

A Linguistic Ethnography of Language Practices and Ideologies at  
two Japanese as a Heritage Language (JHL) Schools in England

By  
Nahoko Mulvey

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UNIVERSITY OF STIRLING

Faculty of Social Sciences

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# Dedication

This thesis is dedicated to my dearest mother, Junko Inaba, who loved Shakespeare and England deeply but passed away before crossing any borders between Japan and overseas countries.

# Acknowledgements

This thesis was completed as a result of what I have learnt throughout my life from many, many people, to all of whom I owe a great debt of gratitude. It has been a long journey, along which I have been supported, helped and encouraged by so many colleagues, teachers, students, and friends in Japan, Australia and the UK that I cannot name all of them here. So many people have inspired me by sharing their passion for, and insights into languages, culture and society.

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# Abstract

Increasing mobility, social diversification, and changing community structures require new educational responses to old challenges (Canagarajah, 2017). Migration into UK cities has established new social configurations and forged hybrid identities, leading to fresh interest in concepts of community and change (Myers & Grosvenor, 2011). This thesis presents a Linguistic Ethnography which investigated programmes of two Japanese as a heritage language (JHL) schools in England. The study highlights teachers' and administrators' ideological beliefs, and language practices in the classroom. JHL schools emerged at the end of the 1990s in the US and England as an alternative to *hoshuko*, supplementary schools sponsored by the Japanese government. Unlike *hoshuko*, JHL schools are locally financed, vary greatly in design, and determine their own programmes. Using the theoretical principles and methodological tools of Linguistic Ethnography, data were collected at North School and South School, which were selected from ten JHL schools I visited for my preliminary study. Data include fieldnotes, classroom audio recordings, interview recordings and other miscellaneous data sources. These were analysed using the tools of ethnographically-informed discourse analysis.

Major findings are: 1) JHL teachers in the two JHL schools employed translanguaging as a pedagogic strategy in bridging conflicting but co-existing ideologies around language, literacy and culture. 2) In the two JHL schools, translanguaging pedagogy was an ideological and communicative response to superdiversity, requiring teachers' competence and experience. 3) Education in the two schools was responsive to diversity and flexibility, but also to normative '*kokugo*' Japanese-ness, and language separation. 4) 'Conviviality' acted as a stabilising mechanism in the tension between competing ideologies 5) Teachers' and administrators' constructions of the 'heritage language' made links not only to the past, but also to the future.

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## Abbreviations and Glossary

<b>JHL</b>	Japanese as a heritage language
<b>JFL</b>	Japanese as a foreign language
<b>LE</b>	Linguistic Ethnography
<b>FLP</b>	Family language policy
<b>GCSE</b>	General Certificate of Secondary Education
<b>MEXT</b>	Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science and Technology, Japan
<b>MHB</b>	Japanese Society for Mother Tongue, Heritage Language, and Bilingual Education
<b><i>Kokugo</i> (国語)</b>	Japanese as a national language. <i>Kokugo</i> education refers to a subject of school education in Japan following the national curriculum.
<b><i>Nihongo</i> (日本語)</b>	The general word for Japanese language. <i>Nihongo</i> education refers to Japanese taught and learnt as a foreign/second language.
<b><i>Kanji</i> (漢字)</b>	Chinese characters used in Japan
<b><i>Hiragana</i> (ひらがな)</b>	A basic Japanese syllabary of 46 letters
<b><i>Hoshuko</i> (補習校)</b>	World-wide overseas weekend Japanese schools for children with Japanese background supported and guided by the Japanese government
<b>JHL school</b>	Overseas weekend/after-hours Japanese schools for children with Japanese background which do not receive any support from the Japanese government

# Transcription Conventions

<b>bold</b>	Utterance in English
[ text ]	Romanisation of Japanese utterance
< text >	English translation of an utterance in Japanese
( text )	Stage direction or explanation of the situation

Names used are all pseudonyms.

# Chapter 1. Introduction

## 1.1. Introduction

In May 2018, a group of Japanese Diet members drafted a bill that spelt out the Japanese government's responsibility for systematically promoting Japanese language education (日本語教育推進法 *Nihongo kyoiku suishin ho*) both inside and outside of Japan. The bill was sent out for consultation. As part of this process the members of the Japanese Society for Mother Tongue, Heritage Language, and Bilingual Education (MHB) requested a major revision to the draft. This was to pay greater attention to the diversity of education provision for the learning of Japanese outside of Japan. They wanted the Japanese government to pay greater attention to Japanese education for children with Japanese background who reside permanently abroad. As part of their petition, researchers concerned with Japanese as a heritage language (JHL) education and members of JHL schools from all over the world made statements, explaining their individual situations. Reading these statements, the Diet members were surprised to find that Japanese education for children abroad existed much more widely and in more diverse ways than they had realised. They had thought that only *hoshuko* existed, namely, Japanese supplementary schools overseas which teach the Japanese national curriculum at weekends with the support and guidance of the Japanese government. These schools target Japanese children who, supposedly, will be returning to continue their education in Japan. Whereas *hoshuko* were widely researched and supported by the Japanese government, JHL schools, conversely were hardly known in Japan, hidden in the shadow of *hoshuko*. This study aims to shed light on programmes of Japanese as a heritage language (JHL) schools in England. It investigates what teachers and administrators there intend to pass on to the next generation, looking at their language practice in the classroom and ideological beliefs shaping such practice.

Heritage language schools in the UK are voluntary institutions founded by ethnic communities to offer teaching for young people with minority language heritage in non-statutory settings (Creese et al., 2008; Creese, Blackledge, & Takhi, 2014). For several hours each week, thousands of young people across England attend heritage language schools serving a wide range of communities through provision of instruction in language as well as

other subjects such as history, the arts, literature and religion (Creese et al., 2008; Creese et al., 2014; Matras et al., 2020). Classes in such schools are held after children have finished for the day at their mainstream school or at weekends and take place in different types of community location or in premises rented out from mainstream schools (Matras et al., 2020). These schools “differ greatly in organisational structure and processes, size, pedagogy and curriculum”, providing a huge variety of services (Creese et al., 2008, p. 23), but help strengthen awareness of cultural identity and confidence among the young people attending (Matras et al., 2020). They tend to rely on voluntary work by community members, with most teachers and administrators being members of the communities from which the schools arise. Parents often pay fees for their children to attend such schools and organise various fundraising activities to cover the running costs (Matras et al., 2020).

Such schools have existed in Britain since the mid-1800s, but their numbers increased significantly from the 1950s onwards when the ‘New Commonwealth’ communities arrived (Minty et al., 2008). However, Ito (2001) declares that there was no trace of Japanese schools for children with Japanese heritage before WWII, and that before then the Japanese community in Britain was very small, with the number of Japanese residents never exceeding 1,800. Japanese schools for children with Japanese background in Britain only began to appear after WWII.

## **1.2. My historical background**

I have had a long-term interest in language, culture and society over my life trajectory as a language teacher in Japan, Australia and the UK, as a teacher trainer in Japan and Australia, as a Japanese immigrant in Australia and the UK and as a Japanese mother of three children who were brought up in an English/Japanese bilingual domestic environment in the three countries. Since becoming involved with a JHL school while I was in Brisbane, Australia, I have been very interested in the situation surrounding JHL education and have had a strong motivation to explore it academically.

I will discuss first my professional learning and then my personal learning which led to this research project.

### **1.2.1. Professional learning**

Born and brought up in Japan, after starting my career as an English teacher at a secondary school in Japan, I changed direction after a number of years to become a Japanese as a

foreign language teacher at university. I have continued in this path right up to the present, moving from Japan to Australia and then eventually settling in the UK with my British husband and three children. I have taught Japanese not only to English-speaking students, but also to students from many different language backgrounds, learning from them about varying cultural and social norms in the process. For six years in Japan I also trained mature students aiming to become teachers of Japanese as a foreign language, and after moving to Australia, I was asked to conduct several professional development sessions for Japanese schoolteachers during school holidays. Throughout my career as a language teacher and a teacher trainer moving across the three countries, I have noticed changes occurring in me and around me.

The first kind of change I have noticed is in my perception of ‘language’. As a language teacher, I have had many opportunities to think about language, particularly after changing my career to a Japanese as a foreign language (JFL) teacher. While I was teaching English, I found myself focused on syntax, morphology, phonology or orthography which I had learnt while studying English as a foreign language. However, I needed to learn a new knowledge to teach JFL. Because I had learnt Japanese naturally through living and being educated in Japanese-speaking society without thinking of such concepts systematically I had to learn about Japanese syntax, morphology, and so forth. After studying each topic technically, I passed the Japanese language teaching competency test, and then later taught a course for teachers of JFL and trained mature students to become JFL teachers. In this course, I taught subjects such as ‘Syntax’, ‘Morphology’, ‘Orthography’, ‘Phonics and Japanese phonology’, ‘Pedagogy’ and ‘Japanese culture, society and language’. I taught my students, for example, how to teach Japanese syntax, focusing on the strict rules that govern it, almost like mathematical formulae, even though I and my students had mastered Japanese without knowing such rules.

While teaching the course, however, I sometimes wondered if these established rules agreed perfectly with what we had learnt naturally through growing up in Japanese society and using the language for everyday communication. At that time, there were widely circulating conversations about what is good Japanese and bad Japanese, and newspaper articles often focused on this topic. Particularly in columns expressing the opinions of readers there was a tendency for older people to write in criticising young people for using Japanese language in a way that did not agree with prescriptive grammar. I occasionally brought such newspaper columns to my teacher training class and discussed them with the future Japanese teachers. There were several issues elderly people notably picked up on. ‘Incorrect’ usage of

the potential form of group II verbs was one of them. They insisted that everybody should use the ‘correct’ forms, such as 食べられる [ta-be-**ra**-re-ru] and 見られる [mi-**ra**-re-ru], although many people also used 食べれる [ta-be-re-ru] and 見れる [mi-re-ru], skipping the [ra] sound. I myself and my students tended to use the latter, but after discussing the matter actively in the class, we concluded that Japanese teachers should make an effort to speak using the ‘correct’ forms, particularly in the classroom, although everyone agreed that the ‘wrong’ usage practised widely among younger generations would be recognised as ‘correct’ in the near future. The elderly people writing in to the newspapers wished to maintain ‘beautiful Japanese language’ and to prevent it from being contaminated. They expressed feeling uncomfortable or disgusted when they heard ‘incorrect’ forms, insisting that everyone should keep to the fixed rules. However, my class noted younger people tended to feel comfortable and natural using modified forms such as those mentioned above. I observed that what we feel natural and comfortable with is always changing, so the rules may also need to change over time. Through such experience, I have understood that in teaching and learning a new language from scratch we rely on its fixed prescriptive rules as convenient tools, which should, however, change depending on language practised in the real world, and that such rules are not necessarily essential in using the language.

Changing attitudes are evident in a recent Japanese government report, “an overview of the results of a public opinion survey on *kokugo* (Japanese as a national language)” conducted in 2016 (Agency for Cultural Affairs, Government of Japan, 2016). It reveals that the majority say that they skip [ra] for those verbs mentioned above. I have noticed that some recently revised Japanese textbooks indicate 食べれる [ta-be-re-ru] 見れる [mi-re-ru] (with the [ra] sound skipped) to be ‘acceptable’.

Moreover, other kinds of change are evident among students in my Japanese classes. Due to the influence of advances in digital technology, more and more students obtain knowledge from the Internet, on certain areas of Japanese culture they are particularly interested in, even if many have never been to Japan. Even though these students may have never studied Japanese language in formal classes before, they are already familiar with some words and expressions widely used in the area of their interest. When I started teaching Japanese more than 20 years ago, hardly anyone in my beginners’ classes had such prior knowledge and they all learnt Japanese language in a step-by-step manner following the prescriptive rules. Some of the words/expressions picked up by my more recent students are very colloquial, while others are newly invented ones in a specific area and so do not appear in beginners’



textbooks. I came to realise that language teachers need to cope with these new phenomena flexibly, since they are all examples of Japanese language used in the real world. I realised that the ‘language’ which is in use in our daily lives is not fixed but constantly changing, although language teachers are required to teach a fixed and ‘correct’ version of ‘language’, which can only very gradually be modified. Here we see the tension between descriptive and prescriptive views of language.

While moving between three countries over the years, I have also noticed that students’ aims or needs for studying a language differ from context to context and that I have needed to change my teaching approach accordingly. International students at university in Japan needed to learn Japanese as an essential practical skill for oral and written communication to help them meet the immediate challenges of living and studying in the country. In Australia and the UK, on the other hand, students had quite different needs and tended to be attracted to Japanese or Japan for widely differing reasons.

In the 1990s, Japanese became the most popular foreign language to learn at school in Australia, encouraged by government policies based on the assessment of Japan as the dominant economy in the Asia-Pacific region. It became so popular so suddenly that the phenomenon was often referred to as a ‘tsunami’ (Lo Bianco, 2000). Although the emphasis in Australia has now shifted to Mandarin study, when I was in Australia between 2006 and 2010 many students chose to study Japanese at university with an eye on future employment possibilities. By contrast, in the UK, Japanese is a subject available to a small minority of students at secondary level and chosen by a handful of university students, usually based on a personal fascination with Japanese culture and society, or some specific aspect of it, a phenomenon that has been boosted in recent years by the flourishing of online content.

The contact I have had with students in different countries has helped me to appreciate that ‘language’ is not only a practical skill for communication but also a means of connecting with and developing an understanding of a culture, a society and people and that the status of a language in a certain location can be significantly affected by social and political factors.

My research interest in JHL schools arose in Brisbane, Australia, while I was involved in what is known there as ‘a Japanese ethnic school’. This school had just been set up with the assistance of the Australian government when I moved to Brisbane, and it provided my first encounter with a JHL school. Due to my language teaching background, I was asked to teach a class, train other teachers to teach Japanese as a heritage language and put together the school curriculum. As time went by, I came to realise how poorly the teaching and learning environment is prepared for this type of education, in contrast to the well-established and

well-prepared environments of Japanese as a foreign/second language education and Japanese as a national language education. As a teacher trainer, I thought a lot about what ‘Japanese as a heritage language’ is and how the approach to teaching it should differ from teaching Japanese as a foreign language and Japanese as a national language, and eventually started reading articles on heritage language education. In addition to teaching environment issues, I also witnessed other issues commonly encountered at JHL schools and identified as such in the academic literature, such as students’ heterogeneous language skill levels (Brecht & Ingold, 2002; Chevalier, 2004; Douglas, 2005; Pauwels, 2005; Valdés, 1995), low levels of motivation (Berardi-Wiltshire, 2012; Nakajima, 2003), low reading and writing skills (Campbell & Rosenthal, 2000; Nakajima & Nunes, 2001), resistance (Brecht & Ingold, 2002; Creese et al., 2008; Kondo, 1997; Minami, Fukuda, & Fujiyama, 2002) and teenager issues (Pauwels, 2005). Since then I have strongly believed that scholarship to improve the educational environment for JHL schools, particularly in terms of their programme or curriculum, is necessary. JHL schools which provide good quality education to families with Japanese parents must be a key to preserving Japanese language outside Japan and preventing language loss. I therefore come to this research on JHL schools not simply as an observer, but as a teacher who has identified them as significant but also vulnerable educational institutions, which I believe should be acknowledged and investigated by academics.

### **1.2.2. Personal learning**

One of the most exciting things about getting married to a person speaking a different language must be the opportunity to bring up ‘bilingual children’. I and my British husband have always been very much interested in languages. I started studying English at the age of 12 and he started Japanese at the age of 23. Since we had expended such a lot of time and energy in learning these respective languages, it was with some pleasant anticipation that we assumed our children would be able to use both Japanese and English naturally without having to experience the hard labour we had put in to our language studies.

However, after associating with other Japanese people married to non-Japanese speakers and living both in Japan and other countries, I realised that bringing up ‘bilingual children’ requires considerable parental effort. Without this effort children tend to use more and more the local language that monopolises the society they are settled in, especially after they experience childcare, nursery school or primary school. I became aware that the use of a minority language will decrease unless parents make a constant effort and that, without being

used actively, a parent's language is unlikely to be inherited by their children to the extent that many would wish.

Since we wanted our children to be fluent both in Japanese and English, just like many transnational married couples, we made our own 'family language policy', although we never used the word clearly. We theoretically agreed on the 'one person—one-language strategy' and tried to speak to the children in our own individual language. We also assumed that the parent whose language was minor in the country of our residence needed to make a greater effort to input his/her language at home. Thus, we tried to expose our children to the minor language as much as possible using various resources available. We particularly tried to input as much English as possible while living in Japan when our children were still very young. We tried to show them many English programmes, such as Sesame Street, which was broadcast bilingually in Japan, or Disney films, available as bilingual video cassettes from local shops. When visiting England, we also bought not only children's books, but also audio story books ranging from traditional stories like 'Just William' to more contemporary ones like those in the 'Harry Potter' series. We enjoyed listening to them together while traveling by car. Also, after we purchased our first desktop computer in Japan, we bought children's educational English CD-ROMs and started to let them use the computer. Conversely, soon after moving to Australia, we showed them Japanese dramas and films, DVDs of which could be purchased via the Internet surprisingly easily and cheaply in Australia. Later, each child started to use their own laptop computers to watch their favourite online material. They gradually came to choose what they wanted to see – whether in Japanese or English – regardless of location.

In Australia, we sent the three children to a nearby *hoshuko*, Japanese supplementary school supported by the Japanese government, on Saturdays, where I taught as well, while they were taught in English at mainstream primary and secondary schools on weekdays. Both my husband and I assumed that we needed to support their languages directly whenever they needed any help. My husband was their home tutor, helping them with their school subjects, which they needed to study in English for the first time. After moving to the UK, we sent our two younger children for one year only to a *hoshuko* in London, which was quite far from our home. I then taught Japanese to all three at home, helping them prepare for GCSE and A level Japanese examinations.

Our 'one-language-one-parent' strategy was very relaxed and flexible according to circumstances, unlike that adopted by some bilingual researchers who have tried very hard to maintain it strictly in order to collect data from their own cases. As I and my husband

communicated together, we often found it difficult to distinguish the two languages completely and naturally used both Japanese and English in a conversation, sometimes mixing them in the same sentence. Consequently, the three children tended to use the two languages flexibly and creatively, which we parents felt to be very adorable and impressive. I still clearly remember that our first son uttered in English, “shoe”, as one of his earliest words and later on, “shoe [haku] <put on>”, completing the sentence with a Japanese verb in the Japanese word order (which is a sentence because we often omit a subject in Japanese as long as the speaker and the interlocutor understand). We were also very excited to find that he understood the past tense in hearing him say, “eat [shita]”, in which he used a Japanese suffix to change the tense into the past. For me, “eat [shita]” was not exactly the same as ‘ate’ or a Japanese equivalent [tabeta] but was a more sophisticated utterance for a toddler since it involved intelligence across the two languages. This is only one instance among many occasions of my great excitement at bringing up ‘bilingual children’, which I realised was much more mysterious and unpredictable than I had expected. The languages used at home were not only the two languages of Japanese and English, and their simple mixture, but also something original, which might be called ‘Mulvey’ language, since only our family members could fully make sense of it. Much of ‘our language’ was also shared by another British/Japanese couple and their three children living near us, with whom we five often had a great time together while in Japan. Notwithstanding, the children normally used Japanese with Japanese friends and communicated in English with English speaking people.

I did not feel like calling ‘our language’ simply code-switching or the use of the two languages mixed together, but instinctively felt it to be something more precious and creative. It was sometimes elaborate enough that we would find it difficult to express the same thing without using such language. When I started to read on translanguaging, I immediately agreed with the concepts and understood that this is what I was looking for. As a matter of course, it became an important theme for this thesis.

In doing my MA in applied linguistics at the University of New England (Armidale, Australia) between 2003 and 2005, I studied bilingualism as well as other interesting modules on topics such as second language and first language acquisition. In the bilingualism module I learnt that language loss has been happening for many years among children brought up in families of minority language speakers or bilingual families, and that these children have tended to become monolingual speakers of the local language due to social factors. I specifically remember Baker’s (2017) statement that the linguistic gifts children from non-English language backgrounds bring to society are often neglected and lost while English

monolinguals are encouraged to study foreign languages, often at great cost and with great inefficiency. The concept of language loss reminded me of the fear parents have felt in bringing up their children in a society where their language is minor.

For an assignment on bilingualism of the MA course, I investigated North Korean schools in Japan, inspired by the news that two professional football players in Japan who had North Korean nationality and had been educated at North Korean school in Japan had been selected as North Korean representative players for the FIFA World Cup. In a Japanese TV documentary programme their everyday life during the training camp with other North Korean players in North Korea was introduced. I was so impressed with not only their language competence but also their attachment to a country they had never lived in, that I was eager to find out about North Korean school in Japan. It was, in fact, the first case of heritage language education I investigated. Thus, I started to think that heritage language schools might be a key to preventing language loss and preserving linguistic gifts children from non-mainstream language background can bring to society.

My language teaching career spanning many years at universities and secondary schools in three countries, emigration from Japan to English speaking countries, bringing up three children with a British husband and educating them in English at mainstream schools during the week and in Japanese at weekends at a *hoshuko* are all experiences that have naturally led me to become interested in language, culture and society and that have influenced my approach to this research project and my perspective as an ethnographic researcher.

### **1.3. Research questions**

In this thesis, I investigate the social practices and beliefs underlying the JHL phenomenon, focusing on the following three research questions:

1. How is translanguaging used pedagogically, or otherwise, at two Japanese as a heritage language (JHL) schools in England?
2. What ideologies circulate at the two JHL schools?
3. What do the two JHL schools aim to pass on to their students?

These research questions are elaborated on in the methodology chapter (See 3.1.2. Research questions).

## 1.4. Research context and the naming of schools

New educational responses are required due to the increase in social diversification, mobility and shifting community structures since the late 20<sup>th</sup> century (Canagarajah, 2017). Migration into UK cities has created new social configurations and hybrid identities leading to renewed interest in notions of community and change (Myers & Grosvenor, 2011).

According to Minty et al. (2008), as of 2008, there were more than 5,000 heritage language schools teaching at least 55 different languages in England while over 702,000 children speak one or more of at least 300 non-English languages. The exact number of such schools was unknown then and also now. For example, although the Resource Centre for Supplementary Education (NRCSE) aims to provide an overview of the situation surrounding such schools in England, only one out of ten JHL schools I visited as part of a preliminary study prior to the research undertaken for this doctoral study (see 3.13. Preliminary study) was actually registered with the NRCSE and used the service. The others had never heard of its existence and were not interested in registering even after becoming aware of it. Heritage language schools are a widespread phenomenon of a multilingual England, but they are often hidden from the mainstream (Creese et al., 2008). It is no surprise, therefore, that JHL schools exist in obscurity in England and are unknown to many people in Japan.

Heritage language schools are also known as supplementary schools, complementary schools, community language schools and ethnic schools. Heritage language, as defined by Kramsch (2008), is a language learnt by members of an ethnic group who hope to reconnect with their ancestors' culture. Blackledge & Creese (2010, p. 164) state that 'heritage' concerns "elements of past experience that a group deliberately sets out to preserve and pass on to the next generation". Although such schools are normally called supplementary schools or complementary schools in England (Creese & Martin, 2006; Simon, 2018), I started to use the term 'heritage language schools' in my preliminary study to distinguish between *hohsuko* and non-*hohsuko* Japanese schools. The former receive support from the Japanese government while the latter do not. Non-*hohsuko* schools are often known as 'Japanese as a heritage language (JHL) schools', particularly in the US (Chinen & Tucker, 2005; Douglas, 2005), in distinction to 'Japanese supplementary schools', which is the general translation for *hoshuko*. Actually, there is great variation in the naming of JHL schools. Of the ten visited for my preliminary study, only one is actually called XX 学校 [*gakko*] <school>, while the others have names such as XX 塾 [*juku*] <private class>, XX クラブ [*kurabu*] <club>, and XX 会 [*kai*] <gathering>. Although some also have English names in addition to such

Japanese names, none actually use any of the terms listed above. I noticed after visiting these schools for my preliminary study that they exhibited barely any elements aimed at supplementing or complementing the mainstream education of either Japan or England in the sense of aiming to support the content taught in mainstream school subjects or to enhance it. Therefore, I decided to continue using the term “heritage language school” for this project, feeling that it best suited the nature of these Japanese schools.

The first European survey on language competences in 2012 (European Commission) shows that foreign language competence in England is the lowest among the EU countries. In 2015, only 48% of 16-year-old students took a foreign language at GCSE level (British Council, 2017). That means more than half of students in England stop learning a foreign language around the age of 14 or 15. Monolingualism is the norm prevailing in England. Amid the COVID 19 pandemic, the British Academy, together with the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, the Australian Academy of the Humanities, the Academy of the Social Sciences in Australia and the Royal Society of Canada, published a joint statement, *The Importance of Languages in Global Context* (2020). They clarified the urgency for English-speaking nations, particularly during such a global crisis, to pursue language learning more seriously, including the protection and support of indigenous and minority languages spoken in their societies. Heritage language schools are evidence of a reality that is at odds with the public discourse of monolingualism and homogeneity about language, culture and ethnicity in the UK and “provide an alternative discourse to the ‘minority language as a problem’ orientation” (Creese et al., 2008, p. 26; Ruiz, 1984). They are a community’s response to mainstream structures which have normally viewed minority language education as outside their control. Heritage language schools in England offer “an autonomous space for alternative educational, linguistic, social, and cultural agendas” (Creese et al., 2014, p. 941) and are resilient to social change, since they do not receive support or guidance from the UK government (Creese et al., 2006; Creese et al., 2014; Matras et al., 2020). These schools can formulate their own individual programmes and policies taking into account their students’ language practices and needs and parental aspirations, which can be highly varied and changeable in this superdiverse era. They also provide a discourse of the ‘minority language as a resource’ orientation (Ruiz, 1984).

Since the late 20th century, heritage language schools have been the focus of studies by researchers in countries such as the UK, the US, Canada and Australia and many aspects of such schools have been exposed. A research area focusing on heritage language/complementary/supplementary schools is developing, but little research has been

carried out into the ideological views towards programmes in these schools and such Japanese schools, particularly non-*hoshuko* JHL schools, have been generally understudied.

As a language professional, I have been aware of the significance and also vulnerability of JHL schools and strongly believe that academic research is vital in order to support them and enhance their teaching and learning environment. From the sociolinguistic point of view, I believe that these schools represent significant sites for the investigation of issues of ideology and language practice around migration and identity in the contemporary world of diversity, mobility and connectivity.

## **1.5. Structure of the thesis**

Chapter 2 is a review of the literature associated with my research project, the theoretical framework and concepts adopted for analysis and arguments, and empirical studies relevant to the study. Chapter 3 focuses on methodology, clarifying the research design and providing a detailed explanation of procedures for data collection and data analysis, descriptions of the research sites and participants, as well as my reflections as a researcher and some information about my preliminary study which went on to shape the research carried out for this doctoral study. Chapters 4, 5 and 6 are analysis and discussion chapters. Chapter 4 looks at translanguaging as pedagogy in the classroom in which two languages are employed to construct meaning. Individual schools and teachers are seen to create translanguaging spaces differently, and an argument is made that translanguaging works assuredly for those studying at JHL schools but that it requires teachers' competence and experience. In Chapter 5, translanguaging is examined as a way of thinking about bilingual students and their language practice and is described as a centrifugal force recognising the value in a heteroglossic language ideology. The chapter argues that JHL schools emerged as a response to educational needs arising from superdiversity occurring in expatriate Japanese communities and that change and diversity are the norm there. However, diversity causes tension and friction with ideologies that can be described as centripetal in that they exert pressure to conserve a language as one fixed, well-defined, unified entity. It is argued that 'conviviality' acts as a stabilising mechanism to ease feelings of frustration caused by diversity. Chapter 6 looks at two centripetal language ideologies that influence the programmes of both schools under study. One of these is *kokugo* ideology, which is linked to a common sense feeling among Japanese people about what it means to speak Japanese and which indexes legitimacy as an authentic Japanese person and 'good' Japanese speaker. The other is a language separation



ideology. These two ideologies are at the root of Japanese-only rules in both schools, but they affect the programmes differently in each. Chapter 7 concludes the thesis, indicating how the findings contribute to the development of JHL schools, and ending with a final reflection.

## Chapter 2. Literature review

### 2.1. Bakhtinian theories of language

Makoni and Pennycook (2007) state, “languages do not exist as real entities in the world” but exist as “the inventions of social and historical movements” (p. 2) or as “products of language use sedimented through acts of identity” (Pennycook, 2006, p. 71). Other researchers (Blackledge & Creese et al., 2017; García & Leiva, 2014; Otheguy, García, & Reid, 2015) present a similar viewpoint that named languages, such as English, Spanish or Japanese, are constructed socially and politically with idealised notions of ‘a language’ as a set of skills and that languages are not static but rather fluid and constantly changing. Mobility is a central theoretical concern in the sociolinguistics of resources, since it illustrates the dislocation of language and language events from the fixed position in time and space considered as caused by a more traditional linguistics (Blackledge & Creese et al., Blackledge et al., 2017; 2010).

Many sociolinguists support Mikhail Bakhtin’s theoretical and practical notion of ‘heteroglossia’ as a lens through which the social, political, and historical implications of language practice are observed (Blackledge & Creese, 2014). Heteroglossia means a commitment to multidiscursivity, multiplicity of socio-ideological speech types or discourses, and multivoicedness, the diversity of individual voices, along with the presence of language and code varieties as a result of social differences (Busch, 2014). According to Malinowski & Kramsch (2014), heteroglossia reminds us of “the fundamentally multivoiced nature” of “all language use in everyday life”, since it was a multifaceted concept Bakhtin perceived to compete against the single-voiced official discourse of the 1920s in the Soviet Union (p. 156). They clarify four major tenets language educators have adopted from the concept of Bakhtin’s heteroglossia. The first tenet is the “embodied nature of cognition”: our knowledge is not something acquired and carried in our head but is governed by our place in space (e.g. our point of view) and in time (e.g. our memories and our projections) (2014, p. 156). The second one is “the constitutive nature of language”: language is “constitutive of social reality” since it helps constitute and shape a reality that is external to it through chronotope - timespace, as well as referring to this reality (2014, p. 156). The third one is ideological becoming: while learning new knowledge, learners acquire a set of attitudes and ideology -

beliefs that will govern their lives - and ideology is a combination of ‘authoritative’ discourses imposed and “the ‘internally persuasive’ discourse of individuals based on their own experiences and convictions” (2014, p. 156). The final tenet is the notion of dialogism (Holquist, 2002), which conceives that “knowledge of self can only occur from the perspective of the other and vice versa” and that “dialogue can take place only between two irreducible entities, the Self and the Other” (2014, p. 156). Bakhtin’s heteroglossia also refers to tension between centrifugal and centripetal discourses within the same named language. He argues that “alongside the centripetal forces, the centrifugal forces of language carry on their uninterrupted work; alongside verbal-ideological centralization and unification, the uninterrupted processes of decentralization and unification go forward” (1981, p. 272; Rampton, 2017).

Heteroglossia as a whole is a significant overarching concept of language in this thesis but specifically for analysing my data chronotope and centrifugal/centripetal forces are used as essential concepts. Chronotope (Bakhtin, 1981) is an important concept for examining ideological positionings. Chronotope is based on a sociolinguistic concept of language where language is considered entirely entangled with concrete aspects of the social world and the language in actual use will enable an historical-sociological analysis of different ‘voices’ since it involves “the interlocutor’s own historically specific ‘verbal-ideological belief systems’” (Blommaert, 2018, p. 5). Bakhtin (1981) asserts that language in use points to “a certain point of view, ideology, social class, profession, or other social position” (Blackledge & Creese et al., 2017, p. 16). Chronotope provides “multiple historicities compressed into one ‘synchronized’ act of performance” (Blommaert & De Fina, 2017, p. 17).

In my thesis chronotope is hence a significant indexical sign in analysing data, particularly in relation to a one-nation-one-language nationalistic ideology circulating extensively among people in Japan as well as supporting an ideology of heterogeneity. According to Wortham & Reyes (2015), discourse analysis starts with selecting indexical signs, which might be important signals about the social action occurring or could play a central role in contextualization and, adopting indexical signs, examines the complex ways participants position themselves concerning “the messages they deliver, the people they interact with and the larger social world” (p. 59). Among the various types of signs, ‘evaluative indexicals’ indicate “relevant context in ways that potentially characterise and evaluate narrated characters and narrating participants” (p. 51), and a particular kind of ‘evaluative indexical’ is an ‘emblem’ - a sign or group of signs that presupposes and characterises a recognizable social type (Agha, 2007a; Wortham & Reyes, 2015). ‘Authenticity’ can be demonstrated in

specific arrangements or configurations of features as emblematic of particular identities and one has to have enough of the ‘emblematic features,’ in order to be acknowledged as an authentic member (Blommaert, 2013; Blommaert & Varis, 2011). Researchers point out instances of what chronotope indexes, namely, “thought and narration that frames experience in terms of time/space” (Bakhtin, 1981; Holquist, 2002, p. 109), “patterns of cultural practices” (Blackledge, Creese, & Hu, 2016, p. 45), specific forms of personality (Agha, 2007c; Woolard, 2013).

In order to answer the research question, “What do the two JHL schools aim to pass on to their students?” I analyse teachers’ and administrators’ narratives and patterns of language and cultural practices. In doing so, it is beneficial to consider their time-space trajectories, historical experiences and backgrounds as Japanese migrants who finally settled in a city in England and were involved in their JHL schools. The choronotope concept clarifies that these elements are compressed into their practice and beliefs.

Blommaert and De Fina endorse chronotopic identities, which are “organised in, or at least with reference to, specific timespace configurations which are nonrandom and compelling as ‘contexts’” (2017, p. 1). Such identities are parts of “common sense understandings about the way groups and cultures function” due to some values “describable as tied to and conditioned by specific timespace configurations” (2017, p. 5). The “pivotal reflexive role of the dynamic relations between time and space” is commonly identified by discourse analysis (Jaffe et al., 2015, p. 138), since people rely on “chunks of history” for their identity work, thus the chronotopic nature of cultural practice can explain generation gaps or anachronisms (Blommaert, 2015, p. 12).

It is an emblematic chronotopic identity around *kokugo* that all the Japanese parents, teachers and administrators in this study had, or were expected to have. *Kokugo*, which literally means (Japanese as) a national language, is the powerful nationalistic ideology prevailing throughout Japan and also denotes a school subject. *Kokugo* is a crucial concept in this thesis, and I will discuss it in detail later in this chapter (see 2.3.3.2. Kokugo (国語), one-nation-one-language nationalistic ideology in Japan). I will also return to the indexicality of this specific chronotope there, since it is deeply associated with what the concept of *kokugo* indexes.

All children in Japan are exposed to the *kokugo* curriculum, which is taught through primary and secondary schooling throughout Japan. They receive *kokugo* discipline with the same *kokugo* textbooks between the ages of 6 and 18 in the classroom at school. This specific

time space configuration around *kokugo* conditions them to have this powerful chronotopic identity, which is part of the common-sense understanding people in Japan feel with regard to the Japanese language, culture, values or spirit, even if some do not agree with it.

Chronotopic identity around *kokugo* is vital in analysing Japanese language, culture and values practised and given credence to by teachers and administrators and parents involved in JHL schools.

However, these people also experienced and were socialised in other time space configurations as Japanese emigrants. In a certain place in the world at a certain time during their life trajectories they met their partners, most of whom were typically non-Japanese, and eventually settled in a city in England a long way away from Japan with their partners and brought up their children there. Bakhtin (1981) indicates that people's "metamorphosis", changes in chronotope, occurs in the "adventure-time of everyday life" (p. 111) and a dominant chronotopic frame can incorporate completely different types of chronotope (Woolard, 2013). All people have a range of chronotopic identities that develop throughout their lives, and the Japanese people I encountered during my research were apt to have various types of chronotope in addition to the emblematic chronotopic identity derived from their upbringing in Japan. They crossed geographical and cultural borders more frequently and tended to encounter more "adventure-time of everyday life" than those staying in Japan most of their life and associating with people with a similar cultural background.

Another important chronotope especially worth mentioning in relation to those Japanese immigrants is 'the cosmopolitan chronotope' described by Woolard (2013). It supports positive adaptation to new national ideologies and "a cosmopolitan identity" indexing an ease with "broader geographic and social landscapes" (Woolard, 2013, p. 221) The city as a locale supports "identity as heterogeneous and polyphonic" (Creese & Blackledge, 2019a, p. 1) and cosmopolitans settling in a city can cope with and go forward "around different landscapes" (Woolard, 2013, p. 219). Since the two JHL schools investigated for this research project are located in cities in England, 'cosmopolitan chronotope' and 'cosmopolitan identity' are also useful in accounting for certain behaviours and perspectives of their teachers and administrators together with other chronotopic identities they had. For those Japanese people dwelling in English cities, the cosmopolitan chronotope is also emblematic as a recognisable social type, supporting heterogeneity. The chronotope is helpful in analysing the shifting nature of linguistic and national allegiance and "enables or constrains character development" (Woolard, 2013, p. 211). The concept of chronotopic identities is beneficial in this thesis in

exploring language practices and beliefs people at JHL schools collectively shared as well as what individuals adhered to independently.

Bakhtin consistently points out “social tensions in language”, especially centripetal and centrifugal forces, claiming that it “is possible to give a concrete and detailed analysis of any utterance, once having exposed it as a contradiction-ridden, tension-filled unity of two embattled tendencies in the life of language” (Bakhtin, 1981, p. 272; Blackledge & Creese, 2014). The centripetal force pulls towards homogeneity, the unitary language, correctness and standardization, while the centrifugal force tugs towards heteroglossia, disunification and decentralization, and the two forces rarely repel each other but often coexist (Bakhtin, 1981; Blackledge & Creese, 2014; Rampton, 2017). According to Bakhtin, “every utterance participates in the ‘unitary language’ (in its centripetal forces and tendencies) and at the same time partakes of social and historical heteroglossia (the centrifugal, stratifying forces)” (Bakhtin, 1981, p. 272; Rampton, 2017). He specifies that a language in use characterised as heteroglossic also often has convention aiming at homogeneity. Centrifugal and centripetal forces are useful lenses for examining how people at JHL schools construct the ‘authentic Japaneseness’ they would like to pass on to the next generation. The tensions between the two forces are frequently detected in their beliefs, often co-existing without contradicting each other. I have devoted two chapters to analysing ideologies prevailing at JHL schools, one chapter on ideologies affected by centrifugal forces and the other on centrifugal ideologies.

## **2.2. New developments in applied linguistics around multilingual pedagogies**

### **2.2.1. Criticism of Saussurrean linguistics**

Although Bakhtinian concepts of language are becoming common among sociolinguists, many people, including language educators, still believe in the structural linguistics advocated by Ferdinand de Saussure. Therefore, before discussing new developments in applied linguistics around multilingual pedagogies, I start this section with a brief look at criticism of Saussure’s central idea.

Saussure insists that language should be examined as a system of signs and that as a means of communication, the structure of language should be looked at since the relationship

between signs is what creates meaning in human interactions (Key & Noble, 2017). Saussure sees language as a fixed structure governed by rules and considers that all languages are alike with the same basic structure of the system of words, syntax and sounds that vary between them, functioning in a systemic way (Key & Noble, 2017). The Saussurrean linguistic tradition presumes “an ontological commitment to ‘language’ as some kind of organic totality that was united by the internal relations between its formal components” (Thibault, 2017, p. 76) and that language is a code-like system, which “gets separated from cognitive, affective and bodily dynamics in real-time” (Thibault, 2017, p. 76).

Despite the fact that Saussurrean linguistics had a great impact on the development of linguistic theory, his approach has been the focus of heavy criticism since the latter half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century due to “its limited synchronic concern with linguistic categories” and “reducing language to an object” (Creese & Blackledge, 2019b, p. 801). It tends to “freeze as dogma” its sub-categories which cut “language away from its history and living beings” (Cowley, 2017, p. 47). It does not view language and people as inseparably linked in “perpetually incomplete processes” (Cowley, 2017, p. 44), discounting that language action is inescapably diverse (Agha, 2007b). His linguistic perspective on language is becoming inappropriate for the sake of describing people’s interactions with the world (Creese & Blackledge, 2019b; Thibault, 2017). Since communication is in flux and in development due to numerous migration patterns across myriad borders and advances in digital technology, mobility, mixing, political dynamics and historical embedding are central concerns (Blackledge & Creese, 2014; Blommaert & Rampton, 2016). “Changing the idea of language” is needed for the study of language use in late modern societies (Cowley, 2017, p. 43). Therefore, it is not sufficient for analysis of language use to adopt the notion of language as a fixed structure and bounded system because meaning-making is not confined within bounded sets of linguistic resources (Blackledge & Creese, 2014; Jørgensen, 2010). Instead, several terms have emerged to describe and analyse such linguistic practices flexibly, presenting a view of language as a social resource without clear boundaries (Creese & Blackledge, 2015).

### **2.2.2. Linguaging**

Becker (1991, p. 34) asserts that “there is no such thing as language, only continual languaging, an activity of human beings in the world”. Thibault (2017) describes languaging from ‘ecological psychology’ perspectives as “an assemblage of diverse material, biological,

semiotic and cognitive properties and capacities which languaging agents orchestrate in real-time and across a diversity of timescales” (p. 82), claiming, “human languaging activity is radically heterogeneous and involves the interaction of processes on many different timescales, including neural, bodily, situational, social, and cultural processes and events” (p. 76). The concept of languaging “invites us to rethink language not as an organism-centred entity with corresponding formalism, phonemes, words, sentences, etc.”, but as “a multi-scalar organisation of processes that enables the bodily and the situated to interact with situation-transcending cultural-historical dynamics and practices” (Thibault, 2017, p. 78). The concept of languaging has developed into the emergence of translanguaging, which is typical languaging in situations where more than two named languages are in use, a key concept in this thesis. Translanguaging will be discussed later in this section (see 2.2.5. Translanguaging).

### **2.2.3. Communicative/linguistic repertoires**

Grown out of the term ‘verbal repertoire’ coined by Gumperz (1964), Rymes (2010) developed the notion of communicative repertoires, that is, the collection of ways individual people use language and other means of communication, such as gesture, dress, posture or accessories, to function effectively in the multiple communities they engage in.

Communicative repertoires, in which signs are available for meaning-making, extend language use across languages and varieties associated with particular national, territorial and social groups (Creese & Blackledge, 2015) and emphasise “the repertoire elements an individual commands” (Rymes, 2014b, p. 303). Language in actual use is constantly changing. People try to make sense of their world, choosing appropriate communicative repertoires with a certain interlocutor in a particular place and time.

Busch (2015) expands the concept of linguistic repertoire “in developing the notion of the lived experience of language”, taking a “biographical approach” (p. 341) and relating it to the heteroglossia described by Bakhtin. She does not see the linguistic repertoire:

as stable and geographically fixed, but as fluid and flexible, as related to different social spaces and moments in time. Seen from the speakers’ perspective, the repertoire evolves drawing on a broad range of earlier voices, discourses and codes, and forms a heteroglossic and contingent space of potentialities which includes imaginations and desires (2014, p. 22).



Repertoire is not something possessed by an individual but “something formed and deployed in intersubjective processes located on the border between the self and the other” and something that develops and changes throughout life (Blackledge & Creese, 2017b, p. 36). The repertoire is “a kind of toolbox”, from which people “select the ‘right’ language, the ‘right code’” for a particular situation or context (Blackledge & Creese, 2017b, p. 36). A biographical approach is also advocated by Blommaert (2014), who points out that people are likely to take any linguistic and communicative resources available to them and blend them into complex linguistic and semiotic forms in ‘superdiverse’ on- and offline environments.

#### **2.2.4. Idiolects**

Another useful term is ‘idiolect’, which is defined by Bloch (1948, p. 7) as “the totality of the possible utterances of one speaker at one time.” Otheguy et al. (2015) indicate that a bilingual person’s idiolect would consist of lexical and grammatical features from different socially and politically defined languages, just as a so-called monolingual’s idiolect would consist of lexical and grammatical features from regionally, social class-wise and stylistically differentiated varieties of the same named language. Numerous migration patterns and advances in digital technology have led to many cases of “dynamic and creative linguistic practices that involve flexible use of named languages and language varieties as well as other semiotic resources” (Li, 2018, p. 14). In examining such fluid language practice, “it is far more productive analytically to focus on the very variable ways in which linguistic features with identifiable social and cultural associations get clustered together whenever people communicate” (Blommaert & Rampton, 2016, p. 21) rather than to adopt named languages as the unit of analysis.

My research project is based on this fundamental sociolinguistic viewpoint of language, seeing named languages not as static phenomena but as social constructs. It analyses language practice with the notion of languaging, seeing communicative repertoires or idiolects as people’s individual social actions for meaning-making, which do not have clear boundaries nor fixed structures. In order for my project to reveal ‘language’ actually used in the classroom in JHL schools, data collected during my ethnographic fieldwork are vital. Next, I will discuss translanguaging, one of the key concepts in my thesis, which has been derived from these concepts of ‘language’.

### 2.2.5. Translanguaging

Translanguaging is another significant term that has emerged to describe and analyse language practice which has become increasingly variable and flexible due to the mobility and the progress in digital technology in the contemporary world. The term was originally coined in Welsh as *trawsieithu* by Cen Williams in 1994 to refer to “the planned and systematic use of two languages inside the same lesson” at schools in Wales (Baker & Wright, 2017, p. 288; Lewis, Jones, & Baker, 2012; Williams, 2011). The term translanguaging, trans+linguaging, came from the idea of linguaging, which does not regard language “as an accomplished fact, as a thing made and finished, but as in the process of being made” (Becker, 1991; Li, 2018, p. 242). It is an expanded concept of linguaging, about linguaging in linguistically diverse contexts. It is the multilingual speakers’ ability “to shuttle between languages, treating the diverse languages that form their repertoire as an integrated system” (Canagarajah, 2011, p. 401). García (2009) points out that “translanguaging is the normal mode of linguaging when bilingual individuals are the norm” (p. 71).

Bilinguals are not considered as those having two monolingual systems but having one integrated linguistic system, translanguaging. Translanguaging refers to making use of individuals’ idiolects or communicative repertoires, regardless of named languages, language varieties or language boundaries which have been constructed socially and politically (Otheguy et al., 2015; Otheguy, García, & Reid, 2019). The notion of translanguaging suggests that in a particular social setting, people select from their semiotic resources, the components of their idiolects or communicative repertoires, to communicate rather than make decisions about which named languages to use (Blackledge & Creese, 2017a).

Translanguaging “goes beyond the notion of two autonomous languages”, and applies to all modes of people’s communication for creative and critical meaning-making, while codeswitching is about management of different named languages in social interactions, focusing on which language to speak to whom, how and when (García & Li, 2014, p. 13). According to Juffermans et al., translanguaging:

focuses primarily on what speakers actually do and achieve by drawing on elements from their repertoires in situated contexts. A translanguaging perspective looks at people not as having or using a language or identity but as performing repertoires of identities by means of a range of linguistic– semiotic resources acquired over the course of one's life trajectory through membership of or participation in various communities of practice (2014, p. 49).

Translanguaging refers to language practice seen from individual people's viewpoints particularly in multilingual contexts. It is everyday practice at home for bi-/multilingual families (Green & Li, 2014; Otheguy et al., 2015; Otheguy et al., 2019) and the process of "multiple discursive practices in which bilinguals engage in order to make sense of their bilingual worlds" (García, 2009, p. 45). Bi-/multilingual people translanguage to construct meaning and translanguaging makes it clear that there are no clear-cut boundaries between the languages those people use (Creese & Blackledge, 2015; García, 2010; Otheguy et al., 2019). Their language choice involves negotiation in every interaction, as they decide who they want to be and choose their language practices accordingly (Creese & Blackledge, 2015; García, 2010).

Translanguaging is a breakthrough concept which explains precisely what I have felt about my own discursive and creative everyday language practice whilst living with my British husband and bringing up three bilingual children in different parts of the world. It was the concept that I had been seeking ever since I began to feel our language at home was too valuable, creative and unpredictable to be called simply code-switching or language mixing. It is a way to understand the world through a multilingual lens rather than a monolingual lens, through the lens of bi-/multilingual families like my own family.

### ***2.2.5.1. Translanguaging as pedagogy***

Rather than placing emphasis on translanguaging as everyday practice of bi-/multilingual families, this thesis focuses on translanguaging as a pedagogic technique in the classroom at JHL schools. Translanguaging is also recognised as a bi-/multilingual pedagogy for teaching and learning (Creese & Blackledge, 2010; García, 2009; García & Kano, 2014), which emphasises "a process of knowledge construction that goes beyond languages" (Li, 2018, p. 15). According to García & Li (2014, p. 73), although in the 20th century, communicative skills were emphasized both in foreign/second language education and bilingual education, in the 21<sup>st</sup> century "the emphasis is on the development of critical thinking skills and deep comprehension." Translanguaging as pedagogy fosters bi-/multilingual learners' functional and practical efficiency rather than their accuracy or proficiency level. Bi-/multilinguals' translanguaging functions as the process of "gaining understanding and knowledge" as well as the process of "making meaning" and "shaping experiences" through the use of two or more languages (Baker & Wright, 2017, p. 288). Bi-/multilingual students often find it difficult to think critically, engage in meaningful discussion and comprehend deeply without

translanguaging, which they use to make meaning for different purposes, such as support, expansion and enhancement (García & Li, 2014).

Differences between translanguaging as everyday practice and as pedagogy are clarified in literature (Blackledge & Creese, 2010; García & Li, 2014; Lewis et al., 2012). Unlike spontaneous translanguaging as everyday practice, teacher-directed translanguaging as pedagogy, involving teachers' planned and structured activity (Lewis et al., 2012), is a way for teachers to differentiate their interactions with individual students to ensure that all students can receive adequate linguistic input and produce enough linguistic output "in meaningful interactions and collaborative dialogue" (García & Li, 2014, p. 92). It is how teachers deliberately draw on students' individual linguistic repertoires in order to enhance their learning. Translanguaging as pedagogy is increasingly being used for minority students not only because it enables them to learn meaningfully but also because it sustains their dynamic languaging in the classroom (Blackledge & Creese, 2010).

