Biliteracy Practices of Japanese-English Bilingual Children in Melbourne, Australia

PhD thesis submitted
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Abstract

The study is designed to investigate biliteracy practices of English-Japanese bilingual primary school children in Melbourne. The data collection fieldwork was carried out between October 1997 and June 1998. The homes of the five participant children were visited twice a week over a period of three to four months. The methodology of the investigation is primarily ethnographic and involved participant observation, interviews, and audio and video recording of the children and their parents' literacy behaviours. The study discovered the functions of Japanese literacy for the children to be largely recreational and educational while the functions of English literacy include a wider range of uses, such as recreational, educational, social-interactional and instrumental. The study also revealed that the attitudes of parent and the family's residential background in Australia (temporary or permanent residents) greatly influence the family's Japanese-English biliteracy behaviours.

The study discovered the Japanese-English biliteracy practices of the children to be asymmetrical, based on the evidence that the uses of literacy in Japanese were considerably narrower compared to English. The use of Japanese is strongly academic with limited functions in other areas, such as social-interactional and instrumental uses. For some children, it was found that the use of Japanese scripts, particularly *kanji,* is extremely limited and they are learned for reasons of cultural identity rather than as a practical means of communication. Despite the functional limitation of literacy in Japanese, however, reading and writing practices in Japanese add an extra dimension to literacy in English and also increases the amount of Japanese used at home. The study also argues that the children may be able to expand their use of literacy in Japanese if they are given more freedom of choice, rather than diligently covering what is required in Japanese textbooks and workbooks that are used in the Saturday school.

The study concludes that the children's biliteracy practices are a product of family literate culture, schooling, and Japanese and English (Australian) literate cultures. Their biliteracy practice is specific to the socio-cultural contexts in which they read and write, and their literacy development proceeds according to the needs in the environment.

Declaration

This thesis contains no material which has been accepted for the award of any other degree or diploma in any university or other institution and to the best of the candidate's knowledge, the thesis contains no material previously published or written by another person, except where due reference is made in the text of the thesis. The length of this thesis, exclusive of tables, figures, bibliographies and appendices, is less than 100,000 words.

Tetsuta Watanabe

Acknowledgements

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Chapter 1 Introduction

1.1 The Background of the Study

This study is an ethnographic description of biliteracy in children's home language, Japanese, and the language of the society, English. It is a case study conducted in Melbourne, Australia, of five English-Japanese bilingual children who will be called Miki Kawada, Sakura and Ryo Misawa, Satoshi and Eiko West. The parents and teachers of the children are also participants of the study.

The study is both specific and generalising, which are the aims of ethnographic study (Ramanathan and Atkinson 1999). At the specific level, the objective of the study is to examine the five children's biliteracy behaviours in the home context. This includes documentation and analysis of the literate environment of their homes, the functions of the reading and writing practices they perform, the choice of language for reading and writing, their parents' perceptions of biliteracy and their involvement in the children's reading and writing practices, and also the analysis of written texts that the children produce. At the generalising level, the study aims to explore the process of literacy development in particular socio-cultural and linguistic contexts by taking into consideration the inter-relationship between the children, parents, written texts, language, different writing systems and Japanese and English literate cultures. All of these descriptions and analyses are done in order to understand the meaning for bilingual children of being biliterate in a Language Other Than English (LOTE hereafter) with non-Roman scripts and also in English, which is used as the language of the society and also as the *lingua mundi* (a term used by Cope and Kalantzis 2000).

The study is indebted to many pioneering socio-cultural and ethnographic studies of literacy (eg. Cook-Gumperz 1986a, Heath 1983, Pérez 1998a, Saxena 1994,

Scribner and Cole 1981). These studies suggest that the deep, conceptual level of literacy is only understood when people's behaviours in homes, communities and schools are studied in detail. The studies of literacy are often carried out in the form of analyses of school curricula and school practices of literacy. However, a number of studies that were carried out outside of school walls revealed that researchers need to go beyond school to capture the wide variety in the uses of literacy and also literacy in the languages used in the community and homes of minority groups (Dien 1998, Martin-Jones and Bhatt 1998, Saxena 1994).

The current study is based on the belief that literacy is a process that takes place in the form of events and practices (see Luke 1994). The children's abilities in biliteracy are better explained by understanding what they do, rather than what they know. A major source of inspiration for this thought comes from works in sociolinguistics, and the ethnography of communication in particular (Gumperz 1982, studies in Gumperz and Hymes (eds.) 1986, Saville-Troike 1982). This line of research in literacy studies is followed in more recent studies, such as Heath (1983), Cook-Gumperz (1986a), Pérez (1998a) and many others who take a socio-cultural approach to the study of literacy.

Another premise that this study holds is that literacy in a modern, multilingual society should be understood, not as a single, static literacy, but as literacies, biliteracy and multiliteracies. An instance of a literacy event often involves multiple languages, modes, media and cultures in this type of society. A number of different literacies may co-exist by being interrelated at both social and individual levels (Au 1995, Cope and Kalantzis 2000, Hornberger and Skilton-Sylvester 2000, The New London Group 1996).

1.2 Japanese-English Biliteracy

The phenomenon of biliteracy is not new, but 'biliteracy' is a relatively new term, which began to be used in academic research in the last decade or two (see 2.6).

Hornberger (1989) states that biliteracy is a multidisciplinary area of study, at the intersection of bilingualism and literacy. In studies of child bilingual development, the issue of literacy has often been treated as an issue of education. Studies of child literacy development, on the other hand, have traditionally been carried out on monolingual literacy. It is probably only after 'language transference' (Cummins and Swain 1986) became a recognised issue and the benefits of bilingual and biliterate cognitive development had begun to be argued that the study of biliteracy started to flourish. In this way, studies of bilingual development and literacy became more closely related areas than before, and then the study of biliteracy as an independent discipline began to form.

The domain that has been studied most frequently in biliteracy studies is the school domain because of the need to assess the effectiveness of bilingual curricula. There are fewer studies done on non-institutional domains, such as the home and community compared to the studies done in schools. The home domain has traditionally been a popular site for the study of (monolingual) emergent literacy (Clay 1991) based on the belief that children are exposed to written texts first at home, and that parental attitudes and their assistance play a significant role in early literacy development (Bruner 1983, Michaels 1986, Vygotsky 1978). However, few studies in biliteracy at home have documented how bilingual children acquire literacy in multiple languages. This is one of reasons that the present study was conceived.

Recently in Western, English-speaking countries, such as Britain, the U.S.A., Canada and Austral , studies of literacy of minority groups have increased due to the need to study differences in the academic performance among different language and ethnic groups (see discussion in Cook-Gumperz 1986a, Purcell-Gates 1996). Recent changes in the demography of minority populations in these countries have generated studies on minority groups who had not been studied before (studies in Durgunoglu and Verhoeven (eds.) 1998a, Martin-Jones and Bhatt 1998, Pérez 1998a). Among these language groups, the need for more studies on biliteracy involving languages with non-alphabetic scripts has been

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pointed out by a number of researchers (Crump 1988, Lo Bianco and Freebody 1997). This type of study is needed, not only for the benefit of migrants who use non-alphabetical scripts, but also for gaining knowledge regarding effective pedagogy of these languages to speakers of English. There is a great demand for research by researchers of bilingualism and biliteracy, as well as teachers and parents in languages such as Chinese, Korean and Japanese that are popular second languages learned in many English-speaking countries (Freebody 1992, Gao 1996).

Japanese is one of the better-studied languages among East Asian languages in linguistics (Shibatani 1990). The Japanese writing system and processes in the acquisition of reading skills in Japanese are also studied often in order to explain why there is an extremely low illiteracy rate among Japanese despite the complex writing system, which involves two syllabaries, i.e. *hiragana* and *katakana*, and thousands of *kanji* characters (Crump 1988). In other areas related to literacy, the issue of acquisition of Japanese scripts, particularly the decoding-encoding processes of comprehension of *kanji* characters using psycholinguistic and psychometric approaches has also been extensively studied (see studies in Taylor and Olson 1995(eds.)). There are also studies that treat some aspects of Japanese-English biliteracy in the areas of bilingual development (Smith 1994, Yamamoto 1996), language maintenance and attrition (Nomoto 1977, Yukawa 2000), and linguistic transfer between English and Japanese (Cummins et al. 1984). The issue of literacy is also recognised as a significant element of the curriculum design for education of returnee children who return to Japan from overseas (see Yashiro 1995).

Despite all of these interests in Japanese language acquisition, the high literacy rate, and language education of Japanese-speaking bilinguals, an ethnographic approach to the study of literacy behaviours of Japanese-speaking bilingual children in a social context is non-existent to date. The knowledge gained from field research of Japanese-speaking bilinguals acquiring literacy skills in social contexts would provide valuable knowledge to researchers in related areas.

Particularly for researchers in biliteracy and bilingual development and education, it is believed that knowing how children acquire literacy in the situation in which they have to learn literacy in two, very different written systems (alphabetical and non-alphabetical) with different literacy cultures behind them would be insightful.

Australia is an excellent field for research in biliteracy because of its cultural and linguistic diversity (see Chapter 3). It has had an active multilingual policy, the Australian Language and Literacy Policy, since the 1970s (see Chapter 3), though this has been changing recently. Many migrants are arriving from the Middle East, South, East and North Asia. In large cities, such as Melbourne where the current study took place, approximately one out of four residents speaks a language other than English (Clyne 2001). Many of these migrants, including children, can be assumed to practice biliteracy in English and their first language in various domains in the community.

There are approximately twenty five thousand Japanese-speaking residents in Australia (see 3.2). Melbourne is a particularly suitable city to study child Japanese-English biliteracy with approximately four thousand Japanese-residents living in urban areas of Melbourne. Approximately half of this population is migrant, including Australian-Japanese mixed marriage families, and another half is temporary resident families and individuals (Mizukami 1997). With a considerable number of Japanese in Australia, there are a range of literacy resources including Japanese schools available for these residents. This study has been designed to study biliteracy behaviours the children of these groups.

1.3 Research Questions

In investigating the phenomenon of child Japanese-English biliteracy in the home context, the following research questions have been generated to guide the study. The research questions (1-4) contain several specific sub-questions:

1. What are the immediate contexts of child Japanese-English biliteracy practices?

    1a: How are home literacy environments constructed?

    1b: What are the literacy resources in the homes of the children?

    1c: How do the availability of resources in Japanese and English compare?

2. What are the attitudes of the parents towards biliteracy?

    2a: What do the parents see as the significance of biliteracy?

    2b: What are the parental roles in child biliteracy practices?

    2c: What are the expectations and goals of biliteracy held by the parents?

3. What are the children's biliteracy practices?

    3a: What functions do they use reading and writing for?

    3b: How are Japanese and English and the different scripts of these languages (*hiragana, katakana, kanji*, and Roman alphabet) used by children in the written texts that they produce in terms of;

        i) linguistic levels,

        ii) types of text,

        iii) topics and content,

        iv) types of audience?

4. How are home, school and other social domains of literacy interrelated in the children's Japanese-English biliteracy?

1.4 The Data Collection

The fieldwork for data-collection of the present study was primarily participant observation that took place at the children's homes and schools between October 1997 and June 1998. The tools for data-collection that were used along with

participant observation were interviews of parents and teachers, audio and video recording of interactions during literacy events, literacy diaries filled out by the parents and written texts produced by the children (see Chapter 4 for details).

1.5 Structure of the Thesis

The body of the thesis is divided into 9 chapters (Chapter 2-10). Chapter 2 establishes the theoretical framework of the present study by presenting how the concepts of literacy across time and in a number of disciplines have changed. Recent theories in biliteracy studies and relevant studies that take similar approaches are also discussed. Chapter 3 introduces the Japanese-speaking population in Australia and also discusses the literacy, linguistic and educational environments of Japanese-English biliteracy in Australia. In this chapter, Australian language and literacy policies, concepts of literacy in English and Japanese and also the Japanese orthographic systems are discussed. Chapter 4 outlines the methods of study and data collection tools that have been used in the fieldwork.

Chapter 5, 6 and 7 are the results, giving a description of Japanese-English biliteracy practices of the five children from a temporary resident family, a migrant family and an Australian-Japanese mixed marriage family. One chapter is devoted to each family. Chapter 5 describes the Kawada family (temporary residents), Chapter 6 describes the Misawa family (migrants) and Chapter 7 describes the West family (an Australian-Japanese mixed marriage family).

Chapter 8 is a comparison of the children's and their family members' uses of biliteracy and the texts they produced. Chapter 9 consists of a discussion of the findings. In Chapter 10, the Conclusion, limitations and implications of the study, recommendations for parents, teachers and researchers in biliteracy and possibilities for further study are discussed.

Chapter 2 An Overview of Socio-cultural Studies in Biliteracy

2.1 Introduction

In this chapter an overview of socio-cultural and ethnographic studies in literacy and biliteracy and other relevant areas will be given to provide a theoretical background to the current study: biliteracy practices of Japanese-English bilingual children in Australia.

Socio-cultural and ethnographic approaches to biliteracy are focused upon because these approaches are considered to be the most relevant to the current study. Recent theories in new literacy studies (Street 1993, Barton and Hamilton 2000), biliteracy, including the 'multicultural approach' (Au 1995), the 'biliteracy continua model' (Hornberger and Skilton-Sylvester 2000) and the 'pedagogy of multiliteracies' (Cope and Kalantzis 2000, The New London Group 1996) will also be examined.

2.2 Position of the Current Study and Tentative Definition of Literacy

Literacy has been defined variously from a number of perspectives. Earlier definitions were often narrow and referred to it as a set of functional skills that were context-free (see discussion in Grant 1986). However, recent studies using an ethnographic approach define literacy as a broad, social phenomenon that is dynamic and contingent on culture and society (Luke 1994).

For the current study, literacy is defined as the behaviours of people interacting with written texts in socio-cultural contexts. Literate behaviours are observed in 'literacy events' (Heath 1983) in which a piece of written text plays a central role in the communication. Literacy is also viewed as 'situated social practices' (Barton and Hamilton 2000), more specifically as 'literacy practices', which are goal-oriented, recurrent activities (Scribner and Cole 1981). Literacy is also viewed as a shared and accepted social norm (Gee 1996, Street 1984b). Literacy is a marker of group membership, and it is a significant part of cultural identity (Ferdman 1990, Pérez 1998a).

Literacy involves not only reading books and newspapers, and writing essays and notes, but also viewing television and using computers in which written texts are embedded (Lo Bianco and Freebody 1997, Cope and Kalantzis 2000). Literacy is not only a set of skills. It has many facets. It involves written codes (scripts and graphic symbols), modes (e.g. the manner and forms in which the written codes are transmitted) and meaning (interpretation) of the communication via written text (Lo Bianco and Freebody 1997). Literacy is an ability to carry out communication using various types of written text in a socially and culturally approved manner (Cook-Gumperz 1986a).

As there are many types of society and culture, there are many literacies (Luke 1994). There is no universal, monolithic literacy. Literacy is tied to different domains of people's lives, such as home, school and workplace. There are also literacies that are associated with mainstream groups as well as vernacular literacies that belong to minority groups (Ramanathan and Atkinson 1999). There are also an indefinite number of uses, genres or functions of literacy (Heath 1983).

A parent scaffolds, shows a model and instructs children in literacy events to develop children's abilities in literacy. Literacy is transmitted from literate adults to children through scaffolding in socially meaningful interaction (Cazden 1972). School plays a major role in children's development of literacy in modern, industrialised societies. However, school is not solely responsible for the children's literate development. The acquisition of literacy occurs in any place that literacy practices are taking place (Purcell-Gates 1996).

In a Vygotskian view of development, the learning of literacy is the internalisation of literacy as a social process (Barton and Hamilton 2000, Scribner and Cole 1981). When children learn literacy, they come to possess a unique view of literacy by practicing it. To examine their views of literacy, their literate behaviours must be studied in detail in the domains in which they read and write. Because adults have a significant influence over children's views of literacy, their behaviours also need to be examined closely. A significant objective of the study of literacy in a social context is to examine how adults participate in children's experiences of texts (Heath 1986).

Literacy changes as society changes. The lives of people in modern, technological societies today are constantly and rapidly changing due to globalisation, migration and technological advances (Cope and Kalantzis 2000). Under these circumstances, what literacy means is broadening as never before by integrating a wider range of modes of communication (Lo Bianco and Freebody 1997) necessitating continuous study for redefining literacy.

Literacy may be carried out in two or more languages in the society by the members of the community across various domains. In such a situation, the term 'biliteracy' (Hornberger 1989) is used to describe the literacy phenomena.

2.3 Earlier Literacy Research

Today, the biliteracy behaviours of children who use two or more languages in their lives are studied from a wide range of views in literacy studies and related areas, including psycholinguistics, bilingual education, anthropology, applied linguistics and sociolinguistics. However, biliteracy as an independent area of study was only recently acknowledged in academia and only a fraction of biliteracy phenomena have been dealt with (see discussion in Au 1995, Hornberger and Skilton-Sylvester 2000, Hornberger 1989). In the following sections, some dominant approaches to literacy, and the approaches of earlier studies of literacy are examined. These approaches and models include comparative, socio-historical studies, i.e. the Autonomous Model (Street 1993) and the Great Divide Theory (Moro 1988), and psychological approaches.

2.3.1 Comparative, socio-historical studies

One of the approaches that dominated early studies of reading and writing is the comparative, socio-historical approach. These early studies regarded literacy as a uniform phenomenon, taking little consideration of the diversity within a society, or the changing nature of literacy practices across domains (Barton 1994, Nomoto 1977).

2.3.1.1 Census studies

The use of the term 'literacy' in various censuses is one example of such abstract and empty definitions of literacy. The term literacy has been used in censuses without reference to culture or ideology. It is considered as a set of neutral, measurable skills. This view is the opposite of the socio-cultural approach that regards literacy as socially and culturally constructed phenomena. Heath (1986: 123) states that

> current definitions of literacy held by policy-making groups are widely varied, and they differ markedly in the relation they bear to the purposes and goals of reading and writing in the lives of individuals. Public schools (and the wide-spread minimum competency movement) see literacy as an individual accomplishment measured by psychometric scales of reading ability.

Literacy had been studied using the nation as a unit since the late 19th century (Graff 1991, Nomoto 1977). 'Literacy levels' of nation states were compared using censuses, enrolment figures in schools and formal testing (Graff 1991:374). In these earlier studies, literacy was considered as the measurable skills of reading and writing written symbols, writing one's name and reading simple texts. Many censuses were used to detect illiterate groups, rather than measuring the skill levels of literate groups. There was no suggestion that literacy was a socially and culturally constructed phenomenon in these comparisons. Knowing the literacy rate at a glance may be useful as a means of knowing educational and other standards of the nation-state, but is not an effective means of understanding the

characteristics of the literacy of the culture. Graff (1994) states that these quantitative measures have little use for understanding the nature of literacy in a socio-cultural context.

The static and narrow views of literacy and the confusion of literacy with education often result in neglecting non-school types of literacy, such as home and community literacy in minority languages. In Australia, Lo Bianco and Freebody (1997) and Shopen (2001) argue that a literacy survey done as a part of campaign to enhance the literacy standard of the country resulted in discouraging both literacy in Languages Other Than English (LOTEs) and provision for promoting literacy in indigenous languages. This literacy survey done in 1997 under John Howard's Liberal Party (conservative) government (Masters 1997) lacked a pluralistic point of view and the result of the survey cautioned that people of indigenous Australian and non-English speaking backgrounds were at risk in attaining literacy in English (Lo Bianco and Freebody 1997). Because of this result, some schools made a decision to reduce provision for LOTE and indigenous literacies in order to increase the amount of literacy instruction in English in places where support for minority literacy was most needed (Lo Bianco and Freebody 1997).

2.3.1.2 The Autonomous Model and The Great Divide Theory

A number of scholars (eg. Goody and Watt 1968, Havelock 1978, Olson et al. 1985) have suggested that there may be a cognitive divide between literate and illiterate people. Olson et al. (1985) state that written language is not just an extension of oral language, but it also enables the development of higher

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analytical skills. They state that

> ...writing does not simply cause social or cognitive changes. Rather, a world with literacy is different from one without literacy, and people's beliefs and actions and intentions are formulated in that altered world. Only in this indirect way does the invention of a technology alter thought and action. (Olson et al. 1985: 4).

Although Olson and his colleagues are careful in arguing the effect of written language on human cognition by commenting that there is only an indirect effect, he assumes that literacy has brought a transformation in the modern world, and led to a great divide between the literate and illiterate. He points out that literacy introduces more complex linguistic forms (eg. nominalisation and subordination) to language, which enable the user of written language to condense information effectively so that the text is less dependent on context (Olson et al.1985: 7-14). Havelock (1978) takes a similar view to Olson. Havelock considers that there is a fundamental difference between oral and literate culture, arguing that written language freed people from the pressure of memorising historical events and facts. He argues that, for example, ancient Greeks used oracy in order to remember specific events by using complex poetic forms. However, the prevalence of written language allowed people to write down what was previously memorised and allowed them to record significant facts and what is universal, which led people to analyse their society more critically.

Goody (1977) compared literate and semi-literate cultures in the modern world and argued that modes of thinking have changed over time with the influence of literacy. Goody argues that literacy, particularly alphabetic literacy, had a role in

developing abstract thinking, syllogic reasoning, complex classification systems, historical records and government systems (1977: 10-15). He demonstrates this by carrying out research in semi-literate communities in Ghana and finding that, although many types of logical reasoning were seen in these societies, they were strongly contextualised and tied to concrete objects. For example, the manner of counting shells cannot be used for counting cows. He attributes this kind of concreteness to the limited literacy in these societies. Regarding the absence of writing he states

> I have already mentioned that the absence of writing means that it is difficult to isolate a segment of human discourse (eg. mathematical discourse) and subject it to the same highly individual, highly intense, highly abstract, highly critical analysis that we can give to a written statement. (Goody 1977: 13)

The view of literacy which is represented by Olson, Havelock and Goody above seems to underlie assumptions that literacy brings higher levels of thought and consequently advanced societies. As studies using census and other types of quantitative research of literacy indicate, there is a strong correlation between literacy, fertility rate, economic and educational achievement (eg. Coulmas 1993, Dawkins 1991). However, as Scribner and Cole (1981) discovered, there is no direct relationship between cognition and literacy (see 2.4 below).

Street (1993) questions the view that literacy creates a fundamental divide between those who are literate and those who are not. He termed this view the 'autonomous model' and particularly doubts that literacy is independent and autonomous from social contexts.

The exponents of an 'autonomous model' of literacy conceptualise literacy in technical terms, treating it as independent of social context, an autonomous variable whose consequence for society and cognition can be derived from intrinsic character. (Street 1993:5)

Street's position is supported by a number of scholars who believe literacy is socially, culturally and individually constructed (eg. Cook-Gumperz 1986a, Heath 1983, Luke 1994, Moro 1988, Purcell-Gates 1996, Yabe 2001). Scribner and Cole (1981) showed in their study of the Vai community that schooling and urban residence may influence people's cognitive abilities, but practicing literacy alone does not. Their finding was significant in that it refuted the view of literacy as an abstract, de-contextualised and measurable ability that enhances logical thinking.

Moro (1988) categorised the view that there is discontinuity between the literate and those who are not as the Great Divide Theory. This is mainly the views held by Western authors, such as Greenfield (1972), Goody and Watt (1968), Havelock (1978) and Olson et al. (1985). Yabe (2001) argues that what the stakeholders of the Great Divide Theory are trying to stress may be a utilitarian way to divide the world into 'haves' and 'have nots'. The view of the Great Divide Theory is similar to dichotomies, such as 'primitive' vs. 'civilized' (Scribner and Cole 1981), 'context-dependent' vs. 'context-independent' (Greenfield 1972), 'speech' vs. 'text' (Olson 1977), and 'restricted' vs. 'elaborate codes' (Bernstein 1971).

Street (1993) and Graff (1994) warn that many socio-historical studies do not base their research on empirical evidence, and the words 'literacy', 'education' and 'schooling' have been used interchangeably. Street (1993) and others (eg. Yabe

2001, Graff 1994) consider the notion of autonomy and the assumption of a literate-non-literate divide a misconception or myth. Moro (1988) argues that supporters of the Great Divide Theory in the West over-emphasised the effect of an abstract writing system (i.e. the alphabet) in discussion of the development of literacy.

In recent years, there is also a growing concern among researchers who specialise in computer literacy and information technology (Yabe 2001). They fear that there is a trend in society to believe that there is a 'digital divide' between those who are computer literate and those who are not (Shimauchi 1997). Yabe (2001) argues that literacy using digital text does not require any higher cognitive skill nor enhance cognitive skills more than reading conventional written texts. He considers that overemphasising the effect of computer technology is analogous to assuming that literacy brought about irreversible change to the human intellect. It is not the technology (eg. alphabetical script or computer) that advanced civilisation, but it is the society and people's intellectual activity that changes the livelihood of people.

2.3.2 Psychological and skill approaches

Psychological studies of literacy are concerned with the developmental processes of children acquiring reading and writing skills. These studies dominated the developmental study of literacy for a long time (see discussion in Cook-Gumperz 1986a). In psychological studies, literacy is understood as "all of the processes involved in getting meaning from print or writing" (Schwartz 1984:3). In this conceptualisation, culture and social aspects of literacy are not taken into

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consideration. Anstey and Bull (1996:48) present the advantages and disadvantages of the psychological approach (see Table 2.1).

Table 2.1 Tenets and shortcomings of psychological approach

Basic tenets	Possible shortcomings
• Based on psychology and attempts to articulate the rules that govern production of language. • Explores how processes are involved in the mind. • Language and literacy performance related to access to these processes or to the successful negotiation of stage of language development. • Strong relationship between language and thought.	• Tends to interpret progress in terms of success with particular skills or processes (for example, comprehension). • Language sometimes seen as a series of invariant stages.

(Adapted from Anstey and Bull 1996: 48)

The psychological approach to literacy has two major streams. The first is bottom-up processing and the other is top-down processing. Literacy is defined differently based on the view of reading and writing processes. In the 'bottom-up processing' approach, the process of reading is considered as follows:

> Reading consists of a number of skills, which if taught in appropriate sequence, can then be put together to perform the reading process. (Anstey and Bull 1996: 67)

Subsections in the mastery of the reading process are considered to include the following skills (Garton and Pratt 1989: 199).

a. visual discrimination
   b. early word learning
   c. grapheme-phoneme correspondence

The bottom-up or decoding-encoding approach to literacy was most influential from the late nineteenth century to the early twentieth century when behaviourism and structuralism were influential theories (Schwartz 1984). Schwartz (1984) states that in those days, the reading process was studied mainly from a physiological perspective, examining eye movement, reading speed and automaticity in reading. Psychometrics was a branch of psychology, which measures the individual's reading ability in a similar manner to measuring IQ. The studies considered that the reading and writing process proceeded linearly and sequentially, from simple to complex, from a smaller to a larger unit (Beard 1995).

Critics argue that the bottom-up processing view of reading lacks the idea that reading is a meaning-making process (Goodman 1982, Smith 1978). From the mid 1970s, the top-down model, based on recent language processing theories (e.g. Transformational-Generative Grammar (Chomsky 1965) and Schema Theory (Krashen and Terrell 1983)) emerged. These new theories contributed to popularising the view that literacy processes cannot be explained by using only linear, bottom-up progression in learning, and they contributed to broadening the understanding of literacy as a complex, multifaceted process of comprehension (see discussions in Liddicoat and Shopen 1999, Anstey and Bull 1996, Harris and Sipay 1975).

The bottom-up approach was challenged by a top-down processing model, which regards reading as a process of comprehension involving different types of skills. Goodman (1982:33) stated that reading is a "psycholinguistic guessing game". According to Goodman top-down processing model is

> human interaction with print when the reader and writer believe that they are making sense of and through written language.
> (Goodman 1982:6)

Anstey and Bull state that

> ...rather than reading letter by letter, the reader samples, using information from the text and knowledge already possessed to make these interpretations...

> The reader commenced by trying to make meaning of the text, in contrast with the bottom-up theory in which the reader commenced with the perception of individual letters and print and meaning was the last part of the process. (Anstey and Bull 1996: 77)

The top-down model is different from the bottom-up processing view in that the top-down model regards meaning as the foremost significant issue in reading, as well as considering encoding and decoding as the parts of the process. However, reading is still considered narrowly as a psychological process in the top-down processing model, and its relationship to social contexts, and various functions of reading and relationships in these contexts are unaccounted for. The bottom-up and top-down approaches do not explain the influence of social and environmental conditions on children acquiring literacy. These psychological approaches may be useful for measuring abilities using certain skills, for example, grapho-phonetic matching or comprehension of lexical items. While bottom-up

and top-down processing are useful in gauging literate skills that are taught in schools or in other context-reduced situations, they are not useful in examining the concepts of literacy, the social values attached to literacy and other social behaviours around literacy.

2.4 Socio-cultural Approach: Literacy as Socially Constructed Phenomenon

The narrow and less culturally sensitive approaches began to decline in the 1980s as interdisciplinary approaches began to appear. The socio-cultural approach to literacy studies were strongly influenced by various civil rights movements in North America, such as desegregation of the school system (Cook-Gumperz 1986a, Heath 1983). Heath (1983) states that linguists and anthropologists collaborated to find ways to improve low school performance among minority children, particularly Afro-American children, whose community had undergone drastic changes in terms of school, community and work lives. This resulted in a growing demand for culturally sensitive language and literacy curricula in schools (Cook-Gumperz 1986b).

The new approach, referred to as 'new literacy studies' (Street 1984b), regarded literacy not only as a set of skills or functional abilities, but broadly as social practices (Barton and Hamilton 2000), socially constructed phenomena (Cook-Gumperz 1986a), or events and practices (Heath 1983, Scribner and Cole 1981). These concepts were generated based on ethnographic research in various social and cultural contexts. Scribner and Cole state:

By practices we mean a recurrent, goal-directed sequence of activities using a particular technology and particular systems of knowledge. We use the term "skills" to refer to the coordinated sets of actions involved in applying this knowledge in particular settings. A practice, then consists of three components: technology, knowledge, and skills.

… Whether defined in broad or narrow terms, practice always refers to socially developed and patterned ways using technology and knowledge to accomplish tasks.

…Literacy is not simply knowing how to read and write a particular script but applying this knowledge for specific purposes in specific contexts of use. (Scribner and Cole 1981: 236).

According to Cook-Gumperz:

Literacy is not just the simple ability to read and write: but by possessing and performing these skills we exercise socially approved and approvable talents; in other words, literacy is a socially constructed phenomenon. (Cook-Gumperz 1986a:1)

Luke adds:

In this view, literacy is a dynamic, evolving social and historical construction. It is not a fixed, static body of skills. Standards and practices of literacy are contingent on the agendas and power relationship of institutions and communities, governments and cultures. That is, literacy refers to social practices that are put to work in institutions such as the family and community, school and workplace according to stated and unstated rules. In this way, literacy is constructed by individuals and groups as part of everyday life. At the same time, literacy also is constructive of everyday life. (Luke 1994: 2)

Pérez notes:

> Language and literacy are highly visible markers of cultural and
> social groups...The way one talks, conducts interpersonal
> relationships and communications, and the ways of doing the
> everyday business of one's life are acquired within specific cultural
> and social settings. (Pérez 1998a: 21)

Understanding literacy as social phenomenon, as a dynamic, evolving process, as a social and identity marker are new and significant notions that had not been strongly emphasised in previously mentioned approaches. Barton and Hamilton (2000:8) summarise the significant tenets of the social-constructional view of literacy:

- Literacy is best understood as a set of social practices: these can be inferred from events that are mediated by written texts.
- There are different literacies associated with different domains of life.
- Literacy practices are patterned by social institutions and power relationships, and some literacies are more dominant, visible and influential than others.
- Literacy practices are purposeful and embedded in broader social goals and cultural practices.
- Literacy is historically situated.
- Literacy practices change and new ones are frequently acquired through processes of informal learning and sense making.

The researchers who hold a socio-cultural view of literacy aim to analyse how people in a society view literacy and how their views of literacy are related to the construction of the society (see Cook-Gumperz 1986a). Using this approach researchers aim to examine how these views of literacy constitute a part of the life experience of people in social institutions such as schools, church, government and corporations, as well as in other systems, such as discourse, ideologies and

politics (see Gee 1996, Luke 1994). The socio-cultural view of literacy is established on the recognition that every society constructs its own perception of literacy, and considers that literacy is not a static construction, but a dynamic and evolving process in society, which is generated through negotiation of meaning in many different contexts.

Cook-Gumperz (1986a) and others (Barton 1994, Luke 1994, Pérez 1998a) who take the social-cultural approach, state that in modern Western societies, literacy is equated with many different things, which influence the construction and perception of literacy, including culture, education, ideology and discourse. Among these perceptions of literacy, social-constructionists are most concerned with the equation of literacy with schooling because they argue that schools have played the most significant role in the West in forming the concept of 'literacy' (Cook-Gumperz 1986a, Graff 1987, Luke 1994).

Cook-Gumperz (1986a) states that what counts as valid knowledge is constructed socially, ideologically and pedagogically. Because schools produce the strongest view of literacy, social-constructionists frequently set out to research school practices of literacy. There are also other institutions that act as significant agents in constructing a social view of literacy, such as government, media, religion and corporations. Cook-Gumperz (1986a) also states that not only formal but informal practices of literacy in society both at home and in the community have a strong influence in structuring what that society means by literacy.

2.4.1 The ideological and discourse models

In regarding literacy as a socially constructed phenomenon, Street (1984b) sees literacy as ideology. He argues that literacy is specific to each culture and embedded within it. He defines ideology as "the site of tension between authority and power on the one hand and resistance and creativity on the other" (1993: 3). He also states that how and what literacy is taught depends upon the social and political structures and the role of education in that society. Similar to ideology, Gee (1996) regards literacy practice as discourse.

> A Discourse is a socially accepted association among ways of using language of thinking, feeling, believing, valuing and or acting that can be used to identify oneself as a member of a socially meaningful group or 'social network', or to signal that one is playing a meaningful role. (Gee 1996:143)

While Street (1984b, 1993) uses social theory to examine the meaning of literacy, Gee's (1996) approach is more linguistic although Gee sees discourse not just as a unit of language larger than a sentence (Coulthard 1993), but as a representation of social views in the form of language, i.e. Discourse with a capital letter (Fairclough 1989). Gee (1996) argues that by practicing literacy, one becomes a member of a certain Discourse community, just as one becomes a member of a speech community by being able to speak in a certain speech style. Gee (1996: 147) argues that people cannot learn a certain Discourse, except by practicing it.

> What has been argued, controversially, to be true in the case of second language development is, I would argue, much less controversially true of Discourse: Discourses are mastered through

acquisition, not learning. That is, Discourses are not mastered by
overt instruction…

The Discourse model is located within the socio-cultural approach to literacy by situating literacy in society, rather than being confined to individuals (Gee 1996). As in the case of the ideological model, the Discourse model also considers literacy as a means to distribute power and goods in a capitalistic society (Gee 1996: 23). Gee (1996) states that it is significant to be able to use appropriate discourse styles in a given situation, which often includes the use of literacy. He argues that certain types of discourse are more valued than others in society.

Both ideological and discourse views of literacy are significant in examining literacy as a social practice from a critical point of view because literacies are valued unequally. The critical analysis of literacy is a significant element in new literacy studies because it is strongly related to motivation towards literacy and self-identity. How literacy is valued, how it is perceived and its benefit explain certain literate behaviours, for example, how a particular social group does well in school and others do not (Heath 1983).

The study of biliteracy and multilingualism from an ideological point of view is becoming significant today because of the balance of power between languages and literacies that are of critical significance to issues of social injustice and conflict (see Hornberger and Skilton-Sylvester 2000). As was discussed in Chapter 3, the provision for literacy in minority languages has always been under threat even in countries with a progressive multilingual policy, such as Canada (Cummins 2001a) and Australia (Clyne 2001, Gao 1996).

In addition, a wide range of research methods, such as comparative, ethnographic, descriptive and linguistic approaches (Purcell-Gates 1996, Snyder 1995) enabled examination of literate behaviours over a wide range of groups in various social settings. The idea of written language as plural and embedded in ideology or discourse, produced a large body of innovative interdisciplinary studies.

Purcell-Gates (1996) in her study of children's literacy development in social contexts of working-class, pre- and early school-age children in Cambridge, Massachusetts, used the technique of discourse analysis together with the ethnographic method. She used discourse analysis to examine the relationship between the acquisition of various types of literacy functions and the development of different discourse types. She studied the children's literate behaviours both quantitatively and qualitatively using similar functional categories to those used by Anderson and Stokes (1984), Teale (1984, 1986) and Heath (1983).

Purcell-Gates discovered that working-class children used literacy most for social activities, such as entertainment and instrumental uses. The majority of literacy activities of young children were through collaboration in reading and writing with literate adults. Purcell-Gates also found, as in Teale's study, that writing plays a significant part in young children's literacy practice in that they spent nearly half of the time spent on literacy at home writing.

Purcell-Gates (1996) compared levels of discourse with the types of literacy that children carried out. In order to do so, she studied children's texts in terms of the structures, contents and audience (1996: 416) and observed the following types of

discourse among children's literacy practices:

> single clause or less:
> letter
> word
> single clausal/phrasal
>
> discourse (extends beyond a single clause):
> discourse 1 (e.g. memos, notes: highly context dependent)
> discourse 2 (eg. comic books, cartoons, picture books: context
> dependent)
> discourse 3 (eg. story books, food containers: context independent)
> discourse 4 (eg. adult books, magazine articles, newspapers: highly
> context independent)
>
> (Summarised by the author from Purcell-Gates 1996: 418-424)

Purcell-Gates categorized the interpersonal levels involved in the writing behaviours of children into the following two levels: 'close-familial' (eg. siblings) and 'known but distant' (eg. teacher at Sunday school) (Purcell-Gates 1996: 417). She considered not only the social distance between the writer and reader, but also the physical proximity between them in order to know whether it was possible for the child to access the reader to clarify the meaning of the text he or she wrote.

The textual analysis into the linguistic levels and the types of reader revealed that young children most frequently wrote texts in small linguistic units (word or phrase), which require contextual support (Purcell-Gates 1996: 425). By comparing pre-schoolers and those who had begun schooling, she found out that schooling had a dramatic effect in increasing the variety and amount of literacy activities and written texts in children's homes (Purcell-Gates 1996: 423-4). The

relationship between audience and linguistic level of texts will be dealt with in Chapters 9 and 10 when the findings of the current study are discussed.

2.4.2 The critical literacy approach

A social constructional view of literacy regards literacy as a product of society and culture. Pérez (1998a: 25) states the cultural aspect of literacy as follows:

> Developing literacy in the native language and culture gives children opportunities to learn or construct notions about the purposes, functions, and processes involved in reading, writing, and thinking.

In many socio-cultural studies of literacy, the issues of power and social inequality regarding literacy have been addressed although they may not have been the main focus of these studies (see for example Heath 1983, Teale 1986, Scribner and Cole 1981). In the critical literacy approach, however, the relationship between power and literacy is the main issue.

Luke (1994) argues that a person in a modern society is required to have at least basic competence in literacy in order to participate in society. In order to participate more actively and have social power, however, one needs to have a much higher ability in literacy than rudimentary skills in reading and writing. This view regards literacy as a part of social institutions that distribute power, and the distribution of power is fundamentally unequal (Fairclough 1989, Luke 1994). Luke (1994:9) defines critical literacy as below.

A critical literacy entails not only a rudimentary control of the linguistic and semiotic codes of written text, but also understandings of the ways in which literacy has shaped the organisations and values of social life, and of the ways in which the texts of everyday life influence one's own identity and authority. Literacy is therefore as much about ideologies, identities and values as it is about codes and skills.

Luke (1994: 6) further argues that "literacy and education are means for accessing cultural knowledge and power". The study of literacy from the point of view of power is extremely important in studying the relationship between majority and minority literacies. Many socio-cultural studies revealed that there are plural literacies in society. These literacies are not equal in the power that they have.

What is considered as literacy by a mainstream group, who have control over social institutions, is a significant topic in critical literacy. Hirsh (1987) in advocating the notion 'cultural literacy' compiled a dictionary-like list of knowledge that is required to become literate in the majority culture in America. His view is criticised by many because it compartmentalised culture narrowly and also ignored minority literacies (Barton 1994: 13).

The less powerful literacies are those of minority languages that are not a part of powerful social institutions. Many socio-cultural studies have been carried out on minority literacies in order to describe their characteristics. Bridging the gap between minority and mainstream literacies is one of the major goals of improvement of school literacy today (Cook-Gumperz 1986b, Liddicoat and Shopen 1999, Williams 1991). Particularly in the area of bilingual education and studies of biliteracy, a critical view of literacy is recognised as a significant issue

(Au 1995, Hornberger and Skilton-Sylverster 2000). Cummins (2001b) states that empowerment is the primary goal of bilingual education. Hornberger and Skilton-Sylvester (2000) also demonstrated that the power balance between L1 and L2 literacies is a critical factor in biliteracy development.

The critical approach to literacy has contributed to raising the question of how certain literacies came to gain power and others did not (Fairclough 1989). However, the difficulty the critical approach may have is whether its findings could make a difference to the social situation and power distribution via literacy. Au (1995) observes, for example, that the critical approach to literacy paid much attention to social class, but not as much to ethnicity and language differences. She also argues that although many critical literacy studies aim to improve the education system, a specific method of application of the findings is as yet undeveloped (Au 1995: 89).

2.4.3 The ethnographic approach

There is a constant need for studies using an ethnographic approach because of the necessity to redefine literacy in specific contexts (see Lo Bianco and Freebody 1997). Ethnographic studies are particularly needed for supplying culture-specific information on literacy practices to related fields such as psycholinguistics, inter-cultural communication, bilingualism and education.

The ethnographic approach is an extremely significant stream in socio-cultural studies of literacy. The ethnographic approach covers a wide area that includes patterns of communication using written texts in the given culture, communicative

functions of literacy, the speech community in which literacy is used, communicative competence required to be literate, units of analysis (e.g. 'event' and 'practice', see 2.5 below), communication and social structure, and routines and rituals (Saville-Troike 1982: 11-45). Ramanathan and Atkinson (1999: 48-9) specify significant principles of ethnographic study. They should:

- focus on behaviour,
- take a holistic approach,
- gain access to the member's own perspective in the culture,
- be comparative and focus on language socialisation.

Ramanathan and Atkinson (1999) point out that ethnographic researchers do not assume separability of social phenomena from their contexts, artificial abstraction or dividing off any aspect of human behaviour or social practice. Ethnographic researchers also carry out much finer descriptions of culture than the level of uniformity of social phenomena that quantitative research assumes. The primary objective of ethnography is to describe the culture-specific nature of literacy rather than the universal, general construct of literacy assumed in socio-historical studies and the autonomous model.

Because of the focus on cultural-specificity and the detailed analysis of communicative practices, the qualitative method plays a primary role in ethnographic studies (Sato 1992). Researchers often spend a number of years inside the community using several data-taking tools to collect rich data (eg. Heath 1983), or take data cross-sectionally (eg. Scribner and Cole 1981). Ethnographic researchers work with broad, working questions rather than narrow hypotheses because the aim of an ethnographic study is to compile a rich

description of the aspects listed above. Data collection in ethnographic studies is empirical, rather than deductive. Researchers collect verbal, textual data involving all aspects of communication in the field. The triangulation of different types of data, e.g. verbal data, interview and background information, is a significant part of data analysis in ethnographic studies (Nunan 1992, Spradely 1980). This enables a researcher to confirm a finding from several different perspectives.

There are a few pioneering works of literacy research using the ethnographic approach. In particular, Scribner and Cole's (1981) and Heath's (1983) work need mentioning here considering the significance and impact that their work has had on other studies (e.g. Pérez 1998a, Street 1993, Moro 1988, Cook-Gumperz 1986a) and also on this study.

2.4.3.1 Scribner and Cole's study

Scribner and Cole's (1981) study of Vai literacies in West Africa is primarily psychological in orientation. However the study contains a rich ethnographic description of Vai literacies, which makes the study more valuable than a study that uses a single research method. Scribner and Cole combined detailed ethnographic description with psychological experiments in order to examine the relationship between literacy, intelligence and schooling, i.e. the autonomy and the great divide issues of literacy.

There are three literacies in the Vai community: Vai, which is used in the community, Arabic for religion and English for education. Vai literacy is unique in that it is taught one-to-one outside of school. Arabic literacy is taught in the

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Qu'ranic school and English literacy is taught in the Western school system. The contribution of Scribner and Cole is that they showed that literacies can be learned outside of school and that the development of literacy does not necessarily require schooling. They also found that literacy does not promote logical reasoning as was previously believed.

Scribner and Cole based their research on the Vygotskian model of psychological learning. In this view it is considered that society plays a significant role in learning in that basic processes such as abstraction and generalisation are universal, whereas, the use of written language and other symbolic systems are socially and culturally constructed (Vygotsky 1978). Literacy and other symbolic systems are transmitted to an individual through a mediator who is already skilled in manipulating symbolic systems.

Scribner and Cole (1981: 251) demonstrated that not all types of literacy have the same range of uses. For example, the literacy in Qur'anic script, is quite localised compared to literacy in English (Scribner and Cole 1981: 253). They found that schooling and urban residence rather than literacy per se had a significant effect on cognitive skills (Scribner and Cole 1981: 242-3). To summarise, their study revealed that literacy is not an independent variable which promotes logical reasoning as the supporters of autonomous models or the great divide theory (eg. Havelock 1978, Olson et al. 1985) had presumed.

2.4.3.2 Heath's (1983) study in Roadville and Trackton

Heath (1983) compared the literacy practices of two communities in North Carolina, USA. Trackton is an Afro-American working class community and Roadville is a white working class community. She also described some aspects of the literacy practices in Maintown, an Afro-American and white middle class community in order to compare the former two with the mainstream population. Heath's contribution is the clarification of the relationship between the development of literacy and oral language. She also demonstrated with rich evidence how views of literacy differ across communities. Heath's work is one of the earliest studies to describe language and literacy in context purely from an ethnographic point of view, and arrives at a holistic picture of literacy in connection with oral language use.

Heath uses the concept of 'literacy event' extensively. In her study, literacy is discussed in connection with oral language to examine the course of language development of the child in these communities. By using the literacy event as a unit of analysis, Heath analysed the unique natures of the use of reading and writing in the three communities. The uses of literacy in Trackton are particularly different from the other two communities because of the group nature of a literacy event and the use of oral language that accompanies the event. Heath states that "talk is the thing" in Trackton (1983: 198). In other words, oral use of language is the primary means of communication and literacy is nearly always accompanied by speaking. In many instances of literacy events, whether reading or writing, a great deal of speaking was noted. Reading in Trackton often meant reading the text aloud to others. An example is given below (1983: 197):

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Lillie Mae:	You hear this, it says Lem [then two years old] might can get into Ridgeway [a local neighbourhood center daycare program], but I hafta have the papers ready and apply by next Friday.
Visiting friend:	You ever been to Kent to get his birth certificate? [friend is mother of three children in school]
Mattie Crawford:	But what hours that program gonna be? You may not can get him there.
Annie Mae:	Sometimes they take that, 'cause they can 'bout tell the age from those early shots.
Visiting friend:	But you better get it, 'cause you gotta have it when he go to school anyway....

As in this example, reading a written text is a group task in Trackton. This involves reading the text aloud in front of others, talking about it and rationalising depending on the use of literacy (see below for the categorisation of the uses of literacy). By reading a text aloud and talking about it, the people in Trackton share and negotiate the meaning of a text with others.

Heath notes that reading alone is considered anti-social in Trackton. This is one example of a social-interactional rule and a culture-specific view of literacy, which is different from the mainstream community where literacy is considered fundamentally a solo activity. In the literate tradition of Trackton, oral and written language are in a relationship of continuity, not dichotomy (Tannen 1982). The significance of Heath's contribution is that it illustrates the connection between oral and written language in literacy events through her observation in Trackton and Roadville.

Heath's study also highlights the insider's view of literacy in the three communities. In previous studies, a significant part of the research was dedicated to describing literacy behaviours from an outsider's point of view. However, Heath challenged this position by showing that re-constructing the insider's view of literacy is possible. She achieved this by making a rich ethnographic description of literacy practices using the participant's own voices (1983:196). This data collection was made possible based on her familiarity with these communities. In other words, it is a record of her own enculturation in Trackton and the other two communities. This stance of field researching in ethnographic studies is shared widely today (eg. Li 2001, Sato 1992, Ochs 1988).

2.5 The Concepts of Context, Domain and Function of Literacy

As demonstrated in Scribner and Cole's and Heath's studies above, reading and writing are situated practices that are shaped by the nature of the environment. The 'domains' and the 'functions of literacy' are also significant concepts in investigating literacy in social contexts. The concept 'domain' is used in many studies in discussing uses of literacy in connection to particular styles of language, people, place and occasion (see Fishman 1972). Heath's (1983) categorisation of uses of literacy has been used in many other studies of literacy for comparative purposes (see for example, Lotherington et al. 1998, Purcell-Gates 1996, Teale 1986). Because of their significance to the studies of literacy in a social context, the notions of 'context', 'domains' and 'functions' of literacy are reviewed below.

2.5.1 Context of situation

'Context of situation' is defined by Crystal as "the features of the non-linguistic world in relation to which linguistic units are systematically used"(1991:79). In the history of the study of language and other communicative behaviours, the concept of context of situation has been used in the Firthian tradition of linguistics, which considers linguistics to be the study of meaning and function of language in society. In this tradition, context of situation is broken down into components, including 'participants', 'verbal and non-verbal-action', 'other relevant features of the situation' (surrounding objects etc) and 'effects of the verbal action' (Halliday and Hasan 1976: 8).

In cross-cultural studies of literacy, the description of context or the immediate environment of literacy practices is as significant a part of the investigation as the analysis of the linguistic code itself (Heath 1983, Hornberger 1998, Purcell-Gates 1996, Scribner and Cole 1981). The description of the broad social context as well as the immediate context of the literacy practice is vital to the investigation.

In understanding the role of context of situation, the continuity of context, from micro to macro, also needs to be taken into consideration because biliteracy is a phenomenon that occurs at all levels of context and is embedded in social institutions (Hornberger 1989, Luke 1994). *Macro* and *micro* contexts should not be misunderstood as a dichotomy, but as a continuum (Hornberger 1998, 1989). The extreme end of the macro context is equivalent to the state level, or other large geo-political entities and the micro end corresponds to local and individual levels, such as the school and home, inter-personal and even intra-personal levels.

Hornberger (1989:275) states that in studies that investigate the nature of biliteracy at a micro level, it is typically the form of code (language), the structure of the text or nature of the interaction that revolves around the text, which is the object of investigation. Therefore, the influence of immediate context on literacy events is highlighted. For example, in Aidman's (1998) study of the bilingual letter writing practices of a Russian-speaking girl in Melbourne, the description of the context of biliteracy is largely that of home and community, including the people around the girl (including recipients of her letter in Russia) and the resources available in the immediate environment. On the other hand, at a macro level, the political and economic natures of the society become the salient features of the context, including language, literacy, educational and cultural policies, law, human rights and grassroots movements (Hornberger 1998).

Ethnographic studies place significance on the wholeness of data description (Nunan 1992, Ramanathan and Atkinson 1999, Sato 1992, Saville-Troike 1982). The extra-linguistic features that are investigated in ethnographic studies include, patterns and functions of communication, the nature and definition of the speech community, the components of communicative competence and the relationship of language to the worldview of people and social organizations (Saville-Troike 1982: 11).

2.5.2 The domain, function and use of literacy

The identification of the 'domains' (Fishman 1972) and the function or use of literacy are a significant part of ethnographic studies of literacy (Purcell-Gates

1996, Anderson and Stokes 1984, Teale 1986). This is because the domains and the functions of literacy enable an analysis of the ways in which written text is used in the day-to-day lives of people, "relating language to social organization, role-relationships, value and beliefs" (Saville-Troike 1982:8).

'Domain' is a term used to describe locales of the use of language and text. Fishman defines domains as "institutional contexts and their congruent behavioural co-occurrences. They attempt to summate the major clusters of interaction that occur in clusters of multilingual settings and involving clusters of interlocutors" (Fishman 1972: 441). Fishman argues that domain analysis enables an understanding of patterns in language, topic selection, and their relationship to the people within particular social institutional settings. The number and labels of domains change depending on the speech community, but similar domains are also used for comparative studies (Anderson and Stokes 1984, Teale 1986).

Similar to domain, the 'function' of literacy (Heath 1983) is a popular notion in studies of literacy. Crystal (1991:146) says "the role of language played in the context of society is termed function". Ethnographic studies of literacy in communities have identified a number of uses of literacy, which are specific to the culture or the society.

Heath's categorisation of functions of literacy contributed greatly to understanding what it means by literacy practices in a more specific sense. Heath (1986: 126) states "since reading varies in its functions and uses across history and cultures, it must also vary across contexts of use as defined by particular communities". She categorised the prominent uses of literacy in Trackton and

Roadville and listed the following uses (Heath 1986: 128-9, 1983: 198-220, 258-259):

Instrumental

Literacy provided information about practical problems of daily life (price tags, checks, bills, advertisements, street signs, traffic signs, house numbers).

Social-interactional

Literacy provided information pertinent to social relationships (greeting cards, cartoons, bumper stickers, posters, letters, newspaper features, recipes).

News-related

Literacy provided information about third parties or distant events (newspaper items, political flyers, messages from local city offices about incidents of vandalism, etc.).

Memory-supportive

Literacy served as a memory aid (messages written on calendars, address and telephone books, inoculation records).

Substitutes for oral messages

Literacy was used when direct oral communication was not possible or would prove embarrassing (notes for tardiness to school, message left by parent for child coming home after parent left for work).

