza bagels.]

When their children went to the Japanese school's summer camp, however, Charles's parents noticed a change in the children's attitudes toward Japanese food. Because they had Japanese-style lunch every day at the camp, the children appeared to grow accustomed to it, and one day, Charles wanted *somen* with *wasabi* (cold Japanese noodles with horseradish) for lunch.

Expectations concerning Charles's Japanese language development and cultural attitudes

Compared to other Japanese parents who are permanent residents in New York, Charles's mother's expectations concerning his Japanese language proficiency are relatively high, as indicated in the following interview excerpt.

Interview Excerpt 18 (March 29, 2003)

Researcher: 将来ですね、チャールズ君の日本語がどの程度になっていてほしいと思っていらっしゃいますか？
[How proficient in Japanese do you want Charles to be in the future?]

Charles's Mother: できれば、せめて会話だけは日本だけで教育を受けている子達とあんまり変わらないでいてほしいなと思っています。もちろんある程度新聞も読めたらいいですけど。

[If possible, I want at least his conversation to be at the same level as children who have been educated only in Japan. Of course, it would be nice if he could read a newspaper to some extent, too.]

Despite these aspirations, Charles's parents stopped sending him to Japanese Saturday school in March 2004. The main reason they gave was to ease the tension caused by the double homework load. They still say they have the same expectation for his Japanese language proficiency; however, the mother also thinks that he, or maybe she herself, needs some "rest".

Concerns and dilemmas

In the first interview, Charles's mother expressed serious concerns about Charles's proficiency in both of his languages, especially in terms of his academic achievement at his two schools. It appeared that what she meant by "raising a child bilingually" involved providing enough support for the child to become equally proficient in both languages, and thus ensuring that his academic achievement levels in both were equally high.

Interview Excerpt 19 (March 29, 2003)

Charles's Mother: ２年生になって通信簿が気になり始めまして、やっぱりリーディングとライティングがあんまりよくないんですね。そのとき（アメリカの学校の）先生に相談したら、「もしバイリンガルに育てたいならとにかくあきらめちゃだめだ」と言われるんですよ。「今は頭の中に二つの部屋を同時に作っているから時間がかかるけど、ある程度のところまで行くと両方伸びる」って言われるんですけど、でも、もう今が一番ジレンマって言うか....

[When he became a second grader (at the American school), I became concerned about his report card. His reading and writing grades were not very good. I consulted his teacher and he said, "If you want to raise your child to be bilingual, you shouldn't give up. In his mind two rooms are being built at the same time, so you must be patient. When he gets to a certain level, both languages will improve." But now is the most frustrating time.]

After they stopped sending Charles to the Japanese school, however, his mother felt that the decision had had a positive effect on his English academic performance. With the support of an English tutor twice a week, he had earned better scores in reading and math. Even though she had already noticed a decline in Charles's Japanese proficiency, his mother seemed not to be particularly concerned about it. Rather, she welcomed the positive change in his attitudes toward learning English.

Charles's narrative

Perceptions of his bilingual/bicultural environment

In the first interview, Charles retained a pleasant memory of relatives in Japan, but he had less emotional attachment to friends at the Japanese school than the other children in this study. He was very proud of his ability to speak both English and Japanese. In order to explore his awareness of his two cultures, I drew his face and asked him to color it with purple and orange crayons, telling him to use purple to indicate the "English Charles" and orange to indicate the "Japanese Charles". He used each of these colors for exactly half of his face. This bicultural perception was also reflected in his tastes in food, games, movies, and videos, with his favorites split equally between his two cultures.

In the August 2004 interview, however, I noticed that this perception had changed. When Charles drew his face this time, only the right ear was colored orange to represent the "Japanese Charles", while the rest, including his whole head, was colored purple to indicate the "English Charles".

