Acquiring the Heritage Language: A Case Study of a Japanese Language School in Hawai'i

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After experiencing language shift, many parents in the Japanese community in Hawai'i, prompted by the enhanced international status of Japan, are sending their children to after-school Japanese language schools to provide them with the opportunity to learn their heritage language. However, this has not led to widespread bilingualism. This paper begins by tracing the history of Japanese language maintenance and revitalization efforts in Hawai'i and comparing the level of support for the heritage language to Fishman's Graded Intergenerational Dislocation Scale. It then moves on to report on a case study of one of the 12 Japanese language schools in O'ahu in order to determine why language revitalization efforts have not been more successful. A number of possible causes are discovered: the dominance of English in the classroom, a view of reading that emphasizes decoding over critical understanding, lack of motivation and involuntary participation on the part of the students, a gap between the school's goals and the desires of the parents and students, and budgetary constraints that may have led to lower teacher morale. This paper concludes by exploring possible options to overcome these problems and promote bilingualism in the Japanese community, including immersion and two-way bilingual programs in the public schools.

＜ハワイの日系人社会における日本語習得：ハワイの日本語学校のケーススタディー＞
移民史初期の熱心な母語維持活動にもかかわらず、戦後ハワイの日系人社会での使用言語は英語へと変わってしまった。しかし、終戦後５０年以上がたち、日米関係の復興と日本経済の急伸にともない日本語能力が重視されるようになってきた今、多くの日系人が日本語を学ぶよう努めている。しかし、こういった努力もバイリンガリズムにつながるまでには至っていない。そこで、本稿では、まずハワイにおける日本語維持そして習得活動の歴史をたどり、FishmanのGraded Intergenerational Dislocation Scale (1990, 1991) に現状を照らし合わせてみた。そして、現存する１２校の日本語学校の１校におけるケーススタディーの結果をもとに、なぜ日本語学校がバイリンガリズム推進にそれほど貢献していないのかを追及してみた。教室内で英語が主に使われていた事、内容理解というよりもひらがな／カタカナ／漢字が読める事を重視した読みの指導が行われている事、学校の指導目標と生徒及び父兄の期待とに差異がみられる事、生徒の動機が低く、不本意に参加している者が多い事などの問題点が明らかになった。最後に、より安定したバイリンガリズムをもたらすには何をしていくべきかを考慮してみた。

INTRODUCTION

The Japanese community in Hawai'i[1] is large, close-knit, and well-established, with a history of over ninety years and a tradition of native language support through after-school language programs. Yet despite efforts made to ensure maintenance of the Japanese language, language shift took place in three generations, much as it has in many other immigrant communities around the world (Fishman, 1985). Considering the historical context, this is not at all surprising. The advent of the two world wars and the consequent Americanization campaigns (Adachi, 1994; Tamura, 1994; Kotani, 1985) inevitably forced the immigrants to abandon Japanese in favor of English.

Yet now that over 50 years have passed since the end of World War Two, with better bilateral relations and the impressive growth of the Japanese economy, the Japanese language has come to be viewed more positively. Today more people are making efforts to learn the language, both in and outside of the Japanese community. Japanese is taught at different levels of education, ranging from afternoon language schools and high schools to company classes. In some cases, proficiency in Japanese leads to better job opportunities or higher wages. Thus, on the surface, there seems to be enough local support to

ensure a certain degree of Japanese- English bilingualism.

Nonetheless, there are not many active bilingual individuals in the Japanese community, much less societal bilingualism. In an attempt to explore why efforts at revitalizing the Japanese language and promoting stable bilingualism have yet to be successful, I made a case study of a Japanese language school in the Japanese community in Hawai'i. This paper will discuss the results of that study, focussing on problems discovered and suggesting alternatives that might ensure higher rates of bilingualism.

Before getting into my report on the Waimea Japanese Language School, [2] I will give a brief history of the Japanese community in Hawai'i, focussing on Japanese language use and maintenance efforts, as well as an overview of research on language shift, maintenance and revitalization, explaining how it pertains to the situation in this community.

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

Japanese migration to Hawai'i dates back to the late 19th century, when a Hawai'ian need for plantation laborers coincided with a Japanese change in emigration policy. After the Meiji Restoration in 1868, Japan allowed emigration for the first time in over 300 years, opening the way for impoverished farmers to seek better lives overseas. By 1920, the influx of Japanese (Issei, or first-generation immigrants) was substantial, with the immigrants constituting 42.7% of the population in Hawai'i (Tamura, 1994).

Over seventy years have passed since then, and Japanese residency has now extended to the fourth and fifth generations. According to the 1990 Census, there are 198,732 Japanese living in Hawai'i, of whom 181,697 are local, 6,893 Japan-born naturalized citizens, and 10,142 Japan-born non-citizens. They comprise 22% of all Asians and form the biggest Asian group in Hawai'i.

By and large, the Japanese in Hawai'i appear to have high group solidarity. A survey conducted in 1971 involving 477 Japanese in Honolulu (Suzuki, et al.,1972, summarized in Hazama et. al., 1986) shows a strong tie among Japanese counterparts in interpersonal relationships: "80% responded that they have ethnic Japanese spouses", and "60% answered that their close friends were ethnic Japanese" (p. 13).

The Nisei (or second generation) born in Hawai'i were, by virtue of their birthplace, American citizens. Most never had the opportunity to go to Japan. In 1896, the Hawai'i Territorial Law designated English as the medium of instruction in the compulsory education system, which covered all children between the ages of six and fourteen. Children in this age range were required to attend either public or private schools under this system (Adachi, 1994; Kotani, 1985).