Provision of permanent record

Literacy was used when legal records were necessary or required by other institutions (birth certificates, loan notes, tax forms).

Confirmation

Literacy provided support for attitudes or ideas already held, as in settling disagreements or for one's own reassurance (brochures on cars, directions for putting items together, the Bible).

Financial

Writing to record numerals and to write out amounts accompanying notes (signatures on checks and public forms, figures and notes for income tax preparation).

Recreational/ educational

Reading for temporary entertainment or planning a recreational event ("funny papers" or comics in newspapers; brochures on campgrounds; advertisements for home shows, movies, or musical programs; ball games...).

Critical / educational

Reading to increase one's abilities to consider and/or discuss political, social, aesthetic, or religious knowledge (popular novels and non-fiction books, news magazines and out-of-town newspapers, denominational newsletters and magazines, the Bible, reviews of Broadway plays and ballet or symphony performances in New York or Washington).

Expository

Occasional tasks brought home from the job or church and civic duties; writing connected prose to summarize generalizations and back-up specifics for other people; writer envisions or "knows" audience and attempts to include only those definitions and facts believed not to be known to the addressee, often includes numerals (quarterly or annual reports of business operations, summaries of group and individual past actions -- accident or quality-control reports, church nominating committee summary).

A number of ethnographic studies used similar functions of literacy. The categories of functions of literacy proposed by Scribner and Cole (1981), Heath (1983), Anderson and Stokes (1984) are compared here in Table 2.2.

Table 2.2 The categorization of uses of literacy by Scribner and Cole (1981), Heath (1983), Anderson and Stokes (1986)

Scribner and Cole (in Liberia; Vai, English, Arabic literacies; male subjects only)	Heath (in Trackton, Roadville, and Maintown; English literacy; all generations)		Anderson and Stokes (in San Diego, California; Hispanic-, African- and Anglo-Americans; children and parents)	
Correspondence	Social-interactional	Reinforcement or substitution of oral message	Interpersonal communication	
Record keeping	Memory-aids			
Town records, business	Public records	Financial	Work	
Technical plans, diagrams	Expository		Literacy techniques and skills	
Literary and historical uses	Educational		School related activity	
Religious uses	Confirmational		Religion	
	News-related		General information	
	Instrumental		Daily living	
	Recreational		Entertainment	Story-book time

In Table 4.2, a number of parallel categories are seen among these studies. Similar labels of functions used in three different studies are placed horizontally such as 'correspondence' (Scribner and Cole), 'social-interaction' (Heath) and 'interpersonal communication' (Anderson and Stokes). However, there are also categories that cover slightly different areas from similar counterparts in other studies, such as 'literary and historical uses' (Scribner and Cole) and 'educational' or 'religious uses' (Scribner and Cole) or 'religion' (Anderson and Stokes) and 'confirmational' (Heath). Some categories overlap, for example, Heath included literacy events that involved the use of the Bible in 'confirmation' because people often read the Bible to confirm their beliefs. However, this type of event would have been included in 'religion' by Anderson and Stokes in their study. The

category 'confirmational' covers a wider range of reading and writing than the label 'religion. Nunan (1992) argues that one of the solutions to avoid ambiguity is to describe the phenomenon or categories as explicitly as possible. As will be discussed in Chapter 5, Heath's categorisation is used in the current study because of the similarity in the approaches of investigation (ethnographic).

2.5.2.1 The home and community: two significant domains for literacy studies in a social context

In studying children in lower primary levels, it is important to take into consideration their family backgrounds and home practices of literacy. This is because it is known from studies carried out in child language development that home backgrounds influence development considerably throughout the early stages (Clay 1991, Leichter 1984, Snow and Ninio 1986). Home practices of literacy and their environment are particularly significant for bilingual children because, in many societies including Australia where the current study took place, children practice their culture-specific literacy in their first language at home. In studying biliteracy practices, it is significant to observe what is being done in language A (e.g. the majority language) and what is being done in language B (e.g. the home language) because it has been argued that the skills of literacy transfer between languages (Cummins 2001a, Cummins and Swain 1986). Not only can the skills transfer, but it is also reported that carrying out literacy in two or more languages enhances a child's cognitive ability (Bialystok and Herman 1999, Nakajima 1998).

2.5.3 Literacy practice

Barton (1994) argues that the concept of 'literacy practice' is usually meant to refer to general patterns of occurrence of activities using written language. Scribner and Cole (1981:236) state that they use the term 'literacy practice' to refer to "a recurrent, goal-directed sequence of activities using a particular technology and particular systems of knowledge". In socio-cultural studies, the study of patterns in literacy practice in the given culture is said to be the objective (Barton 1994, Street 1993). Baynham (1995) states that these patterns or sequences of activities involving written texts are tied to the value system and ideology of the people and in order to investigate the nature of the practices, an integrated approach needs to be taken when researching.

2.5.4 Literacy event

In socio-cultural contexts, literacy is transmitted from literate adults to children. Heath (1983) states that "of particular importance in the study of reading and writing behaviours in the context of community life were questions related to how the adults participated in pre-schoolers' experience with print" (Heath 1986: 127). Gee (1994) similarly argues that literacy is learned through situated dialogues.

In observing adults participating in the child literacy development, Cazden (1972) proposed three models in which the adult provides assistance to the child learning language, i.e. scaffolding, models and direct instruction. Mediating literacy by providing assistance in these three modes of instructions, the children acquire literacy through social interaction. The Vygotskian view of acquisition is

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internalisation of the social process by the individual (Barton and Hamilton 2000: 14). It is extremely significant, therefore, to examine not only what reading and writing children acquire, but how they learn, from whom they learn and why they learn.

In examining literacy as social practice, 'literacy event' (Heath 1982, 1983) is the basic unit of analysis because literacy practice is only observable through instances of literacy events in the day-to-day lives of people. Literacy events are defined as "those occasions in which the talk revolves around a piece of writing". (Heath 1983: 392). Heath (1982) suggests that literacy events have social interactional rules that regulate the type and amount of talk about what is written, and define ways in which oral language reinforces, denies, extends, or sets aside the written material. Just as speech events occur in certain speech situations and contain speech acts, so literacy events are rule-governed.

2.5.5 Literacy resources and environment

In ethnographic studies, the relationship between the home background and the children's success at school has been one of the central issues of investigation (Williams 1991, Auberch 1989, Cook-Gumperz 1986b). In the earlier studies there was a deficiency assumption regarding children from underprivileged home backgrounds that they tended to be delayed in literacy, compared to children from middle-class, mainstream families (Auberch 1989). Children from working-class, migrant and non-English-speaking backgrounds are often considered literacy impoverished because of the less than adequate literacy resources at homes, little intervention of adults in literacy activities with children and a discrepancy

between the types of literacy activities carried out in these homes and at school (see Auberch 1989). However, recent, close investigation of family literacy and its environment contested these assumptions by producing evidence that there is no simple, direct correlation between family background, parents' level of education, literate environment at home and children's success in school (Purcell-Gates 1996, McQuillan and Tse 1995).

'Scaffolding' is parent's intervention in language learning by extending children's utterances by asking further questions (Garton and Pratt 1989: 51). Since the 1960s, scaffolding has been considered to be a strong factor that influences development (Liddicoat and Shopen 1999, Cazden 1972). The parent's role in development is considered to be an extremely significant part of the home environment of literacy. The home environment comprises not only the material resources, but also elements including the 'physical environment', 'interpersonal interaction', and the 'emotional and motivational climates' (Leichter 1984).

In terms of physical and material resources in the environment, it has been discovered that even the least privileged households today in industrialised societies are saturated with print materials (Hardman 1998). The abundance of literacy materials at home alone cannot be a determinant factor to predict the degree of success in the development of literacy because how and how often these materials are used need to be taken into consideration (Garton and Pratt 1989).

In addition to these elements, it has been proposed that the interaction involving written text between home-school and home-community should also be included in the consideration of the home environment of literacy (Williams 1991,

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Williams and Snipper 1990). In studies that investigated the home-school continuity of literacy, it has been discovered that the manner and amount of school-like literacy activities practiced at home are predictors for later success (Auberch 1989, Wells 1986). Not only the amount of school-like activities carried out at home, but the understanding of home background on the school side and also understanding and participation in school activities by the family are significant in children's literacy development (Liddicoat and Shopen 1991, Yokota-Adachi and Geva 1999, Williams 1991).

There are cultural factors involved in promoting positive interaction between home and school. Cultural differences between school, mainstream society and home could be quite extensive, affecting children's literacy development. Michaels (1986) examines the gap between the communicative styles in literacy events among Afro-American students and teachers, who have different backgrounds. Chang (1998) and Dien (1998) point out a similar gap between teachers, school culture and communicative styles of students of diverse background in the USA, particularly students of Southeast and East Asian backgrounds. Dien (1998: 157) argues that, in the case of Vietnamese Americans, the cultural patterns in literacy activities and the value system attached to literacy in Vietnamese, the type of reading and writing carried out at home in the first language, expectation towards education, the perception of mainstream society and its education system play significant roles in children's academic success.

2.6 Biliteracy, Multiliteracies and Multicultural Studies of Literacy

As Barton (1994) demonstrated, multilingualism is a significant aspect of study in a socio-cultural approach to literacy. Despite its significance, there have certainly been fewer studies on biliteracy than studies on monolingual literacy. A search using an electronic database, such as *Linguistics and Language Behaviour Abstracts* (LLBA) indicates that there were few studies using the concepts of 'biliteracy' or 'multiliteracy' before the 1980s. This climate has changed in the last few decades as scholars in second language acquisition, bilingualism and bilingual education began to emphasise the significance of the study of biliteracy (see eg. Clyne 1991a, Cummins 2001a, Hornberger 1989, Skutnabb-Kangas 1981, Saunders 1988, Saville-Troike 1982, Verhoeven 1991).

Early biliteracy studies typically took place in traditional cultures (Scribner and Cole 1981, Street 1984b). However, more studies today take place in schools, homes and communities in developed, urban and suburban communities involving the majority and minority languages that are used in these societies. Most of the recent studies come from North America, England and Europe. The studies done in these places involve biliteracy in local, dominant languages of the society and also minority languages. Some example of biliteracy studies are work done on Finnish-Swedish in Sweden (Skutnabb-Kangas 1981), Turkish-Dutch in Holland (Verhoeven 1991), Gujarati and Panjabi-English in England (Martin-Jones and Bhatt 1998, Saxena 1994), Quechua-Spanish in South America (Hornberger 1998), Khmer and Vietnamese-English in the USA and Australia (Hornberger and Skilton-Sylvester 2000, Hardman 1998, Lotherington et al. 1998, Lotherington and Norng 1999), Vietnamese and Chinese-English in the USA (Chang 1998,

Dien 1998, Townsend and Fu 1998), and Russian-English in Australia (Aidman 1998). Hornberger (1989) argues that the choice of languages and the aims of each study differ according to the social, educational, political and economic situations of each case.

2.6.1 Socio-cultural approach to biliteracy

As in the case of monolingual literacy, in carrying out the above studies in biliteracy, a number of different approaches have been taken. Durgunoglu and Verhoeven (1998a) classified these studies generally into anthropological, psychological and educational approaches. As has been argued above in 2.4, to understand biliteracy as a literate phenomenon in multilingual social contexts, it should be studied primarily from a socio-cultural perspective, rather than from other specific approaches, such as educational or psycholinguistic approaches.

Many socio-cultural studies on biliteracy are holistic and ethnographic in their approach, involving multiple issues within a study. The areas that have been covered in the socio-cultural studies of biliteracy are diverse. Table 2.3 summarises some prominent areas of study in biliteracy:

Table 2.3 Socio-cultural studies of biliteracy

	Study of biliteracy practices: functions and domains	Study of attitudes: views of biliteracy	Study of development: biliteracy development in social contexts
Sub-areas that have been studied	-Domains and functions of biliteracy in the community, schools and home (Aidman 1998, Chang 1998, Dien 1998) -Home-school interaction (Kenner 2000, Lotherington et al. 1998, Saxena 1994) -Resources for biliteracy (Willemyns et al. 1993)	-Views held by teachers, parents and children (Hardman 1998, Maher and Yuasa 1993) -Gap between views of literacy held by school and minority family (Lotherington et al. 1998, Yokota-Adachi and Geva 1999) -Biliteracy, self-esteem, emotion and identity (Hardman 1998, Saxena 1994)	-Types of development (Bialystok 2001, Bialystok and Herman 1999, Verhoeven 1991) -Adult-child interaction (Aidman 1998, Edelsky 1986) -L1-L2 transfer (Bialystok 2001, Cummins et al. 1984, Cummins and Swain 1986, Edelsky 1986, Smith 1994) -Development in different writing scripts (Freebody 1992, Pérez 1998c)

In the following sections, prominent studies in socio-cultural studies of biliteracy are discussed by commenting on the areas that these studies have contributed to.

2.6.2 Functions, domains and biliteracy practices

It has been argued above in 2.4 that understanding of the function of literacy in a number of identifiable domains is a central part of socio-cultural studies of literacy. In examining biliteracy, this will become an issue of examining the roles of L1 and L2 literacies. The typical language situation for bilingual children in many Western, English-speaking societies may be that English (L2) is used as the language of the community, wider society and in public schools with the home

language (L1) used at home, in some parts of the community and also at ethnic schools. The domains that are identified in biliteracy studies include home, community, religion, schools and business. Among these domains, the most significant and most frequently studied domains for children are probably home, school and community (Aidman 1998, Chang 1998, Dien 1998, Saxena 1994). How L1 and L2 (English) are used in these domains varies in different social contexts.

In these domains, the home domain is probably central to biliteracy studies. Young children go through emergent stages of literacy development by being immersed in the language(s) and literacy/literacies used in the family. Young bilingual children often start developing their literacy in their home in L1 before schooling (Harding and Riley 1986). Home remains a significant domain even after children start schooling in English (or other L2) because in many households children continue practicing literacy in L1, and in some case the amount of reading and writing increases as the parents make the decision to maintain literacy in L1 at home and start sending their children to ethnic school or take other measures.

2.6.2.1 Different domains and different uses of literacies in L1 and L2

Studies done on different groups and in different social settings revealed that the distance between home, school and community domains also varies depending on the groups. While L1 literacy is used for intra-ethnic communication (Clyne 1991a), communication within the family and also for cultural maintenance, L2 (English) literacy is used for communication with the wider community,

particularly for school for children.

One such example is the comparative study of the use of Vietnamese and Cambodian biliteracy of Year 9 and 10 students in Melbourne (Lotherington et al. 1998). Lotherington and her colleagues discovered that while both Vietnamese and Khmer are widely and frequently used in oral communication among the family members and also between the members of community, literacies in the Vietnamese and Khmer have limited use for these students, largely for friendship and media purposes. The bulk of reading and writing that these students carry out comes from school in English. The school-related reading and writing dominated the literacy practices of these students due to the students' relatively low esteem towards literacies in Vietnamese and Cambodian and the higher weight placed on literacy in English by themselves, parents and also by the teachers. Although the school had provisions for maintaining L1 literacy, the amount and quality of assistance seemed to be not high enough to encourage and motivate students to carry out literacy in L1. For these students, English is becoming the dominant medium for reading and writing.

Another example is Chang (1998) who studied Chinese-English biliteracy in the USA. The study identified that in many Chinese-American homes, the use of literacy at home for young children is often dominated by the academic purpose of learning the Chinese writing system. The children are introduced to reading and writing in Chinese at home in a highly formal manner that requires rote learning of hundreds of Chinese characters. Chang showed that literacy in English is little practiced in many Chinese households due to the distance between these families and the mainstream English-speaking culture. While parents are eager to help

children with literacy in Chinese, many of them cannot do the same with literacy in English due to their lack of experience of literacy in English, the Western school system and competence in English. For these children, Chinese and English literacies exist in parallel, but are not strongly related to each other.

Dien (1998) reports a similar case of Vietnamese-English biliteracy in the USA. Dien states that the tightly bound ethnic community helps Vietnamese-speaking families to maintain literacy in Vietnamese and also helps children with learning literacy in English. Her study revealed that Vietnamese families tend to practice literacy in Vietnamese for cultural reasons for reading novels, poems, and social history. The purpose of teaching children literacy in Vietnamese is for transmission of Vietnamese customs, ethics and ideology that parents think significant for the children's identity. In teaching reading and writing to children, the Vietnamese do not take a formal and academic stance as strongly as the Chinese, probably due to the less complex writing system that uses an alphabetical system, which does not take as much effort as learning Chinese characters. The majority of Vietnamese have high aspirations for the education of their children. The Vietnamese migrants believe the medium of instruction for their children's education should be English, not Vietnamese. As in the case of Chinese, there is such a wide gap between Vietnamese and mainstream literacy in English that many Vietnamese parents are unable to help their children in English. Many Vietnamese parents rely on community groups, private tuition and school to help their children do schoolwork in English. For these children, Vietnamese literacy has limited use compared to English.

Aidman (1998) also found similar complementary functions of literacy in L1

(Russian) and L2 (English) in the case of a Russian-English biliterate girl in Australia. Aidman studied the girl's letter-writing practice longitudinally and discovered that Russian letters are written for maintaining a bond between the girl and her relatives who are in Russia, while English letters are written for communication in the immediate community in school and with people around her. Aidman states that Russian literacy is most significant for the girl's cultural identity despite its limited function, while literacy in English is important for her overall and basic literacy development, which is necessary for life in Australia. The manners and attitudes of how minority groups practice biliteracy at home differ considerably as seen above. The differences and similarities between the finding of these studies and the current study will be discussed in Chapter 10.

2.6.2.2 Home-school interrelationship and resources

The studies in biliteracy often discuss the significance of the relationship between home, school and community domains and whether the resources in these domains are utilised. In many situations, L1 and L2 literacies are carried out in parallel, but not strongly interconnected at home and in school. The human, and material resources often seem not to be used effectively for the development of children's biliteracy.

Studies seem to suggest that a significant factor for promoting biliteracy at home is that the home is part of a sizable community in which literacy in L1 is used and also there is active involvement of school and other institutions that assist the minority group with literacy in English (eg. Chang 1998, Edelsky 1986, Hardman 1998, Saxena 1994). With linguistic and ethnic community support, children and

their family can maintain a wide range of functions to use L1 literacy at home and at the same time literacy in English in culturally and socially meaningful interactions. Saxena's (1994) study in Southall UK describes the biliterate behaviours of Panjabi residents in Southall. The use of Panjabi literacies is activated by the institutionalisation of the language in school and public offices, and active use of the language in business and international communication. This led to the production of a massive resource and opportunity for children to develop their abilities in Panjabi literacies in the UK.

Chang's (1998) study above also indicates that there are abundant literacy and educational resources in Chinese in the community in America that children and their family can access. However, she states that the wide gap between the home, the community and the American mainstream society seems to be preventing effective use of resources in the community, particularly in school. Chang argues (1988:181) that while many Chinese-speaking parents respect mainstream school as authority, they are reluctant to use it as a resource for maintaining Chinese, such as Chinese-English bilingual programs, from the fear that this might interfere with learning English.

The amount and quality of resources may be a significant factor for promoting biliteracy at home and in the community. Edelsky (1986) states in her study of a Spanish-English writing program in the USA that, despite massive effort in the community and school, the lack of quality print materials in Spanish hindered the success of the program considerably. However, a more significant issue remains unexplored: the manner of use of available resources by the family and children. Aidman's (1998) study which has been cited above is evidence of the case in

which L1 literacy was maintained with minimum resources by the efforts of the girl and her parents. The views of literacy and language held by parents, the manner of parents' participation in children's literacy activities and the type of schooling all play crucial roles in determining children's development of biliteracy.

2.6.3 Views of biliteracy

A significant component of studies in biliteracy in socio-cultural contexts is to examine how the views and values attached to literacies in L1 and L2 differ and how these views and values are reflected in people's behaviours. In studies involving biliterate children, their views of literacy as well as the views held by their parents, teachers and people around them are often studied.

Saxena's (1994) report on Panjabi literacies in Southall UK describes the complex relationship between social, political and religious orientation of people, their identity and the views of literacy within home and community domains. Panjabi is spoken by several different groups and written in three different writing systems, i.e. Gurumkhi which is associated with Sikhs, Devanagari with Hindus and Perso-Arabic scripts with Muslims (Saxena 1994: 198-9). These writing systems are markers of ethnic and religious orientation among the Panjabis. With English used widely within the community, the biliterate situation in Southall has been a complex picture since the 1950s. Saxena shows that the Panjabi residents in Southall possess different views of these literacies depending on their age, place of birth, educational level and profession. Saxena (1994: 206) states that the older generation who were born overseas with a low level of education see literacy in

English as the means to liberate themselves and their children in British society. The assimilatory nature of British society also enhanced the view that literacy in English is more significant for them. However, entering the 1980s, affirmative action has taken place in British society, and also rivalry between Hindus and Sikhs led young Panjabis to possess stronger cultural identity towards Panjabi literacies. In the 1990s this trend continued, and also with the growing business in Southall using Panjabi, and institutionalisation of Panjabi literacies in public offices and schools, Southall Panjabis today have a positive feeling about Panjabi literacies and they are used for much wider purposes in the community. Saxena (1994: 212) states that the views and values attached to Panjabi literacies have been influenced by the social and political changes (external force) as well as the needs for intra-ethnic communication and cultural maintenance (internal force), and the balance of these forces has changed the views and uses of these literacies.

It is frequently observed in sociocultural studies that minority groups place a low value on their literacy. Hardman (1998: 80) who studied Cambodian refugee families in the USA noted, that while many parents had competence in Khmer to engage in literacy practices with their children for various activities, many did not use this ability to teach their children because the parents perceive Khmer literacy as not significant. Dien (1998: 151) cited above also observed similar behaviour with the Vietnamese-speaking parents not using their ability in Vietnamese or literate resources effectively, which sometimes lead to the loss of skills in Vietnamese literacy in their children.

Martin-Jones and Bhatt (1998: 49) state that cultural allegiance of minorities, particularly that of children, through literacy is highly changeable. Children's

cultural identity is fluid because they move through different stages quickly and are affected easily by others and by external factors. Because of this, Martin-Jones and Bhatt (1998) argue that children's views of literacy are also unstable. Maher and Yuasa (1993) studied a bilingual girl's cultural allegiance longitudinally and discovered that her cultural identity changed frequently depending on where the child lived and also strongly on whom she associated with. Townsend and Fu (1998) studied a Chinese boy's development of English literacy in the USA and concluded that learning literacy in English for the boy was not only learning reading and writing skills in English, but acquiring another discourse. Townsend and Fu state that it was significant for the boy to be in a stable and non-threatening environment when he entered his American school in order to ensure he acquired literacy in English and at the same time did not lose literacy in Chinese. These studies indicate that when affective and motivational aspects are fulfilled, biliteracy is maintained and developed.

The views of literacy held by teachers in mainstream school and the views held by minority children and their parents are often regarded as significant issues in considering young children's literacy development (Cook-Gumperz 1986b). In the studies cited above, such as those by Chang (1998), Dien (1998) and Hardman (1998), the gap between the family and the school is wide and not easily filled due to cultural, linguistic and also social distance between the minority and mainstream school. Yokota-Adachi and Geva (1999) compared the view of Canadian teachers and Japanese parents and discovered that there is a dissonance between their views of schooling, which seems to be negatively influencing the school-home relationship and subsequently the children's academic and linguistic development. They discovered that the Canadian teachers consider Japanese

parents pay too much attention to the academic performance of their children, but not enough to the social and physical development. On the other hand, the Japanese parents viewed the Canadian teachers as not capable of teaching fundamental academic skills in a balanced manner across different subject areas. This discrepancy of the view of schooling indicates that minority families and schools have different expectations and goals in education.

This gap between school and minority family is difficult to fill because it is fundamentally an issue of which 'cultural model' the school should take (Ramanathan 2002). It is not easy for the school to change its curricula because it is normally established on the value system of the mainstream groups and it also needs to cater to the needs of a diverse range of students. Ramanathan (2002) argues that introducing multiple cultural models into literacy curricula would mean the production of multiple discourses within the school and it would consequently diversify the school culture and literacies within, which would be very positive for the development of cultural identity of bicultural children.

2.6.4 Biliteracy development in social contexts

As many studies cited above described, literacy in the first language of the minorities often takes place at home and outside school walls. Literacies in minority languages are unique to the context and their development would be different across time and space. As Hornberger (1989) states, biliteracy development does not occur in a linear and universal manner. In some situations, the literacy development in L1 is hindered due to insufficiency in the quality and quantity of interaction between children and adults around them (Smith 1994). On

the other hand, biliteracy development takes place even in the most underprivileged families (Hardman 1998). Children acquire literacy when there are frequent parent-child literacy events in which they participate in meaning-making activities.

2.6.4.1 Types of development

The studies in biliteracy development have been done at the intersection of bilingual and literacy development (Hornberger 1989, Williams and Snipper 1990). In the study of bilingual language development today, it is considered that literacy is a significant element of bilingual development (Bialystok 2001, Harding and Riley 1986, Romaine 1989, Skutnabb-Kangas 1981).

When and how literacies in L1 and L2 should be introduced is a significant issue in biliteracy development and education. Verhoeven (1991: 63) presents a diagram of the biliteracy instruction model after considering varying cases of developmental progression between L1 and L2:

Simultaneous

L1 ------------------->
L2 ---------------->

Successive A

L1 ------------------->
      L2 ---------->

Successive B

L2 ------------------->
      L1 ---------->
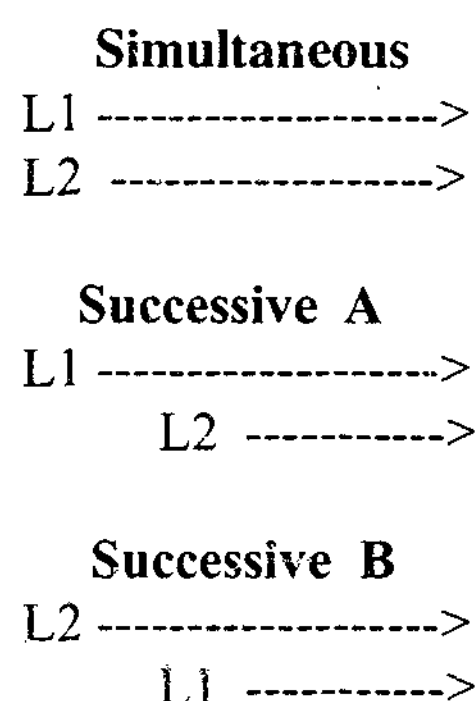
Figure 2.1 *Bilingual literacy instruction model*

According to this model, there are at least three ways to introduce L1 (home/community language) and L2 (language of the society) literacies, i.e. simultaneous, L1>L2 and L2>L1. Verhoeven (1991) states that the effectiveness of bilingual literacy instruction depends largely on educational and learner factors, including the type of language of instruction, the learner's motivation to learn literacy in both L1 and L2 and whether there is community support for L1. Because of these reasons he states that neither simultaneous nor successive (A/B) biliteracy instruction is superior. The order of instruction of L1 and L2 literacy is probably not an issue of choice for many bilingual-biliterate children because the order is determined by the linguistic environment of homes and also by the type of schooling available for them. It is assumed that the exposure of children to written language in L1 and L2 is simultaneous at home in many cases although the degree of use of L1 and L2 would differ from home to home.

Another issue in biliterate development is the age of the introduction to written language in L1 and L2. The general theory of biliterate development may be that

learning literacy in the stronger language of the child is better because the child does not have to struggle in learning literacy at the same time as he or she learns the language (Cummins 2001a, Skutnabb-Kangas 1981). Cummins and Swain (1986) hypothesised the threshold levels that children would attain in L1 and L2 development in order to benefit from cognitive enhancement from both languages. They assumed that there are two threshold levels and state as follows:

> In other words, two thresholds are hypothesized: one below which cognitive growth would suffer without further linguistic development: and one above which cognitive growth would be enhanced. (Cummins and Swain 1986: 6)

Cummins et al. (1984) compared different age groups of Japanese migrant children in Canada to determine the relationship between the length of residence in Canada, level of literacy in L1 (Japanese) and the age when literacy in L2 (English) was introduced. The result was that the group of children between ages 7-9 showed the fastest acquisition of literacy in English, whereas the group of children between 3-6 and 10-12 showed slower acquisition. One of the researchers in this study, Nakajima (1998: 136) argues that the young children (3-6) learned at a slower speed because they had not reached the threshold level in L1 (Japanese) which allows cognitive enhancement. The older children (10-12) showed slower development in L2 literacy for a different reason: although they had a firm foundation in L1 literacy, what they had to learn in English was so highly cognitively demanding that it took a long time for them to master. The result of this study suggests that there may be a prime time for the introduction of L2 literacy, which may be right after the child has acquired the first set of literacy.

However, this type of generalisation is dangerous because it is difficult to define basic functional ability in literacy in some languages, particularly for languages such as Japanese and Chinese that have complex writing systems, which would require longer to acquire a functional level of literacy than other languages. It is also difficult to determine the right age and timing for the introduction of the second literacy because literacy is not just language, but it is a cultural and social practice. Many children are exposed to literacy in L1 and L2 from their birth and their acquisition of biliteracy is often simultaneous in many social contexts.

2.6.4.2 Adult-child interaction

Many parents with bilingual children make a decision to raise their children as biliterate because of a number of merits. Janssen and Pauwels (1993) list the merits of biliteracy in a multilingual social contexts in which L1 is the minority language and L2 is the dominant language of the society. These benefits include increased and added variety in interactions using L1, increased amounts of resources of interest available to the child, an expanded number of L1 users to communicate with via the written mode, increased awareness of the L1 as a living language, introduction of the child to a greater variety of vocabulary, grammatical constructions and expressions, children's increased motivation to learn L1 through reading novels, comics and promotion of language maintenance and motivation to use L1 in general. Many of these merits would not be gained in school alone, but through practices at home and in communities where literacy in the child's L1 is used in meaningful ways.

While many parents make a decision to introduce biliteracy in the home, they

show different behaviours in practicing literacies with their children. As has been stated in 2.5, the family literate culture is characterised by parents' mediation of literate experiences, the influence of older children, and family's mediation of school experience (Heath 1983). As has been discussed above in 2.4, the parents' participation in literacy activities with their children differs remarkably across different social groups. In bilingual families, parents also show different involvement in literacies in L1 and L2 depending on their expectations towards education and degree of competence in L1 and L2, the parents' own educational experiences, and type of residency (migrant or temporary residents) (Hardman 1998, Miyoshi 1994, Yokota-Adachi and Geva 1999). The studies cited above (Chang 1998, Dien 1998 and Hardman 1998), all included some description of parent's behaviours in minority families. These studies described cases in which the parents are eager and capable of assisting children with both L1 and L2 literacy, only L1, only L2 and neither L1 nor L2. Another issue is not only the language with which parents assist the children, but how they assist them. Chang's (1998) study on Chinese-Americans showed their attitude as highly formal in teaching children literacy in both Chinese and English. Dien (1998) reported that Vietnamese parents were not as academic as Chinese regarding teaching children L1 literacy (Vietnamese), but formal and academic regarding literacy in English. Smith (1994) in Japan used the 'whole language method' (Genessee 1994) in teaching his children literacy in English, while his children received formal education in Japanese at school. These different behaviours and pedagogical approaches that parents take give children different types of literacy and different views of literacy.

2.6.4.3 L1-L2 transference

The 'transfer' of linguistic features, such as phonology and syntax which normally occurs from L1 to L2 (Ellis 1994: 299) and the 'transference' of literacy skills (Cummins and Swain 1986: 87) and other higher cognitive skills, which may occur in both directions between L and L2, need to be considered separately. The current study deals with the latter, transference.

Biliteracy development has often been studied as a cognitive science (Cummins 2001b: 259-60). Cummins (2001b) argues that cognitive and language proficiency in L1 and L2 are interrelated although often surface features such as phonological, morpho-syntactic and lexical features can be measured separately. He also hypothesized that, because L1 and L2 proficiencies are interconnected and reinforce each other, L1-L2 interdependence of linguistic skills is a critical matter in bilingual-biliterate development. Cummins and Swain (1986:87) propose the interdependence hypothesis, namely "to the extent that instruction in Lx is effective in promoting proficiency in Lx, transfer of this proficiency to Ly will occur provided there is adequate exposure to Ly (either in school or the environment) and adequate motivation to learn Ly". In categorising language proficiency into BICS (Basic Interpersonal Communicative Skills) and CALP (Cognitive/Academic Language Proficiency), Cummins (2001a) argues that CALP is a transferable type of proficiency across languages, while BICS is not. CALP is the type of proficiency required for reading and writing complex written texts that require higher cognitive skills. Cummins argues that the level of CALP in L1 is a major determinant of transference of literacy skills to L2.

As Cummins et al. (1984) demonstrated, the timing of the introduction of L2 literacy, i.e. after children reach the threshold level, is a significant factor. However, as stated above, as in the case of Japanese migrants in Canada, the distance between literacy in L1 and L2, in terms of specificity of literacy practice and cognitive demand, may also need to be taken into consideration in order to facilitate L1-L2 transference of skills.

There are other factors that influence L1-L2 transference. Nakajima (1998: 43) states that the major non-linguistic factors that affect transference are support in the family, school and in the community and also the children's psychological attitudes towards their first language and their ethnic group. When ethnolinguistic vitality (Willemyns et al. 1993) of the L1 is relatively low, children's proficiency in L1 declines and the chances of L1-L2 transference diminishes. Cummins (2001b: 280-1) also argues that in order to foster biliteracy development, it is the responsibility of teachers and parents to extend the contexts in which L1 and L2 literacies are used, not only at a functional level, but also at a cognitive-academic level. He argues that many unsuccessful attempts at biliteracy instruction are seen when L1 literacy is only maintained on a functional level with instruction limited to the decoding-encoding level of literacy.

2.6.4.4 Development in different writing scripts

The issue of children acquiring biliteracy in languages with dissimilar scripts has been recognised with keen interest in recent years (Freebody 1993, Pérez 1998c). After reviewing studies of early literacy development in different writing systems, Pérez (1998c) argues that there is a certain degree of similarity across literacy

development in different languages in the early stages in a social context, where literacy acquisition occurs naturally as an extension of language acquisition by children building a variety of hypotheses that are developmentally sequenced. However, above this level the process of learning proceeds differently in learning alphabetical, logographic and syllabic writing systems (Pérez 1998c: 55).

In learning an alphabetical system, phoneme-grapheme correspondence and spelling are thought to be critical issues at the early stages when children break the code (Clay 1991). On the other hand, in learning a logographic system, where characters symbolise a morpheme as well as a phoneme and/or a syllable, both semantic-grapheme and phoneme-grapheme correspondence become significant issues (Crump 1988). In learning a syllabic writing system, such as Japanese *hiragana* or *katakana*, children need to develop an awareness of syllables.

Lee, Uttal and Chen (1995) compared Chinese-, Japanese- and English-speaking first graders learning the three different scripts used in these languages and compared which group found learning most difficult. They discovered that those who learned the alphabetical system found the learning hardest in the initial stages, which was attributed to the complicated spelling system of English. However, they found that at the second and third grade levels, those children who learned the alphabetic system did better than children who learned the logographic and syllabic systems. This is considered to be the result of the difficulty in learning complicated logographic characters as well as the large number of these characters. The *hiragana* and *katakana* dual system in Japanese was also found to be a confusing element for Japanese-speaking children.

This type of psycholinguistic comparison of children's acquisition is useful for understanding what exactly is required for learning literacy in the early stages. When the learning of literacy involves different types of skills, Cummins (2001a) states that L1-L2 transference is not likely to take place in an initial stage. It is clear that an element of literacy that exists only in one language, but not in the other, does not transfer. When the written scripts that children are learning are dissimilar, little transference of skill would occur, at least on a surface level.

Children also learn other elements of literacy, such as punctuation systems, directionalities of writing and discourse and narrative structures while they develop biliteracy across writing systems (Pérez 1998c, Clyne 1991b). These elements may be included in the cognitively demanding type of proficiency, i.e. CALP. When different features of literacy are learned across languages, the transference of these features and skills becomes an issue. The interdependence hypothesis presumes that elements that are shared across L1 and L2 can transfer cross-linguistically after children reach a certain level of proficiency in L1 and L2. Cummins (2001a: 119) also argues that even though language specific elements do not transfer, there should be a correlation between individually learned elements across L1 and L2 if CALP underlies learning of these skills in each language.

As has been seen, a variety of methods have been used in studying biliteracy development leading to the formation of significant hypotheses and concepts, such as the simultaneous and continuous biliteracy introduction models, the threshold hypothesis, BICS and CALP and L1-L2 transference. Some studies of biliteracy development have taken into consideration the difference in scripts.

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These recent bilingual and biliterate development studies have also reported that the development occurs in an economically rich environment as well as a poor environment. The differences in literacy practices, scripts and also social contexts require flexible and dynamic model of investigation if the aim of research is to understand biliteracy practices in a socio-cultural context because this aim goes beyond linguistic competence and literacy skills. Some approaches that encompass this aim are introduced in 4.7 below.

2.7 Recent Approaches to Biliteracy

The ethnographic and qualitative approaches have an obvious advantage for examining biliteracy behaviours. However, the framework and definitions of biliteracy had been fluid, which allowed some debates on what the research in this area is dealing with (Hornberger and Skilton-Sylvester 2000). In recent years, researchers in literacy studies have generated some models and approaches to redefine the areas of inquiry into biliteracy. The most prominent models are the 'multicultural approach' (Au 1995), the 'continua of biliteracy model' (Hornberger and Skilton-Sylvester 2000, Hornberger 1989) and the 'pedagogy of multiliteracies' model (Cope and Kalantzis 2000, The New London Group 1996). These models emphasise the socio-cultural natures of literacy, and the necessity of a critical perspective, and also discuss the issue of power and literacy.

2.7.1 Multicultural approach

Au (1995) used the term 'multicultural perspective' in an attempt to categorise

various approaches in recent literacy studies by connecting cultural, bilingual and literary aspects of literacy. Au (1995: 97) argues that it is not a unifying single approach, but a group of studies that take culture as a significant variable in the study. Au (1995) states that understanding the notion of 'culture' is most important in the studies that take a multicultural approach. However, culture has been used ambiguously in many literacy studies by including variables ranging from ethnicity, gender, age and geographic region to nationality. Among these variables, she states that the most crucial, and most frequently used variables that emphasise the multicultural aspect are ethnicity, social class, language and gender. She states that a study that choose one of these issues in the study as the major topic can be regarded as multicultural study of literacy.

Au (1995: 86) further divides multicultural studies into four sub-approaches depending on their focus. These four approaches include: critical analysis, cultural difference analysis, bilingual analysis and literary analysis. Among these sub-approaches, the critical analysis approach takes the most radical stance. The approach examines the relationship between literacy and power and regards literacy as fundamentally political. She includes the social reformer, Freire (see Freire and Macedo 1987) as an example of the scholars who relate literacy to the power struggle between the dominant and sub-dominant groups that belong to different social classes, ethnicities and genders.

The second sub approach is the cultural difference approach. According to Au (1995: 86), this approach is represented by ethnographic studies that aim to describe different literacies practiced by minority groups. Heath's (1983) study of Trackton and Roadville, which has been reviewed above in 2.4, is a typical

example of cultural difference analysis. The cultural difference analysis assumes that there is a systematic difference between literacies, the values attached to them and patterns of communication. Studies that aim to analyse the cultural difference of literacies do not have the aim of reforming society as in the case of the critical approach. The aim of the cultural difference approach is to describe cultural patterns and not to point out social injustice in an explicit way. Au (1995: 87) argues that this is an ideal approach to provide education and policy makers with ways to improve the education of minority children because the cultural difference approach is based on the detailed analysis of literacy events and practices in social contexts.

The third sub-approach in the multicultural literacy model is the bilingual analysis approach (Au 1995: 92). The bilingual analysis approach is concerned with the analysis of literacy from a language point of view, particularly literacies in multiple languages. The bilingual analysis approach mainly deals with a) bilingual children acquiring literacy in the dominant language, such as English, b) maintenance of first language literacy in multilingual situations and c) acquisition of second language literacy by children whose first language is the language of the society. Au (1995) states that the results of bilingual analysis of literacy have been valuable for teachers and policy makers by providing them with the necessary information to improve school literacy curricula. However, Au states that the majority of previous studies in this stream have been devoted to studying bilingual children acquiring literacy in the dominant language. Au (1995) also argues that many studies taking a bilingual analysis approach take little consideration of the ideological nature of literacy and only focus on technical issues of bilingual education.

The final approach included in the multicultural approach is the literary analysis approach. Au (1995:94) states that the contribution of literary analysis to multicultural research of literacy has been relatively small because it only involves one particular genre of literacy, i.e. literature. Au (1995: 94) explains that literary analysis concerns two areas of studies: a) the analysis of literature using recent literary theories, such as critical and feminist theories and b) the analysis of how students interact with literature in the school domain. Au (1995) states both objectives of literary analysis are related significantly to minority and multicultural literacies because they enable the inclusion of non-mainstream literature into mainstream school curricula, which subsequently may empower minority students. Critical and feminist theories particularly play significant roles in the literary analysis approach by including literary works created by Afro-Americans, women, migrants and indigenous groups. This approach is also related to the bilingual analysis approach because some minority writers are writing in L2, and in some cases writing in both L1 and L2 (Hardman 1998, Kachru 1987). Many related instances of the use of minority literature, stories and cultural festivals have been reported by the Multilingual Resources for Children Project (1995). However, it has also been stated in a number of recent studies that it is still common to use literary works that have little cultural relevance to minority students in many mainstream classes (Martin-Jones and Bhatt 1998, Ramanathan 2002).

The categorisation attempted by the multicultural approach is useful in reviewing the relationship between culture and literacy, particularly the identification of significant variables (gender, ethnicity, language and social class) and

sub-approaches (critical, cultural differences, bilingual and literary). Identification of major variables is significant for studies, such as the current one, which attempt to explore biliteracy in social contexts. However, the model lacks a definition of literacy itself. What constitutes literacy is not thoroughly discussed in Au's (1995) review while the notion 'culture' is explored in detail. As has been seen in 4.4, the concept 'literacy' is probably as broad as the notion 'culture' and the use of the concept by scholars who take different approaches (critical, cultural difference, bilingual and literary) requires in-depth investigation.

2.7.2 Continua of biliteracy model

The 'continua of biliteracy model' was proposed by Hornberger (1989) and Hornberger and Skilton-Sylvester (2000). Hornberger describes the configuration of different instances of biliteracy by using several intersecting elements, namely development, content, media and contexts (1989:271). This model is similar to the bilingual analysis approach in Au's framework that has been discussed above. However, the continua of biliteracy model is more explicit in defining what constitutes literacy than Au's multicultural approach. The continua of biliteracy model is also clear in how each element of biliteracy is connected to the others. A recent modification of the model (Hornberger and Skilton-Sylvester 2000) made explicit the connection between biliteracy and power.

Hornberger (1989) reviewed the origin(s) of the concept of 'biliteracy' in the previous literature and discovered that despite the popularity of the concept there had been no attempt to theorise biliteracy. Hornberger and Skilton-Sylvester generated a tentative definition of biliteracy, which is "any and all instances in

which communication occurs in two (or more) languages in or around writing..."
(2000:3). The definition was made broad in order to incorporate a wide range of
biliteracy phenomena in diverse cultural, social, political and linguistic contexts.
The continua of biliteracy model is probably the first attempt to theorise biliteracy
by connecting studies in literacy, bilingualism, sociolinguistics and other related
areas. The structure of the model is influenced by the framework of the
ethnography of communication (Hymes 1986).

As Mackey (1962) stated, bilingualism is a matter of degree, Hornberger (1989)
also considers biliteracy as a relative phenomenon, as a continuum. Hornberger
and Skilton-Sylvester state, "although one can identify and name points on the
continuum, those points are not finite, static or discrete" (Hornberger and
Skilton-Sylvester 2000:98). The continua of biliteracy are described by the
following major continua and sub-continua:

```
Traditionally less        <--------------------------->        Traditionally more
    powerful                                                        powerful


                          contexts of biliteracy
            Micro        <--------------------------->   Macro
             Oral        <--------------------------->   Literate
  Bi(multi)lingual       <--------------------------->   Monolingual


                       Development of biliteracy
         Reception      <--------------------------->   Production
             Oral       <--------------------------->   Written
              L1        <--------------------------->   L2


                         Content of biliteracy
          Minority      <--------------------------->   Majority
        Vernacular      <--------------------------->   Literary
     Contextualised     <--------------------------->   Decontextualised


                         Media of biliteracy
Simultaneous exposure   <--------------------------->   Successive exposure
 Dissimilar structures  <--------------------------->   Similar structures
  Divergent scripts     <--------------------------->   Convergent scripts
```

Figure 2.2 *Continua of Biliteracy*

(from Hornberger and Skilton-Sylvester 2000: 99)

Regarding how the continua are related, Hornberger and Skilton-Sylvester explain

the model as follows:

> Specifically, it depicts the development of biliteracy along
> intersecting first language-second language, receptive-productive,
> and oral-written language skills continua; through the medium of
> two (or more) languages and literacies whose linguistic structures
> vary from similar to dissimilar, whose scripts range from
> convergent to divergent, and to which the developing biliterate
> individual's exposure varies from simultaneous to successive; in
> contexts that encompass micro to macro levels and are
> characterised by varying mixes along the monolingual-bilingual

and oral-literate continua; and with content that ranges from majority to minority perspectives and experiences, literary to vernacular styles and genres, and decontextualised to contextualised language texts. (2000: 96)

Hornberger and Skilton-Sylvester also state that "the more their learning contexts allow learners to draw on all points of the continua, the greater the chance for their full biliterate development" (2000: 96).

The biliteracy continua model relates biliteracy to power by using the scale "traditionally less powerful—traditionally more powerful". The model describes precisely how each sub-continuum, such as media, context, content, etc, is related to power. Figure 4.1 shows that one needs to acquire a particular type of literacy to gain power. Hornberger and Skilton-Sylvester state that the relationship between power and literacy changes depending on the context (2000: 100). National and state level discourse regarding literacy in many parts of the world is still in favour of the traditional, monolingual, decontextualised and majority literacies. However, Hornberger and Skilton-Sylvester stress that in many parts of the world, the relationship between a particular type of literacy and power is changing thanks to grassroots movements and intercultural communication that support minority languages and literacies (2000: 102). In such cases, the use of this model may contribute greatly to reforming language and literacy curricula (Hornberger 1998).

A strong benefit brought by this model is the framework that enables researchers to make the configuration of biliteracy visually explicit. By analysing biliteracy phenomena using the model, the elements of the biliteracy that require attention

become clear. The model would be particularly useful for educators to improve their bilingual curricula, or policy makers to review their language policies. The dozen or so continua of biliteracy in Figure 4.1 are by no means complete and are subject to change as new dimensions of biliteracy are identified. However, they can be a starting point in describing different biliterate situations in a number of different social contexts. The inclusion of concepts, such as divergent and convergent scripts, similar and dissimilar language structures, are particularly useful for examining biliteracy that consists of literacies that are distant in terms of their media.

The weakness of the model may be its complexity, which makes its application a difficult task. There has also been criticism regarding the use of the concept 'continuum' (see Street 1993). Street (1993: 4) states that the use of the term 'continuum' is sometimes only rhetorical and it is not substantially different from an 'oral and written' dichotomy.

2.7.3 The pedagogy of multiliteracies model

The Pedagogy of Multiliteracies model (Cope and Kalantzis 2000, The New London Group 1996) has attracted wide attention recently for its innovative advocacy of multiple literacies (Lo Bianco 2001, Hornberger and Skilton-Sylvester 2000). It is a model for pedagogy and research in literacy in linguistically diverse and multicultural social settings. The New London Group states that the model is designed to achieve two goals: "creating access to the evolving language of work, power, and community, and fostering the critical engagement necessary for them to design their social futures and achieve through

fulfilling employment" (1996: 100).

The tenet of the multiliteracies model is the conceptualisation of multiliteracies, which includes multiple codes of semiotic systems, such as linguistic, gestural, audio, spatial and visual codes. Codes are grapho-numeric symbols including scripts and diagrams that make up various messages in different modes of communication, such as letters and electronic mails (Lo Bianco and Freebody 1997: 19). These codes and modes are taken into consideration in the model as a form of literacy.

The inclusion of multiple semiotic systems is different from the previous notion of literacy or literacies that are fundamentally linguistic. In the model, the role of language is de-emphasised by treating non-linguistic and linguistic systems equally. It is stated that literacy is fundamentally multimodal and the relationship between different modes in the meaning-making process is one of the most significant elements in understanding multiliteracies (The New London Group 1996: 80).

Another characteristic of multilieracies is the employment of the concept 'design' instead of education (Cope and Kalantzis 2000: 23). This concept has three aspects:

Designs of Meaning

Available Designs	The available meaning-making resources; patterns and conventions of meaning in a particularly cultural contexts
Designing	The work performed on or with Available Designs in the semiotic process
The Redesigned	The resources that are produced and transformed through Designing

(Adapted from Cope and Kalantzis 2000:23)

In multiliteracies, education is an act of designing a social future for individuals. The focus of the model is critical analysis and reform of education at classroom and school levels as well as higher levels, such as state or nation. The model also highlights the equality of minority groups, and it is aimed at transforming their resources through education in various media into useful resources for themselves and others in their current social context.

The New London Group generated the multiliteracies model in order to reform literacy education particularly in the context of rapid social change in communicative behaviours of people (Cope and Kalantzis 2000:3-8). The group broadly divides the social domain of multiliteracies into working, public and private lives (Cope and Kalantzis 2000:17). The group argues that all three realms of life have changed dramatically in many industrialised societies in recent times due to the globalisation of the economy, migration, new management theories and alternative means of assessment in schools, which are all related to the use of various forms of literacy.

The public and private lives of people have also been affected by social changes due to the disappearance of politically and culturally homogeneous societies and rigid nation states (The New London Group 1996: 68-70). Private lives, they argue, are influenced today by consumerism and diverse sub-cultures, which affect children's vernacular literacy practices significantly. These diversities and the borderlessness in culture have brought in multiple affiliations and identities, such as the identity of the participant children of the current study. The group also argues that traditional standards or value systems that are related to ethnicity, gender and generation are also going through change. These types of private lives are described as 'multilayered life worlds' (Cope and Kalantzis 2000: 71).

The application of the mulitiliteracies theory has begun to appear in various parts of the world (eg. Bond 2000, Cazden 2000). Although the number of these case studies is small, the tenets presented by the Pedagogy of Multiliteracies Model are shared by many who consider that technological advance is rapidly changing what it means by literacy (Rassool 1999). However, as has been seen in 2.4, 2.5 and 2.6 above, literate and biliterate behaviours of people in various social and cultural domains seem still strongly linguistically based, particularly in vernacular literacy. It is considered that careful analysis of literate behaviours of people using an ethnographic method is required in order to assess how exactly literate and other modes of communication of the group are changing. The terminologies that are used in this model (Design, and Designing) seem abstract and empty without actual instances. The domains that are identified in the model, i.e. private, public and social lives are broad and simplistic. In many social situations, public, private and social lives are overlapping. Also in many cultures, the division of private,

public and social may not be effective way to distinguish realms of the life of people (Nakane 1977).

2.8 The Approach of the Current Study

Sections 2.4 and 2.5 have overviewed approaches to literacy from a number of academic perspectives including psychological educational, linguistic, historical, anthropological and sociological. Approaches in the studies of biliteracy have also been discussed in 2.6. Various approaches to literacy and the position of the current study are summarised in the Table 2.4 below.

Table 2.4 Approaches to literacy (Current thesis deals with underlined sections)

	Non-academic views	Socio-historical and psychological approaches	Socio-cultural approaches	Multiliteracies
View of (il-) literacy	Enlightenments, education, economy (illness, poverty)	Singular, uniform, autonomous, literate/illiterate divide	Plural, diverse, literacy as situated practice, Discourse, ideology, ecological view, multilingual and multicultural literacy, critical and cultural literacy, literacy and power	
What is being studied, significant elements and concepts		Psychometric processes, de-/en-coding (bottom-up), comprehension process (top-down), measurable skills, literacy rates	Events, practices, uses/functions, genres, behaviours, oral-written continuum, attitudes, power and literacy	Designing, available designs and redesigning
Culture, context, domain, function of literacy		Detached from context, monocultural, emphasis on school domain	Domains, functions, mainstream and vernacular cultures, school, community and home domains, school-home continuum	Private, working and public lives, globalisation
Mode	Reading and writing	Reading and writing	Primarily reading and writing, but includes the use of written texts in media (TV, video games and computer)	All types of texts, modes and symbols that are used in written texts, video, TV, multimedia and computer
Code		Linguistic code (written text) only and largely roman scripts	Primarily linguistic code, but both roman, non-roman scripts and also some other graphic symbols and conventions	All types of text and symbols (written texts, graphic symbols, gestural, audio etc.)

Table 2.4 clarifies the location of the current study in various streams of literacy

and biliteracy studies. As was stated in 2.2, the current study is generally located within the socio-cultural approach. Although a radically new direction of literacy studies is indicated by the New London Group, one that incorporates all semiotic systems as elements of literacy, the current study takes written texts as its central focus.

Lastly, a shorter version of the definition of literacy presented in 2.2 is reiterated here in order to connect this discussion to the next section of the thesis:

Literacy is defined as the behaviours of people interacting with written texts in socio-cultural contexts. Literate behaviours are observed in 'literacy events' (Heath 1983) in which a piece of written text plays a central role in the communication. Literacy is also viewed as 'situated social practices' (Barton and Hamilton 2000), more specifically as 'literacy practices', which are goal-oriented, recurrent activities (Scribner and Cole 1981). Literacy is also viewed as shared and accepted social norms. Because literacy is a social phenomenon, it is a marker of gender, ethnicity and age and other social groups and it is a significant part of cultural identity (Ferdman 1990, Pérez 1998a). Literacy may be carried out in two or more languages in the society and by the members of the community across various domains. In such situation, the term biliteracy (Hornberger 1989) is preferred in describing literacy phenomena.