How translanguaging as pedagogy promotes bi-multilinguals' learning is often examined from the viewpoints of learners. Translanguaging for learning is "a way to become more knowledgeable", aiming to expand language practices of bi-/multilingual learners (García & Li, 2014, p. 89). Hornberger & Link (2012) thus suggest that educators should recognise the value of translanguaging and make good use of bi-/multilinguals' multiple communicative repertoires.

Hornberger (2003, 2005) advocates bilingual instructional strategies and suggests her 'continua of biliteracy model', indicating:

bi-/multilinguals' learning is maximized when they are allowed and enabled to draw from across all their existing language skills (in two + languages), rather than being constrained and inhibited from doing so by monolingual instructional assumptions and practices (p. 607).

Li (2018) identifies a space where bi-/multilinguals' learning is maximised as a 'translanguaging space', which is described as:

a space that is created by and for translanguaging practices, and a space where language users break down the ideologically laden dichotomies between the macro

and the micro, the societal and the individual, and the social and the psychological through interaction (p. 23).

It can be a space in individual bi-/multilinguals' minds but also a physical space bi-/multilingual people generate cooperatively by bringing together "different dimensions of their personal history, experience and environment, their attitude, belief and ideology, their cognitive and physical capacity" to form "one coordinated and meaningful performance", and convert it into "a lived experience" (Li, 2011a, p. 1223). In a translanguaging space, boundaries between different named languages and between language and other semiotic resources are broken down and, for meaning- and sense-making, multilingual, multisensory and multimodal semiotic systems work together collaboratively without any a priori hierarchy, similarly to an orchestra (Zhu, Li, & Jankowicz-Pytel, 2020; Zhu, Li, & Lyons, 2017). In such a space, power relations between the teacher and the student are transformed to concentrate on "the process of teaching and learning on making meaning, enhancing experience, and developing identity" (Li, 2018, p. 15). The teacher, therefore, gives up their "authority role in the classroom", becoming a facilitator who can set up "collaborative groupings that maximize translanguaging to learn" (García & Li, 2014, p. 93). A translanguaging classroom is seen not only as a space for learning but also "as a space for co-participation in the co-construction of knowledge by the pupils and teachers" (Li & Lin, 2019, p. 212). García & Li (2014) indicate that translanguaging as a pedagogy "integrates bilingual acts in ways that reflect the unified constitution of the learner" (p. 80), while Creese and Blackledge (2010, 2015) point out that the learner's translanguaging establishes their own identity positions. Instead of learning new language structures, learners develop "the integration of new language practices into one linguistic repertoire" and "new languaging that makes up their own unique repertoire of meaning-making resources" (García & Li, 2014, p. 80). In translanguaging space, various identities, values and practices do not "simply co-exist, but combine together to generate new identities, values and practices" (Li, 2011a, p. 1223) hence bi-/multilingual speakers' "creativity and criticality" in using their full range of idiolects or communicative repertoires is demonstrated (Li, 2011a, p. 1222). Cenoz & Gorter (2017) indicate that teachers' translanguaging as pedagogical strategy is part of the teaching process and different from spontaneous translanguaging bi-/multilingual people use in communicative practice.

This thesis explores how translanguaging is practiced by teachers, particularly as a

pedagogic technique, in the context of JHL schools in England.

### ***2.2.5.2. Translanguaging as a positive ideological orientation towards differences***

Leung & Valdés (2019) argue that translanguaging has “implications for both theory and practice” since the term carries multifaceted and multilayered polysemic connotations (p. 365). Translanguaging as a theory is a way of thinking about bilingual people and their language practice (Blackledge & Creese et al., 2017; Creese & Blackledge, 2010; García, 2009; García & Li, 2014; Leung & Valdés, 2019). It is a way of thinking about how bilingual people communicate and of looking at the world through a multilingual lens rather than a monolingual lens. The concept of translanguaging supports Ruiz’s (1984) ‘language as a resource’ orientation. He argued in the 1980s - when the US government neglected the power of its linguistic diversity brought by minority language speakers and pursued its language assimilation policy - that such linguistic diversity should be treated as a resource. He sees “language-minority communities as important sources of expertise” and indicates “language is a resource to be managed, developed and conserved” (p. 28), contrasting the two other orientations he identifies, ‘language as a problem’ and ‘language as a right’. Translanguaging gives “voice to a heteroglossic language ideology”, which values bilingualism as a resource and can possibly remove the hierarchy among language practices that assumes more value in some practices than others (Bailey, 2007; García, 2009). It expresses precisely the complexity of experience of bi-/multilingual people previous scholarly perspectives on bilingualism failed to describe (Leung & Valdés, 2019) and a positive ideological orientation towards differences.

Lewis et al. (2012) assert that translanguaging is different from code-switching ideologically, because the former allows bi-/multilingual learners to use two or more languages flexibly for learning, while language separation is associated with the latter. The concept of translanguaging aims to change our way of thinking about multilingualism in the contemporary world of mobility, connectivity, multimodality and superdiversity (García & Li, 2014). It empowers actual language practised by bi-/multilingual people (Leung & Valdés, 2019), such as Japanese/English bilinguals involved in JHL schools in England. Translanguaging is an epistemological switch in thinking about bilingual people’s linguistic practice, focusing on individual people engaging in communication rather than on

'languages' (Blackledge & Creese et al., 2017; Creese & Blackledge, 2010; García, 2009; García & Li, 2014; Leung & Valdés, 2019). Translanguaging:

refers to new language practices that make visible the complexity of language exchanges among people with different histories, and releases histories and understandings that had been buried within fixed language identities constrained by nation-states (García & Li, 2014, p. 21).

In this thesis, translanguaging is seen not only as a vital language practice and pedagogy but is also examined as a positive ideological orientation towards differences in the classroom. This ideological view is endorsed by the concept of superdiversity, which I will discuss later (see 2.3.6. Superdiversity and social categories).

### **2.2.6. Multi-competence / translanguaging instinct**

A similar notion of translanguaging is explored not only by sociolinguists but also some second language acquisition (SLA) researchers. They examine language teaching in the contemporary world where language boundaries are becoming blurred and where separating the languages of bi-/multilingual speakers is becoming particularly problematic.

Cook (1995) defines multi-competence as “an individual’s knowledge of a native language and a second language, that is L1 linguistic competence plus L2 interlanguage” (p. 93). According to him, multi-competence is a different state of mind from monolingual linguistic competence, being a single mind with more than one language having a totality that is very different from a mind with a single language. According to the multi-competence concept, people who speak two languages have somewhat different first language systems, different metalinguistic awareness and different cognitive processes from those speaking only one language (Cook, 1995). The concept of multi-competence is to a certain degree similar to translanguaging, but is a concept in SLA, which accepts language boundaries, such as a native language and a second language, highlighting the process of how people having acquired their first language learn a second language.

Li (2018) overlaps multi-competence with the concept of translanguaging and defines translanguaging instinct as an “innate capacity for acquiring languages” (p. 24) bi-/multilingual people have since they are aware of differences among politically-constructed named languages. Translanguaging instinct highlights “the multisensory, multimodal and

multilingual nature of human learning and interaction” (p. 26). When such instinct is activated, multisensory, multimodal and multilingual semiotic systems work together collaboratively for communication like an orchestra (Zhu et al., 2020; Zhu et al., 2017). It enables human beings to “go beyond narrowly defined linguistic cues and transcend culturally defined language boundaries to achieve effective communication” (pp. 19-20).

Both concepts value bi-/multilinguals’ overall language competence or idiolect as it is, especially their metalinguistic awareness and cognitive process. The big difference between multi-competence and translanguaging instinct is that the former is based on a plurality of perspectives which admit borders between “socially constructed categories such as languages and cultures”, while the latter is established with a complex perspective viewing “the unfinished and evolving, tentative, non-linear aspects of social and cultural life” “as normal features of life” (Blackledge & Creese, 2019, p. 98). Blommaert and Varis (2012) insist that contemporary identity and the semiotics of culture should be captured from a standpoint of complexity. The new perspective towards bi-/multilinguals appearing in the field of SLA with the concept of multi-competence, however, is significant for language professionals like me, who have a mission to teach a language within a bounded area in the classroom. This new tendency in SLA might be helpful in promoting translanguaging as pedagogy in educational settings where more than two languages are in use. Students’ enhanced metalinguistic awareness is clearly demonstrated in my data in the classroom where teachers allowed students to learn Japanese across languages while bearing the Japanese-only policy in mind. It will be discussed in chapter 4 (see 4.3. Teachers’ translanguaging to develop students’ metalinguistic awareness).

## **2.3. Ideologies and social categories**

### **2.3.1. Language ideologies**

Blommaert & Rampton (2016) point out that named languages are ideological constructions historically connected with the emergence of nation-states in the 19<sup>th</sup> century. The notion of monolingualism was also triggered by the invention of the nation-state (Makoni & Pennycook, 2007). Two-thirds of the children in the world, according to Crystal (2012), grow up in a bi-/multilingual environment. The 2011 census of England and Wales also reveals that about 25.5% of children born in England and Wales had foreign-born parents (Sigona, 2012) and that



7.7% of the national population spoke languages other than English as their main language (Office of National Statistics, 2013; Zhu & Li, 2016). Edwards (2004) declares that the perception of monolingualism as the norm is forged by the power and dominance of nation-states having high status languages since their citizens have little need for other languages. In such countries, like the UK, as pointed out by Baker (2017), the linguistic gifts children from minority language backgrounds can bring to society are often neglected and lost. Language is a fundamental phenomenon in societies and linguistic practices are deeply related to people's beliefs or feelings about language.

Ideology is defined by Blommaert and Verschueren (1998) as “any constellation of fundamental or commonsensical, and often normative ideas and attitudes related to some aspect(s) of social reality” (p. 25). Sets of beliefs or feelings about language within a cultural group are thus referred to as language ideologies (Blackledge & Creese, 2017a; Kroskrity, 2004). Irvine (1989, p. 255) defines language ideologies as “the cultural (or subcultural) system of ideas about social and linguistic relationships, together with their loading of moral and political interests”, while Woolard & Schieffelm (1994) describe language ideologies as “self-evident ideas and objectives a group holds concerning roles of language in the social experiences of members” (p. 57) and “significant for social as well as linguistic analysis” because “such ideologies envision and enact links of language to group and personal identity” (pp. 55-56). Regarding language practices, language ideologies and language policies, Gottlieb (2012) quotes Spolsky (2004, p. 14) writing, “language ideology is language policy with the manager left out, what people think should be done. Language practices, on the other hand, are what people actually do”, while Blackledge and Creese (2010) indicate that language practice is shaped by language ideologies and language ideologies are constantly influenced by language practice. Language ideologies, however, are not necessarily causative factors but mediating factors between social structures and forms of talk, since such ideologies always coexist with wider questions of identity, aesthetics, morality and epistemology (Gottlieb, 2012; Irvine, 1989; Woolard & Schieffelm, 1994). Language ideologies and other mediating factors affect people's language practices or pedagogies in classrooms. Blommaert (2016) indicates that a named language is real as an ideological artefact if people believe it exists, while language as observable social action is specific forms people use in communicative practice and that language ideology research allows us to see the gap between observable language behaviour and beliefs about such behaviour. Although language in use is not static and constantly changing, constructed views on named

languages or language as a fixed structure governed by rules exist due to language ideologies people believe in.

My study uses the term ideology as an analytical frame indexing people's beliefs and feelings about language, unlike the everyday use of the term associated with political belief systems and with its somewhat negative connotation. It aims to reveal the beliefs and feelings of teachers that influence their observable behaviour in the classroom, analysing such beliefs and feelings through ideologies and other factors.

### **2.3.2. Ideologies and language education**

Language ideologies have been explored in literature on language education. In the area of English language education, for example, they are discussed around immigrants' education in English-dominant countries. These countries often rely on highly skilled immigrants who can compensate for the decrease in their workforces (De Costa, 2010), but evidence showing sufficient English proficiency is crucial for immigrants to ensure their status in a host country. The Nationality, Immigration and Asylum Act 2002 (Legislation.gov.uk) in the UK, for example, clarifies that immigrants need to prove their knowledge of English to be equivalent to B1 on the CEFR (the Common European Framework of Reference for languages) scale as well as pass the 'Life in the UK' test in order to obtain UK citizenship or settlement. Other English-dominant countries, such as Australia, the US and Singapore, have also introduced English language tests for citizenship applications. These language policies are ideological (De Costa, 2010). In the US, for example, the ideology of English monolingualism serves to deculturate and to acculturate immigrants (De Costa, 2010; Wiley, 2000) and implies the assumption that speaking English is associated with being a good American (De Costa, 2010; Linton, 2009). "Officially sanctioned ideologies" are surely aligned with "individual language ideologies" but "such an alignment should not be exclusively attributed to a hegemonic reproduction of ideologies" since linguistic negotiations are also affected in a complicated way by "a global talent poaching war" involving highly skilled immigrants (De Costa, 2010, p. 235). Learners' language ideologies, therefore, have a different character from the ideological nature of language policies, which are forged by political concerns, since they are normally "unnoticed and uncontested by people in their discourse community" (De Costa, 2010, p. 220).

De Costa (2010; 2011) conducted a year-long ethnographic case study in an English-medium secondary school in Singapore and highlighted the language ideologies of a female

Chinese student who had been recruited by the local authority and awarded a scholarship to pursue her education in Singapore. Even if she had been enormously influenced by language ideologies prevailing around her in China and been motivated by the situation there, she was also greatly affected by ideologies circulating at school and introduced by teachers in Singapore (De Costa, 2010). These English learners' beliefs were constructed discursively and changed while the learners interacted with various people in the society and eventually their language ideologies impacted their language learning (De Costa, 2011).

Language ideologies are also discussed in the fields of heritage language and indigenous language maintenance and learning. Fishman (1991) indicates that the most commonly observed pattern of language loss and maintenance of minoritized-languages in the US is a three-generational language shift to the dominant language: the first generation speak their minority language, the third generation become English speakers, while the second generation tend to occupy a position in terms of language use between the minority language and the dominant language speakers. Wiley (2001) indicates, however, that a complete language shift within two generations is increasingly occurring among minoritized-language groups. Lo Bianco (2003) points out that heritage language maintenance through inter-generational transmission is “clearly affected by language ideologies as they interact with the specific circumstances and prospects of HL acquisition, maintenance, and re-acquisition” (2003, p. 94). He continues that:

We need to understand the ways in which some ideologies become hegemonic, or sustain that status, and how ideologies of language operate in specific contexts, differently or similarly for different languages. A key question concerns how language-specific ideologies, or specific linguistic cultures (Schiffman, 1996) relating to particular languages, affect practice in our schools and universities and how these in turn impact on the learning, loss, re-acquisition, literacy elaboration, or community-appropriate proficiency of HLs in mainstream institutions (2003, p. 94).

Jeon (2008), who explored language ideologies connected to the maintenance of Korean as a heritage language in the US, points out that these heritage language learners' attitudes toward Korean language learning and maintenance are constantly changing and shaped by their living situation and fluid entities, affected by both assimilationist languaging ideologies and pluralist ideologies: the former are supported by the idea of English as the *de facto* language

of the US while the latter affirm the multilingual nature of society. Most Korean parents appreciate their children's bilingual development but clearly consider English acquisition to be much more important than Korean acquisition since it directly influences school performance (Jeon, 2008). Second-generation Korean descendants, on the other hand, tend to want to learn Korean in a "socially accepted and supported way", such as in an undergraduate Korean language programmes at university, rather than in a community-based institution (Jeon, 2008, p. 218).

Joo, Chik and Djonov (2021), who investigated language ideologies of young Korean heritage language learners in Australia, comparing children at primary school and secondary school levels, conclude that language ideologies around Korean language differ by school age. Primary school children tended to associate a lower status with the Korean language and value English more as contributing to their social capital, while secondary teenagers tended to have more positive views on their heritage language, considering it to be a resource offering possible advantages in the future (Joo et al., 2021). They (2021) argue that language ideologies are connected to the sites where the heritage language is actually practised and how those heritage language learners position themselves.

Curdt-Christiansen (2006, 2008, 2009), who investigated the programmes of Chinese heritage language schools in Canada, indicates that the Chinese government has created a set of textbooks for overseas Chinese heritage language schools and that via such "culture- and moral-laden" textbooks the government controls and produces expectations of appropriate "ways of behaving, valuing and being in the world" for children of Chinese emigrants (p. 111). She (2008) argues that becoming literate in Chinese at heritage language school hence is an ideologically laden process.

According to Maguire & Curdt-Christiansen (2007), students at heritage language schools encounter different authoritative discourses by attending mainstream school on weekdays and heritage language school at weekends/after school hours, since schools are not only learning places but also key socialising spaces in which they "negotiate various discourses and degrees of authority" (p. 52) and the "coming together of diverse voices" in multiple languages, cultures and places provides those students with new possibilities and spaces where they understand the world and even "newer ways to mean" (Bakhtin, 1984; p. 53). These schools contain different histories and are described as socially, culturally and politically important spaces for alternative identity discourses which challenge positions circulating widely in UK society about language, culture and ethnicity (Creese et al., 2008;

Li, 2006).

King (2000) investigates language ideologies related to the Quichua language spoken by an indigenous group of the southern Ecuadorian Andes, revealing the presence of two conflicting language ideologies, a ‘pro-Quichua’ ideology and an ‘anti-Quichua’ ideology. Baker (1992) indicates that individual people often articulate feelings towards language(s) which are contradictory to their language behaviour. According to Hornberger (1988), who explored language ideologies in Quichua-speaking communities more than 30 years ago, the less an indigenous language is used, the more positive sentiment towards the language tends to grow since greater awareness of concerns about the language, culture and identity are likely to arise while interacting with the wider, non-indigenous society (King, 2000). King’s findings (2000) align with previous studies, revealing inconsistencies between language practice and feelings towards language(s) among people in the indigenous group. In the group, members of one community who have better positions in non-indigenous society and use Spanish more than Quichua in their daily life support Quichua language revitalisation efforts while those of another community having lower status positions in non-indigenous society and using Quichua rather than Spanish in their life do not support the revitalization efforts as widely as those in the former community (King, 2000).

Language ideologies are “constructed from the sociocultural experience of the speaker” (Kroskrity, 2004, p. 196), which is getting more and more complicated due to increasing mobility and the progress in digital technology in the present-day world. They are significant in exploring language education, revealing the feelings of learners, teachers and speakers towards language(s) and explaining their language practice. My study particularly focuses on significant language ideologies shaping the programmes of JHL schools and teachers’ practice in the classroom, which will be reviewed respectively in the following sections.

### **2.3.3. Japaneseness**

#### **2.3.3.1. *Nihonjinron***

In considering the idea of “Japaneseness”, it should be noted that there exists a widely read genre of literature in Japan, often referred to as “Nihonjinron” – from Nihonjin (日本人, Japanese people) + ron (論, theory/theories) - which focuses on the uniqueness of the Japanese people from a great diversity of perspectives, ranging from the cultural to the physical, and which can be seen as an ideology (Ishibashi, 2001; Lie, 2001).

According to Sugimoto (1999), Nihonjinron works "stereotype the Japanese culture and personality" and consuming them "has been the national sport of Japan's reading public for many decades" (p. 81). Some books written by Japanese authors (e.g. Doi, 1973; Nakane, 1970) as well as those written by foreign scholars of Japan (e.g. Benedict, 1946; Reischauer, 1977; Vogel, 1979) and translated into Japanese, have sold millions of copies. Major bookshops in Japan normally have a Nihonjinron section where dozens of titles in the field are assembled for readers in search of the essence and uniqueness of 'Japaneseness' (Sugimoto, 1999). The Nomura Research Institute (1978) estimated in 1978 that 698 Nihonjinron titles were published between 1945 and 1978, and in 1993 Manabe and Befu updated the number, which reached at least 1,000 in the Nihonjinron category (1993). Even though the nature and uniqueness of 'Japaneseness' have been discussed in Japan for centuries, Nihonjinron cemented its place as a genre of popular literature in Japan following WWII, and particularly after 1965 (Manabe & Befu, 1989), becoming a mass-consumed element of popular culture (Befu, 2001). Yoshino (1992) suggested that the popularity of the Nihonjinron genre could be due in part to an interest amongst consumers in any practical benefits that could be derived from "Japaneseness" that they felt could be applied to their immediate personal situations, such as in managing and solving problems in their workplace.

Although the Nihonjinron genre covers a vast range of topics, emphasising any perceived Japanese uniqueness, whether cultural, psychological, linguistic, geographic, genetic or physical, according to Sugimoto and Mouer (2000), from the viewpoint of sociology, most Nihonjinron is fundamentally based on the following 3 notions:

- Unassertive tendency: Japanese people have weak ego-strength at the level of individual psychology.
- Importance of groupism: Japanese people are group-oriented at the level of human relations.
- Importance of consensus and harmony: Japanese people have a strong sense of unity, thus the society is stable.

*The Chrysanthemum and the Sword: Patterns of Japanese Culture* (Benedict, 1946) is one of the most well-known and influential Nihonjinron classic bestsellers, shaping the idea of Japanese culture both outside and inside Japan. It was written by Ruth Benedict, an American cultural anthropologist, in 1946 during the occupation of Japan with its Japanese translation published in Japan in 1948. In addition to the three fundamental concepts indicated by Sugimoto and Mouer (2000), Benedict (1946) also proposes a distinction between the 'guilt

culture' of the West and the 'shame culture' of Japan. The two most prominent best-selling Japanese authors in this area, Nakane (1970) and Doi (1973), have also contributed greatly to the creation and/or reinforcement of stereotypes. For example, the former's key concept for describing Japanese society is that of the 'vertical society', with people preferring to act hierarchically within a group framework, while the latter work, by Doi, claims that *amae* - an attitude of passive dependence which occurs typically as a quasi-parent-child relationship, with a subordinate acting like a child toward her/his superior who assumes the role of a parent - is maintained into adulthood in Japanese society, manifesting itself, for example, in the relationships between colleagues in organisations such as companies and political factions.

The topic of Nihonjinron has, itself, become established as a research theme in the field of Japanese studies, with researchers tending to regard it critically, focusing on "the seemingly absurd nature of Nihonjinron and on ridiculing the phenomenon" (Reader, 2003, p. 103). According to some scholars, Nihonjinron relies on simplistic cultural comparisons with the West (Befu, 2001; Gill, 1985; Reader, 2003), disregards individual experience and socio-historical diversity occurring inside Japan (Dale, 2011; Takano, 2019), and ignores "regional differences so as to emphasize homogeneity" (Befu, 2001, p. 71). To counteract the claimed inaccuracies of Nihonjinron, Oguma (2002) asserts that it is essential to demythologise Japan's homogeneity in studies of Japanese society. Based on their quantitative project, Manabe and Befu (1993) indicate that Nihonjinron tends to represent a world view and ideology established by mature males who hold positions of power and have high incomes, while younger generations feel suspicious about Nihonjinron. Koyano (2010) criticises Nihonjinron as not really academic, making commentaries on about 100 books in the area, arguing that they compare Japan only with the West from a standpoint of an idealised Japanese elite and ignore historical reality. Takano (2019) argues that the commonly accepted idea that most aspects of Japanese society can be explained by the theory of groupism is proved wrong by academic studies and that such a stereotypic illusion has been forged by popular Nihonjinron classics, such as *The Chrysanthemum and the Sword* (Benedict, 1946). He (2019) emphasises that confirmation bias is dangerous and that updated empirical research without bias is indispensable for cross-cultural comparison since culture and cultural differences are constantly changing dynamically.

Given the great popularity of Nihonjinron publications, their focus on Japaneseness and an ideological message that the Japanese people do, or should, share certain unique characteristics, it might be reasonable to consider the possible influence of Nihonjinron when

investigating the beliefs and practice of those connected with JHL schools. However, as will become evident in later chapters, a different kind of ideology appeared more salient in the data. I have described this as *kokugo* and literature related to this ideology is described below.

### ***2.3.3.2. Kokugo (国語), one-nation-one-language nationalistic ideology in Japan***

- **Creation of the term *kokugo* and its diffusion throughout Japan**

*Kokugo* is also intimately bound up with ideas of Japaneseness and can be seen as a powerful and pervasive ideology in Japan that operates most ostensibly through the education system. Named languages are ideological constructions connected with the emergence of nation-states in the 19th century (Blommaert & Rampton, 2016) and an ideology of ‘one-nation-one-language’ has had a key influence on beliefs and values about language and languages (Blackledge & Creese, 2017a; Kroskrity, 2004). These perspectives coincide perfectly with the case of Japan and its national language.

In Japanese history, the latter half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century was one of the most tempestuous periods. The country was pressured to open up to the world, the threat coming in the form of US Navy steam-powered warships, the so-called Black Ships, in 1853. This pressure led Japan the following year to terminate its seclusion policy, which had lasted more than 200 years during the centralized feudal shogunate period. In 1869, the Empire of Japan was established as a modern nation-state, taking the place of the feudal system, and the country opened up to the world. The ideology of national monolingualism played an important role in nation-building in Japan (Gottlieb, 2012).

The term *kokugo* (国語), which literally means ‘a national language’, was created to forge a homogeneous Japanese nation when various linguistic practices employed throughout the Japanese archipelago were officially designated as dialects (Yasuda, 2003). The then Japanese government chose a linguistic variety from Tokyo as the standard language and designated it as the only legitimate variety for its citizens (Yasuda, 2003). Lee (2012) indicates that the most crucial year was 1900, when *kokugo* as a school subject officially replaced the three separate subjects of writing, reading and calligraphy in primary school and that it clearly aimed to instil patriotic spirit in schoolchildren. Since then, the term *kokugo* has denoted a school subject in compulsory school education throughout Japan.



There exists another word, *nihongo* (日本語), which literally means ‘Japanese language’ and is now considered a general term for Japanese language. The term was originally created with the meaning of an ‘Eastern Asian common language’ within the Empire of Japan at the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century when Japan was coming into direct contact with other languages through its colonies (Yasuda, 2003). During the colonial period, Japanese language education outside the main islands of Japan was called *nihongo* education, because it was not considered suitable for the ideological purpose of *kokugo* education due to its lack of sophistication (Yasuda, 2003). Lee (2012) indicates that modern Japanese has a peculiar duality in nomenclature: the term *kokugo* is used to refer to the language for ‘native speakers’ while the term *nihongo* typically refers to the language for ‘non-native speakers’. Accordingly, *nihongo* education is still distinct from *kokugo* education even today: the former refers to Japanese as a foreign language (JFL) education, while the latter is a school subject in Japan, teaching Japanese as a national language following the national curriculum. Although an interesting concept, *nihongo* is not explored much in this thesis but will be taken up briefly in Chapter 6.

Just as in many modern nation-states, the desire for social cohesion has been the overarching general ideology affecting language management decisions in Japan since the nation-building period in the 19<sup>th</sup>, decisions which have also been turned over time to other political purposes “such as the bolstering of national confidence in times of stress or war, recovery from war or recession, the harnessing of the education system to meet national goals, and most recently the restating of national identity in the face of the effects of globalisation” (Gottlieb, 2012, p. 7). As a consequence, during the modern period starting from the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century up to the present time, Japan has been dominated by the belief that only one language is spoken in Japan and by a nationalistic *kokugo* ideology, where the Japanese language is identified with its people and vice versa (Gottlieb, 2012).

- ***Kokugo* as an indexical sign and an emblem for authentic Japaneseness**

*Kokugo* is a powerful indexical sign in analysing data in my thesis, just like chronotope. Gottlieb (2012) focuses on language ideologies in Japan, explaining how language ideology functions as a powerful mediating factor of language practices there. According to her, ‘good’ Japanese is perceived as something that is taught by teachers based on a particular official orthographic policy and the curriculum guidelines for *kokugo*, and it is also something which parents teach their children, trying to pass on what they themselves were taught in *kokugo* at school. As a result of *kokugo* education prevailing thoroughly throughout

Japan, a belief about ‘good’ Japanese is widespread in Japan as a language ideology (Gottlieb, 2012). Lee (2012) points out that *kokugo* is not a real object but is actually a value grasped as a concept which unites two aspects of *kokugo*: the nationalistic aspect and the democratic aspect where all the people in Japan should be able to communicate in the same language both orally and in writing. *Kokugo*, an indexical sign or an emblem to legitimacy as an authentic Japanese person, has enabled Japanese people to communicate with each other freely in speech and in writing while also encouraging the development of a common patriotic spirit. According to Lee (2012), *kokugo* is a product of the modern period and the term and concept show the strong relation between the Japanese spirit and the Japanese language. As noted by Eagleton (2007, p. 58), “successful ideologies are often thought to render their beliefs natural and self-evident – to identify them with the ‘common sense’ of a society so that nobody could imagine how they might ever be different”. *Kokugo* has become a successful ideology, as people feel it to be common sense. It is constructed as one of the purest icons of the nation state of Japan and people are verified as authentic Japanese if they speak it (Heinrich, 2012). Such nationalist ideology presses individual people to become attached to their nation (Heinrich, 2012).

In Japan, there circulate ‘successful ideologies’ that have been implemented through language policies represented by *kokugo* education and that many people feel them to be natural and common sense. For many people in Japan, consequently, the *kokugo* ideology represents common sense and is an indexical sign and an emblematic feature to legitimacy as authentic Japanese citizens and good Japanese speakers. It is a strong mediating factor shaping language practices in Japan. The emblematic chronotopic identity around *kokugo*, which is tied with the time space configuration of when and where children in Japan are socialised and educated in the classroom through the *kokugo* curriculum during their primary and secondary school days, indexes what is conceptualised as *kokugo*.

Silver et al. (2013) indicate that “curriculum development and innovation link national, school and classroom levels with different ideological and practical concerns” (p. 152). In making their unique school curricula and programmes at JHL schools in England, *kokugo* is an important indexical sign for administrators and teachers and an emblem for the authentic Japaneseness to be passed on to their students. The emblematic chronotopic identity around *kokugo* is a motivation to maintain it among themselves and to pass it on to the next generation in foreign cities away from Japan.

This research project, which was based on my preliminary study involving ten JHL schools in England (see 3.13. Preliminary study), focuses on two JHL schools and

investigates *kokugo* ideology as well as other ideologies. It examines how these potent ideologies, along with various chronotopic identities, have travelled to England via Japanese immigrants who were brought up and socialised during their childhood and adolescence in Japan, and how they affect programmes and language practices, in order to find out what JHL schools in England aim to pass on to their students, and how they design their programmes in order to achieve their goals.

#### **2.3.4. Language separation ideology**

Another language-related ideology is the pedagogic one of language separation. Traditionally in educational settings, language teachers have tended to believe that using exclusively the target language in the classroom is ideal and to feel guilty about code-switching or moving between languages (Creese & Blackledge, 2011; Jacobson & Faltis 1990). As these teachers are strongly influenced by Saussurrean linguistics (Key & Noble, 2017), seeing language as a static and fixed structure controlled by rules within a closed boundary, they engage in teaching the established format of the system of words, syntax or sounds accurately without crossing the boundaries between languages. They do not consider language as a dynamic social activity (Creese & Blackledge, 2019b; Thibault, 2017). These boundaries and views created around languages show that bilingual people are considered as ‘two monolinguals in one body’ (Creese & Blackledge, 2010; Gravelle, 1996). Because of this perception, bilinguals, who are often considered as two separate and imperfect languages users, are sometimes regarded as problematic.

Li (2018, p. 14) indicates that although having different languages coexisting alongside each other is beginning to be acceptable in many parts of the world, many people still believe in the myth of a pure form of a language and “cannot accept the ‘contamination’ of their language by others”. He (2018) criticises the fact that language teaching and learning practice, policy and assessment are still much dominated by the target-language-only or one-language-at-a-time monolingual ideologies and that the bilingual speaker is rarely used as the model for teaching and learning. Li (2018) argues that the actual purpose of learning new languages is not to replace the learner’s first language to create another monolingual, but to become bilingual and multilingual.

Otheguy et al. (2019) criticise MacSwan’s (2017) dual correspondence theory, which perceives bilingual people as possessing internally two separate linguistic systems corresponding to the two external named languages. They (2019) argue that the duality of

bilingualism is merely a product of socio-political categorization and not a description of the psycholinguistic reality of bilingual people and that educators need to leverage translanguaging in instruction and assessment. Depending on the category to which students have been assigned, some can use ‘language’ in meaningful ways but others cannot, which is due to separate language ideology, thus, the translanguaging scholarship that has emerged in the last ten years places stress on educating all students “to maximize the meaning making, creativity and criticality of the educational experience” (García, 2019, p. 370).

Due to language separation ideology, teachers and administrators in JHL schools, just like many language teachers, perceive Japanese as a prescriptive linguistic resource with prescriptive grammar. “Dynamic translanguaging practices and the panoply of semiotic resources” used by bi-/multilingual students tend to be disregarded in educational settings, even at heritage language schools, although such language practices are nonetheless everyday practices at home for bi-/multilingual families (Otheguy et al., 2019, p. 647).

The two ideologies mentioned above – *kokugo* ideology and language separation ideology - affect individual JHL schools differently, but, as we will see in later chapters, both encourage teachers to keep Japanese and English separate and to maintain a Japanese-only rule in the classroom.

### **2.3.5. Pride and profit**

In discussing language ideologies circulating at JHL schools, ‘pride’ and ‘profit,’ two ideological tropes presented by Heller & Duchêne (2012), are invaluable, helping to illuminate both an emotional motive and a practical motive for using and learning Japanese language in England. According to them, pride and profit are key terms “to justify the importance of linguistic varieties and to convince people to speak them, or learn them, support them, or pay to hear them spoken” (pp. 3-4) and create a new approach enabling us to comprehend “the dynamic, and often contradictory, cultural assemblages in late capitalism” (p. 4). Language as pride is associated with a legitimation of certain linguistic varieties by certain nation-states, and helps to build the modern nation-state’s signature structure of feeling, while language as profit, or capital or a technical skill, is an emerging trope in the globalized new economy in which language is involved in two ways: as a source of symbolic added value and as a mode of management of global networks (Heller & Duchêne, 2012). Language as pride, coinciding with the argument of the nationalist language ideology or *kokugo* ideology discussed in the previous section, is a motivating force for the opening of

heritage language schools. Language as profit, on the other hand, reinforces the concept of ‘language as a resource’ suggested by Ruiz (1984) more than 30 years ago. In the globalised new economy in the era of superdiversity, ‘language as a resource’ can be more easily recognised as something profitable. Language as profit suggests that “multilingualism is added value” “in the national and global market” (Heller & Duchêne, 2012, p. 2). Heller & Duchêne (2012) argue that the intertwined tropes of pride and profit highlight “the importance of linguistic varieties” and change the idea of language from “a bounded system” to “a set of circulating, complex communicative resources” (pp. 3-4). To varying degrees, those involved with heritage language schools – teachers, students, and parents – can also be seen to be inspired by these concepts of pride and profit, concepts which also promote translanguaging.

The concept of pride and profit fits perfectly with how Japanese immigrants involved in JHL schools feel about *kokugo* as described in this thesis. It spotlights their emotional attachment toward the national language as well as their practical rationale to pass it on to their children as a potentially profitable resource for their future. Japanese language for students’ future profit and Japanese language to enhance pride in cultural identity are important factors shaping teachers’ practices and beliefs at JHL schools.

### **2.3.6. Superdiversity and social categories**

Together with translanguaging, superdiversity is a useful concept for interpreting heterogeneity, mobility, complexity and borderlessness around migration and language practices. It is another concept that reveals categories assigned to us as being social and political products which are becoming unclear in the ongoing changing social reality.

Superdiversity, “diversification of diversity” (Vertovec, 2007), is about “a range of changing variables surrounding migration patterns, which amount to a recognition of the complexities of societal diversity” (Blackledge & Creese et al., 2017, p. 4). The term ‘superdiversity’, coined by Vertovec (2007) has gradually been replacing the multiculturalism of an earlier era due to the diffuse nature of migration since the early 1990s and rapidly spreading mobile communication technologies and software infrastructures, being:

characterised by a tremendous increase in the categories of migrants, not only in terms of nationality, ethnicity, language, and religion, but also in terms of motives,

patterns and itineraries of migration, processes of insertion into the labour and housing markets of the host societies, and so on (Blommaert & Rampton, 2016, p. 22).

My research is specifically about different groups of people in a micro space, JHL schools in England, although many researchers use a superdiversity lens to explore societal superdiversity and focus on unfairness and power relations. Superdiversity in this context is about the diverse motives or lifestyles in England and “tremendous increase in the categories” (Blommaert & Rampton, 2016, p. 22) among Japanese immigrants in England and how they manage diversity caused by this phenomenon. Superdiversity is about “a range of changing variables surrounding migration patterns, which amount to a recognition of the complexities of societal diversity” (Blackledge & Creese et al., 2017, p. 4) and “brings people into contact and proximity with differences” (Blackledge & Creese et al., 2017, p. 11). Zhu & Li (2016, p. 656) point out the “superdiversity of family structures”, saying that within the same family there can exist vastly differing sociocultural experiences between generations and individuals.

In my thesis, superdiversity challenges the concept of homogeneity amongst Japanese emigrants and the categories created around them, including those sending their children to weekend Japanese supplementary schools controlled by the Japanese government. The situation around Japanese emigration has changed dramatically since Japan’s high economic growth period – a period of about 20 years after 1954 – when the Japanese government originally created the system of *hoshuko*, worldwide Japanese supplementary schools where the Japanese national curriculum is taught at weekends (regarding *hoshuko*, see 2.4.2.1. History of Japanese schooling outside Japan). Only a relatively small number of people, such as those dispatched on temporary placements overseas by their companies or universities, thought of moving abroad then. These people were categorised as Japanese temporary sojourners while living in a foreign country, and as elite returnees after returning to Japan. While living overseas, they were distinct from Japanese who had settled down abroad, and on their return to Japan they were distinct from those who had never lived abroad. Now these categories are becoming indistinct as more and more people with diverse histories and backgrounds choose to cross national borders repeatedly, and can do so with ease, living abroad or returning to their native lands, with various statuses and motives, following diverse trajectories, and particularly in cross-cultural partnerships. Three channels for legal migration - labour, education and family reunion - (Blackledge & Creese et al.,

2017; Collett, Clewett, & Fratzke, 2016) are intricately intertwined because of the mobility of people in the contemporary world. The concept of superdiversity enables us “to challenge and contest the very social categories and structures” (Blackledge & Creese et al., 2017, p. 23). It helps us to see that social categories, such as Japanese citizens, British citizens, temporary sojourners, permanent residents, returnees, native speakers or non-native speakers - categories used regularly in the context of *hoshuko* even now – are becoming so varied and overlapping as to make clear distinctions very difficult. Superdiversity is useful as a concept to describe this emerging reality in which it is becoming increasingly difficult to pigeonhole individuals by social category.

In spite of the ongoing changing social reality, the Japanese government has not changed its schooling policy abroad or its *hoshuko* programme at all, prioritizing the needs of children expected to return to Japan and the Japanese educational system, and ignoring the needs of those who have no clear intention of returning. JHL schools were founded as alternative forms of grassroots education to compensate for what is lacking from the Japanese government’s overseas schooling policy. Amongst students studying at JHL schools in England, a very wide range of experiences as a result of their parents’ diverse histories and backgrounds as migrants in cross-cultural partnerships can be detected. There also exists amongst parents a diversity of perspectives as regards ‘Japaneseness’ to be passed on to their children and also varied views on the value of language ability. Thus, a multitude of conflicting viewpoints and motivations coexist among the parents at JHL schools. As a consequence, students with a wide range of language practices and behaviours, not originally anticipated by JHL schools and their teachers, have been sent there by Japanese parents who see the schools from their own, individual and differing perspectives. Superdiverse phenomena among JHL schools will be discussed in Chapter 5 (see 5.2. Superdiversity and JHL schools in England).

Translanguaging, derived from the concept of languaging, is about complex and flexible language practices and pedagogies in multilingual settings (Creese & Blackledge, 2019b). In this thesis it is related to how English/Japanese bilinguals make sense of their world and express themselves and is a teachers’ pedagogic technique. It is also dealt with as an ideological view toward differences. Superdiversity, on the other hand, is a viewpoint explaining complex and variable social phenomena around migration and is about how people manage diversity. In this study, superdiversity helps explain further about translanguaging as a positive ideological view towards differences. In this contextual micro space, superdiversity is about the way teachers manage the differences that students and their

Japanese parents orientate towards, supporting translanguaging as a positive ideological view toward differences.

### ***2.3.6.1. Conviviality***

In discussing superdiversity as a positive ideological view of differences, the concept of “conviviality” is vital for this thesis. Conviviality is defined by Gilroy (2004, p. xv) as “the processes of cohabitation and interaction that have made multiculturalism an ordinary feature in Britain’s urban areas and in postcolonial cities elsewhere”. It is used as an analytical frame exploring “how, and under what conditions, people constructively create modes of togetherness” (Blackledge & Creese et al., 2017, p. 12) rather than contesting differences.

Although there exist many studies on conflicts over differences, little has been revealed about how diverse people live together (Nowicka & Vertovec, 2014). Conviviality is “increasingly productive in understanding identity processes in a globalizing and superdiverse environment” (Blommaert, 2013, pp. 619). People “produce relaxed identity work” to be simply happy, by focusing on “the pursuit of sameness’, that nice feeling of being a community in a foreign context” without bothering about problems triggered by differences (Blommaert, 2013, p.620). It is described as keeping “a balance between building positive relations across difference and keeping a distance” (Wessendorf, 2014, p. 393). Conviviality is about normalisation of difference, transforming people’s mindset about difference in superdiverse contexts. Other researchers propose similar concepts using various terms. With the notion of overlapping, Rymes (2014a) proposes that understanding ‘the other’ is to raise awareness of numerous repertoires and to expand points of overlap. Wessendorf (2010, 2014), with the concept of ‘commonplace diversity’ as the normalisation of difference, argues that diversity is becoming normal in social life as a result of people’s accumulating experiences of differences and that people do not see differences as problematic due to their acknowledgement of diversity. Exploring the notions of sameness and difference in superdiverse settings, Padilla, Azevedo and Olmos-Alcaraz (2015) assert that differences may be converted into a positive feature since heterogeneity is becoming a common experience in everyday life.

Among teachers and administrators mentioned in this thesis, ideological conflicts were detected in relation to pressures around diversity. They had positive ideological orientations towards diversity but, at the same time, had a desire to maintain their schools’ identities. The



tensions caused by such conflicts occasionally became visible, particularly at South School due to its strong desire to be an inclusive community in keeping with its democratic nature. The notion of conviviality is significant because it is a way to understand how people at JHL school build a culture of coping with the frustration or tension caused by differences in the globalising and superdiverse contemporary world.

## **2.4. Heritage language schools**

### **2.4.1. Heritage language/complementary/supplementary schools**

During the last two decades heritage language/complementary/supplementary schools have attracted the attention of researchers in the UK, US, Australia and Canada. Since the mid-2000s in the UK, the number of books, journal articles, doctoral dissertations, conference presentations and funded research projects involving these schools has been steadily increasing (Matras et al., 2020) and through empirical studies many aspects of such schools have been revealed.

There has been recognition of the significance of such schools as sites where a distinctive identity is constructed while the identity of the original country is preserved, defended, renegotiated and reconstructed flexibly and adaptably in response to their diverse environments (Blackledge & Creese, 2010; Creese et al., 2008; Issa & Williams, 2009; Lytra & Martin, 2010; Matras et al., 2020; Simon, 2018). According to Maguire & Curdt-Christiansen (2007), students at heritage language schools encounter different authoritative discourses by attending mainstream school on weekdays and heritage language school at weekends/after school hours, since schools are not only learning places but also key socialising spaces in which they “negotiate various discourses and degrees of authority” (p. 52) and the “coming together of diverse voices” in multiple languages, cultures and places provides those students with new possibilities and spaces where they understand the world and even “newer ways to mean” (Bakhtin, 1984; p. 53). These schools contain different histories and are described as socially, culturally and politically important spaces for alternative identity discourses which challenge positions circulating widely in UK society about language, culture and ethnicity (Creese et al., 2008; Li, 2006).

While non-Japanese heritage language schools in England are often known as supplementary schools, Creese & Martin (2006) decided to call them complementary schools,

which stresses the positive complementary function existing between these schools and mainstream schools for students and teachers who learn and teach in both types of institution. A large-scale funded project involving eight heritage language schools in four cities in England - Bengali schools, Chinese (Cantonese and Mandarin) schools, Gujarati schools and Turkish schools (Creese et al., 2008) - confirmed several complementary elements of these schools. For example, student achievement in examinations in these community languages for GCSE and A level qualifications was greatly celebrated in these schools, being seen, as in mainstream schools, as formal recognition and legitimisation of students' language skills. Some of the schools also gave parents practical advice at parents' meetings on the values and practices of mainstream schools. Another finding of the study was that at these heritage language schools, the teaching of 'language' was intertwined with the teaching of 'heritage' and 'culture': textbooks developed for non-diasporic students and educational 'heritage' materials were often used, while rituals and routine highlighting traditions and heritage – such as prayers and formalised greetings between teachers and students – were adopted, and traditional music or folk dancing activities were organised (Creese et al., 2008).

It is not surprising that translanguaging is discussed enthusiastically in literature on heritage language schools. Typically at heritage language schools, teachers mainly speak the community language and students mainly speak English, thus both languages are needed and accepted for classes to be active and carried out smoothly (Creese et al., 2008; Martin et al., 2006). In such bilingual settings both teachers and students translanguaging, making use of their complete language repertoire to “develop critical thinking, and extend metalinguistic awareness and cross-linguistic flexibility” (Creese & Blackledge, 2015, p. 33). Since the heritage language classroom becomes a translanguaging space (Li, 2018), students' translanguaging establishes identity positions that are “both oppositional to, and encompassing of, institutional values” and their “language practices belong neither to the school nor to the home” (Creese & Blackledge, 2015, p. 29). Rather, their languaging, which “emerges through social interaction”, is of their own practice (García & Li, 2014, p. 80). Teachers' translanguaging as a pedagogic technique is also observed in these schools, such as “bilingual label quests”, where teachers request students in one language to provide a label in another language (Martin, 2005; Martin et al., 2006). Creese and Blackledge (2015) indicate that “how pedagogy for multilingual learners can incorporate the complex, mobile language repertoires and identities of their students” can be explored through a focus on translanguaging as pedagogy (p. 33).

At heritage language schools, however, separate language ideology was also detected

(Creese et al., 2008; García, 2009) and is described as ‘separate bilingualism’, which acknowledges language as a social construction demarcating and reifying identities and tied to nation and culture in simplified and coherent ways (Creese et al., 2008; Creese & Blackledge, 2011). A contradictory ideological position is also identified as ‘flexible bilingualism’ (Creese et al., 2008; Creese & Blackledge, 2011), which “normalizes bilingualism without diglossic functional separation” and views language as fluid without clear boundaries (García, 2007, p. xiii). Although teachers often ask students to use only the community language in the classroom, both teachers and students used “a wide range of available semiotic signs”, that is, translanguaging (Creese et al., 2008, p. 29). Creese and Blackledge (2011) argue that in these schools the flexible bilingualism, the heteroglossic reality of multilingual practice, is underpinned by the ideology of separate bilingualism. Although the establishment of heritage language schools is sometimes seen as a challenge to the dominant monolingual ideology in Britain, Li (2011b) points out similarly that most heritage language schools have an implicit one-language-only ideology or one-language-at-a-time ideology, which can be regarded as another form of monolingual ideology. Heritage language schools are sites which facilitate re-construction of a nation-state outside the nation and “what can appear like a politically and ideologically haphazard assemblage of different positions and orientations” (Blommaert, Leppänen, & Spotti, 2013, p. 5). Doerr & Lee (2009) suggest that, in order to analyse the complexity of heritage language education, researchers should approach it as “an effort to enhance awareness of one’s heritage or an instruction in language” as well as “a schooling process, in which what constitutes legitimate knowledge and legitimate ways of attaining it are contested” (p. 438). Heritage language schools are sites where various ideologies, beliefs, identities and practices – some affected by centrifugal forces, others by centripetal forces - are assembled. Such schools are perfect sites for deconstructing how national languages circulate and also for re-constructing such ideological processes. The issues of ideology and practice around migration, identity and language can be explored there because they are sites where superdiverse phenomena occur in a particularly concentrated way.

Some literature talks about bridging language between home and mainstream schools / heritage language schools. Family Language Policy (FLP) refers to both explicit and implicit plans adopted by family members in relation to language practice at home (Curd-Christiansen & La Morgia, 2018; King & Fogle, 2017). FLP research reveals how children brought up in bi-/multilingual domestic environments acquire or lose their minority language

competence and provides a frame for investigating “child-caretaker interactions”, “parental language ideologies” and “child language development” (King & Fogle, 2017, p. 315). In order to encourage children’s multilingual development, three interrelated aspects - language ideology (what family members believe about language), language practices (what they do with language), and language management (what efforts they make to maintain language) – are addressed and examined by FLP researchers in the UK context (Curdt-Christiansen & La Morgia, 2018; Family Language Policy). In FLP, the most important instruments for positive heritage language development are parental aspirations and expectations and parents who express such feelings as their beliefs in and goals for their children’s multilingual development and educational outcomes (Curdt-Christiansen, 2009; Curdt-Christiansen & La Morgia, 2018; Louie, 2004).

Blommaert (2019) argues that FLP, which can be seen “as a form of sociolinguistic biopower” (p. 1) and is “a study of society in its very complex concreteness” (p. 6) rather than a study of families, addresses:

the link between the private and the public spheres of social life, between the scale of everyday family life and that of life as a citizen, and between orientations towards intimacy and family-bound affection on the one hand, and orientations towards trajectories of success and mobility reflecting the perceived requirements of the state, the labor market, and ultimately the world on the other hand (p. 3).