Because the Japanese community wished to promote acquisition of the Japanese language and development of a "wholesome Japanese spirit" by the Nisei children (Adachi, 1994, p. 41), after-school Japanese language schools were established to be "supplementary to and autonomous from the public schools" (Huebner, 1985, p.35). The first Japanese language school[3] was founded in 1893 on the Big Island. The number of such schools expanded rapidly, and by 1926, after only 33 years, there were 160 in Hawai'i (Ozawa, 1972). These schools generally offered classes for children between kindergarten and

grade 12 (high school). Most of the Nisei children attended these language schools "every day after public school classes as if it were their natural obligation" because their parents wished them to maintain Japanese language and cultural identity (Adachi, 1994, p. 42). By 1920, 20,514 students--an overwhelming 97.7% of the Nisei--were enrolled in these schools (Kotani, 1985). Classes were usually held three hours daily from Monday through Saturday (Kotani, 1985). The teachers were often sent in from Japan and textbooks were imported from Japan as well (Ozawa, 1972; Kotani, 1985). All instruction was given in Japanese and the rule specifying use of Japanese in class was strictly enforced.

However, the haole (Caucasians of European descent) community in Hawai'i began to fear such solidarity among the Japanese, and an Americanization campaign gradually escalated in the 1920s. Two decades later, the Second World War hit the Japanese community hard. After the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor on December 7, 1941, all Japanese language schools were closed and the use of Japanese was strictly forbidden. With the closing-down of the language schools, the Issei parents' hesitancy to speak Japanese, and the emphasis on English supremacy, the younger children quickly forgot their Japanese and began to use English at home. Their parents, who were forced to use English, in effect became their children's students (Adachi, 1994).

After the war, the Issei community began a campaign to revive the Japanese language schools, and in 1947, smaller scale Japanese schools began to be established. By the late 1950s, the number of these schools had increased to 74 (Kimura, 1956). Nevertheless, with the passing of the Issei generation, these schools as an institution declined in number and influence, never having regained the popularity of the pre-war Japanese schools. Moreover, with the passing of the Issei, the language of the home shifted to English (Kimura, 1956).

Today, there are twelve Japanese language schools catering to the permanent Japanese community on O'ahu.[4] Nearly 100% of the students today come to the Japanese schools from a home environment where only English is spoken. The home language in the Japanese community has long since shifted to English except between the Issei elders and their Nisei children. Many of these Nisei, now in their 50s or 60s, grew up during the peak of the Americanization campaign and did not have the opportunity to attend pre-war Japanese language schools. Therefore, speaking Japanese has never been easy for them, if they spoke it at all. The majority of younger parents with school-age children are Sanseis and Yonseis (third and fourth generation Japanese-Americans) who grew up in an exclusively English environment. Although some occasionally may have overheard their parents speak to their grandparents in Japanese, generally speaking, they never participated in the interaction (Usui, 1996).

Apparently, however, many Sansei and Yonsei parents today want the younger generation to learn Japanese, both to confirm their cultural heritage and because knowledge of the language brings economic advantages in Hawai'i. Because they themselves are monolingual, they have no choice but to rely on outside schooling. Some of them therefore send their children to Japanese language schools hoping to promote bilingualism among the youth.

In attempting to analyze the chances for success of this strategy, I will first turn to previous research on language shift, maintenance and revitalization, analyzing the situation of the Japanese community in Hawai'i in light of this research.

LANGUAGE SHIFT, MAINTENANCE AND REVITALIZATION

The history of the language shift in the Japanese community in Hawai'i outlined above follows patterns discovered in research on other immigrant groups around the world. When power differentials or reward and sanction differentials exist between two groups, as can be seen between an immigrant group and a host group, bilingualism rarely lasts up to or beyond the third generation, but instead, gives way to the stronger language (Fishman, 1985). In such contexts, the subordinate group will attempt to take on the characteristics of the dominant group so as to achieve equality with that group (Giles et. al., 1977). Thus, bilingualism without diglossia (balanced distribution of function between a minority and a dominant language) tends to give way to language shift. This change usually takes place in three generations (Fishman, 1985). As we have seen above, this is the type of shift that took place in the Japanese community in Hawai'i, which is now in the third and fourth generations (Suzuki et.al., 1972; Usui, 1996).

Although language shift is a well-documented phenomenon, it is not an irreversible process. Fishman (1991) has studied cases in which this process has been reversed in order to revive cultural heritage languages. The stages communities go through in reversing language shift were cataloged in his Graded Intergenerational Dislocation Scale (or GIDS), which is reproduced in Figure 1.

FIGURE 1: Graded Intergenerational Dislocation Scale

1. Education, work sphere, mass media and governmental operations at higher and nationwide levels
2. Local/regional mass media and governmental services
3. The local/regional (i.e. non-neighborhood) work sphere, both among Xmen and among Ymen.

4b. Public schools for Xish children, offering some instruction via Xish, but substantially under Yish curricular and staffing control

4a. Schools in lieu of compulsory education and substantially under Xish curricular and staffing control

II. RLS to transcend diglossia, subsequent to its attainment

5. Schools for literacy acquisition, for the old and for the young, and not in lieu of compulsory education
6. The intergenerational and demographically concentrated home-family-neighborhood: the basis of mother tongue transmission
7. Cultural interaction in Xish primarily involving the community-based older generation
8. Reconstructing Xish and adult acquisition of XSL

I. RLS to attain diglossia (assuming prior ideological clarification)

Notes:

1. Reproduced from Fishman, 1991, p.395.
2. RLS indicates reversing language shift.
3. Xmen indicates people of the minority; Ymen indicates people of the majority; Xish, the minority language and Yish, the majority language, etc.; XSL indicates learning the minority language as a second language.