Chapter 3 The Social, Literacy, Linguistic and Educational Environment of Japanese-English Biliteracy in Australia

3.1 Introduction

The objective of Chapter 3 is to describe the characteristics of the Japanese speech community and the social contexts of child Japanese-English biliteracy in Melbourne, Australia in order to set the scene for the current study. In sociolinguistics and ethnographic studies of literacy, the study of speech community and context of situation are crucial because the form and function of language and literacy have a strong relationship with the demographic backgrounds of people, their social contexts and their literacy environment (Barton 1994, Crystal 1991, Halliday and Hasan 1976, Heath 1983, Hymes 1986).

Chapter 3 is also devoted to a discussion of the linguistic, literacy and educational environment of child Japanese-English biliteracy in Australia. In this discussion, political and public concepts of literacy are examined in order to understand how literacies in Languages Other Than English (LOTEs) are positioned in Australia. The objectives of Chapter 3 are to review concepts of literacy that appear in language and literacy policies of Australia, to explore public concepts of literacy by examining the typical uses of the term 'literacy' in the media and school curricula, to contrast these Australian political and public concepts of literacy with the concepts of literacy in other languages, and to examine Japanese literacy and orthographic systems that are relevant to the current study.

3.2 The Japanese in Australia

Some scholars do not consider Japanese in Australia as a typical community language because it does not form an easily identifiable speech community or 'ethnic enclave' (see discussion in Sugimoto 1991). It is also widely believed that

most Japanese in Australia are temporary residents who are not permanent members of Australian society (see discussion in Mizukami 1997). However, these perceptions are inaccurate since there is a considerable number of permanent residents, i.e. Japanese migrants in Australia (Japan Club of Australia 1998, Mizukami 1997). With a growing number of Japanese residents in Australia (Australian Bureau of Statistics 2001) and the emergence of second generation Japanese-Australians, their education, language and literacy maintenance are becoming recognised issues (Lo Bianco 1995, Miyoshi 1994).

In the Japanese speech communities in Australia, several 'domains' of Japanese can be identified. 'Domain' refers to various abstract contexts of language use that involve location, topic and participants (Fishman 1972). The domains typically used in sociolinguistic studies are 'family and friendship', 'education', 'religion' and 'employment' (see 2.5 for a discussion of theoretical issues regarding domains). The educational domain plays a particularly significant role in the lives of Japanese-speaking children and their family members in Australia (Miyoshi 1994).

3.2.1 A brief history of Japanese migration to Australia

Although the majority of the current Japanese residents in Australia arrived in Australia after the 1970s, the Japanese have a much longer history of migration to Australia. It goes back to the early pearl divers who came to Darwin and Broome on the northern coast in the late nineteenth century (Nakano 1985). The Japanese population at its peak pre-WWII was estimated to be four thousand (Reed 1992).

Trade relations between Australia and Japan brought a considerable number of Japanese to Australia from the 1950s to the present. In the 1950s-60s they were mostly businessmen on overseas assignments, diplomats, and scholars. These people were temporary residents who stayed in the country usually between three to five years (Mizukami 1993). The number of these people rose gradually from

approximately 2,000 in the 1950s to about 3,500 in mid 1960s (Australia Bureau of Immigration, Multicultural and Population Research 1998, Hugo and Maher 1995). In the 1970s, the number of Japanese migrants to Australia increased rapidly. The number of Japanese in the early nineteen eighties rose to about 8,000, and included both temporary and permanent residents (Hugo and Maher 1995).

3.2.2 Australia's Japanese-speaking population in censuses and number of children

The Australian government carries out a nationwide census every five years. Recent censuses took place in 1991, 1996 and 2001. The breakdown of the items 'birth place' and 'language spoken at home' does not include Japan-born or Japanese speakers in the 1996 or 2001 census. The 1991 census includes data on Japan-born nationals and Japanese speakers. For this reason, the figures from the 1991 census are cited below.

In the 1991 census (Hugo and Maher 1995), the number of Japan-born residents was 25,984, and those who spoke Japanese in the home was 26,670. The 1991 census also suggests that Japan-born residents are concentrated in large metropolitan areas. There are approximately 10,000 in Sydney, 7,500 in Brisbane, 3,800 in Melbourne, 2,000 in Perth and 1,000 in Adelaide. In Melbourne, where the current study took place, there were 3,796 Japan-born and 3,772 who spoke Japanese in the home. Although the 1991 census has figures on the speakers of Japanese, whether they spoke other language(s) at home is not indicated.

The current study deals with Japanese-speaking children in Australia and therefore it is considered relevant to try to determine the number of Japanese-speaking children within Melbourne. While there are no statistics on the number of Japan-born children or Japanese-speaking children in Australia, the numbers can be estimated from the 1991 census. The 1991 census reported that 15.6% (n=2890) of all Japan-born residents in Australia were children aged between 0-

14. Using this ratio, it is estimated that the number of Japan-born children aged 0-14 would be approximately 1,500 in Sydney and about 600 in Melbourne. It is estimated that the number of Japanese-speaking children in Melbourne at the time of the study (1997-1998) was slightly higher than this because the recent census reports that the number of Japan-born residents is increasing (Australian Bureau of Statistics 2001).

Enrolment in Japanese schools is another indication of the number of Japanese-speaking children. In Melbourne, 73 children were enrolled full-time in a Japanese school (day-school) in March 2002 (57 in primary and 16 in secondary). In a Japanese Saturday school, Melbourne Japanese Saturday School (acronym, MJSS hereafter), approximately 250 students (Year 1 to Year 12) were enrolled in March 2002. These figures suggest approximately half of the Japanese-speaking children in Melbourne are enrolled in these Japanese schools.

3.2.3 Integration of ethnic Japanese into Australian society

Sociologist Mizukami (1997: 213) uses the terms, 'migrant' and 'sojourner' to categorise the Japanese in Australia according to their residential status. Migrants are defined as those who came from Japan to live in Australia permanently, and the sojourners are defined as temporary residents who will return to Japan after a certain period of time.

The degree of integration of Japanese individuals into Australian society varies depending upon the person's background and the circumstances surrounding them (Masumi-So 1994, Marriott 1984, Mizukami 1993, Sugimoto 1991). The degree of integration is determined by one's ability to communicate using English, one's reason for coming to Australia, one's understanding of Australian culture and one's length of residency.

Mizukami (1993) in his Brisbane study, divided ethnic Japanese into one of four patterns of integration into Australian society: those who were a) satisfied with Australian life in general and participating in wide varieties of social activity, b) satisfied but not participating, c) not satisfied, but participating, and d) not satisfied and not participating. Among these categories, Mizukami discovered that type a) was most prevalent among those who came to Australia of their own will and had been in the country for a long time. In particular, people with higher academic qualifications and a better command of English were more highly integrated.

The Japanese residents hold a large variety of occupations. While approximately half of Japanese residents are employees on overseas assignment from Japanese or multinational companies, the other half hold varied occupations, including students, lecturers and researchers, working-holiday-makers, restaurateurs, Japanese language teachers, beauticians, auto mechanics, interpreters, artists, lawyers, computer programmers, writers and editors (see Japan Club of Australia 1998).

3.3 The Japanese-speaking Community and Domains of the Japanese Language in Melbourne

The current population of Melbourne is approximately 3.8 million. Of the over 25,000 Japanese-born or Japanese-speaking population who live in Australia, the majority of the approximate 4,000 Japanese-speakers in the state of Victoria are concentrated in the eastern suburbs of Melbourne (Hugo and Maher 1995). High concentrations of Japanese residents are situated in the Caulfield, Brighton and Glen Waverley areas, which are middle to upper-middle class suburbs located approximately fifteen kilometres from the central business district of Melbourne (Mizukami 1996).

There are only a handful of sociological and sociolinguistic studies carried out on the Japanese-speech community in Melbourne, which provide a limited picture of how Japanese is spoken in the community (Masumi-So 1994, Marriott 1984, Miyoshi 1994, Mizukami 1997, Yoshimitsu 2002). From these studies, it can be deduced that Japanese is used in domains including 'social life', 'workplace', 'family and friends', 'home' and 'education'.

Among these domains, the most frequently studied locale of speech is the Japanese schools. Miyoshi (1994), Mizukami (1997), Sugimoto (1991) and Yoshimitsu (2002) state that Japanese schools, particularly the MJSS, function as a hub of the Japanese-speaking community.

Another sociolinguistic domain that has been studied in Melbourne is the social domain, and specifically the networking that occurs among Japanese women. Masumi-So (1994), who studied the discourse styles of Japanese women, states that networks among Japanese women are strong and some of them use little English. Marriott (1984) also investigated Japanese women's patterns of English acquisition. While she discovered that the amount of access to networking in English is a significant factor in acquiring communicative competence in English, Marriott also found that it is also significant for Japanese women to network among themselves in Japanese.

3.3.1 The home domain

The home domain is probably the most significant locale for child biliteracy practice because young children spend a large amount of time in the home and develop their linguistic and literacy competence through interaction between their parents and siblings. As Heath (1983) describes, the home is an open system within which various types of language use and literacy practice are seen. In a multilingual society, the home is where children can develop and practice literacy in their first language. At the same time, literacy in the language of the wider

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community is likely be practiced in the bilingual home (Saxena 1994, Pérez 1998a).

There are a few anecdotal reports that describe how Japanese literacy is taught in Japanese-speaking homes in Melbourne (Sugimoto 1991, Sato 1985). These reports state that achieving literacy in Japanese is often a struggle for many children because of the complexity of the Japanese writing system, the formalistic teaching methods undertaken by teachers at Japanese schools and by parents, as well as the large cultural gap between Japan and Australia. Parents also struggle in teaching children because of resistance from children to learning the Japanese writing system or speaking Japanese (Yoshimitsu 2002). A lack of teaching resources is another contributing factor. For many such families, Japanese schools seem to be the most effective place to send their children to learn literacy in Japanese. However, Japanese schools expect parents to participate in teaching children at home because the time and resources available at school are insufficient.

3.3.2 The Japanese schools in Melbourne

There are two Japanese schools in Melbourne for Japanese-speaking children: a full-time Japanese school and a Saturday school (MJSS). Some Japanese-speaking families, particularly temporary residents, send their children to the full-time school where all subjects, except for English as a second language, are taught in Japanese using Japanese textbooks. Many children who go to a local school also go to the MJSS to study Japanese. All five children who participated in the study were enrolled in the MJSS at the time of the investigation.

The MJSS has kindergarten, primary (Year 1-6) and secondary levels (Year 7-12). Officially, MJSS is referred to as *hoshukoo* (supplementary school), and is accredited by the Japanese Ministry of Foreign Affairs as one of the many such supplementary overseas schools. It is also accredited by the Victorian government

as an ethnic school. There are over seven hundred ethnic schools in Victoria (Clyne 1991a). The Japanese and the Victorian governments fund the school although the largest income is earned through school fees from parents.

The MJSS uses the Japanese national standard curriculum, or *monbusho shidoo yooryo*, and certified standard Japanese textbooks, *kentee kyookasho*. At the MJSS only maths and Japanese are taught largely due to the time restriction of operating only on Saturdays.

In the past students from temporary resident families formed the majority at the MJSS, about two thirds, and the children from permanent residents and mixed marriage families formed the minority, about a third (Mabuchi 2002). However, in the late 1990s, the number of children from families holding permanent residency or from Japanese-non-Japanese mixed marriage families increased.

There are approximately twenty teachers at the MJSS. All of them were recruited locally in Melbourne. Neither an Australian diploma of education nor a Japanese diploma of education is required to be a teacher at the MJSS although such a qualification is preferred. The majority of teachers are migrants who live in Melbourne permanently.

3.3.3 Japanese literacy resources in Melbourne

In Melbourne, it is possible to say that Japanese literacy and educational resources for children are abundant if compared to available material in other LOTEs (see for example Russian, in Aidman 1998, Vietnamese and Cambodian, in Lotherington et al 1998). The abundance of Japanese materials can be attributed to the sizable Japanese-speaking community in Melbourne, the large publishing and media industries in Japan and the popularity of Japanese studies and cultural exchange with Japan among educational institutions in Melbourne.

The institutions and commercial bodies in Melbourne that provide literacy

resources in Japanese to public include university libraries, some branches of public libraries, the Consulate General of Japan, a church, and a few Japanese bookstores.

3.4 The Returnee Problem in Japan

The issue of *kaigai kikokushijo* or, returnee children in Japan from overseas (Yashiro 1995) is indirectly influencing the literate behaviours of Japanese-speaking children in Melbourne. The returnee problem, in short, is a problem that arises when children return to Japan from overseas and re-enter the Japanese education and social system (Ono 1994, Takenaga 1984, Yashiro 1995). The returnee problem can be summarised as children's social and psychological adaptation to the Japanese social system and school. Yashiro (1995) reports that there has been a constant flow of children returning to Japan from prolonged overseas stay and that their numbers reach approximately 30,000 a year.

There are several problems faced by returnees. The first issue is the strong monocultural-monolinguistic and assimilatory policies of the Japanese education system. All Japanese primary and secondary schools, including private schools, must follow the prescriptive, national standard curriculum, *shidoo yooryo*. The typical attitude of educators and policy makers who wrote the curriculum was strongly assimilatory in that Japan is seen as a monolingual country and learning the national language has the foremost priority (Sakamoto 1992, Yashiro 1995).

The second point is the problem of lack of sufficient support in Japanese schools for children of diverse linguistic and cultural backgrounds (Yashiro 1995). The number of children who require support surpasses the number of programs and schools that can provide such support. Almost all schools in Japan admit returnees and children with non-Japanese backgrounds. However, only a handful of schools provide sufficient language and other types of support.

Many parents in Japanese-speaking households in Melbourne are well aware that their children are potential returnees (Mabuchi 2002). Many families with school age children, particularly those who are in Australia temporarily, start preparing their children to re-enter Japanese school and society as soon as they arrive. Typically they send their children to a Japanese Saturday school or to a full-time Japanese school to give their children the opportunity to experience Japan-like schooling. Not only temporary residents, but many permanent residents also send their children to Saturday school, and subscribe to correspondence courses.

3.5 National Policy on Languages and Australian Language and Literacy Policy

In Australia today, over 150 Aboriginal languages and a further 150 community languages are spoken (Clyne 1991a). English is spoken as a first language by approximately 74% of the population, and is the de facto national language (Lo Bianco 1995). Australia began planning an explicit multilingual policy in the early 1970s at Commonwealth, State and Territory levels (Clyne 1991a: 218). The current language policy of Australia is known as the Australian Language and Literacy Policy (hereafter referred to as the ALLP), which was released in 1991 (Dawkins 1991). Prior to the ALLP, the National Policy on Languages (NPL), which was released in 1987, was in effect (Lo Bianco and Freebody 1997). The ALLP and the NPL are multilingual policies, which recognise a wide variety of literacies, including literacies in LOTEs and Australian languages (Dawkins 1991). The ALLP also states that English dominates literacy practices in both public and the private domains in Australian society. Now, however, approximately ten years since the implementation of the ALLP, there is a fear that the scope of multilingual policy has been restricted significantly (Lo Bianco 2002). The Australian Alliance for Languages, a group that consists of language specialists, argues that a critical review and action need to be taken in order to reaffirm government's commitment to the policy (Lo Bianco 2002: 4-7).

Language policy is considered highly significant for the use of literacy in a society because it determines whether members of a community are able to become literate in their first language (Durgunoglu and Verhoeven 1998a). Durgunoglu and Verhoeven (1998a) argue that there are three types of language policies: language segregation, language assimilation and language maintenance. Due to the high priority placed on multilingualism in the ALLP, it can be considered as a language maintenance policy. The ALLP is considered as one of the most comprehensive multilingual policies in the world (Clyne 1991a, Romaine 1991). However, as will be discussed below the ALLP does not treat literacies in LOTEs or Australian languages as equal to English. From a literacy point of view, the ALLP may be considered as a language assimilation type of policy.

The ALLP explicitly states that the principles of language policies in Australia are competence in English, maintenance and development of LOTEs, provision of services in LOTEs and opportunities for learning a second language (Lo Bianco 1995, Lo Bianco and Freebody 1997). Multilingualism is justified in the ALLP in terms of social justice, enrichment of all Australians, economic strategies and Australia's external relationships (Clyne 1991a: 227). The ALLP also acknowledges the language rights of speakers of LOTEs and Aboriginal languages. However, English is given the highest significance and priority over any other languages that are used in Australia. In the section 'Role and use of Australian English' (Dawkins 1991: 32), it is stated that English is the national language, which is used in Government, law, commerce, mass media, and education. English is stressed as the essential, integral part of mainstream Australian culture, as well as the mutual language of speakers of LOTEs.

The ALLP describes literacy as follows (Dawkins 1991: 9):

> Literacy involves the integration of speaking, listening and critical thinking with reading and writing. Effective literacy is intrinsically purposeful, flexible and dynamic and continues to develop throughout an individual's lifetime.

The description is followed by the necessity of English literacy for all Australians and also the possibility of literacy in a LOTE and Australian languages:

> All Australians need to have effective literacy in English, not only for their personal benefit and welfare but also for Australia to achieve its social and economic goals.

> One may acquire literacy in many languages. Some Australians are literate in many languages other than English, including Aboriginal languages, as well as or instead of English. For many Australians of non-English-speaking background, the development of initial literacy in the first language is desirable for personal development as well as for development of literacy in English.

The ALLP elaborates significantly on the definition of English literacy and its importance. On the other hand, although literacies in LOTEs and Australian languages are recognised, their domains, functions and the extent of their use are not stated in the ALLP. The ALLP also contains statements on language and literacy educational policies. Regarding LOTE education, the ALLP states that:

> The learning of languages other than English must be substantially expanded and improved to enhance educational outcomes and communication within both the Australian and the international community (Dawkins 1991: 61).

The ALLP includes a list of priority languages based on regional, community and broader international interests (Dawkins 1991: 76). The list includes Arabic, Chinese, French, German, Modern Greek, Indonesian, Italian, Japanese and Spanish. However, the ALLP does not specify how and to what extent literacies in these languages should be taught. It only states that LOTE literacies may develop within individuals and may function as a step towards acquisition of literacy in English.

Fishman (1972) argues that maintenance of LOTE literacies in the community may only lead to a basic functional level of literacy. If the national policy does not

promote the use of minority literacies in wider domains in the society, including the educational system, full biliteracy would not develop among the members of the society.

3.6 Public Concepts of Literacy

Graff (1991:3) argues that 'literacy is profoundly misunderstood' due to narrow and controversial definitions that have been made in the past and in present times. Grant (1986:1) states that the myth about literacy, which has been widely believed, can be summarised as "an absolute, word perfect standard, a collection of functional skills, an autonomous, context-free and unified competence and a means of economic benefit".

The concepts of literacy, other than academic and/or technical definitions are referred to as 'myth' and 'metaphor' (Baynham 1995). Barton (1994) argues that literacy has been considered as synonymous to education, enlightenment or virtue. Conversely, in English, illiteracy has frequently been represented by negative metaphors, such as illness and poverty (Barton 1994). In Japanese, illiteracy is referred to as *monmoo*, literally "sentence blindness," which is seen as shameful and needs to be hidden (Crump 1986). In literacy campaigns organised by international institutions such as the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO), illiteracy is often regarded as similar to a disease that needs to be eradicated (Asia/Pacific Cultural Centre for UNESCO 2002).

In more recent years, the meaning of literacy seems to have changed to meaning skill or ability. A recent edition of English dictionaries such as Macquarie Dictionary (Delbridge 1991) or a COBUILD Dictionary (Collins Publishers and the University of Birmingham 1991) gives the definition of literacy as "the ability to read and write" (in both Macquarie and COBUILD) and also as "the ability to

use a language effectively" as the primary definition of the word literacy, rather than educated or cultured.

3.6.1 Concepts of literacy in the media

Strong vehicles of public views on literacy are probably school curricula and mass media. The word 'literacy' is a frequently used word in the media and in school curricula today. However, the term is often used without clear definition. It is often used only to mean literacy in English, as well as skills and abilities. Many uses of the term in school curricula and media lack the viewpoint that literacy is culturally constructed. Grant (1986:2) states, "What it means to be literate in our society is clear cut, self-evident, uncontroversial and readily measurable."

In Australia, the few years prior to the 2000 Literacy Year promoted by UNESCO was a time when the national standard of literacy was frequently debated in society, particularly in the media. At the same time, the Australian government placed a high priority on improving the national standard of literacy and introduced reading recovery programs in schools (The Australian 15/3/2000). Newspapers contained article after article on the literacy issue, debating the literacy standard of Australians. A few newspaper headlines illustrate how the concept of literacy is understood and used in the media:

> "Australians pass the test in literacy" (The Australian 2/5/1997)
> "Literacy trips up one in two adults" (The Australian 9/9/1997)
> "Pupils fail literacy's basic test" (The Age 13/9/1997)
> "Preschoolers 'held back' in literacy" (The Age 13/9/1997)
> "Improve literacy or lose funding" (The Australian 16/9/1997)

From the ways the term literacy is used in these headlines, the reader would understand that literacy is assessable, difficult to acquire, taught in school (as early as preschool) and strongly related to individual's financial wellbeing.

3.6.2 Literacy concepts in Australian education

In school curricula, literacy is given a more elaborate definition than in the media. Lo Bianco and Freebody (1997) compared literacy curricula throughout Australia. The following is a list of the wide ranging functions and features of literacy (in English) that are considered in Australian school curricula (Lo Bianco and Freebody 1997: 41-43):

- Literacy as coding and decoding
- Literacy as multimodal
- Literacy as plural
- How readers and writers 'operate'
- Social functions of literacy
- Texts as cultural products
- Literacy as identities
- Active literacy and public participation
- Literacy as international communication

At the level of educational policy makers, the diversity of language and literacies is recognised as is shown in the above summary. However, in the curricula, literacies in English and LOTEs are separated. Although literacy in English is a core part of education in Australia, literacies in LOTE are not (see 3.6.3 below).

3.6.3 Literacy in the Victorian Curriculum Standard Framework

In Australia, the states, territories, Catholic and independent schools have their own curriculum guidelines (Lo Bianco and Freebody 1997). Victorian schools follow a curriculum guideline, *the Curriculum Standard Framework,* (hereafter called the CSF), that determines the basic framework of school subjects (Board of Studies 1995a). The literacy issue is discussed in the English volume. It is stated that the English curriculum is primarily responsible for teaching literacy (Board of Studies 1995a: 9) and the word 'literacy' is used frequently in the CSF *English.* It states the position of literacy in the study of English as follows (Board of Studies

1995a: 9-10):

> The development of literacy is central to the English curriculum. Literacy involves speaking, listening, reading, writing and thinking within a cultural context. It enables a user to recognise and select language appropriate to different situations. The increasing use of technological goals has implications for literacy acquisition and development. New and emerging needs such as 'computer literacy' mean that different uses of literacy need to be considered in the classroom.

In the volume *English*, literacy is connected to skills and abilities. Although the socio-cultural nature of literacy is recognised in the CSF, there are few statements that consider literacy as cultural practice. Particularly in lower primary levels, literacy is connected strongly to decoding and encoding skills. Literacy is also considered as a set of skills that are taught or learned, but not as abilities that are acquired through practicing in the day-to-day lives of children. In the volume *English*, it is stated that the teacher is solely responsible for teaching the basic literacy skills to his or her pupils in lower primary levels (Board of Studies 1995a: 9-10).

The issue of literacy in LOTEs is treated in the CSF *LOTE* volume (Board of Studies 1995b). In the LOTE volume the word literacy does not appear as frequently as in the volume *English* although the LOTE volume discusses teaching reading writing in LOTEs. The CSF divides LOTE learning into 7 levels starting from prep children to year 12. In all levels, the primary emphasis of LOTE education is on oral communication rather than reading and writing. In the lower primary level (level-1 preparatory and level-2 beginning), which is relevant to the current study, the aim of the study is placed on building cultural and social awareness associated with written language in a LOTE, rather than learning to decode and comprehend texts (Board of Studies 1995b: 42-59). The recommended activities for reading and writing in a LOTE are, for example, tracing characters

based on a model, identifying the meaning of text with visual and other non-verbal aids.

The content of the CSF indicates that even though LOTEs are taught in Victorian schools, the primary emphasis is on spoken aspects of the language. Literacy in a broader sense is taught through English, but not in a LOTE. The functions of reading and writing in a LOTE are more limited in range compared to English, restricted to an aid in cultural and social understanding. This contrasts with what is expected of children in other types of bilingual education which aim to teach children similar degrees of competence in L1 and L2 literacy (Cummins and Swain 1986, Edelsky 1986).

3.7 Australian and Japanese Concepts on Literacy

As mentioned earlier, Australia is a multilingual country where 300 languages are spoken. Many of these languages have their own writing systems. Many Asian and Middle Eastern languages, such as Japanese, Korean, Chinese, Arabic, Hindi, Thai, Khmer and Farsi use non-Roman orthographies. There are sizable speech communities of these languages in metropolitan areas of Australia (Clyne 1991a). There is an extensive range of printed materials produced in these languages and there are various social institutions in which literacy in these languages plays a significant role, such as ethnic schools, churches, temples, businesses and universities. Australian society is not just multilingual, but also multiliterate.

3.7.1 How Asian literacies are perceived in Australia

In order to arrive at a broader view of literacy in Australia, the concepts of literacy are considered from cross-linguistic perspectives in this section. The characteristics of the Japanese writing system are examined as an example of LOTE literacy.

Asian literacies in Australia have been received ambivalently. While language policies, i.e. the NPL and the ALLP, recognise the importance of LOTE literacies in Australia, there are some who see risks in placing Asian literacies as a part of Australian literacies, particularly in the educational sector (eg. Kirkpatrick 1995, 1997).

Mackerras (1996) and others (Freebody 1993, Lo Bianco and Freebody 1997) argue that Asian languages and literacies are significant assets for Australia for largely geo-political and economic reasons. This view is generally supported by mainstream institutions, such as universities, industries and the media. The Asian Studies Council (ASC) advised that language skills and an understanding of Asian culture lead to economic prosperity in Australia (see Lo Bianco 1995). Thanks to the effort of the ASC, Japanese, Modern Standard Chinese and Indonesian are taught at universities in all states of Australia (Lo Bianco 1995).

However, as has been seen, Asian literacies, as well as other LOTE literacies, are still marginalised in language policy and school curricula in Australia. It is also stated that effective teaching methods for non-alphabetical scripts are yet to be developed (Freebody 1993). It is argued that there are not enough monetary and human resources to improve Asian literacy education for Australians (Mackerras 1996). Although the government has intervened to improve the situation, for example to increase the number of Asian studies faculties in universities, there are an insufficient number of these faculties or departments compared to other study areas (Mackerras 1996: 8).

Psychological distance to unknown languages, cultures and literacies seems be a strong factor that underlies the marginalisation of Asian literacies (see discussion in Gao 1995). This issue is not as openly discussed as the financial reason stated above to explain the lack of understanding towards Asian LOTEs and literacies. However, there is some evidence that Asian literacies are perceived as distant and

difficult to understand and learn by some mainstream Australians (see debate between Kirkpatrick 1995 and Gao 1996).

For example, Kirkpatrick (1995) argues that difficult Asian languages, i.e. Modern Standard Chinese (MSC), Korean and Japanese, should not be taught in primary and lower secondary schools. He states that these languages are too difficult for non-background Australian students to master to the level that curricula aim to attain. He also argues that the students do not reach the designated proficiency because of insufficient time allocated to these difficult Asian LOTEs. He states that MSC, Korean and Japanese are difficult largely due to the non-alphabetical scripts and also due to the fact that these languages are not cognate with English.

Gao (1996) criticises the view represented by Kirkpatrick. He argues that the concerns held by Kirkpatrick stem not from the difficulty of these languages, but from the psychological distance towards Asian culture, language and literacy. Gao defends education in Asian literacies by stressing that these languages are not intrinsically difficult. He also adds that these languages should be taught from an early stage in schools because the motivational factor is extremely significant for studying a second language. He argues that motivation does not develop without exposing learners to the target language from an early age. Gao fears that if Asian LOTEs were excluded as school subjects, the motivation for studying Asian languages would not grow among students.

3.7.2 The concept of literacy in languages other than English

Literacy is not a universal concept. Many languages other than English do not have an equivalent term for literacy. The terms or concepts that are similar to literacy are, for example, 'knowledge of scripts' in Japanese (Hisamatsu et al.1982), 'alphabetisation' in French (Knox 2001) and Spanish (Castillo and Bond 2002), which only refer to the knowledge of script, and also 'reading and writing'

in German (Dahl 1996). The concept 'literacy' in English covers both 'knowledge of script' and 'reading and writing' and also other aspects of literacy, such as knowledge of literate culture, and ability in handling technologies that are related to reading and writing (Scribner and Cole 1981). Because of the broad area that is covered by the concept, what is meant by 'literacy' may become vague, or unclear. This is considered as the danger of the use of this concept without a proper definition.

Literacy is difficult to translate into Asian languages, such as Japanese and Chinese. In Japanese the closest equivalent is 識字 (shikiji), meaning "knowledge of scripts," the term derived from Chinese shi ci that carries the same meaning (Hisamatsu et al.1982). Shikiji only refers to basic and functional levels of literacy. Shikiji does not include complex reading or writing. This higher level of reading and writing is referred to as 読み書き (yomikaki, meaning "reading and writing") or simply replaced by other concepts such as 教養 (kyooyoo, "enlightenment") or 教育 (kyooiku, "education").

Although Japanese does not have an equivalent concept to literacy, the English word literacy has been borrowed into Japanese. The word 'literacy' is pronounced as riterashii and often used in information science in combination with other concepts as in media riterashii (media literacy) and conpyuuta riterashii (computer literacy). Although the term riterashii is becoming more and more popular, it rarely means reading and writing in a broad sense.

3.7.3 The Japanese writing system today

As discussed in Chapter 2, Japanese has a sizeable speech community and a large number of learners within Australia. Although its literacy is considered as one of the most difficult literacies to acquire by some people (Atsuji 1998, Kirkpatrick 1995), it has highly formalised written scripts and there are established, modern

teaching methods for Japanese literacy education.

The Japanese orthographic system used in Japan and many parts of the world today is that of the modern, standard Japanese writing system. The Japanese orthographic system consists of *hiragana*, *katakana* syllabaries and *kanji*, i.e. Sino-Japanese ideographic characters.

The *hiragana* and *katakana* sets consist of 46 characters in each. *Hiragana* is used to write grammatical and basic high frequency nouns and pronouns. *Hiragana* is considered to be the basic character set of Japanese. School children learn *hiragana* first. *Katakana* is generally used to write loan words and onomatopoeia. The hiragana and katakana syllabaries that are used today are in Table 3.1 below.

Table 3.1 *Hiragana* and *katakana*

Hiragana			
あいうえお	a, i, u, e, o		
かきくけこ	ka, ki, ku, ke, ko	きゃきゅきょ	kya, kyu, kyo
さしすせよ	sa, shi, su, se, so	しゃしゅしょ	sha, shu, sho
たちつてと	ta, chi, tsu, te, to	ちゃちゅちょ	cha, chu, cho
なにぬねの	na, ni, nu, ne, no	にゃにゅにょ	nya, nyu, nyo
はひふへほ	ha, hi, hu, he, ho	ひゃひゅひょ	hya, hyu, hyo
まみむめも	ma, mi, mu, me, mo	みゃみゅみょ	mya, myu, myo
や　ゆ　よ	ya, yu, yo		
らりるれろ	ra, ri, ru, re, ro	りゃりゅりょ	rya, ryu, ryo
わ をん	wa, wo, n		

Voiced e.g. /g/, /j/, /d/) and voiceless bilabial /p/

がきぐげご	ga, gi, gu, ge, go	ぎゃぎゅぎょ	gya, gyu, gyo
ざじずぜぞ	za, ji, zu, ze, zo	じゃじゅじょ	ja, ju, jo
だぢづでど	da, ji, zu, de, do		
ばびぶべぼ	ba, bi, bu, be, bo	びゃびゅびょ	bya, byu, byo
ぱぴぷぺぽ	pa, pi, pu, pe, po	ぴゃぴゅぴょ	pya, pyu, pyo

Katakana	
アイウエオ	a, i, u, e, o
カキクケコ	ka, ki, ku, ke, ko
サシスセソ	sa, shi, su, se, so
タチツテト	ta, chi, tsu, te, to
ナニヌネノ	na, ni, nu, ne, no
ハヒフヘホ	ha, hi, hu, he, ho
マミムメモ	ma, mi, mu, me, mo
ヤ　ユ　ヨ	ya, yu, yo
ラリルレロ	ra, ri, ru, re, ro
ワヲン	wa, wo, nn

Hiragana and katakana are accompanied by diacritic symbols (″ °) to change the quality of the sound of some characters. The symbol (°) is used to convert /h/ to /p/. Some characters, such as つ and や are written small to indicate double

consonant /kk/ or /tt/ or /ae/ sound.

Kanji are Sino-Japanese ideographic characters (Shibatani 1990). Each *kanji* functions as a semantic unit, as a morpheme. Not all, but many *kanji* consist of a part that carries meaning and also another part that carries the phonetic information. For example, the character 語 (*go*, language, word), contains a semantic unit 言, which means 'language', and also a phonological unit 吾 that carries the sound /go/.

Because *kanji* were brought to Japan from different regions of China at different times, many characters have multiple ways to read. One category of pronunciation is *on-yomi*, the Chinese style reading and the other way of reading is *kun-yomi*, the Japanese style. When a character is used as a part of a compound word, it is often read in the Chinese way.

It is estimated that the number of *kanji* used today is approximately fifty thousand in total, although this figure includes variations of the same character (Atsuji 1998). It is also estimated that in the day-to-day literacy practice of reading newspapers, magazines, writing letters, or filling out forms, a literate adult uses an average of approximately three thousand *kanji* (The National Language Research Institute 1995). The List of Kanji for Personal Names, List of Kanji for Education, List of Kanji for Daily Use and the List of Kanji for Learners of Japanese are compiled by the Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science and Technology.

Among these sets, *jooyookanji*, or The Kanji for Daily Use, is probably used most widely and has the highest authority. The list includes 1,960 kanji (the Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science and Technology 1989). The Kanji Lists for Compulsory Education includes 1,006 characters, consisting of high frequency kanji taken from the List of Kanji for Daily Use. Table 3.2 lists the first set of kanji that first graders learn.

Table 3.2 The first grade kanji in Kanji for Compulsory Education

First grade (80 kanji)
一七九二人入八力十下三上千口土夕大女子小山川中五六円天手文日月木水火犬王出右四左本正生田白目石立休先名字年早気百糸耳虫村男町花見赤足車学林空金雨青音校森 (one, seven, nine, two, person, eight, power, ten, under, three, above, thousand, mouth, earth, evening, big, woman, child, small, mountain, river, middle, five, six, circle, heaven, hand, letter, sun, moon, tree, water, fire, dog, king, out, right, four, left, book, correct, life, paddy, white, eye, stone, stand, rest, front, name, character, year, early, feeling, hundred, thread, ear, insect, village, man, town, flower, see, red, foot, car, study, grove, sky, gold, rain, blue, sound, school, forest)

Normally in a Japanese sentence, function words (grammatical words such as subject or object case marking particles, pre- and postpositions, conjunctions, etc) are written using *hiragana*. The content words, such as the noun, root of a verb, adjective and adverb are written using *kanji* although some high frequency words such as *kodomo* (child) and *hashi* (chopsticks) are often written using *hiragana* in order to avoid over use of *kanji*. An example sentence is written below:

私のこどもは、本がとても好きです。
Watashi no kodomo wa hon ga totemo suki desu.
(My child loves books very much.)

In this sentence, the nouns *watashi* (I), *hon* (books) and the verb *suki* (like) are written using *kanji*. The rest of the words *no* (possessive particle), *kodomo* (child), *wa* (subject/topic marker), *ga* (object/subject marker), *totemo* (very) and *desu* (copula) are all written using hiragana.

Traditionally, Japanese texts have been written vertically, from right to left. However, today a large number of Japanese texts are written horizontally. Reports, texts in natural science and manuals are often written horizontally. A

recent study reported that young Japanese growing up in the 1990s prefer to write horizontally (Atsuji 1998).

The dual writing system of Japanese consisting of *kana* and *kanji,* and the way these characters are mixed in a sentence make Japanese writing system considerably different from that of English. The children in the study are exposed to these different sets of writing system. It is likely that different approaches are taken to teaching children these writing systems due to the difference in how these characters represent sounds and meaning. The children may need to spend a large amount of time learning the Japanese writing system at home due to limited time in Saturday school and also because of its complexity. One of the aims of the study is to discover how the children acquire skills to use the Japanese scripts and to what extent.

3.8 Overview

The size and nature of the Japanese-speaking community, particularly that of Melbourne where the study took place, was discussed in detail above. There are two distinctive categories of Japanese-speaking residents, permanent residents (migrants) and temporary residents. Although temporary residents were the majority in the past, the number of migrants has increased rapidly over the last decade. These two categories of families have been discussed in this chapter because their residential backgrounds are assumed to influence their behaviour in language and cultural maintenance, and also attitudes to their children's education and practicing Japanese-English biliteracy at home.

For the six hundred Japanese-speaking children and their families in Melbourne, the Japanese schools function as the social centre. Particularly the role of the MJSS where nearly half of the Japanese-speaking children attend is considered significant. Other than this school, the families have access to various resources in Japanese in Melbourne, including bookstores and libraries with Japanese reading

materials. In the current study, the influence of this school upon the children's home biliteracy practice is assumed to be strong. How the resources in the community are utilised by the Japanese-speaking children and their parents will also be examined in the study in Chapters 5-9.

The review of Australian language and language policies (NLP and ALLP), public views of literacy, the concepts of literacy and reading and writing in different languages, and the Japanese writing system revealed a number of significant elements regarding literacies in Australia, that of Japanese in particular.

It was shown in the review that the concept of 'literacy' in Australia is socially and culturally constructed and the view is reflected in the policies and school curricula. The view of literacy in Australia is highly English centred and it treats literacy as skills of reading and writing. Literacy in English is considered as the dominant type of literacy, sometimes the only literacy in the society. Although LOTE literacies and their existence are recognised in the Australian language policies, they are given secondary importance. There is little provision for maintaining and developing LOTE literacy in the public sector and its development and maintenance would only take place at an individual level. In these social and political contexts, it may not be easy to maintain and/or develop literacies in LOTEs. In the discussion of the Japanese writing system, it became clear that the acquisition of the *kana* and *kanji* scripts would require a considerable amount of time and effort and a different approach from learning the English writing system. The behaviours of the children in acquiring Japanese-English biliteracy at schools and in their homes, and interacting with the people around them using written texts, are the focus of the study.

Chapter 4 Method of Investigation

4.1 Introduction

This chapter introduces the research methods and data-collecting tools of the current study. As has been discussed in Chapter 2, in many literacy studies, multiple methodologies are combined in order to understand the complexity of biliteracy in a social context. The current study takes an ethnographic approach that involves primarily a qualitative method in the investigation with the addition of some quantification of data to supplement and reinforce the findings.

4.2 Methodological Considerations

As shown in Chapter 2, the most prominent recent approach to the study of literacy and biliteracy has been the ethnographic approach based on an understanding that literacy is a culture, language and society specific phenomenon (see 2.4). In order to carry out an investigation of child Japanese-English biliteracy practices in Melbourne, the research methodology and data-collecting tools have been carefully selected based on the conception that this is a particular type of biliteracy in the social and linguistic contexts of Japanese-English biliteracy in Melbourne.

Street (1993:1-17) states that in recent cross-cultural literacy studies, an ethnographic approach, which is equipped with anthropological data-collecting and analytical methods, is the preferred method because it specialises in in-depth understanding of literacy practices. In making a culturally-rich description of biliteracy, particularly of a linguistic minority group in an urban setting, an ethnographic approach has often been preferred (eg. Dien 1998, Martin-Jones and Bhatt 1998, Ramanathan 2002, Saxena 1994). In this kind of study, data-collecting tools, including participant observation and interviews, are

sometimes combined with other methods such as survey and discourse analysis to obtain a holistic picture of biliteracy.

4.2.1 Limitations of ethnographic approach

A number of methodological limitations have been identified regarding the ethnographic approach. It has been argued that the very concept of 'culture' is often vague and ambiguous (Au 1995, Ramanathan and Atkinson 1999). Ramanathan and Atkinson (1999) argue that researchers must admit that the culture is itself an ideology. Other criticisms that have been pointed out are the lack of generalisability or objectivity of qualitative data (Ramanathan and Atkinson 1999), and difficulties in replicating or comparing the data due to its specificity and small sample size (Heath 1983). Nunan (1992:58-60) points out that the relevance of reliability and validity for ethnographic research depends upon whether the researcher intends to investigate the relationship between different variables. In many ethnographic studies, a quantitative method, such as surveys, is used along with qualitative methods in order to study regularity (Sato 1992). Nunan (1992: 60) advises that the best way to avoid ambiguity in qualitative research is to state clearly the construct of the study and describe the finding as explicitly as possible.

Using young children as informants also limits research methodology. One difficulty is seeking the cooperation of young children. In many linguistic and educational research projects, it has been reported that children are sensitive to formal situations (Andersen 1990, Romaine 1984). As the current study involves children between the ages of six and nine, these points were dealt with carefully with the researcher spending time with the children in order to build rapport, and avoiding using intrusive data-collecting tools (e.g. video camera) in the early stages (see 4.6).

4.3 Pilot Study

A small scale, informal pilot study took place prior to the main investigation. The pilot study was executed to test and adjust the research questions (see 1.3) and data-collecting tools in contexts that were identical to the main fieldwork. The pilot study involved a Japanese-speaking family, the Suzuki family (pseudonym), whose members consisted of the mother, and a seven-year-old boy. The Suzuki family was visited by the researcher several times between March and May 1997. The results of the pilot study confirmed that the approach of the current study and the research questions were generally adequate and that the data-collecting tools were functional. Recording equipments (cassette tape-recorder, microphone and 8mm video camera) were also tested at the Suzukis' home.

After the pilot study, the research questions and the data-collecting tools (interview schedules, participant observation guides, literacy diaries) were revised and fine-tuned. *The Literacy Profile Scales* (LPS) (Griffin 1995), which was initially included as a data-collecting tool, was excluded. The LPS was considered not suitable for the current study because it is designed for use in school and is unsuitable to use on a small number of subjects in a non-school context.

4.4 The Informants

The researcher spent approximately a year in the preparation of the fieldwork. Throughout this time, the researcher spent every opportunity networking in the Japanese community in Melbourne to find potential informant families. Because there is no single geographical area in Melbourne where ethnic Japanese are concentrated (see 3.3), the researcher approached the MJSS, the social hub for the Japanese community in Melbourne.

Through MJSS, the researcher became acquainted with several families and asked whether they would be able to cooperate in the study. The families who responded

positively to this query were screened based on the selection criteria that are set out below. As a result, five children from three families who fulfilled all the points in the criteria were selected.

4.4.1 Selection criteria

For screening Japanese-English bilingual children, the following five criteria were used. The participants should be children who

1) have one or both parents whose first language is Japanese,
2) use Japanese regularly at home, at least half of the time,
3) have lived in Australia for more than three years prior to the investigation,
4) receive primary education in English at a local primary school in a mainstream class (not in an ESL class), and
5) are considered bilingual by their parents, teachers at the Japanese Saturday school and local primary school.

Only those who fulfilled all five criteria were selected for the study. Criterion 1 '(those who) have one or both parents whose first language is Japanese,' is to ensure that Japanese is used as the home language. It was assumed that if Japanese were not spoken at home, Japanese literacy would not be practiced at home.

The second criterion '(those who) use Japanese regularly at home, at least half of the time,' was set in order to include cases in which Japanese is used in the 'one-parent-one language' mode at home (Döpke 1992). This criterion was for ensuring that Japanese is used sufficiently, at least half of the time or by one of the parents for children to acquire Basic Interpersonal Communicative Skills (BICS) in Japanese (see 2.6) in order to facilitate the basis of Japanese-English biliteracy.

The third criterion '(those who) have lived in Australia for more than three years,' was to include children born in Japan, who started learning English later than Japanese, but this was to make sure that they had been exposed to enough English

after they arrived in Australia. If they lacked the ability in BICS to communicate in English, it was assumed that they would not be able to develop Cognitive/Academic Language Proficiency (CALP, see 2.6) and practice or be ready to acquire Japanese-English biliteracy. Three years of residency in Australia was considered the minimum based on a study done on the acquisition of BICS and CALP by Japanese-speaking primary school age children (Cummins et al. 1984).

Criterion 4 '(those who) receive primary education in English at a local primary school in mainstream class (not in an ESL class)' was included because the study intended to investigate how biliteracy in the language of the society (English) and a minority language (Japanese) is practiced at home. This criterion excludes children attending a full-time Japanese school. The reason for excluding children in a full-time Japanese school is based on reports that children in Japanese schools generally do not develop communicative skills in English (or any other language of the host society) including abilities in literacy beyond the functional level (Nakajima 1998, Yashiro 1995).

Criterion 5' (those who) are considered bilingual by their parents, teachers at the MJSS and their local primary school,' was taken into consideration because the investigation required children whose basic communicative abilities in two languages are balanced. Children with relatively balanced bilingual communicative abilities were preferred because it was assumed that they would not have difficulties practicing biliteracy. Parents' and teachers' judgements were sought because administering a test to assess children's linguistic proficiency in selecting informants was considered undesirable for ethical reasons.

4.4.2 Family types

Three types of Japanese-speaking family were considered in recruiting informant children. The three types of family were:

1) a 'temporary resident family' from Japan who plan to return to Japan in the near future,
2) a 'migrant family' who came from Japan to Australia to live permanently, and
3) a 'mixed-marriage family' with a parent who speaks Japanese as a first language and a parent who speaks English as a first language.

The three types of families were selected in order to study whether the differences in residential status influence children's Japanese-English biliteracy practices. The residential categories were taken from Mizukami (1993) who states that the residential status and family structures influence the integration and social behaviours of Japanese-speaking residents considerably.

4.4.3 Participant children and their families

All the informants of the current study have been given pseudonyms to protect their anonymity. The children will be identified by their first name (and last name when necessary) and the parents will be referred to using a title and last name, eg. 'Mr. Misawa'. The basic profiles of the five bilingual children are summarised in Table 4.1.

Table 4.1 Participant children

Family's pseudonym (residential status)	Child's pseudo -nym	*Age	Gender	Year level at primary school (the MJSS)	Country of birth	**Duration of residence in Australia
Kawada (temporary resident)	Miki	6;2	F	1 (kindergarten)	Japan	3;0
Misawa (migrant)	Ryo	9;5	M	3 (3)	Japan	3;3
	Sakura	7;5	F	1 (1)	Japan	3;3
West (mixed -marriage)	Satoshi	8;9	M	3 (2)	Australia	8;0
	Eiko	6;10	F	2 (kindergarten)	Australia	6;2

*Ages at the time of data collection (year;month)

** Duration of residence in Australia and the ages of the Australian-born children (Satoshi and Eiko) do not match because they lived in Japan for a few months and they lived there for different durations.

4.5 Data-collection Tools

Several data-collection tools were chosen to gather information effectively and also for triangulation of the data to substantiate and strengthen the findings. These methods are summarised below.

In the home:

Participant observation
Data source: Children and family members
Data: Fieldnotes, audio, videotapes and still photographs
Purpose: To observe literacy events at home, functions of reading and writing, parents participation in the events.

Observation of literacy resources in the home
Data source: Environmental print, books, computer software etc. at home
Data: Fieldnotes, videotapes and still photographs
Purpose: To record the literacy environment of the home

Interviews with parents
Data source: Parents

Data: Responses to interview schedules (audio-tapes and fieldnotes)

Purpose: To collect demographic information about the family, linguistic history and information about their attitudes to biliteracy, bilingualism, language maintenance and education

Literacy diary

Data source: Parents

Data: Entries in a week-long literacy diary

Purpose: To obtain information on the types and the amount of reading and writing in Japanese and English, carried out by children and their family members in a week

Textual analysis

Data source: Parents and children

Data: Written texts produced by children and parents

Purpose: To obtain information on the types of texts that children write, the use of language, scripts, and type of audience involved

At schools:

Observation of classroom interaction

Data source: Children, classmates and teachers

Data: Fieldnotes

Purpose: To gather information on how literacy skills are taught at school, teaching methods, patterns in teacher-pupil and pupil-pupil interactions

Observation of literacy resources at schools

Data source: Environmental print, posters, books, notebooks, computers and all other written texts in the classroom

Data: Fieldnotes

Purpose: To gather information on the quality and the quantity of literacy materials in the classroom environment

Interviews with teachers

Data source: Australian and Japanese teachers

Data: Responses to the interview schedule recorded on audio-tape and fieldnotes

Purpose: To obtain information on the school curricula, materials, teachers' attitudes, teaching methods, their perception of language and the literacy development of informant children.

4.5.1 Written text produced by children

During the fieldwork, a large amount of written text produced by children was collected. Permission was given for 242 pieces of them to be used for analysis. These written texts were categorised into the following types based on the forms and functions of the texts:

- Word and script drill
- Fill in the blank and answer to question
- Journal and diary
- Expository writing
- Creative writing and fiction
- Table and list
- Letter and card

The texts were analysed using a number of elements including 'language', 'script', 'directionality', 'error and correction' 'illustration', 'author', 'audience', 'adult involvement in production' and 'linguistic level' (script, word, single sentence/clause or multiple sentences).

4.6 The Fieldwork

The fieldwork was executed between October 1997 and May 1998. The Misawa family was visited during Term 4 (October-December) in 1997, the West and the Kawada families were visited during Term 1 (February-May) in 1998.

Throughout the fieldwork, each home was usually visited twice a week for three months. In order to observe a variety of activities taking place at home, families were visited on different days of the week. The visits to homes are summarised below:

Table 4.2 Visits to informant families during a school term

	Misawa family (Ryo and Sakura)	West family (Satoshi and Eiko)	Kawada family (Miki)	Total
Number of visits	12	11	8	31 visits
Total hours of visits	22	18	18	58 hours
Average length of visit (hour: minutes)	1:49	1:38	2:15	(1:54 average)

After a few visits when children started to pay less attention to the presence of the researcher, an audio tape recorder (SONY TCM R3) was brought into the homes to record verbal exchanges during literacy events. The tape recorder was left at the home for recording literacy events that took place late at night or early in the morning, when the researcher could not be present. Video recording of literacy events was done during the final stage of the visits. A Video camera (SONY CCD TR11 Video Hi-8) was brought in for the use. The video recordings were made in order to capture simultaneously the speech and the movements of the informants.

The schools that the children attend were visited to collect data on home-school interrelationships. The visits to the children's schools were made parallel to the visits to their homes during the school term. The local primary schools were visited approximately twice a week. The MJSS was visited on a Saturday throughout Term 4 in 1997 and also Term 1 in 1998.

During school visits, language-related classes (eg. English) in which reading and writing were the main tasks were focus of the observation. The visits to schools are summarised below.

Table 4.3 Visits to schools

Schools	Number of visits (total hours of observation)	Classes observed	Number of teachers Interviewed
Hills Primary School (Sakura and Ryo's school: state system)	5 (8 hours)	Year 1 and 3	2
Park Primary School (Satoshi and Eiko's school: state system)	5 (14 hours)	Year 2 and 3	2
Kingston School (Miki's school: independent system)	4 (6 hours)	Year 1	1
Japanese Saturday School (MJSS)	9 (18hours)	Kindergarten, Year 1, 2 and 3	6
Total s	23 (46 hours)		11

4.7 Coding of Literacy Events and Data Analysis

The coding of literacy events was initially done by the researcher using the categories advocated by Heath (1983) (see 2.5). The result of the coding was then discussed with the research supervisor (Dr. Heather Lotherington, the supervisor at the time of the fieldwork) to ensure objectivity. This was repeated until ambiguous instances of literacy events were placed into a single category.

After all the literacy events were categorised, the following features were also entered into the database: a) name of the child involved in the event, b) name of family, c) content or topic of the reading and/or writing, d) language(s) used in the text, e) the dominant language used for the interaction, f) participants in the event other than the child, g) duration of the event, h) physical location where the event took place, i) the time of event (am/pm, weekday/weekend) and j) materials used in the event.

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The transcription and analysis of the data collected in interviews, observation and literacy diaries were carried out after the fieldwork. Firstly the data from the interviews and literacy diaries was entered into a separate database for categorisation. Secondly, these separate databases were integrated into one full-database for description and comparison between children and families.

In order to determine the general, conversational use of language by the members of the three families, in other words, to present a 'linguistic portrait' (Harding and Riley 1991) of the families presented in Figures 5.1, 6.1 and also 7.1 below, the data from parental interview, observational records entered in the fieldnotes and literacy diaries were used. The determination is based on ethnographic and qualitative accounts only.

In determining the general choice of languages within the family, parents' statements in interviews were used as the initial basis of the determination. The observational record and literacy diaries were used as supporting evidence in confirming parents' statement. When a parent's statement was inconsistent with the observational record or literacy diary data, the observational and/or the diary data were used to make the decision. Micro discourse analysis (Auer 1984, Döpke 1992, Li 1994), or other formal forms of assessment or quantification of conversational data (Purcell-Gates 1996) were not carried in the analysis.