Feelings about learning Japanese and attending Japanese school

Charles regarded the Japanese school solely as a place to study, so his performance in his studies, especially on tests, was his main concern. The difficulty he experienced in learning Japanese determined how much he liked the Japanese school. I observed in class that he was very motivated to take kanji tests, which he always got full marks on, but was very reluctant to read aloud because it was "difficult" for him. This may explain his lack of emotional attachment to friends at the Japanese school, as illustrated in the following interview excerpt.

Interview Excerpt 20 (March 29, 2003; interview conducted in English at this point)
Researcher: Why don't you want to go to the Japanese school?
Charles: Because they have hard tests and quizzes! I want to learn Japanese, but I don't want to go to the (Japanese) school.
Researcher: How do you want to learn Japanese then?
Charles: I speak a lot and I'll get better and better. *(pause)*
Researcher: チャールズ君はどうして日本語の学校に行ってるの？
[Why do you go to the Japanese school?]
Charles: Because it's Saturday. Because my mom told me "today is the Japanese school".
Researcher: You think you have to go?
Charles: Yes, I go because Mom told me to do so. Children have to listen to their parents.
Researcher: What do you like about the Japanese school?
Charles: Some tests are easy.

In the interview conducted in August 2004 after Charles had quit the Japanese school, I was surprised to find him talking to me more in Japanese than he had in the previous interview. It seemed that when he quit going to the school, he had been released from the academic pressure he felt to perform well in Japanese and now felt no inferiority about speaking the language. However, he showed his dislike for the Japanese language and schooling directly when I asked him about a summer camp he had just attended at the Japanese school.

Interview Excerpt 21 (August 22, 2004)

Researcher: 日本のサマースクールはどうだった？
[How was the Japanese summer camp?]

Charles: ジャパニーズって大っきらい。英語の方が大好き。
[I hate Japanese. I like English a lot more.]

Researcher: 日本人学校のサマースクールで何した？水泳とか？
What did you do at the summer camp? Did you enjoy swimming?

Charles: 何もしてない。水泳とかも面白くなかった。
[I didn't do anything. The swimming and other stuff were boring.]

Charles's ripple drawings

The drawing Charles made on April 26, 2003 is shown below. A schematic representation the researcher made for analysis purposes is shown on the next page, with labels for each figure and double circles for those related to Japan and Japanese culture and single circles for things related to America and American culture. People, activities and things related to the children's family are labeled "A", those related to their schools are labeled "B" and those related to other topics are labeled "C".