Fishman's Graded Intergenerational Dislocation Scale (Figure 1) is read from the bottom up (stage 8 to stage1). Stages 8 to 5 (Area I) indicate use of the minority language within the minority community (internal use), whereas stages 4a to 1 (Area II) signify external use. Stage 8 (reconstructing the minority language and the adult population learning it as a second language) is the basis for reversing language shift (hereafter referred to as "RLS"), while stage 1 signifies the strongest possible external support for RLS. According to Fishman's analysis, stages 8 to 5 on the scale are the minimum requirements for ensuring diglossia (use of two languages, each for a different function or sphere of activities), and do not involve major costs nor require dominant culture cooperation (1991). In other words, attainment of stages 8 to 5 will be the proof of strong self-affirmation by minority language speakers, which is vital to RLS.

Fishman also argues that attaining stage 6, which constitutes the core of the entire intergenerational transmission, is a necessary, if not a sufficient, goal of RLS (1991). That is to say, if intergenerational transmission of a home language is lacking, that language is most likely to be replaced by the dominant language of the community. Thus, it is important for us to look at the degree to which a language is used in the community. As Fishman states "home-family-neighborhood-community reinforcement ... constitutes the heart of the entire intergenerational transmission ...." (1991, p. 398). Kulick (1994) also stresses the importance of looking at the socialization patterns children experience and how the elder group perceives the necessity of teaching their language to them.

I would now like to analyze the conditions in the Japanese community in Hawai'i in light of Fishman's research. As we have seen above, intergenerational transmission of Japanese in the community (stage 6) no longer exists. Despite the high endogamy rate (80%) and high solidarity in social groups (60%) (Suzuki et al., 1972, summarized in Hazama et. al., 1986), there is no "home-family-neighborhood-community reinforcement". Nevertheless, there are Japanese language activities at stages 1, 2, 3 and 5, not to mention a strong need for the Japanese language (see Usui, 1996). Details of these language supports are given in Figure 2.

FIGURE 2: Japanese Language Activities in the Hawai'ian Community Analyzed According to Fishman's GIDS

Stage 1 (work sphere):	Trade, interpretation, tourist industry
Stage 2 (mass media):	TV: KIKU (Oceanic 21) and NGN (premium cable channel) Radio stations: KZOO 1210 AM, KJPN 940 and KORL 99 FM Newspapers: *Hawai'i Hochi* (daily, 80% in Japanese); the *Hawai'i Herald* (bimonthly, written in English); Hawai'i Pacific Press (monthly, bilingual); the *East-West Journal* (semimonthly, written in Japanese).
Stage 3 (local work sphere):	Restaurants, bookstores
Stage 5 (schools for literacy acquisition):	12 community-based after-school Japanese language schools

For a community in which intergenerational language transmission has ceased, the Japanese community in Hawai'i could be said to provide a rich minority language environment, and thus, it might appear to be relatively easy to maintain the language or acquire it.

However, Fishman has found that stage 5 type of schools alone (e.g., after-school Japanese language schools or Ethnic-Community Mother Tongue Schools [ECMTS]), without the support of activities in stages 8 to 6, are not sufficient to achieve RLS (Fishman, 1985) or promote stable bilingualism. Fishman argues that this is because after-school language schools offer social rewards that are generally weaker, later, and briefer than what he terms primary reward systems (Fishman, 1985). In other words, students do not usually work to be rewarded by their immediate social institutions (in most cases, compulsory education schools) themselves, but rather by institutions outside of the school (i.e. in the work sphere or higher education), later in their lives, if at all (Fishman, 1985). Therefore, it becomes crucial that there be apparent, encouraging rewards by the students' immediate social institutions, in order for after-school language schools (stage 5 type schools) to make significant contributions toward RLS.

Fishman (1985) also argues that the flow of language maintenance influence is much greater from home and community into the school than vice versa. This is particularly true if there are no other domains outside of the home and community that can foster language maintenance in the school (Fishman, 1985). However, where intergenerational transmission has long been discontinued but there are other domains which require the use of the minority language (e.g., the work sphere or governmental operations at higher and nationwide levels), as in the case of Japanese in Hawai'i, schools can contribute effectively to stable bilingualism if they offer strong enough language support. It could well be said that effective bilingual schools are the key to ensuring stable bilingualism in such cases. Stage 4a or 4b type Japanese schools (e.g., two-way bilingual programs or immersion programs), which are offered in the compulsory education system, are essential.

Fishman (1985), Lo Bianco (1990) and other researchers claim that compartmentalization, functions and domains of the minority languages being distinctively separated from those of the dominant language, is also an important factor for bilingualism and stable societal biculturalism to survive in a society. Janusz, in his study of a Saturday school in Melbourne, found that the more domains in which a language is employed, the more successfully the language is acquired (1996, p.14). Students who attended Polish mass (church), have their grandparents living in their homes or in the vicinity and/or use Polish language with parents, relatives and peers were successful in acquiring all four Polish macrockills (reading, understanding, speaking, writing), even if they had spent little or no time at school in Poland (see Janusz, 1996 for more details). Janusz also reports that the longer one stayed in Australia, the less s/he used Polish, and that boys tended to show more favourable attitudes towards their heritage language.