Studies of the ethnography of language planning and policy, which include FLP, offer insights on a view of language practices as fluid, heteroglossic and multilingual instead of a monoglossic view of language as a fixed category (Blackledge & Creese, 2014; Gallo & Hornberger, 2019; Makoni & Pennycook, 2007).

The large scale project involving eight heritage language schools in England mentioned earlier (Creese et al., 2008) points out the importance of collective learning at heritage language schools, indicating that individual parents can feel unable to teach their language and heritage in isolation at home and that these schools provide parents with a community of learning within institutionalised settings. I regard the establishment of heritage language schools as a way for language management addressed by FLP research. My research on JHL schools overlaps with FLP research, investigating language practices and language ideology circulating in JHL schools, which are initiated and affected by parental ideology and practice.

Although many aspects of heritage language schools have been revealed by academic

studies, little research has been carried out into their programmes or curricula. How best to nurture the valuable ‘language as a resource’ heritage language speakers retain has not yet been clarified. Curdt-Christiansen (2006, 2008, 2009), who investigated the programmes of Chinese heritage language schools in Canada, indicates that the Chinese government has created a set of textbooks for overseas Chinese heritage language schools and that via such “culture- and moral-laden” textbooks the government controls and produces expectations of appropriate “ways of behaving, valuing and being in the world” for children of Chinese emigrants (p. 111). She (2008) argues that becoming literate in Chinese at heritage language school hence is an ideologically laden process. Matras et al. (2020) point out that curricula and teaching materials used at heritage language schools in the UK are often developed in the country or region where their language is the dominant one in use with monolingual students in mind and so not considering the experiences and circumstances of students living in the UK diasporas. More research with regard to programmes and curricula is needed, which is sensitive to the ideologies of those involved in these schools. This research aims to contribute to studies on the ideological views of those involved in the programmes of heritage language schools, specifically Japanese as a heritage (JHL) schools in England.

## **2.4.2. Development of Japanese as a heritage language (JHL) schools**

It is important to make a clear distinction between Japanese as a heritage language (JHL) schools and *hoshuko*. As the latter have played such a prominent role in Japanese overseas communities, Japanese people often start to talk about them whenever discussing Japanese weekend schools abroad for children with Japanese background. JHL schools are generally hidden in the shadow of *hoshuko*, as is clear from the case of Japanese Diet members drafting the bill on Japanese language education, presented at the beginning of this thesis (see 1.1 Introduction). This section starts with the history of Japanese schooling outside Japan, where the *hoshuko* system is explained, and then discusses the emergence of and research on JHL schools.

### ***2.4.2.1. History of Japanese schooling outside Japan***

Japan started out on its transformation into a modern nation-state in 1869 with the Meiji Restoration, while its seclusion policy came to an end in 1854. Japanese emigration started around that time due to mutual agreements between the Japanese government and governments of other countries. The former needed to find employment opportunities for

local farmers who could not survive in the modern social system, while the latter desperately needed immigrants due to a lack of labour. Between 1868 and 1900, 65,000 Japanese emigrated to Hawaii and in 1908 Japanese immigration into Brazil started. Japanese people also started to emigrate to other countries. Since these people normally emigrated with their family members, Japanese education for Japanese children outside Japan at grass-roots level started in those areas. This was particularly the case in Brazil, to which about 130,000 Japanese emigrated, with Japanese immigrants there making a great effort in opening full-time Japanese schools for their children. Most intended to return to Japan after earning enough money, although this was not possible for many years (National Diet Library Japan, 2014). The number of Japanese schools in Brazil was 122 in 1931 and rose to 486 in 1939, with Japanese textbooks being made there, although all of them were forced to close down at the time of WWII (National Diet Library Japan, 2014). As a result of WWII, most Japanese communities abroad declined or disappeared.

From the end of the 1950s, Japanese companies started to open branches overseas and the numbers of Japanese expatriates started to increase. In order to encourage Japanese employees and their families to accept transfers to foreign branches, the Japanese government made a policy of providing the opportunity for study of the standard Japanese school curriculum for children living temporarily abroad. Due to this policy, three types of educational institution-abroad have been supported by the government: 1) *hoshuko*, Japanese weekend supplementary schools; 2) Japanese full-time schools under the jurisdiction of the Japanese ministry of education, and 3) full-time Japanese schools run by private schools in Japan (MEXT). Among these, *hoshuko* is a type of worldwide schooling designed for children of temporary sojourners to prepare them for their return to Japan by teaching them the Japanese national curriculum at weekends (Doerr & Lee, 2009). They have had a unique impact on JHL education since not only temporary Japanese residents, but also permanent Japanese residents abroad have sent their children to these schools at weekends. The first *hoshuko* was founded in 1958 in Washington D.C., and in 2015 there existed 205 *hoshuko* in 52 countries and one area with about 20,000 students enrolled (MEXT, 2016).

Japanese immigrants in Britain before WWII, according to Ito (2001), were different from those in other countries because they were educated people from urban areas. Due to the small size of this Japanese community, there was no trace of Japanese schools for children with Japanese background before WWII in Britain, and at the time of WWII the small Japanese community disappeared completely (Itoh, 2001). The first such school recorded in Britain was a small class opening with 20 students in London in 1965, which developed in

1976 into the UK's first *hoshuko* (The Japanese School Ltd). Other *hoshuko* in the UK started in and after the 1980s. There are nine *hoshuko* in the UK currently.

Scholars in the US are those most actively engaged in research on JHL education, and some have investigated the use of *hoshuko* by the children of families who have no clear intention of living in Japan. Qualitative studies (Douglas, Kataoka, & Kishimoto, 2003; Kataoka, Koshiyama, & Shibata, 2008), which show that more than 70% of *hoshuko* students in big cities in the US do not intend to return to Japan, reveal the diversity within *hoshuko*. Diversification is occurring in Japanese communities abroad, and individual Japanese parents may perceive *hoshuko* in a way that is far removed from what the government intended when establishing the *hoshuko* system. A survey of approximately 1,600 students in US *hoshuko* (Kataoka et al., 2008) revealed that Japanese proficiency levels tend to diverge significantly when students reach Year 4 and that those at the extreme low end of proficiency are mostly those having no intention of returning to Japan. Many students settling abroad without any intention of living in Japan in the future find it difficult to study *hoshuko* curriculum, because of lack of Japanese vocabulary, background knowledge and *kanji* proficiency (Kataoka et al., 2008). There are no such surveys in UK contexts, but my observations as an ethnographic researcher, a Japanese language professional, and a Japanese immigrant with three children who attended *hoshuko* suggest a similar situation in the UK. Kano (2013) points out that the *hoshuko* curriculum, which adopts the Japanese monolingual model and the age-norm the Japanese government stipulates for children living in Japan, is not only unnecessary, but also inaccessible for many children of those who have no clear intention of returning to Japan.

#### ***2.4.2.2. Emergence of and research on JHL schools***

Due to the changing nature of migration, however, more and more Japanese people abroad do not have any clear intention of returning to Japan and some started to find the fixed *hoshuko* curriculum unsuitable for their children. In the 1990s, Japanese as a heritage language (JHL) schools, locally run Japanese schools/classes for children whose Japanese study aims do not fit into the *hoshuko* system, emerged in the US (Chinen & Tucker, 2005; Douglas, 2005). Although there exists much more research on *hoshuko*, there are some empirical studies that investigate JHL schools in the US and Australia. Literature on JHL schools often emphasises the importance of parents' roles. Students at JHL schools often have low motivation because the motivators for JHL education are usually their parents (Douglas, 2006). Shibata (2000)

asserts that children cannot acquire Japanese automatically once they live outside Japan and that they need parents who want them to become ‘bilingual’ and help them achieve that goal.

Various studies on FLP related to Japanese language exist and some researchers in England and Europe have investigated FLP of students studying at Japanese weekend schools (Danjo, 2018; Fukuda, 2017). However, hardly any research on JHL schools can be found in the UK context.

## **2.5. Summary of the chapter**

This chapter reviewed literature employed in and related to this thesis. It first demonstrated the theoretical framework and concepts adopted for the analysis and arguments, which are taken up in Chapters 4, 5 and 6. Bakhtin’s theoretical and practical notion of ‘heteroglossia’, which many sociolinguists support and adopt as their analytical lens, is an important overarching concept of language in this thesis. In the section on new developments in applied linguistics around multilingual pedagogies, translanguaging and other new terms which describe flexible and discursive linguistic practice in terms of bi-/multilingual speakers were examined. The section on ideologies and social categories looked at perceptions related to socially and politically constructed ‘language’ and categories – what people believe language should be - and then the concept of superdiversity, which challenges such social categories, was discussed. The chapter also presented empirical studies on heritage language schools and the historical development of overseas Japanese schools for children with Japanese background, clarifying the differences between JHL schools and *hoshuko*.

This study aims to contribute to the area of heritage language/supplementary /complementary/community language schools research in the UK, looking into the programmes and language practices in the classroom as well as language ideologies affecting language practices and the production of programmes, specifically in the context of Japanese schools.



# Chapter 3. Methodology

## 3.1. Research design

### 3.1.1. Linguistic Ethnography (LE)

This study is a linguistic ethnography (LE) (Copland & Creese, 2015; Creese, 2008; Rampton, Maybin, & Roberts, 2015; Rampton et al., 2004; Tusting & Maybin, 2007). Shaped by linguistic anthropology developed in the US, researchers in Britain who explore an interest in language, culture and society defined linguistic ethnography by combining the two terms ‘linguistic’ and ‘ethnography’ (Copland & Creese, 2015; Creese, 2008). Language viewed by LE is “at the heart of any exercise in social life” (Copland & Creese, 2015, p. 24) and “communicative action functioning in social contexts in on-going routines of peoples’ daily lives” (p. 27). LE investigates “how language is used by people and what this can tell us about wider social constraints, structures and ideologies” (p. 27). According to a position paper discussed among LE researchers, LE:

generally holds that language and social life are mutually shaping, and that close analysis of situated language use can provide both fundamental and distinctive insights into the mechanisms and dynamics of social and cultural production in everyday activity (Rampton et al., 2004, p. 2).

LE is a critical ethnographic approach viewing social action as socially constructed (Creese, 2008; Maybin & Tusting, 2011). Ethnography aims to find out “things that are not often seen as important but belong to the implicit structures of people’s life” (Blommaert & Jie, 2020, p. 3). LE uses tools of linguistic analysis and “an interpretive approach which studies the local and immediate actions of actors from their point of view and considers how these interactions are embedded in wider social contexts and structures” (Copland & Creese, 2015, p. 12). Interpretive approaches adopted for LE can empirically serve “to make the familiar strange and interesting again,” in contrast with the traditional anthropological approach “to make the stranger familiar,” which tends to investigate the exotic and unknown daily reality of people in distant places (Erickson, 1985, p. 121). Adopting interpretive approaches, LE researchers

pay attention to the institutions they know best, the routines they practice most and interactions they repeatedly engage in, examining language and cultural practices occurring at such sites in a rapidly changing world (Copland & Creese, 2015).

LE analyses linguistic features as well as other “elements and processes which contribute to communication” (Cook, 2011, p. 431) to strive toward “understanding participants’ own perspectives on the meaning and dynamics of what is happening” (Cook, 2011, p. 436), since “individual linguistic features with identifiable social and cultural associations get clustered together whenever people communicate” (Blommaert & Rampton, 2016, p. 73). It investigates subjective and emic perspectives constructed locally by people in their immediate and wider social contexts.

Observation and participation are essential for LE. During the ethnographic fieldwork “the ethnographer participates in the daily routines of a social setting, develops ongoing relations with people in it, and observes all the while what is going on” (Emerson, Fretz, & Shaw, 2011, p. 1). According to the position paper proposed by LE researchers (Rampton et al., 2004):

Ethnography’s emphasis on close knowledge through first-hand participation allows the researcher to attend to aspects of lived experience that are hard to articulate, merely incipient, or erased within the systems of representation that are most regular and reliably described (p. 7).

Since it is pivotal to “get into the other’s cultural and social world”, LE researchers need to repeat participant observations for a period of time until they can do so (Blommaert & Jie, 2020, p. 39). Participant observation over a period of time which can reveal socially constructed activity from the insider’s viewpoint can lead to knowledge which cannot be obtained from other methods. To achieve this goal, it is also crucial to build a relationship of trust with research participants. According to Blommaert (2007), ethnography:

does not, unlike many other approaches, try to reduce the complexity of social events by focusing a priori on a selected range of relevant features, but it tries to describe and analyse the complexity of social events comprehensively (p. 682).

In order to make sense of how research participants use language, which is deeply connected with their beliefs, histories and trajectories in complex ways, an ethnographic approach is necessary.

Copland & Creese (2015) emphasise that the most appropriate kind of observation for ethnography is ‘open ethnographic observation’, which is:

open in the sense that a blank page and pen are the tools of the ethnographer, who writes down what he or she sees, hears, smells, feels and senses in the field. This differs from other kinds of more structured or ‘closed’ observations which use observation schedules sometimes organised by time or activity type (p. 37).

By avoiding observation schedules and the prior selection of a range of features to be observed, a strength of open ethnographic observation is that it does not restrict focus points in interpreting the complexity of social events.

In analysing data, which is engaged in during and after ethnographic fieldwork, discourse analysis is adopted. LE relies in particular on “ethnographically-informed discourse analysis” (Copland & Creese, 2015, p. 86), in which researchers look for the clusters, themes and patterns of the situated interactional data collected from the fieldwork, whilst being aware of historical, social and political aspects.

### **3.1.2. Research questions**

In the case of a qualitative study, particularly in the field of LE, research questions can be changed since the researcher’s focus can shift during the period of data collection and data analysis. In my case I experienced some uncertainty over the precise direction of my research at the early stages of the project. I had a tendency to swing back and forth between the very familiar role of teacher on the one hand and the less familiar one of researcher on the other. Looking back, I now realise that at that time I could not help trying to make decisions about the best ways to help students learn at JHL schools, looking out for the type of thing that would be of particular interest to a teacher. I struggled with the dilemma of reconciling the roles of teacher and researcher. In the midst of my research journey, however, I became aware that I did not have in-depth knowledge of JHL schools in England, an area also unexplored by others, and became keen to find out about and contribute to knowledge in this area. My academic interest shifted to seeking what was happening in these institutions and

understanding them better. I finally determined to look at the social practices and beliefs underlying the JHL phenomenon and started my data collection and analysis with the following four research questions:

1. How is translanguaging used pedagogically, or otherwise, at Japanese as a heritage language (JHL) schools in England?
2. What ideologies circulate in the classroom, and how do they affect programme?
3. What do JHL schools in England aim to pass on to their students, and how do they design their programmes in order to achieve their goals?
4. *How do different scripts denote different histories of Japaneseness in the context of JHL schools?"*

However, during my writing up stage I decided to leave out the fourth question due to the thesis word limit and to concentrate on the other three questions. After writing the whole thesis draft, I realised that the focus of my analysis had deviated somewhat from JHL programmes and become centred more on translanguaging and ideologies, despite the initial aim of investigating the programmes of JHL schools in England. It was also the case that my focus was on two particular JHL schools rather than on JHL schools in England in general. Therefore, I modified the research questions to reflect my analysis better and settled on the following three.

- 1. How is translanguaging used pedagogically, or otherwise, at two Japanese as a heritage language (JHL) schools in England?**
- 2. What ideologies circulate in the two JHL schools?**
- 3. What do the two JHL schools aim to pass on to their students?**

I had too many topics to cover in this thesis thanks to the abundant data I was able to collect. The topic of scripts remains one I am very much interested in and intend to work on for publication at a later date.

### **3.13. Preliminary study**

Prior to this research project, I conducted a stand-alone preliminary study in 2015 (Mulvey, 2015, 2016) in the MA component of my 1+3 ESRC studentship. However, while

conducting this preliminary study, I realised that it was necessary for me to understand what the context of JHL schools was in England prior to my PhD research project. In the end, the preliminary study became an important part of my project. It provided me with great understanding of what the provision was in those institutions and of their huge diversity, which helped me significantly with this study.

Using Japanese networks in the UK for the Japanese community, secondary school teachers and university teachers, as well as looking for such schools with various possible keywords in a search engine, I discovered 10 JHL schools located all over England and got permission to visit them all to carry out interviews and observation. I visited each of these schools once and interviewed the head administrator or head teacher.

This preliminary study provided an overview of JHL schools in England. Table 1 provides a summary of the two types of Japanese schools for children with Japanese heritage in the UK.

*Table 1: Two types of Japanese school for children with Japanese heritage in the UK*

	Number	Curriculum	Target students	Aim	Japanese government support	Information
<b>Hoshuko</b>	England: 7 Wales: 1 Scotland: 1  Total: 9	Japanese national curriculum with the guidance of the Japanese government	Temporary sojourners overseas	Help students make a smooth transition to the Japanese school system on return to Japan	Financial support, despatched teachers (depending on the number of students)	Available via MEXT homepage
<b>JHL schools</b>	?	Locally created, no guidelines	Those having no clear intention of returning to Japan	Varied	None	Not readily available

(Mulvey, 2016)

It also exposed beliefs of the head administrator/head teacher of each school in opening such a school and making/teaching its programme, which formed the foundation of my knowledge of JHL schools in England as I embarked on my LE research. The main findings of the study (Mulvey, 2015, 2016) are as below.

The study found that JHL schools started to appear in England at the end of 1990. Some Japanese immigrants decided not to send their children to *hoshuko*, but rather to open their own weekend schools, designed to suit them and their children. I categorised the ten JHL schools I visited into three types: study-oriented schools; schools teaching both Japanese language and culture; and activities-oriented schools. North School was in the first category, while South School was in the second one. The schools varied greatly in their organisational

processes and structure and determined their own programmes, pedagogy and management and educational policies, trying to make the most of their limited resources (see Table 2: summary of JHL schools in England). They were all funded by fees paid by parents for their children to attend and some schools also organised fundraising activities, although three schools received /had received in the past small amounts of funding from their local councils.

All the JHL schools visited, unlike *hoshuko* controlled by the Japanese government, developed in a very flexible way their own original programme and curriculum suitable for their local students with their limited resources. Silver et al. (2013, p. 152) indicate that “curriculum development and innovation links national, school and classroom levels with different ideological and practical concerns”. Differences in programme and curriculum resulted from different ideological and practical concerns the members of each school had. This is something I started to explore in the preliminary study and continued to focus on in this LE study. In looking at ideological beliefs held by head administrators or head teachers when opening their schools and/or formulating/teaching their programmes, I chose what Wortham & Reyes (2015) call ‘indexical signs’, which can be regarded as important signals about the social action occurring or can play a central role in contextualization.

The study showed that Japanese government-authorized *kokugo* textbooks, designed for children living in Japan following the Japanese national curriculum, were chosen at all eight JHL schools teaching literacy that I visited, while the other two schools did not teach literacy and did not use any textbooks. This suggested that parents and teachers of JHL schools, most of whom were educated in Japan, had an attachment to and faith in *kokugo* textbooks. Due to their clear aim to educate the children of temporary overseas sojourners with the national curriculum at weekends, *hoshuko* all over the world employ *kokugo* textbooks. Japanese government policy entitles all children with Japanese nationality living abroad, not only those studying at *hoshuko*, to obtain authorized textbooks, including *kokugo* ones, free of charge from the local Japanese consulate as long as parents make an official application. I argued that the choice of *kokugo* textbooks is an indexical of a social type (Agha, 2007a; Wortham & Reyes, 2015), one that is concerned with “authentic” Japanese and that *kokugo* ideology imposed by the Japanese government is implemented not only at schools in Japan and *hoshuko*, but also at JHL schools in England through these textbooks. By using them, however, I concluded that teachers and parents at JHL schools can pick and choose elements

of *kokugo* ideology suitable for their children and construct their own ‘authenticity’ at their JHL schools.

I also demonstrated that *hoshuko* is another indexical sign and always serves as a benchmark for teachers and administrators in JHL schools in England. All the interviewees in the ten schools referred to *hoshuko* during their interviews of their own accord, even though I asked no questions about *hoshuko*. Some schools aimed to reproduce the *hoshuko* model, while another school resisted some aspects of *hoshuko*, adopting others. Yet another school resisted the *hoshuko* system initially, but later re-evaluated it. The *hoshuko* system has a strong ideological core linked to *kokugo* ideology, schooling in Japan and Japanese government policy. While JHL schools were looking for their own ‘authentic’ way of passing on Japaneseness to their students, *hoshuko* served as a key indexical sign, pointing to potentially relevant contexts as signals about the social action occurring. Each school tried to demonstrate “legitimate knowledge and legitimate ways of attaining it” (Doerr & Lee, 2009, p. 439) in the construction of their identity and to characterise their ‘social type’ (Blommaert & Varis, 2011) using the reference point of *hoshuko*. I argued that individual JHL schools designed their own programmes and curriculum with limited resources to suit their ideological beliefs regarding an ‘authentic’ Japanese way, keeping *hoshuko* as a benchmark.

The aforesaid study also revealed that schooling at JHL schools tended to be considered as different and separate from mainstream education and complementary elements were not clearly detected. Before starting my preliminary study, I was thinking of paying attention to how the GCSE and A level syllabuses can be worked into JHL school programmes, considering that the existence of the national examinations in varied community languages including Japanese is a rare advantage the UK provides for heritage language education. However, after visiting ten JHL schools, I realised that not all JHL schools visited were interested in those national examinations and that even those using exam materials or past papers for secondary school students utilised the examinations as convenient qualifications for private candidates to motivate them to study at JHL schools without connecting to their mainstream education. North School, for example, did not use the British qualification materials at all, but concentrated on *kokugo* textbooks in all classes including those for secondary school students. I decided to abandon the GCSE and A level syllabuses to be explored in this research project.

Table 2: Summary of JHL schools in England

school	Midlands A	South School****	Southeast B	Southeast C	East A
start	1997	1999	1997	2012	2002
venue	college/home	primary school	community centre	primary school	primary school
day & time *	Sat/10:30-3:30, each class 1h	Sat/culture 1h (with prep)+1h, 2-4	2 Sat/month/ 2-4	2 Sat/month 2hs, 2-4, 4-6	Sat/10-11:30
no of classes	12	5	5 + 1 prep **	2	5
level of classes	Hiragana to A level,	Y1 to A level	4 primary classes, a GCSE and a prep	GCSE & A level (primary school course to start soon)	Y1, Y2, Y3/4, Y5/6, Secondary class
prep class	no	1:30-2 + culture	yes	no	yes, 10-11:15
no. of teachers	3	5	5 on a rota	2	5
payment to teachers	hired, paid	parents volunteer	parents volunteer	hired, paid	paid, most are parents
no. of students	40	40	40	18	50
textbook/ materials	<i>kokugo / nihongo / GCSE, A level past papers</i>	<i>kokugo / nihongo / GCSE, A level past papers</i>	<i>kokugo / nihongo / GCSE materials, past papers</i>	GCSE / A level materials, past papers	<i>kokugo / nihongo</i>
GCSE/A level	GCSE/A level	GCSE/A level	GCSE	GCSE/A level	GCSE (not at the time of visit)
culture	seasonal cultural events, no classes on those days	1st period, 2 activities (younger & older)	occasionally after 3:45pm, no class on New Year party day	N/A	seasonal events once a term after 11:30
library	no	yes, Bunko***	yes	no	yes Sasagawa***
fees	£10 or £11/session paid termly	small fee paid termly	£3/session paid termly	£200/15 sessions	£6/session paid termly
funding	no	City council	no	no	City council etc before, not now
nearest <i>hoshuko</i>	London	London	London	London (some also go to <i>hoshuko</i> )	London
admin	one person	committee	all parents	one person	committee
parental commitment	some organize seasonal events	required, prepare & organize culture/ craft periods or teach	always required for teaching and assisting, cannot send children only	nothing special	must be on setup and cultural events rotas
other	Person in charge is a professional Japanese teacher. Her house is used for teaching as well.	Annual open day for fundraising & promotion. Participate in Japan Festival, local school visits to introduce Japanese culture (parents).	Person in charge is a professional Japanese teacher. Japan Day is held for fundraising when they need money.	Organized by a person who has a big Japanese play group. Saturday class for primary students will open soon.	Strong committee, no break time in 90 mins except for Y1



school	Midlands B	North School ****	West A	North B	West B
start	2010	2006	2007	2008	2007
venue	church hall	community centre	community centre	community centre	village hall
day & time *	Sat/9:30 - 12, 40 mins JPN lang + 40 mins culture + snack time + 40 mins JPN lang	2 Sun/month class with teachers, the other Sun self-study with parents/2hs 9-11 or 11-1	2 Sun/month, 11-1, opening session +JPN lang + activities	1 Sun/month, 1-4, JPN lang (1h) + activities (2h)	1 Sun/month, 10-12 radio exercise, show & tell, story, craft/language, games
no. of classes	3	4	3+ 1 prep **	2	2
level of classes	Y 1, 3, 4	Y1, 2, 3, 4	Y1, 2, 3 & a prep	lower & upper (only for JPN language session)	lower & upper (only for craft/language session), 4-11 years
prep class	yes, 2/month	yes	yes	integrated	no
no. of teachers	3	4	4	2	2 (with GCSE on Fri)
payment to teachers	hired, paid, £40/day	hired, paid, £15 and above/h	parents volunteer	parents volunteer	parents volunteer
no. of students	16	30	around 20 (50 registered)	30	24 max
textbook/ materials	<i>kokugo</i>	<i>kokugo</i>	<i>kokugo</i> , etc.	original	original
GCSE/A level	No (students too young)	no	GCSE (but not at the time of the visit)	no	GCSE class for graduates, 2 Fri/month
culture	2 activities (younger & older)	seasonal events twice a year, partially attend prep's seasonal activities	radio exercise (all) + 2 activities (younger & older)	seasonal events and activities etc for all	mainly cultural activities, except for language period for upper
library	no	yes	yes, Bunko***	yes	no
fees	£10/session paid termly	£20 or £24/month	£3 paid each session	£3 paid each session/family	£2 paid each session
funding	no	Local council	no	no	no
nearest <i>hoshuko</i>	Derby or Telford	Derby or Yorkshire & Humberside	Cardiff	Yorkshire & Humberside	Cardiff
admin	committee	one person	committee	4 people	2 people + 2
parental commitment	must be on cultural periods and snack- preparing rotas	must be on onigiri (rice-ball)-making rota, helping setup.	required, every parent has a role: teaching, craft, reading, making snacks	nothing special, normally participants with their children	must be on snack- preparing rota, parents of very young children should be there
other	Snack is served. Fundraising events: Summer Festival, Sports Day, New Year, no classes on those days.	Person in charge is a professional Japanese teacher. Onigiri are served.	Hand-made snack is served. Non- Japanese-speaking parents are not allowed to attend. Fundraising: Summer Festival, selling sweets.	35 families are registered. Very casual atmosphere. Another class will be made for older children to study language systematically.	Person in charge is professional JPN teacher. Fund- raising: festival & bazaar. All parents helping are called 'teachers'. A few children on waiting list. A 'serious' study class will start soon, 2/month.

(Mulvey, 2015)

\* All are operated during English school terms only.

\*\* The prep class is dealt with as one class in these schools.

\*\*\* Name of associations donating books to the school.

\*\*\*\* Names given to the schools in order to protect anonymity have been changed since the preliminary study.

My earlier work has been extended through ethnographic fieldwork in this thesis. After visiting all 10 JHL schools for one day each, I chose two schools I was most interested in exploring further for my LE. North School and South School are both well-established but have distinctive differences. They contrast sharply in nature, and are also widely separated geographically (though this was unintentional), one located in a city in the northern part of England and the other in a city in the south. The former prioritised academic achievement in Japanese language, while the latter focused more on a broad transmission of Japanese heritage. Detailed descriptions of the two schools follow in the next section.

## **3.2. Data collection**

In this section, I explain my research sites and participants as well as my data collection procedure.

### **3.2.1. Research sites**

In this section, I will describe the two schools, North School and South School, where I conducted ethnographic fieldwork for this LE study between January and March 2016 and between April and July 2016 respectively.

#### **3.2.1.1. North School**

- Size, location

North School runs at a community centre on Sundays during school terms. In 2016, there were five classes, from Year 1 to Year 5, with about 30 students aged 5 to 18 in total. Five teachers were hired. Although the school received some funding from the local council, most of the expenses including teachers' salaries and rent for the venue were covered by tuition fees paid by parents. This school also has a playgroup, where preschool children come with their parents - some come with their Japanese parent and others with their non-Japanese parent - and do some activities together in a big hall at the community centre.

- Rationale

According to the head administrator, the school started in 2006 because a few Japanese parents, including herself, wanted to open in their area an alternative *hoshuko* type school aiming to teach *kokugo*, Japanese as a national language. They decided to run the school on Sundays so that they could hire *hoshuko* teachers, who teach at *hoshuko* on Saturdays and are

experts in teaching with *kokugo* textbooks. Thus, from the very beginning *kokugo* textbooks were used as the main materials in all the classes and absolutely essential materials in this school. Due to a policy of the Japanese government, children with Japanese nationality are entitled to obtain authorized textbooks from the Japanese consulate as long as their parents fill in a textbook application form, apply officially and collect them at the consulate or pay the postage to have them delivered. The school collected the forms from parents and arranged to obtain the textbooks all at the same time, so that all the students were sure to have their own *kokugo* textbooks. The parents shared the postage between them.

- Curricula, materials and assessment

During school terms, the school provided one two-hour lesson for each class twice a month taught by teachers, and self-study sessions supervised by volunteer parents on the alternative Sundays, although classes for young children did not have self-study sessions but only two teaching sessions per month. All the classes employed *kokugo* textbooks used in primary schools in Japan and over a period of about two years finished a *kokugo* textbook that in Japan and in *hoshuko* would be completed in one year. As each class was called by the year-level textbook it used, the ‘Year 5’ students in this school, for example, were aged between 16 and 18, although ‘Year 5’ students in Japan and *hoshuko* are 10 or 11 years old. According to the head administrator, the goal of this school was to give students opportunities to study all the primary school *kokugo* textbooks from Year 1 to Year 6 and the list of *kanji* (Chinese characters used in Japan) taught in primary school (1,006 *kanji*) before leaving the school around the age of 18. When I went there for ethnographic fieldwork in 2016, the Year 5 class was the highest year-level, but I heard later that they successfully started a Year 6 class in 2017.

In addition to *kokugo* textbooks, each teacher used several supporting materials made by themselves or used at *hoshuko*. Several teachers told me in their interviews that it is advantageous for *hoshuko* teachers to teach there since they can use ‘official’ supplementary teaching materials only *hoshuko* and schools in Japan can purchase. Each teacher taught the list of all *kanji* designated to be learnt in each year-level. All considered teaching *kanji* to be the greatest challenge, but of great importance and they put great effort into it, trying to devise ways that would help their students in this endeavour.

After each lesson, teachers sent their students’ parents and the head administrator a class report by email, letting them know the content of the lesson and homework. According to the Year 1 teacher, who had been a Year 1 teacher each year since she started at this school in

2009, it was one of her important tasks to educate parents so that they could continue to give their children enough support in studying Japanese and doing homework at home until the students realised the importance of studying Japanese and could actively study Japanese by themselves. This was approved by the head administrator and all the teachers and, as such, seemed close to being a school policy, although it was not discussed as such.

There was no formal assessment, but students received a certificate of completion whenever they finished a *kokugo* textbook and then moved to the next year. Although the school year started in September just like schools in England, students did not necessarily move to the next year level in September, but when they finished a textbook. Each teacher gave a small *kanji* test every class to encourage students to learn new *kanji*.

Students were also encouraged to take *Kanji Kentei* - *kanji* qualification tests to examine general *kanji* knowledge with 12 levels, designed for people in Japan but available to be taken all over the world by anybody. I could see from my observation that *Kanji Kentei* had a significant effect in motivating students to study *kanji*.

One thing especially worth mentioning is that this school had not had any classes or programmes preparing for GCSE or A level Japanese exams since its opening, while other JHL schools in England with secondary school students provided such classes. According to the head administrator, as long as they study *kokugo* textbooks, students should be able to cope with such exams without any difficulties. She told me that some had taken those exams and had had good results.

- Extracurricular activities

The school usually provided only Japanese classes, but organised two cultural events a year - a New Year event when students engaged in calligraphy after which all the participants enjoyed a New Year pot luck lunch together prepared by parents, and a Star Festival event when students put on some performance or presentation for parents and members of the local community.

North School actively participated in local events. In the area of this school, there existed an association supporting heritage language schools which actively organised events serving many different ethnic communities. It was one of a few areas in England to have such an association and events bringing heritage language schools together. It is also noteworthy that this association also provided explanatory meetings about GCSE and A level examinations in various community languages as well as mock tests and speaking tests for private candidates sitting for those language qualifications. Secondary school students in North School,

therefore, took the British examinations, taking advantage of this support. Regarding local associations supporting heritage language schools in England, before conducting my preliminary study in 2014, I found that there existed such associations in a few areas including the city North School is located in. Unfortunately, all closed down in or before 2017 because their fund-providers stopped financing such associations.

In addition, Children's University (Children's University Trust, 2016), a charity organisation supporting and encouraging extracurricular activities in and out of school, worked particularly vigorously in this area. Some young students were very keen on collecting stamps in their Children's University 'passport' by attending classes at this school, which they could do since the school was a member of this organisation. When they had enough stamps, which could be collected not only from this school but also from other extracurricular activities registered with Children's University, they were recognised at the school assembly of their mainstream school. A few teachers told me that it was very motivating for some students and also a great chance to let mainstream schoolteachers recognise that their students studied Japanese at weekends. Among the ten JHL schools I visited, this school was the only one encouraging awareness amongst people outside the school of their students' weekend learning. For the purpose of enhancing students' academic achievement in Japanese language, North School valued and nurtured a connection with its local community outside the school.

### ***3.2.1.2. South School***

- Size, location of school

South School runs every Saturday afternoon during the school term, using a primary school as its venue. In 2016, they had a total of around 40 students aged 5 to 16 in seven Japanese classes, four classes for primary school students, a GCSE class, an AS class for secondary school students and a new class for students who hardly used Japanese at home. Parents paid a small fee mainly for the rent of the venue. All the classes were taught by parents on a voluntary basis without any payment. They also had a playgroup class at an earlier time when pre-school children and their Japanese parents got together for some activities.

- Rationale for school

This school started in 1999 as a Japanese playgroup after a mother put an advertisement for a Japanese mothers' gathering in a local Japanese grocery store. According to this mother,

who was the first president of the school's committee, she wanted to have a place where Japanese mothers who had settled in the UK to live with their non-Japanese partners could get together. In the beginning they had gatherings using the facilities of a local black and minority ethnic community association, of which they were members. However, members of other ethnic communities often contested their position and rights as immigrants, which the Japanese mothers found difficult to deal with, since they had a certain social status as spouses/partners of UK citizens/permanent residents. They just needed a place to share their Japanese values with others in the local community. Gradually realising that their activities were different from those of other groups in the community association, and feeling uncomfortable about this, they decided to withdraw from it and instead rented a church hall to serve as their venue. However, it is likely that this school's openness to its local community developed due to this initial association with other local ethnic communities. When their children became school age, the mothers started teaching Japanese language in a casual way, and later moved from the church hall to the primary school when the hall became too small to cater for the increased number of children.

Soon after it started teaching Japanese language, the school organised the committee, the membership of which has changed over the years. Committee members, with the president at the head, take on administrative roles. From the very beginning, accepting diverse families and forming an inclusive Japanese community was important to the ethos of this school, a fact emphasized by many teachers during interviews. However, this approach occasionally caused dissonance since more and more parents joining the school later wanted to put emphasis on teaching Japanese, something I witnessed during my fieldwork. I discuss this dissonance in detail in Chapters 5 and 6. The ethos of respecting diversity on the one hand, and parents' wishes to improve the quality of teaching and students' Japanese abilities on the other, coexisted and occasionally clashed in this school. The distinctive features of this school were sustainability and flexibility to cope with diverse Japanese residents in their area.

- Curricula, materials and assessment

They had had a one-hour Japanese class and another one-hour culture class every Saturday since they had started teaching Japanese at the church hall, but the programme and the management policy were occasionally modified or changed when a new president took over or new members joined the committee. At the time of my fieldwork, there existed very rough written guidance in what was called a 'school curriculum' for each class setting out what to aim to achieve, but, according to the head teacher, it was impractical and needed to be

revised. All content and the conduct of lessons were left up to each class teacher, although they communicated with parents of students in the class by email every week and had opportunities to discuss with them.

At the time of my fieldwork, all the classes for primary school students used *kokugo* textbooks but class teachers chose chapters to use freely, as they saw fit. Occasionally, some teachers used completely different materials. During the times of the previous committee and the original committee, they hardly used *kokugo* textbooks. During my fieldwork students in primary school classes had their own textbooks, but I noticed that some used second-hand ones handed down from senior students. I will discuss how *kokugo* textbooks were used at South School in Chapter 6 (see Extract 6.27).

When students reached secondary school age, as at many other JHL schools in England except for North School, they stopped using *kokugo* textbooks and moved to a GCSE class, where past papers or materials for Japanese GCSE exams were used so that they would be ready for the exams. Several parents told me that older students tended to lose motivation to study Japanese or the will to continue attending the school, but the GCSE class helped to give them a clear aim to study there. Students in this school normally take GCSE Japanese exams when they are in Year 9 or Year 8, earlier than students studying Japanese at mainstream school, who generally take them in Year 11. After taking these exams, most of them leave the school. During my fieldwork, there existed an AS class consisting of two male students and a teacher, who was one of the students' mother. However, the class was often cancelled because either or both of the two students or the teacher were too busy to come. The class finally ceased to exist in July at the end of the school year before the students took the AS exams. According to the president, a big challenge for this school was how they could prepare classes attractive enough for secondary school students to continue studying there even after taking their GCSE Japanese exams.

There was no formal assessment. Each teacher often gave students a small test of *kanji* or of writing expressions to encourage them to study. The school year starts in September and ends in July just like schools in England. At the end-of-year school assembly, all the students present received a certificate of completion. In July, teachers and committee members were busy discussing members of each class, the number of classes and who would be class teachers for the next school year. They did not have clear rules or a system for how each student should advance to the next level, but teachers decided through discussion considering students' ages and Japanese ability, or behaviour and personality.

Non-teaching parents prepared activities for culture classes on a rota for all students. There were many fixed seasonal and non-seasonal activities repeated every year, and other types of activities parents in charge thought of, arising from their nostalgic memories of Japan. Occasionally, some parents prepared new activities, inspired by their recent experiences on return trips to Japan for a holiday. Culture classes were also considered an important part of the school programme and were a frequent topic of discussion amongst parents due to the fact that some older students were reluctant to join in, or skipped them completely, feeling them to be too childish.

- Extracurricular activities

Since this school had received some funding from the local city council for many years on condition that it promoted Japanese culture in the local community, it held an Open Day once a year as an opportunity for local people to be exposed to Japanese culture and food.

Another big event was an annual school excursion occurring in June. During my fieldwork, I could join an excursion to a local adventure park. They hired a big coach, just like a typical school excursion in Japan, and 66 parents and students in total attended, including some secondary school students who had withdrawn from the school after taking GCSE exams and their parents, and also older students who did not normally participate in culture classes.

On request, some parents occasionally visited local primary schools and introduced Japanese culture to local students. The school also participated in a Japan Festival held in the area involving Japan-related groups and businesses every year. The school held an annual end-of-year party for grown-ups, inviting various Japanese people living in the area because, according to the president, one of the school missions was to contribute to the local Japanese community. Several JHL schools in England hold Open Days for the purpose of fundraising but, except for such events, most of them tend not to have much to do with the local community. South School, like North School, is rare amongst JHL schools in England in valuing and nurturing a connection with its local community outside the school.

### **3.2.2. Research participants**

This research aims to explore the practice and ideology of administrators and teachers at the two schools selected, so they are the main research participants. However, data involving students also turned out to be of great interest. The following section first illustrates the



general tendencies of teachers and students in JHL schools in England, which I found in my preliminary study, and then focuses on leaders, teachers and students in North School and South School respectively. In each school I chose a key participant, whose classes were audio-recorded, since I decided to focus more on audio-recorded interactions and concentrate on classroom practice. Before starting my fieldwork, I intended to choose a teacher of a class for secondary school students as a key participant in each school. After observing during the first few weeks at North School, I chose the Year 5 teacher, the class teacher for students aged between 16 and 18. However, at South School, I decided to choose the upper primary A class teacher, a class teacher for those aged 10 and 11. After a few weeks' observation I realised her to be more appropriate for my research aims than the two teachers teaching secondary school classes. The AS class was often cancelled and the GCSE class teacher concentrated on teaching GCSE exam techniques since my fieldwork coincided with periods immediately before and during the GCSE exam season. The primary A teacher was also the head teacher, and very keen on improving her teaching practice and also the teaching quality of the whole school. I will introduce each key participant in the 'Teachers' section of North School and South School.

### ***3.2.2.1. General tendencies of those involved in JHL schools in England***

At the time of my fieldwork, all the teachers and administrators in both schools were Japanese and had non-Japanese partners/spouses. All the students in both schools lived in bi-/multilingual domestic environments, having a Japanese parent and a non-Japanese parent.

Actually, my preliminary study (Mulvey, 2015) revealed that this was a general tendency among the 10 JHL schools in England I visited. Very occasionally, a school had one, or, at most, two students with two Japanese parents, but in the vast majority of cases, they were of mixed parentage, with the Japanese parent usually being the mother. Although many non-Japanese parents were British, some non-Japanese parents had non-British European or other nationalities with permanent residency in the UK, and it was not unusual for students to be brought up in trilingual domestic environments. Typically, the teachers and administrators were Japanese immigrants settled in the UK with their non-Japanese partners/spouses. Teachers, administrators and students usually led their everyday lives in a bi-/multilingual domestic environment, and students went to English mainstream school on weekdays.

### 3.2.2.2. *North School*

- Leader: Head administrator

The head administrator, who is a full-time professional Japanese as a foreign language (JFL) university teacher and a mother of two students studying at North School, played an important role in the school. In the interview I conducted with her for my preliminary study, she told me that she was one of the founding members of the school and that, since the first person to suggest establishing the school had left for Japan soon after the school started, she had been in charge of all the administrative roles and planning the programme since that time. She did most of the administrative work single-handedly, although several parents helped her with certain tasks because, according to her, she was too busy to hold committee meetings regularly. She had a clear vision of what the school should be like and carefully chose teachers whom she thought able to pursue it. On Sundays, she normally organised and supervised playgroup activities and did not teach a class, but occasionally did teach as a substitute teacher.

She considered it very important to join in local community activities involving heritage language schools in various languages and Children's University since she thought it beneficial for students' learning. Although this involved additional commitment and paperwork for her, she actively took part in such activities. She believed that these activities helped people outside the school, particularly mainstream schools, recognise learning at heritage language schools, which enhanced students' learning as a result. Several times she told me that she was aware that not every parent was happy with her way of operating the school. However, from my observation during the fieldwork, I understood that all the parents respected and appreciated her passion, devoted hard work and professionalism as a JFL teacher. Thus, the school maintained peaceful order although some parents clearly had different visions.

- Teachers

Out of five teachers, four also taught at a nearby *hoshuko* on Saturdays. All the teachers were addressed and referred to by their name + *sensei* (teacher), just like teachers in Japan, although a surname + *sensei* is usually adopted in Japan while a first name + *sensei* was chosen in this school. Although three teachers sent their children to this school to study, they behaved and were treated as teachers and not as parents during class sessions. Under the brief guidance of the head administrator, each teacher took sole responsibility for the content

and the conduct of each lesson. During my fieldwork, however, I often witnessed teachers discussing issues and ideas enthusiastically with the head administrator in person, one-to-one, after school. Influenced and inspired by the administrator, it was evident that all the teachers worked hard to improve their students' Japanese abilities through their teaching.

The Year 5 teacher teaching three students aged between 16 and 18 was a key participant at North School. Before the school started the Year 5 class, this teacher was asked to become a teacher there specifically to teach this class, since she had a very good reputation at a *hoshuko* for teaching secondary school students. She put effort into teaching *kanji* and *kanji* compound words designated in Year 5 *kokugo* textbooks, asking students to do a fair amount of homework using worksheets she made. She was one of the teachers who most often discussed teaching matters with the head administrator while I was there for my fieldwork. Although she was relatively new to the school, she tried hard to teach the final year students in accordance with the aims of the administrator, making use of her expertise. Table 3 gives information on the head administrator and teachers of North School.

Table 3: Information on research participants, North School, Jan – Mar 2016

	Head administrator	Year 1	Year 2	Year 3	Year 4	Year 5
F/M	F	F	F	F	M	F
Domestic environment	British husband & 2 children	British husband & 2 children	European husband & 2 children	European husband & 1 child	British wife & 1 child	British husband & 1 child
Children studying at JHL or not	yes	yes	1 yes (1 too young)	no (too young)	yes	no
Length of time teaching at JHL school	Occasionally as a substitute	7 years	9 years	3 years	3 months	1 year
Students taught	N/A	9 students aged 6-12	8 students aged 7-11	4 students aged 9-11	4 students aged 12-15	3 students aged 16-18
Material used	N/A	Year 1 <i>kokugo</i>	Year 2 <i>kokugo</i>	Year 3 <i>kokugo</i>	Year 4 <i>kokugo</i>	Year 5 <i>kokugo</i>
Length of time teaching at <i>hoshuko</i>	N/A	9 years	8 years	N/A	6 months	2 years
Other information	Leader since its foundation, teaching JFL at university	Was primary school teacher in Japan	Teaching JFL at evening class	Japanese/English translator	Photographer /teaching <i>aikido</i>	<b>Key participant,</b> teaching JFL privately

- Students

During my fieldwork, all the 30 students had a Japanese parent and a non-Japanese parent.

Except for three with Japanese fathers, the others had Japanese mothers, although previously there had been some children with both parents who were Japanese. Most of them had started the school from Year 1, but some studying at *hoshuko* in different areas or who had come from Japan joined from upper year-levels.

The three students in the Year 5 class, aged 16, 17 and 18, had started Year 1 in 2006 as the first students and had experienced the whole history of this school. They were, in a sense, the fruits of the complete education of this school. The Year 5 teacher, my key participant of this school, told me several times that these students could cope with as much work as she gave them, since they were capable enough to continue at the JHL school up until that point. One of them, from the first Year 1 intake in 2006, graduated from the school in July 2016, as she had completed sixth form education and moved to university that September. The Year 5 students told me during an informal interview during the break time that this school was a place for studying and that they felt they were attending school six days a week.

### **3.2.2.3. South School**

- Leader: President

Committee members at South School, with the president at the head, exercise administrative roles, discuss and decide important matters in committee meetings held once a term, although the president is the leader and most influential person in the school.

The president at the time of my fieldwork had been an active member since her two children started South School when they were young. According to her, she was one of the lucky Japanese mothers who could speak Japanese at home. She met her British husband in Japan when he worked in Japan for several years and since then she had communicated in Japanese with him, while most mothers met their husbands/partners outside Japan and had communicated with them in English. They could not use Japanese as much as she did at home since their husbands/partners could not understand Japanese. She decided to make a new class for students who did not use Japanese at all at home and to teach the class when she became the president. I will discuss her new class in detail in Chapter 5 (see 5.3.2. South School in 5.3. Positive ideological orientation towards differences).

I had opportunities to talk with three presidents from three different generations of committee members and found that there clearly existed generational gaps and diverse perspectives with regard to the school programme. Originally, it was a place for Japanese

mothers and their children to get together, but it was gradually becoming a place for Japanese education, according to the first president, who started the school.

- Teachers

Due to the way in which the school originated, mothers continued to take on the role of teachers from the time when they started teaching Japanese at the church hall. Teachers in this school were called ‘leaders’ and taught mainly with the support of other parents. They were not addressed or referred to by their name + *sensei* (teacher), but, just like other parents, by their first name + *san*, as children in Japan address and refer to their aunts/uncles or friends’ mothers/fathers. Although one parent taught a class as the class leader, other parents in the class stepped in as a substitute very flexibly whenever the leader could not come to school. When the class leader needed assistance in the classroom - to supervise individual students in writing essays, to help with activities or to monitor ill-behaved students - other parents joined the class as assistants. Although school classrooms were used, the class atmosphere was like home education where mothers taught their children together. At leaders’ meetings held once a term, leaders reported what they had done during the term and discussed any issues.

In this thesis, I have decided to call class leaders in South School ‘teachers’ just like teachers in North School in order to avoid confusion, although the relations between teachers and their students are slightly different between the two schools. The head leader at South School is therefore called the head teacher while the president is called the head administrator in this thesis.

The upper primary A class teacher, a class teacher for those aged 10 and 11 and also the head teacher, was a key participant of South School. Her son studied in her class. Before emigrating to the UK, she was a science teacher at secondary school in Japan. She was the one who wanted to revise the ‘school curriculum’ and asked me to give her advice on revising it before I started my fieldwork there, although in the end she did not ask me about the curriculum at all during my fieldwork. I will come back to this in Chapter 5 (Extract 5.13) and Chapter 6 (Extract 6.24). Information on teachers in South School is shown in Table 4.