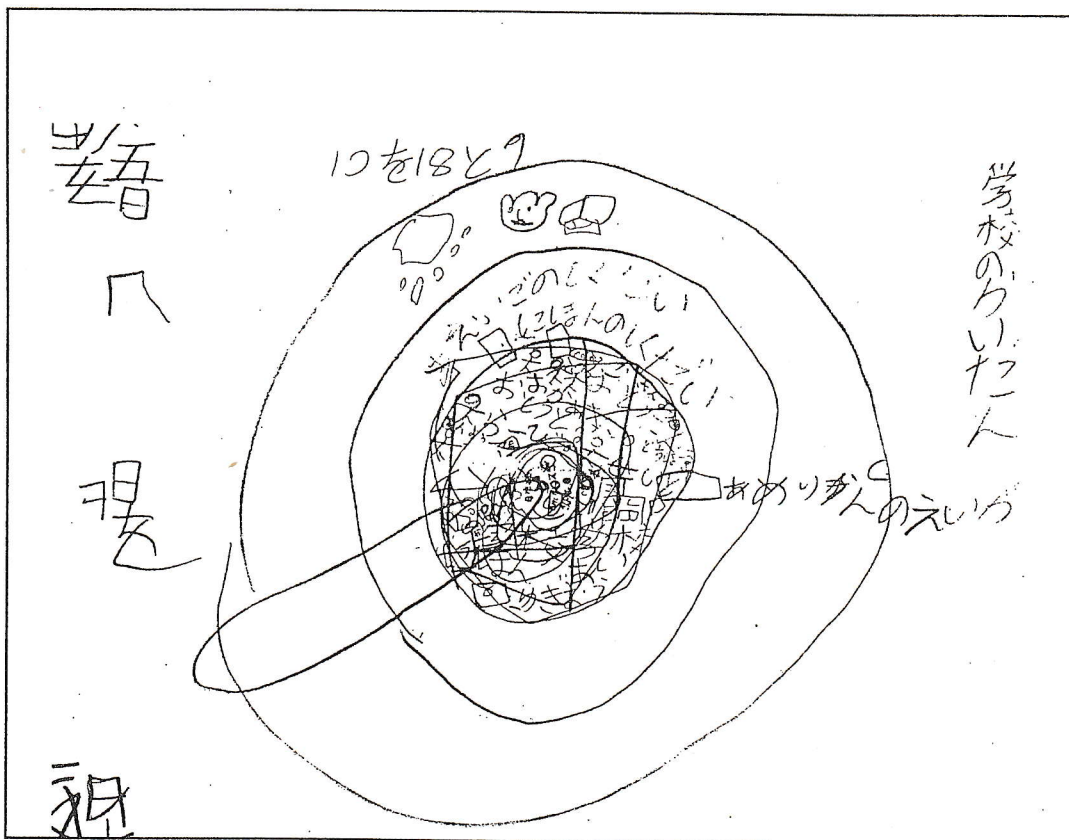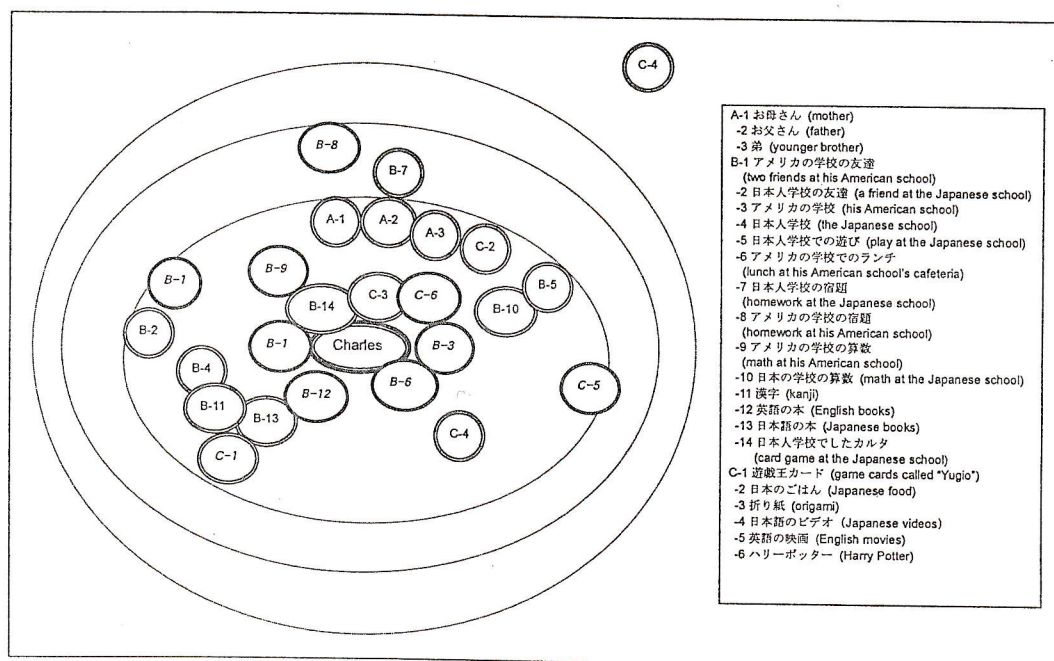**Figure 5a: Charles's First Drawing (Original)—Drawn April 26, 2003**

Figure 5b: Charles's First Drawing (Researcher's Schematic Representation)