With this overview of research on language shift, maintenance and revitalization as background, I would now like to look at one of the Japanese language schools in Hawai'i to see how it contributes to, or fails to contribute to, the reversal of language shift in the community there.

CASE STUDY: WAIMEA JAPANESE LANGUAGE SCHOOL

The Waimea Japanese Language School (pseudonym) is a K through 9 (kindergarten through 9th grade) after-school language school which allows students to enroll from either kindergarten or first

grade. Students come to school for 50 minutes daily from Monday to Friday.[5] Children in kindergarten through third grade come from 2:45 to 3:35 p.m. and those in fourth grade through ninth grade come from 3:40 to 4:30 p.m.

There were about 70 students enrolled in the school at the time of this study: 10 to 12 students in grades K through 4, five fifth graders, five sixth graders, two seventh graders, no eighth graders, and three ninth graders. All the students were of Japanese ancestry except two non-Japanese students in the second grade.

There were four teachers, each responsible for two or three grade years. These teachers were mainly long-time residents of Hawai'i who were originally from Japan, for the principal holds a strong belief that the best teachers of Japanese are those who were educated in Japan. They were all women in their late 40s or 50s who love children and have extra time, their own children being old enough to take care of themselves. All except one were novice teachers when they started teaching at this school, and no special training was provided.

METHODS AND PROCEDURES

Data in this study were collected through qualitative inquiry, which allows the researcher to approach the inherent complexity of social interaction and to do justice to that complexity, to respect it in its own rights (Glesne and Peshkin, 1992). To minimize biased data, triangulation, the use of multiple data-collection techniques (observation, multiple interviews and documentation), was employed.

Data at Waimea Japanese Language School were collected through multiple interviews (formal and informal), observations and documentation. I spent 3.5 months collecting data. I formally interviewed the principal, three of the four teachers, two mothers and three students. All formal interviews were tape recorded and transcribed. Informal interviews were carried out throughout my presence at the school with all parties involved. Records of such interviews were kept in my journal.

In addition to the regular classes, observations were made of school events (e.g., Girl's Day, monthly reading festivals [*yomikata kai*], an annual speech festival [*hanashikata kai*], and graduation ceremony), and the time before and after classes. All records of the observations were kept in my journal. I observed the second and the ninth grade classes every Thursday for the first two months and every day for the following three weeks. Then I spent a week with the first and the sixth grade classes, teaching the class as a substitute for the following week. I spent the last week observing the other classes.

Data analysis were carried out by looking for patterns of thought and behavior (Fetterman, 1989), categorizing, using taxonomies, and synthesizing and interpreting the data in reference to different theories (Glesne and Peshkin, 1992). Data analysis was done simultaneously with data collection to focus and shape the study as it proceeded (Glesne and Peshkin, 1992). For a complete report of this data, see Usui,1996.

DESCRIPTION

Curriculum

The school objective, as stated by the principal, is "to familiarize the children with the Japanese language and arouse interest in Japanese language and culture". This is based on her belief that "if children developed a dislike of Japan or the Japanese language and culture in their childhood, they would never have another chance to familiarize themselves with Japanese language and culture."

The curriculum places heavy emphasis on literacy skills (reading and writing). One of the goals for the kindergarten class is to be able to recognize each of the 50 *hiragana*, the most frequently used syllabary for writing Japanese. The primary objective of the first grade is to master reading and writing the 50 *hiragana* in words and phrases. In the second grade, students are expected to learn *katakana* (a second syllabary used most often for foreign loan words and onomatopoeia); basic *kanji* (the Chinese characters used in Japanese writing) are also introduced in second grade. The number of *kanji* to be mastered increases with each grade after that.

Each student is given a reader and a workbook for his/her grade level. These textbooks are published by the Hawai'i *Kyoiku Kai* (Education Association), a community-based organization founded to promote Japanese language education. The textbooks cover topics related to both Hawai'i (e.g., Flowers in Hawai'i and Pearl Harbor) and Japanese culture (e.g., *Hina matsuri* [Girls' Day] and *Kodomonohi* [Boys' Day]). Completing the workbook for the grade level is a requirement for promotion to the next grade. As a result, the last few months of the school year are dedicated to finishing the workbooks.

Japanese arts and crafts such as origami are occasionally introduced. Students make origami boxes for candies for Girls' Day and origami carp for Boys' Day. Students also learn a few Japanese folk songs every year. The songs they learn are either seasonal or related to festivals that are coming up: (*Koinobori* for Boy's Day, *Hina Matsuri* for Girl's Day). In the higher grades, *shodo* (Japanese brush calligraphy) is also introduced.

Class sessions are typically divided into three parts: reading, writing, and doing the workbook. Cultural activities were also often included. The following is a description of a third grade class as recorded in my journal for March 9, 1995:

> After the initiation ceremony (*gorei, aisatu*), they spent fifteen minutes or so practicing reading for the *yomikata kai* (reading meet) next Thursday. The boys and the girls were reading different materials. Boys started the recitation activity. They came in three different groups and recited the passage. Then the girls followed. After the practice, they were given a *kanji* practice sheet to review all the *kanji* they have practiced during the third grade. They were engaged in this for the next 20 minutes. The teacher and myself went around and helped the students work on the worksheets. The last activity was singing songs. Today they only had time for one song (*Hina Matsuri* [the Girls' Day song]).