Table 4: Information on research participants, South School, Apr – Jul 2016

	New class	Lower primary	Middle primary	Upper primary A	Upper primary B	GCSE class	AS class
F/M	F	F	F	F	F	F	F
Domestic environment	British husband & 2 children	British husband & 1 child	British husband & 2 children	British husband & 1 child	British husband & 2 children	European husband & 1 child	British husband & 1 child
Children studying at JHL or not	yes	yes	yes (1 left)	yes	yes	yes, but already left	yes
Students taught	3 students aged 8-11	4 students aged 5-6	4 students aged 7-8	4 students aged 9-10	3 students aged 9 - 10	3 students aged 12-13	2 students aged 15-16
Material used	JFL, everyday things, etc.	Selected chapters, Year 1 <i>kokugo</i>	Selected chapters, Years 1 & 2 <i>kokugo</i>	Selected chapters, Years 2 & 3 <i>kokugo</i>	Selected chapters, Years 2 & 3 <i>kokugo</i>	Past papers, JFL, etc.	Past papers, JFL, etc.
Other info	Leader of the school	Sub-leader	Students' dance instructor for Open Day	<b>Key participant</b> , head teacher, was secondary science teacher in Japan	Sub-head teacher	Continue to teach even after her child left the school, private JFL teacher	Conduct classes only when both students can attend

- Students

Except for one family consisting of a Japanese father and a non-Japanese mother, all the other 38 students had a Japanese mother and a non-Japanese father, though in the past some children having two Japanese parents joined the school. Most of them started South School from the playgroup class. Several parents told me that their children of similar ages had close friendships and almost felt like cousins.

In the upper primary A class, the key participant's class, four students aged between 9 and 10, three girls and the teacher's son, took part. The students told me during informal interviews that they liked to come to the school because they could meet friends. It seemed that studying Japanese was their secondary aim in coming to the school.

### 3.2.3. Data collection

Between January and March 2016 during one school term, I visited North School every Sunday, while during another school term between April and July 2016 I went to South School every Saturday. I conducted "open ethnographic observation" (Copland & Creese, 2015, p. 37) at the two schools so as to "get into the other's cultural and social world" (Blommaert & Jie, 2020, p. 39) and to understand the research participants' perspectives on a deeper level. Therefore, I tried to collect anything available, such as handouts and emails and

took photos of things ranging from students' work to scenes of language classes, cultural classes, a school excursion, and an Open Day, while noting down anything I noticed in my fieldnotes. Table 5 is the summary of data collected at the two schools. I have included all of the other miscellaneous data sources in the table. However, they were not analysed in the same depth and detail as the other data listed but provided background information.

At both sites, during the five or six weeks, I tried to get an overview of the school by observing and participating in various classes without making audio recordings, including the key participants' classes. Then, during the final five weeks I concentrated on observing and participating in the key participants' classes while making audio-recordings. Therefore, I had more data on their classes.

Table 5: Summary of data collected at North School and South School

	North School		South School	
	2-hour class observation for 10 weeks + participation in events		2-hour class and culture session observation for 10 weeks + participation in events and excursion	
Data	Participants involved	Amount/list	Participants involved	Amount/ list
Fieldnotes	All five teachers Head administrators Students and parents Volunteers	11 sets, amounting to 45,534 words	All seven teachers Students and parents Volunteers Graduates and parents People from local community	13 sets, amounting to 51,176 words
Audio recorded class observations	Year 5 teacher Students in her class	5 sets, amounting to 9hrs 30mins	Upper primary A teacher Students in her class	5 sets, amounting to 4hrs 35 mins
Formal interviews	All five teachers Head administrators	6 sets, amounting to 9 hrs 15 mins	All seven teachers	7 sets, amounting to 7hrs 33 mins
Others	All five teachers Head administrators Students and parents Volunteers	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Newsletters</li> <li>• Webpage</li> <li>• Emails</li> <li>• Annual schedule</li> <li>• Weekly class reports</li> <li>• Teaching plans</li> <li>• Teaching materials</li> <li>• Homework sheets</li> <li>• Student list</li> <li>• Monthly schedule</li> <li>• School rules and agreement</li> <li>• Open Day info</li> <li>• Local events info</li> <li>• Photos (class scenes, students' work, event scenes, classrooms and equipment)</li> </ul>	All seven teachers Students and parents Volunteers Graduates and parents People from local community	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Newsletters</li> <li>• Webpage</li> <li>• Emails</li> <li>• Annual schedule</li> <li>• Attainment target for each class</li> <li>• Committee meeting agendas and reports</li> <li>• Teachers' meeting agendas and reports</li> <li>• Student list</li> <li>• School's parent survey results</li> <li>• Teaching materials</li> <li>• Cultural session rota and contents</li> <li>• Open Day info</li> <li>• Excursion info</li> <li>• Local event info</li> <li>• Photos (class &amp; cultural session scenes, students' work, event scenes, classrooms and equipment)</li> </ul>



### ***3.2.3.1. Fieldnotes***

Fieldnotes, which are considered as records of social complexity (Blommaert, 2007; Copland & Creese, 2015), are the prime data for my research project. According to Emerson et al. (2011), “the ethnographer writes down in regular, systematic ways what she observes and learns while participating in the daily rounds of the lives of others” and “creates an accumulating written record of these observations and experiences” (p. 1). Writing fieldnotes is an act of inscription rather than description, because researchers write such notes from a particular perspective rather than to describe what is happening from a neutral standpoint (Copland & Creese, 2015; Emerson et al., 2011). Copland and Creese (2015) specify that “field notes have a special place within ethnography because of their role in documenting complexity in participant observation and recording the ethnographers’ partialities” (p. 38) - while keeping observation open, they choose to “describe what appears significant” to their participants and also record their “emotions, feelings, values and beliefs” in the fieldnotes (p. 38). To form my fieldnotes into an accumulating written record of social complexity seen from my perspective with my feelings or values included, I spent considerable time in writing, editing and completing them.

During my participant observation, I tried my best to jot down in a small notebook anything I noticed. On the way back home from the sites by train or bus, a journey which took more than three hours from both schools, I tried to add anything I could remember in the notebook, on my laptop or in Evernote (which I had downloaded on my phone). I normally took my laptop to North School but, not to South School since the train connections were more complicated. Sometimes, however, I was too tired to do so on the way back, so wrote such fieldnotes the next day at home. I tried to complete the final version for each visit in a Word document as quickly as possible, aiming to do so within a week at most while my memories were still vivid.

For participant observation with audio-recordings, I first tried to complete the first draft of each set of fieldnotes in a similar way without listening to the recording so that I could describe from memory what I had felt, seen, heard or smelt. I then modified this record or added new information while listening to the recording.

I created 24 sets of fieldnotes: 11 sets, amounting to 45,534 words, for North School and another 13 sets, amounting to 51,176 words, for South School. Although my original fieldnotes were bilingual, in Japanese and English, I converted them into a purely English

version for this thesis due to the word limit, except for descriptions of language practices, where it is crucial to record original utterances.

### 3.2.3.2. *Audio-recordings, interactional data*

As separate data from the fieldnotes, I also used the audio-recordings as records of real interactions happening in the classroom. There are 5 sets of the key participant’s classes in North School involving the Year 5 teacher and her 3 students aged between 16 and 18, and another 5 sets of the classes in South school with the upper primary A class teacher and her 4 students aged 10 and 11. The latter amounts to 4 hours 35 minutes and the former to 9 hours 30minutes. They are recordings in which the research participants “go about their daily practices” (Copland & Creese, 2015, p. 45). I imported the audio-recording files into NVivo, a qualitative analysis software product. Using its ‘transcribe’ mode, I played and transcribed the recordings, and created transcriptions with corresponding timespans, which are stored with their audio-recording files as shown in Figure 1, a screenshot of an audio recording sample stored in NVivo.

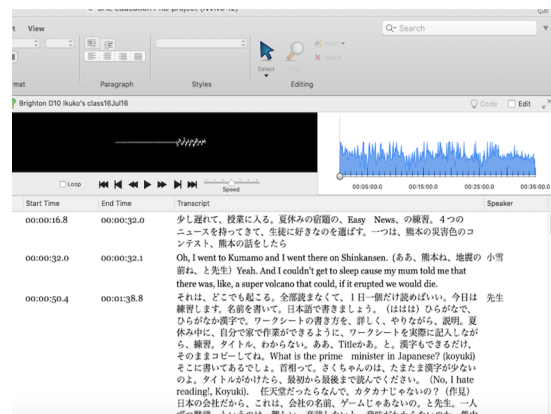


Figure 1: Snapshot of NVivo audio-recording sample

### 3.2.3.3. *Interviews*

Interviews are often considered as one of the most important methods of data collection in qualitative research (Merriam, 2015; Yin, 2013), since the purpose of qualitative research is to understand “how people interpret their experiences, how they construct their worlds and what meaning they attribute to their experiences” (Merriam, 2015, p. 6) and to care about understanding individuals’ perceptions of the world (Bell, 2010). However, Blommaert and Jie (2020) suggest that although interviews are undoubtedly important, they are “not *more* important than the other kinds of materials” and present “a tiny fraction of the materials you bring back and of the ‘data’ that will inform your work” (p. 42). According to Copland and Creese (2015), interviews are beneficial for LE researchers as supportive data in “understanding from the participant’s perspective”, providing “an alternative perspective ” to what the researcher recorded in the fieldnotes and helping “interpretation of naturally occurring data” (p. 29), such as audio-recordings during classroom observations. In this LE, I

conducted interviews to provide supportive data, aiming to understand from them more about the behaviour of participants as recorded in my fieldnotes and audio-recordings.

There are two types of interview, formal - an organised conversation between an interviewer and an interviewee scheduled in advance - and informal, unscheduled ones (Copland & Creese, 2015; Richards, 2003). It was not easy to conduct informal interviews because my participants needed to leave their hired venues soon after scheduled programmes finished. Nonetheless, I could sometimes manage to conduct brief informal interviews during breaks, after school or even during classes and activities with teachers, parents, administrators and students when I felt in need of their clarifications. I recorded such conversations in my fieldnotes on the way home or at home as soon as possible. I also had several opportunities to have meals, tea or drinks with them after school and could talk with them and ask questions in a very casual way, which I also recorded in my fieldnotes as soon as possible. These documents of informal interviews contribute to my record and understanding of the social complexity in the JHL world I was investigating.

Regarding formal interviews, I requested these from all five teachers and the head administrator of North School and all seven teachers of South School. All 13 requests were accepted. I organised semi-structured interviews, which are considered the preferred approach for LE (Copland & Creese, 2015) among the three common interview styles of structured, semi-structured and open (Richards, 2003). Appendix A is an interview schedule I prepared before conducting interviews. All the 13 interviews were carried out in Japanese with audio-recordings. Many interviews were done at the venues or near the venues, while a few were conducted in a park during a school excursion and others were remotely conducted via Skype. An interview normally took around one hour, but some took as long as one and a half hours or even longer. The sound files of the six sets of interviews at North School come to 9 hours and 15 minutes in total, and the seven sets conducted at South School come to 7 hours and 33 minutes. I imported all the audio-recordings into NVivo and transcribed them using its 'transcribe' mode, just as I did with the class observation recordings. Since my interview transcriptions are lengthy and numerous, I decided to translate into English only parts I was interested in using for analysis. For this thesis, I am showing only the English translations due to the word limit.

#### ***3.2.3.4. Other data – emails, school webpages, students’ work etc.***

During my fieldwork, I collected a wide range of material, including handouts, leaflets, school webpages and emails, and photos taken of classroom scenes, school events and activities, student work, equipment, items of stationery, books, teaching plans and various past documents administrators and teachers generously showed to me. Aiming to obtain “as rich a picture as possible of the environment in which the fieldwork was done” (Blommaert & Jie, 2020, pp. 57-58) I collected “bags full of ethnographic rubbish”, which ethnographers notably collect (2020, p. 42). As a consequence, I was overwhelmed by the huge amount of precious ‘rubbish’ and managed to use only a tiny quantity as data analysed in the same depth and detail as the other data. However, it did help me obtain rich pictures of the two schools and make sense of participants’ practices and beliefs, and thus contributed to my data analysis. These miscellaneous items collected in each school are listed in Table 5.

### **3.3. Data analysis**

In this section, I explain my data analysis procedure. I employed discourse analysis, particularly “ethnographically-informed discourse analysis”, which seeks the clusters, themes and patterns of the situated interactional data while determining the historical, social and political aspects (Copland & Creese, 2015, p. 86). Discourse broadly refers to language used in relation to a particular topic (Blackledge, 2008) and comprises “all forms of meaningful semiotic human activity” in a text which are “seen in connection with social, cultural and historical patterns and developments of use” (Blommaert, 2005, p. 3). Discourse is meaning that people convey through language used. I examine discourse ethnographically to reveal and understand the complexity of JHL schools in England.

#### **3.3.1. Analysis while collecting data**

According to Emerson et al. (2011), writing fieldnotes is not so much to describe what is happening at the research site objectively as to inscribe the situation because these notes are the researcher’s account of the site from a specific perspective (Copland & Creese, 2015). Therefore, in writing fieldnotes, Copland & Creese (2015) indicate, quoting Emerson et al. (2011):

the ethnographer does not simply put happenings into words. Rather such writing is an interpretive process: it is the very first act of textualizing. Indeed, this often

‘invisible’ work – writing ethnographic fieldnotes – is the primordial textualization that creates a world on the page and ultimately shapes the final ethnographic, published text (p. 39).

During my fieldwork period, I constantly engaged in writing fieldnotes, both at and remote from the venue every week until I could complete them in a final Word document version. I described in detail what was happening in the classroom from my perspective and how I felt in observing the teachers’ and students’ practice, including my interpretation of such practice. Although this procedure was not a thorough and systematic analysis, it was indeed my first analytical stage. For further systematic analysis, I printed out all the final Word documents and filed them separately in two folders, one for North School and another for South School. I also put all the filednote documents in files inside NVivo. These data management strategies were put in place for further analysis described below.

### 3.3.2. Preparing to write analytical chapters

To interpret my data more systematically and to select parts of it to present in the analysis chapters, I prepared two folders of all the printed fieldnotes, and stored all the fieldnotes, audio-recordings of class observations and interviews and their transcriptions in different files of NVivo. After looking through the huge amount of “ethnographic rubbish” (Blommaert & Jie, 2020, p. 42) I collected, I selected some emails, statements on school webpages and photos which might be useful for analysis and stored them in a separate file of NVivo as well.

First I read through the fieldnotes filed in the two folders carefully several times and then wrote down my interpretation of parts that looked significant paying particular attention to words or phrases which could possibly become the basis of my analytical themes (see Figure 2). While checking my research questions and these notes on my fieldnotes, I eventually selected nine codes for analysis: heterogeneity, identity, Japaneseness, position of JHL school, recognition, resource, students’ attitudes, literacy and translanguaging.

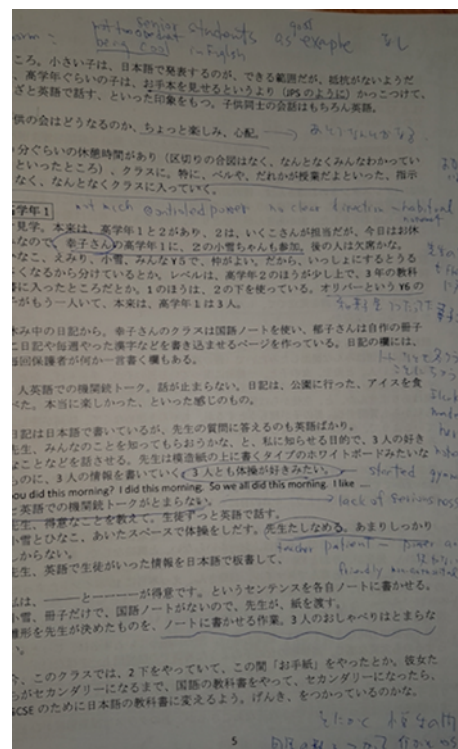


Figure 2: Snapshot of a sample fieldnote

As the last code may look different from the others, I will clarify it. As pointed out by Leung & Vald  (2019, p. 365) “translanguaging is a multifaceted and a multilayered polysemic term”. For me, as someone who has brought up three children with my British husband in three different parts of the world, bilingual practices are the everyday norm, and from my own experience, I recognise them as discursive and unpredictable as well as creative and elaborate. For this reason, I have had a slight resistance to referring to them simply as code-switching. The concept of translanguaging deals not only with such discursive practices but is also a way of thinking about bilingual people and their language practice (Blackledge & Creese et al., 2017; Creese & Blackledge, 2010; Garc a, 2009; Garc a & Li, 2014; Leung & Vald s, 2019). It sees bilingual practices positively, focusing on people who are engaged in communication, unlike code-switching, which focuses on individual languages and on how each language functions while people are communicating. The notion of translanguaging is different from that of code-switching and other previous scholarly perspectives on bilingualism which failed to describe the complexity of bi-/multilingual people precisely (Leung & Vald s, 2019). I appreciate how the academic literature has developed beyond code-switching and reoriented in such a way as to validate the concept of translanguaging, since the latter term expresses my own practice at home and my own journey as a member of a bilingual family, a language teacher, and an immigrant to English-speaking countries. In my fieldnotes, I found many descriptions of such discursive bilingual practices and also notes on teachers’ positive views towards such practices, which I decided to catalogue as translanguaging.

I will give a few examples of how I initially interpreted my fieldnotes, illustrating how those 9 codes came out from reading through fieldnotes in the two folders.

### Sample extract 1

The class teacher is absent today. Instead of her, three mothers are present in the classroom and ask students to write reply letters to their classmate who moved to Japan and sent them letters recently. [...] Students are asked to write letters on *genkoyoshi*, squared manuscript papers. The mothers give instructions, ask questions, speaking everything in Japanese, while the two girls constantly speak in English. [...]

Miho: (Showing her fluffy pencil case to Mother A) **I bought it in Japan.**

Mother A: もう少し日本語で話そうね <Will you speak in Japanese a bit more?>

Miho: 日本で買った <I bought it in Japan.> **When did I buy it?** (asking to her mother.)

Miho's mother: 日本語で <Speak in Japanese!>

Miho: 3年前に買った。本当に欲しかったよ <I bought it three years ago. I really wanted it> **Mummy!** (and she suddenly hugs her mum.)

Miho's mother: (speaking to me) イギリス人だよ。日本じゃこんなことしないよね。 <She is British, isn't she? No kid at her age behaves like this in Japan>

She doesn't listen to the mothers' advice much, looking even rebellious sometimes, but she hugs her mother in front of others. Very British. [...] While waiting for her essay to be checked, Miho put her foot on the desk very casually, which cannot happen in the classroom in Japan. [...] Mother A asks Miho to add an ending greeting:

Miho: **How do we have to be fluent in structure? She likes my letter. It doesn't matter. I've already done that!**

Mother A: まあ、これがそうかな。いいかあ。 <Oh well, this might be, ok>

In reading this fieldnote on South School, I first thought of the perspectives of the three mothers. They had assistant teacher roles on this day taking the place of the class teacher. Although they supervised the students in writing letters in a relaxed way like parents helping their children to do their homework at home, I noticed that they clearly positioned the JHL school differently from their home. No matter how much the girls spoke English, the mothers never used English in the classroom and constantly asked the students to speak in Japanese, although they must have spoken differently at home using both Japanese and English

flexibly. They asked the students to write personal letters to their friend, which would actually be posted to Japan, but chose *genkoyoshi*, squared manuscript paper as used at school in Japan for essay writing, while the friend wrote to them on usual letter paper. In using *genkoyoshi*, I assumed they expected the students to pay attention to Japanese orthography including correct punctuation. A mother checked Miho's letter and asked her to add a proper ending, considering it a practical classroom task of writing a letter. For the mothers, the JHL school seemed a place for teaching and learning, no matter how casual and friendly the atmosphere was. Returning a courtesy is an important Japanese norm and many people in Japan consider it important to make a return gift or send a return letter after receiving these, which might have been another thing they wanted to show through this activity. This might also be the reason why they did not use photo-copied *genkoyoshi*, which was normally used in this class for essay writing, but precious genuine *genkoyoshi* paper that somebody must have bought in Japan. They acknowledged that the children are British, as commented by Miho's mother, but tried to introduce as much Japaneseness as possible, wishing them, as I understood it, to be Japanese as well. Eventually I started to think about 'Japaneseness' and the 'position of JHL schools', because I could see that I was interested in how parents thought about South School and what sort of non-language elements they would like to pass on to their children as well as Japanese language.

Then I focused on Miho. She hardly made any effort to speak Japanese at South School during my fieldwork and occasionally looked rebellious. On this day she was well engaged in the class task since, I supposed, she wanted to write a letter to her favourite friend who had moved to Japan. While writing she even remembered and mentioned her nice experience in Japan. However, she did not like her completed letter being corrected, insisting **“How do we have to be fluent in structure? She likes my letter.”** In contrast to the Japaneseness the mothers wanted to instil in their children, I caught a glimpse of non-Japaneseness or anti-Japaneseness in Miho's behaviour (contradicting the mother-assistant teacher with her own reasoning, hugging her mother in front of others and putting her foot on the desk in the classroom). I thought about 'students' attitude' and 'identity', which I found very interesting due to the discrepancy with the parents' hopes and expectations.



### Sample extract 2

The teacher asks them to put words in brackets to complete a sentence and then to draw the picture (to check if they understand different particles を[o] で [de] が [ga]).

( ) をわる [o waru <break>]

( ) である [de waru]

( ) がわる [ga waru]

[...]

Students are all very much engaged in this activity, though normally some don't do particles exercise seriously but choose particles without thinking properly. They are extremely creative and critical!

In reading this fieldnote from South School, I identified it as an example of translanguaging, which I came to see as essential to this thesis. I also picked up translanguaging in many other fieldnotes in which there was constant use of Japanese and English in the classroom. In this fieldnote, however, my attention focused not so much on the use of the two languages as on the use of language and another type of semiotics, pictures, which I found particularly interesting in reading this.

The teacher identified particles as something these children could not master naturally and tried to give them particle exercises every week. Normally she asked them to fill in appropriate particles in sentences, but some did such exercises light-heartedly and chose particles very casually without thinking well. On his day, she prepared a different kind of particle exercise. Instead of choosing a particle, the students needed to think of a word which suited the particle written and then draw a picture showing the situation. All the students thought about each sentence very carefully and drew pictures, showing their understanding. Some made very creative sentences and pictures. I considered that their engagement and creativity were enhanced dramatically because they were allowed to use pictures, a different type of semiotics. Thus, I thought about translanguaging on reading this extract, although my attention was unusually not really on bilingual language practice.

In similar ways, the nine codes arose. After selecting them, I put the codes into NVivo. While looking through all the data stored there, I created further sub-codes under each code and then started selecting relevant sections from among all the data under each code, as

shown in Figure 3. I created nine sub-codes, for example, under the ‘translanguaging’ category: ‘comprehension’, ‘creativity’, ‘expanding students’ Japanese’, ‘kanji’, ‘making sense’, ‘multimodality’, ‘spontaneous translanguaging’, ‘student engagement’, ‘successful class activity’ and ‘supporting students’.

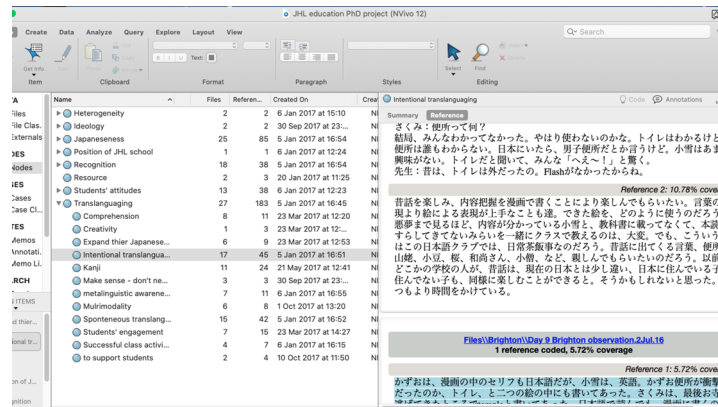


Figure 3: Snapshot of NVivo sample

I will demonstrate with one example how I interpreted segments of my fieldnotes and created sub-codes.

Sample extract 3

(The teacher starts *kanji* dictation and asks students to write down *kanji* words she says in their notebooks.)

[...]

Teacher: 次は中心って書いて <next, write down [chushin]>

Bob: 中心って何だっけ。 <what was [chushin]?>

Teacher: **centre**

Bob: ああ <oh, yeah>

In hearing that, Bob writes the first *kanji* of the word, 中, though he still cannot write the second *kanji*, 心. It seems that he remembers some *kanji* not from their sound but from their meaning, which he often gets in English. Therefore, even if he does not remember a Japanese word, 中心 [chushin], he can write the first *kanji* in hearing the English equivalent. These students often remember the meaning of *kanji* in English so they can often write *kanji* words or a part of them when the teacher says the meaning in English even if they do not remember the Japanese words.

In reading this fieldnote extract, I first sorted it under the ‘translanguaging’ category, because the teacher understood that her students grasped the *kanji* ideographs across Japanese and English and said the English equivalent when they did not understand the meaning of the Japanese word. I considered that her translanguaging in the classroom helped students expand their Japanese. I also noticed that *kanji* ideographs are interesting examples of translanguaging because these students learned them beyond the boundaries of languages. Therefore, I created two sub-codes - ‘*kanji*’ and ‘expanding students’ Japanese’ - under the ‘translanguaging’ code after examining this extract, and put this extract in each area created in NVivo. I thus used a part of NVivo’s qualitative analysis function to pick out the segments of my data suitable for individual codes. However, I did not use any other analysis functions provided there, and accomplished the final analysis and write-up of my thesis, the procedures for which will be explained in the next section, without using the software further. For this research project, NVivo served as a single, convenient location for systematic data storage.

After looking through all the codes and their allocated data sections, I settled on three main analytical themes for individual chapters: translanguaging, ideology and literacy, although I abandoned a chapter on literacy after initiating analytical chapter writing. I moved on to the next stage of writing up chapters.

### **3.3.3. Analysis while writing up analytical chapters**

Under the code of translanguaging in NVivo, there were significantly more sub-codes and relevant data sections than under the other codes and many relevant sections are records of research participants’ practice, which reconfirmed my great interest in translanguaging. I selected from among such data segments material that I could use in the translanguaging analytical chapter. I also chose and used for this chapter the beliefs and standpoints articulated by participants in their formal or informal interviews. Although I needed to re-write the chapter several times, dividing it into two separate chapters – a teachers’ translanguaging chapter and a students’ translanguaging chapter - since it became too long, I managed to complete the chapters relatively smoothly. Due to the word limit, in the end I decided not to include the students’ translanguaging chapter in this thesis.

However, I encountered several problems in writing the ideology chapters and struggled to organise the data. First, I had trouble in choosing data to use for the chapters. Since ideologies are people’s beliefs, I first chose such data from informal and formal interviews and, as supporting data for what they stated, I chose their practice presented in fieldnotes and

audio-recordings. After choosing such data, I realized that it was not distinctive enough from that chosen for the translanguaging chapters. For the translanguaging chapters, I chose extracts showing people's language practice first and then those showing their beliefs correlated with such practice. For the ideology chapter, conversely, I selected extracts showing people's beliefs first and then those showing their language practice associated with the beliefs. In doing this, I eventually noticed that I was sometimes trying to argue similar things from different directions, since language practice and beliefs are deeply interrelated. After contemplating the relationship between the two elements – people's practice and their beliefs – I decided not to use fieldnotes and audio-recordings, data presenting people's practices for the ideology chapters, but to concentrate on interview data in which they articulated their beliefs.

This approach worked much better, helping to clarify and bring to prominence the arguments in the ideology chapters. Another, but more serious, problem was the selection of themes to discuss in the ideology chapters and the organisation of these chapters. Since the two schools have distinct differences in the circumstances related to their establishment, programmes and teaching styles, I presumed that the significant ideologies circulating in the two schools must be different and so attempted to pick out and write about different ideological aspects in separate chapters on the ideologies circulating in North School and South School. However, this did not work very well, resulting in weak arguments. Therefore, I tried to bring clarity to my arguments by making a distinction between significant themes that were particular to one school, and those that were common to both. After examining the selected themes carefully, I realized, contrary to my initial presumption, that the themes common to both schools were more significant than those based on differences. I decided, therefore, to use the common themes for the two ideology chapters and to reorganize these chapters with new labels: centripetal ideology and centrifugal ideology. This new organization made better sense and resulted in clearer arguments.

After completing the first draft of the whole thesis, I realised that the balance of my analysis and discussion is weighted heavily towards interview extracts at the expense of those from fieldnotes and classroom audio recordings. This is due to my decision to use interview data exclusively for the ideology chapters, Chapters 5 and 6. This is also related to the word limit of the thesis and my decision on how to cope with it. I decided to abandon a chapter on literacy at an early stage of my analytical chapter writing and, after writing up a lengthy translanguaging chapter, which I subsequently divided into two chapters, a teachers' translanguaging chapter and a students' translanguaging chapter, I needed to abandon the

latter. These two abandoned chapters focused on language practice rather than ideologies and used many fieldnotes and audio recording extracts. In spite of my prior decision to concentrate on interview extracts in Chapters 5 and 6, however, I used some fieldnote content and summaries as evidence to consolidate arguments alongside the interview material, eventually deciding to incorporate some fieldnotes and classroom audio-recording extracts in both chapters. The inclusion of fieldnotes and classroom audio-recordings into these chapters, alongside the interview data, is aimed at giving a full sense of social practice to accompany the arguments made about ideology.

### **3.4. My reflections as a researcher**

As ethnography is “the peculiar practice of representing the social reality of others through the analysis of one’s own experience in the world of these others” (Van Maanen, 1988, p. ix), my own background constitutes important archived knowledge for my research. For ethnography, the researcher’s identity and experience plays an important role in the research process. Looking back at my historical trajectory, which is summarised in the introductory chapter (see 1.2. My historical background), I focus on here some factors affecting my journey to becoming a researcher.

While I was working for the Japanese ethnic school in Brisbane, Australia, I had several opportunities to consider how a researcher looking into JHL schools should approach the topic. One occasion that had a particular impact on me was when a researcher visited the school for data collection and made all the students, teachers and administrators very nervous by observing classes with a clipboard like an assessor of teaching and learning quality but did not give any useful feedback or advice in return. There were also researchers based in Japan who sent the school complicated questionnaire forms, which parents and teachers spent a lot of time filling in and sent back, but who also did not provide significant feedback. Although requests for cooperation with research were accompanied by the claim that it would be beneficial for the development of JHL education, such disappointing experiences tended to fuel a reluctance to become involved in future research projects.

This experience made me realise how dependent on support JHL schools are. These educational institutions rely on voluntary work by parents and/or Japanese community members and need any support which can be of immediate use to them in the classroom or for their school administration. It is not easy to persuade such schools to cooperate with research which may only lead to developments in JHL education sometime in the distant

future. This became a lesson for me later in seeking out and visiting JHL schools for my own data collection. Instead of simply collecting data, I aimed to share with my research participants my expertise as a language teacher and a teacher trainer and the experience I had built up at the Japanese ethnic school I had worked at in Australia. This attitude turned out to be beneficial for my preliminary study in that it helped me to get permission to visit the 10 JHL schools I found. It also helped in my ethnographic fieldwork in developing a relationship of trust with research participants so that I could “get into the other’s cultural and social world” (Blommaert & Jie, 2020, p. 39) and collect data which I could not have collected otherwise.

My background as a language teacher, however, was not always beneficial in conducting ethnographic research. I was somewhat apprehensive about repeated “open ethnographic observation” which included audio recordings of classes, since I could not help but think of it as a disturbance from a teacher’s viewpoint. I well understood that repeated observation and participation are central to ethnographic research, which examines “the daily routines of a social setting, develops ongoing relations with people in it, and observes all the while what is going on” (Emerson et al., 2011, p. 1), but I was not sure how I could observe and participate in classes without disrupting participants’ daily routines too much. As Blommaert & Jie (2020, p. 27) point out, “there is always an observer’s effect”, particularly when making audio recordings. My concern about repeated observation and participation gradually dissipated as my research progressed and I came to feel a part of the class with a certain role, helping the teachers and students whenever I thought it appropriate. I was aware of the recommendation that LE researchers should place microphones on key participants (Copland & Creese, 2015) so that all their utterances would be clearly recorded, but in the end, I decided to place them on desks near participants to try to keep any sense of intrusion to a minimum. As a consequence, in transcribing recordings I found that some utterances spoken quickly in a low voice could not be easily heard, although I managed to transcribe the vast bulk of what was said and believe the missed utterances were few enough to have had no significant effect on my data analysis. In future research, however, I may reconsider this approach and ask participants to wear microphones instead.

The biggest problem I faced at the outset of my ethnographic fieldwork was that I found it difficult to maintain the standpoint of a researcher but tended to see what was happening from a teacher’s viewpoint. My research interest in this topic arose when I was a teacher and my motive for this research derived from my ambition to help develop passion for preparing a suitable teaching environment in JHL schools. At first, without realising it, as I noted down

observations I would sometimes slip into a teacher or teacher-trainer mindset. I focused on how to improve the quality of classes or the teaching environment, as revealed by some of my early fieldnotes, which I came to realise are at times prescriptive rather than descriptive. Through extensive discussions with me on this issue of struggling with two roles, my supervisor helped me to develop an awareness of wearing ‘a teacher’s hat’ or ‘a researcher’s hat’ while observing classes. Gradually, during my observation, I became able to concentrate on seeing how my research participants made sense of their world rather than focusing on what I thought they should be doing. This, I feel, points to my progress as a researcher through this research project.

### **3.5. Ethical considerations**

In this section, I give a brief explanation of the ethical considerations related to this research project.

I started my PhD programme at the University of Birmingham and was enrolled there until my supervisor moved to the University of Stirling. Following her, I also moved to the new university while in the middle of data analysis after completing data collection. Thus, I went through the University of Birmingham’s ethical clearance procedure before commencing my research there. In applying for the ethical review, I prepared:

- 1) participant information sheets for the leaders of both schools, explaining my research and requesting their permission to conduct my fieldwork there for data collection
- 2) participant information sheets for administrators and teachers, explaining my research and requesting their permission to observe their classes and to conduct interviews
- 3) participant information sheets for students, explaining my research and requesting their permission to observe their classes while making audio recordings
- 4) participant consent form for teachers and administrators to agree to be interviewed with audio-recordings
- 5) participant consent form for teachers to agree to be observed with audio-recordings and to be interviewed with audio-recordings
- 6) participant consent form for students to be observed with audio-recordings, which also need their parents’ signature.

I prepared each sheet both in English and Japanese for the ethical review. My application for ethical review was approved by the Humanities & Social Science Ethical Review Committee of the University of Birmingham. In conducting ethnographic fieldwork in North School and South School, I used Japanese versions for adult participants and English versions for child participants.

All the teachers and administrators willingly consented to my requests, so I could conduct my fieldwork very smoothly. One student in South School, however, did not like having a recorder put on the table near her on the first day although she had signed the consent form with her mother. I reassured her that I would exclude all her utterances in transcribing the recording and would not use them for my data at all, although I would like to record the class. She reluctantly accepted this. After class on this day I discussed my research with her and her mother and following this her feelings about the recording of classes changed and she told me that she would like me to use her utterances for my data as well. This student eventually turned out to be very cooperative in my data collection. In the conduct of my research I took great care to act in accordance with the procedures set out in my ethical review to guarantee the wellbeing and anonymity of all involved.

I believe that particular care and consideration are required in collecting research data at vulnerable institutions such as JHL schools, many of which seem to have had bitter experience of being the object of research activities, just as the Japanese ethnic school I worked at in Brisbane had. At North School, for example, a researcher had previously asked students to take a Japanese aptitude test, which they did. Later, this researcher sent the results of quantitative analysis to the parents, assessing their children's Japanese abilities based on the standard of school year-levels of those studying in Japan. A mother whose son had studied the Year 3 *kokugo* textbook in the Year 3 class at North School was very upset on receiving this analysis and decided to withdraw her son from the JHL school. She thought that there was no point in sending him there since his Japanese ability had been assessed as low as Year 1 level whereas she had sent him there more than five years. Since then the head administrator had felt suspicious about academic research projects involving JHL schools and had been very cautious in deciding whether or not to accept researchers in her school.

Just like researchers I had encountered in Australia, I wrote in my information sheets that my research would be beneficial for the development of JHL education, even though I understood by then from my experience that such assertions tend not to mean much to people at JHL schools. They need support immediately useful in the classroom or for their school management. In addition to collecting data, therefore, I tried to support the schools I visited,



drawing on my experience at the Japanese ethnic school I had worked at in Australia and my expertise as a language teacher and teacher trainer. Sometimes I listened to their problems or worries, discussed these with them, or shared what I had experienced as a teacher, as a mother or as an immigrant in the UK. In response to requests from both schools, I conducted workshops and presentations during the course of my fieldwork for parents or teachers relating to JHL education and GCSE / A level Japanese exams. Subsequently, South School has continued to ask me to organise a workshop for parents once a year.

As a result of the approach I took to the schools at which I did my fieldwork, trying to offer something of immediate value to them rather than simply using them as sources of data, I believe my research benefited in that the relationships of trust I developed with my research participants enabled me to “get into the other’s cultural and social world” (Blommaert & Jie, 2020, p. 39) and to collect satisfactory data.

Since most participants indicated in their consent forms that they would like to be notified of my research project’s findings, I intend to revisit the schools on completion of my thesis to give a presentation about them.

### **3.6. Summary of the chapter**

In this chapter, I presented first the rationale for my linguistic ethnography research design and how I applied it to this project. This was followed by a commentary on my research questions, including how they were generated, modified and finally settled upon. Findings and a brief summary of my preliminary study, which played a vital role in preparing for this research project, were also discussed. Then I outlined the procedures for data collection and analysis, including detailed descriptions of the research sites and participants and explanations of the difficulties I encountered, and the subsequent changes and adjustments I made. Following this, I introduced significant factors affecting the path I took on my way to becoming a researcher. The final part of this chapter looked at the ethical considerations related to collecting data from the research participants.

## Chapter 4. Teachers' translanguaging

### 4.1. Introduction

The term translanguaging expresses my own day to day language practice. Translanguaging is a bi-/multilingual pedagogy for teaching and learning (Creese & Blackledge, 2010; García, 2009; García & Kano, 2014; García & Li, 2014; Li, 2018), which has been observed at heritage language schools in England (Blackledge & Creese, 2008; Creese et al., 2008). One of the prime aims of this thesis is to examine the situation at JHL schools in England with regard to translanguaging employed as pedagogy and this chapter discusses teachers' translanguaging practice as a pedagogic technique. I will first discuss teachers' translanguaging to enhance students' engagement and understanding looking at data collected in North School and South School respectively. Then, I examine teachers' translanguaging to develop students' metalinguistic awareness using data from the Year 5 class in North School, my key participant's class there.

### 4.2. Teachers' translanguaging to enhance students' engagement and understanding

#### 4.2.1. North School

In North School, all the classes are taught by hired teachers under the leadership of the head administrator, with great emphasis put on teaching literacy with *kokugo* textbooks, mostly in accordance with *kokugo* syllabi. In observing teachers teach literacy in the classroom, I tried to find out how effectively they used translanguaging. My observations noted that while teachers tried their best to conduct their classes within the boundary of Japanese, they used English words and phrases as resources during the class. I observed the Year 5 class, my key participant teacher's class, repeatedly with or without audio recording. This teacher, according to her own account, used almost 80% of her teaching time for *kanji* (Chinese characters used in Japan), considering that increasing the number of *kanji* known by students, particularly *kanji* compound words with Chinese-style *kanji* readings, is crucial to develop their literacy.

Chinese-style readings are theoretically derived from pronunciations used in China, while Japanese-style readings are Japanese translations for the characters. For the *kanji* 食, for example, 食べる [ta-beru] (meaning eat) is a Japanese-style reading, while [shoku] for 食事 [shoku-ji] (meaning meal) demonstrates a Chinese-style reading (see Table 6: Information on the *kanji* 食). Japanese-style readings such as [taberu] constitute single words (in this case – ‘to eat’) and so can be understood just from the sound. In the case of Chinese-style readings, however, just hearing a reading (such as [shoku]) is not enough to ascribe meaning, as many different *kanji* can have the same Chinese-style reading. What is more, Chinese-style readings are normally used in compounds of two or more *kanji*. For example, 食 [shoku] plus 事 [ji] - both Chinese-style readings - make the compound [shokuji], meaning ‘meal’. *Kanji* ideographs having two types of reading have a high word-forming capability and many sophisticated *kanji* compound words used in newspapers or journals nowadays were actually created to present new concepts introduced from the West when Japan rapidly developed into a modern nation state at the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. The adoption and use of Chinese characters in Japan can itself be seen as related to translanguaging, a topic not pursued in this thesis but one worthy of further investigation in a future study.

Table 6: Information on the *kanji* 食

<i>Kanji</i>	食	
Meanings	eat, food	
Reading style	Chinese-style	Japanese-style
Pronunciations	[shoku] *	[ta (beru)] *
Sample usage	食事 [shoku-ji] = meal	食べる [ta (beru)] = eat **

\* Just the main pronunciations are given here.

\*\*Note: In the Japanese-style pronunciations, the parts in round brackets indicate *hiragana* syllables that are added to the *kanji* to complete a word.

This teacher considered that increasing the number of *kanji* known by students, particularly *kanji* compound words with Chinese-style *kanji* readings, is crucial to develop their literacy. The vocabulary used by those students in domestic environments tends to be traditional Japanese words written in *kanji* with Japanese-style readings, while sophisticated terms used in articles or literature tend to be *kanji* compound words with Chinese-style *kanji* readings.

The teacher put great effort into teaching *kanji* compound words with Chinese-style *kanji* readings and gave students plenty of homework for them to develop their competence in using such words. The following extract is a typical interaction in this class.

Extract 4.1 – Year 5 class, North School

1. Teacher: 赤道直下の国って？ <What's [sekidou chokka no kuni] (meaning a country right on the equator)>?
2. Emi : **Countries near the equator which are always summer.**
3. Teacher: そうだね。 <Yes, that's it.>
- [...]
4. 過失は何？ <Yes. And what's [kashitsu] (meaning error)>?
5. Emi: 過ちのこと。 <It's an [ayamachi].>
6. Sanae: 過ちって？ <What's [ayamachi]?>
7. Teacher: 間違いのこと。 **Over limit** な間違いって意味だよ。 <It's [machigai]. So, it means an **over limit** error>

(From classroom audio recording)

It was normal for the teacher to ask students the meaning of newly introduced words or expressions and for a student to guess the meaning in English. This is what Martin calls “a bilingual label quest” (2005, p. 83), where teachers request students in one language to provide a label in another. Just as bilingual label quests are often witnessed in other, non-Japanese, heritage language schools in England (Creese & Blackledge, 2011), bilingual label quests were frequently observed in all experienced teachers’ classrooms in this school. However, it should be noted that only those from Japanese to English, where teachers requested students in Japanese to provide a label in English, were observed during my fieldwork in North School, but not vice versa. This could be due to the way teachers negotiate the Japanese-only policy. Although they themselves are within the boundary of Japanese, they can urge students to refer to the whole range of their semiotic resources across languages and to select appropriate resources from them for their clarification and understanding, expecting them to confirm in English. Thus, Japanese-to-English bilingual

label quests might be a convenient form of pedagogic translanguaging which is compatible with a Japanese-only policy.

Particularly in this classroom with the teenaged students, I often observed, as in line 2, elaborated responses to bilingual label quests: Emi not only provided a label in English, “countries near the equator” for the teacher’s Japanese [sekidou chokka no kuni] in line 1, but could also elaborate it with extra knowledge she had obtained from mainstream education, “which are always summer”. When students can refer to their full range of semiotic resources, they can activate knowledge obtained in any language and apply it across languages. The teacher just confirmed what the students said, as in line 3, or asked more questions to remind them of their knowledge if their guess was not really correct.

In line 5 she asked the meaning of a newly introduced sophisticated *kanji* compound word with Chinese-style *kanji* reading, 過失 [kashitsu], and Emi, in line 6, could answer it successfully by exchanging it with a traditional Japanese word written with the same *kanji* in a Japanese-style reading, 過ち [ayamachi] (see Table 7 Information on the *kanji* 過).

Table 7: Information on the *kanji* 過

<i>Kanji</i>	過	
Meanings	1. to pass (a place) 2. to spend (a time) 3. time passes 4. to make a mistake 5. mistake / error 5. to blame	
Reading style	Chinese-style	Japanese-style
Pronunciations	[ka]	[ayama (chi)] *
Sample usage	過失 [ka-shitsu] = error	過ち [ayama(chi)] = error **

\* Just a relevant pronunciation is given here.

\*\*Note: In the Japanese-style pronunciations, the parts in round brackets indicate *hiragana* syllables that are added to the *kanji* to complete a word.

This is an example of translanguaging because she figured out the meaning by examining the ideograph across Japanese and Chinese in relation to how to pronounce it. Although it is a traditional Japanese word, [ayamachi] is not commonly used among these children and Sanae did not understand the meaning. Therefore, in the first phrase of line 7, the teacher replaced it with [machigai], a word the students had come across before. This replacement of a difficult word with one used among the students was something she often did, but sometimes she also told them the English equivalent to make sure they grasped the meaning precisely, as in the second phrase of line 7, where she added the English ‘**over limit**’ so that they would understand that [kashitsu] indicates a more serious error than [machigai]. It seems that she

herself stayed predominantly within the boundary of Japanese, but that she crossed the border from time to time for a certain mission, returning to Japanese territory once it was accomplished. Teachers' translanguaging in the classroom is different from spontaneous translanguaging bi-/multilingual people use in communicative practice but is pedagogical strategy (Cenoz & Gorter, 2017). The teacher's translanguaging in this classroom was not spontaneous but a pedagogical tool and very much controlled.

Not only the Year 5 teacher, but also the other experienced teachers in this school often used the two types of translanguaging with confidence in teaching new words or expressions: Japanese-to-English bilingual label quests and giving an English equivalent of the Japanese.

A few times I also witnessed another strategy. The following fieldnotes extract is from the Year 3 class with 4 students aged between 10 and 12.

Extract 4.2 - Year 3 class, North School

Teacher: 雨があがるの、あがるってわかる？ <Do you understand the meaning of [agaru] (meaning to stop) in [ame ga agaru] (meaning that it stops raining)?>

Mari: **Evaporate** って意味？ <Does it mean **evaporate**?>

Teacher: その言葉わからない。おしえて <I don't understand the meaning of that word. please tell me >

(Then Mari explains the meaning of 'evaporate' in simpler English to the teacher very happily, giving several examples.)

Teacher: それじゃあ、違う。終わるってことだよ。 <OK then, it's not correct. It means [owaru] (an easier word meaning to stop).>

(From fieldnotes)

These fieldnotes show that the English level of older students is often higher than that of the teachers, who were brought up and educated in Japan, so occasionally teachers did not understand the meaning of English words or sentences uttered by students. Especially in upper level classes, I occasionally observed scenes where a teacher and students deepened mutual understanding collaboratively – the teacher told them clearly that she did not understand the meaning of English uttered by them and asked them for clarification and they explained it to her. This can be regarded as a strategy similar to that seen in the case of the Year 5 teacher, who herself stayed within the Japanese boundary, but activated the students'

semiotic resources across languages. Through translanguaging, as pointed out by García & Li (2014), the teacher gave up her authority role in the classroom, but became a facilitator who set up “collaborative groupings that maximize translanguaging to learn” (2014, p. 93). She made use of students’ advanced English ability and made a setting where the teacher and students maximized translanguaging collaboratively in order that the students might deepen their understanding and obtain new knowledge.

I argue that these classrooms are what Li (2011a, p. 1223) calls “a translanguaging space”, a space where translanguaging is activated as well as one created as a result of translanguaging. In such spaces, even if the teachers themselves stay within the Japanese boundary most of the time and use controlled translanguaging from time to time, they create an environment in which students can make use of a range of communicative resources across languages. Just as in other non-Japanese heritage language schools in England, ‘flexible bilingualism’ “which normalizes bilingualism without diglossic functional separation”, (Creese & Blackledge, 2011, p. 1097), is practised in this school.

In their interviews, all the experienced teachers explained to me why they used English occasionally. The Year 3 teacher said:

#### Extract 4.3

I think it is effective to use English, because my final aim is students’ understanding, in order that they can understand deeply. [...] For example, when I introduce new *kanji* and explain the meaning of new vocabulary using these *kanji*, they sometimes seem to find my Japanese explanation difficult. At other times, they seem to understand it more or less, but students can understand the Japanese word clearly when they hear the equivalent word in English, or when I tell them a certain (English) word corresponds to the newly introduced (Japanese) word. It all depends on the situation. Occasionally, I give them an additional explanation, such as, ‘the meaning of this word is such and such in English’ when I feel they don’t understand clearly.

(From translated interview, Year 3 teacher, North School)

She wanted to make sure that students understand new words and uses English for the purpose of clarification. She understood the linguistic practices of the Japanese/English bilingual students and how they can expand their linguistic practices in different situations.

The Year 5 teacher said:

#### Extract 4.4

I think it's incredible for students to go to school every day during the week, getting tired, and then, on top of that, to come to North School even at the weekend, so I don't intend to force them to use only Japanese. I think it's good for them to use English and replace it, as long as they understand.

(From translated interview, Year 5 teacher, North School)

She did not think separating Japanese and English completely in her classroom to be supportive for students, who have mainstream education in English and live their lives in an environment where the two languages are used. Those teachers considered translanguaging effective and beneficial for students and used it intentionally to enhance students' understanding and engagement, as Hornberger (2005, p. 607) indicates;

bi/multilinguals' learning is maximized when they are allowed and enabled to draw from across all their existing language skills (in two + languages), rather than being constrained and inhibited from doing so by monolingual instructional assumptions and practices.

Since these students live their lives in English/Japanese bilingual settings, they learn most when they are allowed to use their full linguistic competence and range of semiotic resources across the languages.

It does not seem at all, however, that those experienced teachers using translanguaging as a pedagogic technique came into conflict with the head administrator, who told me that she asked teachers to conduct classes in Japanese at North School. Since bilingual families translanguage to construct meaning and their translanguaging does not have clear-cut boundaries between the languages (Creese & Blackledge, 2015; García, 2010), the teachers, administrator and students of this school are likely to use such translanguaging in their bilingual/multilingual domestic environments. Nevertheless, the teachers and the head administrator positioned the JHL school differently from their home environments, considering it a place where, ideally, they should keep English and Japanese separate for educational purposes. The experienced teachers certainly made an effort to conform to this ideal, but at times stretched the Japanese-only policy according to circumstances. Based on their experience and professional judgement, they seemed to apprehend how much they



should stay within the Japanese boundary and when to cross it in order to maximise their students' Japanese learning.