A-1 お母さん (mother)
-2 お父さん (father)
-3 弟 (younger brother)
B-1 アメリカの学校の友達
  (two friends at his American school)
-2 日本人学校の友達 (a friend at the Japanese school)
-3 アメリカの学校 (his American school)
-4 日本人学校 (the Japanese school)
-5 日本人学校での遊び (play at the Japanese school)
-6 アメリカの学校でのランチ
  (lunch at his American school's cafeteria)
-7 日本人学校の宿題
  (homework at the Japanese school)
-8 アメリカの学校の宿題
  (homework at his American school)
-9 アメリカの学校の算数
  (math at his American school)
-10 日本の学校の算数 (math at the Japanese school)
-11 漢字 (kanji)
-12 英語の本 (English books)
-13 日本語の本 (Japanese books)
-14 日本人学校でしたカルタ
  (card game at the Japanese school)
C-1 遊戯王カード (game cards called "Yugio")
-2 日本のごはん (Japanese food)
-3 折り紙 (origami)
-4 日本語のビデオ (Japanese videos)
-5 英語の映画 (English movies)
-6 ハリーポッター (Harry Potter)

At this time, Charles had difficulty deciding where he should place people and things in his ripple diagram, probably because it was difficult for him to calculate the distance he felt between himself and other people and objects in his mind. The way he explained his perception of his languages was unique. He said that he thought English had more "hard parts" than "easy parts", while Japanese had the reverse. However, what he meant by "easy" was ambiguous. He told me Japanese was "easier" than English, but he had previously mentioned the difficulty of his Japanese homework.
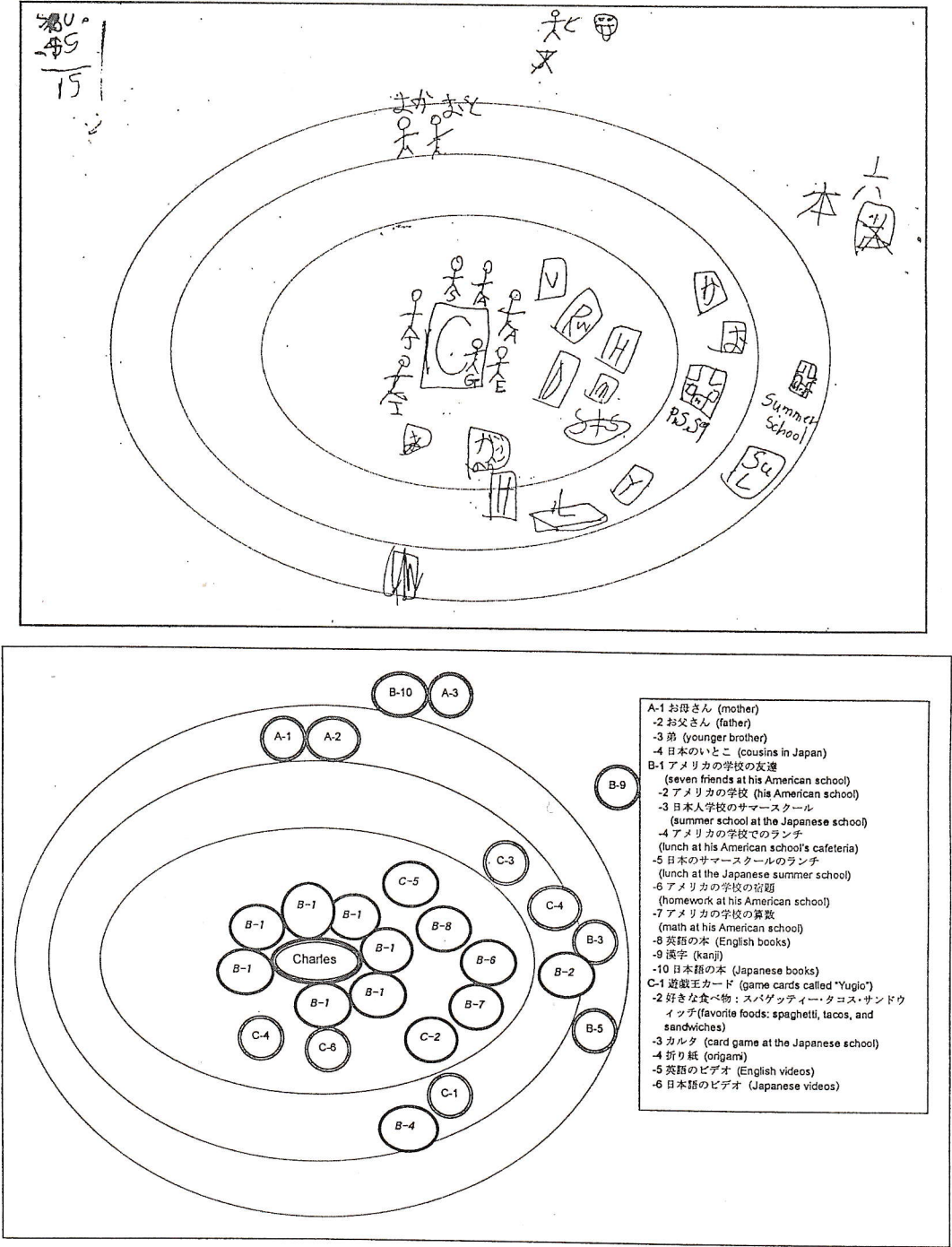
This highlights one of the difficulties in collecting data from young children, as suggested by Holmes (1995). Differences in the cognitive development of the participants lead to discrepancies in the findings and interpretations of the ripples. Therefore, more control must be built into the data collection design.