In parental interviews, the parents were asked about the selection of languages between family members in daily conversation. They were asked "in which language, English or Japanese; do you usually talk to each other in your family, between mother to child, father to child, child to child etc?" Then they were told to elaborate their answer by being asked, "do you/your spouse/children ever switch to English/Japanese?"

When parents were asked in the interview, "what are the literacy activities you engage in most frequently with your child?" they were also asked which language(s) they use in these literacy activities. Their comments for this question

were also taken into consideration in determining their choice of language at home.

In participant observation, the researcher recorded all communicative activities that he observed in the fieldnotes. In this data, types of literacy and conversational events, the language(s) the family members used, topic of the event, occurrence of code-switching and the duration of the events were recorded in detail. This data served as the main source of qualitative account of biliteracy behaviours of children.

Literacy diaries were used to record literacy practices of family members in a week from both a qualitative and quantitative point of views. In the diaries, parents recorded all reading and writing events, duration, language(s) used, participants, literacy materials that were used, and any other comments. In particular, it was used to measure the amount of Japanese and/or English used by the children for different types of reading and writing activities as described in Tables 8.3, 8.5, 8.8 and 8.9. In these tables, the frequency of the occurrence of different types of literacy event, duration of each event, the topic/content of the event, the use of Japanese and/or English in these events were described using percentage.

The phenomenon of code-switching, ie. structural mix of languages (Myers-Scotton 1993), was frequently observed in spoken interactions between the participants. The code-switching was frequently recorded in fieldnotes, and sometimes entered in literacy diaries by the parents themselves. In Figures 5.1, 6.1 and 7.1, code-switching is indicated by an arrow with "J/E" or "E/J" instead of simply "J" or "E".

Interactional analysis (Auer 1984) of biliteracy events, which involves conversational/discourse analysis that examines code-switching and other communicative behaviours, speaker variables, conversational topics and social networks (Li 1994) are considered to be extremely significant for understanding

literacy behaviours of bilingual children from more comprehensive and objective perspectives. However, this type of investigation is beyond the scope of the current study that investigates primarily the functions of Japanese-English biliteracy practised by the five children. Interactional analysis of literacy events would be a significant future study that would develop from the current study.

4.8 Overview

An ethnographic study is carried out in an uncontrolled setting (Nunan 1992: 52). People's literate behaviours are complex, particularly when multiple languages are involved. Ethnographic investigation is carried out for the understanding of this complex human communicative behaviour as socio-cultural practice. Its results may not always be generalisable, but they are extremely valuable for understanding how humans, symbolic systems (eg. literacy), culture and society interact. They provide insights into how individuals develop communicative abilities and also how they construct cultural identities. Despite the limitations of ethnographic research stated in 4.2, the data gathered in the current study and the results of the analysis provide valuable evidence for a better understanding of Japanese-English biliteracy, or any other biliteracy.

In Chapters 5, 6 and 7, the Japanese-English biliteracy practices of the five participant children, Miki, Ryo, Sakura, Satoshi and Eiko are described based on the fieldwork described above. Chapter 5 is devoted to discussing the behaviours of the Kawada family (Miki), Chapter 6 the Misawa family (Ryo and Sakura), and Chapter 7 the West family (Satoshi and Eiko).

Chapter 5 Japanese-English Biliteracy of the Kawada Family: Miki and her Parents

5.1 Introduction

The aim of Chapter 5, 6 and 7 is to address research questions that were raised in Chapter 1 by focusing on each individual family. These research questions are reiterated here:

- What are the immediate contexts of child Japanese- English biliteracy practice?
- What are the attitudes of parents towards biliteracy?
- What are the biliteracy practices of the children and family members?
- How are home, school and social domains of literacy interrelated?

Chapter 5 describes in detail the Japanese-English biliteracy of Miki, a 6 years and 2 months old girl at the beginning of the study, and her family by focusing on the print environment of the home, Miki and her family's biliteracy practices and the written texts produced by Miki.

The Kawada family is discussed first because Miki is the youngest child in the study. The family is also described first because they are temporary residents whose integration to Australia and communicative competence in English are considered to be the least among the three participant families.

5.2 The Kawada Family

This section firstly describes the background of the participant family and the language environment in the Kawada family's home. Secondly, the print and

material resources available in the home and school environments are discussed. Thirdly, the available material resources for Japanese-English biliteracy in the community are discussed. The details of the Kawada family are presented below in Table 5.1.

Table 5.1 Details of Kawada family

Residential status	Temporary resident
Planned date of return to Japan	October 2000
Father's L1	Japanese
Mother's L1	Japanese
Father's L2	English
Mother's L2	English
Predominant language at home	Japanese
Father's occupation, degree and age	Full-time engineer-manager, BSc, late thirties
Mother's occupation, Degree and age	Part-time student in social welfare, Diploma from 2 year college, late thirties
Primary carer of children	Mother
Number of people in family	4*

*The literacy behaviour of the son, Ken, the second child of the family is not compared with the other children's biliteracy practices in Chapter 8 and 9 because he is much younger (three and a half) and has not started school yet. However, in this chapter, his behaviour that is relevant to the family's biliteracy practice, particularly to that of Miki, is described.

The Kawadas live in an eastern suburb of Melbourne. The Kawada family is similar to the other two families in that both parents are tertiary educated, the father is the main income earner and the mother is the primary carer of the children. Like the other fathers, Mr. Misawa and Mr. West, Mr. Kawada has a specialist-managerial position at work. Mrs. Kawada is not working, unlike the other two mothers in the study. Mrs. Kawada is studying part-time. Unlike the Misawa family and the West family, the Kawada family do not own their house. They are renting their house because they are temporary residents in Australia who plan to return to Japan in two or three years. The Kawada family hold a working visa that allows them to remain in Australia for five years until Mr. Kawada's overseas assignment finishes.

Mr. Kawada is a manager-engineer of a Japanese electrical equipment factory located in West Melbourne. He was sent from his company in Yokohama for a five-year assignment in Melbourne. He brought his family along with him considering that this assignment would be a once-in-a-life-time opportunity for his family to experience life overseas. They were in the beginning of their fourth year in Melbourne when they participated in the study.

5.2.1 Mr. Kawada

Mr. Kawada had never lived abroad until he came to Melbourne. He studied English for eight years as part of his secondary and tertiary education. He could not speak English fluently before coming to Australia. Prior to coming to Australia, he was sent from his company to an English language school for six months. After arriving in Australia, both Mr. and Mrs. Kawada attended an English class at a local migrant resource centre at night. Mr. Kawada has been attending the English class for two years in a community centre once a week at night. Mrs. Kawada goes to a different English class now during the daytime.

Mr. Kawada is responsible for overseeing the production line in the factory and also for communicating with the head office in Japan. Although his job does not require him to write any formal documents in English, he still has to write memos and read technical documents in English.

5.2.2 Mrs. Kawada

Mrs. Kawada recalled that the first two months in Melbourne were the hardest time for her and the children. Having few friends, she and her children, Miki and Ken, were often frustrated at staying at home. Mr. Kawada could not help much because his hours at work were long and the only time he could spend with his family was on weekends. However, when Miki entered the pre-school program at Kingston School, a local private school, the family began to broaden their social network. Through Miki's school, Mrs. Kawada started to develop her network and

gained confidence in communicating in English. Two months after Miki started going to the preschool, she also began attending the kindergarten program at the Melbourne Japanese Saturday School (MJSS). Mrs. Kawada started going to English language school around the same time and subsequently entered a TAFE to study a social welfare program as a part-time student. Mrs. Kawada is now attending classes at the TAFE twice a week.

5.2.3 Miki

Miki, the elder child of the family, attended kindergarten for six months in Japan and was four years old when she arrived in Melbourne. Mrs. Kawada recalled that Miki was first introduced to written language when she was given small picture books at around eighteen months of age. Mrs. Kawada began reading to Miki when she was about twenty months old. Mrs. Kawada discovered that reading Miki a bedtime story was effective in putting her to sleep.

Thanks to the bedtime reading, Miki soon became a fan of stories. Mrs. Kawada remembers that as soon as Miki began to speak well-formed sentences, Miki began creating stories. The first story that Miki told Mrs. Kawada was similar to that of *Aladdin,* a Disney video that Miki had seen. Mrs. Kawada said that she read Disney's picture books countless times to Miki.

Mrs. Kawada remembers that Miki started writing letter-like scribbles when she was about thirty-six months. Mrs. Kawada thought that it was rather late for a child to start writing letters at this age. Miki began writing and reading *hiragana* when she was four years old around the time the family moved to Australia. Mrs. Kawada said that Miki learned *hiragana* by looking at a *hiragana* table posted on the wall in the kitchen. She also learned *katakana* in the same manner.

Miki was initially put in the pre-school program, which is equivalent to a kindergarten, at Kingston School at the age of four. She did not have a close friend in the first semester. In the second semester, she developed a friendship

with a classmate. This enhanced Miki's desire to communicate in English. With a close friend, she began saying longer utterances and eventually speaking fluently in English. In the first lesson, Miki had to write a card to Mrs. Kawada. Mrs. Kawada remembers that it was an exciting experience for Miki to write a card to her mother. Since then, Miki has written numerous cards and short messages to her parents and brother. Mrs. Kawada stated that whenever Miki learned to write or draw something new at school, she repeated it at home.

Mrs. Kawada admitted that, although Miki's learning to read was swift and painless, learning to write has been a struggle. Mrs. Kawada believes that Miki's writing skill was hindered because she tried to stop Miki from writing letters when she started showing interest in writing at around three because she read somewhere that children should not start writing until four or five years of age. Mrs. Kawada thinks that this affected her development adversely and made her poor writer. Mrs. Kawada described Miki's difficulty in writing as 運筆が悪い (Bad habit in moving hand).

Miki is in Year 1 at Kingston School when the study began. Her teacher, Mrs. Brown at Kingston, describes her communicative ability in English as excellent despite the fact that she had absolutely no English when she arrived in Melbourne. In terms of academic level, she is included in the average group. She mentions that Miki's problem is her short attention span. Due to this, the teacher often finds Miki's works rough and incomplete. She also finds that the many written texts Miki produces are often illegible. On the other hand, Mrs. Brown admits that Miki's reading ability is good and within her age level. Mrs. Kawada also believes that Miki is not good at carrying out literacy activities that are practiced over a long period of time, such as keeping a diary or reading a long story.

5.2.4 Ken

Ken, Miki's three and a half year-old brother, is enrolled in an English-speaking

daycare centre two days a week. His parents put him in the centre when Mrs. Kawada started her study at English class. Ken's stronger language seems to be Japanese although he is beginning to speak more English, which he is learning from his peers at the daycare centre and also from Miki. Ken and Miki speak in both Japanese and English with frequent code-switching. He has not started reading or writing as in the sense of a literate person. However, he loves looking at books, being read to and also watching the computer screen while his sister plays a computer game.

5.2.5 Overall use of language within the family

The general language use of the Kawada family is illustrated in Figure 5.1:
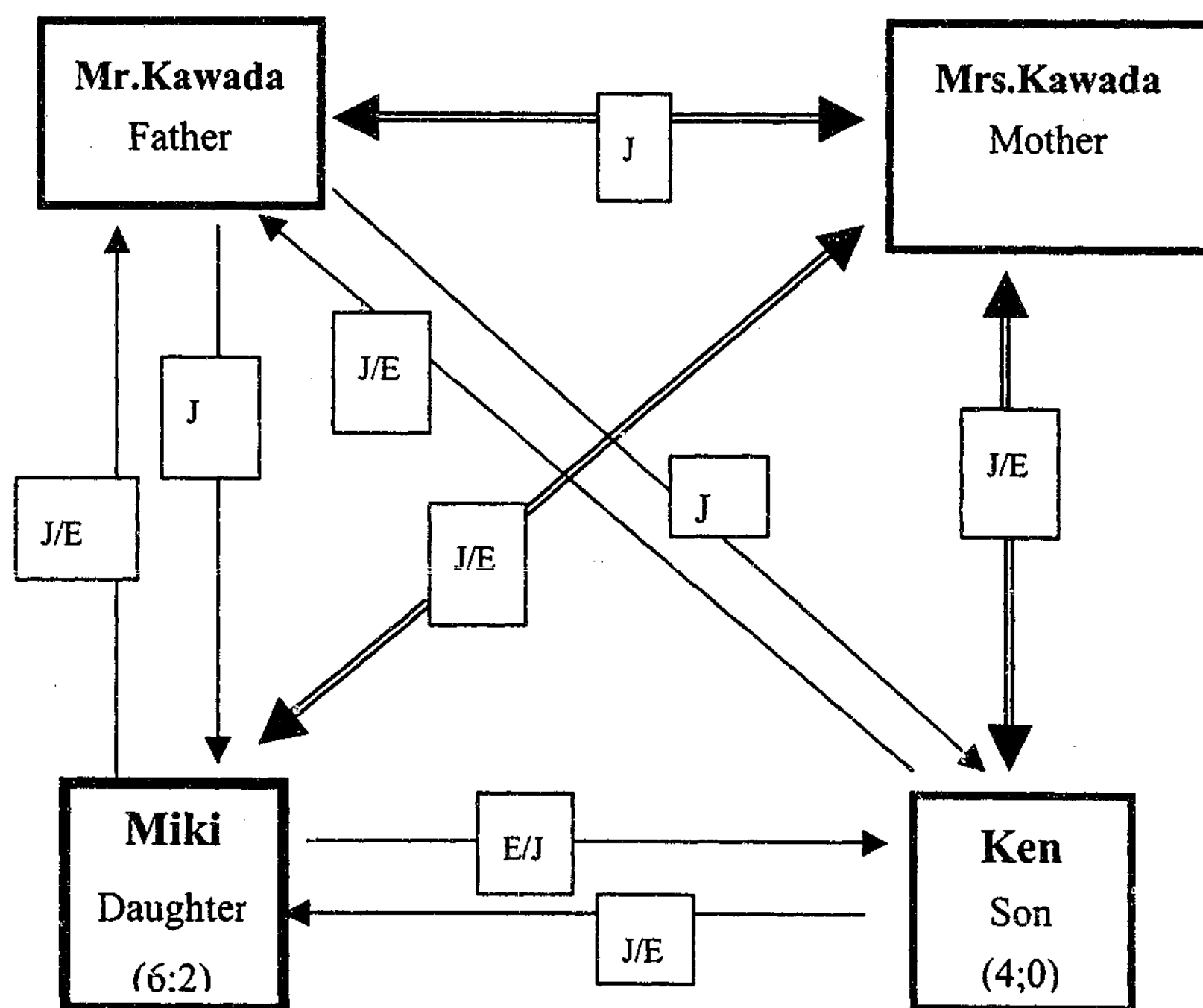
*J=Japanese, E=English, E/J=mostly English with some Japanese, J/E mostly Japanese with some English

**a single-line arrow indicates a different choice of language (J and E or J/E and E/J) between the two family members; a double-line arrow indicates the same choice of language(s) between the two.

Figure 5.1 *Use of Japanese and English in the Kawada family*

In the Kawada family, the parents speak Japanese to each other and both Japanese and English to the children. The children speak both Japanese and English to their parents. Entering their fourth year in Melbourne, with children attending local school and daycare programs and speaking English for many hours, the family's use of English seems to have increased greatly, particularly that of Miki (see 5.5.4 below for the amount of use of English for reading and writing by Miki).

Miki speaks English to her parents, particularly to her mother who also uses some English to Miki. They speak English while they are talking about what had happened in school or reading stories in English. The English Mrs. Kawada uses is typically short phrases, such as "Okay, let's read this book this time", "Thank you Miki" or "Now you can play." Mrs. Kawada rarely utters longer phrases. Miki can speak much longer phrases in English and often talks to her mother in an extended narrative.

The problem the parents foresee is the maintenance of English that the children have acquired in Australia. Mr. and Mrs. Kawada anticipate that they have little chance of living abroad again, at least while their children are in school. They have little hope for Miki's and Ken's maintenance of English after they return to Japan.

5.2.6 Mr. and Mrs. Kawada's attitudes towards biliteracy

In a multilingual community, parents are the primary agents who transmit their native culture and literacy through the medium of the children's first language (Nakajima 1998, Saxena 1994). Previous studies have found that even if there is considerable institutional support for L1 in the community, without input from parents, young children cannot develop biliteracy in their L1 and L2 (Hardman 1998, Kenner 2000). In Miki's biliteracy practice, parental support and involvement, particularly that of Mrs. Kawada, is a crucial element for Miki's development of biliteracy.

In the interview, Mr. and Mrs. Kawada were asked their opinion on the following points regarding Miki's Japanese-English biliteracy (see Appendix I and III for parent interview schedule):

a) Significance of communicative abilities (reading, writing, speaking and understanding) in English and Japanese
b) Parental roles in the child's literacy activities
c) Expectation of school regarding the child's development of literacy
d) The goals of the child's biliteracy

In relation to a) 'significance of communicative abilities (reading, writing, speaking and understanding) in English and Japanese', the Kawada parents stressed the significance for Miki of acquiring ability in English. Mr. Kawada stated that the ability to communicate in English is a basic skill that one needs to have today no matter where the person chooses to live or work.

ものすごく重要だと思います。どういう仕事をするかと
ね、大人になって何になるか、難しいけど、こういうの
が続いていくと思いますから。僕なんかも今もう英語で
きないと仕事ができない状態なんで。
(I think it's very important. Choosing a job and what she would
become when she grew up, these are all very difficult issues.
But I think it (English) continues to be important. As for
myself, I'm in the situation that I cannot work without being
able to speak English.) (Mr. Kawada's interview 7/1/99)

Without skills in English, Mr. Kawada thinks that Miki would be disadvantaged. He believes that while it is not difficult to acquire basic reading and writing skills in English at school in Japan, he thinks that it will be extremely difficult for Miki to maintain her oral skills. Because of this, he said that he does not want to forbid Miki from speaking English at home even if her Japanese oral and literacy skills are sacrificed.

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Mrs. Kawada stated that Miki likes to use English so much that she identifies herself as an Aussie girl. Mrs. Kawada thinks that literacy skills in English are significant for Miki for her life in Australia as well as for her future academic success. She said that her foremost concern is Miki's English maintenance after they return to Japan. Mrs. Kawada thinks that it is significant for Miki to keep studying literacy in English intensively until she becomes ten years old because she believes that the longer Miki uses English, the easier it will become to maintain communicative skills in English.

Mr. Kawada admitted that Japanese is significant for Miki's cultural maintenance. He said that he is using every opportunity for her to maintain Japanese, such as sending her to the MJSS or subscribing to the Japan Overseas Education Service (JOES) correspondence course. However, he said that he is not worried about the delay in Miki's Japanese literacy development because he thinks she will catch up with her peers after she returns to Japan, probably by the time Miki enters secondary school.

Mrs. Kawada also said that Japanese is significant for Miki's cultural maintenance. Mrs. Kawada thinks Miki's progress in Japanese literacy development is not satisfactory, particularly her writing. However, she believes learning English is more important for her than Japanese while they are in Australia.

For b) 'parental roles in Miki's literacy', both Mr. and Mrs. Kawada stated that it is the parents' responsibility to facilitate their children's literacy development. Although Mr. Kawada stated that parents are responsible for their children's literacy development, he did not elaborate what exactly are the things that parents must do at home in order to help children learn literacy. On the other hand, Mrs. Kawada said it is her responsibility to share time, let children learn about their culture through reading, and select suitable materials for them.

For c) 'expectation of school regarding child's development of literacy', Mr. Kawada said that the school is responsible for teaching basic literacy skills. He

said that it is not his role to criticise what the school does because the teachers are professionals who should know what they are doing. He said that he is happy with Kingston School. He thinks that Miki should enjoy her childhood rather than accumulating knowledge at her age. Mr. Kawada thinks the MJSS is not as important as Kingston for Miki as it is only a Saturday school, which is almost like a juku or cram school.

Unlike Mr. Kawada, Mrs. Kawada is not totally satisfied with Kingston School because she stated that she is not always informed about what Miki is learning. She said the school does not provide enough chances for parents to learn about the curriculum, class activities and the child's progress. She particularly complained that she is not informed about where Miki is at in the stages of her development and academic progress. Without knowing where Miki is, she said it is difficult for her to teach Miki effectively at home. As for the MJSS, Mrs. Kawada said she does not expect much. She thinks that the MJSS is important for Miki's socialising with other Japanese-speaking children more than for her Japanese maintenance.

In relation to d) 'the goals of Miki's biliteracy', Mr. Kawada said that he wants Miki to acquire full-literacy skills in Japanese to the level a "normal Japanese person reaches" (日本人だったら当り前のレベル). As an engineer himself, Mr. Kawada considers literacy primarily as a form of technology that one uses in communication. He stressed that without this technology Miki would not be able to communicate with others effectively, particularly in a professional domain. He also wants Miki to acquire literacy skills in English, hopefully to the level that she can obtain work that makes use of English. He said that he does not think Miki can ever have full literacy in English because she is not a native speaker of the language. Mrs. Kawada does not expect Miki to become a bilingual who possesses equally perfect skills in two languages. Mrs. Kawada said that she expects Miki to acquire literacy skills in Japanese to the level that an "ordinary Japanese"(普通の日本人) would reach.

Regarding e) 'Parental perception of biliteracy', the parents' entries in literacy diaries have been examined as well as their statements in interviews. Mr. and Mrs. Kawada recorded literacy events that took places recurrently (eg. homework) and took a substantial amount of time (more than 10 minutes, eg. doing homework). They also entered events in which the weight of the written text is relatively heavy (eg. writing a report, reading the newspaper). On the other hand, they did not report some events that do not occur recurrently (eg. reading a computer manual), took a short time (eg. reading a food package, using a diary) and events in which the weight of the written text was not very heavy (eg. watching TV and video, surfing the Internet or checking the date using a calendar). Mr. Kawada wrote that he did not consider that the taking of a note during a meeting was a proper writing event:

社内 Meeting、英語６０分。読み書きはなし。ただし、英文でメモをとる。
(A company meeting, 60 minutes. No reading or writing took place. I just took some notes in English.) (Mr.Kawada's comment in his literacy diary 5/6/98)

Among the uses of literacy that are listed in Table 5.6 below, the instrumental use, confirmational (eg. consulting dictionary) and memory aid (eg. taking notes) uses were almost entirely absent in the diary entries made by Mr. and Mrs. Kawada. In particular, almost all instances of instrumental use, such as reading a computer manual and using a spreadsheet program on the computer, making a fan using pieces of paper which had some written text written on it, were not reported in the literacy diaries although some instances of these uses were observed during home visits.

5.3 Print Resources for Biliteracy Practices in the Kawada family's Home and School Environments

The Kawada family lives in a three-bedroom house. Miki has a room to herself. A small room is used as a study with a computer. The common rooms of the family are the kitchen and living room.

The general impression of the resources in the home is that the resources do not seem to be well chosen. It is assumed that because of their temporary status in Australia, what they possess in this house is also temporary. Many children's books and magazines are periodicals, which may be given away or discarded when they leave Australia.

From a literacy point of view, the centre of the Kawada family's house is the kitchen-dining area. The largest amount of books, magazines and other types of printed materials are located in this section. The majority of literacy activities involving children and parents are also carried out in this room. On the dining table, Miki does her homework, Mrs. Kawada does her assignments from TAFE, Ken scribbles and Mr. Kawada sips tea while he reads a Japanese newspaper in the morning. In the kitchen, there are tall bookshelves filled with magazines, cookbooks and folders that contain newsletters from the children's schools and daycare centre. On the walls of the dining-kitchen, children's drawings are attached using re-useable adhesive). In some of the drawings Mrs. Kawada has written in Japanese, things such as chores that the children must do everyday and rules that they have to obey (see Kawada texts No.1-3 below).

The living room is used as an entertainment room for the family to watch TV and video, listen to music and for the children to play. As in many other Japanese households in Melbourne, the Kawada family has two sets of TVs and VCRs to watch Japanese programs (NTSC system) and also Australian programs (PAL system).

Another room which is frequently used by the family members is the small study. The family members spend a considerable amount of time in this room each day using the computer. Mrs. Kawada spends a few hours in this room every day doing assignments for her social welfare course. Miki plays computer games while Mrs. Kawada prepares the evening meal. Ken watches the monitor while his sister plays the *Magic School Bus,* or other programs. Late at night, Mr. Kawada checks his electronic mail and finishes the work that he has brought back from the office. In the Kawada's house, materials for literacy are placed in each room as in Table 5.2.

Table 5.2 The Kawada family's print environment at home

Rooms	Books, environmental prints and other texts	Implements for literacy
Kitchen	Food packages, oven, microwave, dishwasher (these have some words written on them)	
Dining area (a part of the kitchen)	Cookbooks, dictionaries, address book, children's workbooks, textbooks, handwritten posters, newsletters from school, file boxes to keep children's school work and other documents, travel guides, calendar	stationery, bookshelves, whiteboard
Living room	Laser disks, video cassettes, CDs, cassette tapes, picture books, comic books, a list of classmates, family photos, jig-saw puzzles, board games, file boxes	TVs, VCRs, Laser disk player, stereo, tape recorder, fax-phone
Miki's room	Children's magazines, picture books, story books, comic books, gamebooks, notebooks, board games, textbooks and workbooks, calendar, letters, music sheets, cassette tapes, posters	toy *karaoke*, blackboard, electronic keyboard, desk, tape recorder, bookshelf, stationery
Computer room, (small study / storage)	computer manuals, computer CD-ROMs, novels, textbooks, technical books	computer, printer, stationery
Other places	novels, magazines, posters, textbooks, calendar, packages	bookshelf, stationery

5.3.1 Print resources in Miki's schools: Kingston School and Melbourne Japanese Saturday School

Miki is enrolled in a Year 1 class at the Kingston School, a local private primary school, and the kindergarten class (*nencho*) at the MJSS. Miki is still in the kindergarten class at the MJSS because the Japanese academic year starts in April and ends in March. This difference between the Australian and Japanese academic calendars meant several months delay in Miki joining the Year 1 class at the MJSS.

5.3.1.1 Year 1 class at Kingston School

Kingston School is a small but well-established private girls' school located in an eastern suburb of Melbourne. The class teacher of Miki's class is Mrs. Brown who has nearly twenty years of teaching experience. There are eighteen pupils in Miki's class. The pupils sit facing to each other. Each desk seats four to eight girls.

Mrs. Brown's classroom contains a large number of print materials. The books and other materials in the classroom are mostly kept around Mrs. Brown's desk. The library section is in one corner at the back of the room. There are many posters and handwritten lists of words and numbers pinned on the wall. Because Japanese is taught as a LOTE in this school, there are a few posters with Japanese words written in *hiragana*. The library corner consists mostly of picture books that are suitable for readers aged six and seven. Some books are placed on top of the bookshelf with pages open so that the pupils can see the pages.

The items in Table 5.3 are the print resources in Miki's class.

Table 5.3 Literacy materials in Miki's class at Kingston School

Type of materials	Items
Textbooks and reference books for the teacher (around Mrs. Brown's desk)	Maths English LOTE (Japanese) Spelling Natural science Social science Several large sized notebooks for Mrs. Brown to write teaching plans
Library corner	Illustrated encyclopaedia, information books and magazines Picture books, including books with large print
Pupils' desks	Writing folders to keep written texts produced by the pupil Large notebooks to write words Small notebooks to write messages from school to home Pencil and pen case Pupil's notebooks and folders are kept by Mrs. Brown
Print on the walls	Posters (animals, body parts, family) Flash cards (words in English and Japanese) Lists (small and big things, days, numbers, names of students) Posters made by pupils (grand parents, animals)
Audio-visual / multi-media	Tape recorder Audio cassettes (music, LOTE)
Others	Stationery (pens, pencils, markers, staplers, adhesive tapes, rulers, scissors, glues, paints, paper for crafts, cardboard boxes) Things without words, but learning aids that are used for learning literacy and numeracy (LEGO blocks, toy trains, can of pasta, tiles, sticks, bingo game, old clothes, tubes, bottle caps)

5.3.1.2 Melbourne Japanese Saturday School

The available print resources at the MJSS are much more limited compared to what is available at Kingston School. The Saturday school hires the campus of a private school. It has a small library that consists of approximately six hundred Japanese children's books, video sand audiotapes.

Most materials that are used for teaching and learning at the MJSS are either brought to school by pupils and teachers or kept in a small storage room. Pupils in

the lower primary level normally bring Japanese and maths textbooks, workbooks and notebooks for each subject, homework sheets, pens and pencils, and a small notebook for correspondence. Children in kindergarten, such as Miki, do not bring textbooks. The materials that are used in Saturday school classes are listed in Table 5.4.

Table 5.4 Literacy materials at the MJSS (school as a whole)

Type of materials	Items
Textbooks and workbooks	Maths Japanese Workbooks for both math and Japanese
Reference books	Japanese-English dictionary Teacher's manual for Japanese and Japanese maths textbooks
Trade books (only the books in the school library)	Picture books Story books
Blank paper, notebooks, white and black boards	Worksheets (maths and Japanese often photocopied) Folders Blackboard, Large (B5 size) notebooks (one for Japanese, one for maths), Small size notebook for correspondence (B6 size) Small size card (2cm x 4 cm) for learning *kanji* characters *Genkoyoshi* sheet (pad with grids for writing Japanese)
Miscellaneous prints	Posters (lyrics of songs)
Audio-visual and multi-media	Keyboard, cassette tape player, computers
Other implements	Stationery (stapler, adhesive tape, paper for photo-copying, pens and pencils)

5.3.1.3 Kindergarten class that Miki attends at the MJSS

There are approximately twenty-five children in Miki's class. Her class teacher at the kindergarten is Mrs. Suzuki, who has experience as a kindergarten and music teacher in Japan. Although the kindergartens in Japan do not normally teach literacy in a formal manner, the kindergarten teachers at the MJSS teach *hiragana* and *katakana* to children because the teachers believe that if they start early there will be better chance for the children to learn reading and writing in Japanese.

Hiragana and *katakana* are taught in a less formal way compared to the way they are taught at primary level. Children in the kindergarten mostly copy the model which teachers write on the blackboard. Reading and writing are also done as part of other activities, such as writing a greeting card to grandparents, or preparing for children's day by making fish-streamers using *origami* sheets. The print resources that are used in the activities in Miki's kindergarten class at the MJSS include the following materials:

Table 5.5 Materials in Miki's class at the MJSS

Type of materials	Items
Books	Picture books and story books on Japanese folk tales
Hand-written posters	Large lyrics of Japanese folk song attached on the blackboard
Photo-copied materials	Photocopied sheets to practice *hiragana* and *katakana* that are distributed to pupils
Notebooks	Small notebook for correspondence
Stationery	Pen and pencil case (each child), *origami* papers and other types of paper for craft
Audio-visual and musical instrument	Audio-tapes and cassette tape player, electric keyboard

5.4 Literacy Events and the Use of Literacy in the Kawada Family

Posted on the kitchen wall posted are handwritten posters made by Mrs. Kawada. The poster with the title "みきのルール (Miki's rules)" states the following rules (the English translations are mine):

Kawada text 1:

けんをたたかない 9じになったらねる おおきなこえをださない (do not hit Ken go to bed before 9pm do not shout)	
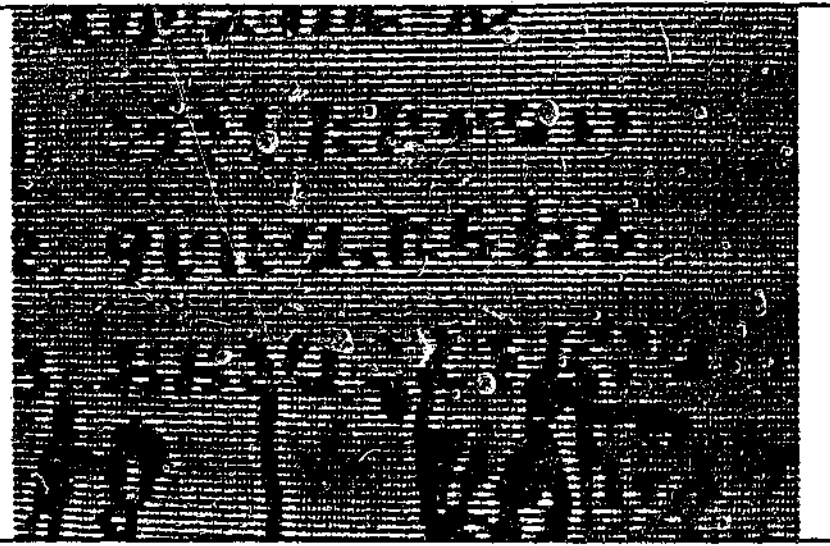
Another poster which is titled "みきのおしごと (Miki's jobs)" includes the following rules.

Kawada text 2:

あさはやくおきる がっこうへいく リーディングする スイミングにいく どようこうにいく (get up early in the morning, go to school, practice the violin do reading assignment go to swimming lesson go to Saturday school)	
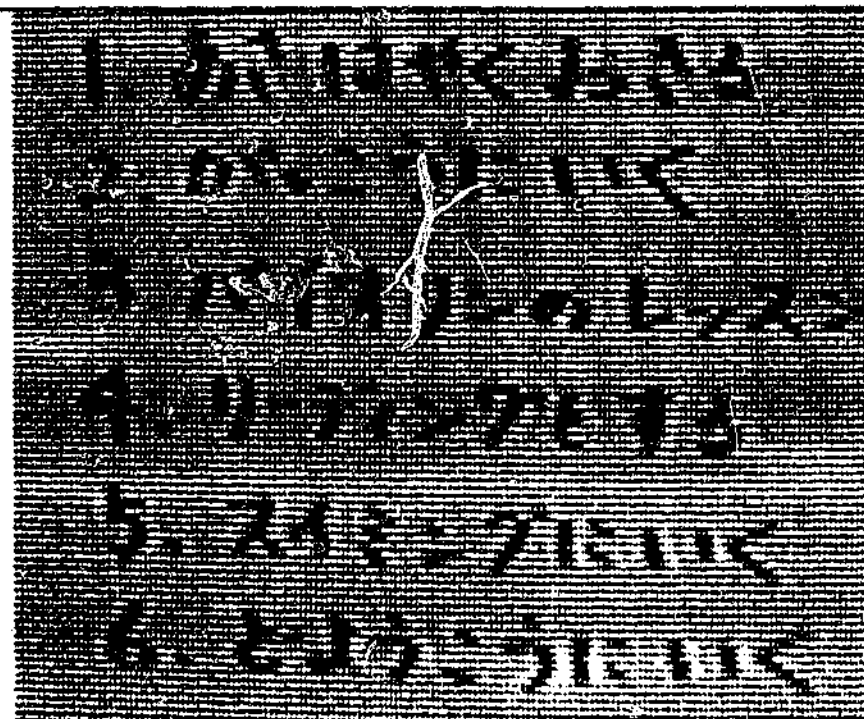
Mrs. Kawada wrote one for herself, which states:

Kawada text 3:

月：えいごのレッスン
火：日本語のせんせい
水：がっこうにいく
金：マーシアさんとおべんきょう
土：どようこうのおしごと
毎日：クッキング、せんたく、
　　　そうじ

(Monday: English class
Tuesday: teach Japanese and tennis
　　　lesson
Wednesday: got to school (TAFE)
Friday: study with Ms. Marcia
Saturday: work at the Saturday school
Sunday: cooking, laundry and
　　　cleaning)
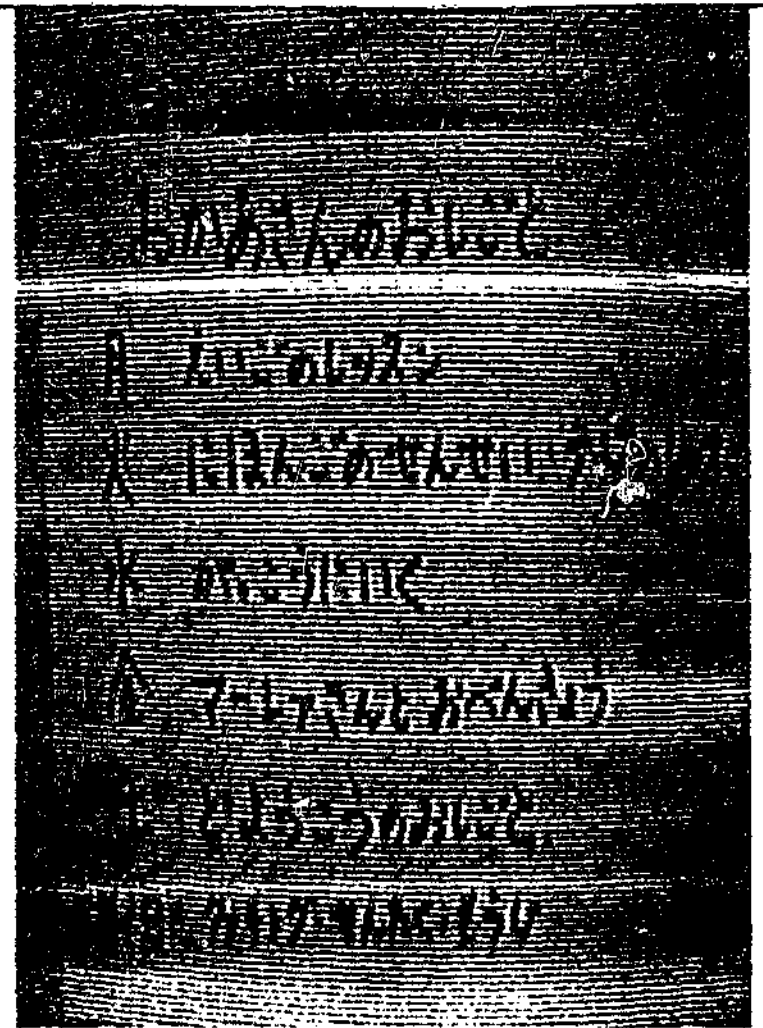
Even Ken, who cannot read *hiragana* yet, has his rules written.

Kawada text 4:

あるきながらたべない
ひとにものをなげない
ものをこわさない

(Don't eat while walking
Don't throw things at
someone
Don't break things)
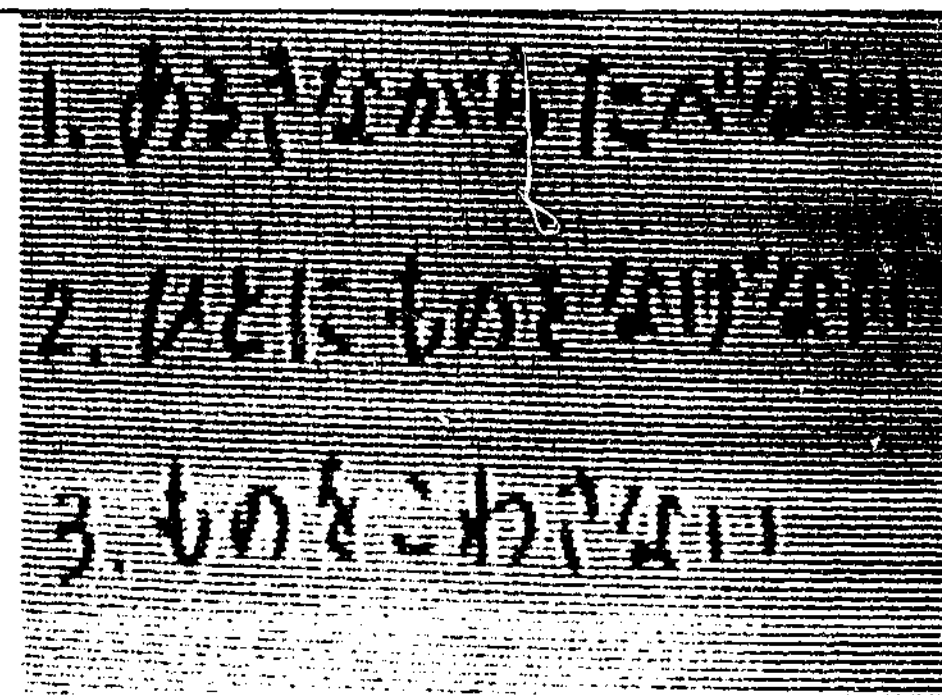
The above posters have been produced by Mrs. Kawada to teach her children daily routines and to read *hiragana* characters.

The decisions regarding the household and educational matters of their children are made by Mrs. Kawada. The majority of literacy events take place between

Mrs. Kawada and children, or among the children themselves, but not with Mr. Kawada. It is quite rare for Mr. Kawada to participate in reading and writing activities with his children (or any other activity) on weekdays. Mr. Kawada stated that 家内ひとすじ (*kanaihitosuji*), it is solely Mrs. Kawada's role, to look after children, by doing homework, other types of reading and writing with them.

Mr. Kawada normally gets up around six thirty. He reads *Nikkei Shinbun* (a Japanese equivalent to the *Wall Street Journal*) and sometimes *the Herald Sun*, a Melbourne newspaper, when there is an incident that he wants to know more about. *Nikkei Shinbun* is delivered to his office daily from Japan. The children and Mrs. Kawada get ready for the day while Mr. Kawada rushes to his company. Mrs. Kawada and the children leave home for school at around eight thirty.

As written on the poster in the kitchen, the destination of Mrs. Kawada varies depending on the day. Thursday is the only day she has for herself. On Thursday she normally stays home and spends time studying for her social-welfare course at the TAFE. She wants to spend more time on studying because the speed of her reading and writing in English is still very slow.

Ken is picked up at the daycare centre between two and four o'clock. Miki is picked up at the school at three when there are no swimming or violin lessons after class. After returning home, the children have a short playtime, which lasts about half an hour. This is usually followed by a homework-study session between Miki and Mrs. Kawada. Mrs. Kawada prefers Miki to finish her homework before dinner while she is not very tired. Earlier in the week, Miki practices the violin. In the middle of the week, she reads books in English brought back from Kingston School. Like many other Japanese-speaking children who go to the MJSS, she practices *hiragana* and *katakana* on a regular basis, normally on Thursday and Friday to get ready for Saturday. The study session lasts about 45 minutes when Miki is not too tired.

After the study session, Ken and Miki have free time. They often watch TV or Japanese *manga* on the video. They watch for at least one hour, sometimes two, until the dinner is ready. Miki often plays computer games instead of watching TV or video. Mrs. Kawada rarely tells them to stop watching the TV or playing computer games although she does not like them doing it for a long time. Regarding Miki's use of TV, video and computer, Mrs. Kawada stated as follows:

> ずっと見てます。2、3時間。なるべく見せない方向でいっているんですけど、だめですね。だって、かくしたものも、ビデオテープなども全部みつけてくるんですよ。
>
> ((Miki) watches for a long time. 2, 3 hours. I am trying not to let her watch for too long. But it is impossible to stop her because she finds whatever videotapes I hide.) (Mrs. Kawada's interview 24/2/98)

The children seem to have a habit of turning on the TV or computer when they are not doing other things. The children seldom ask permission of Mrs. Kawada or Mr. Kawada for these activities.

The last literacy event of the day for the children is bedtime reading. The children choose their favourite book and take it to their beds. Mrs. Kawada has a rule to read only one story. This rule applies also when Miki reads a book by herself. What Miki reads, or asks her mother to read, is normally a book in English she brings back from Kingston School.

5.4.1 The uses of literacy in the Kawada family

The use of literacy in the Kawada family is summarised in Table 5.6.

Table 5.6 The uses of literacy at the Kawada family

Recreational: Reading and writing as pastime Mrs. Kawada and the children read stories, picture books and magazines often at bedtime. The children draw pictures, play computer games, watch video and TV. Mr. and Mrs. Kawada use the Internet, read the newspaper and magazines.
Educational: Reading and writing for studying and doing homework Miki learns Japanese scripts, does maths, reads books brought back from school, does Japanese workbooks, and practices the violin. Mrs. Kawada writes TAFE assignments, reads lecture notes and textbooks.
Social-interactional: Reading and writing for maintaining social relationships Mr. and Mrs. Kawada read and write electronic mail, write letters to be sent using fax. Children read and write birthday and greeting cards.
News related: Reading to gain information about distant events Only the parents engage in this type of literacy. This use includes reading the Japanese and English newspapers, using the Internet and reading newsletters from schools.
Instrumental: Reading for accomplishing practical goals Mr. and Mrs. Kawada use the computer for processing data in a spreadsheet program. They also read computer manuals.
Confirmational: Reading for confirming facts and information Mrs. Kawada uses English-Japanese and Japanese-English dictionaries frequently. She also reads lecture notes to confirm what she has learned in class.
Expository: Writing to summarise and generalise. Mr. Kawada writes reports and instructions, work he brings back from his office.
Memory aid: Writing to serve as a memory aid for self and others Mostly carried out by Mrs. Kawada writing down shopping lists and writing down references for her study.
Public record: Keeping records for the use in the community This type of writing is carried out by Mrs. Kawada as part of her volunteer work at MJSS, recording policy decisions in the newsletter and keeping records for MJSS library.

*The above uses are listed in the order of frequency

In the Kawada family, the largest amount of the use of literacy is seen in recreational and educational uses. The family's recreational time is occupied by

reading various materials, using the computer and accessing the Internet. A large amount of time is also spent reading and writing for educational purposes with Miki going to two schools (the Kingston School and the MJSS) and Mrs. Kawada studying at the TAFE. Among the family members, Mrs. Kawada has the widest range of uses of literacy. Her reading and writing activities are often shared with the children. On the other hand, Mr. Kawada who spends long hours at work uses literacy at home for a more limited range of types. His reading and writing centres around recreational, news-related and social-interactional types, but does not include instrumental, confirmational and other uses. His literacy activities are mostly solo activities. He rarely has a chance to share reading time with Miki and Ken.

Miki's uses of literacy are mostly recreational and educational with some instances of social-interactional uses. Miki loves being read to by her mother although she can read the English alphabet, *hiragana* and *katakana*. She reads alone sometimes, but she prefers to share reading with Mrs. Kawada. She also loves watching TV and videos, but her use of computer for playing games is increasing rapidly (see 6.5 for more details on Miki's uses of literacy).

Ken's reading and writing is still limited compared to Miki. Ken is just beginning to learn how to handle books and writing implements. He loves being read to by Mrs. Kawada and also by Mr. Kawada when he has time. Ken loves to watch TV and video and listen to music using audiotapes.

5.4.2 Language selection for the uses of literacy in the Kawada family

The study of the entries in the literacy diaries revealed that the ratio of overall language choice for reading and writing in the Kawada family was approximately: Japanese 3; English 6; Japanese-English mix 1. A striking point about this ratio is an extremely high use of English. Considering the family's social and linguistic backgrounds as temporary residents, and English being Mr. and Mrs. Kawada's L2, it is notable that over 60% of the entire literacy activities are carried out in

English.

Miki uses English almost entirely for her reading except when she studies Japanese or is read to in Japanese by her mother (educational and recreational uses). She spends many hours playing computer games in English (recreational use). When she writes and draws greeting cards to her friends, she uses both English and Japanese depending on whom she writes to (social-interactional use). Her writing in Japanese is almost totally limited to studying *hiragana*. Mr. and Mrs. Kawada's encouragement for use of English within the family seems to be the strongest cause of high use of English by Miki. Mr. Kawada thinks that Miki uses English about 70% of the time at home. Mr. Kawada commented in his interview about the use of English:

> 日本語の技術は、これから日本にすんで勉強すればどんどん
> ついていくと思うんですよ。文章書くなり話すなり。英語の
> 基礎的な技術を日本で勉強するのはむずかしいわけですか
> ら、逆にそれをもってるだけ彼女（ミキ）は得だと思うわけ
> ですよ...むしろ今英語を話せることを大事にした方がいい
> かなって思いますね。まあ、なるべく日本語が維持できると
> いいなと思って、通信教育とかね、やってますけど。
> (I think she (Miki) would learn skills in Japanese when she lives in Japan again. Writing and reading or whatever. But learning basic skills in English in Japan is difficult, so she has some advantage...I think she should learn to speak English now. Well, I also hope that she maintains Japanese. That's why we subscribe to the correspondence course and so on.)   (Mr.Kawada's interview 6/4/98)

While in Australia, he states that Miki's priority is English, not Japanese. His stance on Japanese maintenance is not very enthusiastic.

5.5. Miki's Uses of Reading and Writing in Japanese and English

Miki spends the largest amount of time reading and writing for recreational purposes, mostly in English. Next to recreational use, she reads and writes a lot for studying. She makes little use of reading and writing for other uses, such as corresponding with friends (social-interactional use), or reading something in order to fulfil other purposes, such as reading an instruction (instrumental use).

5.5.1 Recreational use

Miki spends the largest amount of time playing computer games. It was only a few months ago that she first played them. The first software she used was one for practicing typing. Mr. Kawada bought the software for Miki because she was learning typing at Kingston School.

Recently, her parents bought her a computer program called *Magic School Bus*. This is her favourite software now. The program is labelled 'edutainment' software on the package. According to *Merriam-Webster's Collegiate Dictionary* (the Internet version), 'edutainment' is "a form of entertainment (as by games, films, or shows) that is designed to be educational". In this game, the player can travel to many places, such as an underwater world, the moon, Mars, volcanoes and the North Pole on a school bus. While the player travels, she can learn about the places she is visiting by clicking a button on the mouse. When she travels to the underwater world, for example, she can see the image of fish, rocks and plants found in the deep sea as well as learning concepts such as "longshore current" and "rip tides".

In the software, *Magic School Bus,* the written texts are used in addition to visual images and sounds. Because there are visual and audio aids, Miki does not have to read words on the computer screen word by word. She scans each page and moves another. The manner of reading using computer software is different from ng conventional books. When she reads conventional books, she normally

reads all the words on the page aloud or silently and then moves on to the next page. When using computer software, there is no linear order. Hypertext allows Miki to proceed in any way she wishes. Due to this characteristic of hypertext, Miki's use of the computer does not have a clear ending like when she reads conventional books.

Miki spends approximately one to two hours each day in front of the computer screen. Sometimes Mrs. Kawada and Ken accompany her. In the literacy diary, Mrs. Kawada commented on Miki's use of computer games:

お気に入りのソフトだと疲れるまでやりつづけます。
(She plays her favourite software until she gets tired of it.)
(Miki's literacy diary filled out by Mrs. Kawada 3/3/98)
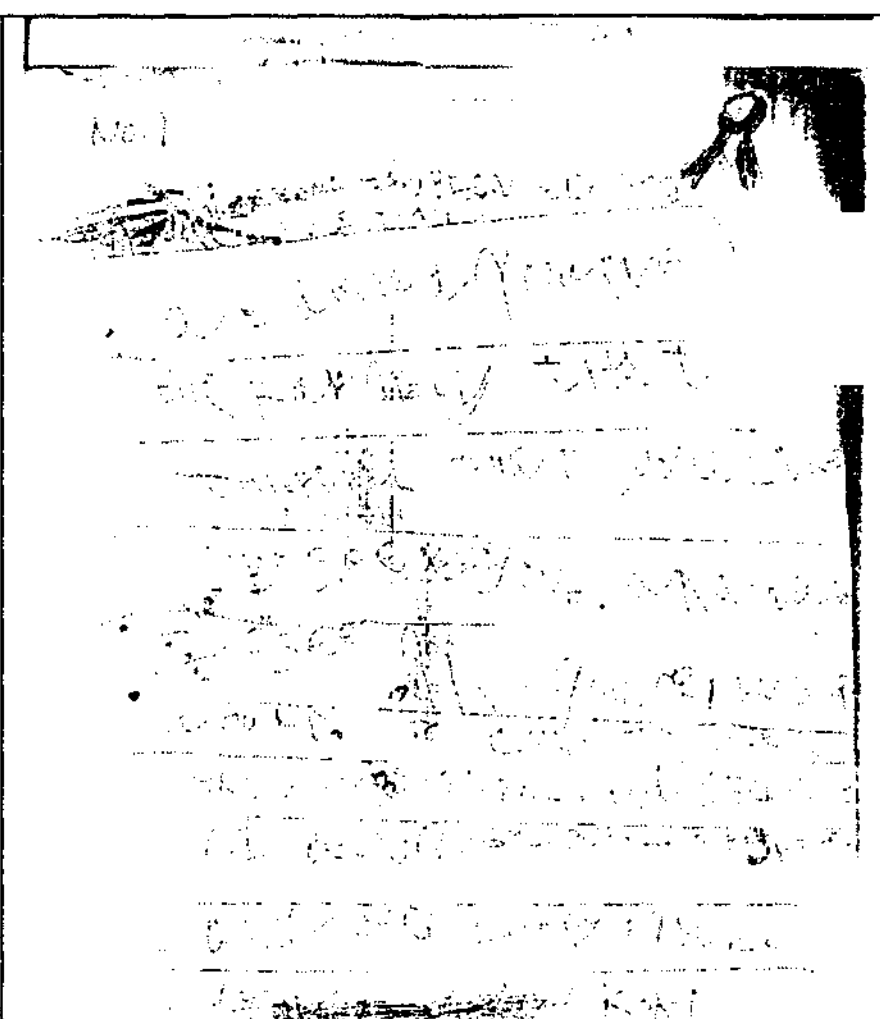
Mrs. Kawada almost never forces Miki to stop playing computer games. There is no time limitation on how long Miki is allowed to use the computer.

Next to the computer game, Miki loves drawing and writing short messages to her parents, Ken and friends. Mrs. Kawada said that, for Miki, writing and drawing are still strongly connected to playing, while reading has a connection to studying. Her drawing is often a combination of illustration and short text. She often writes messages to Mrs. Kawada with short phrases, such as "love, Miki" or "I'm sorry", when she had been scolded by Mrs. Kawada. Miki sometimes writes cards and letters to her friends, but they are seldom given to them because Miki usually just pretends that she is sending these cards. Miki also likes doing colouring using books that were given to her at a McDonald's fast food restaurant or on Qantas flights.