In addition, several activities outside the regular curriculum are promoted. A *yomikata kai* (a reading meet in which the students go up on stage in groups and read in front of students from other classes) is held monthly. One *hanashikata kai* (a contest in which students perform a speech they have memorized in front of the parents) is held annually. Girls' Day and Boys' Day are celebrated during class.

The New Year's Party (*shinnen kai*) is another big event. At the end of the year, the *shugyoshiki* (the ceremony to mark the end of school year) and the *sotsugyoshiki* (the graduation ceremony) are held following the Japanese ceremonial traditions. Each student goes up to the stage to receive from the principal a certificate marking the completion of the grade level or a diploma signifying graduation. Students are also given such awards as *kaikinsho* (for perfect attendance), *seikinsho* (minimal absences), *doryokusho* (best effort) and *yushusho* (best student). These awards are presented to motivate the students for the following year.

The following is my journal account of what I observed on Girls' Day (March 3, 1995):

> They were celebrating Girls' Day or *Hina Matsuri,* a Japanese festival. One class was engaged in origami, one was trying to make a frame for the *ohinasama* (the princess) and *odairisama* (the prince) dolls, the other class was busy drawing and coloring pictures related to Girls' Day. Each of them received an origami box with *mochi* (rice cakes) that the parents readied the night before.

This last observation leads me into my next topic: the involvement of parents in school activities.

Parental Involvement

The set-up of the school presumes a fair amount of parental involvement in encouraging the students and facilitating preparations for special events. For example, every Friday, parents receive an envelope with the work their children did during the week. They are expected to look at it, then sign the envelop and have their children return it on Monday. I observed that about seventy percent of the students returned the envelop with their parents' signatures.

There is also a group formed by the mothers that plans and organizes events (preparing snacks for Girls' Day and Boys' Day, handling child supervision and providing refreshments for events such as the *hanashikata kai*).

Every school event, including the monthly *yomikata kai*, is videotaped and the tapes are then made available for purchase. Another aspect of parental involvement is dropping off and picking up the children five days a week.

Thus enrollment in the school involves a fair time commitment on the part of the parents.

Ties with the Community

The Hawai'ian Japanese community, as represented by the Hawai'i *Kyoiku Kai* (Education Association), sponsors two symbolic events for the Japanese schools each year. One is the big annual tournament called the Hawai'i *Nihongo Kyoiku* (Japanese Language Education) Festival. Two or three students are selected from each of the twelve Japanese language schools on O'ahu to give a speech. The entire speech contest is broadcast on KZOO radio (a Japanese radio station) and the winners are awarded different prizes, including a trip to Japan. Three students from the Waimea Japanese Language School participated in 1995. Unfortunately, all three of them indicated to me that it was a traumatic experience, since their participation was involuntary, having been forced on them by their mothers.

The other community-sponsored annual event is the presentation of the Hawai'i *Kyoiku Kai* Award, which is given to one ninth grader from each of the twelve schools. Students are judged in terms of attendance and participation at the end of the school year, and the award is given to the student who is considered to be the best student in their grade at their school. The twelve winners are invited to a reception where they each receive a plaque, gift-certificate and a Japanese-English dictionary. *Hawai'i Hochi*, a local daily Japanese language newspaper, publishes a report on their achievement.

In this way, the community tries to provide extra motivation for achievement in after-school language studies.

OBSERVATIONS

Language Use in the Classroom

As mentioned above, in the prewar Japanese language schools all instruction was in Japanese and the rule requiring students to use Japanese in class was strictly enforced. This system has obvious merits in terms of support for a minority language.

However, in all classrooms that I observed at the Waimea Japanese Language School, English was the primary language used in class. Except for some formulaic phrases and textbook Japanese, the rest of the instruction was in English. In both formal and Informal interviews, teachers explained that they believed extensive use of Japanese would only decrease the students' comprehension.

Regardless of the language the teacher was using, the students adamantly responded in English. I even observed some students making fun of the teachers' broken English. Needless to say, the language used among the students was nearly one hundred percent English.

The following is my journal account of what I observed in the kindergarten classroom on May 21, 1995. The student mentioned here was a native Japanese speaking child:

> I was so surprised to hear Kaz[6] speak in English to the teacher. Why him in English? I thought he was more fluent in Japanese than in English. He has only recently moved to Hawai'i and Japanese is the only language spoken at home.

The teacher told me later that it was peer pressure to speak in English that forced this student to use the little English he knew in front of his peers. Only in privacy would he speak to her in Japanese.

The situation was much the same for a fourth grader who had moved to Hawai'i about ten years earlier with his family. Unlike the rest of his peers, his home language was Japanese. But he, too, although fluent in Japanese, did not show his proficiency in class. When I approached him privately, he conversed with me in Japanese, but never in public.

Fishman (1976) suggests that the use of a specific language may be expected for particular institutions within particular domains of social life. As Edelsky (1991) explains, the marked language (in this case Japanese), "requires some deliberate activity on its behalf before it is used for carrying on the business of the institution or domain" (p. 25). Needless to say, English, the unmarked language, is the language of this institution.

The use of the Japanese language was therefore limited to the function of literacy at the Waimea Japanese Language School. In other words, reading and writing were the main domain of Japanese language use.