The head administrator understood the situation, commenting on the teachers as follows:

Extract 4.5

I ask teachers to use Japanese as much as possible, so that students can learn to replace (unknown words) with something in Japanese, but I'm not sure how they interpret this. I know the Year 1 teacher, for example, uses English when she wants to pass on something quickly. Teachers manage it all right and probably don't explain everything in English.

(From translated interview, head administrator, North School)

She herself is a mother of two teenaged students studying in this school and seemed to understand classroom situations where the Japanese-only policy prevails more or less but not completely. She trusted the teachers' interpretation and judgement regarding the Japanese-only policy and accepted their judgement on being flexible with their language use as long as they "don't explain everything in English".

The Year 4 teacher, who was new and the only male teacher, had a slightly different attitude and opinions from the other four experienced teachers, who had a positive mentality as regards mixing in English during the class. The following extract is from my fieldnotes in observing his class with 4 students aged between 13 and 15.

Extract 4.6 – Year 4 class, North School

The Year 4 teacher wants students to understand his Japanese-only policy thoroughly, but Suzu, particularly on this day, constantly speaks in English very casually. So, the teacher starts to record penalty points on the whiteboard for each student for speaking in English, although this does not seem to bother the students too much. The class atmosphere is very friendly and cheerful. However, he also wants them to express their opinions freely, therefore he allows them to speak in English when they are discussing their opinions. He seems to negotiate his Japanese-only policy with his other policy – to teach Japanese with fun. Although he recorded their penalty points, he didn't bother to count them up and announce the results at the end of the class.

(From fieldnotes)

This teacher tried hard to make his Japanese-only policy spread among his students. During casual chats after school, he told me several times that he wanted his students to enjoy studying Japanese since they studied it at the weekend in addition to mainstream school education and that he wanted to teach Japanese with fun. He seemed to balance this wish with his Japanese-only policy, giving contradictory instructions in this class. The next fieldnotes extract is from later in the same class.

Extract 4.7 – Year 4 class, North School

Teacher: これ、どういう意味？<What does it mean?>

(Then, Suzu keeps on explaining the meaning without pause in English.)

Teacher: はい、はい、はい、ストップ。先生英語わからないから、日本語で説明して。<OK, OK, OK, stop it. As I don't understand English please explain it in Japanese.>

Suzu: もういい。<Never mind.>

(Then, this interaction stops. The teacher changes the question and tries to explain it in a different way.)

(From fieldnotes)

Unlike the Year 3 teacher in Extract 4.2, he imposed his authority as a teacher and stopped Suzu from answering the question by drawing on her non-Japanese linguistic area. Prevented from crossing the clear boundary set up by the teacher between Japanese and English, the student was unable to find a way to continue, as a result of which she gave up on her interaction with him.

In his interview, he told me his opinion:

Extract 4.8

I often feel uncomfortable with students using English in the classroom. Actually, I do sometimes get very angry when you (the researcher) are not there. My stance is, for heaven's sake, if only in class, just think in Japanese and try to use the Japanese you know. [...] I encourage them not to use (English) and not to write in their notebooks in English. When they find something difficult, I encourage them to ask me, 'How do you say X in Japanese?' and then to use that Japanese word, but when I feel some word won't stick in their head, I let them write it in English, well, it can't be helped, but could you call this a way of remembering through translation? I wonder what would be the best way to describe it.

(From translated interview, Year 4 teacher, North School)

He seemed to have a strong belief in 'separate bilingualism' (Creese & Blackledge, 2011). He insisted on using only Japanese and had negative feelings toward his students' use of English during the class. As he created a clear boundary between the two languages, he could not set up "collaborative groupings that maximize translanguaging to learn" (García & Li, 2014, p. 93) in his classroom. Nevertheless, even he occasionally let students use "a way of remembering through translation" to enhance their engagement and could not help accepting translanguaging as useful to consolidate their memory.

In North School, teachers viewed the school as a learning place where they tried to impose Japanese and control their spontaneous translanguaging. Notwithstanding, the experienced teachers did not follow the Japanese-only policy lock, stock and barrel, but stretched it according to their students' reactions. They used translanguaging consciously as a pedagogic technique and, as a consequence, tapped into the rich seam of communicative resources that existed in themselves and their students. They considered translanguaging to be a beneficial pedagogy to enhance students' engagement and understanding as well as to ease stress.

Through translanguaging, teachers could elicit elaborated responses from students by such means as bilingual label quests and engage them by adopting a stance that gave students the initiative. I argue that a teacher needs experience and confidence to set up a translanguaging space for a pedagogical purpose and that translanguaging is a pedagogic competence.

#### **4.2.2. South School**

In South School, volunteer parents taught all the classes. Students aged from 5 or 6 to 11 or 12 are in primary school classes where *kokugo* textbooks are used in a relaxed way, while students over 11 or 12 are in two secondary school classes called GCSE class and AS class, where materials and past papers for GCSE Japanese exams or AS Japanese exams and other Japanese as a foreign language (JFL) materials are used. In my preliminary study (Mulvey, 2015), all the administrators of JHL schools having secondary school students and using GCSE or A level Japanese materials for them told me that it was very difficult to motivate secondary school students with *kokugo* textbooks and that they tended to lose the incentive to continue at JHL school without having one of these British qualifications to prepare for. The administrator of South School was one of these. North School was the only school having secondary school students while also continuing to use *kokugo* textbooks for them without preparing for the British qualifications at all.

At South School's beginning-of-term assembly every term, all the students were asked to use Japanese while they were at school on Saturday and teachers often discussed its Japanese-only policy in the teachers' meeting, thus I understood that this policy was considered to be particularly important in South School. My observations, however, show that teachers' practices differed depending on textbooks and materials used in their classrooms. During one teachers' meeting at the end of a term, which I was allowed to attend and observe, each class teacher reported on how their class had been over the term and how well or otherwise they had coped with students' English utterances in the classroom. The following extract is from fieldnotes I took during the meeting.

Extract 4.9 – Teachers’ meeting, South School

[...] Each class teacher starts to report on how her class was this term one after another. All the primary school teachers mention how their Japanese-only policy worked in their classes: some mentioned the names of students who couldn’t stop using English, or their regret at not being able to control their English, and others shared how they could manage to control their English. When the AS teacher is about to speak, the head teacher says, ‘they (secondary school teachers) don’t need to worry about students’ English as they don’t use *kokugo* textbooks’ (probably because they don’t have much time left and she wants to finish this individual report session as soon as possible, I guess) and everybody seems to agree. The two secondary school teachers just say a sentence each quickly and finish their turns. I realise that their Japanese-only policy applies only for classes using *kokugo* textbooks and secondary school teachers can ignore it because they don’t use *kokugo*.

(From fieldnotes)

My observations show that all the teachers teaching primary school classes with *kokugo* textbooks made great efforts not to use English during the class. However, the two teachers teaching secondary school classes with non-*kokugo* materials did not seem to mind using English at all. In attending this teachers’ meeting, I finally understood the reason why. Among parent-teachers, there seemed to exist a consensus on their Japanese-only policy, which applied only for classes using *kokugo* textbooks.

The following extract is from fieldnotes of the AS class. Two boys aged 16 and 17, who had taken their GCSE Japanese exams and were wondering if they would take the AS Japanese exam, were taught by a mother teacher. Figure 4 demonstrates *kanji* card samples used in this class.

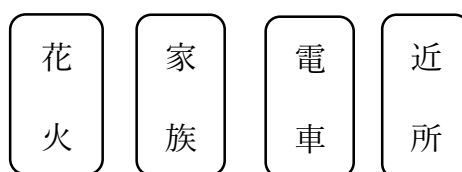


Figure 4: Kanji card samples

Extract 4.10 – AS class, South School

After the teacher scattered hand-made *kanji* cards (see Figure 4) on the big table, a *kanji* exercise game started. She tells students English, like ‘**train,**’ ‘**close by**’ or ‘**fireworks exhibition**’, and asks them to pick the card with the corresponding *kanji* word and read the word out loud. Most of the time the students can select the correct card, but sometimes they cannot read the word out loud. That means they know the meaning of a *kanji* word from the ideographs and can understand it in English, but not in Japanese. I find this game very novel because these kinds of exercises or games where a teacher uses English as the prime indications of an activity never happened in the primary school students’ classes, but it seems very effective. [...]

The teacher asked them to read aloud *kanji* compound words on the cards they took and to say the English meaning in turn. When a student couldn’t read a word, 家族 [kazoku] for example:

Teacher: **family**

Bob: あっ、かぞく <Oh, it’s [kazoku]>

When they cannot pronounce *kanji* compound words, the teacher quickly tells them the English, and they can often guess the pronunciation. They seem to have quite a large Japanese vocabulary. They simply cannot connect words they knew to the *kanji*, I think.

[...]

Teacher: 「家族に連絡する」の「連絡」の意味は？<what’s the meaning of [renraku] (meaning to contact) in [kazoku ni renraku suru] (meaning to contact one’s family)?>

Shin: **call?**

Teacher: まあ、そうだね。 **contact** のほうがいいかな。 <well, it’s ok. **contact** might be better>

The teacher mainly conducts the class in Japanese and communicates with students in Japanese, but uses English very flexibly during the class, unlike the primary school teachers. I think it might be because of the JFL materials she uses for the class.

(From fieldnotes)

*Kanji* exercise games in which the teacher used English initially were never witnessed in classes using *kokugo* textbooks. This is a type of bilingual label quest which was not used in *kokugo*-textbook-oriented classes in North School either, a bilingual quest from English to Japanese. It is notable that English to Japanese bilingual label quests were observed in secondary level classes only in activities related to *kanji* study. Such games seemed effective in enhancing students' engagement and to consolidate their *kanji* understanding. As English is the language in which they are most confident and comfortable, students could activate their entire repertoire smoothly when the teacher used English initially to bring out *kanji* words. Being an ideogram, each *kanji* has its distinctive shape and is a symbol presenting the idea of something without giving its sound. People can understand the meaning of 花, for example, to be a flower from its shape without necessarily knowing its pronunciation [hana] in Japanese or a pronunciation in Chinese. These Japanese/English bilingual students often do not understand the meaning of *kanji* and their compound words within the boundary of Japanese, but can grasp it by shuttling between languages "as an integrated system" (Canagarajah, 2011, p. 401) or beyond languages in a multisensory way, that is, through translanguaging. Translanguaging, therefore, can be seen as particularly significant for bilingual students in their study of *kanji*.

However, when using *kokugo* textbooks, teachers seemed to feel uncomfortable using English actively or bilingual label quests from English to Japanese. These textbooks seemed to have a powerful hold over them, being part of their own histories and strongly influencing their views on classroom practice. They grew up with them and experienced during their formative years the monolingual teaching style that occurred naturally for them. As shown in the fieldnotes Extract 4.9 in observing the teachers' meeting, I understood during the meeting that there was a tacit understanding among the teachers in this school that "secondary school teachers don't need to worry about students' English as they did not use *kokugo* textbooks". My observations show that the secondary teachers, not only the AS teachers but also the GCSE teacher, were somehow free from the *kokugo* influence, and could orient towards JFL teaching styles existing within the secondary education system in England since they used GCSE and AS exam materials.

Nevertheless, in the latter half of the extract above I felt that the parent-teacher was still influenced by the monolingual teaching style, positioning the whole JHL school as something associated with the Japanese education system. The secondary classes existed as an extension of the primary classes, through which both the teachers and their students had passed, while

the teachers had also experienced the full programme of Japanese schooling during their formative years in Japan. Except for *kanji* related activities, she used translanguaging in ways similar to those used by experienced teachers in North School in their *kokugo*-textbook-oriented classes: she asked students the meaning of a Japanese word, encouraging them to guess it in English – a bilingual label quest from Japanese to English - or she occasionally told them the English equivalent of a Japanese word or phrase so that they could understand it precisely. She tried to separate Japanese and English consciously and her translanguaging in the classroom was well controlled, although her attitude to it appeared more relaxed than that of the experienced teachers in North School.

The AS teacher told me in the interview:

Extract 4.11

I don't strictly tell my students not to use English in my classroom. Students, especially older ones, can explain certain things only in English, however hard they try to do so in Japanese, I think. Of course, I communicate in Japanese during the lesson, but when necessary, I also use English for explanation, as the students need English to a certain extent, to understand, I think [...] occasionally in primary school classes, once one student starts to speak in English all the others start to use only English. On such occasions, we have to put a stop to it. [...] As I myself can only say some things in English and others only in Japanese, the children are the same, I guess. (From translated interview, AS teacher, South School)

She had taught her son and other children for more than 10 years in this school and, as a Japanese immigrant living with her British husband in England for almost 20 years and raising their son in a bilingual environment, understood the students' linguistic practices and mentality very well. She herself found it difficult to say everything within the closed Japanese area after being settled in England for many years, saying "I myself can only say some things in English and others only in Japanese, the children are the same". She acknowledged her and the students' idiolects as being made up of English and Japanese without clear-cut boundaries. Since she did not use *kokugo* textbooks at all, it seemed as if she were released from the fetters of *kokugo*. Relying on her parental intuition and many years' experience as a parent-teacher, she could ascertain in a relaxed way how much she was allowed to ignore the Japanese-only rule in order to expand students' linguistic practice.



However, her utterance, “once one student starts to speak in English all the others start to use only English. On such occasions, we have to put a stop to it”, shows her negative feeling on the use of English in the classroom. In this school, speaking English in the class was considered an undesirable thing that ran the risk of spreading, almost like an infection, if not kept under control. During my fieldwork in this school, students in primary school classes occasionally started to speak completely in English excitedly, which was stopped by teachers eventually, as shown in the next extract, but such occasions never happened in the secondary school classes. This might have been because the students in these classes regarded Japanese study as profitable for them thanks to the existence of GCSE or AS Japanese exams in the secondary school educational system in England. I argue that the British examination system brought valuable benefits to a JHL programme. It helped parent-teachers break free from the limitations of *kokugo* and activate parental intuition on how to expand their bilingual children’s linguistic practice. It also bolstered students’ motivation to study Japanese at weekends.

The other teachers teaching primary school classes with *kokugo* textbooks, on the other hand, seemed to make great efforts not to use English during classes, regardless of students’ constant and casual spontaneous translanguaging. As demonstrated in the teachers’ meeting (see Extract 4.9), they reminded each other of this policy by discussing it in a teachers’ meeting every term, considering how to prevent an ‘English infection’ from spreading in the classroom. The following extract is from an upper primary A class with three girls and a boy aged 10 and 11, my key participant teacher’s class. This mother-teacher was also the head teacher, who chaired the teachers’ meeting. I observed this class repeatedly with and without audio recordings. The teacher, who used to be a secondary school science teacher in Japan before moving to the UK, always prepared classes carefully with various activities and could effectively control the four students, who were not very enthusiastic about learning Japanese.

The following extract is a common classroom interaction of this class.

Extract 4.12 – Upper primary A class, South School

1. Teacher: 教科書だしてください。 <please take out your textbooks>
2. Miho: **I had a nightmare with this story**
3. Teacher: はははは、本当？！ (laughing) <ha, ha, ha, ha, really?>
4. Aya: **my mum told me not to read it**

5. Teacher: そうなの? はははは。じゃあ、今日は、3枚のお札をもう一回読ん

で、それを漫画にしてもらいます。(laughing) <is that so? ha, ha, ha, ha.

well, today, we'll read 'Three Talismans' once again and then you will draw your *manga*>

6. Miho: (excitedly) **yes!**

7. Michiko: 漫画って何? <what's manga?>

8. Aya: 漫画って、なんかコミックみたいな。 (excitedly) <manga is

something like comics> **I thought you meant manga because like some [???] words that are the same for different things, so I thought that that manga could be like ...**

9. Teacher: 日本語で (Interrupting her in a friendly way) <in Japanese, please>

10. Miho: 日本語! (teasingly) <Japanese!>

11. Michiko: 日本語! (teasingly) <Japanese!>

(From classroom audio recording)

From repeated observations, I noticed that Miho and Aya used English very casually during the class and particularly Miho normally did not bother to speak Japanese, while Michiko and Takeshi, the only boy student in this class, tried to use Japanese. As Aya loved Japanese manga, she quickly answered Michiko's question in line 7 in the beginning in Japanese, continuing talking about it in English excitedly in line 8. The teacher normally overlooked their English to a certain extent although she herself reacted to them solely in Japanese, as in lines 3 and 5. However, as the AS teacher pointed out in her interview (see Extract 4.11), when students in primary school classes got too carried away in speaking exclusively in English, just like Aya in line 8, her teacher stopped it and reminded them in a friendly way that they should speak in Japanese during the class. This phenomenon was also observed in non-Japanese heritage language schools in England (Creese & Blackledge, 2011). Actually, other primary school class teachers for younger students constantly told their students to speak in Japanese during the class, but this teacher had to do so only occasionally. It seemed that the four students in this class were old enough to sense the degree of the teacher's Japanese-only policy and could normally manage to limit their English utterances to an extent

tolerable to her. Since Aya could not help getting too carried away with a topic of great interest to her and was eventually stopped by the teacher on this occasion, Miho and Michiko made fun of her in lines 10 and 11. Unlike the secondary school teachers, the teacher rarely used English no matter how much the students used English, particularly when using the *kokugo* textbook. This teacher as well as other primary school class teachers seemed to believe in language separation ideology in language education, particularly strongly when using the *kokugo* textbook. These textbooks are part of their history and linked to the teaching styles they themselves experienced in Japan as schoolchildren. While using *kokugo* textbooks, they seemed to believe firmly in the monolingual teaching style. They also regarded the JHL school as a site different to the home environment. Although translanguaging is everyday practice at home for bi-/multilingual families (Green & Li, 2014; Li, 2018; Otheguy et al., 2015; Otheguy et al., 2019), the school was viewed as an undesirable place to allow language overlap.

In one observed class, however, after studying a chapter on signs in the textbook, the teacher and the students talked about signs the students and teacher had collected in England. This extract started when the teacher showed the sign in Figure 5.



Figure 5: Sign used in the class

Extract 4.13 - Upper primary A class, South School

1. Miho: **disabled!**
2. Teacher: **disabled** だね、日本語でわかる？ <that's **disabled**, isn't it? do you know how we say that in Japanese?>
3. Miho: ディスエイブルド [di-su-ei-bu-ru-do] (English word 'disabled' said in Japanese pronunciation)

4. Teacher: (笑う) うまいけど、ちょっと違うな。 [...] なんの絵だと思う？  
(laughing) <that's great, but not really correct. [ ... ] what is it a picture of, do you think?>  
[...]
5. Miho: えっと、うごかない...人 <er, let's see ... [ugoku-nai hito] gloss: a person who cannot move>
6. Teacher: だから、うん、これ、何使ってるの？ <yes, therefore, what's this, what is the person using?>
7. Takesho: **wheelchair**
8. Teacher: **wheelchair** は日本語でなんていうか知ってる？ <what do we call a **wheelchair** in Japanese? do you know?>
9. Miho: ウィールチェアー [uii-ru- che- aa] (English word 'wheelchair' said in Japanese pronunciation)
10. Teacher: うん、**wheel** は... **wheel** じゃない、じゃあ **chair** は <yeah, what is **wheel**, ah no not **wheel**, what is **chair**?>
11. Takeshi: いす [isu] <chair >
12. Teacher: そう、いすでしょ <that's it. It's [isu] chair, isn't it?>
13. Miho: ウィール椅子の人たちだけ <only people with [uii-ru] (English word 'wheel' said in Japanese pronunciation) [isu] chair>
14. Teacher: それで **wheel** は？ <then what is **wheel**?>
15. Takeshi: 車椅子 <[kuruma isu] wheelchair> (he could guess the correct Japanese word for wheelchair)
16. Teacher: 車椅子なの 車椅子! <yes, it's [kuruma isu] wheelchair. [kuruma isu] wheelchair!>
17. Takeshi: えっ、あつてた!?! <really? am I right!?!> (crying out in surprise.)
18. Teacher: あつてた <yes, you got it right>
19. Takeshi: ハハハハハ <ha ha ha ha > (he laughs with joy.)

20. Teacher: **wheel** いすは車椅子ね、車椅子。だから、車椅子だけじゃなくって、**disable** は日本語でいろんな言い方があるんだけど... <**wheel** [isu] chair is [kurumaisu] wheelchair. [kuruma isu] wheelchair, but it's not just people in wheelchairs, we have various ways to say **disabled** in Japanese ... >
21. Miho: ええっと、車人 <let me see, uh... [kuruma hito] wheel person>
22. Teacher: 車人じゃないなあ。うん <not [kuruma hito] wheel person, no>
23. Takeshi: できない人 <[dekinai hito] incapable person>
24. Teacher: よく使うのが、身体障害者っていうの <what we often say is [shintai shougai sha] physically disabled person>
25. Miho: **no!** (she cannot accept this complicated and unknown word)
26. Teacher: **disabled** のこと <it means **disabled**>
27. Miho: もう直ぐ死ぬ人 <[mou sugu shinu hito] person who is about to die>
28. Teacher: それは違うよ！ <no, that's not correct!>
29. Michiko: できない人 <[dekinai hito] incapable person> (exactly the same word already said by the boy student in Line 23, but she didn't hear him say it then)
30. Teacher: うん、だって、例えば、目が見えなくてもちゃんと生きている人、いっぱいいるでしょ!?! <no, cos, for example, there are many people who cannot see but are perfectly capable, aren't there!?!>
- (From classroom audio recording)

In this lesson about signs the students and the teacher had collected from their everyday environment, my fieldnotes specify “a freer atmosphere” than in ordinary textbook-based lessons. Reacting to Miho’s English utterance in line 1, the teacher without hesitation uttered the English as well in line 2, using a kind of English to Japanese bilingual label quest, which I observed only this time in this class. The use of signs, semiotic resources which are used for communicative purposes in their living environment in England, may have prompted this classroom to become a more active translanguaging space than usual. Once the teacher ignored the boundary between English and Japanese, she could involve all four students in

the conversation and enhance their engagement. This could well be because she was familiar with students' everyday translanguaging as a mother.

The students came up with creative words making use of their knowledge of Japanese morphology through translanguaging, such as うごくない...人 [ugoku-nai hito] seen in line 5 and ウィール椅子 [uii-ru isu] in line 13, and finally in line 15 Takeshi could guess the correct Japanese word 車椅子 [kuruma-isu] for wheelchair, which encouraged them all to try harder to find the correct Japanese word for 'disabled'. They continued even after the teacher told them the correct Japanese word, 身体障害者 [shintai shougai sha], in line 24, since they could not accept this complicated and totally unknown word, and tried to find one that was acceptable to them. Through translanguaging and their knowledge of Japanese phonology – they knew that there are many Japanese words which are originally English or other non-Japanese words, but pronounced in a typical Japanese way, such as コーヒー [ko-o-hi-i] for coffee or ポケット [po-ket-to] for pocket – they also came up with other examples of creative words in lines 3 and 9, namely デイスエイブルド [di-su-ei-bu-ru-do] and ウィールチェア [uii-ru-che-aa]. Although the transcription shows that Miho and Takeshi were especially engaged, according to my fieldnotes all four students were very active and engaged. This class was one of the most successful classes among those I observed in terms of students' engagement. I noticed that all the students were more engaged and willing to speak Japanese during this lesson, compared to in the usual Japanese-only lessons in which the teacher tried her best to keep English and Japanese separate. I argue that these bilingual students learn most when they are allowed to use their full linguistic resources across languages and also in semiotic environments where they can communicate.

In South School, parent-teachers teaching primary level classes with *kokugo* textbooks struggled with their Japanese-only ideology and students' spontaneous translanguaging, seeing the situation as presenting a serious issue requiring a solution, while those teaching secondary level classes with JFL materials seemed as if they were released from the strict Japanese-only ideology accompanying the use of *kokugo* textbooks. They used translanguaging for the purpose of students' learning.

In a translanguaging space, bilingual students can activate their multiple discursive practices and make sense of their bilingual worlds (García, 2009; Li, 2011a). Therefore, in both South School and North School, when teachers used translanguaging as pedagogy, they

could enhance students' engagement. Regarding bilingual label quests, teachers in North School in their *kokugo*-textbook-oriented classes and secondary level teachers in South School frequently used them from Japanese to English, but bilingual label quests from English to Japanese were not observed at North School but only at South School when used by secondary level teachers to teach *kanji* in their JFL-material-orientated classes. Primary level class teachers in South School hardly used bilingual label quests when using *kokugo* textbooks. Ideological beliefs held by teachers in a certain translanguaging space may have affected how they employed translanguaging there. I will discuss ideological matters in Chapters 5 and 6.

### 4.3. Teachers' translanguaging to develop students' metalinguistic awareness

During my fieldwork, I witnessed several occasions where teachers' translanguaging had other effects apart from enhancing students' engagement and understanding. As a pedagogic technique, teachers created a translanguaging space where students could make the most of their full linguistic competence, what Vivian Cook calls 'multi-competence' (1995; Cook & Li, 2016) or what Li Wei names 'translanguaging instinct' (2016, 2018). In such a space, they could deepen their Japanese understanding or expand their Japanese practice slightly differently from those knowing only one language, because they could activate their metalinguistic awareness across languages. I will show such occasions from the Year 5 class in North School with the three girls aged 16 to 18.

The first extract is from one lesson when the teacher was talking about *haiku*, a Japanese short poem of seventeen syllables in 5-7-5 syllabic form. She showed one *haiku* poem, where sunflowers are described as if they are people.

Extract 4.14 – Year 5 class, North School

1. Teacher: こういう **metaphor** のこと、なんていうんだっけ？ <What do we call such a **metaphor**? >
2. Emi: **personification**? (she says uncertainly in a low voice and the teacher doesn't hear it)

3. Teacher: これさあ、ひまわりって人？人じゃないよね。ものだよね。ものを、人のようにいうから。 <Here, are sunflowers people? They are not, are they? They are non-human. Non-human things are described like human beings, so ...>
4. Emi: 日本語で？ <in Japanese?>
5. Teacher: うん <yup>
6. Hannah: 知らない。 <don't know>
7. Sanae: 人から、みたいに？人真似？ <something like, people's shape? gloss: mimicry of people?>  
(The teacher writes 擬人法 <personification> on the white board)
8. Hannah: え、その漢字まだ習ってない <oh, we haven't learnt that *kanji* yet.>
9. Teacher: ぎじんほうと言います。ね。こういう、人のように比喻を使う、比喻の一つだよ。 <we call it [gijin-hou] personification. Yes, it's a metaphor, like this, to use a metaphor like people>
10. Hannah: **So, it is personification.**
11. Teacher: うん、 **personification** で合ってるんだよ。 <Yeah, **personification** is correct>  
(From classroom audio recording)

Being secondary school students, the students had already learnt the concepts of ‘metaphor’ and ‘personification’ and their effects in their mainstream English education. As soon as the teacher used the English term ‘**metaphor**’ in line 1, this classroom became “a translanguaging space” (Li, 2011a, p. 1223). As translanguaging - multiple discursive practices where those bilingual students make sense of their bilingual worlds (García, 2009; Li, 2011a) - was activated, students could employ their multi-competence, which is not only “the compound state of a mind with two grammars” but also “the knowledge of more than one language in the same mind” (Cook & Li, 2016, p. 2). This is also described as ‘translanguaging instinct’ because these students, as Li (2018) points out, could “go beyond narrowly defined linguistic cues and transcend culturally defined language boundaries to achieve effective communication” (pp. 19-20) because they were familiar with both English



and Japanese. In this translanguaging space Emi thought immediately that what the teacher was talking about might be ‘**personification**’ in line 2 but did not insist when the teacher could not hear her, but just asked whether she should say the term ‘in Japanese’ in line 4. Sanae and Hannah did not know the Japanese term, either, but Hannah tried to make a word by connecting the concept she understood in English and make two Japanese terms creatively in line 7. The teacher realised that nobody knew the exact term, explaining more with the introduction of the Japanese term [gijin-hou] in line 9. Then Hannah noticed, ‘**So, it is personification**’ in line 10 and the teacher confirmed using the English term ‘**personification**’ in line 11. In this translanguaging space students could guess that the teacher was talking about personification in a Japanese poem, utilising their multi-competence, and all the students finally were convinced that this poem does adopt personification and learnt the new Japanese term [gijin-hou].

The next extract is from another occasion in the same class, where *keigo* - honorific expressions - was taught. *Keigo* is an important social tool and a vital part of Japanese culture, used to show respect towards those with whom one is communicating (Harada, 2017). These days, children in Japan rarely acquire *keigo* naturally, because linguistic hierarchy structures have been disappearing in their everyday life at home and school. Notwithstanding, linguistic hierarchy structures are still significant in Japanese society and adult members of society are expected to use such expressions. Therefore, many companies provide in-depth *keigo* training sessions for new employees, who have experienced it passively as customers in shops and restaurants, or heard it on TV or in *kokugo* classes, but tend not to be good at actively using it. During compulsory education in Japan, students learn types of *keigo* in primary school *kokugo* logically first, then systematize their knowledge of it through the study of detailed commentaries in secondary school *kokugo* (Harada, 2017). First, the definition of *keigo*, its categorization, and examples are to be learnt with Year 5 *kokugo* textbooks (MEXT, 2011).

The three girl students in the class observed had never studied *keigo* before, as *keigo* is taught in *kokugo* education for the first time in the chapter of the Year 5 textbook that was introduced on this day. The Year 5 class in this school follows almost the same year 5 syllabus as in Japan. In the extract, the teacher talks about humble forms and respect forms, two out of *keigo*’s three categories.

Extract 4.15 – Year 5 class, North School

1. Teacher: (After distributing handouts on honorific expressions) 敬語って何？  
<What are [keigo], honorific expressions?>

(All three students shrug their shoulders. It seems nobody has heard of the term.)

2. Teacher: 敬意を表すって書いてあるけど、敬意って何？ <The notes say ‘showing [keii]’ (meaning respect). What’s [keii] ?>

3. Hannah: わからない。 <don’t know>

4. Sanae: **polite?**

5. Teacher: **Respect** のほうがいいかな。自分よりできる人、年上の人を、できる人、年上の人を **respect** するってことだね。 <**Respect** is better. People who have more ability than ‘myself’, or seniors, it means to **respect** a senior or capable person.>

[...]

(After explaining the concept of honorific form briefly, the teacher asked students to do some exercises in the handout. The first exercise was to indicate for each sentence whether it uses humble forms, which lower ‘my’ position, or respect forms, which raise the interlocutor’s position.)

6. Teacher: 自分の行動が、謙譲。相手の行動が尊敬。そうだね、「伺う」をしているのは、誰？ <My own action is [kenjo] (meaning humble form) and my interlocutor’s action is [sonkei] (meaning respect form). Well, this [ukagau] (a humble form of go), who does this action?>

7. Sanae: 私。 <I do>

8. Teacher: そうだね、自分を低めることで、謙譲。じゃあ、召し上がるのは、誰？ <Yes, it makes my position low, so it’s a humble form. Then, how about [meshiagaru] (a respect form of eat), who does this action? >

9. Emi: 先生。 <The teacher does>

10. Teacher: だから、尊敬。 <Yes, therefore it’s a respect form.>

(The three can do all the exercises quickly without any mistakes.)

11. Teacher: (Impressed) あなた達、主語がよく分かるね。日本語は主語がない文が多く、主語を意識しないけど、英語では、いつも意識するから、日本語でもすぐにわかるんだね <(Impressed) You all understand the subject (of a sentence) very well, don't you? Many Japanese sentences do not have subject words, so people are not always aware of subjects, but you can understand subjects easily since you are always aware of them in English.>

12. Sanae: 主語って？ <What's a 'subject'?'>

13. Teacher: は、とか、が がつくこの部分が主語。「だれが」が主語、って考えたらいいからね。敬語、こんなにスムーズに行くとは思っていなかったんだよね。だれが主語って考えたら、尊敬と謙譲、簡単でしょ。 <This part, often with a particle [wa] or [ga], is a subject. You can think a subject is 'who'. I didn't expect you to understand *keigo* that smoothly. Isn't it easy to recognise a respect form or a humble form, if you think who does this action? >

14. Hannah: うん。 <Yeah>

16. Teacher: 日本の子供達でも、尊敬と謙譲の区別がつかないのよ。主語がだれって感覚がないから。 <Even children in Japan can't distinguish respect forms from humble forms easily. They are not aware of who does this action>

17. Emi: へえ。それは簡単だけど。 <Really? It's easy...>

Teacher: びっくりしちゃった。難しいのに、すごい！ <I am very impressed. It's difficult, but you are amazing!>

(From classroom audio-recording)

Since the students had learnt and used Japanese mainly in England, where they had hardly had any opportunity to be aware of its linguistic hierarchy system even passively, they had never even heard of the term *keigo*. However, as the teacher indicated in lines 11 and 13, to her surprise, these students could distinguish humble forms and respect forms logically and with ease. Since children in Japan were a benchmark for the teacher, in line 16 she was particularly surprised that her students could easily do what children in Japan find difficult. According to her, they could easily find agents of action in *keigo*, because they were accustomed to clarifying them as subjects in English sentences, while Japanese young people find it difficult to indicate them because subjects in Japanese sentences are often omitted and

they do not always pay attention to agents of action. In thinking of *keigo* sentences logically, it is important to indicate agents of action.

Just as in the previous extract, in the first half of this extract the teacher and the students confirmed the meaning of a new concept, *keigo*, through their translanguaging interactions. Since nobody had even heard of the term *keigo* and all looked puzzled, the teacher replaced it with a different Japanese phrase and asked ‘What’s [keii]?’ in line 2, a bilingual label quest from Japanese to English. Sanae guessed it can be ‘**polite**’ in English in line 4, and the teacher explained further in Japanese to clarify the precise meaning, adding a key word in English, ‘**respect**’, in line 5. Since “a translanguaging space” was created in this classroom where students could employ their multi-competence, or translanguaging instinct, the teacher’s instruction, “my own action is humble form and my interlocutor’s action is respect form”, prompted metalinguistic awareness of ‘agents of action’ across the languages. As a result of this, the students could distinguish the two forms very easily. In a translanguaging space, students’ language practices allow them to develop a more sophisticated metalinguistic awareness that enables them to negotiate extended linguistic repertoires (García & Li, 2014), which is precisely the phenomenon observed in this classroom. I argue that they could smoothly understand the concept of *keigo* thanks to their translanguaging instinct “innate capacity for acquiring languages” (Li, 2018, p. 24) since they were aware of differences among Japanese and English languages.

#### **4.4. Conclusion of the chapter**

In the classrooms, where the two named languages, Japanese and English, were used, the teacher and students constructed a translanguaging space through mutual interactions. In such a space, students could use not only linguistic resources across languages, but also metalinguistic awareness across languages and overall knowledge acquired in both mainstream school and JHL school, and develop a more sophisticated metalinguistic awareness, which consolidated their Japanese understanding and expanded their linguistic practices.

In a translanguaging space, I argue that students can activate their full range of linguistic resources and knowledge obtained across languages and not only enhance their engagement and understanding but also develop their metalinguistic awareness. Bilingual students can learn better and more effectively in such a space than in a monolingual environment. Thus, teachers’ translanguaging is a beneficial pedagogy to reinforce their learning for students

living in bilingual/multilingual settings. However, teachers need experience and confidence to make the most of translanguaging for pedagogic purposes. They need to negotiate the Japanese-only policy circulating in these schools assuredly and to give up their authority, providing a less hierarchical relationship with students. Translanguaging is associated with bilingual/multilingual students' learning (Hornberger, 2005), but I argue that it is also correlated with teachers' pedagogic competence and confidence.

In South School, there existed significantly different attitudes between the teachers using *kokugo* textbooks and those conducting classes without. It might be difficult for the former to change dramatically from a monolingual teaching style as long as these textbooks are in use, even if they understand that their English/Japanese bilingual students living in England are different from how they were themselves when they were young in Japan. I found that preparing to sit exams for the Japanese language qualifications in the British secondary education system provided benefits to a programme at a JHL school. Firstly, it enabled teachers to move away from their memories of the monolingual teaching style they had been brought up with, freeing them to activate their intuition as parents and as experienced JHL teachers who were familiar with the linguistic practice of English/Japanese bilingual students settled in England, and thus to create actively a translanguaging space for students to expand their linguistic ability effectively in the classroom. Secondly, the exam preparation programme also motivated students who could not find meaning in studying *kokugo* textbooks in the context of their lives in England and gave them a clear goal in attending weekend school.

## **Chapter 5. Centrifugal ideology: Positive ideological orientation towards differences**

### **5.1. Introduction**

The previous chapter discusses translanguaging as language practice, “what people actually do”, while this chapter as well as the next one explores language ideologies, “what people think should be done” (Gottlieb, 2012; Spolsky 2004, p. 14). Various ideologies coexist and occasionally come into conflict with each other at North School and South School, resulting in distinct programmes and linguistic practices. Since the two schools had very distinct natures and different motives behind their establishment, I initially tried to identify different ideological beliefs in each school. In doing so, however, I realised eventually that there exists a significant overlap of ideologies between the two.

As discussed in the previous chapter, teachers viewed the JHL schools as places where language overlap should be curtailed, trying to teach Japanese as a bounded language as much as possible with the Japanese-only policy born in mind. At the same time, however, they also used translanguaging to enhance students’ engagement, understanding and metalinguistic awareness. The ideological beliefs behind these contrasting practices are examined in this chapters and the next.

In discussing such ideologies, I adopt Bakhtin’s (1981) concepts of centrifugal and centripetal forces, which are seen to exert conflicting pressures on a language, the former pulling towards change and diversity, the latter trying to conserve a language in a fixed, standard form. Something of a struggle between such opposing forces was clearly detected in both schools. This chapter deals with ideology influenced by the centrifugal force while the influence of the centripetal force on ideology is discussed in Chapter 6.

The term translanguaging has become “multifaced” and “multilayer polysemic” (Leung & Valdés, 2019, p. 365) and is not only language practice but also a theory or a way of thinking about bilingual people and their language practice (Blackledge & Creese et al., 2017; Creese & Blackledge, 2010; García, 2009; García & Li, 2014; Leung & Valdés, 2019). This chapter examines translanguaging as an ideological viewpoint, unlike the previous chapter where it is explored as language practice for communication or pedagogic purposes. Translanguaging

can be seen as a positive ideological orientation towards differences, allowing bi-/multilinguals to learn flexibly through two or more languages without separating languages (Lewis et al., 2012). Translanguaging recognises value in a heteroglossic language ideology, regards bilingualism not in a negative way but as a community resource in its own right and can possibly remove the hierarchy among different language practices, which assumes that some language practices have more value than others (Bailey, 2007; García, 2009).

## 5.2. Superdiversity and JHL schools in England

My preliminary study (Mulvey, 2015) discovered *hoshuko* to be an indexical sign in JHL schools in England serving as a benchmark for ‘authentic’ Japanese, because the *hoshuko* system has a strong ideological core linked to the Japanese school system, Japanese government policy and one-language-one-nation *kokugo* ideology. The head administrator of North School told me that she and the founder went to a *hoshuko* to observe classes and talk to its principal before starting the school since their aim was to create something like *hoshuko* in their area. In her interview during my preliminary study in 2015, she talked about this visit.

The principal made discriminatory remarks against half-Japanese children, not really direct discrimination, but something like “you shouldn’t take it for granted that every child can receive the same education as children in Japan.” From the beginning I didn’t mean to, and also physically couldn’t, take my children there, but I thought even more strongly that I don’t need to send them there (Mulvey, 2015, p. 20).

She was clearly upset with the attitude of the principal, who, she felt, made discriminatory remarks against the ‘half-Japanese’ children who were due to attend North School, and made a fresh determination to create a programme for those children. At the school they went on to set up, she attempted to reproduce parts of *hoshuko*, which can be seen as the obvious reference point for schools in Japan, but concurrently aiming to create something new that was suitable for children not catered for by the *hoshuko* system in order to enhance their Japanese competence in the UK context. North School took the form that it did because *hoshuko* was not considered appropriate for various children with Japanese heritage, particularly children with mixed parentage. *Hoshuko* is a type of worldwide schooling designed for children of temporary sojourners to prepare them for their return to Japan by teaching them the Japanese national curriculum at weekends (Doerr & Lee, 2009) and they

are the only weekend overseas Japanese schools for children with Japanese background that the Japanese government supports. We can get an idea of the ideological stance *hoshuko* take from literature and from this extract showing the administrator's feeling towards them. I argue that *hoshuko* have implemented ideologies imposed by the Japanese government, which sees temporary overseas sojourners as beneficial resources for the country just like residents of Japan, and unlike those who have settled abroad with no intention of returning to Japan.

What came to be South School, on the other hand, started in a manner very different from North School. It was established with the aim of reproducing 'a local Japan' for Japanese mothers who had decided to settle in England to lead a new life with their non-Japanese partners and felt isolated with their toddlers at home. Those mothers needed a place to meet other Japanese mothers so that they could communicate exclusively in Japanese and share their culture, language and values. Since their opportunities to speak Japanese were decreasing in their life with their non-Japanese partners in England, they might have felt they were disconnected from Japan and from being Japanese.

These phenomena can be explained with Bakhtin's (1981) concept of the chronotope – time space configurations, which theorizes about "alternative discursive constructions and representations of social life" (Woolard, 2013, p. 211) and is linked to different identities and personalities (Agha, 2007c; Woolard, 2013) and "patterns of cultural practices" (Blackledge et al., 2016, p. 45). These mothers experienced what Bakhtin (1981, p. 111) calls "adventure-time of everyday life", which led to their "metamorphosis" or changes in chronotope (Woolard, 2013). While trying hard to adapt to their new lifestyles it could be argued that centrifugal forces were having an effect in their lives and causing them to feel that they were moving away from their Japanese identity. I argue that they actively attempted to change their chronotope, in response to a centrifugal force, by creating a new place, the gathering for Japanese mothers, in a city in England and to maintain their Japanese identity.

Their meetings became regular and they started to organise Japanese cultural activities and events for toddlers. Consequently, the meetings developed into the form of the current Saturday school as the children grew up and reached school age. Thus, right from the beginning, the aims of South School seemed to be to maintain the Japanese identity of the parents, while also passing it on to their children. Given the original impulse behind the formation of the mothers' group, there had naturally existed two ideological norms in this school since its foundation: firstly, to create an inclusive Japanese community in the area for



any Japanese parents and their children, and, secondly, to secure a place where the Japanese-only ethos could be cultivated.

During a preliminary research visit to South School in 2015, I had an opportunity to speak with the first head administrator, one of the founders of this school. She said:

We used to say, ‘please go to [place where a *hoshuko* is located] if you want to make your children study hard’ [...] but I think the present mothers probably want to have the equivalent of a *hoshuko* in [area name] (Mulvey, 2016, p. 22).

The founders established an easy-going school programme to teach Japanese language and culture when their children reached school age so that a diverse range of children with Japanese background could study comfortably there. Unlike North School’s founders, from the very beginning they disregarded the *hoshuko* programme, considering it only suitable for people who wanted their children to study Japanese as rigorously and seriously as those in Japan. Although they suggested to parents who did not agree with such an easy-going approach that they should consider going to *hoshuko* instead, she told me later that nobody had actually made such a move as far as she remembered. However, according to her, the mothers of children who had joined the school more recently tended to expect a more serious *hoshuko*-style programme. Thus, there existed ideological tensions in this school and *hoshuko* always acted as a key benchmark representing certain ideological beliefs on the nature of the Japaneseness to be passed on to their children. It seemed that *hoshuko* ideology was resisted by the founders but tended to be looked on favourably by mothers of students in subsequent years. It would appear, therefore, that while the concept of *hoshuko* existed for some parents indexing a certain Japaneseness that they thought should be passed on there and the seriousness that they thought should be given to teaching Japanese, it was not, in fact, strong enough as a factor for them to decide to send their children to a nearby *hoshuko* instead of South School.

The phenomena related to the establishment of both schools can also be seen through the lens of superdiversity, which is about “a range of changing variables surrounding migration patterns, which amount to a recognition of the complexities of societal diversity” (Blackledge & Creese et al., 2017, p. 4) and “brings people into contact and proximity with differences” (Blackledge & Creese et al., 2017, p. 11). Japanese expatriate communities have changed dramatically since the Japanese government set up the *hoshuko* system in the 1970s, when only a limited number of Japanese people - such as the employees of large corporations or

academics on sabbatical - thought of living abroad. *Hoshuko*, which teach the age-appropriate Japanese curriculum at weekends, made it easier for such people to move temporarily overseas as these schools enabled children to keep up with the Japanese curriculum and so re-join the Japanese school system smoothly on their return to Japan. Compared to that era, however, now a much wider range of Japanese people have the opportunity to live abroad and choose to do so for all sorts of reasons, such as to study on a huge variety of courses and programmes, to work in varied areas, to start a new life with their non-Japanese partners, or simply to look for a different lifestyle. Consequently, more and more people have no clear intention of going back to Japan after moving overseas, so *hoshuko* are not necessarily suitable for all children of Japanese background living outside Japan. Empirical research in the US (Kano, 2013) points out that the *hoshuko* curriculum is not only unnecessary, but also inaccessible for many children of those who have no clear intention of returning to Japan.

Thus, we can say that the phenomenon of superdiversity is evidenced by and occurring in small Japanese communities abroad. I argue that JHL schools emerged as an alternative to *hoshuko* in response to educational needs arising from the superdiversity of Japanese communities abroad. At *hoshuko*, the fixed curriculum they teach comes first and all students and parents have to accept it as it is and conform to it. JHL schools, on the other hand, tend to make flexible programmes to suit children and parents. The more diverse the group of children with Japanese heritage becomes, the more strongly the programmes of JHL schools are likely to be affected by a centrifugal force, while the *hoshuko* programme is governed by, and is itself, a centripetal force that is immune to the diversification of Japanese communities.

During my ethnographic fieldwork at the two schools, all the children had one Japanese parent and a non-Japanese parent and most Japanese parents were mothers, as mentioned in the methodology chapter (see 3.2.2. Research participants). The head administrator of South School indicated in the interview:

Extract 5.1

Most mothers came here (to England) to study or something and got to know their husbands here. Yeah, most didn't meet their husbands in Japan. Some husbands don't like Japan. I'm extremely lucky that I met my husband in Japan.

(From translated interview, head administrator/new class teacher, South School)

She met her husband in Japan while he was working there for five years, which she felt very lucky about, as he can understand some Japanese and is willing to let her and their children speak Japanese at home. Once I was invited to their house for a family dinner and had a friendly chat in Japanese at the table, where the administrator, a very talkative person, talked a lot in Japanese while the two children and her husband occasionally reacted briefly in Japanese to what she said. I did not feel then that they were making a special effort to speak Japanese because of me but felt it to be their everyday home language, though the children and the husband may have talked more actively without me being present. She told me that she could not speak English well when she first met him in Japan and that they had had a habit of talking in Japanese since then. She emphasised that her situation was exceptional among Japanese mothers in South School because most had met their husbands outside Japan.

I was also invited for a family lunch by the head administrator of North School, having an opportunity to observe her family language with her British husband and two teenaged girls studying at North School. She told me that she had met her husband while she was studying at university in England. On the day I visited, he had prepared lunch when we arrived there after school. Although he did not understand Japanese at all, he seemed very interested in the North School activities and to think highly of his wife's devoted efforts for the school. At the table, therefore, we mainly talked about North School in English. Although it felt a bit strange for me to be speaking in English to the administrator and their children, I did so because I did not want to exclude the husband from the conversation. After lunch, while he was in the kitchen washing up, the administrator and I remained at the table and talked in Japanese. When the daughters came back, she talked to them in Japanese with the daughters replying mostly in English. Thus, I built up a picture of their home language use. It seemed they all communicated mainly in English when the husband was present, but she talked in Japanese to the children when he was not present, while the daughters mostly spoke English at home. Although the head administrators of both North School and South School believed in the importance of Japanese parents speaking in Japanese to their children, I found their family language practices to be very different from each other, depending on the conditions under which they had met their husbands and how they and their husbands shaped together their home language use involving their children.

My fieldnotes, where all informal interviews are recorded, and interview data in both schools show that most Japanese parents met their British or other non-Japanese partners in the UK, while some met in Japan or in completely different countries. Some children having

a Japanese parent and a non-British non-Japanese parent had been exposed to Japanese and a non-English language at home while receiving mainstream education in English. There was great variety in the ways the Japanese parents had met their non-Japanese partners, came to live in an English city and became involved in a JHL school. Education is identified as a significant factor influencing their mobility, in that many of the Japanese parents left Japan originally to pursue their studies and then went on to meet their future partners as a result. International partnership was one of the main reasons for these Japanese to migrate to the UK and their lifestyles differed greatly depending on who they and their partners were and on how, when and where they had met. The varying “timespace configurations” (Blommaert & De Fina, 2017, p. 1) they had experienced affected their lifestyles and beliefs. In this world of mobility, the UK is not necessarily their fixed residence, and some keep moving. Depending on their beliefs and wealth, some parents chose for their children to receive mainstream education in a different language from the local language. One mother told me that her daughter hardly spoke Japanese at home although she had lived in Japan for five years as she had gone to an international primary school there. Another mother told me that ‘language’ her two children used differed greatly, identifying her elder son as ‘a Japanese native speaker’ and her younger daughter as ‘an English native speaker’. She and her British husband had sent the son to a full-time Japanese primary school for six years while the family lived in Taiwan, but educated the daughter within the British mainstream education system since they had moved to England, her husband’s home country, when she was one. Thus, we even see “superdiversity of family structure” (Zhu & Li, 2016, p. 656), different sociocultural experiences and language practices existing among siblings in the same household.