Miki likes to repeat at home things she learned at school and uses models extensively for writing texts. On one occasion, she copied an entire certificate, which Ken was awarded at his daycare program upon recovering from chickenpox (see Miki's text No.1). Although she did not understand the meaning of some

words, she copied the whole certificate.

Miki's text No.1

Ken Misawa Has BEen Very Good at doing droWing tHe Famely tHat tHe PipuL tHat you Like to see evry ONE. aNd Want to see My ScoL in your WouLD To come to See No. CHKin Poks PiPul. And Seck Pipul and Been No God Pipul. A Beyutefwl and Good Lukey Bros Let	

Miki is read stories by Mrs. Kawada every day, and sometimes by Mr. Kawada (approximately once a week). Miki also reads books by herself particularly at night in bed. Each week, Miki's class teacher, Mrs. Brown, chooses a book suitable for Miki. Miki's favourite books are short stories that have a funny ending.

When Miki reads a book that she has brought back from school, Mrs. Kawada listens to her reading the book aloud. Mrs. Kawada sometimes chooses the Japanese books that Miki borrows from the MJSS. She often reads Japanese books to Miki rather than Miki reading them by herself.

5.5.2 Educational use

Miki's educational use of literacy consists of homework that she brings back from Kingston School, MJSS and also other types of work that Miki does voluntarily, including violin lessons and study of Japanese and maths through the JOES

course. Reading books that are brought back from Kingston School are the main homework for Miki. Miki does not bring back much homework that involves writing. She does the assigned reading approximately three times a week. When Miki reads books aloud to Mrs. Kawada she reads until she stops to ask her mother the pronunciation or meaning of a word. While Miki reads, Mrs. Kawada corrects the reading whenever Miki mispronounces them. Mrs. Kawada also instructs Miki to read slowly, or repeat the same sentence. Other than these, Mrs. Kawada remains quiet. She rarely discusses the contents of the story. It is Miki who makes comments and discusses the story by saying "Isn't Barnbus cute?" or "Sometimes people call spider web, cobweb". However, when Miki starts to drift away from reading and starts talking about the story, Mrs. Kawada tells her to return to the story:

みき、ねえ、自分で楽しんで読んでるのか、ママにお話しを
分かるようにいってくれてんのか、どっち？
(Hey, Miki, excuse me, are you just enjoying the story by yourself,
or are you reading it for me to understand?)
(Miki and Mrs.Kawada's reading session 13/3/98)

Mrs. Kawada also tells Miki to read properly:

みき、ちゃんと読んで。一行とばさなかった？
(Miki, read properly. Didn't you skip one line?)
(Miki and Mrs. Kawada's reading session 23/3/98)

Mrs. Kawada talks to Miki in English when they are reading in English. However, she has to switch from English to Japanese when Mrs. Kawada needs to say something difficult to say in English, such as "Didn't you skip one line?" When Mrs. Kawada says she does not understand the meaning of a word, Miki translates it into Japanese, such as " 'rubbish bin' is *gomibako*".

Miki studies Japanese mostly on Thursday or Friday before Saturday school. As

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mentioned above, because Miki is still in the kindergarten class, her study of Japanese is not formally structured.

While Miki brings back only reading homework from Kingston School, almost the only homework that Miki brings back from MJSS is writing. The writing homework consists of writing letters or simple words in *hiragana* and *katakana* by using models on a photo-copied sheet. Each week she has to practice a few isolated words, such as あくしゅ (handshake), でんしゃ (train), じてんしゃ (bicycle). In addition to these writing exercises, sometimes she brings back some arithmetic problems.

Miki's text No.2

あくしゅ
でんしゃ
（たいへんよくできましたね）
じてんしゃ
しょくどう

(Handshake
Bicycle
Well done (stamp put by the teacher)
Train
Restaurant)

By using these sheets, Miki learns the shapes of *hiragana* and *katakana* characters. She rarely brings back homework which requires her to write Japanese words in a context. The only context that these sheets have may be an illustration drawn next to the word.

Although it is not homework, Miki and Mrs. Kawada read Japanese to practice reading. When they practice reading, the books they borrowed from the MJSS are

used and occasionally the JOES textbooks. The JOES textbooks resemble the Japanese school textbook, *kenteikyookasho*, although the content is slightly easier because the JOES materials are designed for Japanese-speaking children overseas. When they read Japanese for learning *hiragana* and *katakana*, Miki and Mrs. Kawada do not talk about the contents of the materials much. When they read books and texts for study purposes Miki and Mrs. Kawada pay attention to pronunciation, punctuation and understanding of the meaning of the words.

5.5.3 Writing greeting cards and messages

Other than for recreational and educational uses of reading and writing, Miki makes little use of literacy for other purposes, except for writing cards and messages to her family and friends. The cards and messages that Miki writes do not contain any substantial messages other than formulaic phrases, such as "happy birthday" (see Miki's text No.5). It seems that a significant part of her message is illustrated in the picture she draws rather than in the words she has written.

5.5.4 Miki's language selection for biliteracy

In Miki's selection of language for literacy, English is given preference in nearly all uses of her literacy practice: recreational, educational and social-interactional uses. Of all literacy events recorded in the literacy diary filled out by Mrs. Kawada, it has been reported that the language used for reading and writing by Miki in literacy events was 83% English 16% Japanese and 1% both Japanese and English.

Miki's use of English in educational and recreational uses is mostly content-based (see Purcell-Gates 1996) in which the focus of literacy activities is reading stories and playing games. Most of such educational and recreational uses of literacy in English that Miki practices every day are reading. She does not write as much as she reads English. The writing she does using English is largely for recreational and social-interactional purposes.

The use of Japanese for literacy contrasts with the use of English, particularly in educational uses. When Miki reads or writes in Japanese for study, a stronger focus is placed on the forms of expression, rather than the content. When reading Japanese, Mrs. Kawada is stricter in correcting forms compared to reading English. When Miki reads Japanese vowels, /a, i, u, e, o/, (あいうえお)she has to open her mouth widely to pronounce these sounds correctly. Mrs. Kawada often points to *hiragana* characters that are similar in shape but different in sound, such as ね (*ne*) and わ (*wa*), め (*me*) and ぬ (*nu*) to see if Miki can read them correctly.

Miki does more writing in Japanese than in English. The most writing she does in Japanese is for learning words in *hiragana* and *katakana*. This type of literacy activity has been categorised as 'literacy for literacy learning' because reading or writing is carried out for learning literacy rather than fulfilling other communicative goals (Purcell-Gates 1996).

5.6 Written Texts Produced by Miki

A total of 38 pieces of Miki's written text were collected during the fieldwork. These written texts are examined here to answer parts of research question 2; 'What are the children's biliteracy practices?', in particularly, 2b 'How are the four different scripts (Roman alphabet, hiragana, katakana and kanji) used by children in the written texts that they produced in terms of: i) language choice, ii) text types, iii) linguistic levels, iv) contents / topics, v) type of audience. In the following each of these elements in Miki's texts are discussed. The texts that are cited in this sections are typical examples these texts.

5.6.1 Types of written texts Miki produced and language choice

The written texts produced by Miki have been categorised into the following

types.

Table 5.7 Types of written texts written by Miki
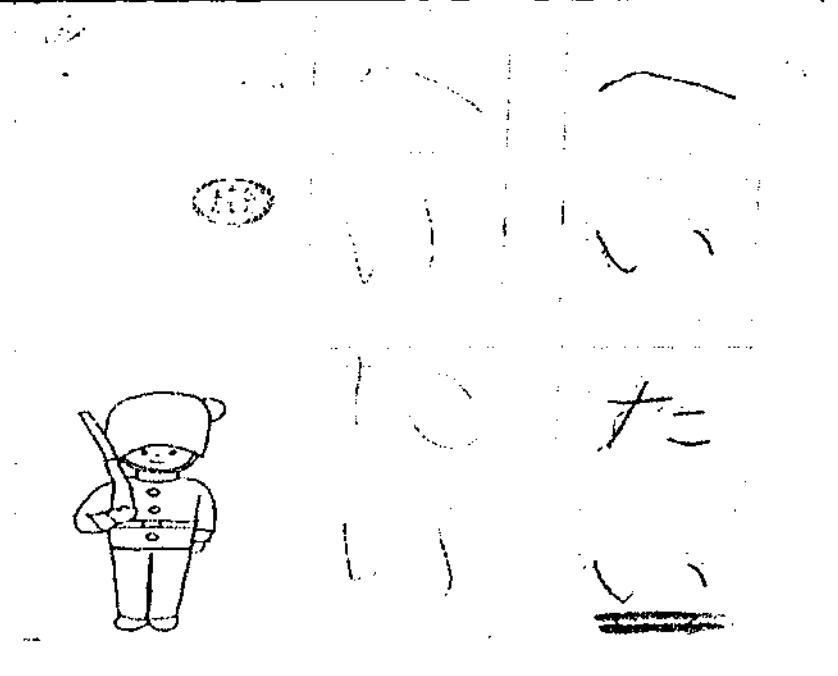
Text types	Japanese	English	Total
Word and script drill	28	0	28
Fill in the blank and answer questions	4	0	4
Letter and card	2	0	2
Expository	2	0	2
Expository	0	1	1
Certificate	0	1	1
Total	36	2	38

Among 38 pieces of texts, the majority (36 pieces) were in Japanese. They include word and script drill, fill in the blank and answer questions, letters and cards, expository text and a certificate. Two pieces of texts, an expository piece of writing and a certificate were written in English. It is assumed that Miki wrote more texts in English, such as cards and messages in English addressed to her mother while the investigation was taking place. However, many of such pieces were not available largely because Mrs. Kawada was reluctant to include them in the database because of Miki's developing writing skill in English (see 5.2.2).

5.6.1.1 Word and script drill

Miki's text No.3 is a *hiragana* worksheet in which Miki wrote a word へいたい

(soldier) in vertical boxes next to the model. There is an illustration of a soldier that gives a limited context for the word. Next to the box, the teacher at the MJSS, Mrs. Suzuki had put a rubber stamp that says よくできました (well done). Miki wrote her name on the left. This sheet was done as homework from MJSS.
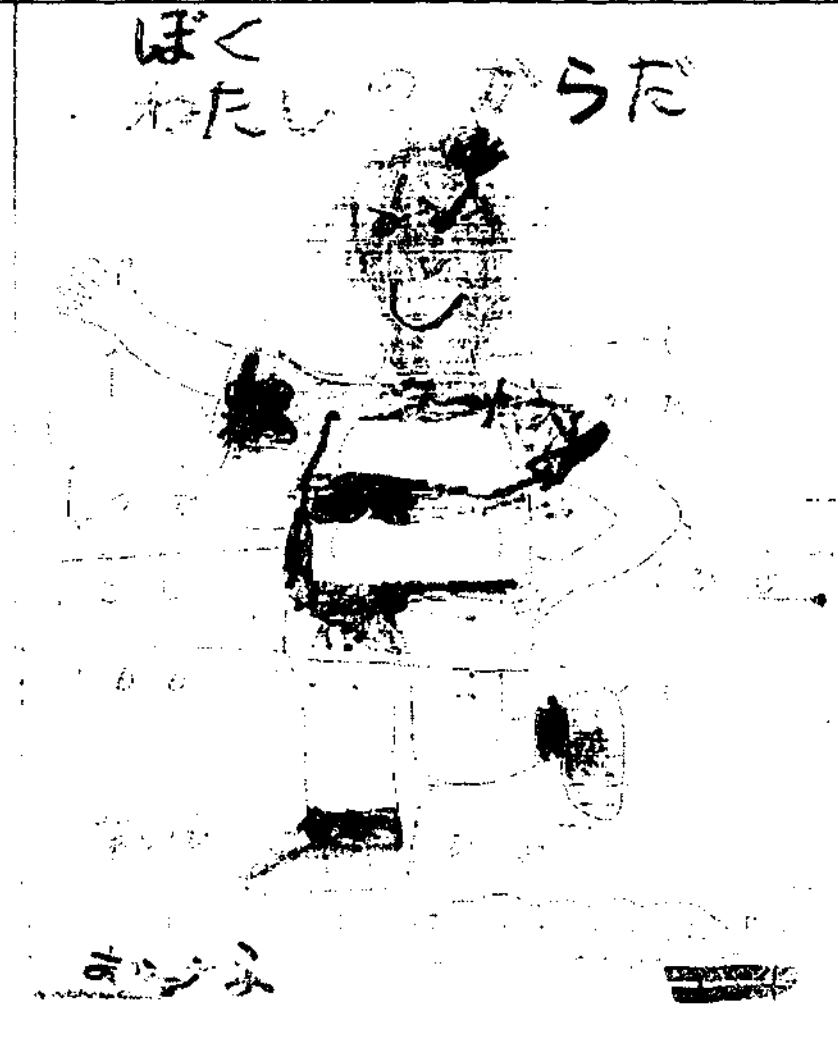
Miki's text No. 3

へいたい
へいたい
 	
（たいへんよくできました）
 	
(Soldier (model)
  Solider (Miki's writing)
  Well done (stamp)	

5.6.1.2 Fill in the blanks and answer questions

In text No. 4, next to the picture of a person, already several words of body parts are written. Miki was supposed to fill in the brackets with some more words, but she did not finish the sheet. Instead, she just coloured the person using felt-tip pen. She also coloured the words on top that say ぼく わたしのからだ (Our body). She wrote her name at the bottom.

Miki's text No. 4

ぼく わたしの　からだ うで　　かた ひじ こし もも ひざ あしくび (My body Arm Shoulder Elbow Hip Thigh Ankle Knee Let's learn many names)	

5.6.1.3 Letter and cards

Text No.5 was written to ノエル (Noel). Miki used felt-tip pen to draw the person and used a rubber stamp for drawing the person's clothes. おたんじょうびおめでとう (happy birthday) is written underneath the picture. The writing in this picture shows that Miki's writing skill in Japanese is not developed enough to write words legibly in straight line.

Miki's text No.5

ノエルちゃん おたんじょうび おめでとう (Dear Noel Happy birthday Congratulations)	 ノエ八ちゃん

5.6.1.4 Expository text

Text No.6 was written to compare the animals that Mrs. Kawada likes and dislikes. This text was produced after Miki interviewed her mother about her favourite animals.

Miki's text No. 6

ママのすきなどうぶつ　いいにおい
ママのきらいなどうぶつ　くさい

(Mama's favourite animals nice smell
The animals mama dislikes stinky)
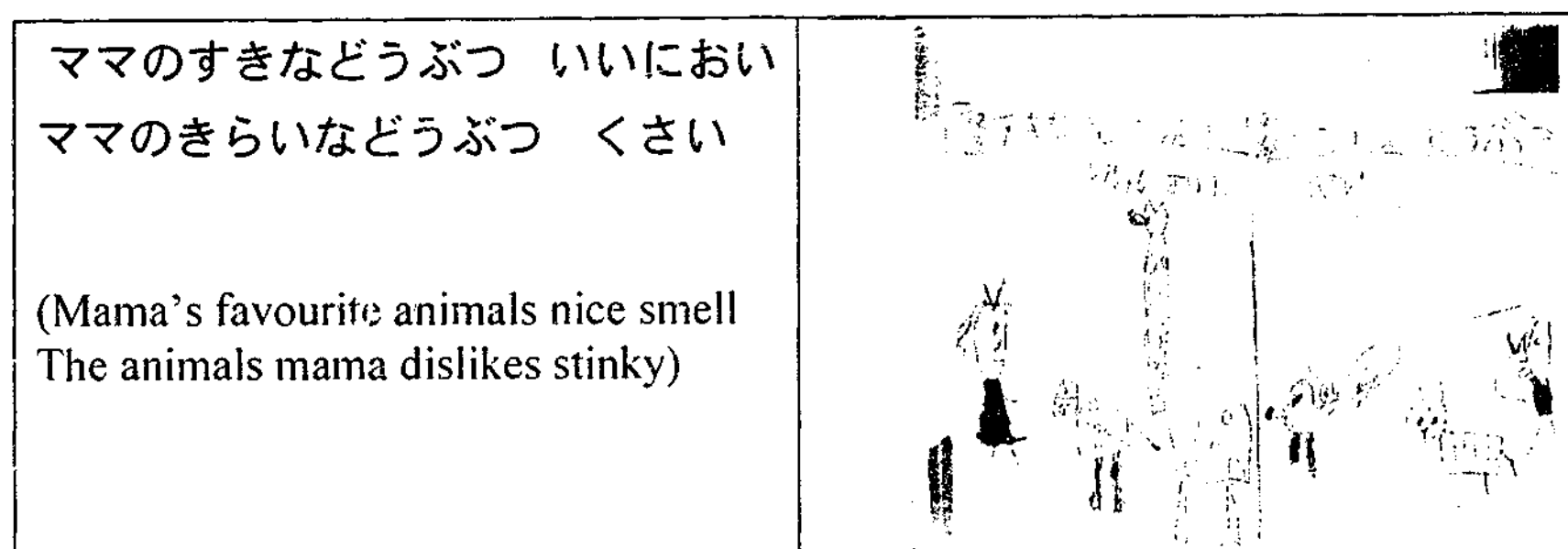
5.6.1.5 Certificate

As mentioned earlier, Miki wrote this certificate (see Miki's text No.1) based on a model that was given to her brother Ken at his daycare program. In order to write the words straight, she drew horizontal lines. She copied most words from the original certificate although she wrote some sentences ungrammatically. As can be seen, she has not mastered the use of upper and lower case. In the top right corner, she drew an official seal.

5.6.2 Use of Japanese and English scripts and linguistic levels of the use of scripts in Miki's texts

Miki used both English and Japanese scripts in writing her 38 texts. She used the English alphabet, *hiragana* and *katakana*. As was seen above, most of her texts have been copied using a model.

5.6.2.1 Use of scripts in texts

Table 5.8 Use of the alphabet, *hiragana* and *katakana* by Miki

Scripts	Number of text
Hiragana	33
Hiragana and katakana	3
Alphabet	2

Table 5.8 shows that Miki used mostly *hiragana* when she wrote Japanese. The use of *katakana* was limited only to three texts. Looking at the words in *hiragana*, the texts show that Miki has mastered writing most of the 46 characters. Although she uses a model to write a text, she seems to know the shapes of the individual characters. However, her writing requires much improvement in some difficult characters, such as ぬ (nu), ほ (ho), め (me), ゆ (yu), れ (re) and わ (wa) (eg. Miki's text No. 5 and 8).

Her use of *katakana* was still limited although Mrs. Kawada stated in her interview that Miki had already mastered them. The only words that she wrote in the 38 texts using *katakana* were people's names including ママ (mama) and ノエル (Noel) (see Miki's Text No 5 and 6).

Because the number of the available texts that used the alphabet was small, it is not possible to make any general comment about Miki's ability to write words using the alphabet. She could read simple stories without much help although she may be using top-down strategies to read without attending to the rule of the spelling too much. Limited evidence shows that her ability to write using the alphabet is still developing. As can be seen in Miki's text No.1, she has not mastered the use of lower and upper cases (e.g. tHe, tHat, WouLd) or the spelling of some words (Pipul=people, scoL=school, Beyutefwl=beautiful). However, the invented spelling (see Bissex 1980) such as 'pipul' clearly suggests that her ability in connecting phoneme-grapheme in writing is developing.

5.6.2.2 Linguistic levels of texts

Among the 38 texts, the texts in the above linguistic levels are summarised as follows:

Table 5.9 Linguistic levels of texts written by Miki

Levels	Japanese	English
Script	3	0
Single Word	27	0
Clausal/phrasal	6	1
Discourse	0	1

Overall, Miki's use of language in texts, both in English and Japanese, is largely at the single word and clausal/phrasal levels. The three texts in Japanese in the script levels were written for practicing *hiragana* spelling しゃ (sha), しゅ (shu), しょ (sho) and きゃ (kya), きゅ (kyu), きょ (kyo) that requires the use of two scripts to write one syllable.

Miki's text No. 7

しょ しゅ しゃ (sho shokudo, shu kasu, sha isha, sho shu sha)	

The majority of texts in Japanese are written at the single word level for learning words (see Miki's text No.7 above) as a result of the large amount of time spent each week by Miki and Mrs. Kawada learning to write Japanese scripts.

The three texts at the clause/phrasal level in Japanese are cards (see Miki's text No.5) and the expository text (see Miki's text No.6) that Miki self-initiated to write. This shows that Miki is able to write text in Japanese, not only for learning literacy, but also for meaningful communicative function above the single word level.

5.6.3 Topic, content and audience of Miki's texts

Topic, content and audience are important elements of children's literacy practices because topic/content reflect social and cultural aspects of literacy, and audience indicates how the text is used in communication involving others.

5.6.3.1 Topic and content of Miki's written texts

In many texts that Miki wrote, topic/content was given rather than selected by Miki because the majority of the writing was homework for the MJSS. A summary of the topics and content of the Miki's text is given in the table below in Table 5.10.

Table 5.10 Topic and content of Miki's written texts

Text types	Japanese	English
Word and script drill (28 pieces)	Crossword puzzle Words Miki wrote in the word practice sheets: Fire place Car Train Colouring book Picture Hair Flowers Vegetables Greetings Hair Princess Soldier Autumn leaves Body parts	No text
Fill in the blank and answer questions (4 pieces)	Chinese zodiac Seasons Weather Names Baby Our body Brushing teeth	No text
Letter and card (2 pieces)	Birthday card for Noel	No text
Expository (2 pieces)	Favourite animals	*Tamagocchi* game
Certificate (1 piece)	N/A	Recovery from chickenpox
Total	36	2

5.6.3.2 Word and script drills

Word and script drills have hardly any topic. As in Miki's text No.2, Miki wrote isolated words on the sheet using pictures as clues. When there are multiple words

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on a sheet, they are often only related by the spelling, but not by the meaning.

5.6.3.3 *Fill in the blank and answer questions*

All the topics are given by being already written on the sheet. The topic/content centres on matters in young children's daily life, such as body parts, names, brushing teeth, weather and seasons. The only exception is the Chinese zodiac that has a considerable distance from Miki's daily life.

5.6.3.4 *Letters and cards*

According to Mrs. Kawada, writing birthday cards is Miki's favourite type of self-initiated writing activity. Two examples of this type of text are both birthday cards addressed to Noel. It can be assumed from the colourful letters and pictures that Miki enjoyed writing these cards (see Miki's text No.5). The contents of these cards are formulaic expressions, ノエルちゃんへ、たんじょうびおめでとう (Dear Noel, happy birthday).

5.6.3.5 *Expository text*

Miki self-initiated writing the two expository texts and she self-selected the topics. In Japanese, she wrote a table of animals that her mother likes/dislikes. She also wrote reasons why her mother hates them (see Miki's text No. 6 above). It seems that Miki used a model for writing Text No.6 because it has a neat, symmetrical style (the model was not available for the research).

In a similar expository text that Miki wrote in English (Miki's text No.8 below), she chose as the topic, *Tamagocchi*, the digital egg-shaped toy which was popular among young children at the time of the investigation. Miki copied the words from a poster or a flier that informs of a demonstration of *Tamagocchi* at her school. She wrote this text, as follows.

Miki's text No. 8

taMagochie Play We re Kingston SchooL Onwere: On Stage...	*taMagochie Play* *We rt* *gifts xh x.* *onwere: on stage* *what date.* (handwritten)

5.6.3.6 Certificate

Miki self-initiating writing the certificate, 'recovery from chicken pocks', which was originally given to Ken (see Miki's text No.1 above). She seems to have chosen to write this certificate because it was an impressive document and she hoped to be given one herself. She spent a considerable amount of time (approximately 25 minutes) writing this piece.

5.6.4 Audiences of Miki's texts

As was explained in Chapter 5, the audience/addressee of children's texts were examined in the study. The audience/addressee of Miki's texts were largely 'self/no particular' and 'close-familial'.

5.6.4.1 Close-familial audience

Miki wrote her texts largely to her family, teachers, friends and also for herself. Among Miki's 38 texts, the largest in number were Japanese language drills. These were written under the supervision of Mrs. Kawada to be submitted to Mrs. Suzuki, the teacher at the MJSS. Although these language drills are specifically designed for *hiragana* and word drills, there are some personal messages written on the sheet both by Miki and Mrs. Suzuki. In Miki's text No. 8, Mrs Suzuki

wrote がんばりましたね (you worked very hard). In Miki's text No. 7, she put a

rubber stamp that states たいへんよくできました (well done). On text No.7,

Miki wrote おんなのひと (This is a woman) inside of the bubble next to the

female singer. It is assumed that she wrote this word to communicate to her

teacher that she was able to write meaningful words in Japanese. Some texts that

Miki self-initiated are addressed to her friends and mother (eg. Miki's text No.5

and 6).

Mrs. Kawada is the most significant reader when Miki writes a text. Even when

Miki does not address the text to her mother, such as homework from the MJSS,

her writing is normally read by her mother. Other self-initiated texts, such as the

chickenpox certificate (Miki's text No.1) and the *Tamagocchi* poster (Miki's text

No.9) were also shown to Mrs. Kawada.

5.6.4.2 Self or no particular audience

Sometimes Miki seems to write texts without any particular reader in mind. She

writes many texts to entertain herself or for self-engagement (see Lotherington et

al.1998). Although many of the works are shown to Mrs. Kawada when Miki

finishes writing or drawing them, she does not always have the intention of

showing the piece to Mrs. Kawada. A few times during the observation Miki

wrote something and then discarded it as soon as she finished writing.

5.6.5 Similarities, dissimilarities and borrowing between English and Japanese

A close examination of Miki's texts did not reveal any sign of visible transference

that took place between English and Japanese. Among the 38 texts that have been

examined in the investigation, there is no text that contains lexical borrowing or

mixing of the alphabetical and *hiragana* characters. As far as writing is concerned,

Miki's literacy practice in Japanese and English are separated. The analysis of the

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uses, linguistic levels, and audience of the texts revealed that her use of writing is still in the early stage which involves limited type of literacy practices, both in Japanese and English.

However, there is a similarity in the topic and content area between the texts in English and Japanese. Although it was not confirmed in the textual analysis above, Mrs. Kawada's statement above confirms that Miki was writing similar texts (eg. birthday and greeting cards) in both Japanese and English (see 5.2.4). Because Miki came to Australia before she had started to read, most of her literacy development has taken place in Australia. Miki must have learned how to write a birthday card by seeing examples written in English. She must have used them as models to write birthday cards in Japanese, such as Miki's text No. 5. As she develops her literacy skills in English and Japanese, it is assumed that she will start transferring some elements cross-linguistically between Japanese and English.

5.7 Overview

In this chapter, a description has been given of biliteracy in the Kawada family and Miki. It included the literacy and language environment in the Kawadas' home, the history of Miki's language and literacy development, Miki's biliteracy practices and texts written by Miki. An overview of the Kawada family and Miki's biliteracy is given below by addressing the research questions.

5.7.1 What are the immediate contexts of English-Japanese biliteracy?

The family possess a large volume of materials and are regularly accessing outside resources, particularly school libraries (Kingston School and the MJSS). The family possess twice as many materials in Japanese as in English. Although the resources in the Kawada family are rich in quantity, the quality may not necessarily high probably due to their temporary residence status. Because they

will only be in Australia for two more years, the home literacy environment appears to be temporary as well.

5.7.2 What are the children's and parents' biliteracy practices?

The Kawada family practice a wide range of reading and writing activities both in Japanese and English. Their biliteracy practices include recreational, educational, social-interactional, news-related, instrumental, confirmational, expository, memory-aid and public record uses of literacy. Recreational and educational uses of literacy occupy a large portion of their day-to-day reading and writing activities. Mrs. Kawada and Miki are the members who most frequently read and write at home.

Although the family's first language is Japanese, they use English frequently for reading and writing. The reasons are twofold: Mr. and Mrs. Kawada's developing abilities in English causes them to spend a long time to accomplish reading and writing in English and they are encouraging the children to use English while they are in Australia.

Miki's literacy development at this stage seems to be occurring largely in English as a result of both parents' encouragement to use English for reading and also schooling in English. Her literacy abilities in Japanese seem to be under-developed compared to that of English. The gap between her abilities in English and Japanese seems to be widening also as a result of her preference to use English for literacy.

At the current stage, a large portion of Miki's reading is occupied by reading books in English that she brings back from her school. Reading books in English seems to be helping improve her reading skills. On the other hand, she carries out a much smaller amount of reading in Japanese.

Miki carries out some social-interactional uses of literacy. She prefers to write

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letters and cards in English. Her writing ability seems much less developed than her reading ability. The written texts produced by Miki are mostly at the single word and phrasal and clause levels. Few texts are at discourse level. Most texts that are in the database are produced as homework in Japanese and they are mostly at the word or phrasal levels.

When she self-initiates writing, the audience she selects are close-familial readers, including her family, teachers and friends. Many texts are read by Mrs. Kawada before they are given to other readers, including the teacher at the MJSS. Miki has not yet written any texts for distant readers. Compared to the other children in the study (see Chapter 6 and 8), the genres of texts that she has been introduced to are still limited.

For Miki, as a young reader-writer, the intervention of her mother is extremely significant in her development and practice of biliteracy. Many significant reading and writing events are mother-child events in which Mrs. Kawada shows model, makes corrections and explains the meaning of texts. In writing texts, Mrs. Kawada plays the role of an editor who corrects what Miki wrote before she shows them to her teacher. Although Mrs. Kawada admitted that her intervention in the past adversely affected Miki's writing development, currently Mrs. Kawada's help is crucial particularly because Miki's writing development is slow.

5.7.3 What are the attitudes of parents towards biliteracy?

Mr. and Mrs. Kawada think that the significance of English literacy surpasses that of Japanese for their children while in Australia. Although they admitted that Japanese cultural and language maintenance are important, they prefer Miki to acquire as much ability in English as possible. This is based on their belief that English is significant for Miki's future, and there is difficulty in development and maintenance of English in Japan. For the younger child, Ken, although the parents seem to be encouraging him to learn English, they do not seem to think biliteracy for him at his age is as significant as it is for Miki. Ken will not be attending

school in Australia and his formal literacy learning will begin in Japan.

Mr. and Mrs. Kawada's view of literacy seems to be comparatively narrower than that of the other parents in the study as the following chapters will show. They consider that instrumental, confirmational and memory-aid uses of literacy are largely 'non-literacy' activities so they did not enter them much in their literacy diaries. On the other hand, they consider recreational, educational and social-interactional uses as significant literacy practices. Mr. Kawada regards literacy as technology and he considers literacy in English as a key to success professionally. Mrs. Kawada also thinks of literacy as hierarchically ordered skills that are significant for academic success. The lack of enthusiasm for enhancing cultural and social uses of literacy in Japanese in the family may come from these views of literacy.

5.7.4 How are home, school and social domains of literacy interrelated?

From the analysis of print resources that the Kawada family use and also the type of literacy practices that they carry out, it is apparent that their home, community and schools are strongly connected. Schools (Kingston School, MJSS and TAFE) have a strong connection in offering opportunities for the members of the Kawada family, especially Miki and Mrs. Kawada, to engage in a variety of reading and writing. For Mr. Kawada, his work is also a strong generator of biliteracy practices that he carries out at home.

For Miki, the influence of school is enormous in promoting her development in biliteracy. The regular reading assignments that Miki brings back home give her not only educational reading, but also recreational reading. The new type of literacy that Miki learns at school is often repeated at home. The content-based learning in English seems to be stimulating her learning of literacy. The MJSS also plays a role in Miki's development of literacy and also construction of identity as a Japanese through friendships developed in the school. Miki seems to

be coping in learning *hiragana*, *katakana* and many words even though the pace of development is slow at this stage.

In short, the input of English from her school is playing a significant role in Miki's biliteracy practice. Her Japanese-English biliteracy may not be symmetrical, but English and Japanese serve complementary functions. It is assumed that while Miki is in Australia, her development of biliteracy will progress with English being the dominant language. The significance of Japanese literacy is expected to increase upon her commencement of Year 1 class at the MJSS.

In Chapter 6, biliteracy practices of the Misawa family and their children, Ryo and Sakura, will be discussed in a similar manner to the current chapter.

Chapter 6 Japanese-English Biliteracy of the Misawa Family: Ryo, Sakura and their Parents

6.1 Introduction

Chapter 6 is devoted to describing the biliteracy practices of Ryo, a 9 years and 5 months old boy, Sakura, a 7 years and 5 months old girl, and their parents, Mr. and Mrs. Misawa. The Misawa family is discussed second because their residence in Australia is longer than that of the Kawadas, but shorter than that of the Wests. The Misawa family has been chosen as an example of migrant families who use Japanese at home.

6.2 The Misawa family

The details of the Misawa family are laid out in Table 6.1.

Table 6.1 Details of the Misawa family

	Misawa Family
Residential status	Permanent resident (migrant)
Date of arrival in Australia and Planned date of return to Japan	Arrival: March 1994 (3 years and 2 months prior to the investigation) Planned return date: None
Father's L1	Japanese
Mother's L1	Japanese
Father's L2	English
Mother's L2	English
Predominant Language at home	Japanese
Father's occupation, degree and age	Full-time researcher at university in natural science, doctorate in medicine, early forties
Mother's occupation, Degree and age	Part-time hospital staff (as a clerical staff member and interpreter), volunteer member of a non-profit organisation, bachelor in medicine, early forties
Primary carer of children	Mother
Number of people in family	4

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The Misawa family holds a permanent residency visa in Australia. They have been in Australia for over three years. The family had never lived abroad before coming to Australia. They came to Australia with an initial plan to stay only for a year. Mr. Misawa had taken research leave from the university in Japan where he was working and this was the reason for coming to Australia. However, just a few months after their arrival, Mr. Misawa was offered a job at a university in Melbourne as a research fellow with a three-year contract. Using this opportunity, the family decided to settle in Australia.

6.2.1 Mr. Misawa

Mr. Misawa was a medical practitioner and lecturer at a university in a large city in western Japan. He studied English at secondary school as well as at university for eight years. He stated that he always liked English. Although he had never used English in Japan for day-to-day communication, it was his professional language, which he regularly used at work for his research. Therefore he did not feel much pressure when he decided to come to Australia.

Mr. Misawa decided to give up his former prestigious and stable job in Japan and chose to live in Australia for several reasons. A strong reason was that he fell in love with Australia as soon as he set his foot on the land. He likes the spacious houses and the relaxed way of life. The only drawback to living in Australia is that he is not able to use his qualifications as a medical doctor. In order to work as a medical doctor in Australia, he has to pass the Australian Medical Council Examination (AMC), which is extremely difficult and competitive. Mr. Misawa has little intention of sitting this exam because he thinks it is not worth spending time on the AMC exam now that he has a job as a research fellow.

Unlike many Japanese fathers who only spend time with their family on weekends, Mr. Misawa is committed to the upbringing of his children. He rarely misses the evening meals with his family and he helps his children with their homework. He

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also cooks for the family and shares most of household chores with Mrs. Misawa. Mr. Misawa's hobby is playing the cello. He enjoys playing as an ensemble with his family.

Mr. Misawa is a strict father, if not authoritarian. Mr. Misawa often helps Ryo with science and maths, both in Japanese and English. He always makes sure that Ryo finishes his homework. If Ryo does not complete his work, Mr. Misawa quietly insists that if he does not finish the work, he cannot get what he wants.

6.2.2 Mrs. Misawa

Mrs. Misawa was also a medical practitioner until she left Japan. She practiced medicine part-time. Like her husband, Mrs. Misawa studied English in her secondary and tertiary education. Mrs. Misawa also liked English although she never used it for day-to-day communication until she came to Australia.

After arriving in Melbourne, Mrs. Misawa soon began engaging in social activities. She joined a non-profit organisation that supports Japanese residents in Melbourne. She soon became a core member of the organisation. After obtaining the permanent residency visa, she began working part-time at a large private hospital in Melbourne as an administrative staff member and interpreter. She was working two days a week at this hospital at the time of the study. She plays the viola and has a certificate in the tea ceremony.

6.2.3 Ryo

Ryo, the son and the elder child of the family, was 6;3 when he arrived in Australia. He was 9;5 at the beginning of the current study. In Japan, he had gone to a daycare centre from the time he was four months old until he entered school at six. He went to a Japanese primary school for one semester (4 months) before coming to Australia.

Mr. Misawa recalls that Ryo was talkative when he was a baby. Ryo suddenly became a quiet child when he started saying words and eventually well-formed sentences at around 36 months. Mr. Misawa explained that because Ryo is a very intelligent boy, he started to enjoy thinking and playing in his mind as soon as he started using language. He was still quiet after three years in Melbourne. His father described him as おとなしい子どもですがけっこう内側の世界は広い

(A quiet child, but with a large inner world) (Mr. Misawa's interview 15/10/97). However, Mr. Misawa regrets slightly that Ryo is not as sociable as his parents wish because of his quiet personality. Mr. Misawa thinks Ryo's quietness is a disadvantage in Australian society because it is important in an English-speaking society to be able to express himself verbally.

Mrs. Misawa stated that Ryo started showing interested in books at around 12 months old. She remembers that Ryo started looking at picture books at this age. She said that Ryo had begun demanding his parents read his favourite books and repeat reading the same book over and over at around 2 years old. Although he often looked at a book himself, he preferred his parents to read books for him when they were around.

Mr. Misawa remembers that Ryo began writing letter-like scribbles when he was approximately 24 months old. Mr. Misawa was surprised when he saw that Ryo wrote scribble all over a sheet of paper. Mr. Misawa commented about the incident.

> 字を書けないうちからミミズのはっているようなのを紙にだ
> 一っと書いて、びくりしたことがあるんですよ。何か書きた
> いんだなと思ってびっくりしました。アラビア文字みたいの
> を１０行以上書いて見せてくれたんです。
> (When he didn't even know how to write letters, he wrote a scribble
> that looked like an earthworm walking on a sheet of paper. I was
> surprised to know that he had a desire to write. He wrote on the
> sheet about 10 lines of something that resembles Arabic characters.)
> (Mr. Misawa's interview 15/10/97)

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After arriving in Australia at the age of 6 years and 1 month, Ryo started going to Hills Primary. Mr. Misawa recalls it was after one year that Ryo became capable of communicating freely in English. The parents and his teacher at Hills Primary stated that Ryo was extremely quiet in the first year when he was not used to his Australian school. Both Ryo's parents and teachers attribute Ryo's quietness to his personality, not to his proficiency in English. His teacher, Mar t Hills Primary portrayed him as "very bright", particularly in maths and natural science. The teacher also mentioned that his analytical language skill is also at the top level.

Ryo did not go to the MJSS during his first year in Melbourne. He started going two years before this study began, starting from the Year 2 class. At the MJSS, with his firm foundation in spoken Japanese, he is regarded by his teacher as one of the most advanced students in the class. Although Ryo is not particularly sociable at Hills Primary and the MJSS, Mr. Misawa stated that he enjoys both schools and has a few close friends. Ryo also stated that he loves school for friendship. Ryo plays the violin and is taking a lesson once a week with his sister.

6.2.4 Sakura

Sakura is the younger sister of Ryo. She came to Australia when she was 4;3 years old. She was 7;5 years old at the beginning of the study. Like her brother, Sakura went to a daycare centre in Japan from when she was two months old until she left Japan.

Mr. Misawa recalls that her verbal development was slower than that of her brother. He attributes this to the fact that she was probably being talked to, read to and attended to slightly less than Ryo simply because she was a second child. However, unlike Ryo, Sakura grew up as a very talkative and extroverted girl as soon as she started uttering words and well-formed sentences. Currently, she is perceived as an out-going child by her parents. She was described by her father as

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口から生まれてきた ("born from the mouth", i.e. talkative). Mr. and Mrs. Misawa consider that Sakura has been rapidly Australianised, much faster than her brother due to her personality and also her younger age on arrival in Australia.

Sakura was first introduced to books at around 5 months. Mr. Misawa thinks that Sakura's interest in books is not as strong as her brother's. Mrs. Misawa recalls that Sakura began writing at around 36 months old. She believes Sakura's emergent literacy development was not as early as Ryo.

Her teacher, Jane, at Hills Primary included her in the advanced group in her class and attributed this to the academic atmosphere of the family, her parents' active involvement in school activities, the presence of an older brother and also her bilingual ability. Sakura's Japanese teacher, Mrs. Tsukuda, at the MJSS also included her in the advanced group in her class. Sakura likes to play outside. She keeps guinea pigs and hens in the backyard. She is taking violin lessons with her brother once a week.

6.2.5 Overall use of language within the family

The language use of the Misawa family is illustrated in Figure 6.1.
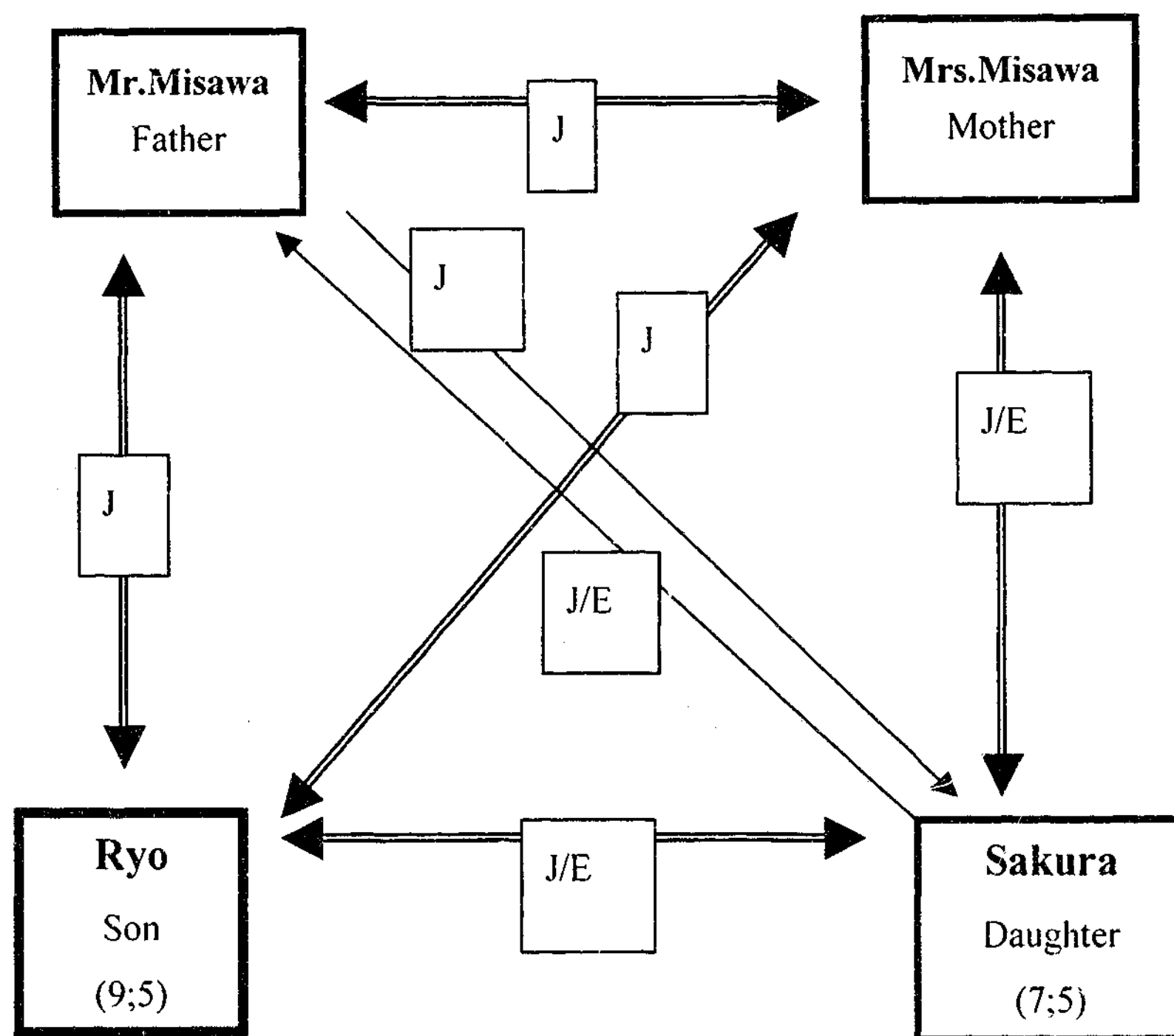
*J=Japanese, E=English, E/J=mostly English with some Japanese, J/E mostly Japanese with some English

**a single-line arrow indicates different choice of language (J and E or J/E and E/J) between the two family members; double-line arrow indicates the choice of same language(s) between the two.

Figure 6.1 The use of Japanese and English at the Misawa family

The predominant language of the Misawa family is Japanese. All members use Japanese to each other with some use of English. The use of English has been observed between children, occasionally from children to parents, particularly by

Sakura. The parents almost always speak Japanese to each other and to their children.

Under the parents' supervision, the children use Japanese most of the time. When the parents are not around, the children, particularly Sakura, code-switch between Japanese and English. When Sakura speaks English, Ryo sometimes responds in English although this is quite rare. Ryo appears reluctant to speak English to his family. The parents do not usually say anything about their children's language choice and they seldom correct their children's language.

Without openly telling their children to speak Japanese, Mr. and Mrs. Misawa manage to separate English and Japanese consistently. Unlike Mrs. Kawada, who mixes short phrases in English when she reads books in English with Miki, Mrs. Misawa and Mr. Misawa seldom mix Japanese and English when they communicate with the children. The Misawa parents code-switch between English and Japanese when necessary when there is a person who does not comprehend Japanese.

6.2.6 Mr. and Mrs. Misawa's attitudes towards biliteracy

In interviews, Mr. and Mrs. Misawa were asked their opinions about biliteracy. A summary of each point is made below:

Regarding a) 'significance and goals of Ryo's and Sakura's biliteracy', Mr. and Mrs. Misawa consider that the ability to communicate using both English and Japanese is significant for their children and they do not think that either language should be prioritised. However, they consider that English and Japanese are significant for slightly different reasons. Mr. Misawa stated that English, particularly the oral skill, is significant for his children to express themselves in public domains. He considers that without good oral presentation skills, his children would be disadvantaged in Australian society. Mrs. Misawa also stated that her children must have good interpersonal communication skills in English in

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order to succeed in Australia.

Mr. and Mrs. Misawa consider that Japanese is significant primarily for communication within the family and also for intra-ethnic communication (Clyne 1991a: 112). She said she wants her children to maintain fluency in Japanese because Mrs. Misawa thinks she can never attain native fluency in English, which would enable her to communicate well enough with her children. If the children lose Japanese, Mrs. Misawa fears that communication between the parents and the children will become very shallow. Mr. Misawa also stated that Japanese is responsible for the emotional aspect of the parent-child communication.

With regard to literacy, Mr. and Mrs. Misawa think English and Japanese are equally significant for their children. Mr. Misawa said reading ability is particularly significant in both languages because reading is the primary method of accessing a large amount of information. He also said reading ability in Japanese is necessary for deep understanding of Japanese culture. He mentioned that he wants his children to be able to read Japanese so that he and his children can share the reading experience.

Mrs. Misawa said that literacy is a tool for intellectual activities. She wants her children to obtain good literacy skills in English in order to be successful in school and society in Australia. She thinks abstract thinking skills do not fully develop without learning to read. She believes that learning literacy in both Japanese and English would enhance their cognitive ability. She considers the deep thinking skills that children attain through practicing literacy are more significant than surface level skills, such as learning to write *kanji*. Although she admits the knowledge of *kanji* is important, she thinks a lack of knowledge of *kanji*, particularly of writing skills, can be compensated with computer technology today. Because of this, she would rather have quality time with her children than spend many hours a week forcing her children to memorise *kanji*.

Regarding b) 'parental roles in Ryo's and Sakura's biliteracy practices', Mr.

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Misawa enjoys being involved in the children's literacy practices. He helps his children 3-4 days a week with their homework and also shares reading. He feels guilty when he is busy with work and cannot spend time with his children. He could see his children's abilities in literacy deteriorate when he did not help for a while.

Mrs. Misawa said she probably enjoys reading and writing with her children 50% of the time. For another 50% she feels it is her duty to help them and she does not enjoy it. It has become more frustrating for her recently because the amount that her children have to learn in Japanese is increasing rapidly, particularly for Ryo learning *kanji*. She thinks this is pressuring their quality time. However, it is significant for her to keep assisting Ryo with learning *kanji* because if she stops, she fears that Ryo would easily give up learning *kanji*.

In regards to c) 'Expectation of school regarding child's development of literacy', Mr. and Mrs. Misawa said they are dependent on the school for their children's literacy development in English because they are not fully confident in English themselves. Mr. Misawa stated that he wants the school to teach them what Mr. Misawa cannot teach, particularly Australian culture, customs and ways of thinking. He also wants the school to introduce his children to good books in English. Mrs. Misawa wants the school to instruct her children to love books. Like Mrs. Kawada, Mrs. Misawa said she gets frustrated with the school sometimes because they do not inform her where her children are in terms of the stages in their development.

Mr. and Mrs. Misawa do not expect much from the MJSS because it operates only on Saturday with curricula that may not be suitable for children of permanent residents. Mr. Misawa seems less satisfied with the school than his wife. He sends his children to the school primarily because his children are benefiting from friendships that are built in school.

In relation to d) 'the goals of child's literacy', Mr. Misawa wants his children to

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become book lovers. He wants Ryo to read better quality books as he grows up, as he thinks the books that Ryo loves to read are not of a high quality. Mr. Misawa wants his children to attain average or better-than average levels of literacy skills in English. He thinks it is impossible for his children to attain an average level of competence in Japanese literacy skills if they continue staying in Australia.

Mrs. Misawa also stated that she is not happy to see Ryo reading poor quality books in English. Like Mr. Misawa, Mrs. Misawa does not expect her children to attain reading and writing skills that monolingual Japanese children would attain. However, she hopes that her children would reach the level to be able to read a Japanese newspaper without using a dictionary.

In relation to e) 'parental perception of biliteracy', Mr. and Mrs. Misawa consider their biliteracy practice consists of largely educational, recreational, social-interactional and news-related activities and they reported the literacy events of these categories in their literacy diaries. For their own uses, they did not record other types of literacy events, such as memory-aid, expository, confirmational, oral-substitutional and or some social-interactional uses.

For their children's uses of literacy, Mr. and Mrs. Misawa recorded mostly educational and recreational uses of reading and writing. They did not include other uses of literacy, namely oral-substitutional, confirmational memory aid and instrumental uses. The systematic exclusion of some uses, such as memory aid and instrumental uses by the children may indicate that Mr. and Mrs. Misawa did not consider these uses significant enough to report. This attitude is similar to that of the Kawada parents who mainly reported mainly educational and recreational uses of reading and writing. Mr. Misawa wrote in his diary on one Sunday:

（日）AM/PM:一日家族で外出。まったくまともな読み書きなし。
夜：日本の実家にFAXを書いて送る。日本語１０分。
(Sunday AM/PM: Whole family went out. No proper reading and

Night: Wrote a fax to my home in Japan. Japanese 10 minutes.)
(Mr. Misawa 's literacy diary 12/7/98. Underlining mine.)

From this statement it seems that Mr. Misawa distinguishes 'proper' and 'improper' reading and writing activities.

6.3 Print Resources for Biliteracy Practices in the Misawa Family's Home and School Environments

The Misawa family live in a three bedroom house. Compared to the home of the Kawada family, the temporary residents, the home of the Misawa family appears more established with furniture and appliances placed in an orderly fashion. In the Misawa family's home, the activity centre of the house is the living-dining room. At one end of the living-dining room is the kitchen surrounded by a counter. Next to the counter is a low, Japanese style dining table. The living room is simple, almost minimal with little furniture or decoration. The only thing that attracts attention is a large cabinet in which the stereo, video and TV sets are compactly stored. The TV is placed on top of the cabinet. Mrs. Misawa said the TV is placed in such a high position in order to prevent the children watching the TV for too long. The homework of the children is usually done in this room.

The study is located in the centre of the house. It is a room with floor-to-ceiling bookshelves filled with books. A bookshelf on one side holds mostly children's books and another holds the parents' books. A large number of books in this room are brought from Japan.

The collection of parent's books includes books on medicine, reference materials, psychology, intercultural communication, novels and books of other genres that reflect Mr. and Mrs. Misawa's former professions as medical doctors. The children's bookshelf contains a number of picture books and storybooks, game books, *manga* (comic books), textbooks and workbooks that are mostly in

Japanese. In the middle of the room, a large dining table is placed for reading and writing activities. This table was often occupied by Ryo and Mrs. Misawa for doing Ryo's school project. A computer and a printer are placed on a small desk facing the window.

Next to the study is a music studio. This room contains a few chairs and music stands and a stack of music on a small table in the corner of the room. The family members get together in this room to practice violin, viola and cello once a week.

The inventory of the print environment of the Misawa family's home is laid out below:

Table 6.2 The Misawa family's print environment at home

Rooms	Environmental print and texts	Implements for literacy
Kitchen	advertisement materials, food boxes, electrical appliances with written instructions on e.g. microwave oven	Stationery, whiteboard
Living room	newspapers, magazines, calendar, address book, CDs records, video tapes	Stereo, TV, VCRs
Ryo and Sakura's room	Board games, cards, picture books	
Study	magazines, music scores, picture books, story books, academic books, novels, reference books, textbooks, comics, travel guides, computer manuals, certificates, workbooks, photo albums, handwritten posters, videos	Computer, printer, stationery
Music studio and other places	Posters, novels, printed music	

6.3.1 Print resources in schools: Hills Primary and Melbourne Japanese Saturday School

The Hills Primary School is located only a block away from the Misawa family's home in an eastern suburb, about 10 km from the city centre of Melbourne. Hills Primary is a state school. It is considered one of the best schools in the area with computer rooms and a library that have been improved recently. Many of the pupils of Hills Primary continue on to a prestigious private secondary school.