Reading Comprehension

As we have seen, while the Japanese language was not used for oral communication, it was used for literacy activities at the Waimea Japanese Language School. Moreover, the curriculum was designed to focus on the development of literacy skills. Yet even though reading was the main focus of the curriculum and the students I observed appeared to read Japanese aloud quite fluently, I was left with some doubt as to whether they really understood what they read.

During an informal interview, James' mother remarked, "James was practicing his lines earlier today [for the *hanashikata kai*] so I asked him what they meant, but he shrugged his shoulders and said, 'I don't know.'" This suggests that James could pronounce the words printed in the text, but not "read" them.

Teachers also hinted that students could not understand what they read. The teacher in charge of the third and ninth grade classes noted that many students complained about the fact that they were not allowed to memorize the passages they were supposed to read for the *yomikata kai*. Also, the teacher who taught the first and sixth grade classes commented, "They fill in the workbook but they don't care about meaning."

This phenomenon may be better understood if we consider what it means to read. Weaver (1994, p. 15)) identifies three possible views of reading:

View 1 [decoding]:	Learning to read means learning to pronounce words.
View 2 [semantics]:	Learning to read means learning to identify words and understand their meaning.
View 3 [critical reading]:	Learning to read means learning to bring meaning to a text in order to get meaning from, or understand, a text.

The view of reading observed in this Japanese language school is the first view described by Weaver, that is, that reading is decoding. This view reflects the assumption that if one can pronounce written words, one has the ability to read. However, Weaver (1994) suggests that pronouncing words alone is not reading if one cannot also get the meaning of the words.

Thus, it may be concluded that many of the students at the Waimea Japanese Language School were not able to read Japanese despite the fact that this was the main focus of the curriculum.

Involuntary Participation

The two formal parent interviews I conducted suggested that parents send their children to this Japanese language school to give them what they themselves didn't get--the language and culture of their heritage--and to provide better opportunities for their children. Knowing Japanese is seen as an advantage by the parents, as seen in the following comments.

Parent A: "...I don't really speak Japanese ... I want her to know."

Parent B: "You know, in Hawai'i, you can get ahead if you know Japanese. So this might help her if she wants to continue later in school, in college."

However, such parental aspirations did not seem to be well understood by the children. The majority of the students appeared to go to the Japanese language school reluctantly, feeling pressured to go by their mothers. This sense of being forced to attend seems to grow as they ascend grade levels. Two of the six graders commented, "[It's] BORING! I come here 'cause my mother forces me to come. If I don't come I get busted."

The involuntary nature of their participation was well reflected in the students' behavior during the classes. The following is a summary of my observation notes concerning students' behavior.

> Students' attendance was regular, though their attention was not focussed. Students seemed to be restless in class. I observed many students wandering around the classroom. If not, they were seated quietly, but doing homework from their elementary school.

Thus, it might be said that parental desire for the acquisition of the heritage language was not transmitted to the students, and that therefore, motivation was low.

Curriculum Goals and Parental Desires

Although the curriculum goals of the Waimea Japanese Language School emphasize literacy skills, both the parents and the students appeared to place a higher value on oral proficiency. The mother of a third grade girl mentioned, "I think speaking is more important here in Hawai'i than knowing how to read or write, but I noticed here that they mostly do reading and writing." Another mother of a third grader remarked, "Masami says she's bored at school because she gets to do only reading and writing." A ninth grader, Kae, and a fifth grader, Mari, also commented on the school curriculum: "I want to learn how to speak. I want to do more conversation. We don't need reading and writing in Hawai'i." Kae also added that she thinks that knowing Japanese will help her find a job she wants.

This mismatch between the curriculum and parental and student desires appeared to lead to dissatisfaction and low motivation on the part of the students.

Other Problems

In informal interviews and casual remarks, teachers of the Waimea Japanese Language School expressed frustration with the working conditions at the school. Teachers were expected to provide supplementary teaching and craft materials, including origami paper, for which they were not compensated. Lack of materials, overwork and low monetary compensation were mentioned as factors that led to high teacher turnover.

Observation confirmed that working conditions were far from ideal. At the time of the study, the school had four teachers. A fifth teacher had left before the study began, after having taught at Waimea for a year, but no new teacher had been hired to replace her. One of the remaining four teachers

therefore took over the former teacher's two classes in addition to her own classes. Thus, she was in charge of teaching two different classes at two different grade levels during the same class period. Moreover, towards the end of the semester when one of the other teachers got sick, no substitute was hired. Instead, this same teacher who was teaching the double class load also took over the sick teacher's class. Thus, she ended up with three classes to supervise at once. She then quit after a year.

These problems may be attributed to the tight budget of the school, which does not receive any kind of financial support from either the Japanese community or the government, but instead relies solely on the monthly tuition of its students. These financial woes were exacerbated by declining enrollment figures. The total number of students at this school shrank by more than half during the previous eight years, falling from 250 in 1987 to 100 in 1995. Moreover, the number of graduates decreased tremendously, dropping from 25 in 1987 to 3 in 1995.

The principal of the Waimea Japanese Language School attributed the falling enrollment to the emergence of the A-plus program, an after-school program for children of working parents, in February 1990. Unlike the Japanese language schools, to which someone has to bring the child, the A-plus program requires minimal parental involvement, since children just stay at school after classes are done for the day. If the principal's claim is accurate, it would mean that the Japanese language schools were viewed by many parents as a kind of child care center rather than as a facility for the transmission of the Japanese language and culture. This interpretation is supported by a comment made by a Sansei student in a second-year Japanese class at the University of Hawai'i as he recollected his days at a Japanese language school:

> Both my parents worked, so out of convenience they sent me to a Japanese school after school. Just like a day-care center. I didn't learn anything.