Different family language use among people with a connection to JHL schools can be explained with the concept of chronotope. I argue that different chronotopic frames among Japanese parents and teachers, their different time-space configurations, led to different development of their social practice including their home language.

My fieldnotes and interview transcriptions record more anecdotes revealing varied time-space configurations, the diverse life histories and trajectories of Japanese parents/teachers as immigrants to the UK. One mother told me that she and her daughter had intended to be in Japan for a short period so that the daughter could experience Japanese primary school for a month, but that they ended up staying there almost five years, separated from her European husband who remained in England, as the mother happened to find a job in Japan and the daughter really loved the school there. A teacher teaching at a JHL school for many years, and sending her daughter there as well, suddenly decided to move to Egypt, because her

European husband had found a new job there. A Japanese father who intended to stay in the UK permanently with his children and British wife, working in a permanent position in a UK company, moved to Japan with the family when the company transferred him to its newly-opened Tokyo branch. One mother, who was one of the most enthusiastic leading parents at a JHL school, told me that she would not be able to send her children to the school anymore and would have to leave the school, since she had divorced her British husband, who would look after their children at weekends.

Whenever or wherever they relocated “across a broader geographical and social landscape” (Woolard, 2013, p. 221), these people were changing while adapting themselves to different environments and different views around them. In encountering what Bakhtin calls the “adventure-time of everyday life”, they experienced “metamorphosis”, shifts in chronotope (1981, p. 111; Woolard, 2013), which led them to the adoption of different practices and perhaps influenced their personalities or identities in some way. The phenomenon of superdiversity is occurring in small Japanese communities abroad and, moreover, further diversification is occurring inside each JHL school. The concept of superdiversity challenges the stereotypical view of a Japanese ethnic community abroad as a homogeneous whole.

### **5.3. Positive ideological orientation towards differences**

This section examines how people in each JHL school perceived their school’s diversity and responded to it. Conviviality is a useful notion in exploring “how, and under what conditions, people constructively create modes of togetherness” (Blackledge & Creese et al., 2017, p. 12) and is helpful in explaining some of the observations that follow. The situation in North School is discussed first, followed by that in South School.

#### **5.3.1. North School**

In the interview during my preliminary study in 2015, the head administrator explained the school’s initial situation:

We had some students who couldn’t understand teachers’ instructions in Japanese at all. A mother sat next to her child in the classroom and interpreted all in English for him. She meant to give him support, but it was not at all helpful for him. We also had some young children who couldn’t sit and listen to the teachers though they could

read and write *hiragana* perfectly. We used to have those kinds of children (Mulvey, 2015, p. 30).

She described the initial situation when some parents with different expectations and beliefs about the purpose of the school sent their children there. Some were so keen for their children to learn Japanese that they taught them Japanese syllabaries perfectly at home and sent them to North School even though they were too young to sit and listen to a teacher quietly. Others, on the other hand, sent children who did not use Japanese at home and did not understand teachers' Japanese instructions. She clearly did not agree with the behaviour of some mothers who sat next to their children in the classroom and interpreted all in English for them, saying, "it was not at all helpful". Due to this diversity she found it difficult to pursue her beliefs, which will be discussed in detail in Chapter 6.

Therefore, in its Open Day information document the school started to specify the sort of students it aimed to enrol. It says:

#### Extract 5.2

Our programme is for school-aged children attending local schools who are able to participate in class activities, and – ideally – for those who can read and write *hiragana* by the time they start our course in September and those who can understand classes conducted in Japanese or at least those who are eager to learn oral Japanese.

(From translated Open Day information, North School)

In order to maintain its identity, the school tried to limit the effects of diversity. The requirements are described as desirable requirements and even if some do not meet them, they are still allowed to study there as long as they are "eager to learn oral Japanese". This shows a certain tension between the school's dual missions: to provide education to enhance students' Japanese ability in an exclusively Japanese environment while also accepting a wide range of students, as long as they are keen to study.

Although the school attempted to limit its diversity, my observations show that classes were not necessarily conducted solely in Japanese due to the attendance of a few students who did not understand Japanese instructions. In the Year 1 class for example, Shin, aged 12, could hardly understand his teacher's Japanese. The Year 1 teacher talked about Shin in her interview:

### Extract 5.3

We have various students... most students in my Year 1 class are young (aged 6 or 7) and have used Japanese or have been exposed to Japanese since they were little, but now a 12-year-old student, Shin, is in my class. When he came to our open day in September, two years ago, he didn't understand Japanese at all, since his Japanese parent is his father. A minimum requirement to enter our school is to be able to understand Japanese (instructions), and to have mastered *hiragana* readings before starting the school. We've made it a rule and invite students who can do so to start Year 1. Though Shin didn't really understand Japanese instructions, he tried his best and mastered *hiragana* readings perfectly in 6 months, and so we invited him to have a go.

(From translated interview, Year 1 teacher, North School)

The above extract suggests the teacher might have had some sort of gender prejudice, assuming that it is mainly mothers that communicate with children at home but not really fathers. While gender-related issues appear across the data in various ways, they are not pursued in the present study, the prime focus of which is on language and pedagogy. It is an area, however, worthy of future study.

She felt, due to the fact that his Japanese father was busy working outside the home, that Shin had hardly been exposed to Japanese at home, but he himself was keen to learn Japanese even in the Year 1 class together with much younger students. The school accepted him as he showed eagerness to learn Japanese. Here, two of the school's ideologies can be seen coming into conflict – the aspiration to conduct classes exclusively in Japanese on the one hand, and, on the other hand, the aspiration to create an inclusive Japanese community. These opposing ideologies can also be described respectively in terms of centripetal and centrifugal forces. In the dilemma over the enrolment of Shin, we can see that the centrifugal force came out on top. We also get a glimpse here of the diversity of Japanese parents at JHL school. One norm prevailing widely among Japanese parents running JHL schools is the belief that children need parents who want them to become bilingual and who can spend time and effort to reach that goal (Shibata, 2000). Literature on Japanese as a heritage language education highlights Japanese parents as the motivators with their children generally having low motivation. In Shin's case, however, this standard model is turned upside down as it appears that he, himself, rather than his Japanese parent was the motivator. Shin chose to study Japanese at

North School of his own free will despite the fact that there may have been little or no Japanese input from his Japanese parent at home.

The following extract is from fieldnotes of the Year 1 class. As the teacher mentioned in the interview, most students were aged 6 or 7, ages for Year 1 in Japan, but a few were older. Shin, a 12-year-old student, was the oldest in this class.

Extract 5.4. – Year 1 class, North School

1. Teacher: からを割る。からって英語で何？ <it breaks [kara] (meaning a shell) how do you say [kara] in English?>

2. Saki: **shell**.

3. Teacher: そうだね。 <Yes, that's it.>

[...]

4. Teacher: どんなくちばしですか。 どんなって言われたら **What is it like?** だね。

<What is the beak like? If somebody says [donna], they mean 'what is it like? don't they? > (She explains the meaning of some expressions in English. She may feel some students need an English explanation.)

[...]

5. Teacher: みつを吸います。 みつは、 **nectar** だね。 <It sucks [mitsu] (meaning nectar). [Mitsu] means **nectar**, doesn't it?>

[...]

She often moves around the room, checks students' notebooks and gives individual comments and support. She occasionally goes near an older student, Shin, (who looks like a secondary school student) and explains difficult words or instructions to him individually in English in a low voice so that the others cannot hear. Another boy keeps answering her in English and doesn't obey her instruction, 'try to say that in Japanese'. It seems she tries not to scold over minor matters. Other students, on the contrary, know difficult words, much more sophisticated words than ones used in the textbook. Very casually, she asks them a challenging question in Japanese. She can control and manage diverse students in this class very well, making for a friendly and positive atmosphere.

(From fieldnotes)



The teacher tried to pay attention to all the ten students constantly, and used different types of strategy, including translanguaging to support different students on an ad hoc basis. Line 1 is a bilingual label quest (Martin, 2005) in which the teacher requests students in one language to provide a label in another, just as discussed in the previous chapter (see 4.2.1. North School, 4.2. Teachers' translanguaging to enhance students' engagement and understanding). Her label quest in this situation, however, had an additional function. She directed the question "how do you say [kara] in English" to specific students, asking them to say the word in English, unlike most label quests observed in this school. She wanted some students, like Saki, who offered the label in English in line 2, to give the meaning precisely, to make sure they knew it, as seen in other frequently used bilingual label quests, but she also wanted to give additional support to other students who needed English input. By hearing Saki say a key word in English, "Shell" (line 2), those students could understand the context. This bilingual label quest thus had two functions: it gave some students an opportunity to clarify the meaning precisely and, at the same time, provided others who could not understand the text very well with assistance in English.

After asking in Japanese *どことなくちばしですか* <What is the beak like?> in line 4, she gave the meaning of a question word [donna] as 'what is it like?' in English. She gave the English equivalent, 'nectar', in line 5 as well. This is another typical pedagogic usage of translanguaging observed frequently in all the experienced teachers' classrooms, as reported in the previous chapter. The last paragraph of the fieldnote, however, shows the way the teacher catered for diverse students in the classroom individually. She gave personal support in a subtle way to Shin, who needed extra English instructions, and overlooked another boy's constant English utterances to a certain degree. For students completing all tasks, on the other hand, she asked a challenging question in Japanese, maintaining a friendly class atmosphere where all the students could learn Japanese positively and in a challenging way. As an experienced teacher, she could deal with heterogeneity in this class well with her class management skill and translanguaging. I argue that translanguaging was a means to manage diversity in this classroom and also a positive orientation to accept differences.

In spite of North School's attempt to limit linguistic diversity among its students, a wide range of language abilities and attitudes among students could be observed. Therefore, in the classroom, teachers needed to find ways to manage this diversity. Although teachers tried to uphold the Japanese-only policy in classes, my classroom observations also show that teachers allowed students to go beyond the language boundaries and learn Japanese in

flexible ways without separating languages and that they themselves used translanguaging as pedagogy, as discussed in the previous chapter.

The Year 1 teacher referred to her classroom policy at North School in the interview, indicating the difference from *hoshuko* policy.

#### Extract 5.5

There are clear differences from *hoshuko*. *Hoshuko* are for returnee children coming from Japan and going back there and provide classes for supplementary lessons, so not really for *kokusaiji* <international children>. They can demand the same things schools in Japan do and also should do so. North School doesn't have such restraints at all, and freely ah ..., can adopt anything easily, anything for children to cope with Japanese language well and happily. We can do anything we consider good without worrying. That's what North School can do.

(From translated interview, Year 1 teacher, North School)

The term *kokusaiji*, interpreted literally as international children, is widely used by teachers in several *hoshuko* in England, I have noticed, and refers to children with international married/partnered parents who have settled in England without having a clear intention of returning to Japan, while children intending to return to Japan having both Japanese parents are often referred to as *Nihon-jin*, Japanese people, there. Although the term *kokusaiji* generally has positive connotations, acknowledging the potential richness of an intercultural upbringing, in the context of *hoshuko* in England, I have had an impression that it can sometimes include the implication of being unsuitable for study at *hoshuko* due to a perceived likelihood of insufficient Japanese language ability and Japanese identity arising from having lived outside Japan and also from having developed non-Japanese language abilities and identities. I heard several *hoshuko* teachers talking about the difficulty of having *kokusaiji* in their classes on different occasions. I could see that the Year 1 teacher used the term with this specific connotation.

As an experienced teacher at school in Japan as well as at a *hoshuko* and at North School, the Year 1 teacher positioned *hoshuko* as places where teachers are expected to enforce the same policy and ideologies as schools in Japan do, no matter how great the differences among students, including *kokusaiji*, in the classroom, while in North School teachers “can adopt anything easily, anything for children” with different language abilities and attitudes “to cope with Japanese language well and happily” “without worrying” about the Japanese

government's policy or ideologies. She appreciated North School, where she was free to accommodate differences among students and deal with them positively, which was not an option for her at *hoshuko*. She chose North School, not *hoshuko*, for her own children to study Japanese.

The teacher explained her classroom practice in the interview, saying:

Extract 5.6

I try to use English a bit so that everyone can understand. I try to pay attention to students' feelings, so that they will not feel that Japanese is something fearful, scary or impossible.

[...]

According to the rule we've made, we should be able to explain everything in Japanese in class, but it depends on the students in each class. Students like Shin cannot really understand the class unless I use English. They must be happy to be able to understand the class through the English I use, rather than not to understand it at all, mustn't they? If they are happy, they can steadily improve their Japanese, I hope. I try to use (English) whenever I can use it as a tool like that.

(From translated interview, Year 1 teacher, North School)

In this way she showed a positive perspective toward differences in the classroom. She accepted diverse students with different linguistic abilities as they were, allowing them to learn Japanese flexibly, making the most of their individual linguistic and communicative resources. She cared about students' feelings and aimed to make a classroom atmosphere where all the students felt happy, namely, a translanguaging space (García, 2009; Li, 2011a), where teachers and students can engage through diverse and multiple meaning-making systems. As described in the fieldnote extract of her classroom practice (see Extract 5.4), she occasionally crossed the border between Japanese and English on purpose and used translanguaging as a tool to provide an inclusive classroom learning environment. She articulated her perspectives on her classroom practice, demonstrating her positive acceptance of difference.

She continued explaining her classroom practice.

### Extract 5.7

Every parent has a different idea about what they want their children to be like in the future, I think. I don't intend to train the children to behave well by being strict. I just want them to have caring feelings for each other, as people in a school or as classmates studying together. It's difficult, I think, how shall I put it, what I want them to be like is only my personal feeling, from my biased viewpoint.

(From translated interview, Year 1 teacher, North School)

When she was a primary school teacher in Japan, she must have trained her students to behave well in accordance with Japanese values by being strict. After migrating to England, however, she acknowledged the diverse views of parents and did not think it appropriate to follow the rituals and routines established in the Japanese educational system in order to teach special Japanese values. She clarified here the reason why she had a positive view towards students' differences in the classroom and accepted them as they were. It is because she acknowledged that "every parent has a different idea about what they want their children to be like in the future", a factor at the root of her students' different linguistic practices, and a phenomenon that can be described in terms of chronotope. Blommaet & De Fina (2017, p. 4) point out that "changes in timespace arrangements trigger complex and sometimes massive shifts in roles" or "criteria for judgment of appropriate versus inappropriate behaviour". As a Japanese emigrant who left Japan and chose to settle in England, the Year 1 teacher recognised that Japanese parents in this school had experienced various life trajectories, during which they had adapted their lifestyles and views in various ways. Even though they must have shared quite similar sets of values and ideas on appropriate behaviour in their childhoods while being brought up and educated in Japan, for many parents with children at JHL school, their hugely varying experiences of emigration and life in intercultural partnerships were likely to have shaped their beliefs and identities in significant and diverse ways. Her words indicate an awareness and acceptance of the different views held by parents in the school. Therefore, she did not prompt her students to adopt particular Japanese values, or learn about certain values in a particularly Japanese way, but just introduced some manners and ways of doing things in her classroom that she saw as universal and that she therefore thought it important for any students, whether Japanese or British or of any other background, to appreciate and act according to, like "caring feelings for each other, as people in a school or as classmates studying together". She emphasised that this was not the school's view, but "only my personal feeling, from my biased viewpoint".

The Year 5 teacher, my key participant in this school, also mentioned differences among parents in her interview, alluding to the varying motives they had for sending their children to North School.

#### Extract 5.8

As individuals value things differently, different parents have their own reasons why they send (their children to North School). Some just want them to be exposed to Japanese when they are at this school, while others want their children to obtain a high level of Japanese competence.

(From translated interview, Year 5 teacher, North School)

Just like the Year 1, the Year 5 teachers acknowledged and respected diverse expectations and perspectives towards education at North School. They themselves had also experienced transitions across a “geographical and social landscape” (Woolard, 2013, p. 221) and encountered shifts in chronotope (Bakhtin, 1981; Woolard, 2013), having emigrated from Japan and established lives and families with non-Japanese partners in England. Additionally, they settled in a city in England. A cosmopolitan is a person who tends to understand, from their own experience, how to make their way “around different landscapes” (Woolard, 2013, p. 219) and is generally flexible and adaptable in the face of change. Thus, the “cosmopolitan chronotopes” emphasise “individual maturation and experience” (Woolard, 2013, p. 210) and support “positive adaptation to new national ideologies” (Creese & Blackledge, 2019a, p. 4). “A cosmopolitan identity” (Creese & Blackledge, 2019a, p. 4) can surely be seen in the teachers observed at North School in their positive ideological orientation to the diversity they encountered in their classrooms.

### **5.3.2. South School**

During my preliminary study in 2015 the then head administrator of South School revealed in her interview as her saddest experience that her committee members, against her will, had decided to refuse the admission of a student who did not use Japanese at home and did not understand Japanese instructions, saying:

I thought he could just sit in the classroom even if he cannot understand Japanese now, as long as he wants to. He may start studying after making friends and want to

study. It doesn't matter too much now. I told them his mother can come to the classroom and interpret for him if he wants, as some did before, but they said it is no good as he will just listen to his mother's English (Mulvey, 2015, p. 35).

This extract reveals that a range of contested views were more visible at South School than in North School. For her, it was really important to accept any students regardless of their language competence, but for other committee members, it was more important to provide a Japanese-only environment. As pointed out earlier, these opposing norms had been valued and subscribed to by this school from its inception. They normally coexisted without problems but occasionally caused conflict because of the school's democratic committee system. As a result of the tension between these two ideologies, acceptance of some students who had not been exposed to Japanese at home enough to follow classes in Japanese had been controversial among administrative committee members in the past and there was noticeable inconsistency in how dilemmas around admissions had been resolved. Although such children were sometimes accepted with their mothers being allowed to sit next to them as interpreters in the classroom, on other occasions they were not admitted, as mentioned by the administrator.

When I visited the school again for my ethnographic fieldwork in 2016, the new head administrator, who had become the head and organised a new committee half a year before my fieldwork, told me that she had started a new class for children who hardly used Japanese at home.

#### Extract 5.9

We had trouble with some students not understanding teachers' instructions, needing their mothers to sit next to them and translate for them and not being able to keep up with other students, and so I was thinking of making a class for those students and started this class. Now I have three students. One girl has a Japanese father, one has a Japanese mother, but she is too busy with her job and neglects her daughter's Japanese learning, and another mother speaks English with her child because the mother was brought up here (in an English-speaking country). All my students have to do their homework by themselves, and I don't think any (of the parents) even look at their notebooks (said jokingly while laughing with an amazed look).

(From translated interview, head administrator/new class teacher, South School)

She found the solution to the school's long-standing ideological conflict by starting and teaching the new separate class herself so that the school could accept any children with Japanese heritage regardless of their Japanese proficiency while keeping the Japanese-only ethos in the other classes. Similar to what the Year 1 teacher at North School mentioned earlier (see Extract 5.3), she might have had a gender-related prejudice, seeming to take it for granted that it should be a mother's role, not really a father's, to communicate with children at home. I also felt that she considered that Japanese parents who had been brought up in English-speaking countries were different from her and most Japanese parents, assuming that such parents had distinctive attitudes and views toward language use and support for their children's Japanese study at home. She did not expect those parents who had been brought up outside Japan, and so who had experienced upbringings different from the typical Japanese one she and others like her had been through, to share the same set of values as she herself espoused. Using the concept of chronotope again, this expectation could be expressed in terms of different "timespace configurations" leading to different "chronotopic identities", where chronotope is a category of thought and narration that frames experience in terms of time and space (Malinowski & Kramsch, 2014).

My fieldnotes disclose what I felt about the parents of the three students during my fieldwork. They seemed to me to be like guests who were allowed to join the school thanks to the goodwill of other parents and were not really school community members, each of whom had a certain responsibility in managing and running the school, although they did the minimum required in terms of duties on Saturday, such as being in a classroom as an assistant teacher. The head administrator's critical remarks, "neglects her daughter's Japanese" and "I don't think any (of the parents) even look at their notebooks" reveal that she felt them to be different from her like-minded comrades who made efforts together to pass on Japaneseness to their children in this city in England. She strongly subscribed to the assumption prevailing widely among Japanese parents at JHL schools (Shibata, 2000) that children cannot acquire proper Japanese in the absence of their parents' commitment once they settle outside Japan. She regarded it as a Japanese parent's responsibility to speak Japanese to their children somehow at home and to support their Japanese learning. She could not help but have critical feelings towards the three Japanese parents who did not make an effort to fulfil this perceived responsibility. Thus, a tension between the two opposing ideological beliefs inside her can be detected in this interview extract, but her determination to accept heterogeneity among Japanese families as it was, maintaining an inclusive Japanese community, overcame the

other belief. It was in a convivial, lighthearted way, using laughter, as noted at the end of the extract above, that she expressed her critical feelings towards the three parents.

The next extract is from fieldnotes of the new class the head administrator started, in which conviviality can be identified in her classroom practice. Instead of *kokugo* textbooks, she chose Japanese as a foreign language (JFL) materials and young children's picture books for this class. Three girls aged 8, 9 and 10 attended the class.



Extract 5.10 – New class, South School

The teacher asks the students, ホリデーに何をしましたか。 <what did you do during the holiday?>, but they look puzzled. Then, she says slowly, 何した? エッグハント? She changes the question to a more friendly version meaning ‘what did you do?’ and says, ‘egg hunt?’ in Japanese flat pronunciation, but they still don’t understand her. In the end she asks in English, **“What did you do during the Easter break?”** and a student replies, **“Theme park”** and quickly opens her notebook to check the past form of ‘go’ in the verb form chart written there, and then adds, 行った <I went>. This class is very friendly with a laid-back atmosphere. It’s so relaxed and laid-back that the teacher occasionally talks about the students to me in Japanese in front of them while conducting the class, such as “they can write (Japanese) all right, but I wish they could speak it first, as they will be able to write later,” or “they cannot use particles, so I make them repeat short sentences.” According to her, none of them have the chance to use or listen to Japanese except for the two hours a week at this school. This class is totally different from the other classes. The teacher gives most instructions in English and often says English words or short sentences and asks the students to say them in Japanese. The students are all quiet but seem eager to learn Japanese, unlike many students in the other classes!

[...] at the end of each class, she reads aloud from a picture book for little children she chose for her students from the school’s library since, she says to me during the class, their parents didn’t read them picture books in Japanese when they were young [...] As soon as the girls see the front page of today’s story, ‘Picture book on poo’ (see Figure 6), they giggle. The teacher seems content with their reaction and reads it, making them giggle more, and finishes the class with a convivial note.

(From Fieldnotes)



Figure 6: A picture book on poo

I felt this class to be “totally different from the other classes” since the teacher had a completely different classroom attitude from the other primary school level teachers teaching with *kokugo* textbooks, who put great effort into imposing a Japanese-only policy as discussed in Chapter 4. She used English a lot without any hesitation. This class was unique in this school in being designed for this special group of students and the teacher was totally released from the constraint to teach ‘authentic’ Japanese in a similar way as she had experienced in schools in Japan. Responding flexibly to the students’ reactions, she used translanguaging to urge students to make any Japanese utterances they could, and in her translanguaging there did not seem to be a clear-cut boundary between Japanese and English. The class had a particularly casual atmosphere, unlike any I had felt in other classes in this school. It was so relaxed that, while conducting the class, she made some comments about the students in Japanese, including, in a lighthearted way, some oblique criticism of their parents. She let me know during the class that “none of them have the chance to use or listen to Japanese except for the two hours a week at this school”, adding that she made it a rule to read a picture book at the end of each class because “their parents didn’t read them picture books in Japanese when they were young”. She chose as a story on this day for her students aged 8, 9 and 10 “a picture book on poo”, material targeted at toddlers undergoing toilet training, and made the girls giggle a lot. I felt a convivial, lighthearted atmosphere in this class. Conviviality, a useful concept in exploring “how, and under what conditions, people constructively create modes of togetherness” (Blackledge & Creese et al., 2017, p. 12), seemed to be her strategy to deal with her conflicting views.

The head administrator positioned her new class as clearly different from other classes and did not seem to exercise any restraint in using English in the classroom. In answering my

question on what she thought of the Japanese-only rule for students in other classes, she told me about her view on diversity in South School.

Extract 5.11

Well, children do speak English, but hear what mothers say in Japanese and understand in Japanese. We tell them to speak in Japanese at South School, but actually I don't want to force them to do so. Some parents may stop coming, saying that their children don't speak Japanese.

[...]

Some mothers don't use Japanese at home, but I want to accept such people at South School as well, since this isn't Japan. I think it OK to have diversity. I personally think it OK in the future to accept non-Japanese children, though many are against this idea.

(From translated interview, head administrator/new class teacher, South School)

As a dedicated member of the school since her children were very young, she understood the complexity of experience which led to widely varying family language practices. In our conversations she sometimes expressed sympathy for those who, unlike herself, could hardly use Japanese with their children at home nor share Japanese values with them because of their non-Japanese partners. She believed in South School's function as an intimate community, like one big family, though she also considered it important for their students to speak Japanese. Overall, however, the former feeling seemed to take precedence over the latter, with her welcoming attitude to all students and her acceptance of translanguaging demonstrative of a positive view toward differences.

As the reason why she wanted to accept any families, she clarified, "since this isn't Japan, I think it OK to have diversity". Just like teachers in North School, she acknowledged that individual Japanese parents had their own trajectories or, to use Blommaert's words, their own "chunks of history" (2015) before finally reaching South School, meaning that they had developed their own, unique chronotopic identities, although they had shared a similar chronotopic identity during their early life in Japan. She thought it "OK to have diversity", having a positive orientation toward differences. She herself had experienced shifts in chronotope in crossing borders geographically and socially as a Japanese emigrant who had chosen to settle in an English city with her non-Japanese husband. Again, we can invoke here the idea of the "cosmopolitan identity" (Creese & Blackledge, 2019a, p. 4) to

characterise her exposure to, and understanding and acceptance of a diverse range of lifestyles and values. As shown at the end of this extract, she was even ready to accept diversity to the extent of opening up the school to non-Japanese children if they would like to study there. It is likely that ‘cosmopolitan identity’ is ‘an emblematic feature’ (Agha, 2007a; Wortham & Reyes, 2015) for those Japanese teachers at JHL school.

The middle primary class teacher also emphasised in an interview students’ differences, saying:

Extract 5.12

They are really different, they are all completely different. Since it depends on how much they are doing at home, each student has a different ability even if they are in the same level, in the same class. But as they are similar ages, they all want to be promoted to the next level together, even if they have different abilities.

(From translated interview, middle primary class teacher, South School)

This teacher noted that students’ different linguistic abilities derived from “how much they are doing at home”, which was a common understanding among all the teachers in South School. Individual parents had different attitudes, practices and perspectives and a wide range of different lifestyles, which led to a corresponding diversity in approaches to Japanese usage and JHL-related study at home. Since she understood and accepted these differences among Japanese parents, she accepted students’ differences in the classroom. She also accepted their progression all together to the next level, saying “as they are similar ages, they all want to be promoted to the next level together”, although she acknowledged their diverse linguistic levels. My observation shows that this became a controversial topic among all parents toward the end of the academic year when I visited there for my fieldwork and that some suggested that the school should assign each student to a class at an appropriate language level from the next academic year no matter which classes they were in at that time. I felt a certain tension in the atmosphere among parents due to this controversy when I conducted this interview. It is evident, therefore, that for this teacher preserving the social unity of the class, valuing the friendships between classmates, took precedence over adherence to any policy of linguistic rigour when it came to teaching Japanese. After a heated discussion at a committee meeting which I was allowed to attend, it was decided to set classes for the next academic year as this teacher insisted. This is a clear sign of the ascendancy of the centrifugal force in this school over the centripetal.

The head/upper primary A class teacher, my key participant, also explained to me about differences in an email. This teacher, who used to be a science teacher in a secondary school in Japan, sent me an email before the start of my fieldwork, asking me to discuss ‘the school curriculum’ with her during my time visiting the school as she was intending to revise it so as to make it more substantial in terms of content and to have fixed goals. (This email will be examined in more detail in Chapter 6, (see Extract 6.24.) However, in the end, we did not actually speak about this topic at all during my fieldwork. I did, however, contact her about this topic several months after completing my fieldwork. She replied:

Extract 5.13

I haven’t started revising the curriculum at all. [...] I wanted to help teachers as the curriculum is what we have experienced most difficulties with. [...] In the end, however, as “the middle primary school class” has a different range of student language levels and group dynamics each year, I started to worry that even if I put a lot of effort into making a framework it may not be very helpful, and so I did not go ahead. We have to decide the final goal we are aiming for in order to make the curriculum – whether it is to get good marks in GCSE exams or to communicate in Japanese properly. I realised that it is difficult to make a curriculum since we haven’t decided this. [...] Each parent has different ideas about the final goal to aim for in our school.

(From email, head/upper primary A class teacher, South School)

Although she had an ambition to revise the school’s somewhat vague curriculum into a more fixed one, she decided to give up on this project in the end since a fixed curriculum “may not be very helpful” due to “a different range of student language levels and group dynamics each year”. She considered it important to respect parents’ varying ideas about the final goal to aim for in this school. Her idea of making a fixed curriculum yielded to her respect for parents’ differing views around the school’s final goal.

The teachers in South School tried to accommodate students’ different linguistic levels in the classroom because they regarded them as the result of variation existing amongst the Japanese parents. They had a positive ideological orientation towards diversity and so accepted their students’ varied linguistic competence as something unavoidable.

Among all the teachers, the head administrator seemed particularly generous and welcoming in terms of accepting diversity amongst parents, since it was her initiative to start

the new class for students who were not exposed to Japanese at home. However, towards the end of her interview, she abruptly expressed her feelings of frustration towards the three students in her class and their parents. I would now like to focus on conviviality again, looking at how the following extract indicates that it was a strategy she adopted to deal with this problematic situation. She said:

Extract 5.14

Sometimes I wonder why they send their children (to South School), but it is obvious they send them because they want them to be exposed to Japanese even if only for two hours (per week), isn't it? Since some mothers were brought up here, I cannot give parents advice such as 'let's speak Japanese at home'. The students are diligent during the class, but have forgotten what they learnt whenever they come back from long holidays, because they don't use Japanese at home. I don't want to interfere in others' domestic language use so I just give them lessons very very slowly (and she laughs). My students seem to master only three words a year, yes (she laughs loudly). (From translated interview, head administrator/new class teacher, South School)

Here again her belief that Japanese parents should somehow make an effort to speak Japanese and support their children's Japanese study at home is expressed, but she said, "I cannot give parents advice such as 'let's speak Japanese at home'". According to her, these parents enrolled their children in South School to be exposed to Japanese only for two hours a week. It is obvious that these parents had ideas that differed from those of the head administrator about home language use and any 'Japaneseness' to be passed on to their children through attendance at South School. However, no matter how different their ideas, the head administrator accepted their children as they were, creating an environment for them to study there in keeping with her strong belief that South School should be open to any Japanese family. However, she could not but feel frustrated at her students' lack of retention of what they had learnt in class whenever they came back from long holidays even if they were diligent during classes, as a result of what she saw as their parents' failure to use Japanese at home. In order to ease her frustration, she spoke about these families in a cheerful and jokey way. We can explain this situation in terms of 'conviviality', a concept related to "how, and under what conditions, people constructively create modes of togetherness" (Blackledge & Creese et al., 2017, p. 12). Even though she could not understand the attitude of these parents, she accepted the situation as it was in a 'well, who cares?' spirit. Rather than despairing at

her students' unsatisfactory learning outcome, she laughed about it, exaggerating the situation in a humorous way, "My students seem to master only three words a year, yes." I argue that conviviality provided a stabilising mechanism for her frustration generated by conflicting differences.

## 5.4. Conclusion of the chapter

JHL schools emerged as a result of superdiversity within small communities of Japanese immigrants overseas as an alternative to *hoshuko*. Both North School and South School had an aspiration to create an inclusive Japanese community as much as possible. It was evident that an ideology supporting diversity and change played a significant role in these schools.

Whenever the teachers and administrators in each school talked about students' differences in Japanese language level, they mentioned their parents' diversity. It appears that they perceived the differences among students as being caused by their parents' differing viewpoints, expectations or lifestyles. Although the Japanese parents, as well as the teachers and administrators of both schools, had been brought up and educated in Japan and so shared this as a significant formative experience, they also experienced diaspora as Japanese emigrants having chosen non-Japanese partners and had found their way to a family life in England following their own, unique paths. Thus, they had been subject to a wide range of chronotopes along the way, which inevitably contributed to great diversity in behaviours, values, and ideologies. Moreover, the fact that both schools are located in cities in England is likely to have resulted in exposure to environments that added 'cosmopolitan chronotopes'. They came across an accumulation of superdiverse phenomena such as a range of ethnicities, immigrants from many different parts of the world, a great variety of social groupings, and so on, all elements typical of a contemporary British city. It is reasonable to assume that this "cosmopolitan" experience itself might accentuate tendencies in some individuals towards flexibility, adaptability and an openness to difference. I found that the teachers in both schools respected and had a positive orientation towards different chronotopic identities among Japanese parents, and that this led them to accept the diversity amongst students and to allow them to learn Japanese across languages and to make the most of their individual linguistic and communicative resources by creating a translanguaging space in the classroom. Translanguaging acted as a positive ideology for teachers, orienting them towards acceptance of students' heterogeneity as it was. Considering the approach to the Japanese language, this acceptance of difference can be seen as a centrifugal force, tending to expose the language

itself to inventiveness and the use of it creatively for the purpose of communication rather than concentrating on practice and preservation of an enclosed standard form. As noted in this chapter, although greatly respecting *kokugo*, teachers tended to prioritise accommodation to the varying capabilities of students, and enabling them to maintain friendships by, for example, allowing them to stay in the same class despite wide discrepancies in Japanese language ability.

In both schools, however, pressures around diversification – for and against – created tensions. These tensions were more visible in South School because of its democratic nature. Disagreements about its enrolment criteria, or how to divide students into different classes, for example, occasionally developed into heated discussions, causing a certain amount of friction among the parents and parent-teachers. North School, on the other hand, officially had a policy aimed at limiting diversity in order to try to retain its identity although this policy is somewhat flexible. The balance between teaching “authentic” Japanese and use of translanguaging, what we can characterise as the struggle between centripetal and centrifugal forces, was managed by individual teachers under the leadership of the head administrator.

Another finding was that ‘conviviality’ (Blackledge & Creese et al., 2017; Nowicka & Vertovec, 2014) played an important role in easing tensions at South School, a JHL school particularly keen on creating an inclusive Japanese community. Since an ideology encouraging all parents to be passionate about and committed to their children’s Japanese learning was also circulating there, occasionally parent-teachers felt frustration towards parents who seemed indifferent to their children’s Japanese study. To ease such feelings of frustration conviviality played an important role, acting as a stabilising mechanism.



# Chapter 6. Centripetal ideologies: Separate language ideology and *kokugo* ideology

## 6.1. Introduction

The previous chapter discussed phenomena related to superdiversity observable among people involved in JHL schools and how they regarded and coped with differences resulting from these phenomena. Translanguaging was discussed as a way of describing people's ideological beliefs, a positive orientation towards differences, while in Chapter 4 it was examined as language practice. This ideology acts as a centrifugal force creating tension with a centripetal force acting to hold a language together as one well-defined, unified entity. During my ethnographical fieldwork at both schools, I clearly detected such tension, identifying ideological orientations towards a unitary ideal of language co-existing and at odds with an openness to diversity. This chapter examines two ideologies acting as centripetal forces in the JHL schools studied, namely, separate language ideology and *kokugo* ideology.

Although the phenomenon of superdiversity is occurring among people in Japanese communities abroad, most members of those émigré communities once received the same *kokugo* education with the same *kokugo* textbooks when they were in primary and secondary schools in Japan. The *kokugo* curriculum to which children in Japan are exposed between the ages of 6 and 18 in the classroom creates a certain chronotopic identity. A chronotopic identity around *kokugo* can be seen as what Blommaert and De Fina regard as “common sense understandings about the way” people and culture function because it is “tied to and conditioned by specific timespace configurations” (2017, p. 5). People in Japan have such a chronotopic identity in common due to the Japanese government's school educational policy, which has prevailed with great consistency throughout Japan. *Kokugo* is such a powerful nationalistic ideology, constructed as one of the purest icons of the Japanese nation state, that it tends to create a strong feeling of attachment among Japanese people to their nation (Heinrich, 2012). I define *kokugo* ideology in this thesis as a strong feeling of attachment to a standard form of Japanese language and to a set of Japanese values. This ideology is a result of a shared chronotopic identity, a common-sense feeling around the concept of *kokugo*. In

discussing *kokugo* ideology, other important concepts are pride and profit, two ideological tropes that Heller & Duchêne (2012) present “to justify the importance of linguistic varieties and to convince people to speak them, or learn them, support them, or pay to hear them spoken” (pp. 3-4).

Regarding separate language ideology, on the other hand, traditionally in educational settings, language teachers have tended to believe that use of the target language only is ideal and to feel guilty about moving between languages (Faltis & Jacobson, 1990). This tendency has also been observed in non-Japanese heritage language schools in England and described as ‘separate bilingualism’ (Creese & Blackledge, 2010).

As Bakhtin suggests (1981, p. 252), “a dominant chronotopic frame can incorporate disparate chronotopes in dialog with it” (Woolard, 2013, p. 220). While most Japanese people associated with JHL schools experienced a traditional upbringing in Japan, they decided to emigrate at some point for study abroad or other reasons, forming a close relationship and starting a family with a non-Japanese partner, and adapted to varying patterns of cultural norms and linguistic practice depending on context. Along the way, new layers of identity were added, and choices made, shaped by beliefs and values about how things should be. It is fair to say that Japanese immigrants who teach at and send their children to JHL schools have experienced “cultural globalization in which local and global resources are blended in a complex package of indexically super-rich stuff” (Blommaert & De Fina, 2017, p. 10) and that their lives are packed with “indexically super-rich stuff” pointing to their beliefs and values. In this chapter, their ideological beliefs are explored, in conjunction with the previous chapter. The separate language ideology circulating in both schools is examined first, followed by *kokugo* ideology.

## 6.2. Separate language ideology

The head/upper primary A class teacher of South School, my key participant there, who used to be a science teacher in a secondary school in Japan, told me during an interview:

### Extract 6.1

At the beginning of this term, we revised our school rules and decided to use Japanese only during classes, but we found it difficult as we have been too soft so far and also children who don’t speak Japanese at home at all would be left behind. So, I think at least in my class, I need to make a thorough Japanese-only rule. [...] Theoretically,

we use Japanese and don't use English during the class. When I have to explain a difficult word, I try my best not to translate it into English but to explain it in easier Japanese. But when I'm in a hurry, I cannot help giving the English word in haste, since it is quick. When children speak in English, I tell them to speak in Japanese and the children in my class can then switch to Japanese. Of course, sometimes they cannot, but we have to persist. That's the only way.

(Researcher: Do you teachers often discuss this?)

Yes, we always talk like this. How much should we tell students (to speak only in Japanese) during the class, and how much during the break time? Or, how can we encourage them to speak Japanese? All the time ...

(From translated interview, head/upper primary A class teacher, South School)

Her utterance, "we have been too soft so far", shows her sense of regret about not having imposed a Japanese-only rule strictly. She believed that separating languages is the most effective way to teach and learn Japanese and, at least in her own classroom, she did her best to separate Japanese from English. She felt that teaching across languages is an easy or lazy way and that teaching within the boundary of Japanese is, no matter how difficult, the proper and necessary way. This view was in keeping with the desire of mothers in this city in England to communicate in Japanese, one of the motives for starting the original mothers' gathering from which the school developed. As mentioned earlier, most Japanese parents felt some kind of limit imposed on the use of Japanese with their children at home because of their non-Japanese partners. A Japanese-only ideology had been valued in South School right from the beginning, because the school provided an environment and a precious opportunity for participants to communicate within the boundary of Japanese, recreating a local 'Japan' in their city in England, which the Japanese mothers could not experience otherwise.

The interviewee said, "we always talk like this", and indeed my observation shows this to be the case, with the topic of how and to what extent they could impose the rule being one that teachers and committee members discussed frequently during my fieldwork. In the discussions I observed, the reason why they could not impose this rule strictly was always because 'children who don't speak Japanese at home at all would be left behind'. During the three-month period of my fieldwork, I was allowed to observe not only classes, weekly activities and special events, but also committee meetings and teacher meetings, where the Japanese-only rule was often discussed, as shown in Chapter 4 (see Extract 4.9). I came to understand that all the teachers and committee members wanted to impose the Japanese-only

rule if possible, believing it the proper policy for the school to pursue. It is possible to see this policy as arising from a reaction against the centrifugal force of their translanguaging practice.

The head administrator of North School made a similar point during her interview:

Extract 6.2

Theoretically, I want teachers to teach in Japanese. It's not easy, but when they introduce an unknown word to students, I want them to use a different word for it, or to explain it. I want them to create an atmosphere or environment where students can learn this kind of attitude, managing to explain what they mean somehow (in Japanese) even if they cannot find exactly the right words. [...] When somebody starts speaking English, it instantly spreads to the whole class. I want them to try. [...] Basically, I want them to get into the habit of explaining things in Japanese as much as possible, without giving up.

(From translated interview, head administrator, North School)

Her aspiration was for the teachers and students to make a conscious effort to use only Japanese in the classroom, believing that keeping English and Japanese separate helps students learn Japanese. As she was a language professional, her belief could be based on the separate language ideology many language teachers trust in. Her utterance, “When somebody starts speaking English, it instantly spreads to the whole class”, reminds us what the AS teacher at South School said (see Extract 4.11), “occasionally in primary school classes, once one student starts to speak in English all the others start to use only English”. She felt negative about the use of English during classes, as if speaking English in the classroom were something troublesome and contagious. This made me feel that she wanted the teachers to keep their eyes on the use of English and do their best to prevent the ‘infection’ of English use from spreading.

Relating to the ‘language’ the schools aimed to teach, both heads also mentioned their ideas during the interviews. The head teacher of South School said:

Extract 6.3

Regarding the curriculum, at the secondary school level, for example, I think it important for our students to write sentences using ‘te-ni-o-ha’ (particles indicating sentence structures) accurately and to connect properly elements of a sentence, such

as the subject and the predicate, rather than to master how to use *genkoyoshi* (squared Japanese manuscript paper), though it is specified (as a requirement for GCSE Japanese). I'm thinking of, let's see, these kinds of levels.

(From translated interview, head/upper primary A class teacher, South School)

Word order in Japanese sentences is very flexible as long as the predicate (verb, adjective or noun predicate) is at the end, because particles mark the grammatical function of words. Mastering 'te-ni-o-ha', and other particles has been widely considered as basic to the understanding of Japanese grammar. The GCSE class in South School was practically the final destination for the students and the head teacher wanted them to be able to write essays with correct particle usage in properly connected and structured sentences. She felt that writing essays using grammar accurately was more important for the students than mastering "how to use *genkoyoshi*", writing correctly on squared manuscript paper, which is another norm in Japan. Her ideal here reflects the values of a Saussurrean evaluation of language (Key & Noble, 2017), one in which there is a fixed structure governed by rules.

The head administrator of North School also mentioned language elements the school aimed to teach. The following extract is from my preliminary study. She talked about *kokugo* textbooks in her interview then, saying:

(*Kokugo* textbooks) show how to use polite expressions or casual expressions at important points. In higher levels, Year 4 or Year 5 textbooks contain how to write letters and things like that. It's wonderful, isn't it? [...] Honorific expressions, request expressions, and suchlike, appear one after the other. They introduce various expressions much more than A level [Japanese]. If we can teach up to Year 6, we can cover what is necessary for a social life more or less (Mulvey, 2015).

This extract shows her strong trust in *kokugo* textbooks, which will be discussed later in this chapter, but she also emphasised various expressions introduced in the textbooks. One of the advantages of using *kokugo* textbooks, according to her, is that the school can introduce all the prescriptive expressions necessary for a social life as 'Japanese people' and train students to become correct users of these expressions in appropriate situations. This again shows how she considered Japanese in keeping with the approach of Saussurrean linguistics (Key & Noble, 2017), as a language having a fixed structure governed by rules. For example, she wanted to introduce students to various expressions which function in a systematic and very

precise way according to levels of politeness within the boundary of Japanese. Both heads clearly considered language to be a stable system rather than a dynamic activity (Creese & Blackledge, 2019b; Thibault, 2017) and felt that students should learn the words, syntax, and sounds in the bounded area accurately. Both considered it important for their schools to train students to become correct users of this fixed Japanese language without mixing it with other languages. Use of English was occasionally dealt with in both schools as if it were something ‘infectious’ like an epidemic and teachers kept an eye on outbreaks of English as something to be prevented.

I just want to pay attention to her utterance, (*kokugo* textbooks) “introduce various expressions much more than A level [Japanese].” According to my preliminary study (Mulvey, 2015), North School was, among the ten JHL schools I visited, the only school which had secondary school students and did not have any programme to prepare for GCSE or/and A level Japanese exams. There existed a belief in this school that their *kokugo*-based programme was superior to ones preparing for these British exams and this utterance was based on this belief. I will come back to this perspective later in the *kokugo* ideology section (see Extract 6.10).

Their perspectives on Japanese as a bounded area were also reflected in the value both North School and South School put on *kokugo* dictionaries, Japanese to Japanese dictionaries made for primary school students in Japan for their *kokugo* study. On the webpage of North School, “practical skills such as how to use an atlas or *kokugo* dictionary” are specified in examples of their “original syllabus adapted from the Japanese Government's national curriculum” and my observations show that all the students had their own *kokugo* dictionary with them in the classroom. This school considered it vital for their students to master how to use a *kokugo* dictionary, providing this training systematically as a part of the school curriculum and encouraging them to use their own *kokugo* dictionary actively both at home and during classes.

The head teacher of South School, my key participant there, talked about *kokugo* dictionaries in an interview, saying:

#### Extract 6.4

I have used *kokugo* dictionaries a lot during classes since last term, sometimes spending a whole class practising using them. In the beginning, students couldn't think in [a-i-u-e-o] order (Japanese alphabetical order) and took a long time to find words. They need to search in [a-i-u-e-o] order not only for the first letter, but also for

the subsequent letters, but it's so hard. [...] I bought the dictionaries in Japan (so that students can use them in the classroom). It's a speed thing, isn't it? It takes them a long time to find a word. Unless they can find a word quickly, they don't want to use the dictionary. It's a vicious circle.

(From translated interview, head/upper primary A class teacher, South School)

She also considered that it was significant for her students to look up unknown words in a *kokugo* dictionary and that she needed to train them during classes until they could use it easily by themselves. I observed one lesson in which she told students to look up a few new words in *kokugo* dictionaries, which she had brought from the school's library to the classroom. Just as she mentioned, students need to search for words in [a-i-u-e-o] order, the Japanese alphabetical order. As shown in Figure 7, the Japanese syllabaries (*hiragana* and *katakana*) are composed of 10 lines and each line has 5 symbols. (Modern Japanese has only 46 *hiragana* symbols due to phonological development over time and some symbols in two of the lines have disappeared.)

あ a	い i	う u	え e	お o
か ka	き ki	く ku	け ke	こ ko
さ sa	し shi	す su	せ se	そ so
た ta	ち chi	つ tsu	て te	と to
な na	に ni	ぬ nu	ね ne	の no
は ha	ひ hi	ふ fu	へ he	ほ ho
ま ma	み mi	む mu	め me	も mo
や ya		ゆ yu		よ yo
ら ra	り ri	る ru	れ re	ろ ro
わ wa		を wo		ん n

Figure 7: Japanese hiragana syllabary chart



Figure 8: Kokugo dictionary example

In a *kokugo* dictionary, each line of the syllabary is represented by its first symbol, often highlighted in different colours on the page edges so as to help users to thumb through and home in on the section containing the word they are searching for. For example, the [a], highlighted in red in the dictionary shown (see Figure 8: *Kokugo* dictionary example), represents the section containing any words starting with the syllables [a, i, u, e, o], while [ha] represents any words starting with the syllables [ha, hi, fu, he ho], and so on. Since *kokugo* dictionaries are made specifically for primary school children, illustrations are also included to clarify the meanings of some words and the dictionaries are generally quite colourful (see Figure 8).

The following extract is from an audio recording of the head teacher's class, the upper primary A with three girls and a boy aged 10 and 11. On this day, since Aya was absent, the other two girls, Miho and Michiko and the teacher's son, Takeshi, were present.

#### Extract 6.5 – Upper primary A class, South School

1. Teacher: [...] それじゃあ、久しぶりに辞書使って「報告」の意味と「下書き」の意味を <ok then, let's look up the meanings of [houkoku] and [shitagaki] in the dictionary though we haven't used a dictionary for a while> (She has brought 4 *kokugo* dictionaries from the school library and hands one to each student.)
2. Miho : **I don't like looking at the dictionary**
3. Teacher: なに、好きだったじゃないの? <really? you used to like it, didn't you?> (in a friendly and jokey way) 「報告」と「下書き」だけでいいから <all you have to do is to look up [houkoku] and [shitagaki]>
4. Miho: **that's not true**
5. Michiko: 好きじゃない <I don't like it>
6. Teacher: 好きじゃなくてもやるの <you need to do it even if you don't like it> (laughing cheerfully) ほら調べてみて <go on, just try to look them up> [...]
7. Miho: **don't want to**



8. Teacher: 「報告」を調べて、意味を書くの。「報告」の「ほ」、はひふへほ  
でしょ <you need to look up [houkoku] then write the meaning here. [ho] of

[houkoku] is in the [ha-hi-fu-he-ho] line isn't it?> (saying in an encouraging way) [...]  
(Students open the dictionaries and start using them. Takeshi seems accustomed to  
using a *kokugo* dictionary at home, and can find the word quickly, while the two girls  
just open the dictionaries and look at some illustrations for a while)

[...]

9. Miho: **there is no [ho]**

10. Teacher: 「ほ」って、あいうえお、かきくけこ、で、何から始まるの？

<what does the line of [ho] start with? [a-i-u-e-o], [ka-ki-ku-ke-ko] then...