By August 2004, Charles had developed enough cognitively for the concept of the ripple diagram to be easier for him to understand. The major change between his first and second diagrams is in the position of items related to the Japanese language. In his second drawing, he marginalized kanji and Japanese books, showing direct dislike for them. However, he indicated that he still likes *karuta,* a Japanese card game, by placing it in the second ripple. Charles plays *karuta* with his younger brother in Japanese at home.

Another significant change in the second diagram is the position of his parents. Although they were in the central ripple in Charles's first drawing, they have been replaced by his friends at the American school in the second. In the later diagram, he positioned his parents in the third ripple, while seven

friends at the American school came closest to him in the center of the drawing. This suggests that the influence of his peers exceeded that of his parents.

Figure 6: Charles's Second Drawing (Original and Researcher's Schematic Representation) —Drawn August 22, 2004

A-1 お母さん (mother)
-2 お父さん (father)
-3 弟 (younger brother)
-4 日本のいとこ (cousins in Japan)
B-1 アメリカの学校の友達
   (seven friends at his American school)
-2 アメリカの学校 (his American school)
-3 日本人学校のサマースクール
   (summer school at the Japanese school)
-4 アメリカの学校でのランチ
   (lunch at his American school's cafeteria)
-5 日本のサマースクールのランチ
   (lunch at the Japanese summer school)
-6 アメリカの学校の宿題
   (homework at his American school)
-7 アメリカの学校の算数
   (math at his American school)
-8 英語の本 (English books)
-9 漢字 (kanji)
-10 日本語の本 (Japanese books)
C-1 遊戯王カード (game cards called "Yugio")
-2 好きな食べ物：スパゲッティー・タコス・サンドウ
   イッチ(favorite foods: spaghetti, tacos, and
   sandwiches)
-3 カルタ (card game at the Japanese school)
-4 折り紙 (origami)
-5 英語のビデオ (English videos)
-6 日本語のビデオ (Japanese videos)

Parents' attitudes and Charles's perception of his cultural identity

Charles's case suggests that his mother's emphasis on academic achievement had pressured him, and that this resulted in his concern about evaluations of his performance by the Japanese school and by his mother. After being released from this pressure, he seems to have become more relaxed about speaking Japanese, but retained his negative opinion about Japanese studies.

DISCUSSION

In these case studies, it was observed that parental influence, which reflects parents' cultural attitudes, appears to be significant in both positive and negative ways. In this section, several themes that emerged in more than one case are discussed.