6.3.1.1. Ryo's class at Hills Primary: Year 3

Ryo's class consists of 11 boys and 9 girls. The teacher of Ryo's class is Mary, a female teacher in her early twenties. Ryo's class is arranged in a way that students sit facing towards a blackboard in front of the class. Mary's desk is located at the back of the room also facing the blackboard.

Mary stated that they have few books in the classroom because they go to the school library. There are specialised corners in the classrooms: the library corner, the computer section with one computer that does not seem to be in use and an open space in front of the blackboard where children can sit on the floor.

There are many posters on the walls. Most posters in Ryo's class were written by the children. The posters include a list of birthdays of the children, Italian words, a calendar, a timetable, a maths chart and posters on food.

On one morning, Ryo's class carried out activities in the following manner:

9:00 Roll taking and talk from the teacher
9:10 The class moves to Mr. Roger's room to study maths. The class listens to Mr. Rogers explains what a bar graph is using some posters.
Pupils solve problems on bar graphs on photocopied sheets (6 different sheets).
9:50 Return to Mary's classroom. Class sits on floor in front of the blackboard and listens to Mary's talk about next week's plan.

10:00 Mary reads a *Goosebumps* story while the children sit on the floor.

10:10 Mary distributes 2 photocopied sheets with a reading passage and several reading comprehension questions.

10:10 Play spelling game.

10:20 Mary explains the reading comprehension exercise. Children read the passage quietly and solve the problem.

10:35 Mary walks around the children's desks and staples the sheets.

10:50 Children who have finished reading go to Mary's desk to check answers.

The print materials in Ryo's classroom are summarised in Table 6.3.

Table 6.3 Literacy materials in Ryo's class at Hills Primary

Hand written posters on the wall	Sentence structures Birthday list Italian words Times table Composition written by some students Class captain Stories
Other posters	Maps Aboriginal paintings
Words on blackboard	Times table (9x9) Homework notice Spelling of some difficult words Duties
Books in shelves	Dictionaries Encyclopaedia Story books Newspaper
Others	Clock, a computer with a printer

6.3.1.2. Sakura's class at Hills Primary School: Year 1

The teacher of Sakura's class is Jane. She is a middle aged female teacher. Her desk is placed in one corner near the entrance. There are 13 boys and 14 girls in the class. The classroom, which is much smaller than that of Ryo's, is crowded with children, desks, chairs and other things. Four to six children share one desk and sit face to face. Jane stated that this seating arrangement is typical from prep

to Year 2 classes. There are some specialised corners in the classroom: a corner with three of the latest computers with a printer, a reading corner with bookshelves and a few cushions on the floor, an open space in front of the blackboard and another open space with whiteboards. The pupils in this class move from one corner to another, often in small groups, carrying out various activities. For example, Sakura's class engaged in work in the following order on one morning.

9:20-9:40: Phonics (in front of the blackboard)
9:40-10:10: Show and tell (in front of the whiteboard)
10:10-11:00: Journal writing (in a chair or in the computer corner)

Jane places materials and resources in place before the activities begin. When the class practices phonics, flash cards have been already placed near the blackboard and sound charts and lists of words have been attached to the blackboard. The materials and implements that have been observed in Sakura's class are summarised in Table 6.4.

Table 6.4 Literacy materials in Sakura's class at Hills Primary

Teacher's desk	Folders Various papers for craft and writing
Posters on wall	Animals Months (handwritten) Time (handwritten) Frequently used words (handwritten) Seasons (handwritten) Days of week (handwritten) Numbers (handwritten) LOTE (Italian words. greetings)
Library corner, Bookshelves,	Picture books Story books Game books Comics Puzzle books Encyclopaedia Information books (animals, space, water, sea etc)
Audio-visual / multi-media	Apple Macintosh computers (3) Printer (1) Cassette player
What is on the Blackboard	Structure of story (How to write a story: beginning, middle, end, characters, the plot, action, setting)
Whiteboard	Nothing was written
Others	Stationary (pens, pencils, markers, staplers, adhesive tapes, rulers scissors, glues, paints, paper for crafts), counters, a clock

6.3.1.3 MJSS: Ryo's Year 3 class

A general description of the print environment in the MJSS has been provided in Chapter 5 (see 5.3). Here, the print materials that have been observed in Ryo and Sakura's classes are discussed.

There are 13 girls and 2 boys in Ryo's class. Ryo's teacher is Mrs. Pike, a female teacher in her mid 30s. On Saturday at the MJSS, the day is divided into five periods, fifty minutes each. There are three periods in the morning and two in the afternoon. In the primary level. three periods are used for studying Japanese and two for studying maths. Mrs. Pike stated that in her classes, all chapters in the

Japanese textbook are covered even though they have only 150 minutes a week for the subject. This means that the children have to read the textbook, learn *kanji* and vocabulary, solve reading comprehension exercises and sit tests almost twice as fast as in the schools in Japan.

Mrs. Pike uses *kenteikyookasho*, the Japanese standard textbook for Japanese and maths. The class uses the Year 3 version of the textbooks. Mrs. Pike also uses four other workbooks that accompany the main course books: one for reading comprehension, two for *kanji*-vocabulary building, and one for maths. The main focus of her Japanese class is learning *kanji* and vocabulary.

Mrs. Pike first teaches the meaning of words, vocabulary and *kanji*. She then goes on to explain the contents of the story by reading sentence by sentence. After finishing reading, she explains grammatical points. One morning, Japanese was taught in the following manner in her class:

10:25 Start Chapter *Mochimochi no ki* (rice cake tree). Mrs. Pike writes 20 words in *kanji* on the blackboard and discusses pronunciation and definition of these words.

10:45 The children read the first section of the chapter aloud. She assigns several children to read aloud. Mrs. Pike asks questions about the story: まめったって誰？" (Who is *Mameta*?), せっちんってなに？ (What is *secchin* (toilet)?), まめたは何歳？ (How old is *Mameta*?), 外のせっちんの横には何がある？ (What is outside his house besides *secchin*?) , りょうしって何？ (what is *ryooshi* (hunter)?), じいさまって誰？ (who is *jisama* (grandfather)?), おくびょうの反対の言葉って何？ (What is the antonym of *okubyoo* (coward)?")

(10:50-11:00 recess)

11:00 Mrs. Pike asks the class to write words that starts with ま(*ma*) in the story.

11:20 Mrs. Pike tells the class to pick out compound verbs from the story. She writes the verbs on the blackboard as the children tell her:

とびうつる　(jump up)

ふり落とす　(shake off)

おしつける　(force someone)
She then assigns a few students to divide the verb into two parts
eg. とび (jump) and うつる (change position) and write them
on the blackboard.
11:30 The class goes on to read the second section of the chapter.

The table 6.5 summarises the materials that are found in Ryo's class at the MJSS that are similar to the materials used in Sakura's and Satoshi West's rooms.

Table 6.5 Literacy materials in Ryo's class (Year 3) at the MJSS

Text books	Maths and Japanese Year 3 *kenteikyookasho* (standard Japanese textbooks), accompanying workbooks; *kanji*-vocabulary building (2 volumes), reading comprehension and maths. Workbooks are held by Mrs. Pike only.
Notebooks	Each child has B5 size notebooks for Japanese and maths. A Japanese notebook is designed for writing characters vertically. A maths notebook has horizontal lines. Each child has a small notebook for correspondence between the class teacher and parents.
Photo-copied quiz sheets	Made by Mrs. Pike from the four workbooks. She makes her own kanji-vocabulary quizzes.
Blackboard	Used all the time by Mrs. Pike. Children are expected to copy in their notebook everything that has been written on the board.
Writing implements	Children use pencils that they brought from home. Japanese style pencil cases are used to store pencils and pens.

6.3.1.4 Sakura's class in the MJSS: Year 1 in primary

There are only 6 girls and 4 boys in Sakura's class. The teacher is Mrs. Tsukuda, a kind, motherly middle aged woman. In Sakura's class, children also learn Japanese and maths using the standard textbooks. The Year 1 Japanese textbook contains about 20 short reading passages. The first few pages only contain words with illustrations. Gradually, the reader is introduced to longer readings. All words are written in *hiragana*. In volume two, the reader is introduced to

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katakana. Year 1 children are introduced to 80 *kanji* (see Table 3.2 in Chapter 3).

Mrs. Tsukuda spends a large amount of time in her class explaining the meaning of words. She reads the textbook sentence by sentence and asks the children the meaning of words. Children are assigned to read a passage aloud. Children often translate words into English. Mrs. Tsukuda does not like children using English in the class. However, she does not openly condemn speaking English. She simply translates the English words back to Japanese when she hears children speaking English.

She often uses the blackboard to demonstrate writing. When she writes a word or sentence, the children automatically copy it in their notebook. Mrs. Tsukuda is very particular about shapes and stroke order of the letters that she writes. She goes around the children's desks and checks their writing. The children have a word or script quiz every week, sometimes a few of them on one day. Because of these drills and quizzes, the children have to study the textbooks at home with their parents.

In Mrs. Tsukuda's class, what children normally use is limited to textbook, notebook, workbook and blackboard as in Table 6.6.

Table 6.6 Literacy materials in Sakura's class (Year 1) at the MJSS

Text books	Maths and Japanese *kenteikyookasho:* volumes 1 and 2 for both subjects
Notebooks	B5 size notebooks for Japanese and maths Japanese notebook is designed to write characters vertically in square boxes.
Photo-copied quiz sheets	Made by Mrs. Tsukuda based on Japanese and maths textbooks
Japanese picture/story books	Brought by children from home
Blackboard	Used frequently to write words and sentence by Mrs. Tsukuda
Writing implements	Children use pencils that they bring from home. Pencils are sharpened by their parents so that they can write characters clearly. Most children have pencil cases that are the same as those used by children in Japan. The cases have cartoon characters printed on the lid. Mrs. Tsukuda uses a red felt-tip pen to correct children's writing

6.4 Biliteracy Practices of the Misawa Family as a Whole

The day of the Misawa family on a typical weekday begins around 7 am when Ryo and Sakura watch morning cartoons on the TV. The children usually watch a cartoon program in English. However, when a TV program does not interest them, they watch a Japanese cartoon program recorded on video. What the children watch on video is sometimes based on children's stories and folklore, such as famous Japanese TV and comic characters, *Doraemon* or *Muumin*.

Mrs. Misawa wakes up soon and starts preparing breakfast in the kitchen as she overhears the children watching TV. Mr. Misawa also gets out of bed and makes himself a cup of tea. They sit at the breakfast table together and discuss the day's plan. Mr. and Mrs. Misawa also read the local newspaper, *The Age*, at the breakfast table. Mr. Misawa sometimes checks electronic mail (in Japanese) on

his computer and/or looks at a website or two (in Japanese) on the Internet before he leaves for work.

The whereabouts of Mrs. Misawa varies depending on the day. She works at the hospital on Tuesdays and Fridays. She also goes in on other days when there is a call from the hospital. On other days, she goes to the office of the volunteer organisation where she serves as a committee member once or twice a week. She normally comes back home before 3:30 pm to be home when the children walk back from school. When she cannot make 3:30, Ryo and Sakura visit a friend's home on the same street until their mother comes home.

Mrs. Misawa normally walks to the school to pick them up. On a nice day, Sakura often insists on visiting a friend's house on the same street, normally Kim's house just across the street. When they come straight home, the children have a snack and short play. Ryo prefers to play inside the house quietly and watches a video, or reads a comic in Japanese or materials in English that he borrowed from his school.

Sakura prefers to play outside with her friends. Sakura is often visited by her friends as soon as she gets home. The children next door, the sisters Ella and Kate, climb the fence and enter the Misawa's backyard. Kim sometimes joins them. When the weather is good, Sakura and her friends play outside. She seldom reads books although she watches TV or videos with her brother when friends in the neighbourhood are not around.

At around 4:30pm, the homework-study session begins. This involves Ryo and Mrs. Misawa. Sakura also joins them, if she is available and when she has homework. Ryo's homework session lasts approximately an hour every day. It takes Ryo about 20 minutes until he starts concentrating on his work. During the 20 minutes, he switches back and forth between play and study. Mrs. Misawa sits with Ryo at the dining table in the kitchen. They use the study when they need to use the computer or some reference books, such as a Japanese-English bilingual

dictionary. Mrs. Misawa devotes herself to sitting with her children during their study session without doing other things.

Entering Year 3, he gets a substantial amount and various types of homework from both Hills Primary and the MJSS. Because of this, he does assignments both in Japanese and English almost every day (see 6.5.1). Sakura spends much less time on her study, normally about 20 minutes. Sometimes Sakura does her study while Kim, Ellen or Kate are playing nearby.

Mr. Misawa comes home between 5:30 and 6:00 pm. He often comes home while the children are doing their homework and gives a hand to Mrs. Misawa helping the children. Mr. Misawa believes the science and maths education at Hills Primary is far behind what is being taught in Japan. He also thinks that his children need to be taught maths in Japanese as well as English because some parts of maths are language specific.

The children are allowed to watch TV and/or videos before and after dinner up to two hours a day. Ryo also likes to play *Gameboy*, a pocket-size computer game. Mr. Misawa stated that this limit is often violated. He stated that the children watch TV and video endlessly if given the opportunity.

> ほっといらたらいくらでも見ます。朝は２、３０分。夜はビデオを１時間以内と決めているんですが、ときどきオーバーします。全部あわせて２時間まで。
> (They will watch (TV and videos) as much as they like. They watch 20 to 30 minutes in the morning. One hour of video at night, but sometimes more than that. 2 hours maximum including all of these.)
> (Mr. Misawa's interview 15/10/97)

The children and their parents often spend time reading books at night and talking about the content. These are usually the books the children bring back from Hills Primary. One week, Sakura came back from the school with a book regarding babies. Mrs. Misawa wrote in her diary.

学校からのBabyについての本。性教育教材らしく、かなりつ
っこんだ内容。親子で半分づつ読む。
(A book on babies from school. The book seems to be for sex
education and the content is very deep. We read the book
half-and-half.) (Mrs. Misawa's diary 31/3/98)

On another day, Ryo brought back a book on animals. Mrs. Misawa wrote in her

diary about their reading:

読書 : *The Penguin that Walks at Night*
学校の図書館より。むずかしい。助けが必要。
(Reading: *The Penguin that Walks at Night*. From the school
library. It is very difficult and requires help.) (Mrs. Misawa's diary
16/2/98)

The parents and children carry out less writing activity at night because they are in

a more relaxed mood. The children no longer share bedtime reading with their

parents. Ryo sometimes spends a long time in bed reading a book.

寝てるはずだと思って、１２時過ぎにちょっとみたら電気つ
いてて、それが１時２時におよんだこともありますしね。
(I peeped his room at 12am thinking he was asleep. But the light
was on. He reads sometimes to one or two in the morning.)
(Mr. Misawa's interview 15/10/97)

Mrs. and Mr. Misawa also read a considerable amount in the evening. Mr.

Misawa likes to surf the Internet, reads electronic mails and reads Japanese news

magazines. He stated that he seldom reads serious books at night, such as

hardcover novels or science journals. Mrs. Misawa uses the Internet at night.

6.4.1 The uses of literacy in the Misawa family

The uses of literacy in the Misawa family have been categorised into the

following types.

Table 6.7 The uses of literacy in the Misawa family

Educational: Reading and writing for studying and doing homework Ryo and Sakura's homework from Hills Primary and the MJSS. Mostly joint activities between a parent and children. The content of the study ranges from reading books, doing projects, studying *hiragana, katakana* and *kanji*, reading Japanese textbooks, doing maths, playing the musical instruments (violin), using a computer to search the Internet, and using Japanese-English bilingual dictionary.
Recreational: Reading and writing as a pastime The children watch video and TV based on children's stories and folklore, the use of pocket-sized digital games, reading comic books, story books, playing board games and reading advertising materials. The parents use the Internet, read recipe books, magazines, novels, newspapers and children's books with children.
News-related: Reading to gain information about distant events Parents reading newspapers in English and Japanese, Japanese news magazine, using the Internet and reading electronic mail (news group). Sakura was seen reading the weather forecast in *The Age*.
Public record: Keeping records for the use in the community Mrs. Misawa writing newsletter articles and minutes of meetings for her volunteer group
Memory aid: Writing to serve as a memory aid for self and others Mr. and Mrs. Misawa and Sakura using the calendar to record events and plans. Mr. and Misawa using diaries
Expository: Writing to summarise and generalise Mr. Misawa writing procedures of lab experiments using a computer.
Instrumental: Reading to accomplish practical goals Mrs. Misawa reading recipes for cooking, children reading instructions to make a toy model.
Social interactional: Writng letters, cards and fax-messages Writing a letter to grandparents to send via fax, children writing a birthday card using a word processor with help of Mr. Misawa.
Oral substitutional: Reading and writing messages Mrs. Misawa signing consent forms from Hills Primary and the MJSS to allow the children to go on excursion and extra curricula activities

*Listed in the order of frequency

A strong characteristic of the Misawa family's literacy practice is its academic nature. In the Misawa family, the most frequent and recurrent literacy practice is the educational use of reading and writing between Mrs. Misawa, Ryo and Sakura. Another characteristic is that they are almost always joint activities that involve the children and a parent.

Recreational use is the second most frequently seen literacy practice in the family. They watch a large amount of TV and video every day that involves some use of written texts. The Misawa children do not choose to write as much as they choose to read. Writing seems to be strongly related to studying rather than playing.

6.4.2 Language selection for the uses of literacy in the Misawa family

According to the literacy diary filled out by Mr. and Mrs. Misawa, the family's choice of language for reading and writing activities throughout one week was approximately Japanese 47%, English 32%, and English-Japanese mixed 21%. Mr. Misawa himself chose Japanese most of the time except for reading a newspaper and other news-related materials in English. Mrs. Misawa chose English more frequently than Japanese because she helped the children for a long time with their homework from Hills Primary. Like Mr. Misawa, she chose to read news-related materials in English and other types of reading in Japanese (novels and other types of books related to her volunteer work and housekeeping, such as recipes). Mrs. Misawa writes various texts using both Japanese and English. She uses both languages for memory aid, public record and social interactional uses.

6.5 Ryo and Sakura's Uses of Reading and Writing in Japanese and English

The uses of literacy by Ryo and Sakura reflect Mr. and Mrs. Misawa's preference and views regarding their children's literacy (described in 6.1.2 above) that they emphasise quality and academic literacy both in Japanese and English in their

home.

6.5.1 Ryo's use of literacy

Table 6.8 Ryo's uses of literacy

Uses	Examples
Recreational	Reading comic books, stories, gamebooks, viewing videos, playing *Gameboy* in Japanese, reading *Goosebumps* books, viewing cartoon on TV in English
Educational (homework)	Homework from Hills Primary and MJSS including reading, journal writing, researching for project, maths and Japanese
Educational (non-homework)	Studying Japanese and maths using workbooks sent from Japan
Social-interactional	Writing cards and fax messages to friends and relatives

*Listed in order of frequency

6.5.1.1 Recreational use

As described in Table 6.8, Ryo likes reading *manga*, game books (eg. puzzles and mazes) and stories, playing *Gameboy* in Japanese, viewing Japanese cartoons on videos and watching children's shows and early morning cartoon shows on TV in English. He also reads stories in English.

Manga is probably the most popular reading matter among all the children. One volume of *manga* contains several different comic strips so that children can spend a few hours reading all of them. Some comic strips are based on popular TV cartoon shows, such as *Doraemon*, *Seeraamuun* and *Pokemon*. A volume also comes with some toys, games, paper models, dolls etc.

Ryo is interested in reading about monsters, UFOs, space travel, four-wheel-drive cars, model planes and ghosts. When he obtains a new book or cartoon, he reads it over and over until he gets bored with it. Mr. Misawa reports on this point.

読むのは波がありますが、(りょうは) 本が好きでして、マンガなんかもし新しいのをあたえたら、何時間でも読んでますし、読み物でも面白いのであれば1時間でも読んでますし、Goosebumpsというのが面白いらしくて、あれを友達とかから借りてきたら寝ないですよ。

(There are waves, but (Ryo) loves books. If he gets a new *manga* (comic book) or something, he reads for hours. If he finds a good story, he reads it for about an hour. He seems to like *Goosebumps* now. When he borrows one of these from a friend, he does not go to sleep.) (Mr. Misawa's interview 15/10/97)

Ryo's recreational reading is mostly a solo activity. Sometimes he engages in playing games with his sister. However, such occasions are rarer than reading comic books or *Goosebumps*. When he watches TV and videos, however, he always watches with his sister.

6.5.1.2 Educational use (homework)

Next to recreational reading, Ryo spends a large amount of time each day on school-related reading and writing. Mary, his teacher at Hills Primary, gives her pupils homework approximately twice a week. This amount is equivalent to approximately 30 minutes of study each day. Also from the MJSS, Ryo is given homework regularly which is more than the English homework he is given from Hills Primary. Mrs. Pike at the MJSS normally assigns pupils the sections in the textbook or workbook they did not cover in the class as homework.

What Ryo gets as homework from Hills Primary includes spelling worksheets (a page a week) and maths problems (2 pages a week). In addition to these assignments, he also gets other reading and writing to do at home irregularly. These include projects, journal writing and creative writing. This work is time consuming and often requires help from his parents. During this fieldwork, he was working on a science project on the solar system. Mr. Misawa commented on the

project as follows:

（宿題として）プロジェクトが出たときは、おおむね親の仕
事ですね（笑い）。だって、子どもにあれ出来るとは思わな
いですね。大きな宿題は、こうしたらいいんじゃないか、あ
あしたらいいんじゃないかと、できるだけやらせるようにし
ながらやってますね。でも説明は日本語でしながら。例えば
英語はこういうふうに書いたらどうかとか。おいおい子ども
にやらせるのが増えていくんでしょうね。
(When there is a project (for homework), that is largely a parent's
job (laughs). Because I don't think my children can handle that.
We do big homework together by me saying "you better do this
way, you better do that way". I try to make him do as much as
possible. I explain things in Japanese. I tell him in Japanese "you
better write English in this way" or something like that. Eventually
the amount that the kids do themselves would increase, I think.)
(Mr. Misawa's interview 6/5/98).

In one afternoon, Ryo sat in front of the computer in their study with Mrs. Misawa
in order to write up the solar system project. Mrs. Misawa inserted a CD-ROM
version of an encyclopaedia into their computer and started searching words, such
as 'orbit' and 'planet'. She explained that he should not just copy the definitions
from the CD-ROM into his draft. She stated that he needed to summarise them.
Ryo said he could not summarise because he did not know which were the
important words or sentences. Hearing this, Mrs. Misawa opened a blank page of
Microsoft Word on the screen and cut and pasted the text from the CD-ROM
encyclopaedia. Then she demonstrated to Ryo by deleting some words and
sentences that were unnecessary. Mrs. Misawa then started discussion about the
solar system. After these discussions, Ryo decided how to start the paragraph.
Ryo skilfully typed the names of the stars using the keyboard. This session
continued for approximately 45 minutes. All the conversation was in Japanese
except for reading the text in English on the computer screen. Ryo wrote about 2
pages of the draft this day.

On another day, Ryo sat with Mrs. Misawa to do Japanese homework. The regular homework he gets from the MJSS consists of reading Japanese textbooks aloud, doing Japanese workbooks, writing *kanji* on sheets and maths problems.

Mrs. Misawa said to Ryo that they would concentrate on *kanji* that day. She opened a page in the Japanese textbook and told Ryo to read. Ryo read a few lines that included the word 用いる (to use). Mrs. Misawa explained that the *kanji* is often used in passive voice 用いられる (to be used). He said to Mrs. Misawa that he did not like the passive voice because there was no subject. Mrs. Misawa explained to him that he has to use the passive voice whether he liked it or not in a technical or scientific text. Mrs. Misawa then told Ryo to answer the problems in the workbook. He moved between the main textbook and the workbook to find answers for 'fill in the blank' questions. The text he was reading in the main text included many abstract, logical words, such as 関係 (relationship) and 原因 (cause).

6.5.1.3 Educational use (non-homework)

During the study session in the afternoon, Ryo not only does homework, but also other work that Mr. and Mrs. Misawa think necessary. All the non-homework study that Ryo does is related to the standard Japanese textbooks that are used in the MJSS.

On one afternoon when the study session began, Mr. Misawa placed the following books and workbooks on the living room table:

> 『国語教科書 3 年上』 (Japanese *kenteikyookasho* textbook Year 3 volume 1)
> 『国語教科書 3 年下 』 (Japanese *kenteikyookasho* textbook Year 3 volume 2)
> 『漢字の学習 3 年 2 学期 』 (*Kanji* drill Year 3 semester 2)

『国語３年生習熟ドリル』(Japanese Year 3 reading comprehension drill)

『算数教科書３年下 』(Maths *kenteikyookasho* textbook Year 3 volume 2)

『くりかえし計算ドリル』(Algebra drill)

『文章中心の算数スキル』(Paragraph-centred maths skill workbook)

『算数３年生習熟ドリル』(Year 3 maths drill)

『日本の歴史２少年少女学習マンガ』 (Japanese history for boys and girls in manga volume 2)

『サスケ』(*Sasuke,* a manga based on Japanese historical events)

Ryo loves reading comic books (*manga*) whose contents are related to Japanese history, such as *Sasuke*. The *manga* for adult audiences are written on adult themes such as history, business, war, romance and politics. *Sasuke* is one such classical *manga* that discusses warlords in medieval Japan. Mrs. Misawa thinks it is a good means to introduce Japanese history to Ryo.

6.5.1.4 Social-interactional use

According to Mr. and Mrs. Misawa, the only occasion that he writes to someone is on a birthday or a Christmas. Ryo is not interested in writing greeting cards and thank you notes. The only people he writes to are his grandparents in Japan. Ryo's letter writing was seen twice during the researcher's visits. Neither of them was self-initiated. In one letter writing event, Ryo, Sakura and Mr. Misawa wrote a birthday invitation using their home computer (see Sakura's text No.8). Mr. Misawa helped his children to make the card, which was printed colourfully. Another event which was observed was a letter-writing event in which Ryo, Sakura and Mr. Misawa collaborated again using the computer to write a letter to their grandparents requesting Japanese cartoon videos and comic books (see Sakura's text No.9). Their parents told them to write nicely using the word processor so that their grandparents would be impressed.

6.5.2 Sakura's uses of biliteracy

Compared to her older brother, Sakura spends a much shorter time reading and writing at home. From her Year 1 class at Hills Primary and also the MJSS, Sakura brings back much less homework than Ryo. Her parents also do not give her as much work as they give to Ryo. She also spends considerably less time reading for recreational purposes. However, as listed in Table 6.9, Sakura practices a wider variety of literacy activities at home compared to her brother.

Table 6.9 Sakura's uses of literacy

Uses	Examples
Educational (non-homework)	Studying Japanese and maths using workbooks sent from Japan
Educational (homework)	Homework from Hills Primary (reading books only) and MJSS (reading Japanese textbook and studying *hiragana*)
Recreational	Reading gamebooks, stories, playing games, drawing and writing letter to Santa
Social-interactional	Writing birthday cards, letters to grandparents
Memory aid	Using a calendar for writing the date that Sakura feeds the animals
News-related	Reading the weather report section in the newspaper (*The Age*)
Oral-substitutional	Writing correspondence books that she takes to MJSS

*Listed in order of frequency

6.5.2.1 Educational use (non-homework)

The most regularly and frequently practiced reading and writing functions by Sakura are the study of Japanese and maths, which she does with Mrs. Misawa, although she only spends about 20 minutes each day. When Ryo sits down with Mrs. Misawa at around four o'clock, Sakura also accompanies them. By the time her brother, a slower starter, starts concentrating on the work, Sakura's day's work is finished.

Sakura only does a few types of work for her self-study of Japanese and maths. She reads aloud from the Year 1 Japanese textbook every day to Mr. and Mrs. Misawa. She also does a few pages of Japanese and maths workbooks. Each page contains approximately 20 vocabulary questions. It only takes her a minute or two to finish a page. The maths workbook has a similar format. On a page there are approximately twenty questions that are mostly addition and subtraction. After finishing each page, Mrs. Misawa or Mr. Misawa checks the answers.

6.5.2.2 Educational use (homework)

Sakura gets a small amount of homework from Hills primary and the MJSS. Jane, her teacher at Hills Primary stated that she does not give students any homework. However, Sakura does get some homework, which is reading books. She brings back a book or two every week, chosen by Jane. Mr. Misawa stated he often sits with Sakura to listen to her reading. He said that Sakura gets tired of reading easily so he takes turns to read to finish a book. Then he needs to sign on a sheet that comes with a book and write a comment. 何かいいことをかかなきゃいけないんですよ ("I have to write something positive about the reading") said Mr. Misawa.

The books that she brought back from school in one particular week were *Penguins that walk at night*, *Brushtail: the rock wallaby*, *All about a donkey*, *In the forest* and *Hot dog Harris*.

From the MJSS Sakura gets homework to read the Japanese textbook aloud and also practice vocabulary. A list of words and *kanji* that Sakura needs to study every week is given by Mrs. Tsukuda, her class teacher. Because these words are tested in the following week, Sakura and her parents make sure these words are studied.

When Sakura reads the Japanese textbook, Mrs. Misawa often asks for definitions

of words. Some chapters in the textbook include folktales that use words that Sakura does not normally use in her daily life. On one day, Sakura started discussion on what the verb つむぐ (*tsumugu*, to weave) means with Mrs. Misawa. Mrs. Misawa explained what the word means and asked Sakura if she could demonstrate how a person weaves. However, Sakura got frustrated at this question and said in an angry tone that she had never seen a person weaving and neither had her mother because they live in Australia. Mrs. Misawa assured Sakura that it was okay not to know the meaning of the word and said she had seen a person weaving. She then demonstrated how this person wove.

6.5.2.3 Recreational use

Although she likes non-literacy types of activity for playing, Sakura still reads and writes a considerable amount when she plays. She likes reading books, playing board games which she was given at McDonald's fast food restaurant, reading Japanese picture books, reading wrapping paper of candy and copying it onto another sheet of paper while she plays.

Sakura does not often play with computer games like her brother. A multimedia toy that she likes is a digital toy named *Tamagocchi*. *Tamagocchi* means 'little egg' in Japanese. The toy has a little screen for reading messages and buttons to manipulate. It sends messages on the screen, such as "I am hungry" or "need cuddle". The *Tamagocchi* that Sakura has sends messages in Japanese. She checks the screen a few times a day to make sure she has taken necessary care. Like her brother Ryo, Sakura does not write much while she plays. She is not a compulsive writer like Miki Kawada (see 6.6). Sakura prefers to write something that has a practical purpose.

6.5.2.4 Social-interactional use

Like her brother Ryo and her parents, Sakura does not correspond regularly with

anyone. The only letter-writing events that were observed during the study were writing a birthday invitation card and a fax letter which have been described above in Ryo's social-interactional use of literacy. While her brother is not enthusiastic about writing to anyone, Sakura seems to be more interested in writing to someone and getting a reply from him or her. When they wrote cards and messages to their classmates and grandparents, Sakura appeared to be keener than her brother.

6.5.2.5 Memory-aid use

This use of literacy by Sakura was seen in her use of the calendar. Sakura is in charge of feeding the guinea pigs and hen. She uses the calendar in kitchen to mark the days she fed them. Recently, Sakura started to use the calendar to write in other events, such as the first day of the summer holidays and the day to go cycling.

6.5.2.6 News-related use

Sakura also learned to read the newspaper recently. She does not read most of the sections, but stops and looks at photos that interest her (for example, women in beautiful clothes and animals). The section that she reads most intently is the weather forecast. She began reading the weather forecast when she learned about weather at school. It is her role now to tell the family in the morning what the day's weather is going to be by reading the paper.

6.5.2.7 Oral-substitutional use

Sakura sometimes uses a small notebook to write down what Mrs. Tsukuda said in her class at the MJSS. Mrs. Tsukuda tells children at the end of her class to write down the announcement that she makes. She usually tells children things that they have to bring next week, homework and sections that they have to study.

6.5.3 Ryo and Sakura's choice of language for biliteracy

Based on the total duration of literacy events that his parents recorded in the literacy diaries, the amounts of Japanese and English that Sakura and Ryo used in literacy events have been calculated. Ryo used 63.4% Japanese, 33.6% English and 3% Japanese-English mixed. Sakura used 61.6% Japanese, 27.6% English and 21% English-Japanese mixed.

Although they preferred Japanese to English, their language preference for literacy depended on the type of literacy activities. Ryo used English for a longer time for homework activities due to the long time he spent doing the project at the time of the study. For all other uses (non-homework study, recreational and social-interactional) he used Japanese for a longer time. Sakura also used English much longer for homework. Nearly all homework was carried out using English. She used Japanese for a much longer time for non-homework study and recreational uses.

6.6 Written Texts Produced by Ryo and Sakura

Forty nine pieces of texts produced by Sakura and eighty six pieces by Ryo were collected during the fieldwork. They are considered to represent what they normally write. Some texts in the database are collaborations of Sakura, Ryo, Mr. and Mrs. Misawa.

6.6.1 Written texts produced by Ryo and language used in these texts

The written texts produced by Sakura and Ryo have been categorised. The inventory of their written texts is listed in Tables 6.10 and 6.11:

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Table 6.10 Type of written texts written by Ryo

Text types	Japanese	English	Total
Word and script drill	26	0	26
Narrative and recount	1	22	23
Expository	3	14	17
Fill in the blank and answer questions	3	5	8
List and table	4	4	8
Letter and card	1	1	2
Creative and fiction	0	2	2
Total	38	48	86

Ryo wrote similar numbers of texts in Japanese (38) and English (48). Most of the pieces are study and school-related work both in Japanese and English. In Japanese, a large number of texts were written for studying *kanji*, grammar and vocabulary. In English, he wrote a large number of pieces for learning to write extended discourse, such as recounts, stories and a project essay. There are a small number of written pieces serving other non-educational functions, such as social-interactional or instrumental uses. Typical examples of these texts are cited below.

6.6.1.1 Word and script drill

Ryo writes a large number of texts practicing *kanji*. When Ryo does *kanji* and vocabulary drills, he not only copies and memorises them by writing words several times in a notebook, he uses contexts and association for learning them. In Ryo's text No.1, he uses illustration for describing the meaning of the words.

Ryo's text No. 1

橋、はし、	
紙、かみ	
かき、かき	
雨、あめ	
花、はな	
春、はる	
雲、くも	
(vertically, from right) bridge-chopsticks, to pull-to play (instruments), paper-hair, persimmon-oyster, rain-candy, flower-nose, spring-attach, cloud-spider)	

He sometimes makes a list of *kanji* and words, and writes them several times to practice as in Ryo's text No.2.

Ryo's text No.2

表す　あきら君	
使う　助ける	
温度　下手	
寒い　感じる	
指す　少ない	
(to express, *Akira*, to use, to help, temperature, not good at, cold, to feel, to point, few)	
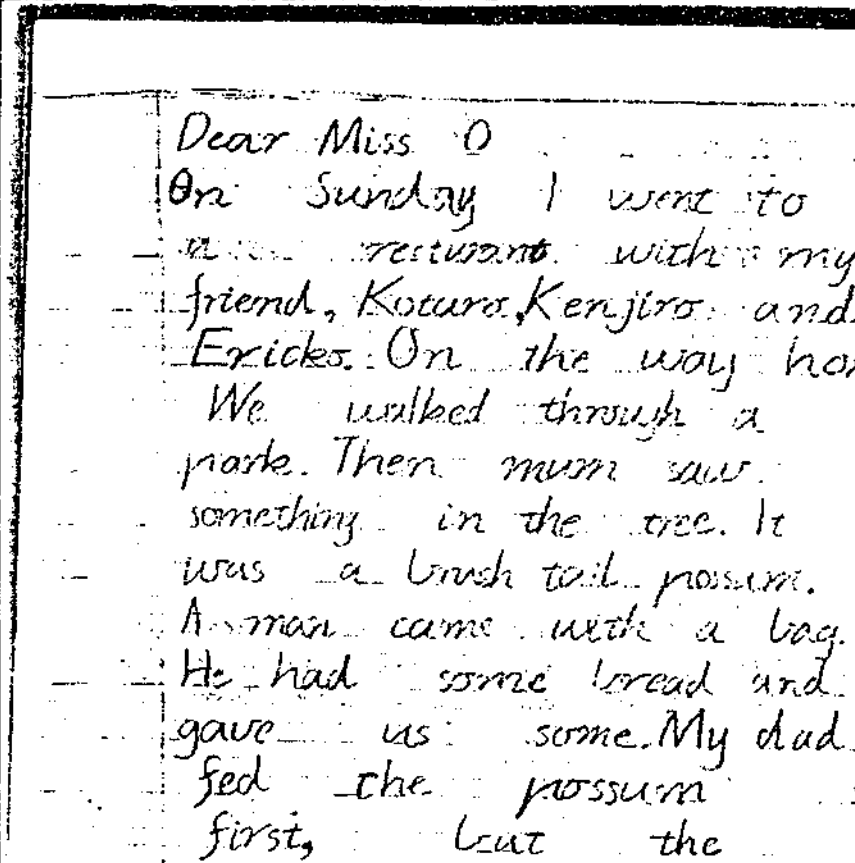
He often memorises *kanji* by writing them without a context although his parents

and Mrs. Pike at the MJSS advise him to learn *kanji* by using them in a context.

6.6.1.2 Narrative and recount texts

In English, he regularly writes journals, which consist of narratives and recounts. In the journal, he writes about things that happened, places he went and also things he thought about as in Ryo's text No.3.

Ryo's text No. 3

Dear Miss O On Sunday I went to a restaurant with my friend, *Kotaro*, *Kenjiro* and *Ericko*. On the way home we walked through a park. Then mum saw something in the tree. It was a brush tail possum. A man came with a bag. He had some bread and gave us some. My dad fed the possum first, but the possum gave him a bite. I think my dad should not touch a possum again. From Ryo Dear Ryo I don't think it would be a good idea if your dad touches a possum. What was the restaurant called that you went to? From Miss O	Dear Miss O On Sunday I went to a restaurant with my friend, Kotaro, Kenjiro and Ericko. On the way home We walked through a park. Then mum saw something in the tree. It was a brush tail possum. A man came with a bag. He had some bread and gave us some. My dad fed the possum first, but the

Ryo's text No. 3 consists of two parts. The first part is written by Ryo and addressed to Miss O (Mary). Ryo normally writes events chronologically and adds a comment on what he thought about it. This shows that Ryo has a command of writing using a narrative structure (Labov 1999: 225). This text is structured by using features such as 'abstract' (On Sunday I went to...), 'orientation' (Sunday),

'complicating action' (… we walked through park…a man came with a bag…), and 'evaluation' (I think my dad should…). According to Labov (1999) this is a highly sophisticated skill to describe past event and its evaluation in a chronological order.

Mary normally writes a comment and/or question about what Ryo had written which adds a dialogic nature to the text as in Ryo's text No.4.

Ryo's text No.4

Dear Miss O On Sunday morning I came back from Japan. I had been away for 11 days for my grandpa's funeral. My grandpa died on the 22nd of October. Everyone was sad especially my dad. Dear Ryo, I was very sorry for you and your family to hear that your grandpa died. It was lovely for you to spend time together in the holidays. From Miss O	*[handwritten reproduction of the typed text]*

6.6.1.3 Expository texts

Ryo wrote many texts describing procedures and explaining things, which are categorised as expository texts. He wrote texts of this category both in Japanese and English. In Japanese, these texts were written only in relation to learning Japanese. He uses metalanguage, such as 'subject', 'predicate' or 'table of contents' in them. In Ryo's text No.5, he wrote about the structure of instructional text, which consists of 'Introduction', 'body' and so on.

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Ryo's text No.5

説明書を作ろう

左から右へ

点のかわりにこんま

1、2、3ふつう

     （...）

前書き

目次

本文

一日ごとに小見出し

絵（ちょっとひと言）

(Let's write instructions:
Introduction
1. Write from left to right
Table of contents
2.Use of comma and period
2. Body text
3. 1,2,3...normally
Table of contents...)

In Ryo's text No.6 below, he wrote about the grammatical structure of sentences. He copied this from the Japanese textbook. Ryo seems to enjoy learning these abstract concepts. Whether he has an ability to write this kind of text in English, or translate this concept to English is not known because there is no text that he wrote in English with a similar content.

Ryo's text No. 6

…主語と述語 自分　がどうした 何か　がどうだ 犬が吠えている (Subject and predicate …Something did what How is something Dog is barking)

He wrote other types of expository texts in English that are not related to studying language, but in other subjects. Ryo is interested in science and is eager to write about his discoveries. Ryo's texts No.7 and 8 are on an experiment on changes that occur to food over time. These texts have been written as homework reviewing the project that Ryo's class carried out at school.

Ryo's text No.7

Science Experiment Aim: To see what changes occur to food when they are exposed to light, heat and air. Procedure: *Place food items on plate …	*Science Experiment* *Aim: To see what changes occur to food when they are exposed to light, heat and air* *Procedure: * Place Food items on plate* *＊leave food on plate for a couple of days*

Ryo's text No. 8

Results: Apple and strawberry Changes: Shirnked (shrank?) 　　　　Squishy…	

6.6.1.4 Fill in the blanks and answer question

In studying Japanese Ryo used workbooks that contain various exercises, such as reading comprehension, vocabulary, *kanji,* paragraph organization, grammar, punctuation, synonyms and antonyms. Ryo's text No.9 is answers to these exercises on a short passage titled *Tsuribashi watare* (Crossing the suspension bridge).

Ryo's text No. 9

つり橋わたれ **きげんをとりむすぶ** おばあちゃん 畑仕事 はたおり … (*Crossing the suspension bridge* makes someone feel happy. working in the garden 　　weaving …)	

In these questions, Ryo was asked definitions and the constructions of compound verbs, some points about the stories, grammatical and metalinguistic knowledge
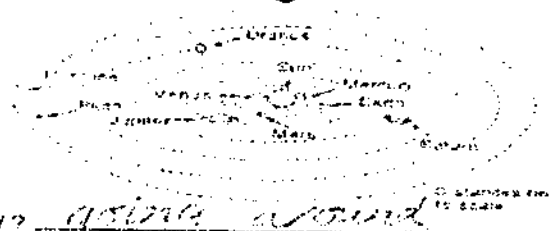
and onomatopoeia. These questions require Ryo to write only short answers at the word or phrase and clausal levels. When doing this type of work in Japanese, Ryo is often required to write answers, not just using correct words, but also using the exact number of letters. One of the reasons to use *genkooyooshi*, a sheet with grid boxes, is to specify the number of characters for answering questions. This is effective when children are required to write words grammatically correctly using an appropriate *kanji* and suffix. Accuracy is often given priority in reading comprehension exercises or other types of activities. Creativity and critical thinking is not strongly encouraged in learning to read Japanese at this level. Almost no question in the workbook requires children to write extended discourse.

Ryo also does fill in the blanks and answer questions in English as in text No.10. The content of these exercises is typically on science. He sometimes brings back photo-copied sheets with these types of questions as homework.

Ryo's text No. 10

6.6.1.5 List and table

Ryo writes lists and tables for various purposes. In Japanese the lists he writes are often word lists that he needs to study. Ryo's text No.11 is an example of such texts.

Ryo's text No. 11

読書、開く、動物島、 わが家、海岸、住む、一生 けんめい... (Reading, open, animal island, my home…)	

Ryo also writes similar lists in English when it is required as homework as in Ryo's text No.12.

Ryo's text No.12

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6.6.1.6 Letters and cards

The only example of a birthday invitation and letter written by Ryo are the ones he wrote with Sakura. These letter and card writing events were not initiated by Ryo, but by Sakura and Mr. Misawa (see Sakura's texts No.8 and 9 below).

6.6.1.7 Creative writing and fiction

Although the number is small (n=2), there are texts in the database that suggest Ryo's ability to write stories. These texts have been written in English.

Ryo's text No.13

| It all started when my friend Ben and I had to go to camp. We got ready for the camp. When we arrived, we got off the bus and went into the jungle with our group. When we were half way through the jungle, I saw some kind of bush with legs on them. Ben saw them, too. Ben said to the teacher that he found a wild flower. So the teacher looked all around and said she wanted to find the flower... | *It all started when my friend Ben and I had to go to camp. We got ready for the camp. When we arrived, we got off the bus and went into the jungle with our group. When we were half way through the jungle, I saw some kind of bush with legs on them. Ben saw them, too. Ben said to the teacher that he found a unusual flower. So the teacher looked all around and said he wanted to find the flower.* |

The story has a considerable length (approximately 200 words) and story-like structure and events that happened ("found an unusual flower") and the consequence (he writes "surprised to see ... the cat monster" in the end). In this type of text, the development of a sense of genre is seen in the words, conjunctions, and logical and temporal sequence of events. In addition, Ryo decorated some of the beginning and the end. These features of the text suggest Ryo's awareness of the audience of the text.

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6.6.2 Written texts produced by Sakura and language used in these texts

The written texts that are written by Sakura in the database is summarised in Table 6.11.

Table 6.11 Type of written texts written by Sakura

Text types	Japanese	English	Total
Narrative and recount	27	1	28
Word and script drill	0	9	9
Expository	6	0	6
List and table	3	1	4
Letter and card	1	1	2
Total	37	12	49

Among 49 pieces of sample texts written by Sakura, the majority (37) are in Japanese. Most of them (27) are *enikki,* picture diaries that she has been writing at home as a part of the study for MJSS. The rest of the pieces are various forms of texts that have been kept by Mrs. Misawa and also collected during the study. There is also more variety among the Japanese texts than among the texts written in English.

6.6.2.1 Narrative and recount texts

Enikki is a genre of writing in Japanese, which is assigned to children in early primary school level particularly during a long holiday. It is similar to a journal in that children write recounts or narratives regarding the things they did. Children often write *enikki* in chronological order rather than order of significance. It is different from a journal in English because the things one writes are mostly events that happened. Children do not often write about their feelings or evaluations of what had happened. In *enikki* the upper half is used to draw an illustration relating to the contents they write in the bottom half. The sheet that Sakura used is designed to write vertically from right to left, which is a directionality young children learn in school. In Sakura's text No.1, she wrote about the birth of guinea

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pig babies and she drew picture of them.

Sakura's text No. 1

きょう モルモットの あかちゃんが生まれました。ぜんぶで三びきでした。
　タイニ―は、うすいちゃいろで一ばん小さかったです。ティミーは、かおがくろくってはなが白くっておしりのはんぶんはちど、ほかはしろです。ジミーは、ちゃいろと白とくろがまじっています。

(Today, guinea pig babies were born. Three babies altogether. Tiny is a light brown baby and is the smallest. Timmy has a black face with a white nose, half of its bottom is brown and half of it is white. Jimmy is mix of brown and white.)
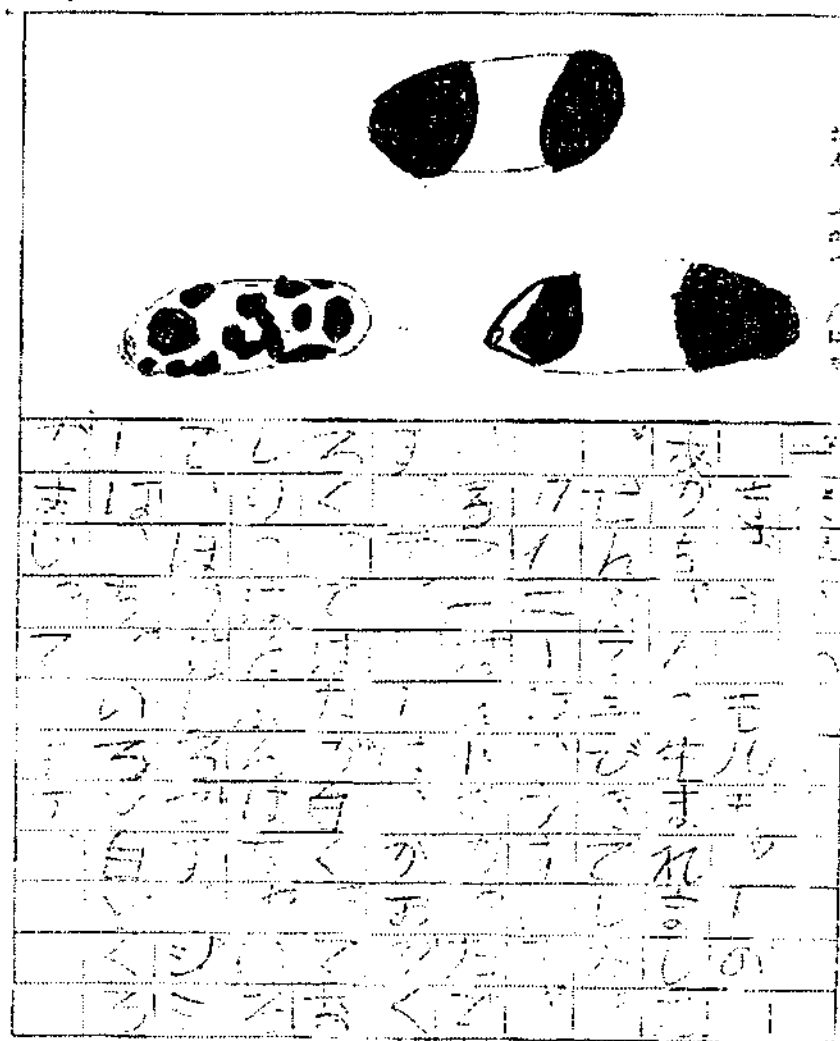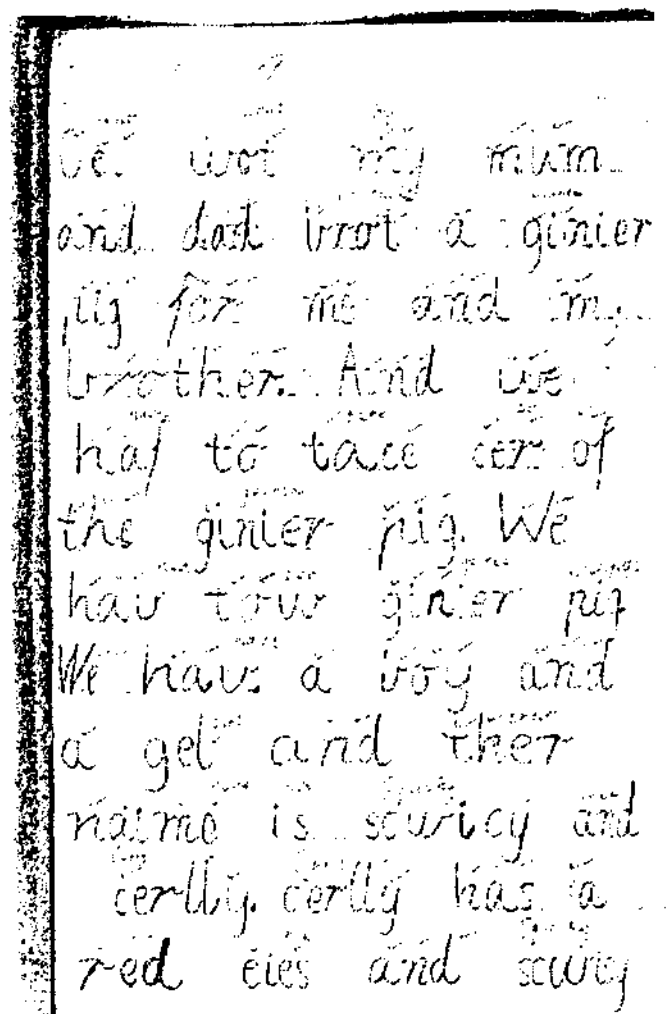
A characteristic of Sakura's *enikki* is objectivity and simplicity, which is slightly different from how she writes similar pieces in English. In Sakura's text No.2, she wrote about the same guinea pigs. The text No.2 was written a few months prior to text No.1.

Sakura's text No. 2

Ges wot my mum and dad brot a ginier pig for me and my brother. And we haf to tace cer of the ginier pig. We hab tow ginier pig. We hav a boy and a gel ther naime is scwicy and cerlly. Cerlly has a red eies and scwicy has a blac and brawn her they are quoot and I lav them.

(Guess what my mum and dad brought a guinea pig for me and my brother. And we have to take care of the guinea pig. We have two guinea pig. We have a boy and girl their name is Squeaky and Curly. Curly has a red eyes and Squeaky has a black and brown hair. They are cute and I love them.)

In her English journal she expresses her emotions and how excited she is by starting the text by writing, "Ges wot my mum and dad brot" and also writing "I lav them" at the end. On the other hand, in the Japanese in text No. 1, she wrote plainly "Today guinea pig babies were born" and goes on to describe guinea pigs. The text in Japanese does not include any statement on how she feels about the animals. This tendency is seen in other *enikki* and journals in English. Sakura is more objective and plain in writing Japanese and more open and emotional in writing English.

6.6.2.2 Word and script drill

Although Sakura seems to have mastered writing alphabetical characters, she still brings back homework occasionally to practice characters in isolation. Sakura does similar exercises in Japanese using *hiragana, katakana* and *kanji* both at home and at the MJSS.