11. Miho: [sa-shi-su-se-so] (saying the next line, singing with a tune)

12. Teacher: はひふへほ、でしょ、だから「は」っていうところを見るの。それ  
で「ほ」を探す<it's in [ha-hi-fu-he-ho], isn't it? so, you need to see the [ha] section,  
then look for [ho]>

[...]

13. Miho: (she looks at the [ha] section and finds where words starting with [ho] are,  
but still cannot find the word) **I don't know how I can find it**

14. Teacher: 「ほ」で そのつぎは「う」だよ <first you need to see [ho] then [u]>

(Miho finds the [ho-u] section) そう「ほう」までいったでしょ。つぎが「こ」

で... <right, you've got up to [ho-u], the next is [ko], then...>

15. Miho: **there is no [ko]** (looking for the word seriously while the teacher is looking  
beside her.) あった! <found it!>

[...]

16. Teacher: じゃあ、つぎは「下書き」さがして <then next, look for [shitagaki]

[...]

17. Miho: **[shi-shi-shi] ... and [ta-ta-ta]** あ、これ、かわいい <oh, this is cute>

(looking at an illustration on a page and showing it to Michiko.)

18. Michiko: わあ、ほんと <oh yeah>

19. Miho: **pink, red, pink** (She seems to like the colours of the illustration.)
20. Takeshi: 5 0 7 ページだよ。 <it's on page 507> (It seems he feels bored and wants them to find the word quickly since he found both words a long time ago.)
21. Miho: (looking for page 507) **I found [shitagaki]** あ、なにこれ えっと <oh, what's this? errr> (trying to read the meaning of the word written there but cannot read the first *kanji* word.)
22. Teacher: [seisho]
23. Miho: せいしょする前に試しに書くこと <to try to write before [seisho]>  
(reading aloud slowly what is written there) せいしょって何? <what is [seisho]?>
24. Teacher: そうね (laughing) <I see> じゃあ、清書もひいてみる? <then, would you like to look up [seisho] as well?>
25. Miho: **no!**
26. Teacher: 清書は、試しに書いたものを最後きれいにかくことだよ。 <[seisho] means to write out a neat, final version of what you wrote roughly at first>  
[...]
27. Teacher: じゃあ、辞書をしまってください。 <ok then, please put away the dictionaries.>
28. Miho: **I want to use it more.**
29. Teacher: 辞書を返してください。 <please return them to me> (She collects the dictionaries and moves on to the next activity.)  
(From classroom audio recording)

Although they had not used dictionaries for a while, they had done a lot of dictionary work the previous term, as the teacher mentioned in the interview above. My audio recording shows, however, that these interactions, from lines 1 to 28, took 9 minutes and 10 seconds, which is the time for the two girls to look up two words in a *kokugo* dictionary and write down the meanings in the worksheet. Lines 9 to 15 demonstrate how challenging it was for Miho and Michiko to find the word [houkoku] using the order of the Japanese syllabary, though Michiko did not say much in this lesson, just as in other lessons. As the teacher said in the interview, “they need to search in [a-i-u-e-o] order not only for the first letter, but also for the subsequent letters, but it's so hard”. Indeed, I observed it to be challenging and time-

consuming for them because they were very much accustomed to doing everything in English alphabetical order. The teacher's son could look up the words much more quickly than the girls. He seemed to have used a *kokugo* dictionary at home, unsurprisingly in view of the teacher's belief in the value of dictionary work for these students.

Even after Miho successfully found the second word, [shitagaki] in line 21, she could not read the *kanji* word 清書 [seisho] and did not understand its meaning even after the teacher told her how to read it. Therefore, she could not understand the Japanese explanation of the word described in the dictionary and the teacher needed to rephrase it in simpler Japanese. However, no matter how challenging this activity was, the teacher strongly believed it beneficial for her students to use a *kokugo* dictionary and considered it worth spending time and energy on training them to become familiar with it.

Teachers at North School also considered it important for their students to use a *kokugo* dictionary to find out the meanings of unknown words. This attachment to dictionaries reminded me of my own use of an English-English dictionary during my secondary school and university days. I made a great effort to look up unknown English words with it having heard from several authoritative people that it was the best way to improve in English. Now I understand that this idea is based on the concept of a bounded language, which would be improved most effectively when learning within the boundary. This shared attachment to *kokugo* dictionaries, seems to reflect not only their strong belief in Japanese as a bounded, stable language but also in long-established, traditional ways to study *kokugo*, which encourages the overcoming of challenges and development of a strong study ethic.

Separating languages was seen as the best option for teaching and learning Japanese at both JHL schools. This is a typical belief in the field of language education influenced by a Saussurrean model that sees language as a fixed structure governed by rules and as something that functions in a systematic way within a fixed boundary (Key & Noble, 2017). It is a view that has been in circulation amongst language teachers for many years and may have had an influence in both schools. Teachers and administrators in both schools showed a desire to restrict the use of English, seeing it as something that threatened to spread quickly between students in classes if not clamped down on. The common ideal, therefore, was to teach pure, correct Japanese, by traditional methods, and without use of English. They seemed to see the 'Japanese language' to be taught at JHL schools as a code-like system, which "gets separated from cognitive, affective and bodily dynamics in real-time" (Thibault, 2017, p. 75). However, the extent to which they actually managed to live up to this ideal differed between the two

schools and also among individual teachers. An ideology of ‘separate bilingualism’, as described by Creese and Blackledge and seen at non-Japanese heritage language schools in England (2011), was a centripetal force clearly evident in both JHL schools.

### **6.3. *Kokugo* ideology**

*Kokugo* ideology, which spread all over Japan through *kokugo* education after the nation state of Japan was created at the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, can be taken as representing a ‘common sense’ value amongst Japanese people and is an indexical sign and an emblematic feature of legitimacy, indicating authenticity as a Japanese citizen and a speaker of good Japanese. My preliminary study (Mulvey, 2016) found that *kokugo* textbooks, through which *kokugo* ideology is propagated by the Japanese government, were chosen by all eight JHL schools teaching literacy while the other two had activity-based programmes which did not use any textbooks. I found that in individual JHL schools, by adopting *kokugo* textbooks teachers and parents could pick and choose elements of *kokugo* ideology suitable for their children and construct their own ‘authenticity’ (Mulvey, 2016). Although North School and South School were among the eight schools, they used *kokugo* textbooks very differently from each other. North School used *kokugo* textbooks more or less thoroughly and consistently for all classes, while in South School they were used much more casually, with individual teachers in the primary school classes choosing freely which parts to use and secondary school teachers not using them at all. Lee (2012) clarifies that *kokugo* is not a concrete thing but only a concept. Judging from the completely different types of programmes designed by the two schools and distinctive usage of *kokugo* textbooks, it is likely that *kokugo* was conceptualised differently by the two schools, with each school constructing *kokugo* ideology in its own particular way. In this section, the situations at the two schools with regard to *kokugo* ideology will be discussed separately, North School first followed by South School.

#### **6.3.1. North School**

According to my preliminary study, although the eight schools visited used *kokugo* textbooks, North School was the only school where their content was regarded as essential material and taught comprehensively for all the classes. It was because of the head administrator’s strong commitment to creating an appropriate programme utilising *kokugo* textbooks that I chose North School as one of the locations for my linguistic ethnographic study.

The head administrator told me about the curriculum in an interview.

Extract 6.6

When we opened the school, we tried to make a curriculum similar to that of *hoshuko*, but with a different speed of progress. A big difference between our school and *hoshuko* is that *hoshuko* have to complete certain content, both in classes and homework, in a year. They have to do as they are told in order to receive support (from the Japanese government), while we don't have any obligation to obey as we receive no money.

(From translated interview, head administrator, North School)

This extract shows her overall perspective on the school curriculum. For her, the curriculum suitable for North School was one similar to that of *hoshuko*, namely the *kokugo* curriculum following the Japanese national curriculum, but she also believed that it needed to be modified for students living in England. She also tried to hire *hoshuko* teachers who could make the most of the textbooks.

This also implies some criticism of *hoshuko*, as she noted that these schools actually take in plenty of students who are permanently settled in England even though they are bound to a rigid curriculum which may not be suitable for many of these students. She appreciated the fact that North School did not have to obey any government policy and so could modify the *kokugo* curriculum freely so as to match the needs of its students since the school does not receive any Japanese government funding.

The head administrator was such an influential person in North School that her beliefs were reflected in the school policy and programme. Thus, I explore her personality first.

### **6.3.1.1. The head administrator**

In a casual chat with me on the first day of my ethnographic fieldwork she said:

Extract 6.7

I decided to cooperate with your research in the hope that it will raise the profile of heritage language education and show how the UK government neglects it. I hope

your research will contribute to improving the educational environment for heritage language education.

[...]

Of course, I am working (for North School) for my own children, but it is also true that I am doing this from my own professional interest in the area of heritage language education.

(From fieldnotes, head administrator's words, North School)

This extract shows her personal interest in JHL education as a Japanese professional in addition to her interest as a mother of two daughters studying at North School, her wish to improve its environment and her expectation regarding my research project.

According to her, she was originally asked to make a programme and policies for North School by the person who was in charge of its foundation, whom she helped to open the school as a Japanese professional. Before opening the school, as discussed in the previous chapter (see at the beginning of 5.2. Superdiversity and JHL schools in England), the two visited a *hoshuko* to observe classes and talk with the principal, which inspired them to make concrete policies and a programme for North School. Initially, therefore, she was not the head but helped the founder with her knowledge and experience gained from teaching at a university. However, she went on to become the head administrator within a year when the founder suddenly had to leave England for Japan. I myself had a similar experience in Brisbane, Australia. As I am also a Japanese language professional, I was asked to make the programme for a newly opened JHL school there. Both I and the head administrator looked into the circumstances surrounding JHL education and realised just how little information there is about this field or support for JHL programmes and teachers. Thus, we became very interested in helping to develop this area and improve the overall situation for JHL schools. Since the head administrator of North School and I had similar backgrounds and a common interest as Japanese professionals in researching and developing programmes for JHL education, we often had interesting conversations in informal contexts outside school settings on JHL education in general or on North School specifically during my fieldwork visits there. In addition to her recorded interviews, she also shared her various insights and experiences with me during unrecorded conversations, following which I wrote down her comments in my fieldnotes as soon as possible on the way home in the train.

North School's mission and approach, considered carefully by the head administrator, are clarified in the following extract from the school webpage. It says:

#### Extract 6.8

In [a name of the city], a well-known multicultural city in England, Japanese is spoken only by a small minority of people but is taught in mainstream schools as GCSE and A level subjects. Near the city there is a *hoshuko*, where Japanese as a national language education is provided for Japanese children. North School was set up to support the passing on of Japanese language and culture to children with Japanese background whose needs differ from those learning Japanese as a foreign language as well as from those being taught Japanese as a national language. [...] Our qualified teachers, who also teach at *hoshuko*, work hard to develop the curriculum.

We also have a playgroup held in a different room, but our students occasionally show the younger children their activities, such as reading them stories or presenting picture-story shows to them. We also organise annual events with the playgroup since we think vertical relationships are important.

(From the webpage, North School)

We see here that she briefly described the state of affairs regarding Japanese language education in the city where North School is located, comprising mainstream Japanese as a foreign language (JFL) education and a *hoshuko* teaching Japanese as a national language. Then, she stated the aim of North School as being “to support the passing on of Japanese language and culture to children with Japanese background whose needs differ from those learning Japanese as a foreign language as well as from those being taught Japanese as a national language”, showing what was distinctive about North School in terms of its Japanese curriculum. This website extract also reveals how she considered *hoshuko* teachers who are experienced in teaching with *kokugo* textbooks following the Japanese government’s national curriculum to be suitable for North School, noting on the webpage that it has “qualified teachers, who also teach at *hoshuko*”. Due to her determination, four teachers out of five also taught at *hoshuko* while I was visiting the school for my fieldwork.

The last paragraph of the above webpage text shows that the school also offered a playgroup for preschool children and valued vertical relationships between these young children and the school students, a benefit she also mentioned to me many times during my

fieldwork. The webpage also clearly states what the school aims to teach - Japanese language skills and Japanese values, or ‘Japaneseness’.

While I was there, North School was looking for a substitute teacher to cover maternity leave. The head administrator talked in an interview about a candidate she was thinking of hiring. She said:

Extract 6.9

Now I intend to hire a *hoshuko* teacher living far away as a substitute teacher while a teacher is having maternity leave, even though a mother told me that she would teach the class free of charge, which would have saved the expense of hiring that teacher and paying for the travel fees as well.

(From translated interview, head administrator, North School)

This demonstrates her strong belief that *hoshuko* teachers are the most suitable for this school. In her view, North School required teachers with experience and expertise in teaching *kokugo* and she considered it worth paying to employ such teachers and to meet additional travel fees if necessary.

On this occasion and also several others during casual chats, the head administrator told me that she was fully aware that not all the parents had the same expectations as she did and that not all were happy with her leadership. However, my observations show that there was very widespread appreciation among parents for the time and energy she devoted to the school on top of her commitments as a full-time university Japanese teacher, respect for her decisions, and acceptance of the school fees to meet the cost of employing experienced teachers. Thinking in terms of centrifugal and centripetal pressures on language, we can see that the head administrator’s commitment to implementing a programme based on a *kokugo* curriculum acted as a centripetal force, tending towards the preservation and propagation of a standard, “authentic” form of Japanese, as explored below.

### ***6.3.1.2. Trust in kokugo as a source of authentic Japanese language and spirit***

In her interview, the head administrator talked more about *kokugo* textbooks:



#### Extract 6.10

The advantage (of using *kokugo* textbooks) is that we can see the government's aims. While schools in Japan have to make sure they teach these aims, here we can treat them critically. The textbooks also have content reflective of (Japanese) school life and this helps our students here in England get a feeling for it. This makes these materials interesting. I don't think there are any other materials made for these purposes, not that I've looked seriously for them. Anyway, we can see what sort of education is conducted in Japan, and what sort of things children are expected to achieve, and we can adjust these for our own school as we see fit.

(From translated interview, head administrator, North School)

The head administrator had previously emphasised various prescriptive expressions introduced in *kokugo* textbooks as one of their benefits, as shown in the extract from my preliminary study quoted in the separate language ideology section (see page 158), explaining that they included many more expressions than were covered in the A level Japanese syllabus. She clearly saw *kokugo* textbooks as superior to the A level Japanese syllabus. In this school, there existed a trust in their *kokugo*-based programme, which was seen as preferable to one preparing for the British exams. However, we need to remember a special situation of this school regarding the British qualifications. In the city where North School is located, there existed a local association supporting heritage language schools, which provided explanatory meetings about the GCSE and A level examinations for various community languages as well as arranging mock tests and speaking tests for private candidates of those language qualifications. Therefore, some secondary school students in North School did take GCSE and A level Japanese exams and had good results, making use of the opportunities provided by the local association. Thus, the school did not ignore the opportunities of Japanese examinations in the British secondary education system, but it considered the support provided by the association to be sufficient for its students to cope with the exams as long as they were engaged in the *kokugo*-based programme at North School.

In the interview extract above, she pointed out other merits of *kokugo* textbooks, declaring that the Japanese government's aim can be seen in the textbooks and that the contents reflect Japanese school life. She associated the government aims with a standard for authentic Japanese language and values and thought that getting a feeling for Japanese school life was a way for students to gain a simulated experience of being educated in Japan. She wanted to

teach ‘authentic’ Japanese and ‘Japaneseness’ to the students, and also to maintain a link with present school life in Japan. All these elements led her to conclude that *kokugo* textbooks were the best for her school. At the same time, however, she seemed to want to evaluate the government-sanctioned content carefully from the viewpoint of Japanese people living outside Japan and to use it selectively.

As regards her strong belief that North School should hire teachers such as *hoshuko* teachers with experience of and expertise in teaching *kokugo*, she told me during a casual chat, as recorded in my fieldnotes:

Extract 6.11

I want a person who has taught *kokugo* and is familiar with *kokugo* textbooks to teach the class. I want to hire a person who has such experience and has an honest attitude towards children even if they don’t have a qualification.

(From fieldnotes, head administrator’s words, North School)

The above comment that she wished to hire “a person who has such experience and has an honest attitude towards children” hints that in addition to Japanese language skills she expected teachers at this school to inculcate certain values. She considered that teaching *kokugo* needs special skills, experience and also an honest human nature and that teachers should be able to teach both language and Japanese spirit. Thus, for the head administrator, *kokugo* seemed to entail not only authentic language but also a set of values.

The head administrator talked as follows about the Year 1 teacher in her interview.

Extract 6.12

Since she came to North School and guided Year 1 students ideally, she has been the Year 1 teacher. Since she was a primary school teacher in Japan, she can instruct the class in a Japanese way, teaching Japanese manners, such as group behaviour and class monitor duties. Her students come downstairs during the break time, standing in a queue. Amazing, isn’t it? I think it’s important to start this school in her class and to set up the groundwork for their study here.

(From translated interview, head administrator, North School)

For her, what the Year 1 teacher brought to the classroom – a Japanese way of instruction, various Japanese manners such as queuing in an orderly way or working well in groups,

assigning and fulfilling class monitor duties – were all Japanese values she thought it desirable to pass on to the students. She greatly valued the Year 1 teacher’s experience as a primary teacher in Japan and trusted her as a vital teacher who could teach students not only Japanese language skills but also Japanese values, or ‘Japaneseness’, in their first two years at North School. This teacher played an important role in consolidating the foundation of the school, influencing the head administrator and other teachers, and had the leading role at its Open Day. Whenever the head administrator talked about the Japanese values she would like to teach at North School, she always took it for granted that I would understand them, often saying ‘you understand, don’t you?’ and, indeed, I did understand very clearly. This can be explained as due to a certain chronotopic identity we acquired while studying the *kokugo* curriculum at primary and secondary schools in Japan. Thus, we shared certain ‘common-sense understandings’. She trusted *kokugo* textbooks and expected me to understand her faith in and attachment to them.

The *kokugo* ideology she believed in and wanted to pass on to the students comprised ‘authentic’ Japanese language as well as some values, such as supportive vertical human relationships, and the manners children attain through school life in Japan. As Blackledge & Creese (2010) point out, the teaching of language is intertwined with the teaching of ‘heritage’, since the teaching of language as ‘cultural heritage’ is one of the key rationales at heritage language schools. The head administrator trusted in *kokugo* as representing such values as well as being authentic language.

To a question about what she would like her own daughters to achieve in North School, she clarified the ‘Japanese language’ she was thinking of, saying:

Extract 6.13

At first, one of the aims was, of course, to communicate with grandparents in Japan, but I think they can do it now. They don’t speak about complicated matters though [...] another thing I am thinking is that I would like them to read Japanese literature [...] for their pleasure. Some mothers may want them to have a job using Japanese. What are they going to do after finishing North School? They may stop studying Japanese, but I want them to continue reading in Japanese.

(From translated interview, head administrator, North School)

This comment seems to start from her viewpoint as the mother of her two daughters, but then to change to being the viewpoint of the head administrator when she says, “Some mothers

may want them...”, ending with an expression of what she hopes all the students studying at North School will achieve finally. Her elder daughter, one of the first students in this school, could communicate in Japanese with her grandparents after studying there for nine years, though she did not speak Japanese when she started because the administrator herself spoke English at home then with her British husband who could not understand Japanese at all. So, the present situation of “they (the two daughters) can do it (communicate with grandparents in Japan) now” is one major outcome North School achieved for this family. She seemed to consider, however, that this kind of oral ability can be nurtured eventually, as long as appropriate teachers teach with *kokugo* textbooks in a similar way to that used in schools in Japan. It seemed that what she expected their teachers to cultivate was the ability to read in Japanese, so that students would be able to continue reading in Japanese even after finishing North School.

The chronotopic identity around *kokugo* she acquired indexes the *kokugo* curriculum in which children in Japan develop their literacy step by step. They start *kokugo* by mastering *hiragana* and *katakana* syllabaries, increase the number of *kanji* characters and vocabulary items they can read and then move on to appreciate literature and essays. Having a job in the future using Japanese may be one possibility open to the students of this school, but she did not set it as a school aim though she recognised different viewpoints and acknowledged that for some mothers this may be a goal. The choice of *kokugo* textbooks is an indexical of a social type (Agha, 2007a; Wortham & Reyes, 2015) she would like the students to become. “To read Japanese literature for their pleasure” might be an expression of her wish for her daughters and her students. She seemed to wish them to maintain sufficient Japanese reading ability and attachment to Japan so that they would choose Japanese reading even for their leisure. It was also apparent that she did not consider it easy for children settled in England to achieve this goal without the expertise of experienced teachers, such as *hoshuko* teachers.

The head administrator’s trust in *kokugo* as authentic Japanese language and purveyor of Japanese values seemed to equate with what Heller & Duchêne (2012) call ‘pride’, embodying a nostalgic and nationalistic feeling toward the nation state Japan, and also ‘profit’, practical language skill useful for children’s future. Such beliefs set the tone of the authoritative discourse in North School and influenced teachers’ beliefs.

The other teachers also shared their ideas in their interviews. The Year 1 teacher, whom the head administrator valued highly as a vital teacher introducing authentic ‘Japaneseness’ to North School from her experience as a primary school teacher in Japan, talked about *kokugo* textbooks in her interview, saying:

Extract 6.14

If only we get through as far as the Year 6 *kokugo* textbook, even slowly, I don't think students will be at any disadvantage. (*Kokugo*) textbooks are, let me see, made really well and cover all the contents listed in the national curriculum, as long as they are used as they are in Japan, well, that's in Japan, anyway. [...] if the students use these textbooks, they can easily get A\* at GCSE, I think. [...] As regards the content of the Year 6 textbook, yes, it is quite sophisticated and should be all right for teenagers, I think.

(From translated interview, Year 1 Teacher, North School)

Since she had been a primary school teacher in Japan and also a *hoshuko* teacher for 7 years, she understood the content of *kokugo* textbooks very well and had enough experience to use the textbooks correctly following the guidance designated by the Japanese government. From her professional experience, she set the school's goal, saying, "if only we get through as far as the Year 6 textbook", a goal which was approved by the head administrator and was agreed as the level the school was aiming for. She could identify the language level achievable by the use of *kokugo* textbooks, equating it with "easily get A\* at GCSE", an English standard. Here again, we can see the trust in the *kokugo*-based programme this teacher believed in. Just like the head administrator, she did not think it necessary to teach specifically according to the British exam syllabi for students to be able to do achieve good results at GCSE. Her utterance, "I don't think students will be at any disadvantage" shows her recognition that *kokugo* textbooks are made specifically for children in Japan with a good deal of vocabulary and *kanji*. They are made specifically for a different group of students, but she felt they cannot be bad as she trusted in the *kokugo* ideology implemented in the textbooks. The demands on students using these textbooks are quite high in terms of the number and sophistication of *kanji* and vocabulary items they need to master, but she hoped that North School students would be able to cope with them if they proceeded slowly. Her trust in *kokugo* textbooks was supported by the fact that they "cover all the contents listed in the national curriculum" designated by the Japanese government.

The following extract explains more about what she saw as the aim of the school. She said:

#### Extract 6.15

I want them to engage in Japanese continuously. In *hoshuko* there are many students who manage to continue till the end of Year 6 and then leave when they move to secondary school. These students then forget Japanese very quickly. It really takes no time at all for them to forget. I usually teach Year 6 (at *hoshuko*) and have seen such students study hard, really hard (then leave). Then, after a while I happen to see the mother, who tells me, ‘my son cannot even write *hiragana* now’. Even if they continue till the end of Year 6, they forget very quickly. In two or three years, they completely forget. I’ve seen such students. At North School, as we go through each textbook slowly, taking one-and-a-half or two years, they are still studying the Year 6 textbook when they are in their teens. This means they can continue to study Japanese ‘*hosoku nagaku*’ (in a thin and long manner). This is an advantage of North School, I think.

(From translated interview, Year 1 teacher, North School)

The extract shows that the idea of getting through as far as the Year 6 textbook also prevails in *hoshuko* as a major goal among Japanese parents having no clear intention of going back to Japan. ‘*Hosoku nagaku*’, meaning in a thin and long manner, is a commonly-used Japanese expression describing an approach to an activity where people do not put too much energy into it, but continue it for a long time. This attitude often ends up with successful achievement even though it takes time. In my preliminary study (Mulvey, 2015), a few head administrators in other JHL schools in England also used this expression to describe an approach they aimed to take in their schools. From her experience at *hoshuko* and North School, the Year 1 teacher considered that this “thin and long” manner is the best for children living in England and studying Japanese additionally at weekends. Even if students may have a chance to speak and/or hear Japanese at home, they may well lose the opportunity to write and read Japanese once they stop studying at weekend Japanese schools, and are likely to lose their Japanese literacy quickly, even how to write *hiragana*, the basic 46 letters in one of the two Japanese syllabaries. Although it takes time, she considered that North School’s approach is better than that of *hoshuko*. Unless done ‘in a thin and long manner’, students might drop out like some students in *hoshuko* and so fail in acquiring *kokugo* competence, she seemed to think. She

trusted *kokugo* and the Japanese government's curriculum, but considered it important to use them in a suitable way and at a suitable speed for students settled in England.

She also said:

Extract 6.16

When they started Year 1, only 3 students out of 9 could speak Japanese properly, but now they can speak like this. It's incredible! As they have listening ability, they can speak with a bit of training, though a few students still write in English.

(From translated interview, Year 1 teacher, North School)

She told me this with excitement. According to her, the majority of her students had only receptive Japanese ability and could hardly speak it before entering North School, but because of this receptive ability, they developed the ability to speak Japanese once they started *kokugo* study in her classes and mastered literacy step by step. Her perspective is in keeping here with what the head administrator conceptualised. She also hinted in her interview at the importance of gaining good study skills, diligence and giving students high expectations. She said:

Extract 6.17

It's hard to learn two languages, isn't it? While others are having fun, they come to school. I think it's a battle for parents to make their children study (Japanese) at home. I think it is important for the children, with their parents' support, to get accustomed to such routine while they are in Year 1 (in North School). If they can get into this good habit, they can continue studying Japanese and find it fun to learn the language when they are in Year 2 and above.

(From translated interview, Year 1 teacher, North School)

This extract shows that North School provides serious Japanese study requiring students to be diligent. The Year 1 teacher expected her students to be diligent enough to spend a reasonable amount of time on studying Japanese and doing homework at home. The reference above to 'a battle for parents' was not only from her teacher's viewpoint but also based on her experience as a mother, who herself was fighting 'a battle' with her two children studying at North School. In a casual chat after school, she emphasised that she needed to educate parents as well as the students, because the students need their parents' constant

support to study at North School. She thought that students and their parents have to work together. In class emails the teacher sent to parents after each lesson day, she reported the class content and the homework in detail so that the parents understood how they could support their children's Japanese study at home. In the email, in response to requests from many mothers, she sometimes included some advice to parents regarding how to encourage their children. She considered that developing good study skills and diligence is important for Japanese study at North School, which should be nurtured by the support and encouragement from parents while students are in Year 1. From her experience she concluded, "If they can get into this good habit, they can continue studying Japanese and find it fun to learn the language in Year 2 and above".

Her ideas regarding parents' involvement were greatly appreciated by the head administrator and helped to set the authoritative tone amongst teachers. The other teachers also mentioned the importance of parents' support and involvement in their interviews.

The next extract shows her expectations regarding her own children's and her students' futures. She said:

Extract 6.18

Regarding their future, it all depends on the children, but I don't want them to forget (Japanese). I want them to maintain the level at which they can communicate (in Japanese) and I don't want them to slip below that, hopefully. Particularly, I want them to stay at a level where they can have normal conversations with their (Japanese) grandparents. That's the sort of level, isn't it? Even among English people brought up in an ordinary environment, there are some who start studying Japanese after becoming adults and become fluent, aren't there? If we think so, people can start any time [...] What I want my children and also my students to learn is, not Japanese for academic purposes, but Japanese for living. I want them to feel normal being a Japanese person. I want them to feel normal speaking Japanese as a Japanese person. That's my wish.

(From translated interview, Year 1 teacher, North School)

Although she as a professional teacher aimed to train students to gain study skills and diligence in order to obtain Japanese literacy, her expectation regarding her children's future was for them "to stay at a level where they can have normal conversations with their grandparents" and "to feel normal speaking Japanese as a Japanese person". Her parental



wish for them and also for her students was not really to learn “Japanese for academic purposes but Japanese for living”. This extract shows her desire was for them to learn Japanese for what Heller & Duchêne (2012) call ‘pride’ more than for ‘profit’. The normality she emphasized links to Japanese as ‘pride’, to Japanese values, and one of the important missions of North School is to nurture this. She seemed to think that not only Japanese language ability, but also a sense of Japanese values, or common-sense Japaneseness shared by Japanese people who have a typical chronotopic identity around *kokugo*, are necessary to “have normal conversations with their grandparents”, and “to feel normal speaking Japanese as a Japanese person”. According to her, students can study Japanese for academic purposes anytime in the future, since “even among English people brought up in an ordinary environment, there are some who start studying Japanese after becoming adults and become fluent”. For her, however, it seemed vital to nurture from a young age such a sense of Japanese ‘pride’.

The Year 5 teacher, my key participant in North School, also told me what she thought about *kokugo* textbooks, saying:

Extract 6.19

*Kokugo* textbooks proceed step by step. That’s their advantage. They are made precisely, and the intentions are clarified on the *Mitsumura* (the name of a *kokugo* textbook publisher) homepage. I can feel, “Oh yes, I see, this is the stage we are at now” when I compare the site with the government’s national curriculum. I don’t have to think of my curriculum. That’s the advantage. The difficulty is time. I cannot do everything as it is set out in the textbook.

(From translated interview, Year 5 teacher, North School)

She also put her trust in *kokugo* textbooks and thought it worth using them at an appropriate speed and to a degree suitable for her students. Her statement “the difficulty is time” alludes to the situation her students were in whereby they could only spend a limited time on their Japanese studies because they also had to study for their A level exams in their mainstream education conducted in English. She put her faith in the textbooks following the Japanese government’s national curriculum, trying to teach them as intended. Since they are systematically made, teachers can check easily which stage they are at, referring to the publisher’s homepage, according to her. She completely trusted the national curriculum and

the publisher's guidance, saying, "I don't have to think of my curriculum". She sounded confident that she could use *kokugo* textbooks effectively and boost the students' Japanese language skills as much as possible by following the *kokugo* national curriculum.

She continued:

Extract 6.20

First of all, I want them to increase their vocabulary, vocabulary they can use. [...] I want them to be able to read novels for grownups [...] and articles they are interested in, to find information in Japanese and to read a newspaper. I would like them to be able to find any information they need in order to satisfy their curiosity, even if it's in Japanese – to me, that's what it means to be an adult.

(From translated interview, Year 5 teacher, North School)

She clearly expressed her final aim: she wanted her students "to be able to read novels for grownups". She trusted *kokugo*, which increases students' vocabulary and enables them to read "articles they are interested in, to find information in Japanese and to read a newspaper". Her concept of *kokugo* also points to Japanese literacy, reading skill. She hoped that they can gain practical Japanese skills, what Heller & Duchêne (2012) call language as profit.

The Year 5 teacher told me about her students, who had studied there more than 8 years since the school started.

Extract 6.21

In the beginning, I was not sure (if they could cope with my homework), but my students did, so, I tell them strictly to work hard. I understood after the first few times that these students could manage to do it, that's what I felt. The more I ask them to do, the more they can cope with, I thought. That's because they have high academic ability, I think. They've also acquired a good habit of studying. They are ones who still want to study Japanese at the age of 17 or 18.

(From translated interview, Year 5 teacher, North School)

Although most students started this JHL school with little Japanese productive ability, as mentioned by the Year 1 teacher, the Year 5 students, who had studied there more than 8 years, could speak Japanese well and were motivated and diligent enough to cope with the amount of homework the teacher set. Thanks to years of study at North School they had

acquired a good habit of studying, diligence and study skills, according to the teacher. She sounded proud of them, saying, “The more I ask them to do, the more they can cope with,” and “they have high academic ability”. Just like the Year 1 teacher, she considered good study skills, diligence and also teachers’ and parents’ high expectations vital for successful study at North School. Even if it was their parents who had decided they should study there in the beginning, they became “ones who still want to study Japanese at the age of 17 or 18”. The Year 5 teacher put great faith in a *kokugo* textbook, trying to develop students’ literacy by increasing their vocabulary so that they would be able to read in Japanese as adults.

The Year 4 teacher, however, the new and only male teacher, who, as I discussed in Chapter 4 (see Extracts 4.6, 4.7 and 4.8), had a negative view toward the use of translanguaging in the classroom, had a different opinion on *kokugo* textbooks. He had started to teach at *hoshuko* a few months before he started North School, and used the same Year 4 *kokugo* textbooks in both *hoshuko* and North School at the time of my fieldwork. In *hoshuko* he taught Year 4 students aged around 10 years old (the same age as Year 4 students in Japan), while in North School he used the textbook with students aged between 13 and 15 years old. He first indicated the differences between North School and *hoshuko*:

Extract 6.22

I feel I am teaching *kokugo* (Japanese as a national language) at *hoshuko* and *nihongo* (Japanese as a foreign language) at North School. Students at North School are older and can read texts deeply. In today’s lesson on “White Hat” (a story in the Year 4 *kokugo* textbook), for example, I enjoyed reading the three students’ interesting and unique paragraphs on their first impressions of the story, while at *hoshuko* all Year 4 students write similar simple first impressions such as “it’s a weird story”. The students (at North School), however, asked me, “Can I think in English first and then put it into Japanese?” or “Can I explain in English?” since they don’t have enough Japanese ability to express their first impressions fully. This is the reason why I feel like I am teaching them in a *nihongo* class.

(From translated interview, Year 4 teacher, North School)

He felt big differences between *hoshuko* and North School, expressing his feeling that he was teaching *nihongo*, Japanese as a foreign language, at North School rather than *kokugo*, Japanese as a national language, because of the students’ practice and attitudes. They had already developed the ability to interpret literature/articles creatively, and tried to apply what

they were already able to do in English and use the two languages flexibly in appreciating a Japanese story, asking him, “Can I think in English first and then put it into Japanese?” or “Can I explain in English?” Their attitude is an example of ‘flexible bilingualism’ (Creese & Blackledge, 2011), use of both Japanese and English for their learning, while his idea of *kokugo* is representative of ‘separate bilingualism’ (Creese & Blackledge, 2011) since he considered all the learning and thinking should take place within the bounded area of the Japanese language. Thus, he found it problematic in his *kokugo* class to be asked such questions by his students. As his students tended to cross the border between the two languages, translanguaging, he felt his class had become *nihongo* and not really *kokugo*. Later in the same interview, he talked about *kokugo* textbooks, saying:

Extract 6.23

They just learn in Japanese what they’ve already learnt (in English in their mainstream education), I have to say. They just don’t have enough vocabulary and *kanji*. What’s the point (of using *kokugo* textbooks)? I’m wondering. [...] There are Japanese cultural elements, of course, but students have already mastered [...] what the textbooks aim to teach, such as ways of thinking or finding out characters’ feelings from the plot etc. They just can’t explain such things in Japanese. The other day, when talking with the head administrator and other teachers, I queried whether there’s any point using *kokugo* textbooks at our school, but they just said they’re useful because of this, that and the other. [...] Personally, I think it would be more useful to make students write paragraphs with new words and *kanji* (introduced in the textbook) or to speak together using these words for two hours in the class (without studying the content of the textbook).

(From translated interview, Year 4 teacher, North School)

Since he felt like he was teaching *nihongo*, where students used both languages flexibly for their learning, he did not conceptualise what he was dealing with in his classroom as *kokugo* and thus wondered if *kokugo* textbooks should really be used there.

Although he did not think there was much point using *kokugo* textbooks, he had not thought of alternative textbooks suitable for his students. He did not think that the content of *kokugo* textbooks suited his students but that the lexicon - words and *kanji* - were useful for them. He had major doubts about teaching them *kokugo* in a similar way to how it is taught to children living in Japan or in *hoshuko* outside Japan. He felt more comfortable to call what he

taught at North School *nihongo*, in which students could use both English and Japanese flexibly to learn new words and *kanji* introduced in the textbooks. He asserted that students had already learnt what *kokugo* “textbooks aim to teach, such as ways of thinking or finding out characters’ feelings from the plot etc” in their mainstream education in English.

He, just like other teachers and the head administrator, had a chronotopic identity around *kokugo* from his study of *kokugo* at primary school and secondary school in Japan. However, his concept of *kokugo* focused on its monolingual learning environment and led him into a mission to teach the language within its bounded area.

This explains his classroom practice and perspective discussed in Chapter 4 where he tried his best to separate Japanese and English, feeling uncomfortable with students’ constant translanguaging. It was because he felt a mission to teach *kokugo* that he tried to pursue ‘separate bilingualism’. If he could have seen his class as *nihongo*, he might have been happy for the students to exploit what they had already learnt in English without separating the languages. It seemed that he was bounded by the concept of the *kokugo* he believed he needed to pursue and tried to prevent his classroom from becoming a translanguaging space.

His opinion, however, was not completely different from that of the Year 5 teacher, who clarified in an interview above (see Extract 6.20) that she wanted her students “to increase their vocabulary, vocabulary they can use”. As discussed before, she considered expanding students’ vocabulary was vital so that they would be able to read in Japanese in the future. My observations show that she spent most of her lesson time in consolidating *kanji* understanding and developing *kanji* compound words, giving students plenty of homework on *kanji* and *kanji* compound words, and hardly spent any class time on comprehending the contents of materials, which the Year 4 teacher considered the aim of *kokugo*. Moreover, as discussed in Chapter 4, she allowed students’ translanguaging in learning new words and *kanji*, letting them make the most of their full linguistic repertoire flexibly in the classroom. She just felt this practice to be part of *kokugo*, unlike the Year 4 teacher. “*Kokugo* textbooks proceed step by step”, she said (see Extract 6.19), and she particularly wanted to expand students’ vocabulary in a methodical way. She could see what stage had been reached in their study of vocabulary when she compared the publisher’s “site with the government’s national curriculum”. This might be because the *kokugo* concept this teacher as well as the head administrator and other teachers trusted indexes the way children in Japan master Japanese literacy step by step, the mission not so much being to use the language within the bounded area. As a dominant chronotopic frame can be blended with disparate chronotopes (Woolard, 2013), it is possible that as a result of the time they had spent teaching children settled in

England, their chronotopic identity around *kokugo* might have been modified, easing them into an acceptance of translanguaging and away from the monolingual model espoused by the male teacher. Similarly, the monolingual model the male teacher believed in as an element of *kokugo* might have been reinforced in some way through his trajectory to the English city

As teachers teaching secondary school students with *kokugo* textbooks made for primary school students, both the Year 4 and Year 5 teachers gave accounts of what their teenage students needed, considering expanding students' vocabulary to be the most important. The Year 5 teacher was confident in doing so through *kokugo* with the ideology imparted by the head administrator, while the Year 4 teacher felt what he was teaching to be *nihongo* and was reluctant to use the term *kokugo*. Although the head administrator set the authoritative discourse (Bakhtin, 1981) around *kokugo* and most teachers had perspectives similar to hers, the Year 4 teacher had a different view to the others and was aware that his perspective was odd among the teachers, saying with reference to *kokugo* textbooks, "they just said they're useful because of this, that and the other".

In North School, since all the teachers and the administrator talked a lot about their perspectives on *kokugo* textbooks and *kokugo*, it can be said that *kokugo* is a concept all of them were aware of consciously and believed in somehow. The head administrator, who normally set the authoritative tone, had enormous trust in *kokugo*, and *kokugo* textbooks were valued highly by most teachers as a conduit for teaching their students 'authentic' language and Japanese values. Since *kokugo* is such a powerful ideology in socializing children in the education system in Japan, *kokugo* creates a certain chronotopic identity as a common-sense understanding, which North School attempted to re-create among its students. However, even if there existed a certain shared 'common-sense' understanding about *kokugo*, there were also some individual differences in thinking about it, hence the male teacher doubted if he was actually teaching *kokugo* in his classroom.

Due to a chronotopic identity children in Japan acquire throughout their primary and secondary school days during which literacy is nurtured step by step, the *kokugo* ideology trusted in this school emphasises Japanese literacy, and teachers focus on the attainment of reading skills in Japanese as a goal for their students. Another important belief prevailing in this school is that nurturing *kokugo* in children settled in England is a significant challenge requiring good study skills, diligence and high expectations. Thus, expertise in teaching *kokugo* in this difficult situation is highly valued. All these beliefs significantly affected the programme, choice of teachers and teacher practice in the classroom.

As a JHL school programme, North School created and ran its original programme for secondary school students, making use of *kokugo* textbooks made for primary school students in Japan. The textbooks were used not to develop students' overall reading comprehension ability, but for secondary school students to develop sophisticated vocabulary, including *kanji* compound words, so that they would be able to read in Japanese while applying their comprehension ability acquired in their mainstream education in English. This was the reason why this school, unlike other JHL schools in England, did not need to use GCSE and A level Japanese materials for their secondary school students. We also need to recognise that support opportunities provided by the local association for private candidates of British secondary qualifications in community languages bolstered this programme behind the scene.

### **6.3.2. South School**

#### ***6.3.2.1. Kokugo textbooks***

In South School in the past, it seems there was no firm policy on the use of *kokugo* textbooks. It was the decision of the committee in place during my fieldwork visit that all the primary school classes should use *kokugo* textbooks in a non-intensive, relaxed way. Its programme and teaching style have been very flexible and changeable over the years, with policies being reviewed and adjusted/revised whenever a new committee takes over. When I was an observer, the committee, led by the head administrator, discussed and made important decisions on overall school affairs and policies. Teachers' meetings led by the head teacher, on the other hand, discussed only concrete class content or problems occurring in classes.

Before I started my ethnographic fieldwork, the head teacher sent me an email. She told me what she expected me to discuss with her during my visit there, saying:

#### Extract 6.24

I would like to talk with you about a lot of things, but particularly about what we call our "curriculum," which is a rough standard of achievement for each class. I am thinking of revising it. I would be very happy if I could talk with you about these things while you are with us, collecting data.

(From translated email, head/upper primary A class teacher, South School)

This extract shows that South School did not really have a fixed curriculum but only a rough standard achievement expectation for each class and that teaching content and style were left entirely to each parent-teacher. During my fieldwork, I observed individual teachers managing weekly classes through trial and error. The head teacher, who used to be a science teacher at secondary school in Japan before coming to the UK, found this situation troublesome and was planning to reform the situation by making a fixed ‘curriculum’ so that parent-teachers could make lesson plans more comfortably and systematically. She attempted to revise the vague ‘curriculum’ into a more structured one but, as discussed in the previous chapter (see Extract 5.13), she gave up on this project since she realised that a fixed ‘curriculum’ would not be helpful for teachers because of a wide range of student language levels and different group dynamics each year.

Several teachers told me about their ideas on *kokugo* textbooks during the interviews. The head administrator, who started and taught a new class, told me about *kokugo* textbooks and other materials in her interview:

Extract 6.25

We don’t have any problem with materials to teach. We don’t need special materials since even just us speaking Japanese is material itself. I think the most important thing for our students is to speak and reply properly in Japanese. We don’t need special materials since even just us speaking Japanese is material itself, isn’t it? *Kokugo* textbooks are useful to introduce what happens in Japan, a bit like an introduction to Japanese culture. We can use various topics from the textbooks [...] we also use other things we have in our homes, such as picture books. We can find materials easily in the house, can’t we? I think we can find all sorts of materials at home.

(From translated interview, head administrator/new class teacher, South School)

Her utterances, “*kokugo* textbooks are useful to introduce what happens in Japan, a bit like an introduction to Japanese culture,” and “we can find materials easily in the house, can’t we?” show her view that the content of *kokugo* textbooks is no more than a part of what she would like to pass on to their students and that she expected me to agree with her view. She seemed to feel that these Japanese mothers themselves were living exponents of such a concept of *kokugo* and could pass it on by speaking to the children, saying twice in this extract, “We don’t need special materials since even just us speaking Japanese is material itself, isn’t it?” She assumed that ‘*kokugo*’ can be passed on in various other ways and considered being able



to speak and reply ‘properly’ in Japanese to be the most important thing for the students. She also considered anything they brought back to England from Japan to be potentially useful material and said, “we can find all sorts of materials at home”.

The head teacher, who taught the upper primary A class and wanted to discuss with me about making a fixed ‘curriculum’, also talked about *kokugo* textbooks:

Extract 6.26

*Kokugo* textbooks, especially recent ones, have a variety of contents and we don’t need to collect materials from here and there. They also include the right amount of *kanji* for each level. I looked for other non-textbook materials, but some that are suitable for the students have too many *kanji*, while others that have fewer *kanji* are too childish in terms of content. In the end, then, *kokugo* textbooks turn out to be the most user-friendly.

(From translated interview, head/upper primary A class teacher, South School)

Since she had been a professional teacher at secondary school in Japan, she recognised that authorised textbooks in Japan, including *kokugo* ones, are revised and improved on a regular basis. She had a high opinion of recent *kokugo* textbooks which have “a variety of contents” and “the right amount of *kanji* for each level” and concluded that “*kokugo* textbooks turn out to be the most user-friendly”. These utterances show that she valued *kanji* study and that she thought *kokugo* textbooks to be the most convenient, but not necessarily the only or the best options. Such a stance towards *kokugo* textbooks was common among all the teachers in South School including the head administrator, who said, “*kokugo* textbooks are useful” but “we can find all sorts of materials at home”. The following fieldnote extract is from upper primary class A, the head teacher’s class with three girls and a boy aged 10 and 11.

Extract 6.27 – Upper primary class A, South School

[...] students and their parents were told to practise reading aloud, “Three Talismans” at home as their homework, but Michiko practised the wrong story since she uses a second-hand *kokugo* textbook, which doesn’t include the story given for homework but a completely different one instead. [...] Aya shares her textbook with Michiko. Students read aloud the story little by little in turn, but Michiko finds it difficult because of *kanji* words she cannot read. Her mom normally writes *hiragana* syllables above *kanji* words she cannot read beforehand for her, but did so for the wrong story this week. Aya can manage to read *kanji* words (probably her mother trains her at home, I am sure) and her textbook doesn’t have such extra *hiragana* added [...] Michiko, who was absent the previous week, practised the wrong story since she uses a second-hand *kokugo* textbook, which doesn’t include the story given for homework but a completely different one instead. All the other students seem to enjoy the story and tell the teacher their impressions freewheelingly and the teacher listens to them happily. [...] Michiko doesn’t say anything and just listens to the others. Nobody, including Michiko herself, seems to mind the situation.

[...]

When Michiko’s mother comes into the classroom after the lesson, the teacher tells her about the situation with laughter, making a very humorous story of it – her second-hand textbook doesn’t include “Three Talismans” and Michiko and her mother prepared completely the wrong story at home! Michiko’s mother laughs a lot as well to hear that. [...] The teacher tells her that she will send a scanned copy of “Three Talismans” to her by email soon.

(From fieldnotes)

This extract shows how casually *kokugo* textbooks were used in this school. The application procedure to obtain authorised textbooks, including a *kokugo* textbook, from the Japanese consulate was left completely to each parent in this school, unlike in North School, which collected textbook application forms from parents and arranged to obtain the authorised textbooks everyone was entitled to from the consulate all at the same time, with the parents sharing the postage between them. Since some South School parents missed the deadline,

their children did not have their own, up-to-date textbooks and so used second-hand ones handed down from senior students. Since *kokugo* textbooks are regularly revised, these students sometimes could not find parts their teacher chose to use, as seen in the case of Michiko in this extract. During my fieldwork in other classes, I also observed other occasions when some students found a different version of a certain story from their classmates in their older version of the textbook, and I came to realise that several students used second-hand textbooks. However, as shown in the last paragraph of the extract, these situations were not at all regarded as a problematic issue in this school and were resolved with laughter by the teachers and parents in a friendly way. This extract also shows different attitudes toward their children's *kanji* learning among parents, and how casually the teacher and students responded to such differences in the classroom. Michiko had not mastered all the *kanji* introduced in the Year 2 *kokugo* textbook, which covers around 200 *kanji* in accordance with the *kokugo* syllabus, and her mother normally helped her by writing “*hiragana* syllables above *kanji* words” in the textbook beforehand, so that she could manage to use the textbook during the class. Since Aya's mother, on the other hand, seemed keen on training her to read all the required *kanji* words at home, she could read the textbook with ease. Since on this day Michiko had to look at Aya's textbook, which did not have any *hiragana* written in above the *kanji* words, she could not read the story well. Moreover, since Michiko had been absent the previous week, she was ignorant of the content of the story and could not say anything about it while the others in the class talked about it enthusiastically. However, the classroom atmosphere was so friendly and casual that nobody, including Michiko herself, seemed uncomfortable.

Although the committee decided to use *kokugo* textbooks for all the primary school students' classes they were not necessarily indispensable for their entire programme, unlike at North School. Their attachment to and usage of *kokugo* textbooks was much more casual. Its flexible programme prioritised group dynamics and catering to a wide range of student language levels rather than enhancing students' Japanese language skills robustly. Although their programme and teaching styles appeared to be influenced by a centrifugal force, I also detected the desire for 'authenticity' acting as a centripetal force.

### ***6.3.2.2. Kokugo as unspoken concept of authentic Japanese language and spirit***

It should be pointed out first that the term *kokugo*, except for ‘*kokugo* textbooks’ mentioned in the two extracts above, was hardly used by research participants in South School. However, when they talked of a vague attachment to traditional Japanese values, manners and feelings as well as ‘authentic’ Japanese language they would like to share with their children, recalling memories of their childhood and youth at school or at home in Japan, I certainly felt that they implied a certain concept of *kokugo*, a powerful ideology which socialises children during school education in Japan. *Kokugo* as a concept shows the strong relation between the Japanese spirit and the Japanese language (Lee, 2012). Such an unspoken concept is based on a typical chronotopic identity around *kokugo*, which children in Japan acquire as a common-sense understanding through the *kokugo* curriculum they experience during their school days in Japan. In South School I discerned an attachment to *kokugo* values, one which the research participants assumed I, too, would share and which was expressed with a look containing the message ‘you understand, don’t you?’. *Kokugo* ideology thus appeared in a subtler way in this school, whereas it was a clear and vital guiding principle for the programme in North School.