Japanese Language as an Essential Element of Japanese Identity

All the parents in this study considered Japanese language to be an essential element of Japanese identity. However, their actual Japanese practices at home and the standards of Japanese they wanted their children to achieve (parity with peers in Japan or simple communicative Japanese) varied. Aki's mother uses English when her child talks about her day at the American school, while Mari's mother forces herself to use Japanese to her daughter even when she knows it would be much easier to explain the same content in English.

All three children think that learning Japanese is "important"; that it is something that they need to do as "Japanese". Two of the children mentioned that they liked both languages and were interested in learning kanji and reading Japanese stories. However, all three found that the homework from the Japanese Saturday school was hard and noted that it doubled their workload.

The parents' belief in Japanese as an essential element of Japanese identity may be successfully transmitted to their children because the children value learning Japanese despite the difficulty of the task. However, as the differences among the parents' actual attitudes indicated, the parents seem to struggle to find optimal ways to support their children's language development, even though in some cases they are very concerned about their children's lack of Japanese proficiency.

Linguistic Network of Parents and Children

Both the parents' and children's linguistic networks in Japanese were found to be very weak in all three of the families in this study. The peer network of all three children was predominantly composed of English speakers, while their Japanese peer network seemed insufficient to ensure development of their Japanese skills. Most of the parents thought that their communication with other parents at the Japanese school was too little, although they expressed a desire to increase it.

Building a solid linguistic network is a key as well as a challenge for the children's heritage language maintenance (Yoshimitsu, 2000; Landy and Allard,1991). Such a network is also a very important aid for the children in building a positive cultural identity, since it allows them to see the value of their heritage language outside of their home.

Parents' and Children's Views of Japanese Schooling Abroad

A variety of perspectives regarding Japanese schooling in the U.S. were mentioned by the participants. One view was that the purpose of Japanese schooling is to help children acquire academic skills through literacy training in Japanese. Others saw the Japanese school as a place for children to experience Japanese culture and rituals.

The children's perspectives about learning Japanese, especially their motivation for going to the school, seemed to be influenced by their parents' views. As Charles's case indicated, if the mother equates academic achievement with her child's language development, his main concern is likely to be how his mother evaluates him based on his school work. This may explain why Charles was very concerned with the level of his studies and his performance in literacy training at school. On the other hand, Aki's mother wants her child to experience Japanese culture with her friends at the school as "the way it is in Japan". Aki seems to be proud of Japanese culture and willingly introduces elements of Japanese culture such as origami to her friends at her American school. Even though Aki found learning Japanese difficult, she likes both languages and both groups of friends at her Japanese and American schools.

I believe that language learning is an integral part of experiencing any culture. If children regard learning Japanese solely as an academic subject, without realizing its value in their life, they may not be motivated to study it further. Therefore, it is important to balance these two aspects of language learning in order to ensure bilingual development, especially in young children.

Evaluation of Japan in Social and Historical Context

The histories of these families, which could be traced back one or two generations, affected the parents' cultural attitudes towards and perceptions of Japan, which stood in contrast with their children's perceptions of Japan and Japanese culture. Parents whose relatives immigrated to America before World War II thought that this made them appreciate American culture and life styles and reduced their fear of going abroad. It seems that these parents considered America to be somehow superior to Japan at that time.

The same parents pointed out that their children have many Japanese toys, cartoons, movies and snacks and seemed to enjoy them, in contrast to their own perceptions of Japanese products and Japan. Charles said that he felt pleased at being able to read Japanese writing on a Yugio card (a Japanese card game) when his American friends asked him to. This experience seemed to make him realize that his cultural background is "valued" among his American peers, and therefore made him proud of being Japanese.

This contrast between the parents and their children regarding how they perceive their cultural backgrounds to be evaluated in American society may influence their perceptions of Japan and Japanese culture. As Landy and Allard (1991) suggested, the value local society places on immigrants' heritage culture and language has important implications in terms of the children's cultural identity.