Sakura's text No.3

Bodies, heads and tails
a c c i m n o r s u v w x

b d h k l t belt, chalk

g j p q y z pay, jog, zoo

Fluff
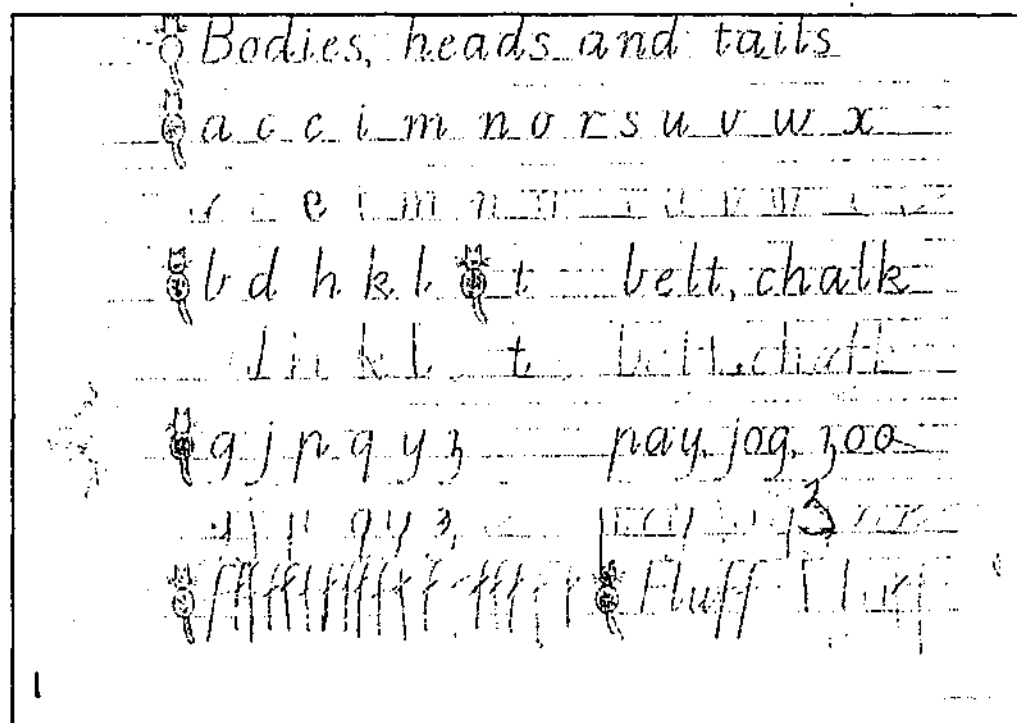
6.6.2.3 Expository texts

There are two texts that Sakura wrote in which she explained procedures and wrote a description. She wrote this type of text only in Japanese as a part of *enikki*. The text No. 4 on the balloon describes the process of how the balloon inflates. Although she uses first person わたし (I), she only appears as an agent who inflated the balloon. The focus of the piece is the balloon, not her.

Sakura's text No.4

ふうせんは、どうなるかな。

　わたしがきいろいふうせんにいきをふきこみました。ふうせんは、すこしずつ大きくなりました。そのふうせんには、うさぎのえがかいてありました。そのえもすこしずつおおきくなりました。それでわたしがふうせんをはなしました。するとおならみたいな音をだして...

(What will happen to the balloon. I blew up the yellow balloon. The balloon slowly got bigger. The balloon has a picture of a rabbit. The picture got bigger too. Then I let go the balloon. It made a loud noise like breaking wind...)
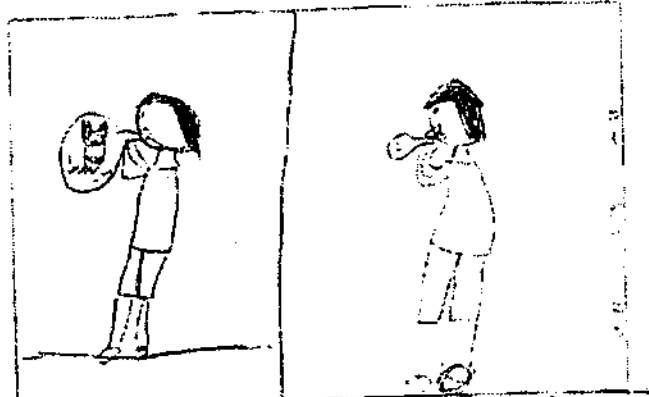
Sakura's text No.5

わたしが生まれて八か月のころのしゃしんです。 　まんなかにいるひとは、わたしのおじいさんです。うしろにいるのは、わたしのいとこ、たかゆきにいちゃんです。一ばんまえにいるひとは、りえねえちゃんです。それからわたしがまんなか。 (This is a picture that was taken when I was 8 months old. The person in the centre is my grandfather. The person behind is my cousin, Takayuki. Person in front is cousin, Rie. And then myself in the middle.)	
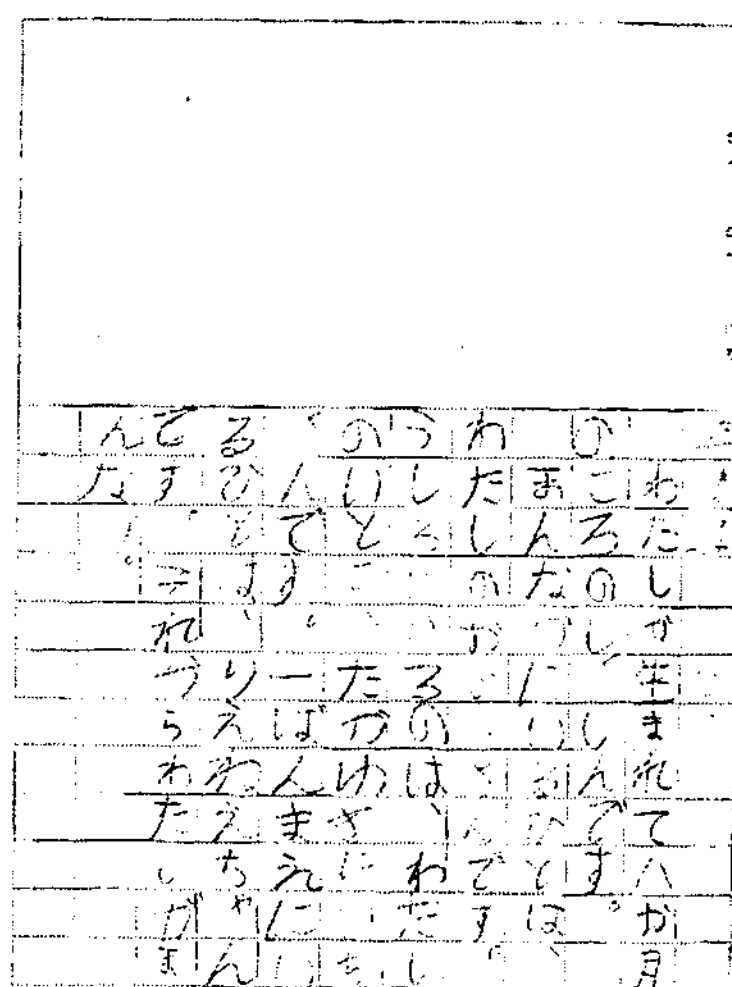
As in other *enikki* pieces, the text No.5 piece is descriptive and she does not write her opinion or feeling about the content although she writes about her relatives. As an author she seems to try to be absent in these Japanese texts.

The descriptiveness and objectiveness of these texts are considered to come from the influence of type of texts that Sakura is exposed to in Japanese that are mostly the model texts in the textbook. The semi-formal, sentence final copula *desu*, which is used throughout Sakura's Japanese texts is a typical textbook style, which she must have been instructed to use in *enikki* from her Japanese teacher. It is assumed that the unfamiliarity and semi-formal nature of this style may have discouraged Sakura from writing her feelings freely in Japanese.

6.6.2.4 Lists and tables

Sakura loves to look at lists and tables, such as the calendar. She was seen using the calendar many times during the fieldwork. She also loves to read the weather

forecast section in the paper, which has some figures and tables with words and numbers. There are a few examples of tables and lists that she drew in the database both in Japanese and English.

Text No. 6 is an example of her ability to apply what she had learned in school to her daily life. By writing the table, she calculated the money she had saved ($12) for books and toys she wants to buy. She is beginning to understand that written texts have a power to convince or persuade people. She wrote this table to ask her parents to donate some money in order to buy these things.

Sakura's text No. 6

Sakura also wrote lists of words and *kanji* that she was required to study for the MJSS just as her brother did. She copied these words from her little notebook that she takes to MJSS on Saturday (Text No.7).

Sakura's text No. 7

らいしゅうのテスト

1.中　2.はなす人　3.たんじょ
う日　4.いたずらっ子　5.大す
き　6.目玉　7.先生　8.赤いり
んご
9.やさしい気もち　10.見える

(Next week test: 1 middle 2 person who speaks 3 birthday 4 tricks 5 favourite 6 eyeball 7 teacher 8 red apple 9 gentle feeling 10 can see)

6.6.2.5 Letters and cards

As was stated above, Sakura does not write letters and cards often. During the fieldwork, two notable letter and card-writing events occurred. Sakura's text No. 8 and 9 are the products of these events. These are the birthday invitation (No.8) and a fax letter to her grandparents in Japan (No.9) that Sakura wrote with Ryo and Mr. Misawa to write using the computer.

Sakura's text No. 8

INVITATION

To: _____

You are invited to come to a
BOWLING
BIRTHDAY
PARTY

For: *So...*
On: 17 May, Sunday 11:00 - 13:30
At: Chadstone Bowling Centre

Please reply to: S... Mis... ...wa
By: 13/5/98
Phone: ...

PS: Bowling balls and shoes provided at
the Centre.

Text No. 9 is a letter addressed to grandparents (Mrs. Misawa's parents) in Japan requesting them to send cartoon videos. The basic format is a fax template that Mr. Misawa created. Ryo and Sakura filled the message part typing words. Ryo typed the first half by himself. There is a typical mistake in selecting *kanji*: 書来ました

which should be 書きました (I wrote). Sakura typed her message too although

Mr. Misawa helped when she had to choose correct *kanji*.

Sakura's text No. 9

| (message part only):
Dear grandpa and grandma, How are you? I am fine. I wrote this letter because I wanted to ask you a favour. I want videos *Doraemon: Nobita's undersea castle* and also 2112 *Doraemon's birth*. Please send them whenever you can.
Ryo

Grandpa and grandma how are you? I am fine. I want *Doraemon: Nobita's ginga express*. Grandpa and grandma I bought a pair of glasses.
From Sakura) | FACSIMILE FRONT SHEET

DATE: 1997 /1 /6
TO WHOM

Fax +81 76 522 7646
FROM
 Street
 Victoria, Australia
 Telephone/Fax

NO. OF PAGES INCLUDING
 THIS FRONT SHEET 1

MESSAGE |

6.6.3 Use of Japanese and English scripts and linguistic levels in the use of scripts in Ryo and Sakura's texts

Sakura and Ryo wrote extensive numbers of texts in Japanese and English beyond single word level using multiple sentences in paragraphs. The breakdown of the uses of scripts and also the linguistic levels of Sakura and Ryo's pieces are presented below in tables 6.12-16.

6.6.3.1 Ryo's use of scripts in texts and linguistic levels

Table 6.12 shows that Ryo seems to have mastered the basic writing skills in both Japanese and English. In Japanese, he is capable in using some *kanji* in the texts he writes.

Table 6.12 Uses of *hiragana, katakana, kanji* and the alphabet by Ryo

Scripts	Number of texts
Alphabet	47
Hiragana, katakana and kanji	36
Alphabet and Japanese scripts	2
Hiragana only	1
Hiragana and katakana only	0
Total	86

Table 6.13 indicates that Ryo writes longer sentences in English (discourse) than in Japanese (clausal/phrasal).

Table 6.13 Linguistic levels of texts written by Ryo

Levels	Japanese	English	Total
Discourse	2	35	37
Clausal / phrasal	22	11	33
Single word	14	2	16
Script	0	0	0

In the database of Ryo's texts, there are nearly equal numbers of texts at the discourse and clausal and phrasal levels. Most texts at the discourse level are journal pieces in English. Many texts at the clausal and phrasal level are answers to questions and fill in the blanks exercises in workbooks for studying Japanese and sciences in English. He also wrote a considerable number of texts at the single word level that are mainly word lists that he wrote as a part of learning *kanji* and vocabulary in Japanese.

The lack of discourse level texts in Japanese is assumed to reflect, not his lack of ability, but the type of work he is required to do. Because the Japanese textbooks and workbooks do not contain questions that require him to write anything longer than sentences, there are a few opportunities at home for Ryo to write texts in Japanese. It is considered that, with Ryo's overall ability in Japanese, he would have written discourse-level texts in Japanese if he had been given the opportunity.

Regarding his children's writing practices, Mr. Misawa stated as below.

（子どもは）宿題以外は、全然書きませんね。こっちにい
てできるだけやれればって感じですね。日本のレベルにキ
ャッチアップできるとは思えないけど、そうビハインドに
ならない程度にいけたらいいなあって感じ。読めれば、大
分自分でその気になってやろうと思えば大分有利だと思い
ますけどね。

((The children) don't write anything at all except for homework. I hope that they write as much as possible though. I don't think they would ever reach the level of Japanese children and I just hope that they would not lag behind too much. If they could read, they can catch up (writing) when they wish to and they would benefit from ability to read in that case.) (Mr. Misawa's interview 6/5/98)

6.6.3.2 Sakura's use of scripts in texts and linguistic levels

Table 6.14 shows that Sakura uses all three types of script, *hiragana, katakana* and *kanji*. She seems to have mastered the basics of reading and writing *hiragana* and *katakana*.

Table 6.14 Uses of *hiragana, katakana, kanji* and the alphabet by Sakura

Scripts	Number of texts
Alphabet	29
Hiragana, katakana and kanji	16
Alphabet and Japanese script	2
Hiragana only	1
Hiragana and katakana	1
Total	48

Although she hesitates while she reads texts in Japanese, she manages to read most of the *kana.* Her handwriting retains childishness and requires improvement. However, most characters are well shaped so that a reader would hardly have trouble reading them.

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Her ability to write *kanji* is considered is to be limited to approximately 40 *kanji*. In her texts, she wrote the following *kanji*.

子、見、先生、耳、王、草、上、雨、石、村、糸、山、中、学校、日、四十、車、目玉、下り、上り、大、小、青、左、右、入る、月、立
(child, see, teacher, ear, king, grass, up, rain, stone, village, string, mountain, middle, school, day, forty, car, eye ball, down hill, up hill, big, small, blue, left, right, enter, moon, stand)

Some texts that she wrote have *kanji* in them although she started learning *kanji* formally at the MJSS only a few months prior to the investigation. It is probable that she had learned several *kanji* at home prior to joining the MJSS.

Table 6.15 below indicates that Sakura wrote longer, discourse level texts more in English than in Japanese, which is similar to the behaviour of Ryo.

Table 6.15 Linguistic levels of texts written by Sakura

Levels	Japanese	English	Total
Discourse	7	25	32
Clausal and phrasal	7	4	11
Single word	5	0	5
Script	0	0	0

Most of the texts that Sakura produced in English are at the discourse level. In Japanese, she wrote a considerable number of texts at discourse, clausal and phrasal levels in Japanese. Only a few texts are at a single word level in both languages. With the limited number of texts in the database, it is not possible to determine whether she has a higher capability in writing extended discourse in English than in Japanese.

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6.6.4 Topics, content and audience of Ryo's and Sakura's texts

Sakura and Ryo wrote on a variety of topics and contents when they composed texts. Because a large proportion of texts that they wrote were assigned, many topics and content were given. Their own preferences in topics/content are seen in texts that they initiated to write and also in *enikki* and journals where they are given freedom to choose content. The audience of the text is sometimes explicitly addressed in the texts or implicitly embedded, especially in Ryo's pieces.

6.6.4.1 Topics and content of Ryo's written texts.

Table 6.16 lists the topics and content of Ryo's texts.

Table 6.16 Topics and content of Ryo's written texts*

Text types	Japanese	English
Word script drill	Verbs Compound verbs Words from a story (mostly animals and characters that appear in the story) List of Kanji and vocabulary Definition of words Onomatopoeia Grammatical construction (subject and predicate)	
Narrative/recount	Taking a nap	My teacher Sunday My friends Gifts from grandparents in Japan Festival Dining at restaurant Park Holiday Magic show Chess set Travel to Japan Gameboy
Expository	Construction of a story and characters that appear in the story	Dinosaur Australia's land Sound Magnet Planet Eye Food Body Self-esteem
Fill in the blank/answer questions	Japanese folktale Poem on frog	Planet Crocodiles
List/table		Science experiment Electricity
Letter/card	Request for gifts to grandparents	Birthday invitation
Creative/fiction		Horror plants

*Representative topics and content only

Among the five children who participated in the study, Ryo probably writes on a

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wider variety of topics than any other child. This is assumed to be a reflection of his slightly older age and more developed abilities in reading and writing.

For most of the texts he wrote in Japanese, the topics and content had been pre-determined because many are related to the content of the textbook. The topics of many texts that Ryo wrote in English have also been pre-selected although he had slightly more freedom in what he could write. The topics and contents of expository writing that he was required to write as homework were related to what Ryo's class were studying (eg, food, Australia's land, magnetism and so on). Although Ryo was given basic instruction on what to write and how to write these homework assignments, he was given freedom to write the pieces in any way he liked (see for example Ryo's text No.8).

The topics of the journal were self-selected by Ryo. As Sakura chose to do for her journal and *enikki*, Ryo also wrote about his personal experience. Some of his journals are much longer and more complex than Sakura's journal, having abstract, orientation and evaluation (see the discussion of Labov's framework of narrative in 6.6.1 above). Particularly adding a personal, evaluative comment at the end of a piece in his journal, such as "it was fun", "it was a long day" and "everyone was sad especially my father" is a feature of Ryo's writing, which is not seen in pieces by other children.

There are a few topics that Ryo draws from popular culture. One such examples is the story of "Horror Plants" (Ryo's text No.13), which is based on *Goooosebumps* stories that he likes to read. Edelsky (1986: 110) who studied Spanish-English bilingual writing in a school in the USA reports that there were a surprisingly small number of culturally-specific and youth culture topics found in children's writing and that children tend to choose innocuous topics. The children in the current study may have avoided cultural topics thinking that it is not appropriate to write about these topics in school unless they are encouraged. The same reason may be suggested for the lack of Japanese-related topics in texts written in English. The children may have thought that it is not appropriate to write about

Japan-related things at local schools.

6.6.4.2 Audience of Ryo's texts

The audiences of Ryo's writing include his parents, his teachers, his grandparents and his friends. Because the majority of the texts that he writes are study and school-related, it is likely that Ryo considered his parents and the teachers as the primary audience.

As readers of his texts, his parents are not usually addressed in the text. Although he knows that they would read what he had written, most of the pieces are not addressed to them. On the other hand, in his journals and sometimes in other writing, his teacher, Mary, is explicitly addressed. Ryo normally starts his journal by writing "Miss O". Ryo does not write his journal as if he is talking to her, as Sakura does sometimes. In only one piece he wrote "I will bring you a present (from Japan)" using the second person pronoun.

In writing one Japanese piece, he seems to have a distant, unknown reader in mind. In Ryo's text No.5, which is an instructional text, he wrote 説明書を作ろう (Let's write an instruction). The verb phrase 作ろう (tsukuroo) is a volitional form that invites or encourages the reader to do something (Toosaku 1999: 218). This may be a sign of attempting to take account of the reader in his text.

6.6.4.3 Topics and content of Sakura's written texts

Table 6.17 indicates that Sakura likes to write about things that have a direct connection to her, things familiar to her and people around her, when given a choice.

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Table 6.17 Topic and content of Sakura's written texts*

Text types	Japanese	English
Narrative/recount	My brother Guinea pigs My treasures	My brother Swimming Dining at restaurant Shopping Travel to New Zealand Japanese school Guinea pigs
Word/script drill	Kanji and word drills	Alphabet letters
Expository	Balloon Animals Family photograph Favourite animals	
List/table	Word and kanji lists	Allowance calculation
Letter/card	Request for gifts to grandparents	Birthday invitation

*Representative topics and contents only

In Japanese, Sakura has little control over topics in writing texts. In most homework, the workbook drills and *kanji* practice, content is selected by Sakura's parents or her teachers. The benefit of writing texts on given topics may be that Sakura is introduced to new topics and contents. Given topics require her to use words she would not normally use and styles that she would not choose. For example, in a list of words and *kanji* that she wrote preparing for a vocabulary quiz at the MJSS in the following week, she wrote the following words.

> たぬきの糸車、気がつく人、目玉、村、小さな音、上を見る、へやの中、山おくの２けんや、ふきだす、白い糸のたば
>
> (raccoon's spinning wheel, person who noticed, eyeballs, village, small sound, look up, inside of the room, two houses in the mountain, laugh, a bundle of white string)

In this list, there are words that Sakura would not normally encounter, such as たぬき(raccoon) and 糸車(spinning wheel). Although they are not frequently used

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words in normal day-to-day life they are significant words for understanding folktales.

In writing journal and *enikki* (picture diary) pieces, she has freedom in choosing topics. She writes on the things she is directly involved with and has experienced. The most frequently chosen topics are people around her (brother, father, mother, friends in school, grandparents and cousins in Japan) and animals that she keeps (guinea pigs and hens). Because of the personal nature of her text, the journal and *enikki* pieces are mostly written from her perspective using the first person as the subject of the text.

6.6.4.4 Audience of Sakura's texts

There was little sign in Sakura's pieces that she has developed an ability to take account of audience in her writing. She has little opportunity to write texts that are actually addressed to someone, except for *enikki* in Japanese and journals in English. A large proportion of Sakura's pieces that have been written for study do not have an audience other than her parents or teachers.

Because many writing events were initiated by her parents and they were study-related, the readers of Sakura's texts are her parents and her teachers. In the production of most of Sakura's texts, Mrs. Misawa often sits next to Sakura and assists her by providing spelling of words, correcting grammar and checking her writing. At the end of the production process, most texts have been read by Mrs Misawa.

However in *enikki*, the reader of Sakura's text is sometimes explicitly addressed or taken into consideration in an implicit way. In Japanese she selects a polite, written style of writing by using sentence final copula, *desu* and *masu* as discussed above in 6.6.2.3. Sakura has consciously taken this style considering the teacher as the reader. When Sakura writes her journal in English, she rarely addresses the reader (Jane) in her text. Only in a few pieces did she address the

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reader and/or talk to the reader. Examples of these are given below.

Sakura's text No. 10

> Hello my name is Sakura. I am here to tell you anather (another) store (story). Yesterday we wen (went) to the zoo and my favert (favourite) animal is the baby monky (monkey). Haw (how) abaut (about) you?

Sakura's text No. 11

> Haey? ges wot I went bac to Japan fo for weeks. And wen I got to Japan I went to my granpas hous and he seid how did you grow that fast...."
> (Hey! Guess what. I went back got Japan for four weeks. And when I went to Japan I went to my grandpa's house and he said how did you grow that fast...."

In Sakura's texts No. 10 and 11, Sakura writes as if she is talking to her teacher when there was an exiting happening, such as going to the zoo or visiting Japan. It is obviously that Sakura's use of language in journal writing is overlapping with her oral style of language.

6.6.5 Similarities and dissimilarities between written pieces of Ryo and Sakura in English and Japanese

As has been described above, what Ryo and Sakura write in Japanese are well-separated in terms of uses, types, purposes, audience and language. There are not many types of texts that they write using both languages. There are also few pieces in which code-switching or code-mixing is seen. This observation supports the finding of previous studies that also reported similar behaviours of children of separating writing into two languages (see for example, Edelsky 1986, Saunders 1988). This contrasts with their spoken language because English and Japanese are not as much separated when they speak. They use code-switching more frequently and mix words, for example mixing English words into a Japanese utterance (see Figure 6.1).

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Although the general impression is that Ryo and Sakura write texts in Japanese and English differently and for different uses, the detailed examination revealed that there is an interconnection between what they write in Japanese and what they write in English. The interconnection is subtle, but it is seen throughout different levels and aspects of their written pieces.

In the case of Ryo, the major similarity between the texts he wrote in Japanese and English is that the texts in Japanese and English are both well written and of high standard. From this, it is assumed that his development of writing in English and Japanese are progressing at similar speeds. He wrote texts in Japanese and English without major errors in script and grammar. Although he wrote few discourse level texts in Japanese, his ability in writing *kanji*, and in analysing complex grammatical rules and his interest in some specific topics or content (such as science and maths) suggest that he would be able to write extended discourse in Japanese provided that he has the motivation and is given the opportunity to do so. If such an opportunity arrives, analytic skills, other types of writing skills and awareness are likely transfer because these are the skills that comprise CALP (see 2.6) that are found to be transferable.

Sakura's written pieces suggest that her biliteracy development in Japanese and English are progressing side-by-side although a higher standard may be seen in texts she wrote in English. At script level, Sakura is in the process of learning the basics of the alphabet, *hiragana, katakana* and *kanji,* and it appears that she is going to master them soon. At syntactic, stylistic and discourse levels, her awareness and skills in writing, such as separating spoken and written style in writing (see Sakura's text No. 2) seem still undeveloped in both languages. In the content area, she is beginning to write on similar topics in *enikki* and journals. This indicates that she is capable of utilising the same resources or knowledge in writing texts in English and Japanese.

The separation of texts in Japanese and English by Ryo and Sakura can be attributed to linguistic, developmental and social reasons. Transference (lexical,

syntactic, semantic, phonological or graphological) is known to occur when the two languages are cognate and have many similarities (Saunders 1988: 175) and also when the child's communicative level in L1 and L2 reaches a certain threshold level (Cummins and Swain 1986). However, between distant languages such as Japanese and English, the transference at structural levels (syntactic, phonological and graphological) does not occur easily. In the case of Ryo and Sakura, although they are showing steady development of biliteracy, whether they would be able to transfer the skills they learned in English to Japanese or vice versa is uncertain at this stage. Particularly, whether Sakura would follow the course of development that is similar to Ryo's is not clear because she did not have the foundation of literacy in Japanese that her brother did when she entered Australia and subsequently began schooling in English.

6.7 Overview

In Chapter 6, a description of biliteracy of the Misawa family: Ryo, Sakura, Mr. and Mrs. Misawa has been attempted. A short summary of their biliteracy is made below under the headline of research questions presented in Chapter 1.

6.7.1 What are the immediate contexts of English-Japanese biliteracy practices?

The Misawa family's home is an extremely text-rich environment for Japanese-English biliteracy, particularly for Japanese print materials. Among their possessions, the largest amount of print resources is recreational materials in Japanese. The second largest amount of material is educational materials in Japanese. A notable characteristic of the Misawa family's text environment is its high quality and academic nature. Many books and other resources that they have at home seem to have been chosen carefully. Their house has a centralised study where most of their significant print resources are placed. This is effective for carrying out day-to-day literacy practices for the family members, particularly for

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the children because all necessities for reading and writing can be accessed in one room. As has seen above, the richness in the resources at home is apparently contributing to the literacy behaviours of Ryo and Sakura in Japanese.

6.7.2 What are the children's and family member's biliteracy practices?

The members of Misawa family engage in various literacy activities, both in English and Japanese. The primary language used at home is Japanese. The frequently practiced literacy activities are educational, recreational, news-related, public record, memory aid, expository, instrumental, social-interactional and oral substitutional uses. The most regular and most frequently seen reading and writing activities are children's study sessions supervised by Mrs. Misawa. Mr. and Mrs. Misawa do not prioritise either Japanese or English in the children's reading and writing although they put a considerable amount of time and effort into the children's Japanese maintenance.

Sakura is already a fluent reader in both Japanese and English, but a developing writer in both languages. With her sociable personality and fluency in both languages, her abilities in biliteracy are developing rapidly. Because her preference for recreational activities is largely non-literacy types of play, the largest amount of literacy activity that she regularly does at home is studying although the amount of homework that she brings back from school is small. Besides homework, she regularly studies Japanese with Mrs. Misawa going through Japanese and maths workbooks. She brings back books for home reading from Hills Primary that she is required to read with her parents. Reading aloud is how she reads books when she reads with her parents. This is done both in Japanese and English. She rarely initiates literacy activities when she is alone. Her reading and writing events are almost always joint activities with her family members.

Ryo spends much more time reading and writing than his younger sister. Ryo

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loves reading and spends most time reading for recreation. He reads both in Japanese and English, but loves Japanese comic books most. Next to recreational reading, he spends a large amount of time studying. He spends approximately one hour each day studying, spending nearly equal time doing work in English and Japanese. Nearly all the work that he does in English is homework. The work in Japanese includes both homework from the MJSS and also the work his parents assign him, which consists of Japanese and maths in Japanese. A large proportion of study using Japanese is occupied by learning vocabulary, *kanji*, answering reading comprehension questions and learning grammatical concepts.

Ryo produces a large number of written texts both in Japanese and English, most of which he writes for his study. He requires little support in writing what he wants to write using *hiragana, katakana* and the few hundred *kanji* that he knows already. His ability to write English texts also seems age-appropriate. He requires some support from Mrs. Misawa in writing long, discourse level texts for school projects. He is developing the ability to write texts in various genres including stories, instructions and expository writing. This aspect of development seems to be more advanced in English because he is exposed to a greater variety of writing and also formal learning of these genres at school. For Ryo, the chance to write extended narrative or discourse using Japanese is much rarer compared to writing these texts in English.

6.7.3 What are the attitudes of parents towards biliteracy?

As migrants, Mr. and Mrs. Misawa think literacy in both Japanese and English is significant for their children. Mr. and Mrs. Misawa's perception of literacy is academic and they are motivated to practice Japanese and English biliteracy at home for the academic success of the children. They both stated that literacy is significant because it is a means of organising thoughts, collecting large amount of information and storing ideas. Mr. and Mrs. Misawa consider that literacy in English is a significant factor for their children's wellbeing in Australia, as well as ensuring the academic and professional success for their children should they

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remain in Australia permanently.

Mr. and Mrs. Misawa stressed that their children's communicative ability in Japanese, including literacy, is significant for inter-generational and intra-ethnic communication. Mr. Misawa stated that he wants his children to acquire literacy skills in Japanese so that he and his children can share wider elements of Japanese culture. Both Mr. and Mrs. Misawa stated that reading skills are more significant than writing skills because writing skills are built upon reading skills. Because of this belief, they stressed that they want their children to acquire the skills to enjoy reading age appropriate materials in Japanese. Mrs. Misawa has ambivalent feelings about forcing her children to spend many hours a week studying Japanese.

The goals and perceptions of literacy that are held by the Misawa parents are high. Their views and expectations of literacy are reflected in how they participate in their children's biliteracy practices. Thanks to the firm foundation in the ability to speak Japanese and also some experience in schooling in Japanese (Ryo only), the Misawa children seem to be maintaining a relatively high standard of biliteracy among the five children who participated in the study.

6.7.4 How are home, school and social domains of literacy interrelated?

In the case of the Misawa family, schools (Hills Primary and the MJSS) have an extremely strong impact on the children's biliteracy. The reading and writing that children practice at home has a largely educational function and much of it originates in these schools. Non-school type work that they do at home resembles schoolwork (for example, Ryo's study of maths and Japanese).

Although Mr. and Mrs. Misawa stated that they prefer quality time with children rather than doing homework with them, school-type literacy dominates their literacy practice and is likely to continue this way because the perception and

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goals of biliteracy held by Mr. and Mrs. Misawa are highly academic. An interesting observation, however, was that their children seem to genuinely enjoy home-study and homework sessions with their parents. The study time in the afternoon is long, but has a relaxed atmosphere. Ryo and Sakura are not read bed-time stories by their parents any more. The study session in the Misawa family is not just about studying school subjects, but it includes reading stories, discussion, learning about Japanese culture and even knowing what Ryo and Sakura's parents read when they were children. It is a significant domain for culture and language maintenance and inter-generational communication.

In Chapter 7, Japanese-English biliteracy of the West family, and their children Satoshi and Eiko will be examined.

Chapter 7   Japanese-English Biliteracy of the West Family: Satoshi, Eiko and their Parents

7.1 Introduction

Chapter 7 is devoted to describing the Japanese-English biliteracy of the West family and their children. The children of the West family are a boy, Satoshi, who is 8 years and 9 months old, and a girl Eiko, who is 6 years and 10 months old. The West family have been in Melbourne longest among the three participating families. They have been chosen as an example of Australian-Japanese mixed marriage families who use Japanese at home.

7.2 The West Family

The details of the West family are provided in Table 7.1.

Table 7.1 Family backgrounds

	West Family
Residential status	Australian-Japanese mixed marriage family
Planned date of return to Japan	Family visits Japan once every two years
Father's L1	English
Mother's L1	Japanese
Father's L2	Japanese
Mother's L2	English
Predominant language at home	Japanese
Father's occupation, degree and age	Full-time travel agent, BA, early forties
Mother's occupation, Degree and age	Part-time worker at travel agency, kindergarten teacher at the MJSS, diploma from 2 year college in Japanese, late thirties
Primary carer of children	Mother
Number of people in family	4

As in the other participant families, there are four members in the West family.

Mr. West is an Anglo-Australian and Mrs. West is a Japanese who had been in Australia for over thirteen years at the time of the study.

The West family has been in Melbourne since Mr. and Mrs. West formed a family. The family visits Japan approximately every two years. In every visit, the family spends 4 to 6 weeks in Japan, at Mrs. West's mother's home in Tokyo. Mrs. West's mother lives alone in Tokyo. Satoshi had spent a total of approximately 6 months, and Eiko approximately 5 months in Japan at the time of the study.

7.2.1 Mr. West

Mr. West first learned Japanese in his early twenties when he lived in Western Japan for two years. He went Japan to learn *aikido*, Japanese martial arts. To make a living, he worked as a teacher of English at a language school near Fukuoka. He described his learning of Japanese as "very painful" because the learning took place in his adulthood. During the two years in Japan, he learned the language up to the level where he could confidently communicate in Japanese on day to day matters. Mr. West's spoken ability seems far better than his ability in reading and writing. At one time, he stated that he spent many hours studying *kanji*. However, he stopped studying them after a few years because he forgets them too quickly.

When he returned to Melbourne, he took a job at a Japanese travel agency. He works at the Melbourne office of the company as an assistant manager. His job requires him to travel to Japan approximately once a year. There are days at the office when he does not speak a word of English despite being in Melbourne because half of his colleagues are Japanese and Japanese is spoken all the time in his office. Mr. West works long and irregular hours.

Aikido has been his passion since his late teens. *Aikido* introduced him to Japanese culture and language. He now teaches the martial art in a local class every

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Thursday. Mr. West is also fond of other sports, especially cricket and Australian football, which he enjoys watching on TV with Satoshi. Mr. West also started taking lessons in aviation recently.

7.2.2 Mrs. West

Mrs. West grew up in Japan, in Tokyo. She studied English at secondary school and at a vocational college (two years) for a total of eight years. She came to Australia to study English following her graduation from the college. Instead of returning to Japan, she met Mr. West and subsequently remained in Melbourne permanently to have a family. Before having children, Mrs. West worked for a few Japanese companies in Melbourne as an administrative officer. After sending the younger child, Eiko, to kindergarten, she resumed working as a kindergarten teacher at the MJSS and also for Mr. West's company on a casual basis. She also attends English and computer classes at a local community centre once a week. She recently began visiting Satoshi's class at Park Primary School as a parent volunteer. She helps Satoshi's class teacher, Mrs. Stevens, as a teaching aide. She enjoys helping the class particularly with Japanese, which is taught as a LOTE at the school.

7.2.3 Satoshi

Satoshi is the son and the older child of the West family. He was 8;9 at the beginning of the study and in Year 3 at Park Primary School. He started kindergarten at four years old. He entered the prep class at Park Primary at five years of age.

It was only when they started going to kindergarten at four years of age that Satoshi and Eiko were exposed to English outside the home. Mrs. West said that both Satoshi and Eiko began distinguishing people who speak Japanese and who speak English at around three years of age. Mrs. West said Satoshi's and Eiko's

first encounter with someone who spoke English was their aunt, Mr. West's sister, who visited the West family's home regularly. The children also learned to speak English with Mr. West's parents. Mrs. West recalls that her children at first did not comprehend much of what their grandparents said to them.

けっこう小さいときだと思うんですけど、主人の実家に行くと英語ですよね。だから、やっぱり、あの全然英語が出来ない割には、やっぱりおじいさんとおばあさんとは、yes、noとか、だいたいね…わからないと、おじいさんを連れてきて、this way, this wayってやってたんですよ。だから、これはいくつくらいかな。３才くらいかな。主人の両親に日本語で話しかけることとかはなかったですね。
(I think they were very small. When we went to my husband's parents' home, everything was English. So, (children) don't' understand, but they could still say yes or no. Well, most of the time. When they don't understand, they pulled grandpa's hand and said, 'this way, this way'. I wonder how old they were then. Maybe three. The kids never talked to their grandparents in Japanese though.) (Mrs. West's interview 23/2/98)

Mrs. West started reading to Satoshi when he was approximately 3 months old. She read a book on child development when she had the baby. From this book she learned that babies and toddlers could learn letters. Mrs. West made a few flash cards with Japanese letters and words on them and showed them to baby Satoshi. After a while she stopped doing this because she thought it was meaningless to teach a baby who could not speak yet to read. She recalls that Satoshi began showing interest in written words at the age of four, when he started going to kindergarten. She began reading to him more regularly in English because the kindergarten required parents to read at least 15 minutes a day and report this by writing on a reading card. She thinks that Satoshi learned to read some words in English at the kindergarten.

His first visit to Japan took place when he was five weeks old. He then visited

Japan when he was three, five and eight years old. Satoshi vividly recalls his last trip to Japan that took place earlier that year. He enjoyed meeting his grandmother and visiting Tokyo Disneyland. He watched games of the Nagano Winter Olympics on television almost every day while he was in Tokyo.

Satoshi started Year 3 at Park Primary, one month before the time of the study. He was also finishing the Year 2 class that month at the MJSS and entering Year 3 the next month. Satoshi's teacher at Park Primary, Mrs. Stevens, included him in the average level group in his class in terms of his general academic performance.

He began attending kindergarten of the MJSS when he was four years old. In his Year 2 class at the MJSS, Satoshi is included in the average or lower level group by his teacher, Mrs. Izumi. Although Satoshi enjoys playing with his friends at the MJSS, he is beginning to find the study in Japanese more and more difficult. His class consists of a group of children born in Japan who come from temporary resident families and also a group of children from permanent resident families. Mrs. Izumi said the ratio of these groups is approximately 50:50 in her class.

Satoshi is athletic and likes to play sports. He likes tennis, cricket and football in particular. He plays these games with his friends and also with his father as well as watching the games on TV. He also loves to play flight simulation and driving games on the home computer. He is also taking a lesson of *judo*, a Japanese martial art, once a week. Satoshi loves reading Japanese *manga*. He gets *shogaku sanensee* (Primary school Year 3 edition) once a month from his grandmother in Tokyo.

7.2.4 Eiko

Eiko is the younger child, aged 6;10 at the beginning of the study and the daughter of the family. She is two years younger than Satoshi. She had been to Japan at the ages of one, three and five.

She entered a kindergarten when she was four and then entered the prep class at Park Primary at the age of five. She began Year 1 at Park Primary a month before the study began. She started going to the MJSS when she was four. At the time of the study she was in her last month in the kindergarten class at the MJSS and proceeding to primary class in the following month.

Mrs. West thinks Eiko's linguistic and literacy development progressed from an earlier age compared to Satoshi. Mrs. West said that this happened because Eiko watched her brother read, write, hold books and draw every day.

In her class at Park Primary, Mrs. Kidd, the teacher described her as "extremely bright, one of the best in the class". Mrs. Kidd mentioned that Eiko is a child who requires minimum support from the teacher in learning to read and write. According to Mrs. Kidd, Eiko is particularly good at language-related activities. Mrs. Kidd said Eiko's works, such as the stories that she writes, are often used as models in her class.

At the MJSS, her teacher, Mrs. Yamada, also included her in the advanced group. She admitted that it is rare to find an Australian-born child like Eiko who reads and writes just as well as Japanese-born children. (Eiko's mother, Mrs. West, also teaches a kindergarten class at the MJSS. Mrs. West teaches the younger children's class.)

Unlike her brother Satoshi, who likes sports and computer games, Eiko prefers reading stories, drawing pictures and helping Mrs. West with the work in kitchen. Her favourite type of reading is fantasy and girls' *manga* that her grandmother in Japan sends her every month. Eiko is taking a keyboard lesson from a Japanese music teacher once a week.

7.2.5 The use of language within the family

The language use of the West family is illustrated in Figure 7.1.
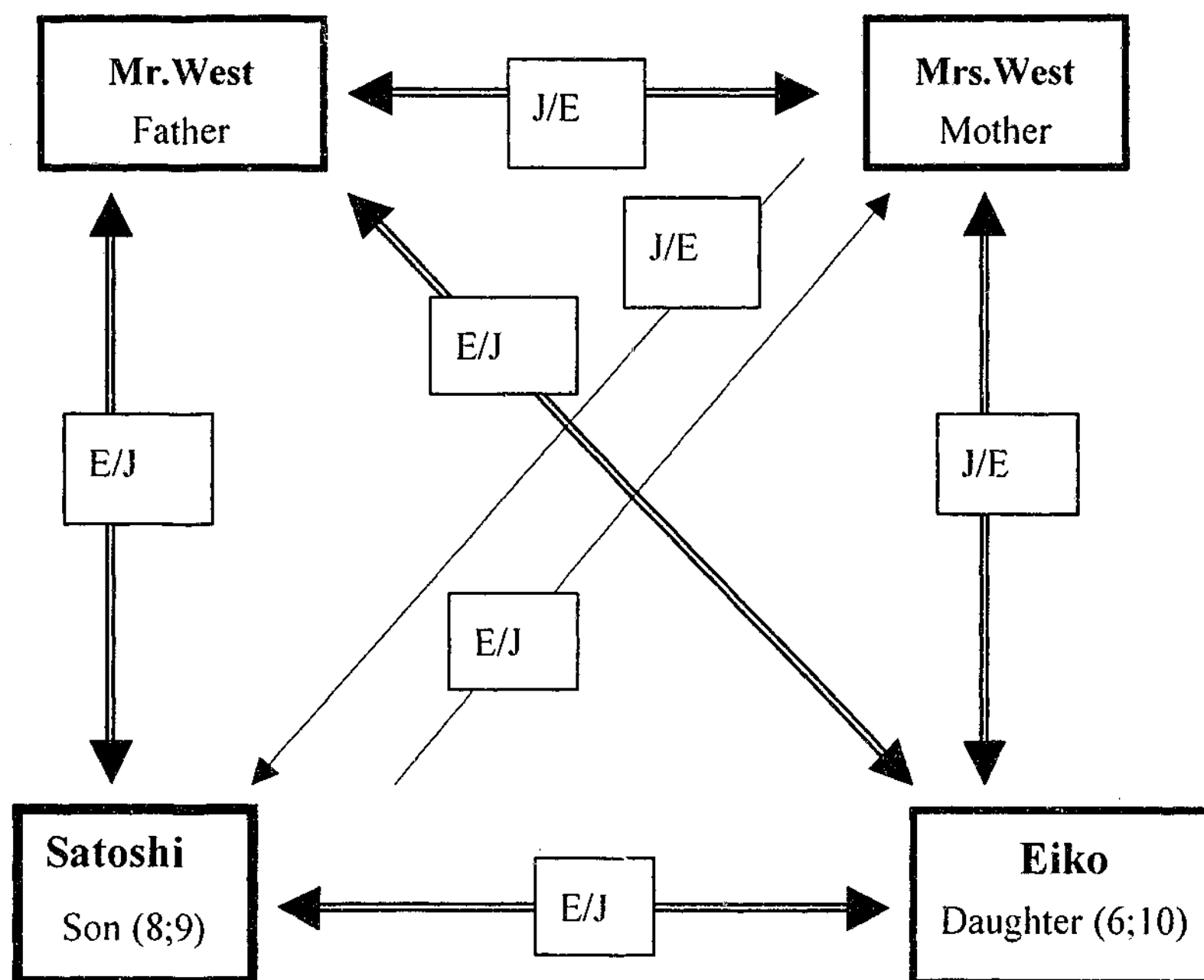
*J=Japanese, E=English, E/J=mostly English with some Japanese, J/E mostly Japanese
with some English
**a single-line arrow indicates a different choice of language (J and E or J/E and E/J)
between the two family members; a double-line arrow indicates the same choice of
language(s) between the two.

Figure 7.1 The use of Japanese and English at the West family

The primary language in the West family is Japanese. Mr. and Mrs. West chose
Japanese as their home language when their first child, Satoshi, was born. The
initiative to use Japanese came from Mr. West, who learned to speak Japanese as
a second language.

Although Japanese is the main language of the West family, the language choices

of the members of the family are slightly different and have changed recently. With Mr. West who speaks English as his first language and also with both children, English is used more frequently than before in the family if not all the time. The use of languages between the members of the family is almost reciprocal. Between Mr. and Mrs. West, Japanese is used more frequently with some English in both directions. Between Mr. West and his children both Japanese and English (English may be more frequent) are used. Between Mrs. West and her children, Japanese is used more often than English.

Mr. and Mrs. West speak to each other in Japanese, particularly in front of their children. Mrs. West rarely mixes Japanese and English when she talks to the children. She is strict in separating English and Japanese with the children. She occasionally tells her children to switch back to Japanese when she thinks they are speaking English too much. She also tells her children, particularly Satoshi, to repeat in Japanese what he has said in English.

Mr. West speaks both Japanese and English at home. Although he tries to speak as much Japanese as possible, he resorts to speaking English often. He does not correct the children when he hears them speaking English. He even responds in English when the content of the conversation is difficult to talk about in Japanese, such as cricket. Although he wants his children to keep Japanese as much as possible, he is beginning to find speaking Japanese all the time at home is difficult and not effective in some circumstances.

Satoshi and Eiko use both Japanese and English with each other and also with their parents. They are beginning to speak English more as they are getting older. Mr.West stated that the children used to fight in Japanese, but they now fight in English.

7.2.6 Mr. and Mrs. West's attitudes towards biliteracy

In parent interviews, Mr. and Mrs. West were asked their views on literacy, education and their role in the children's biliteracy. A summary of each point is given below.

Regarding a) 'significance of communicative abilities (reading, writing, speaking and understanding) in English and Japanese', Mr. West stated that he is determined to use Japanese at home for the sake of his children. He said that it might be not so easy for his children to grow up speaking Japanese here in Australia, but the pain of learning the language is much smaller if they start learning it while they are young.

Mr. West has changed his attitude, and is using more English at home largely due to bonding between him and Satoshi. Mr. West who has little time on weekdays thinks it is significant for Satoshi to share time with him. In order to do so, Mr. West needs to sacrifice Japanese because they speak English while they watch sports on TV, or play football sometimes with Satoshi and his friends. Mr. West does not use as much English with Eiko as he does with Satoshi.

Mr. West thinks communicative skill in English, including literacy, is a life skill. He wants his children to attain literacy skills in English at least the same or even better than the average of mainstream children in order to succeed academically and professionally. Mr. West considers his children, who are half Australian and half Japanese, as slightly different from the mainstream, English-speaking monolingual children. He considers that they are slightly disadvantaged in learning English because they have less input of English compared to monolingual children. Mrs. West also thinks her children are slightly disadvantaged in attaining communicative skills in English. She thinks Eiko's and Satoshi's overall levels of English are below average. In order to enhance their communicative skills in English, Mrs. West bought English workbooks

(vocabulary and grammar) and sits with Satoshi regularly to do some vocabulary and grammar drills. Mrs. West thinks that ability to write well in English is a significant mode of self-expression in mainstream schools in Australia, which her children must attain.

Regarding literacy skills in Japanese, Mr. and Mrs. West hold slightly different views. Mr. West thinks literacy skills in Japanese are not as significant as ability to speak in Japanese. He stated that oral skill in Japanese is difficult to acquire after reaching adulthood and it cannot be attained alone. Because of this belief, he thinks that the acquisition of oral skills in Japanese should be prioritised over reading and writing at his children's ages.

On the other hand, Mrs. West thinks that literacy skills in Japanese are extremely significant for understanding and learning Japanese, and also for enhancing overall communicative competence of Japanese. She also thinks that literacy skills in Japanese are important for interpersonal reasons, to communicate with relatives in Japan and share reading experiences with others, particularly with her.

Regarding point, b)'parental roles in Satoshi's and Eiko's literacy development', Mr. West thinks that it is the parents' role to give children oral skills in the languages that they speak. He thinks children can learn to speak the language that parents speak with little effort. He thinks teaching children to speak in a LOTE, Japanese in his case, is a form of investment for the future of his children.

Mr. West does not usually help the children with their Japanese homework. Mr. West stated his literacy skills are not good enough to teach his children. He stated that his skills in Japanese are not developing anymore. Mr. West said that he does not read or write Japanese much at home. He said it is difficult to find reading materials in Japanese that suit his ability. What he wants to read is too difficult to read and what he can read is often not interesting, such as the *manga* that are kept at home, which he finds rather childish.

Mrs. West thinks it is her role to share reading and writing with the children in both Japanese and English. She shares literacy activities with her children, not only because it is her responsibility, but for joy. She said that she was read to by her mother all the time when she was a child. She particularly enjoys reading with Eiko who loves stories.

Being asked what are the c)'expectation of school regarding child's development of literacy', Mr. West answered that he does not expect much from mainstream primary school other than teaching his children basic literacy and numeracy skills. He said he is not worried as long as they are not missing out on things they are supposed to learn. Mrs. West said she is satisfied with what Park Primary can offer to her children. She only hopes that the school puts more effort into teaching children discipline and manners. She thinks the Australian primary school is lacking effort in this area.

Mr. West stated that the MJSS is an excellent place for his children to be and what they can learn from the Saturday school is enormous. He thinks that without the MJSS his children would not have learned so much about Japanese culture and language. He thinks the MJSS is excellent because children learn Japanese customs and ways of thinking by experiencing them. Although he is required to pay a considerable amount of fees to the MJSS (more than A$1500 per annum for a child), he thinks this is only a small investment for what they learn. On the other hand, Mrs. West said that she does not expect as much as her husband does from the Saturday school because it only operates on Saturday. She believes that if a parent wants his or her children to be proficient in Japanese (both spoken and literacy), the parent and the children must study at home regularly in addition to going to the school.

As for d) 'the goals of child's literacy', Mr. West stated that he expects that his children would reach the same level of literacy skills in English as mainstream, monolingual, English-speaking children would reach. Mrs. West also wants her children to reach the standard level of literacy skills in English which is expected

in Australian society. Mrs. West thinks that literacy skills in English are more significant than those of Japanese in a practical sense if her children are to remain in Australia in the future.

Regarding literacy skills in Japanese, Mr. West does not expect his children to reach a high level. He hopes that his children will reach a level that satisfies their needs. He believes it is important for their identity to be able to read and write some Japanese because these skills expose them to a deeper level of Japanese culture. Mrs. West stated that literacy skills in Japanese might not be as important as literacy skills in English for her children because they can live a normal life in Australia without any literacy skills in Japanese. However, she wants her children to attain literacy skills in Japanese to the level that they can appreciate Japanese novels. She stated that being able to read novels in a language is fundamental for understanding other modes of art or cultural expressions in the language.

7.3 Print Resources for Biliteracy Practices in Home and School Environments

The West family lives in a three-bedroom brick house in the southern end of the eastern suburbs of Melbourne. In their house, Satoshi and Eiko each have a small bedroom. The house has a small kitchen with lots of food packages on the kitchen counter. Next to the kitchen is a small dining room full of written texts on the walls, mostly in Japanese. The dining room is the 'classroom' in the house. The walls in the dining room are covered with tables of characters, lists of words, children's drawings, a calendar and posters in *hiragana, katakana* and *kanji* that were written by Mrs. West.

On one wall in the dining room, there are two *Kanji* charts: one for Year 1 and another for Year 2. On another wall, hand-written lists of Japanese words, days of the week, and the numbers written in *kanji*. Between these Japanese character

charts and lists are family photos, certificates and newsletters that are placed on the walls. A variety of memorabilia brought from Japan, such as Japanese dolls and postcards are also placed here. A fax-phone, which is used to send a daily letter to Mrs. West's mother in Tokyo is on a counter.

The living room is next to the dining room. Most of the audio-visual equipment that the family possesses is kept in this room: a TV set and two VCRs (one PAL and one NTSC), a stereo, a computer, printer, *Nintendo* video games and an electronic keyboard.

There is not a large volume of adult literacy materials in the West's home. The books and magazines for the parents are kept on a bookshelf above the sofa. A large number of paperback novels in Japanese are placed on one shelf. There are also Japanese household magazines and *manga* for teenage readers on another shelf. The number of English books in the shelf is not many compared to the books in Japanese. English books consist of books and magazines on aviation, martial arts, and several blockbuster, paperback novels.

A computer is placed in another corner on a small table. A small bookshelf placed next to the computer desk contains computer manuals, CDs, monolingual (Japanese-Japanese, English-English) and bilingual (English-Japanese) dictionaries.

The TV set, video players and the *Nintendo* game are placed in the centre of the small living room facing the sofa. There are approximately 30 to 40 VHS video cassettes that are stacked in the TV cabinet. Most of the video tapes contain Japanese children's programs, such as *Sazaesan, Doraemono* and *Rupan sansee* that are popular cartoon series in Japan. There are also a few videos with NHK (Japan's public television station) morning drama series for Mrs. West to watch.

The majority of children's books are in the children's rooms. In Satoshi's room there is a tall bookshelf with some children's books and storybooks in Japanese,

about 20 of them. He has few books in English. There are two desks in Satoshi's room, one is for studying and another for drawing. However, he rarely uses his study desk because he does homework in the kitchen-dining area under the supervision of Mrs. West.

In Eiko's bedroom, there is a small desk, a bed, a bookshelf and a blackboard. She has many more books, magazines and other types of literacy materials than Satoshi in her room. On the desk there are about a dozen Japanese girls' *manga*, notebooks for studying Japanese and workbooks. The small bookshelf next to her desk holds more *manga*, folders with her schoolwork and some storybooks in Japanese. On a small blackboard next to her bed, she writes texts in Japanese and English with some illustrations. Eiko's room has many hand-written texts made by her, many in Japanese and some in English (see Eiko's texts No.1-3).