As mentioned in the beginning of this chapter, *kokugo* ideology represents common-sense feelings, values and attachment existing around the concept of *kokugo*. I describe the *kokugo* ideology in South School as an unspoken concept of authentic Japanese language and spirit, which is discussed in this section.

Replying to the question, ‘What does South School want to teach?’ the head administrator, who stated in the previous quote, “just us speaking Japanese is material”, said:

#### Extract 6.28

We want to introduce the ways we did things in Japan, such as sitting properly at desks and keeping quiet without eating or disturbing others in the classroom. To show respect to teachers, to take notes properly and suchlike - we made all these things school mottos, but they are really hard to achieve. Most students don’t understand about Japanese attitude and spirit or what we learnt in Japan. Most don’t know what school is like in Japan. Since we can’t show videos (of detailed daily routines of Japanese school life at South School), they have no idea about what Japanese schools are like.

(From translated interview, head administrator/new class teacher, South School)

She started talking about the manners and values she would like to teach to the students, “such as sitting properly at desks and keeping quiet without eating or disturbing others in the classroom,” “to show respect to teachers”, and “to take notes properly.” Such “Japanese attitude and spirit or what we learnt in Japan”, her nostalgic memories of her school life in Japan, appeared associated with her concept of *kokugo*. Such feelings are like a common-sense value shared by Japanese people without needing to be named clearly, something which they assumed I also would appreciate. It can be argued that politeness, good behaviour in the classroom and showing respect to higher ranking people, such as teachers, are all contained within the concept of *kokugo* for her and that she put great faith in this collection of values.

She also talked about Japanese language, saying:

Extract 6.29

What I want to teach at South School is Japanese language. I think speaking Japanese is the culture, that’s all. I just want our students to continue speaking Japanese, not really for exams. It is important to keep speaking it. I hope they can improve their speaking so that they can describe beautiful scenes and so on. [...] In addition to communicating with their grandpa and grandma (living in Japan), I want them to do work experience in Japan, then they will understand Japanese people are diligent and have good manners.

[...]

I want my children to remember that they are Japanese even after I die. Of course, I don’t want them to forget Japanese.

(From translated interview, head administrator/new class teacher, South School)

Here she talked about language elements and Japanese people, which actually reflected a certain value as well. She repeated here the importance for their students of continuing to speak Japanese, saying, “speaking Japanese is the culture”, and wanted them to achieve “speaking ability good enough to describe beautiful scenes and so on”. We can sense her strong attachment to and faith in the language, which might make her think that the Japanese language, as the embodiment of Japanese culture, is the language to describe beautiful things

and that she wanted their students to become fluent enough in Japanese to do so. As a reason why she wanted students to do work experience in Japan, she clarified that she wanted them to “understand Japanese people are diligent and have good manners”. These statements show her pride in and attachment to the Japanese language and people who behave in accordance with Japanese values, which must have been influenced by the chronotopic identity around *kokugo* she acquired during her school days in Japan. Thus, although not explicitly expressed, I argue that such pride in and attachment to the Japanese language, values and people, is linked to her concept of *kokugo*. According to Heinrich (2012), if people speak ‘*kokugo*’ they are verified as authentic Japanese. She hoped their students would speak ‘*kokugo*’ and feel an attachment to it.

The last sentence in the above extract was uttered when she was talking about her own children and expressed her wish for them. Her emotional utterance, “I want my children to remember that they are Japanese even after I die”, might show her fear that her children might stop speaking Japanese and then lose their Japanese identity after she dies. For her, to speak Japanese constantly seemed to have an intimate association with Japanese identity. It appeared she wanted them to learn Japanese language “not really for exams”, but in order to keep their Japanese identity.

The head teacher, who wanted to revise the school curriculum, also replied to the question, ‘What does South School want to teach?’, saying:

#### Extract 6.30

First of all, well, I want to teach them about Japan, what we could call the culture, even songs, crafts even, anything really, but uniquely Japanese things, including the language, but not only the language, seasonal traditions too, those are the things I want to teach them first and foremost. Then, secondly, I’d have to say, I want them to be able to speak Japanese properly and, if possible, to read in Japanese. Writing, I understand, is rather hard, so I don’t have particularly high expectations.

(From translated interview, head/upper primary A class teacher, South School)

Her perspectives here are similar to those of the head administrator, except for her tentative hope that the students would be able, “if possible, to read in Japanese”. This hope seemed to be related to her ambition to revise South School’s ‘curriculum’, which would possibly enhance their students’ reading skills. In order to read in Japanese, she considered *kanji* study important as shown in her previous extract of this section (see Extract 6.26), which is

reminiscent of what teachers in North School aimed to achieve. However, as discussed earlier, she gave up on this tentative hope in the end. Although her personal ambition for JHL education seemed to overlap to some extent with the aspiration of North School, she prioritised the ethos of South School, which aimed to be an inclusive community for any Japanese families.

She expressed the wish that the students should learn about Japan and its language and culture, such as Japanese “seasonal traditions”, saying “anything really, but uniquely Japanese things”. One could say, therefore, that she wanted them to come to appreciate the sort of things appreciated by people having a conventional chronotopic identity influenced by *kokugo*. My observations show that parents in charge prepared weekly cultural activities relating to things such as seasonal events or traditional Japanese games and songs as well as typical school events in Japan, such as opening and closing ceremonies of each school term, measurement of physical fitness or sports events. I understood that the school valued what they felt to be “uniquely Japanese things” and adopted them actively in the school programme. The head teacher also wanted them “to speak Japanese properly”. This judgemental term ‘properly’ was also used by the head administrator in the previous extract. The concept of *kokugo* involves the idea that all people in Japan should be able to communicate in the same language (Lee, 2012). By ‘properly’ they probably meant to the extent that the speakers would be acknowledged as ‘authentic’ Japanese by other Japanese people. I argue that her hope for the students regarding development of an understanding of Japan and Japanese language and culture is also linked to the vague but powerful concept of *kokugo*, even if she did not use the term. *Kokugo* as conceptualised by mother-teachers in South School was something they took for granted and that was based on gut feeling. Although some subtle differences might have existed between what parents felt, there was a sense of shared values among them.

Regarding parental commitment, most teachers talked a lot on this topic during their interviews. As a volunteer-based institution charging parents little in the way of fees, all parents in South School needed to take on some duties - administrative roles, teaching, assisting teachers or preparing/supervising cultural activities. Parental involvement was vital to the running and management of the school and clearly visible. An issue that interviewees seemed particularly eager to talk to me about, however, was varying levels of parental commitment towards their own children’s Japanese study or acquisition. The head teacher said:

#### Extract 6.31

The important thing is how much parents want their children to study. I find such differences in parental commitment more problematic. Differences among the children themselves can't be helped.

[...] I want the children studying here at least to be able to communicate with their relatives by themselves without an interpreter when they go back to Japan. [...] It's not difficult, I guess, but parents need to be patient. The reason why some students cannot help speaking English at South School is probably because of their habits at home.

(From translated interview, head/upper primary A class teacher, South School)

This extract shows her irritation towards some Japanese parents who did not make enough commitment to their children's Japanese learning/acquisition. She implicitly condemned some parents for not speaking Japanese at home, saying, "the reason why some students cannot help speaking English at North School is probably because of their habits at home". She emphasised patience as what parents need in order to pass on '*kokugo*' to their children. Her utterance, "it's not difficult, I guess, but parents need to be patient" implies that any parents could pass on '*kokugo*' to their children without special skills or expertise, but that they needed to make constant and long-term efforts. She trusted the norm prevailing extensively among JHL schools in many countries - that is, children need parents who want them to become bilingual and help them to achieve that goal (Shibata, 2000). As she said, she finds "parental commitment more problematic" than differences "among the children".

The head administrator, who started the new class for students who hardly had any Japanese input at home, also complained about the lack of commitment among the parents of the three children in her class.

#### Extract 6.32

They may think it good for their children to have a chance to hear somebody speak Japanese a bit, even for only a few hours per week. Only a few words, this or that, are fine, because they don't normally speak Japanese at all. [...] the children don't even bring pencils. Their homework doesn't have any trace of being checked by the parents. I always think it strange, why it is they don't want to speak Japanese to their children, but they do want to let them hear it (at South School).

(From translated interview, head administrator/new class teacher, South School)



She was clearly discontented with the attitude of the three parents, finding it hard to understand “why it is they don’t want to speak Japanese to their children, but they do want to let them hear it (at South School)”. She commented “the children don’t even bring pencils. Their homework doesn’t have any trace of being checked by the parents”, criticising the parents for their apparent indifference to their children’s Japanese study. She, just like the head teacher, strongly believed in the norm prevailing extensively among JHL schools in many countries regarding parental commitment. She was particularly critical about their not making an effort to speak Japanese to their children, since she, as discussed before (see Extract 6.25), considered speaking Japanese to be the best way to pass on ‘*kokugo*’. Just like the head teacher, she did not seem to mind students’ diverse language skills resulting from their different domestic language practice. She was just unhappy with those who did not make an effort regardless of their domestic circumstances while, as examined in the previous chapter, she was sympathetic toward mothers who could not use Japanese at home as much as they liked because of their non-Japanese partners. Their focus was much more on Japanese parents’ attitude or passion rather than how much they actually spoke Japanese at home.

South School initially started as a mothers’ gathering for Japanese mothers leading a new life with their non-Japanese partners in this city in England. It could be said that they started to get together to maintain their common chronotopic identity, in the development of which *kokugo* education during their school days in Japan would have played a major role. Even after these meetings developed into the present form of the Saturday school, this original motive remained. Their concerns seemed to focus in part on whether or not Japanese parents retained pride in the Japanese language and Japanese values. I argue that *kokugo* ideology constructed in South School indexes parents’ Japanese identity and pride in the Japanese language and nation. It seemed that the two teachers were afraid that the parents mentioned above might have lost such pride or identity since they did not make an effort to speak Japanese to their children and appeared indifferent to their Japanese acquisition. That was why they found the situation problematic.

The middle primary class teacher, whose elder son left South School after taking Japanese GCSE exams and whose younger daughter was studying in her class, talked about parental commitment in a different way:

### Extract 6.33

I'm always wondering if there is any point in my children studying Japanese. There's no particular reason to think they are going to live in Japan in the future. If I were them, I might wonder why I have to study Japanese. 'It's only for you, Mum, isn't it?' they might think. [...] Even though Japanese might not be that necessary for their future, I would feel sad and apologetic towards my parents if my children cannot communicate with them. That might be the only reason why I'm doing this. [...] It's easy to teach them Japanese as it's my native language. If they have at least some idea of their links with me, their Japanese parent, they might understand Japan's good points a bit better when they visit Japan. That's really all it is. But I mightn't be able to force them to study Japanese if they really hate it. At the moment, they're OK with it.

(From translated interview, middle primary class teacher, South School)

This parent-teacher expressed a certain hesitation in sharing her Japanese identity with her children. She saw a different identity in her children, who were being brought up in England in an environment quite different to the one in which she was raised, and who would probably continue to live there without any particular intention of living in Japan. Her utterance, "It's easy to teach them Japanese as it's my native language" implies her concept of *'kokugo'*, which can be taught easily by her or anybody having a typical chronotopic identity around *kokugo*. This view is reminiscent of that of the other two mother-teachers, whose attitude suggests that they felt themselves to be living exponents of the concept of *kokugo*, even if they did not describe themselves in these terms, and thus able to pass it on just by speaking to their children.

However, unlike them, she seemed to feel a kind of pity for her children, who were made to study a language due to its connection with their mother's identity, saying, "If I were them, I might wonder why I have to study Japanese. 'It's only for you, Mum, isn't it?'". She was not sure if they really needed to learn *'kokugo'* or would appreciate it, saying, "I'm always wondering if there is any point in my children studying Japanese" and "I mightn't be able to force them to study Japanese if they really hate it". Her concept of *'kokugo'* representing her Japanese identity also links to her parents as she indicated, "I would feel sad and apologetic towards my parents if my children cannot communicate with them".

She just hoped that her children would appreciate the Japanese identity introduced by their Japanese parent, saying, “if they have at least some idea of their links with me, their Japanese parent they might understand Japan’s good points a bit better when they visit Japan”.

In South School, teachers seemed to have an unspoken and vague concept of *kokugo*, which represents the authentic Japanese language, culture or spirit they would like to pass on to their students. The *kokugo* conceptualised there, which teachers told me about without actually using that word, was not really based on *kokugo* textbooks, but on parents’ intuition, which was deeply related to their Japanese identity. The parents had acquired an emblematic chronotopic identity around *kokugo* while they were studying and socialised in their school days in Japan, under the influence of the national ideology. According to Gottlieb (2012), *kokugo* ideology, a powerful belief about ‘good’ Japanese resulting from *kokugo* education and prevailing strongly throughout Japan, is bolstered in domestic environments by parents, who teach their children and try to pass on what they themselves were taught in *kokugo* at school. What they attempted to pass on at South School collectively within an institutional setting was similar to what parents in Japan teach their children at home relying on their intuition regarding ‘*kokugo*’ as ‘good’ Japanese.

The *kokugo* ideology constructed there involved a mission to pass on something that people with Japanese identity share as something taken for granted. The mother-teachers believed anybody having such an emblematic choronotopic identity could teach ‘*kokugo*’ without any special skills or expertise. Thus, the *kokugo* ideology they trusted in emphasised speaking ability and the parents’ passion for passing on Japaneseness to their children.

However, it might not have been easy for Japanese parents to maintain such an emblematic identity once they migrated from Japan, since they had also accumulated a range of experiences outside Japan during their life trajectories, which had led them to settle in this particular city in England. Indeed, the desire to express and maintain their Japanese identity seems to have been the motive for the foundation of this community, which started as a gathering of Japanese mothers. The ethos of this original gathering was maintained as the Saturday school grew from it and developed, becoming a place where the members attempted to do together what Japanese parents in Japan do at home with their children, something that was difficult for them to do individually at home in a non-Japanese speaking society. The importance of collective teaching and learning at heritage language schools is also emphasised by Creese et al.(2008) in their project with eight non-Japanese heritage language schools in England, since individual parents find it difficult to teach their language and heritage in isolation at home.

Their *kokugo* ideology also involved Japanese identity for parents, who were expected to maintain their pride in Japan and its language, culture and values. Using Heller & Duchêne's (2012) concepts of pride and profit, it could be argued that the *kokugo* South School aims to pass on is more related to pride than profit. In view of this relation to identity, possibly as much hers as that of her children, rather than to a practical skill with more clear, concrete benefit for their future, one mother-teacher had some qualms about making her children attend the school. The *kokugo* ideology in this school, strongly related to a sense of pride, acted as a centripetal force occasionally operating as a counter force to their aspiration to create an inclusive Japanese community based on a positive ideological orientation towards difference. The concurrence of these contradiction-ridden ideologies generated South School's flexible programme relying on parental intuition in relation to *kokugo* ideology. Sustainability is a merit of this school, its inclusiveness meaning that it can continue as long as there are Japanese parents in the community.

#### **6.4. Conclusion of the chapter**

The Japanese-only rule was a prominent rule prevailing strongly at both North School and South School. All the teachers kept it in mind in the classroom, although how strictly they stuck to the rule differed between the schools, among individual teachers and also depending on materials used in the classroom. It is likely that this was related to a Saussurrean concept of 'a language' or 'Japanese language', as a fixed structure governed by rules and as something that functions in a systemic way within its boundary (Key & Noble, 2017), a conventional discourse that has influenced the language education field for many years. The influence of Saussurrean linguistics was particularly evident in how both schools valued *kokugo* dictionaries and encouraged their bilingual students, whose idiolects they acknowledged to be fluid across languages, to develop Japanese vocabulary within the boundary of Japanese. It seemed that the ideal 'Japanese' they aimed to teach should be enclosed with fixed structures and rules and should not be contaminated by English. This ideology operated strongly as a centripetal force at both schools.

Another centripetal force circulating robustly at both schools was *kokugo* ideology grounded on an emblematic chronotopic identity children in Japan acquire throughout *kokugo* education during their primary and secondary school days and representing common-sense feelings, value and attachment existing around the concept of *kokugo*. This ideology, a powerful mediating factor of language practices in Japan (Gottlieb, 2012) and emblematic

feature to legitimacy as authentic Japanese citizens and good Japanese speakers, came to England with Japanese immigrants and shaped the idea of the ‘authentic’ Japanese and Japaneseness each school aimed to pass on to their students. Although individual teachers and administrators felt it a common-sense feeling and a matter of course among those having a powerful chronotopic identity around *kokugo*, *kokugo* ideology appeared very differently and indexed distinctive things at each school, determining the distinctive programme of each. Individual teachers also conceptualised it differently, which caused a few teachers to have doubts or questions other teachers did not have.

In North School, where hired teachers tried hard to enhance students’ Japanese skills by utilising their expertise, their *kokugo* ideology indexed ultimately the process by which children in Japan master literacy step by step through *kokugo* education. Teachers, as a goal for their students, valued the attainment of reading skills in Japanese, which is identified as language as profit, although they also wished students to acquire Japanese language for the sake of pride. In South School, on the other hand, where parent-teachers taught what they believed anybody having such an emblematic identity could do without any particular expertise, *kokugo* ideology rested on parents’ intuition. It led to value being placed on speaking ability and Japanese identity or pride rather than profit, although the head teacher had hoped to put more effort into developing practical reading skills but gave up on this idea, yielding to the other strong ideology prevalent in South School, namely an acceptance of heterogeneity.

Lee (2012) points out that *kokugo* is not a real object but is actually a value grasped as a concept which unites two aspects of national identity: the nationalistic aspect on the one hand, and, on the other, the democratic aspect where all the people in Japan should be able to communicate in the same language both orally and in writing. *Kokugo* ideology can correspond to both pride and profit, in keeping with Heller & Duchêne’s description of these concepts (2012), with pride relating to the nationalistic aspect and profit associated with the democratic aspect and the practicalities of efficient communication. *Kokugo* ideology, which can be viewed as acting as a centripetal force, had a significant influence on the founders of both schools, motivating them to open the schools, and on the teachers and administrators in developing and teaching their programmes.

Although the teachers and administrators were significantly affected by these ideologies that acted as centripetal forces, as discussed in the previous chapter they simultaneously espoused ideologies tending towards heteroglossia, valuing translanguaging and openness to difference and change. Thus, we see a tension-ridden coexistence of ideologies in JHL

schools, some oriented inwards, towards preservation of a unitary, standard, 'authentic' version of Japanese and Japaneseness, while others pull in the opposite direction, celebrating diversity, hybrid cultural identities and the ability to create meaningful linguistic practice across languages rather than separating languages. How these tension-ridden ideologies coexisted under their unique circumstances led the two schools to their different types of JHL programme.

# Chapter 7. Conclusion

## 7.1. Introduction

This chapter summarises the findings of this study and directly addresses the three research questions. Based on the findings outlined in the previous analytical chapters, the thesis makes some recommendations for educators in JHL schools and in other bilingual contexts. Finally, there is a reflection on the writing of the thesis, considering its limitations and topics for future investigation.

## 7.2. Addressing the research questions

### 7.2.1. How is translanguaging used pedagogically, or otherwise, at two JHL schools in England?

The research reported on here found that translanguaging had an important role to play in the pedagogy of JHL classrooms. A notable observation was that translanguaging provided a path through conflicting ideologies and was essential in reconciling other historical and social pressures. On the one hand, teachers strived to impose a Japanese-only policy believing this was best for the learning of Japanese in a social context which privileged English outside the classroom. There was a preference for language separation in JHL classrooms. The desire to keep JHL schools and classrooms as Japanese-only spaces was articulated in teacher interviews, school mission statements and through interaction in other school spaces in which teachers talked to one another, instructed students and interacted with parents to endorse the view that learning Japanese was best done by keeping English out of language learning contexts. On the other hand, the research found that in practice this ideology was rarely implemented strictly. Instead, teachers drew on their linguistic resources in a variety of ways to keep their students engaged and learning. This meant that while a Japanese-only ideology existed, another ideology ran alongside it, which endorsed flexible languaging practices allowing for teachers and students to bring a range of different linguistic resources into the classroom for the learning of Japanese. These included English but also other semiotic resources. Translanguaging was therefore a pedagogic strategy for bridging these ideological divides.

Another finding in relation to a translanguaging pedagogy was the balancing of past and present perspectives on how best to teach literacy. Teachers moved between a reliance on their own experiences as learners in Japan and an acknowledgement that their students in the JHL classroom needed a different kind of educational provision in relation to learning Japanese while living and studying in England. This balancing of their own experience of learning to read and write through *kokugo* textbooks and their need to try other methodologies can be said to be a translanguaging pedagogic practice because it involved the balancing of different and often conflicting ideological perspectives. Some teachers relied on their own experience of using *kokugo* textbooks and believed in re-creating in their classrooms in England the monolingual environment they had experienced during their schooldays in Japan. Other teachers moved away from the strictures of the *kokugo* ideology drawing on their awareness as parents of how these bilingual children's literacy practices could be extended. Many teachers simultaneously held both sets of views and handled the conflicting ideologies about literacy effortlessly.

A third finding in relation to translanguaging pedagogy was its importance in developing metalinguistic awareness. In the translanguaging space that JHL school provided students, teachers encouraged students to reflect on their own idiolects, drawing attention to variation in different linguistic resources. Teachers often encouraged students to notice these differences, providing an opportunity for further reflection and learning. In summary, my research concurs with existing research which found that translanguaging pedagogy takes place in a safe space where students can negotiate various ideologies and generate fluid language practices and hybrid identities. It creates a space where teachers give up their authority roles and become facilitators who can maximize translanguaging collaboratively with students.

### **7.2.2. What ideologies circulate in the two JHL schools?**

This study sheds light on similarity in ideologies circulating in JHL schools in spite of dissimilar school traditions and programmes. An important finding was that the social circumstances experienced by Japanese immigrants helped to form their ideological beliefs, and thus the ideologies circulating in JHL schools. The Japanese immigrants who sent their children to the JHL schools under study lived in cross-cultural partnerships in a city in England, while during their schooldays in Japan they had been socialised through the *kokugo*



curriculum. Although the life trajectories and backgrounds of individuals varied greatly, they shared between them a set of ideologies based on these common experiences.

It became clear that the coexisting and competing ideologies circulating could be very well described in Bakhtinian terms using the concepts of centripetal and centrifugal forces, the former exerting pressure to maintain the idea of a correct, standard, static and authentic Japanese, while the latter pulled in the opposite direction, towards heteroglossia. This study identified two significant centripetal ideologies and one vital counterbalancing centrifugal ideology prevailing at JHL schools. The two centripetal ideologies were language separation and *kokugo*, while the centrifugal ideology was heteroglossic translanguaging. *Kokugo* ideology is a social and political construction dating back to 19<sup>th</sup> century Japan when an effort was made to forge a homogeneous Japanese nation with *kokugo* as the unitary national language. It is closely related to the concept of ‘authentic’ Japanese language and spirit, and thus influenced the programmes enormously. The ideology of language separation was demonstrated through the concept of ‘Japanese language’ articulated in teacher and administrator interviews, which was seen as a code-like system with fixed rules and an enclosed system within the boundary. Both the ideologies outlined above acted as centripetal forces pushing for implementation of a Japanese-only policy in the classroom and putting pressure on teachers to prevent the language from being mixed with English. The heteroglossic language ideology, on the other hand, favoured the change and diversity experienced by the Japanese immigrants. It valued their children’s fluid and diverse idiolects and led to an acceptance of translanguaging in the classroom over the Japanese-only policy.

Another finding in terms of ideology was that a different balance between these conflicting ideologies as well as different perceptions of *kokugo* resulted in distinct programmes at the JHL schools studied. An important observation was that there were some significant individual differences in thinking about *kokugo* although there existed a certain shared ‘common-sense’ feeling about it. These differences affected the collective conceptualisation of *kokugo* in a school and also explained doubts or questions a few teachers had about what they were doing. The *kokugo* ideology circulating in one school indexed the Japanese literacy children in Japan acquire through the *kokugo* curriculum, and its programme put particular emphasis on the development of reading skills. The *kokugo* emphasised at the other school, on the other hand, pointed to how parents in Japan direct their children to ‘good’ Japanese language and spirit at home, its programme relying on parental intuition. Matters on programmes will be taken up further in the answer to the next research question.

### 7.2.3. What do the two JHL schools aim to pass on to their students?

The JHL schools in this study created their own programmes freely, influenced by certain ideologies and by historical and social factors around them, making the best of the limited resources available to them. The language skills they aimed to pass on were associated with concepts of ‘profit’ and ‘pride’ Heller & Duchêne (2012) term. The former indicates language skills for practical reasons while the latter, in the context of JHL schools, derives from the parental wish for children to have a connection with their ancestors’ culture and language and to maintain and develop a Japanese identity. It was observed that the elements of profit and pride were intertwined quite differently and were contingent upon different perspectives on *kokugo* and different historical and social factors around individual JHL schools. Thus, the ‘heritage language’ that the schools aimed to pass on to the next generation was conceptualized distinctively and this had a significant effect on programme design.

Two contrasting types of JHL programme were identified. One, emphasising ‘profit’ elements, aimed to be a reproduction of a school in Japan in the context of England while the other, with an emphasis more on ‘pride’, was designed to be a recreation of home education in Japan in the form of a collaborative community. The former is represented by North School and the latter by South School. North School provided a *kokugo*-based programme which indexed the Japanese literacy acquired by children in Japan, particular value being attached to the development of reading skills. In this school, there existed a belief that this approach was superior to pursuing British qualifications. Its ideological stance was strongly influenced by the *hoshuko* system, which is bound up with Japanese government policy, schools in Japan and the *kokugo* curriculum, and this system played an important role as a benchmark. In opposition to this, however, there co-existed in this school an ideology favourable to the diversity and change prevalent amongst the bi-/multicultural families involved in JHL education. The latter ideology favoured inclusivity and openness to the use of diverse linguistic resources in the classroom for the enhancement of student engagement and learning. With strong, centralised management, this school relied on experienced teachers, and on parental support at home, to pursue a challenging language programme. An important finding was that ‘heritage language’ connects not only to the past but also to the future. While expecting that students would be able to develop a connection with their ancestors’ culture and language, this type of JHL programme, identified as emphasising

‘profit’ elements, also linked ‘heritage language’ to the idea of useful practical skills for students’ futures.

By contrast, the other programme observed in this study at South School relied substantially on parental intuition, with parent-teachers falling back on their own childhood experiences of *kokugo* education in Japan to inform their teaching. The programme also indexed how parents in Japan teach ‘good’ Japanese language and values at home. Thus, the ‘heritage language’ that this school aimed to pass on focused on a connection to Japanese culture and identity, with the cultivation of literacy a lesser priority. The programme attached great value to maintenance of this identity in parents and children and exploited the collective power of the community. The Japanese-only policy espoused by this school was intimately linked to this ideology of nurturing a specific cultural identity. It is significant, however, that this school made use of any resources available, from *kokugo* textbooks to materials related to British national qualifications. Another ideology circulating in the school was one of openness to diversity and change, one which recognised the wide-ranging experiences of bi-/multicultural families. This ideology provided the rationale for welcoming into the school community any family of Japanese heritage, regardless of the Japanese language level of the children. Unsurprisingly, there were times when the two quite different ideologies evident in this school came into conflict with each other. A situation made by the very openness and democratic nature of the school inevitably led to diversity amongst families not only in terms of Japanese language ability but also in terms of aims and priorities. Although there was general agreement on the aim of strengthening understanding of Japanese culture and the ability to communicate in Japanese, there were sometimes disagreements on how to go about this. Some members of the community thought of “Japanese-only” as a rule, and thus a criterion for exclusion, while others saw it as a flexible ideal. In this school, the two ideologies co-existed, but occasionally caused tensions.

Another prevalent belief in this school was that strong parental commitment and enthusiasm were required for the passing on of Japanese identity amidst a social context that, outside the classroom, was predominantly non-Japanese. Great value was attached by many members of the school community to collective effort, harmony and networking. Again, inevitably, there were instances of frustration arising from the co-existence of the ideology favouring diversity and one valuing dedicated parental commitment to Japanese. Critical feelings occasionally arose among some members of the school towards those whose enthusiasm was judged to be lacking. However, this study found that an ideology of ‘conviviality’ had a particular role to play in easing tensions at JHL school valuing

diversity and harmony. This ideology, which was developed by a social circumstance within the community, enabled the positive ideological orientation towards difference to be sustained. It provided a way to laugh off frustrations and disagreements so that they did not cause division nor a reason for exclusion. It worked as a stabilising mechanism, maintaining community harmony in an environment where opposing values were in circulation, even allowing individuals to reconcile their own co-existing and conflicting views.

The final finding in relation to programmes was that the British national examination system provides JHL schools with a valuable addition to the *kokugo* curriculum. Studying for British qualifications in Japanese language can give students a clear goal that motivates them to continue attending and doing their best at weekend school, helping them to see how it is beneficial for them. Moreover, with regard to the school in this study which incorporated preparation for these examinations into its programme, it is noteworthy that teachers in these classes, using British materials, were naturally released from the pressure to conform to the idea of the *kokugo* education they had experienced in their childhood. This facilitated among teachers the adoption of translanguaging as a pedagogy over the ‘Japanese-only’ ethos of the school. Preparation for British qualifications also opened up the possibility of creating complementary relationships between JHL and mainstream schools.

### **7.3. Contribution to the development of JHL schools**

This section gives a brief account of how my project has brought me into contact with JHL schools and considers how research presented in this thesis can contribute to the development of JHL schools in England. It draws on my research and that of others, and on my experience of heritage language education as a language teacher over many years. It presents my own involvement in activities with JHL schools in England first, then moves on to suggestions for the development of JHL schools.

#### **7.3.1. Activities with JHL schools**

While collecting data for my project, I tried to support JHL schools in return. Their willingness to allow data collection showed a substantial commitment and I encouraged the expectation that I would contribute something in return. This meant I undertook several kinds of activity.

Firstly, I gave talks to all the parents at both schools during my fieldwork. As requested, I mainly talked about the significance of heritage language education, trying to offer some

advice based on empirical research and on my experience. At South School, which continues to invite me to come and talk once a year or so even after the conclusion of my fieldwork, I have also given presentations focusing on GCSE and A level Japanese examinations and how JHL schools can utilise the national examinations in their curriculum. During my preliminary study, I also gave talks at some schools when requested.

Secondly, I have made myself available to new schools and was contacted by two newly opened JHL schools after my fieldwork. The founder of one school came to my city and we had a casual talk in a cafe, while I answered her questions and offered some advice. Through the introduction of the head administrator of South School, I also gave a talk to parents of another newly opened JHL school. Initially, I was supposed to visit the school and talk there, but because of the Covid-19 pandemic, the visit was cancelled, so I gave an online talk via Zoom instead. Around 30 mothers listened to my talk and participated in a group discussion. This school particularly requested me to explain about the revised GCSE Japanese examinations and how they can adopt them into their programme.

Thirdly, I became involved with two petitions relating to Japanese language education and brought these to the attention of JHL schools in England. After the UK exam boards announced in May 2015 that they would be withdrawing small-entry GCSE and A level qualifications including Japanese from 2017, groups of Japanese university teachers and schoolteachers started a signature campaign to petition the government to retain and redevelop these national examinations in Japanese. I let all the JHL schools I had visited know about the petition and asked them to spread it among their members. It turned out to be an opportunity for me to keep in touch with the schools and let them know updated information on Japanese qualifications in the UK. Since the success of the petition, I have done my best to keep each school informed whenever I find out useful information on GCSE and A level Japanese qualifications.

I also got the JHL schools I had visited involved in another petition, this time relating to a bill in 2018 that spelt out the Japanese government's responsibility for systematically promoting Japanese language education (日本語教育推進法 *Nihongo kyoiku suishin ho*), which I mentioned at the beginning of this thesis (see 1.1 Introduction). All the JHL schools I had visited took the petition seriously and spread it among their members and some schools wrote statements explaining the situation of their own schools, while I wrote a statement about the overall situation of JHL schools in England. The Diet members read our statements together with those written by other JHL schools and JHL researchers all over the world. As a

result of the petition, a bill including support for children settled abroad without any clear intention of living in Japan was submitted and, on June 21<sup>st</sup>, 2019, was finally enacted.

Fourthly, it is my intention to stay on top of the latest information about national examinations in Japanese in the UK so that I can keep students and teachers of JHL schools updated and inform the schools of the arguments for including study for GCSE and A level qualifications in their programmes. I gave up my initial idea of paying attention in this study to how the GCSE and A level syllabuses can be worked into JHL school curricula, after observing the wide range of programmes and policies implemented by each school in my preliminary study. I still think, however, these national examinations would be beneficial for JHL schools in England, as laid out as a recommendation below.

### **7.3.2. Recommendations for the development of JHL Schools in England**

JHL schools in England are all voluntary institutions fuelled by the passion of Japanese immigrants. Except for a few schools led by language professionals like North School, most programmes are designed by non-professional Japanese parents or community members relying on intuition and memories of the *kokugo* education they received in Japan, just as in South School. This linguistic ethnography conducted at two schools reveals the situations of two kinds of JHL school in England. Based on my findings, this section gives some recommendations firstly for practitioners at educational institutions in general, then specifically for JHL schools and other heritage language schools, and finally for the UK and Japanese governments.

#### ***7.3.2.1. Recommendations for educational practitioners***

##### **1. Application of translanguaging as pedagogy**

This research project demonstrates that translanguaging is a valuable pedagogic technique in bi-multilingual settings such as heritage language schools, recommending that educational practitioners should acknowledge its value and put it to good practical use for the benefit of students. It was observed that when teachers created translanguaging space in the classroom and let students activate their full linguistic repertoires, students benefited as they learned better, more effectively and comfortably than in a monolingual environment. In a bi-multilingual learning context, translanguaging as pedagogy:

- enhances students' engagement
- deepens their understanding
- eases their stress
- develops their metalinguistic awareness

In a translanguaging space, students can make sense of their bi-multilingual world, accessing their linguistic resources across languages, including their metalinguistic awareness and overall knowledge acquired in different institutions. They are released from unnecessary stress caused by separating languages in the classroom due to the fact that their idiolects or communicative repertoires are discursive with no clear boundaries. Moreover, in such a space their language practices allow them to develop a more sophisticated metalinguistic awareness so that they can smoothly understand and develop extended linguistic repertoires which are hard to achieve in a monolingual environment.

## 2. Discussion and training on translanguaging as pedagogy

This study also found that it is not easy to set up a translanguaging space confidently in the classroom when teachers feel a mission to use prescriptive and 'correct' language and may experience some guilt about mixing languages. It is, therefore, a good idea for teachers to talk openly amongst themselves about the use of translanguaging, its benefits and drawbacks in the classroom. A session on translanguaging as pedagogy should be provided in teacher training programmes so that new teachers gain a clear awareness of its value.

### ***7.3.2.2. Recommendations for JHL schools and other heritage language schools in England***

In addition to the two recommendations in the previous section for general educational practitioners, both of which are vital in particular for JHL schools and other heritage language schools, the following recommendations are also made.

#### 1. Adopting the GCSE and A level syllabuses into JHL school programmes

Courses leading to GCSE and A level Japanese examinations can be beneficial for JHL schools in England, particularly for those having trouble designing programmes to maintain the motivation of secondary school students. Research conducted for my preliminary study and the current one found that Japanese parents at JHL schools tended to be fairly confident

in teaching what they themselves had learnt growing up in Japan, but were apt to feel uncomfortable about preparing students for British examinations, often overestimating their difficulty, particularly in the case of the A level examination. Since these British secondary level qualifications are not purely tests of language competence, JHL schools need to understand the full range of assessment criteria and assist their students in meeting these. Nonetheless, the language level of GCSE is A2 or B1 and that of A level is no more than B2 on the CEFR (Common European Framework of Reference for Languages) scale, which are not too challenging for most students studying at JHL schools. Another issue I noticed is that students at JHL schools tend to take Japanese GCSE when they are around Year 8 or 9 as private candidates, much earlier than candidates studying Japanese in mainstream schools who generally take it when they are in Year 11. JHL students completing Japanese GCSE at this early stage are too young to understand well the assessment criteria for A level, which is an academic school-leaving qualification. There is often a feeling, therefore, that A level Japanese is out of their reach, so they tend to leave JHL school upon their early completion of the GCSE qualification. The A level Japanese examination requires not only language competence but also maturity in order to understand the expected goals of British secondary education. This is another reason why A level Japanese is avoided at most JHL schools. I believe that the national examination system in England, of a type not found in many other countries, presents an opportunity for JHL schools that many could take advantage of.

## 2. Create complementary elements with mainstream education

Compared with non-Japanese heritage language schools in England, the history of JHL schools is very short and elements that could be deemed ‘complementary’ to mainstream education were hardly detected in my research. Some JHL schools, as shown in the case of South School, adopted GCSE examinations in their programmes, but they are normally regarded as little more than a way to boost the low motivation of secondary school students. Some JHL students do not realise the significance of their GCSE in Japanese until it has been counted in their overall tally of GCSEs when they reach the end of Year 11.

I believe that creating ‘complementary’ elements with mainstream education is beneficial not only for students, but also for teachers of both JHL and mainstream schools and that GCSE and A level Japanese examinations can be a key for JHL schools to create clear complementary elements and to boost student motivation. I intend to explore this topic in future research.



### ***7.3.2.3. Recommendations for the UK and Japanese governments***

Although JHL schools in England, just like other non-Japanese heritage language schools, are precious reservoirs of what Ruiz (1984) refers to as ‘languages as resources’, they are vulnerable institutions mostly self-funded by parents. This study has found that ‘heritage language’ nurtured at heritage language schools can be regarded as a form of ‘profit’, a useful skill beneficial for the future of students. Needless to say, the language and intercultural skills that are useful for individual students can be of value to the countries which they connect with in various ways through their life and work. Due to the nature of voluntary institutions, however, most programmes of JHL schools are designed by Japanese parents or community members with no professional training in education.

Meanwhile, in the UK there are generally very low levels of foreign language competence when compared with many other European countries. The UK government needs to regard as a serious problem the extremely low level of foreign language competence in the general population. I believe that supporting heritage language schools would be a significant step towards improving the situation. Heritage language schools would benefit from the following actions. The UK government should:

1. Acknowledge the value of the language capabilities nurtured at heritage language schools, which would go some way towards enhancing overall language competence in the country and might possibly change the prevailing monolingual norm.
2. Support heritage language schools by promoting teacher training sessions to enhance teaching skills as well as providing training for teachers, administrators and parents in areas such as first aid and on the specific context of England regarding such matters as child protection and health and safety.
3. Support GCSE and A level language accreditation, e.g. by encouraging local education authorities to organise explanatory meetings, mock tests and speaking tests for private candidates.

Regarding point 3 above, as of 2014 I found a few areas in England which had local associations to promote and support heritage language schools, as mentioned earlier in this thesis. Thanks to such a regional support association, secondary school students at North School could take GCSE and A level Japanese exams while the school concentrated on its *kokugo*-based programme. However, to my disappointment, all such associations in England were closed down in or before 2017, since their funders decided to stop financing them. Such

support from local education authorities is vital for JHL schools trying to make the most of British qualifications in their programmes, but, like South School, lacking expertise with regard to these qualifications. It is also of great value to schools such as North School, enabling them to pursue their original programmes while their students also have the support they need to take the national exams. I believe that researchers investigating heritage language schools across various languages should come together to highlight the shortcomings of the government's approach to language education and petition for support for such schools.

As demonstrated by the example of the Japanese Diet members mentioned earlier (see 1.1 Introduction), the existence of JHL schools is little known not only in the UK, but also in Japan. The Japanese government currently promotes Japanese education abroad in two ways: one is by supporting Japanese full time and weekend schools for Japanese children who are supposed to return to Japan in the future and the other is by organising the Japan Foundation (Japan Foundation), an independent administrative institution under the jurisdiction of the Japanese Ministry of Foreign Affairs. The former, as has already been mentioned in this thesis, includes support to *hoshuko* but not to JHL schools, while the latter promotes international cultural exchange programmes throughout the world. I spoke with a Japanese language advisor of the Japan Foundation London office and asked about how it might be possible to support JHL schools, but he made clear that its mission is to promote and support the study of Japanese as a foreign language not as a heritage language. However, as a supporter of JHL schools I was able to attend workshops organised by the Japan Foundation in London for secondary school teachers where the new specifications for the GCSE and A level Japanese qualifications were explained (the exam board having decided to stop organising workshops on new specifications for small entry subjects). JHL education, therefore, falls in the gap between the two categories of support provided by the Japanese government. It is evident that JHL schools offer a significant opportunity for the promotion of Japanese language and culture overseas that has so far been missed by the Japanese government.

I believe that the Japanese government should:

1. Change its policy on Japanese schools abroad, which currently sees temporary overseas sojourners as beneficial resources for the country but not those who are settled abroad with no intention of living in Japan in the future.
2. Understand that superdiversity is occurring in Japanese expatriate communities and that Japanese emigrants still want to maintain their Japanese identity and to pass on

the language and identity to their children even if they do not have any clear intention of returning to Japan.

3. Support JHL schools, because the heritage language abilities nurtured in the children there are valuable resources for the superdiverse world we live in, which, of course, includes Japan.

## **7.4. Final reflection**

To conclude this thesis, I deliberate upon how my data collection and analysis have been affected by who I am as a researcher, and then consider future research possibilities.

### **7.4.1. My learning Journey**

As described in Chapter 3 (see 3.4. My reflections as a researcher), I felt I managed to become a linguistic ethnographer over the course of this research project, accumulating new experience and knowledge as a researcher on top of my experience and background as a teacher, the latter providing vital archived knowledge for the project. During this, my first linguistic ethnography, I experienced the benefits of ‘open ethnographic observation’ and ‘ethnographically-informed discourse analysis’. These revealed the complexity of the real world of JHL schools in England, showing me the various facets of belief and practice around heritage language education that would not have been easy to uncover by other methods. Although I was burdened and somewhat conflicted by my wearing of two hats at the beginning of my fieldwork, namely a ‘teacher’s hat’ and a ‘researcher’s hat’ (see 3.4. My reflections as a researcher), I came to feel towards the end that my hat was unambiguously that of the researcher. A crucial moment in this development was when a teacher asked me to give her any advice I might have on her classroom practice after one of my observations. To my great surprise, I could not think of any and realised that in observing her class I had concentrated fully on trying to understand her perspective without the diversion of any evaluative or judgmental view of her teaching. I am confident in the quality and quantity of data I was able to collect by developing close relationships with my research participants and by making the most of my archived knowledge and feel that data collection was the most successful part of this project.

However, I found ‘ethnographically-informed discourse analysis’ to be extremely challenging. I was overwhelmed by the sheer amount of information at my disposal and struggled for a time with how to organise and present my analysis and discussion in the

limited space of a PhD thesis. I encountered several problems and spent much longer than I had expected on completing the analysis and discussion chapters, eventually finding it necessary to eliminate some data and arguments, and even a drafted chapter (see 3.3.3. Analysis while writing up analytical chapters). As a result, the overall focus of this thesis shifted somewhat from what I had envisioned initially. I started this project feeling myself on a mission to improve the teaching environment of JHL schools, thinking of research investigating JHL programmes and aiming to address practical matters, but eventually ended up writing two chapters on ideologies and one on language practice.

I feel satisfied with the result and happy to have chosen linguistic ethnography, a method which was appropriate for describing and analysing comprehensively the complexity of what is happening at JHL schools in England. It is a significant step for me in my research journey and one I would like to build on, pursuing my initial ambition of exploring ways to improve the teaching environment of heritage language education, as well as other ideas generated during this project.

#### **7.4.2. Future research possibilities**

I was very fortunate to get travel grants for my fieldwork from the ESRC, which enabled me to conduct my preliminary study at ten JHL schools located throughout England and ethnographic fieldwork at the two schools I was most interested in from among the ten. From this fieldwork I collected a large amount of data to explore and much more than I could discuss in this thesis. Due to the physical limitation of this PhD thesis, I had to give up some of the topics I had intended to include. In this final section I briefly mention some of these topics, and also some other ideas for future research.

Initially, I had intended to include a fourth research question, namely: How do different scripts denote different histories of Japaneseness in the context of JHL schools? However, I decided to leave this out during my writing up stage due to the thesis word limit.

Nevertheless, this topic of scripts remains one I am very much interested in and I hope to pursue it in the near future. I consider that the Japanese adoption and adaptation of Chinese characters can be seen as a form of translanguaging, as briefly mentioned in this thesis.

Although this thesis focuses on teachers' and administrators' language practice and ideologies, my data also reveal the language practice and ideologies of students. Although I had some plans to write another analysis and discussion chapter exploring students'

translanguaging, this was another topic that I could not include in this thesis due to the word limit and one that I intend to return to in the future.

One theme I attempted to pursue at one point, but soon dropped, was multimodality. I did not think of multimodality while gathering data, but happened to collect several interesting non-linguistic items created by students, such as manga comics and pictures. Since I understood that the teacher intended to prevent the students from explaining a complicated situation in English but instead in pictures or manga comics, I was interested in them and collected them. While examining them later, I classified them as examples of translanguaging beyond verbal language. However, I came to realise that multimodality is a unique research area that I should have collected data on in a more focused and consistent manner and that it was not possible for me to discuss this topic with the limited amount of data on it that I had gathered. This is a topic, therefore, that I am keen to focus on in the future.

Another theme I did not explore this time but hope to investigate in the future is gender, since gender manifests itself across my data in particular ways. The importance of parental support was emphasised at JHL schools, but it was often regarded as a mother's responsibility to provide this support rather than a father's one. In some instances where the Japanese parent was a father, this was assumed to be the reason for a lack of Japanese input at home.

Building on this project, I would like to look further into the concept of 'heritage language' as profit and at JHL programmes which aim to nurture useful language skills in children with Japanese heritage, keeping ideologies, language practice and literacy in mind. Ways to develop JHL programmes in the context of England, such as including study towards GCSE and A-Level Japanese examinations and creating complementary elements tying in with mainstream education, is another topic to explore in my future research.

I would also like to investigate *hoshuko* in England and to conduct a comparison study between JHL schools and *hoshuko*, exploring programmes which enhance the Japanese literacy of children settled abroad. A few *hoshuko* with many students enrolled who have one Japanese and one non-Japanese parent and who are unlikely to be moving to Japan to complete their education have showed interest in my research and have invited me to observe their classes, so this looks like a promising field to become involved in.

Finally, while keeping an eye on how the Japanese government's enacted bill to promote Japanese language education (*Nihongo kyoiku suishin ho*) will affect JHL schools, and networking with researchers exploring heritage language schools across various languages in England, I intend to continue my research to contribute to the development of JHL schools.

## Appendix A: Interview schedule

Teacher's history	Please tell me why you came to the UK and settled here. Will you also tell me why you became a teacher in this school?	イギリスにいらした経緯とここで教えることになった経緯をお聞かせください。
	How do you keep connection with Japan and Japanese language?	どのようにして日本／日本語とのつながりを保たれていますか。
Students	What sorts of students do you teach? Could you describe the students in this school?	この学校に通っている生徒はどんな生徒ですか。
About class - How to conduct lessons  - What to teach	How do you teach in this school? Do you have any special consideration in teaching here?	この学校で授業をする上で、気をつけていること、心がけていることは何ですか。授業の進め方で気をつけていることがありますか。
	What sorts of things would you like to teach to the students? What sorts of things do you want your students to do in Japanese when they complete the school or in the future?	ここでどんなことを教えたいと思っていますか。将来的に生徒にどんな日本語力を身に付けて欲しいと思いますか。
<i>Kokugo</i> textbook	What are the advantages of using <i>kokugo</i> textbooks? Do you see any challenges in using <i>kokugo</i> textbooks?	国語の教科書を使う利点は何でしょうか。国語の教科書を使う上での苦勞があれば、教えてください。
<i>Hoshuko</i>	What are the difference between <i>hoshuko</i> and this school? Do you teach differently in two schools?	この学校と補習校との違いは何でしょうか。教え方や生徒はどのように違いますか。

Usage of English during the class	Will you tell me how you and the students use English during the classes? What do you think about using English in the class?	授業中の英語の使用に関してはどのようにお考えでしょうか。生徒の英語使用にはどのように対応なさっていますか。またご自身はどのようになさっていますか。
Challenges	Have you had any troubles or challenges (students' attitude, motivation, materials, curriculum, etc) in this school?	今まで教えられて、困らせてこと、大変だったことなどのエピソードがあれば、お聞かせください。
Good experiences	Do you have any good experiences or memories here? If so, please tell me.	今まで教えられて、特に印象に残った出来事、ここで教えていてよかったと感じられたことがあったでしょうか。あれば、教えてください。
Own child's Japanese	How do you think about your own child(ren)'s Japanese acquisition and education?	ご自身のお子さんの日本語の習得については、どのようにお考えですか。
Significance of this school	What is the significance for students, who live in England and are educated in mainstream school in English, to study in this school?	イングランド地方に育ち、英語で教育を受けている生徒にとって、この学校で日本語を勉強する意味は何でしょうか。
Challenges of JHL schools	Do you find any challenges facing Japanese as a heritage language schools in England? If any please tell me.	この学校で行われているような日本語教育がちょくめんしている問題、課題がありますか。あれば、教えてください。
Others	Anything else do you want to tell me about this school or Japanese education for children living in England?	何か他に日本語学校のことやイギリスに定住している子供の日本語教育に関して、ご意見や話しておきたいことなどがあれば、お聞かせください。



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