It should be noted, however, that not all working parents in need of child care choose the A-plus program. About 10 of the students at the Waimea Japanese Language School went to an after-school child care service at a nearby church. Two of the instructors from this organization would then bring the children to Waimea and pick them up after class.

Nonetheless, the tight financial situation and declining enrollment appeared to be major problems for the school.

DISCUSSION

As noted above, the students at Waimea, by and large, felt that they were forced to attend the school. Their parents insisted on enrollment as a means of transmitting their linguistic and cultural heritage and opening up better employment opportunities in the future. Moreover, the focus of the curriculum was on the development of literacy in Japanese, while both parents and students appeared to want more oral skills. What do this lack of motivation and differing expectations mean for bilingual development?

First, Freeman and Freeman (1992) have suggested that learning takes place when it is

learner-centered and lessons have meaning and purpose for learners. If the students are forced to attend lessons and are interested in learning something other than what is in the actual curriculum, learning is unlikely to take place.

Secondly, Freeman and Freeman (1992) also argue that learning takes place in social interaction. What I observed at the Waimea Japanese Language School was quite the opposite. Instead of peers helping each other to learn, peer pressure at the school discouraged positive learning experiences. As explained above, being able to speak Japanese well was not an advantage in the school; the power of the unmarked language, English, was too pervasive. Like the children described in Edelsky's study of an English-Spanish two-way bilingual program (1991), children with less English proficiency quickly acquired English, while the reverse was not observed at Waimea.

Finally, according to Freeman and Freeman (1992), language is learned best when all four skills (listening, speaking, reading and writing) are included in the lessons. Both the parents and the students at the Waimea Japanese Language School appeared to wish that the emphasis of the lessons could be on oral skills, but the actual curriculum focused heavily on literacy skills. There is no need, however, to choose the study of one skill to the exclusion of another. All expressions of language "support growth and development in literacy" (Harste, Woodward, and Burke, 1984, p. 53). Edelsky (1991) adds, "the cueing systems of language (phonology in oral, orthography in written language, morphology, syntax, semantics, pragmatics) are interactive and interdependent" (p. 97). Thus, it would make sense for the school to take a four-skills or whole language approach to teaching Japanese and perhaps return to the prewar insistence on use of the language in class.

With classes conducted in English to the near exclusion of spoken Japanese, and reading often limited to the level of decoding, the Waimea Japanese Language School appears to be relatively unsuccessful in developing Japanese language skills. Moreover, the after-school nature of the school seems to be a burden to many of the students. Going to a language school every day after school is not attractive nor is it easy for these students. The schedule conflicts with other activities that many of the children are more interested in, including Hula dancing, soccer, and baseball.

However, this does not indicate a complete lack of interest in the Japanese language and culture among the students. The Japanese community in Hawai'i continues to support 12 language schools. Given parental and student desire for the development of Japanese skills, one has to ask, how can these schools be more effective?

OPTIONS FOR THE FUTURE

Immersion Programs

One possible route for revitalizing the use of the heritage language in the Japanese community in Hawai'i would be the establishment of Japanese immersion programs in the public schools. Immersion programs involve speakers of the majority language aiming at acquiring an L2 (Yamamoto, 1994). In this type of program, a second language is taught to students through subject matter instruction in that second language. This system has been found to be inappropriate for minority students attempting to learn the

dominant language; however, it can be successful for a majority group learning a second language (Crawford, 1989). Thus it might reasonably be applied as a way for the Japanese in Hawai'i who speak the majority language, English, as their L1 to learn Japanese as their L2.

A number of types of immersion programs have been developed, varying according to the age at which they begin (e.g., early immersion, starting as early as kindergarten; mid-immersion, starting during elementary school; and late immersion, starting in grade 7 or junior high school) and the intensity of exposure (exclusive use of the L2 from the beginning in total immersion, and almost equal use of the L1 and L2 in partial immersion programs) (Swain, 1996; Yamamoto, 1994).

Extensive research has shown immersion programs to be a highly effective way of teaching an L2, although some weaknesses have also been discovered. (See Cummins, 1980, 1984; Genesee, 1987, 1994; and Swain, 1994 for details.) Researchers in this area report that there is a positive correlation between attitude towards languages and immersion programs (Baker, 1992). Positive results in terms of language acquisition and academic content mastery have been reported for French immersion programs in Quebec (Genesee, 1987). Hawai'ian immersion programs are producing youth who speak Hawai'ian, a language which was in danger of becoming extinct until a decade ago (Schütz, 1994).

It should be noted, though, that the difference between immersion programs and after-school language schools does not lie solely in the amount of exposure to the target language, although that is of course a great advantage. Another advantage is that immersion programs in public schools are accredited by the state and receive financial support from them. What is more, the students in immersion programs have the afternoon to devote themselves to other extracurricular activities.

Thus, the establishment of Japanese immersion programs in public schools in Hawai'i would solve many of the problems seen at the Waimea Japanese Language School. Classes would be conducted in Japanese and emphasis would be on all four language skills, so students could acquire the oral skills they and their parents seek to cultivate. Since class content would be taught in Japanese, reading comprehension would be essential to their academic progress. In fact, research on immersion programs has consistently shown that students learn the L2 without detriment to their mastery of academic content (Genesee, 1987). Moreover, as mentioned above, the programs would be financially stable, solving the problem of low teacher morale seen at Waimea. And finally, the acquisition of the heritage language would not take place at the expense of extracurricular sports and culture programs.