Practical Implications

Many immigrant parents agree that language is an essential element of cultural identity; however, they often struggle to support their children's language development. As Charles's case indicated, it is important for parents to understand that a child's academic achievement at school may reveal one aspect of the child's language development, but not the whole picture. In order to motivate a child to learn a language, parents should not neglect the communicative aspect of language development.

The children in this study communicated significantly less frequently in Japanese than in English. Two parents use English with their children even at home because they find it easier for communication, even though the same parents have high expectations for their child's academic achievement in Japanese. Aki's mother said that Japanese conversation with her daughter at home does not go beyond phrases such as "Dinner is ready" or "Go to bed". It is essential to create opportunities for meaningful communication with children in their heritage language. Parents can do this through use of daily activities such as cooking, cleaning, and having dinner. Simple play such as riddles, songs, and word-chain games may also increase enjoyable communication. Watching TV or movies may not be "meaningful communication", but parents can seize this opportunity to discuss or explain the context of these TV programs or movies.

The second implication of these findings focuses on the importance of investigating the parents' life and family histories. Although the parents may not be aware of it, these histories have a great impact on their own cultural attitudes and language use. In Aki's case, her parents seemed to have an attraction to American culture. I assume that this attraction somehow influences their use of English with her at home. On the other hand, Mari's mother never uses English to Mari because of her reaction to the Americanized home environment created by her parents in Japan.

Thus, it may be helpful for parents to write down their own life history and family history and use it to reflect on their own cultural attitudes and language use. They can ask themselves questions like: "How do I feel about my culture and American culture?"; "Is there anyone who had a great influence on my cultural perceptions?"; and "Which language is more comfortable for me, and why?" The answers will clarify the way they behave with their children at present and suggest how they might want to behave in the future. Such reflection may help to reduce any gap between their expectations for their children's behavior and language development and the daily reality experienced by the children.

It is also important for parents to understand that the subcultures experienced by their children play a role in determining their behavior and perceptions. When the heritage culture is somehow valued by the majority culture, the child is likely to become proud of it. Two of the children in my study had experiences of being asked about Japanese toys and language by their American friends, and this interest gave them a certain pride in their heritage culture.

The children in this study also have multicultural awareness and interest in learning other languages. It is helpful in the development of a harmonious bilingual/bicultural identity if the local society holds multiculturalism as one of its values (Hamers & Blanc, 2000). The participants in this study benefit to a certain extent from living in New York City, where multiculturalism is a common fact of life. However, I also know a child who does not want to bring Japanese rice balls to her American school because she

was laughed at for having "weird food". If parents find that the heritage culture is valued in their children's experiences within this subculture, they should take advantage of this situation. If it is not, they might try using different cultural artifacts such as games, music, stories, and clothes to introduce the heritage culture to their children's friends and parents, school, or community.

FOR FUTURE STUDY

One of the changes that I found in all three children's ripple diagrams was the distance between the children and their parents. As they grow up, this distance will become significant and their peer relations in their learning context will become more influential, as seen in Charles's second diagram. It may be expected, therefore, that the maintenance of heritage culture and language and positive feelings towards them, which are evident in early childhood development as seen in the first diagrams, will be challenged. Since the children's negotiation between home and learning contexts will become more complex, their learning contexts in relation to their home environment should be investigated as well.

Thus, the structure of the ripple diagrams needs modification for older children to depict the complexity of their growing cultural awareness. It would be advisable to consider environmental factors such as time of year or even day of the interview in future research.

The present study is the beginning of the three child participants' narratives of their bilingual experience. I hope their stories will contribute to further discussions about bilingual parenting.

NOTES
1. The Saturday school, or *hoshuko,* is a school for Japanese children who go to American schools but seek Japanese academic support for their bilingual development.
2. The names of the participants were changed to protect their privacy.
3. Aki goes to an alternative school in Manhattan in which multiculturalism is one of the main focuses of the curriculum.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

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