Two-Way Bilingual Education

Another option is two-way bilingual education, which allows both majority group children and minority group children to attain bilingualism. In this type of education, input of both the majority and the minority language is provided through language arts and subject-matter instruction (one language used for one subject) to all children, both native speakers of the majority language and of the minority language (Genesee, 1994; Crawford, 1989). In this way, this system gives both groups the opportunity to learn each other's mother tongue: the former is given the "opportunity to develop a far greater degree of facility in the target language than is the case when participating in a traditional FLES (Foreign Language

at the Elementary School) program" (Crawford, 1989, p. 165), and the latter is given the opportunity to nurture and sustain their mother tongue skills (Crawford, 1989) as well as to feel proud of their heritage language (Yamamoto, 1994) while also acquiring the majority language.

There are many Japanese children coming to Hawai'i to accompany their parents, who come temporarily on business or to immigrate permanently. According to the 1995 *Rainbow Gakuen Yoran*, there were 436 Japanese expat students in their pre-school through middle school (8th grade) programs the previous year, with the average length of their residence in Hawai'i 3 to 4 years. These children are often placed in English as a Second Language programs (ESL or SLEP), where many lose pride in their mother tongue.

These Japanese-dominant students (minority language students) and native English speakers (majority language students) who are willing to become bilingual in Japanese and English could be coupled in 2-way bilingual programs. In this way, the minority language students would be able to master English without feeling inferior to native English speakers, since the program would allow them to feel proud of their heritage language. Moreover, majority language students would have a great opportunity to interact with native Japanese speakers as peer models.

It should be noted that Edelsky's (1991) study of Spanish-English two-way bilingual programs in Phoenix, Arizona indicated failure of native speakers of English to learn Spanish. However, the minority language in that case (Spanish) had low status in the community. In contrast, in Hawai'i Japanese is viewed as an international language with value for economic and educational advancement. Thus, since the effects of status differences between English and Japanese would be diminished, English-Japanese two-way bilingual education might prove successful in Hawai'i.

Moreover, two-way bilingual programs can promote more positive attitudes in students towards the minority culture. As Genesee (1987) states, including students from both language groups creates a learning environment that can be truly bilingual and bicultural. Sustained contact with members of the target language group of the same age as the learners may be necessary if students are to develop fundamentally more tolerant and positive attitudes toward each other.

Thus, if the steady flow of inmigrant Japanese to Hawai'i could be channeled into two-way bilingual programs accessible to the children in the local Japanese community, not only would the newcomers benefit in terms of language acquisition and self-esteem, but also, the Japanese community's aspirations towards revitalization of the heritage language might be better fulfilled.

Other Possibilities

If neither immersion nor two-way bilingual programs is feasible, students could at least be offered greater rewards for studying a second language. It is crucial that there be apparent, encouraging rewards in order for language schools to make significant contributions toward solid bilingualism (Fishman, 1985). For example, a new Australian policy allows students to earn school credits for attending after-school language schools (Ozolins, 1993). In this way, one burden experienced by language school students could be lifted.

Secondly, the curriculum of language schools needs more attention. The balancing of oral language proficiency and literacy skills is fundamental to language learning. Language proficiency is attained best when it's acquired as a whole (Freeman and Freeman, 1992). Japanese language schools like Waimea therefore need to move away from their exclusive focus on written Japanese.

Thirdly, giving credit to language learning as well as stressing the cultural and economic advantages of acquiring Japanese may help to change the current discriminatory language situation into a positive language learning environment (Edelsky, 1991). As Lucas, Henze and Donato (1990) suggest, creating an environment where the ability to speak a second language becomes an advantage may promote a positive attitude in learning and using a second language. To achieve such curriculum changes, teacher training, funding for materials, and higher wages for teachers will be indispensable.

CONCLUSION

Although the Japanese community of Hawai'i is striving to revitalize its heritage language through after-school language schools such as the Waimea Japanese Language School in O'ahu, this has not led to widespread bilingualism. This case study suggests what some of the problems of this type of school might be: the dominance of English in the classroom, a view of reading that emphasizes decoding over critical understanding, low motivation and involuntary participation by the students, and a gap between the school's goals and the desires of the parents and students. Budgetary constraints also may have led to lower teacher morale.

It was suggested that immersion or two-way bilingual programs in public schools could overcome such problems and help revitalize the heritage language of this community. If government support for such programs is not forthcoming, the community at least needs to create more apparent rewards for the acquisition of Japanese and promote an environment in which it can be spoken with pride. If nothing is done to encourage bilingualism, rich language resources will be wasted.

NOTES

1. In this paper, I refer to the Japanese immigrants whose family have extended to third and fourth generations in Hawai'i as "the Japanese community".
2. Pseudonyms were used to protect the privacy of the participants of this study. The name 'Waimea" was chosen as a pseudonym for the school because it resembles the Hawai'ian names employed by typical Japanese language schools in Hawai'i.
3. Until the Americanization campaign started in 1915, they were called Japanese Elementary Schools.
4. This number does not include the "Rainbow Gakuen", a Japanese language school where the majority of the students are expatriate children who plan to go back to Japan.
5. Two three-hour-long classes are offered on Saturdays for students who for various reasons cannot come during the week. There are 10 students altogether in those classes.
6. Pseudonyms were used for all students to protect their privacy.

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