Although there is quite large number of books and magazines in Satoshi and Eiko's rooms, they do not seem to be materials that have been carefully chosen. There are also many books that appear to have been given to them, which the children do not seem to be interested in because of the poor quality. Mrs. West stated that she always goes to the used bookstall at the annual fundraising market of the MJSS. However, she states that buying high quality books in Japanese is difficult because they are sold quickly.

Satoshi and Eiko's materials are separated and stored in their rooms. The gender is clearly marked in the West family's home in children's books and literacy-related materials. Satoshi's room has posters of sports and martial arts, which clearly indicate that it is a boy's room. Eiko's room has many things in pink or white (desk, bed and curtain) and also books and magazines for girls, such as girls' comic books and storybooks, such as *Anne of Green Gables* (translated version in Japanese).

Table 7.2 The West family's print environment at home

Rooms	Environmental prints and texts	Implements for literacy
Kitchen-dining	Kanji and Kana character charts, word lists, food packages, map, calendar, family photos, handwritten posters, certificates, electrical appliances with texts on them (eg. microwave oven)	Fax-phone, stationery
Living room	novels, comic books, news papers, magazines, academic books, computer manuals, dictionaries, CDs, video game software, video tapes, cassette tapes, CD-ROM software, cosmetic packages	Stereo, TV, VCRs, tape recorder, computer, printer, stationery, typewriter, keyboard, video game hardware
Satoshi's room	picture books, story books, encyclopaedia, boardgames, newspapers, posters, handwritten posters, albums, files, textbooks, toy boxes	desks, stationary
Eiko's room	picture books, comics, story books, handwritten cards, handwritten posters, diary, puzzles, games, textbooks	blackboard, desk, stationery
Other places	Magazines, books, novels	

7.3.1 Print resources in schools: Park Primary and MJSS

Park Primary is located approximately 10 minutes by car from the West family's home. There is another school nearer to their house, but the West parents chose this school because it teaches Japanese as a LOTE. Satoshi and Eiko began at this school from the prep level. The general atmosphere of their classes, and the print environment of Satoshi's and Eiko's classes in both schools are discussed below.

7.3.1.1 Satoshi's class at Park Primar · Year 3

Mrs. Stevens, Satoshi's teacher, is an experienced, fun loving, and spontaneous

teacher, who lets the children play games during her class. In Mrs. Stevens's class, there are 13 boys and 8 girls. The classroom appears crowded with desks, chairs, books and various types of materials for learning. Children sit at desks arranged in rows facing the front. Mrs. Stevens sits facing the children in front, next to the blackboard. On the blackboard, a list of words that children are learning is written in alphabetical order. There are also about a dozen maths problems (eg. $80 = \_ + 3 + 34$) written on the blackboard. There is also a poster of a Japanese *kimono* attached to the blackboard.

In the back corner there is a library corner with approximately 500 books. Half of them are information books on fish, sports, Aboriginal culture and Japan. Another half of the collection is children's stories, workbooks, magazines and English monolingual dictionaries. The wall space in the back of the class is covered with posters of the Nagano Winter Olympics produced by children. The winter Olympics was their first project of the year. There are another dozen or more posters with Japanese expressions for greeting, thanking and also numbers. Some are in *hiragana*, written by the Japanese LOTE teacher and also Mrs. West, who works as a volunteer. There is a computer in this room next to the library corner. This computer is for children to type up the drafts of various writing projects in the final stage.

During the class, children either sit at the front of the class in a circle when they listen to Mrs. Stevens' talk, or sit at their own desks. They move back and forth between these positions depending on the type of activity. On one morning, Mrs. Stevens' class was conducted in the following manner:

9:30 Mrs Stevens talks about *hinamatsuri* (girls' day) in Japan. Children listen to her in circle on the floor. Children are distributed a photocopied sheet with an illustration of *kimono* and some questions on Japanese words. Children answer the questions and then colour the picture of *kimono* with coloured pencils.

10:00 Mrs. Stevens collects a consent form from each child for an excursion that will take place next week.

10:15 Children are divided into two groups. One group goes to the

computer room to work with *Math Invaders* software on computer. Math invader is designed to practice addition and subtraction by reading a maths problem and then shoot the correct answer that appears on the screen. The appearance of this software resembles that of *Space Invaders*, a popular computer game. Another group of children remains in the classroom to work on the project on swimming. They sit at the table and write a short text about swimming and show the draft to Mrs. Stevens.

10:20 A maths teacher comes into the classroom and works with children individually. Children are given an exercise sheet with exercises that are appropriate to their level. Those who finish the math exercise take out a book from a reading folder. Children read gamebooks and stories. Some children read Disney books (eg. Snow White).

10:30 Children take out a morning snack and start eating. Class continues to work while some eat. Those who went to the computer room return.

10:45 The maths teacher explains the times table using small wooden blocks.

11:00-11:30 Recess. All children leave the room.

11:30 Mrs. Stevens distributes tests (English and maths) sheets to some children. These children go to their seats and do the test (the purpose of the test is to prepare children for the coming state-wide test).

11:50 Mrs. Stevens tells the class to stop what they are doing, including those doing the test. She writes a sentence, "What time did you eat breakfast?" on the blackboard and starts to discuss what children normally do at each hour in the morning.

12:00 Class breaks for lunch.

In Mrs. Stevens's class, the lines between activities are not clear in the eyes of the observer. However, the children seem to know what they are expected to do and do not show confusion when they are told to go to the computer room or sit a test. The maths teacher comes in and starts working with children without saying a word to Mrs. Stevens. Class activities are coordinated beforehand and they seem to proceed smoothly. The duration of activities is relatively short, approximately 20 minutes. There are no designated textbooks that are used for maths, English, projects and other subjects. Children are often given photocopied sheets to work on.

Various materials that have been observed in Mrs. Stevens' class are listed below:

Table 7.3 Literacy materials in Satoshi's class at Park Primary School

Types of material	Items
Materials on Mrs. Stevens' desk	Maths textbook English textbook LOTE (Japanese) textbook ESL textbook and teacher's reference materials Many folders with photocopied sheets
Class library	Monolingual (English-English) dictionaries Illustrated encyclopaedia Information books (sciences, sports, Japanese, history, geography, dinosaurs) Story books Picture books (including *Disney* versions of classical stories, eg. Snow White and Little Mermaid)
Posters on walls	Nagano Winter Olympics (children's handmade) Trade posters (Japan) Word lists (English) Word lists (Japanese) Picture of kimono
Each child	Large size (A4 size) notebook for English, maths, journal and projects Reading folder that contains a book Pen case
Miscellaneous prints	Flash cards (words) Tables and graphs (sentence colours times table) Photos, post cards Magazines Newspapers Calendar Map of Japan
Audio-visual / multi-media	A computer, a printer
Others	Stationery (pens, pencils, markers, staplers, adhesive tapes, rulers scissors, glues, paints, paper for crafts, cardboard boxes) Wooden blocks, counters, connecting tubes, 3 dimensional manipulative (pyramid, rectangles and cubes) A clock Stuffed animals (use unknown)

7.3.1.2 Eiko's class at Park Primary: Year 2

Eiko's teacher is Mrs. Kidd, also an experienced teacher. She has 10 boys and 10

girls in her class. Four to six children sit facing each other sharing one table. Mrs. Kidd has her desk in the back of the class. Mrs. Kidd has just returned from a week-long workshop on the early literacy intervention program held by the state government, which Park Primary has decided to introduce. This program is supposed to enhance literacy skills of early primary level children by integrating some subjects. Mrs. Kidd and another assistant teacher are working on incorporating this program into the existing curriculum in the next few weeks.

Eiko's class is slightly cluttered and appears disorganised with books and folders stacked in piles. Some of the shelves in the back of the class are empty, ready to shift for things for the new early literacy program. The classroom is lively and colourful with posters and children's works. From the ceiling, various fish made of cardboard, boxes, plastic bags and bottles are hanging. Life in the water is the topic of the study for the year 2 class. The class is full of materials that are related to sea, water and beaches. There is some driftwood, shells and samples of fish and other creatures that are kept in bottles displayed on the counter at the back of the room.

Eiko's classroom has about 200 books in the library corner. Many books on fish, sea mammals and beaches have been brought from the school library temporarily to this class collection. Other than books on the sea, there are stories and many picture books for this age level. There is no computer in this room. Instead, there is a TV and video that have been used to see videos on marine life. The big blackboard is covered almost entirely by posters of various fish with little space left to write anything. Instead, a smaller whiteboard is placed in front of the blackboard to write things.

Mrs. Kidd said that in the year 2 class, group work and individual work are combined to enhance the children's ability to read and write. The class is divided into Starfish, Fish, Seahorse and Octopus groups. There are four to five children in each group. One morning, the class spent time doing the following activities.

9:50 Mrs. Kidd assigns each group an activity. She also tells each group that they need to stop working when they are told to do so and change activity.

Starfish gets Task 1: reading a short text titled "Ben's Diary".

Fish gets Task 2: playing a mathematical game using dice.

Seahorse gets Task 3: going to library to find books that they want to read and Octopus gets Task 4: reading a short poem and drawing an illustration on the sheet.

The four groups rotate the task until they finish all tasks. Two teachers and a librarian work together to look after all groups doing various tasks.

10:50 Mrs. Kidd collects the class into one group in front of the blackboard and talks about short term memory.

11:00 Children get a sheet of paper from Mrs. Kidd and start writing a short text. Mrs. Kidd declares that they have 12 minutes, and they have to write as much as possible. She also tells the children that they can write anything they want. Eiko writes about "My next-door neighbour". After six minutes, Mrs. Kidd says "You're writing for six minutes now".

11:15 Mrs. Kidd tells the class to stop. Mrs. Kidd walks around the class and corrects children's writing. She picks out a few children (those who wrote well) and tells them to read the text in front of the class.

11:30 Children take recess.

12:00 Children go to computer room to work on Math Invaders.

Table 7.4 lists print resources that were found in Eiko's class.

Table 7.4 Literacy materials in Eiko's class at Park Primary.

Type of materials	Items
On Mrs. Kidd's desk	Calculator Folders with children's writing Spelling workbook and teacher's reference on spelling Diary
Classroom library corner	Picture dictionary Information books Old magazines Children's books (approximately 200)
Miscellaneous prints	Posters (fish, see mammals, landscape) Word lists (vocabulary on fish and ocean) Calendar Map of Australia
Audio-visual / multi-media	TV and VCR
Others	Blackboard, white board

7.3.1.3 MJSS

Both Satoshi and Eiko go to the MJSS. Satoshi is in Year 2 class, and Eiko in the kindergarten. They will finish this level in one more month and after a short break, Satoshi will proceed to Year 3 and Eiko to Year 1. It is a big transition for Eiko because formal learning of Japanese and maths will start in Year 1.

7.3.1.4 Satoshi's class in the MJSS: Year 2

Because the available resources in Satoshi's class (year 2) at the MJSS are identical to what is available in Ryo's class (year 3), the inventory of the literacy resource is not provided here (see Table 6.5). Some points that are unique to Satoshi's class are discussed below, including the type of activities done in his class and how textbooks and other resources are used in the class.

Satoshi is in class 2 at the MJSS. His teacher is Mrs. Izumi, who has been teaching here for 3 years. There are 8 boys and 3 girls in the class. As in Sakura's (Year 1) and Ryo's (Year 3) classes, Satoshi uses *kenteikyookasho* in his class for

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both maths and Japanese. The manner of Mrs. Izumi's teaching in Satoshi's class is similar to Mrs. Pike in that it is formal and strict. There seems to be a wide gap in learning between Year 1 and the classes above at the MJSS in how and how fast Japanese is taught. In the first year, Japanese is taught slowly and in a fun way when they are introduced to *hiragana*, *katakana* and first set of *kanji* (80 characters). Many children will find this level not challenging. However, entering the second year, the study becomes much harder with more difficult texts to read with 160 extra *kanji* to learn and another 181 kanji in year 3. Children in the year 2 are expected to know the 80 *kanji* that they studied in year 1.

On one Saturday, Mrs. Izumi taught her class in the following manner by using textbooks and materials:

9:30 Mrs. Izumi greets her class. She checks each student's book reading card (children need to report to her whether they read any book in Japanese at home). She also returns last week's *kanji* test. She starts with the students who obtained higher marks. Mrs. Izumi writes on the blackboard homework for next week.

9:40 Mrs. Izumi checks maths homework by visiting each student at his/her desk.

9:45 Mrs. Izumi writes the *kanji* that they studied last week. Children copy them on their notebook.

9:50 Mrs. Izumi tells the class to open the Japanese textbook. She assigns all children to read a section aloud. The chapter they are reading is titled "Things we learned to do in Year 2." After finish reading this chapter, Mrs. Izumi asks class why they have to write *sakubun*, a type of journal in Japanese.

10:00 Mrs. Izumi distributes a sheet of paper, *genkooyooshi*, which is used to write *sakubun*, an essay. She explains how to use the sheet (where to write name, indentation, etc). She then tells children to select a topic and start writing.

10:10-20 Recess

10:20 Children write *sakubun*.

10:55 Mrs. Izumi goes around the room to consult the children individually. Satoshi writes his piece on *kuku* (times table). Mrs. Izumi corrects each child's use of *kanji*, selection of *hiragana/katakana*, grammar, use of other symbols including brackets, and also contents. (*Sakubun* writing continues until noon).

7.3.1.5 Eiko's class at the MJSS (kindergarten)

Eiko is in the same class as Miki Kawada. The literacy resources available in Eiko's class and also type of activities done in her class are described in Table 5.5.

7.4 Biliteracy Practices of the West Family as a Whole

There are few literacy activities that take place in the West family in the morning except for when Satoshi quickly finishes his homework (often drill sheets on maths or spelling) that he did not finish the previous night. Eiko is more disciplined than Satoshi and almost never fails to do the homework at night.

Mrs. West and her children leave home normally at 8:15 and arrive at Park Primary School at 8:30am. Children are picked up after 3:30 pm and get home at around 4:00 pm. The West children often come home with a classmate whose parents cannot make pick up time at school. Zane frequently spends the late afternoon at the Wests' house. He is Satoshi's classmate and lives a few blocks away from them. Mrs. West thinks Zane is a welcome person because he is the class captain and is one of the most well-behaved children. Eiko's friends visit much less frequently than Satoshi because few of her friends live in the neighbourhood.

Mrs. West stays at Park Primary on Wednesday as a teaching aide in Eiko and Satoshi's classes. She helps the children with reading, writing and Japanese. She also goes to Mr. West's company once a week to work for a few hours. Mrs. West also goes to an English conversation class and a computer class once a week. She goes to the English conversation class even though she has been in Australia for more than 13 years and her English is fluent enough for carrying out daily routines. However, she wants to improve her English and also meet more people. She is taking a computer class in order to improve her word processing skills,

which would be useful for her job.

Mrs. West wants her children to do their homework soon after school, before dinner. Eiko, who just began year 2 and is still in kindergarten class at the MJSS does her work quickly. She does not have much homework and she loves to study. She regularly brings back books to read, maths and English drill sheets from Park Primary. From the MJSS she brings back almost no homework except for occasional *hiragana* exercise sheets.

It is a battle to make Satoshi study in Japanese or English because he often plays with Zane or other friends who are around. He has a considerable amount of homework to do because he is in Year 3 at Park Primary and finishing Year 2 at the MJSS.

Satoshi often ends up doing homework after dinner, reluctantly sitting next to Mrs. West. Doing homework after dinner means less playtime. Mrs. West also makes him do exercises using an English workbook that she bought. He does not mind learning spelling and writing sentences using this workbook because it is more interesting than the homework.

Satoshi's homework from the MJSS includes reading Japanese textbooks aloud, learning *kanji* and maths (similar to what Ryo gets from the MJSS. See 7.5). He reads textbooks well in front of Mrs. West. However, Mrs. West has become concerned recently as she noticed that Satoshi sometimes reads texts aloud without understanding the meaning of them. This is also beginning to happen with his writing. He sometimes practices words and *kanji* without learning the meaning of them. Perceiving that Satoshi is not keeping up with his work, Mrs. Izumi at the MJSS said that Satoshi needs to spend more time learning Japanese at home. However, increasing the amount of study is, according to Mrs. West, impossible. She said that they just have to wait until the holiday comes when they have more time to study. Mrs. West commented on Satoshi's reading as follows.

読みについてはまだね、声を出して読んでいても内容が分かってないようなところがあるんで...目で追ってちゃんと発音を口に出しても分かってないみたいな感じ...土曜校の宿題とかで問題読んでも分からないみたいな。読んだのって言って、読んでも分からない。

(As for reading, he reads aloud, but does not seem to understand the content...He follows the letters with his eyes, he can pronounce the words, but does not seem to comprehend. It's the same with the homework from the Saturday school. I ask him "did you read it?" He says yes, but he still does not understand after reading.) (Mrs. West's interview 23/2/98)

Mrs. West reads a bedtime story to Eiko almost every day. Mrs. West often chooses stories in Japanese. She reads a few pages each day until they finish a relatively long story, such as *Anne of Green Gables* and Japanese children's stories, such as ちいさなももちゃん (*Chiisana momochan*, Little Momo). They also read English books that Eiko brings back from Park Primary. Mrs. West told me how Eiko loves her mother reading stories to her.

やっぱり自分で読めても、ある程度の年まで聞いている方が楽しいみたい。エイコも絵本を読んであげても、その続きを自分で読んじゃうみたいなんだけど、次の日私が読んであげても楽しめちゃうみたい。

(She can read by herself, but she seems to enjoy being read to, perhaps to a certain age. I read a picture book to Eiko and she often finishes it herself. But she can still enjoy listening to the same story the next day.) (Mrs. West's interview 23/2/98)

Satoshi also reads a book in bed, but he prefers to read by himself. He reads books that he brings back from Park Primary and his father's sports magazines. He reads mostly in English.

Mr. West returns home any time from 7pm to 11pm, most often around 9 pm. When he comes home early he listens to Eiko and Satoshi read books that they bring back from Park Primary. He normally just listens and does not ask question

or make comments about his children's reading. He corrects his children when they start reading English books as if they are reading Japanese, by placing stress on each syllable.

7.4.1 The uses of literacy in the West family

The uses of literacy in the West family have been categorised in the following types.

Table 7.5 The uses of literacy in the West family

Educational: Reading and writing for studying and doing homework Satoshi's and Eiko's homework from Hills Primary and the MJSS. Most literacy events are joint activities between Mrs. West and children although Eiko can work independently. The study activity can range from reading books, doing a project on the Nagano Olympics, writing stories, studying Japanese (*hiragana, katakana* and *kanji*), reading Japanese textbooks, doing maths in Japanese and playing the keyboard.
Recreational: Reading and writing as a pastime All family members were seen reading and writing for this use. Children watch videos, TV based on children's stories and folklore, the playing of *Nintendo* and *Tamagocchi*, reading comic books, story books, playing boardgames, playing card games, using and reading advertisement materials. The parents use the Internet, read recipe books, magazines, novels, newspapers and children's books with children.
Instrumental: Reading for accomplishing practical goals Mrs. West reads recipes for cooking, children read instructions to assemble toys that come with Japanese comic books.
Public record: Keeping records for the use in the community Mrs. West writes a record of her class work at the MJSS and also the minutes of meetings at the kindergarten.
News-related: Reading to gain information about distant events Mostly parents reading newspapers in English (the *Herald Sun*) and Japanese (*Nichigo Press* and *Yukari*), Japanese news magazine, using the Internet and reading electronic mails. Satoshi was seen reading the sports section in the *Herald Sun*.
Social interactional: Reading and writing for maintaining social relationships Writing letters to Mrs. West's mother in Tokyo. Children writing Christmas cards.
Oral substitutional: Writing message normally conveyed orally Eiko writing down a phone message to her teacher at the MJSS. Mrs. West writes notes to Mr. West, her children's teachers at Parks Primary

*Listed in the order of frequency

The largest amount of time is spent on reading and writing for educational purposes. This use is seen most frequently between Mrs. West, Satoshi and Eiko. The educational uses comprise almost entirely the children's study. The

educational use includes reading and writing for doing homework for both Park Primary and the MJSS for both Satoshi and Eiko. Mrs. West normally supervises the children. Satoshi almost always studies with Mrs. West, but Eiko often studies by herself.

The family spends nearly as much time in recreational reading as educational activities involving reading and writing. The recreational use of literacy is seen among all family members mostly in the form of reading various materials. The children read comic books, children's books, play computer games, video games and play the keyboard. They also draw some pictures and cartoons with words in them. Mr. and Mrs. West read novels, magazines, recipe books, newspapers, advertisement materials and catalogues.

Instrumental, public record, news-related, social-interactional and oral-substitutional uses are much less in terms of amount of time and frequency but are seen fairly often in the family. The instrumental use is seen in reading for assembling toys, reading food containers to bake cakes, reading instructions on screen in order to play computer games and using the address database software on the computer. The public record use is only seen in Mrs. West's writing minutes and records for the MJSS. The news-related use is seen in reading newspapers by everyone except for Eiko. Social-interactional use is seen in Mrs. West and the children corresponding with Mrs. West's mother in Tokyo and also writing cards to the children's classmates. The oral-substitutional use is seen in Mrs. West writing notes to Mr. West and also Eiko writing a note (see Eiko's text No. 5).

7.4.2 Language selection for the uses of literacy in the West family

The West family as a whole uses nearly equal amounts of English and Japanese for literacy although each member chooses English and Japanese slightly differently. Based on the diary they filled out, the family selected 47% Japanese, 40% English and 13% Japanese-English mixed in literacy events that they

reported. Mrs. West selected Japanese slightly more often than English, whereas Mr. West chose English almost entirely for his literacy activities. Satoshi's and Eiko's use of Japanese and English are nearly equal with slightly more time using Japanese for both children (their choice of language will be discussed in more detail below).

7.5 Satoshi's and Eiko's Biliteracy

As has been discussed above and described in Tables 7.1-2, Satoshi and Eiko read and write most often for educational and recreational purposes. Their use of Japanese and English is fairly balanced. Another characteristic of the West children's uses of literacy is the relatively limited variety in the types of use.

7.5.1 Satoshi's uses of literacy

Mrs. West described Satoshi's day-to-day practice of literacy as follows.

一日１５分くらいかな。さとしは土曜校の宿題があるからやるんですけど... 新聞のスポーツ欄は、もう毎日。クリケット、フットボール。あとはクリケット雑誌とか。あとは、毎日学校から持って帰ってくるリーディングの本。けっこう難しくてわたしがわかんない単語がたくさんあるんですよ。チャプターブックってやつ。

(Maybe fifteen minutes a day. Satoshi does (reading and writing) because he has homework from the Saturday school...He reads the sports section in the newspaper every day. Cricket and football. Also cricket magazines. Also storybooks in English he brings back from school every day for reading assignments. They are very difficult with words that I even don't know.) (Mrs. West's interview on 28/5/98)

Satoshi's uses of literacy are summarised in Table 7.6:

Table 7.6 Satoshi's uses of literacy

Uses	Examples
Educational (homework)	Homework from the MJSS maths and Japanese, self study of Japanese and English using workbooks, homework from Parks Primary including reading, journal and story writing, researching for project.
Recreational	Reading comic books, stories in Japanese, viewing Japanese cartoon video, playing various computer games, *Nintendo* and *Space invaders* (video game) using both English and Japanese, drawing *manga*
News-related	Reading sports sections in the *Herald Sun* newspaper

*Listed in order of frequency

7.5.1.1 Educational use

Satoshi spends the largest amount of time reading and writing for studying doing homework and also self-study using workbooks that Mrs. West obtained. He gets substantial amounts of homework from both Park Primary and the MJSS. From Park Primary, he brings home regular reading from the school library, worksheets for maths, science and English, story writing and also research projects. The type of homework varies from day to day depending on what is being taught in class. The homework from the MJSS is nearly always the same, and includes practicing Year 2 *kanji*, reading the textbook aloud and maths worksheets. The types of homework he gets from the MJSS are similar to what Ryo gets from the school (see 7.5).

What Satoshi studies both in Japanese and English at home is focused strongly on literacy for the sake of learning literacy (see Anderson and Stokes 1984). This type of literacy practice that Satoshi does is for learning spelling, grammar and other skills that are required to be an independent reader-writer. Mrs. West also has a tendency to place more weight on the skill aspect of literacy rather than using literacy for content-based activities. This tendency is seen in both languages in the case of Satoshi. It contrasts with the case of Ryo Misawa who uses literacy in English for more content-based activities and Japanese for literacy for the sake

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of learning literacy in educational uses.

Satoshi is nearly always supervised by Mrs. West when he studies. The duration of each study session is relatively short, approximately 15 minutes. He spends a longer time studying for the MJSS than studying using English for homework for Park Primary. His time studying Japanese seems to be getting longer than before as the level goes up and the amount of *kanji* he needs to study increases. Mrs. West said they are working to their limit and do not know what else they can do. Satoshi appears to be starting to lose interest in memorising and reading difficult texts in Japanese.

7.5.1.2 Recreational use

Satoshi's recreational use of literacy comprises reading books and magazines, drawing *manga*, playing computer and video games, and reading the newspaper and magazines on sports. Satoshi does not frequently self-select a literacy activity when he plays. Among activities that involve some reading, he loves to play computer games. These computer games involve reading texts, mostly instructions and scores. The games he loves to play on these machines are a driving game, a flight simulator and also *Super Mario*, which is a very popular program among children.

He loves to read Japanese *manga*. He also enjoys reading a cricket magazine in English, which he gets every month from his father. He also reads stories in Japanese if not frequently. However, he seems to read materials in Japanese only when there is an incentive to read. He reads Japanese with Mrs. West because he requires assistance.

> あとは、やっぱりそういう宝島とか、ああいうお話物。どの程度
> 分かっているか分からないんですけど。やっぱり土曜校でリーダ
> ーソンがあるから。その時は毎日のように読みましたけれど。何
> か商品がもらえるから。自発的に。

(He also reads stories, such as *Treasure Island*. I don't know how much he understands though. He read the stories because there is a reading competition at the Saturday school. Last time, he read every day because he got some award. He read all by himself.) (Mrs. West's interview on 28/5/98)

7.5.1.3 News-related use

Satoshi reads the newspaper every day, particularly the sports and TV sections. On weekdays, Satoshi reads the *Herald Sun's* sports section. Mr. West stated that sports is a significant topic for Satoshi being a male in Australia.

さとしくん、スポーツ好きなのは現地校で、男の子同士で、その男の子たちと同じに子になりたい。僕は同じですよ、変わりがないですよって思いたい。でも、それは男だし自然なことだし。それはそれでいいと思うんですよ。

(The reason why Satoshi loves sports is because, among his mates at school, he wants to be one of them. He wants to believe he is no different from them. I think this is natural for a boy and I think it is quite okay to be like that.) (Mr. West's interview 1/4/1998)

7.5.2 Eiko's uses of literacy

Mrs. West stated that Eiko is far more eager to read and write than her older brother and spends more time on literacy activities at home.

学校のリーディング。それからあと、けっこう、おばさん、主人の妹からよく本をもらうんで、けっこう読んでるんですよ。お話の本…あとは、バースデーカードとか。日本人の友達に呼ばれた時は、割と日本語で。土曜校に行ってるとけっこう、エイコもやっぱり同じように、あの、日本語で書くのは土曜校のお友達のバースデーカードと…あとは土曜校の宿題はあまりないですね、ほとんど。あとは、その読書カードを毎週自分で書くの。

(Book reading from the school. And also, she gets books from her aunt, my husband's younger sister. So she reads a lot. Story books…and also birthday cards. When she is invited from Japanese friends, she replies in Japanese. Because she goes to Saturday school, Eiko does the same as

her brother that she writes cards etc in Japanese. What she writes in Japanese are birthday cards to her friends, and... she does not get much homework from Saturday school, almost none. Also she writes reading report card every week by herself though.) (Mr. West's interview 1/4/1998)

Eiko's uses of literacy are listed in Table 7.7.

Table 7.7 Eiko's uses of literacy

Uses	Examples
Recreational	Reading *manga* in Japanese, picture books, stories in Japanese and English, drawing and colouring, viewing Japanese cartoon video
Educational (homework)	Homework reading from Park Primary, occasionally work sheets (word building, grammar, spelling and maths), practicing keyboard, maths and Japanese homework from the MJSS
Oral-substitutional	Writing down telephone messages, putting signs on the bedroom door

*Listed in order of frequency

7.5.2.1 Recreational use

In her room in the bookshelf, there are over 20 volumes of *manga*. She loves *Shoogaku ichinensee* (*manga* for Year 1 children), because it comes with lots of extras, including a small booklet on riddles, paper dolls and other small toys. *Manga* has boys' edition and girls' edition. Eiko receives the girls' edition, which contains comic strips with princesses, heroines, weddings and so on. Mr. West stated that the influence of Japanese *manga* is immense.

日本の両親からも本、マンガとか送ってきますね。子どもの本とか。だからやっぱり、それに今、日本で流行っているもんとか、ピカチュウとか、またそういうもんが全然なかったら、またその勉強するmotivationがなくなっちゃうし、で、日本に行ったら同じ子ども同士、話が通じないです。なるべく、それもまた日本に興味を持たせたいですよね。多分、マンガとかゲームとか、そうい

うのが大事なんですよ。みんな、それでことばを覚えてるんだろ
うね。女の子もキティちゃんとかセーラームーンとか。
(Their Japanese grandparent sends them books and *manga*. Children's books too. I believe that without the things that are popular in Japan like *pikachuu* (note: a popular cartoon character) children would not have motivation to learn. Also children would not know what to talk about with other children when they go to Japan. I want them to have an interest in Japan as much as possible. Perhaps, *manga* and games are very significant. Everyone learns language with these things. Girls would learn through *Hello Kitty* and *Seeraa muun*). (Mr. West interview 1/4/1/1998)

Eiko enjoys reading storybooks and picture books. She reads them by herself as well as being read to by her mother. She likes to take a book to bed. She is read to by Mrs. West regularly at bedtime. She reads a longer storybook with her mother and prefers to read books in Japanese. They borrow storybooks from the MJSS collection. They also read storybooks in English at bedtime which Eiko borrows from Park Primary.

She likes to draw small, cute illustrations next to a sentence, such as "Rachel is my friend, Emily is my friend. And Liz." She is frequently given colouring exercises in her class at Park Primary. On a maths worksheet or word-building homework, there is often a picture that she can colour.

Eiko plays computer games although she does not play as enthusiastically as her brother, or Miki Kawada who plays them for many hours. She plays a game, such as *My Story Time*, a few times a week when Satoshi is not using the computer. *My Story Time* is an edutainment program (see 5.5) that combines games with activities that are designed for learning literacy and numeracy. Eiko particularly likes the story-writing program in which she reads sentences and puts them in a correct order to make a story. She normally plays the game for about 15 minutes. Eiko is also fond of playing *Tamagocchi* which her parents bought for her while they were visiting Japan earlier this year.

7.5.2.2 Educational use

From Park Primary, Eiko gets reading (storybooks) that she is supposed to read with a parent and a worksheet once a week that comprises maths, vocabulary building, spelling and grammar exercises. When there is a worksheet to do, Eiko normally shows it to Mrs. West after she finishes it. Mrs. West normally takes a quick look at the sheet just to make sure she has answered all the questions.

Mrs. West listens to Eiko read books in English. However, Mrs. West prefers Mr. West listening to the children reading books in English. When Mr. West listens to Eiko (and Satoshi) read, he listens carefully to the children's pronunciation and also makes sure Eiko knows the meaning of words.

From the MJSS, she does not get regular homework. She only occasionally gets worksheets to practice writing words using *hiragana* and *katakana* (see 5.5 Miki's Biliteracy for the use of similar worksheets).

7.5.2.3 Oral-substitutional use

Eiko's use of literacy other than recreational and educational uses is oral substitutional use. She writes small notes and signs to her family members, friends, teachers, visitors to the house and sometimes for herself. On the door of her bedroom she put a sign (Eiko's text No.1). The text No.1 is a bilingual piece in which Eiko skilfully wrote almost exactly the same thing in Japanese and English.

Eiko's text No.1

Right your sign on the sign place and date.
On the date square and don't come in and line up at my door the next day.
Sign paper under

サイーン、サイーンのしかくのなかにかいてください。

ひにちもかいてください。で、かってにはいってこないで、つぎの

ひにどあのまえでまっていてください。サイーンをするかみはした

にありますから。

おかねは１０まんえんですよ。

Money box under
It is 10c for one game.
If you forgot your money bring
1 dollar the next day.

おかねばこは、したにありますよ。

おあけんをわすれたら、つぎのひ

１００えんはらってね。

もし、おかねはこがあかなければ、

しろいかみをぬいてくだあさい。

もし、けんかしたり、おしたりしたら１０ドルくださいね。

If you can't push open the money box pull the white little piece of paper.
If you fight or push, you have to pay 10 dollars.

On her desk in Eiko's room, there are little notes in Japanese that she seems to have written to her mother and also to herself. They had the following messages:

Eiko's text No.2

(someone's name)ばかやろでてこい

(Come out, you stupid xxx)

Eiko's text No.3

おあかさん、エイコはきのうのよる４さつほんを
よんでもねむれなかった。
(Mum. Eiko could not sleep even after reading 4
books.)

Eiko's text No.4

> そんなことというとあそばないよ
>
> (I will not play with you if you say such a thing.)

It is not known how these notes were actually used. Mrs. West said that Eiko sometimes writes notes, mostly in Japanese, that are similar to the above and hands them to Mrs. West.

There is another piece that Eiko wrote substituting an oral message:

Eiko's text No 5.

もしもし　にしむらせんせいに かわってください えいこですけど、gameするおへ やに えいこのぬりえのかみと まるいえんぴつのいれものを にしむらせんせいのうちにわす れたけど、どようびにかえして ね。　さようなら 　9515xxxx (Hello. This is Eiko calling. May I speak to Ms. Nishimura. This is Eiko. I forgot my coloring sheet and pencil case in the room we play games. I would be grateful if you could return them to me on Saturday. Thank you. 9515xxxx)	

She wrote this piece before she made a phone call to her music teacher. Because Eiko is not used to making a phone call, she wrote down what she had to say to

the teacher on the phone. This is a unique way of using written language to support her oral communication.

7.5.3 Satoshi's and Eiko's choice of language for literacy

Overall, Satoshi and Eiko used Japanese and English fairly equally in terms of quantity. According to the literacy diaries filled out by Mrs. West, Satoshi used Japanese 57.6% and English 42.4% of the time in literacy events that were reported. Eiko used Japanese 46.9% and English 53.1% for all reading and writing.

For choice of language for educational use of literacy, Satoshi and Eiko behaved slightly differently. For educational use, Satoshi used Japanese (40%) more than English (23.8%). Eiko used English more (29.3%) and Japanese less (18.8%). For non-educational uses (recreational and news-related uses), both children used Japanese and English a similar amount. Satoshi used English (18.5%) and Japanese (17.7%) and Eiko used Japanese (28.5%) and English (22.2%) for non-educational uses (recreational and oral-substitutional uses).

Satoshi uses Japanese more than English for studying largely for the MJSS. When he self-initiates reading and writing for recreational uses, he uses Japanese and English nearly equally. Eiko, on the other hand, does not spend as much time studying Japanese. She seems to prefer Japanese when she reads or writes for recreational and other self-initiated reading and writing.

7.6 Written Texts Produced by Satoshi and Eiko

Twenty-seven pieces of written texts produced by Satoshi and 42 pieces by Eiko were collected during the fieldwork. The images of some of these texts are presented below. These written texts are considered to represent the types of text

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that are normally written at home.

7.6.1 Written texts produced by Satoshi and language used in these texts

The inventory of their written texts are listed in Table 7.8 and 7.9.

Table 7.8 Type of written texts written by Satoshi

Text types	Japanese	English	Total
Word and script drill	0	7	7
Creative and fiction	3	2	5
Fill in the blank and answer questions	0	6	6
Expository	0	5	5
Narrative and recount	1	2	3
List and table	0	1	1
Total	4	23	27

Most of Satoshi's pieces are for educational uses. For the database, 4 Japanese written texts and 23 English were collected. He wrote the largest number of texts in English in the word and script drill category (7 pieces). These texts were written for learning spelling and building vocabulary. It is interesting to find three Japanese texts in creative and fiction, which are stories that were written with some help from Mrs. West. Narrative recount text in Japanese is a *sakubun*-journal written for homework from the MJSS. English journals were written for Park Primary.

There is more variety in the texts that Satoshi writes in English than what he writes in Japanese. The variety seems to reflect the types of work he does at Park Primary, which are similar to what Ryo does in English (see 6.6).

7.6.1.1 Word and script drills

Satoshi receives a considerable number of drills (text No.1 and 2) for spelling and

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word exercises in English. These exercises are formal and mechanical in that words that are practiced in these exercises are only connected by the similarity in the spelling.

Satoshi's text No.1

Satoshi's text No.2

7.6.1.2 Creative writing and fiction

Satoshi also brings back homework to write longer texts, such as stories and journals. The following text takes the form of a recount, but it is actually a story that Satoshi created based on his experience. The story flows well with well-formed sentences. There are several mistakes in spelling and capitalisation that have been corrected by his teacher. He seems to have the chance to write this type of story at school quite frequently.

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Satoshi's text No.3

A Day to Remember
One day on a really hot day. We went to Sydney. We were in a big run so we forgot everything because we were late. We went by car and went speeding. My dad crashed in to a tree. The tree fell but we didn't' notice. When we got to the middle of Melbourne we saw a huge park we had to go around it but my dad drove in it. We went to the other side. There were trees so we couldn't go to the other side so we had to go back and we went around it. Half way we went to a bridge. We crashed in to it. The bridge broke and we fell in the sea…

Satoshi also wrote in Japanese a long story about a lion (text No.4). It seems that this story had been written as homework for the MJSS because there is a teacher's comment at the end. Mrs. West (or the teacher) appears to have helped Satoshi because there are hardly any mistakes in the use of *hiragana* and *katakana* and *kanji* in terms of form and spelling although Mrs. West stated that Satoshi created this story purely on his own. It is considered that he must have drafted this story once or twice.

ひとりぼっちのライオン

ウエストさとし

　ライオンくんは、いつもひとりぼっちでした。ライオンくんが、ほかのどうぶつたちに
　「こんにちは。」
と言うと、どうぶつたちは、にげて行きました。どうぶつたちがこうえんにいる時、ライオンくんが
　「いっしょにあそんでもいい。」
　と聞くとうさぎさんは
　「きゃー、ライオンだー。」
と言ってにげてしまいました。するとほかのどうぶつもあわててにげて行ってしまいました。
　うさぎさんは、ライオンくんがこわくてこわくてはやく走りすぎたのでリボンをおとしてしまいました。でも、あわてていたので気がつきませんでした。ライオンくんはリボンを見つけて、
　「うさぎさん、リボンをおとしたよー。」
と言いましが、うさぎさんは行ってしまいました。
　うさぎが家に帰ったとき、
　「どうしてリボンがないの。」
とお母さんがききました。
　「クリスマスにせっかく買ってあげたのに。さがしに行きなさい。」
とおこりました。うさぎさんは、なきながら外にさがしに行きました。
　さっきあそんでいたこうえんに行ってみました。ライオンくんが、いました。
　「きゃーたすけて。」
　と言ってにげようとした時、ライオンくんが、

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「ちょっとまって、リボンをみてけたよー。」と言いました。うさぎさんは、びっくりしたけど、わるい人じゃないんだと思いました。そして

「ありがとう。みんなでいっしょにあそびましょう。」

と言いました。ライオンくんは、ひとりぼっちじゃなくなりました。

おわり

とってもよいお話をありがとう、

じょうずに、そしてきれいに書けていました。

(Lonely lion　West, Satoshi

The lion was always alone. Whenever he said hello to other animals, the animals ran away.
　When the animals were gathering in the park, the lion said, "Can I play with you?" A rabbit screamed "a lion!" and ran away. Seeing this, all other animals went home.
　The rabbit ran so fast that she forgot her ribbon. But she was so frightened that she forgot to pick it up. The lion found the ribbon and said, "Rabbit, you dropped the ribbon!" But the rabbit never came back.
　When the rabbit got home, her mother asked, "what happened to your ribbon?" She also said, "It's the ribbon I bought for you for last Christmas present. Go find it!"
　The rabbit went back crying to find the ribbon. She arrived at the same park where she was playing. There was the lion. When she screamed, "help me!" the lion said "wait a minute. I found your ribbon."
　The rabbit was very surprised. She thought "Oh, the lion is not a bad person." So she said to the lion, "Thank you. Let's play together with everyone." The lion was no longer lonely.
The end.

(Teacher's comment)

Thank you for the beautiful story. You wrote it very well and neatly.)

The next text, Satoshi's text No.5, is a riddle. He seems to have written it also as homework because there is a correction in the use of *katakana* where he wrote the word ヒット (*hitto*, hit). The teacher replaced it with the Japanese word うつ (*utsu*, strike) thinking the use of the English loan word *hitto* is not appropriate.

Satoshi's text No.5

けしごむをなげてえんぴつで
ヒットする。なんのスポートで
しょう。

ウエストさとし

Eraser and pencil
West, Satoshi

Throw an eraser and hit with a
pencil. What is this game?
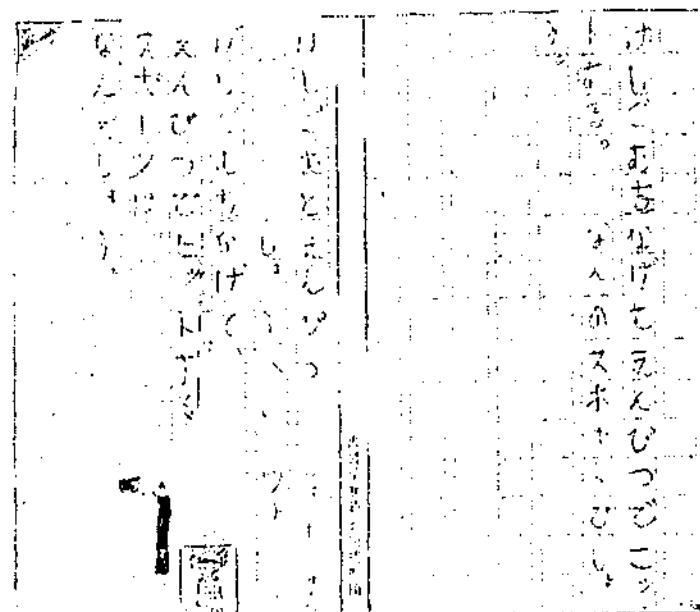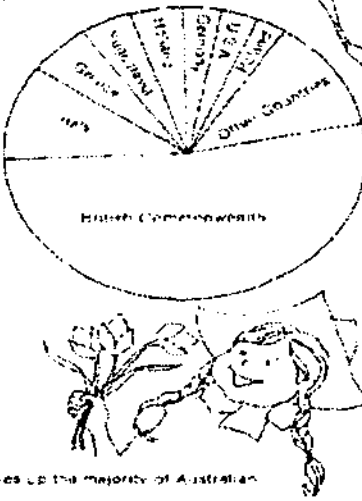
7.6.1.3 Fill in the blanks and answer questions

Satoshi brings back work sheets like those below (text No.6 and 7) a few times a
week from Park Primary. He also uses these sheets in his class. The type of work
is probably one of the most frequently given tasks in school-related work for
Satoshi.

Satoshi's text No.6

Satoshi's text No.7

In doing fill-in the blank sheets, Satoshi is required to write answers on a separate

sheet when the answer is long (text No.8).

Satoshi's text No.8

Fill the gaps.	
1. We enjoy watching the winter Olympics at Nagano in Japan 2. We like the fast skaters when they are ice skating. 3. They get drifted when they swept on their bottoms on the wet ice.	*Fill the gap* *We enjoy watching the winter Olympics at Nagano in Japan. We like the fast skaters when they are ice skating. they get drifted when they swept on their bottoms on the wet ice.*

7.6.1.4 Expository writing

Expository writing is one of the emphasised genres taught at Park Primary and probably at other schools (see for example Ryo's written text No.7 and 8 in Chapter 6). Younger children in prep and Year 1 classes (Miki, Sakura and Eiko) were not writing this type of text much. Satoshi's texts included, not many, but a few expository texts that are written at home as homework from Park Primary.

Satoshi's text No.9

Today's time lin(e)	
1/4 past 9 We came inside 9 O'clock Oral presentation about Japan 10 past 9 We went to Maths invaders 1/2 past 9 We went to Technology 11 O'clock We started play time 1/2 past 11 Finish off technology Mid-day Correct Homework spelling test 11 Handed out notices 1 O'clock Lunch Eating time 10 past 1 Out to lunch play 5 past 2 Came into classroom. 1/4 past 2 Wrote down this timeline 10 to 3 Finished writing this work	

Satoshi's text No.10 below explains what 'Dai Loong (Chinese dragon)' is. It has been edited a few times by his class teacher at Park Primary. This piece is a

second draft with some correction by the teacher to make the final piece.

Satoshi's text No.10

Dai Loong—Our Melbourne Dragon 1. Dai Loong is 3 metres high 2. And 100 metres long. 3. Dai Loong is 20 years old. 4. Chinese people have the New Year day. 5. There is always a cracker at the end of the celebration.	

7.6.1.5 Narrative and recount texts

Satoshi writes narrative/recount or journal at Park Primary regularly, approximately once a week. He also writes it at home occasionally. Satoshi's text No.11 is one such journal entry.

Satoshi's text No.11

Wednesday 6th May Today we visited Rebecca in the Life Education Van.	

Satoshi also writes longer narratives in his journal as in No.12.

Satoshi's text No.12

On the Holidays Last Monday I went to Josh's house to spend the night. Karl and Josh's friends were there. After we had our afternoon tea we cooked marshmallows on the barbecue. Then they went home. We played Never Hood on the computer. Then when we played the Goosebumps game. Josh won. Then we went to bed. When we woke up at 6:30 we watched TV.	*[handwritten draft]*

His narrative is not as developed as that of Ryo (see 6.6) in that it lacks the evaluative feature (Labov 1999), which was present in Ryo's piece in English (Ryo's text No.3).

7.6.1.6 Lists and tables

Satoshi writes tables, figures and drawings and he seems to be good at writing them. As Mr. West said, he keeps cricket scores (example not available) and he writes tables of them. The following tables, lists and figures are found in his homework folder (texts No.13, 14 and 15).

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Satoshi's text No.13

Satoshi's text No.14

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Satoshi's text No.15

Satoshi also likes to draw cartoons with a few words in them as in text No.16 below. They resemble illustrations in the Japanese *manga* that he reads.

Satoshi's text No.16
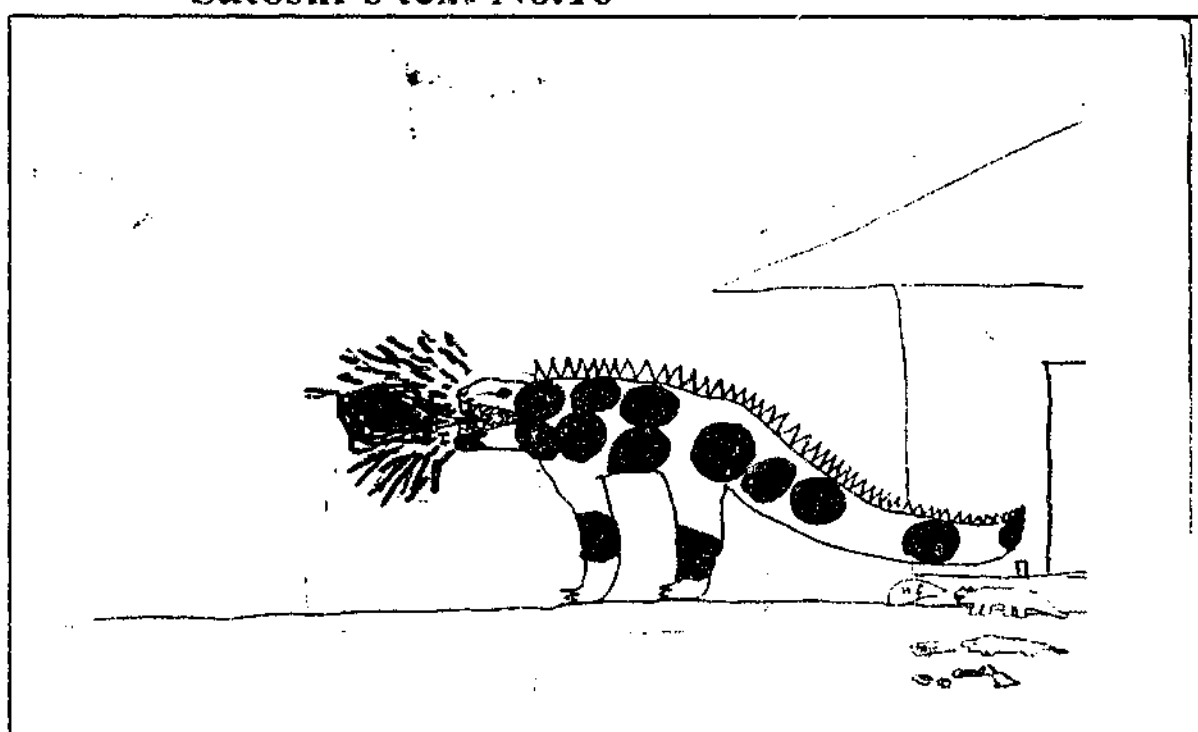
7.6.2 Written texts produced by Eiko and language used in these texts

Eiko's texts in the database are listed in Table 7.9. They are mostly texts in English.

Table 7.9 Types of written texts written by Eiko

Text types	Japanese	English	Total
Word and script drill	0	13	13
Expository	0	13	13
Creative and fiction	0	5	5
Narrative and recount	0	4	4
Fill in the blank and answer questions	0	4	4
Letter and card	2	1	3
Total	2	40	**42**

Most of Eiko's original written pieces that have been obtained for the current study are written in English. The majority of these pieces are written homework she did for Park Primary. A large number of texts are word and script drills (13) and also expository texts (13) that are largely explanatory or descriptive in nature to accompany illustrations. She wrote several creative and fiction texts (5), narrative and recount (4), and fill in the blank type worksheets (4). A few cards and messages (3) that she wrote both in Japanese and English were also available for examination.

7.6.2.1 Word and script drills

The assignment sheets in English that Eiko brings home from school have illustrations in order to give some context to the text (text No.6 and 7).

Eiko's text No.6

Ll for lemon	Mm for Mat	Nn for nut	Oo for Octupus	Pp for pig
Qq for queen	Rr for Robot	Ss for snake	Tt for teapot	Uu for unicorn
Vv for Van	Ww for wigwam	Xx for X-ray	Yy for yacht	Zz for Zip
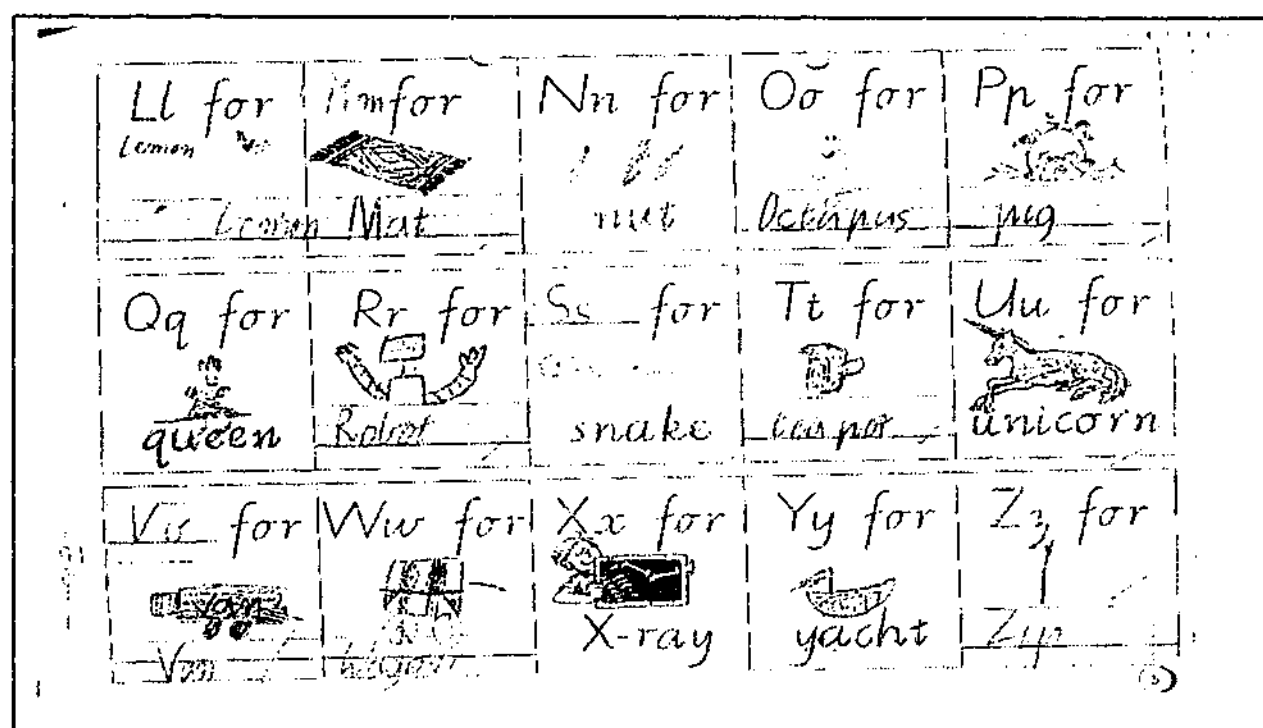
Eiko's text No.7
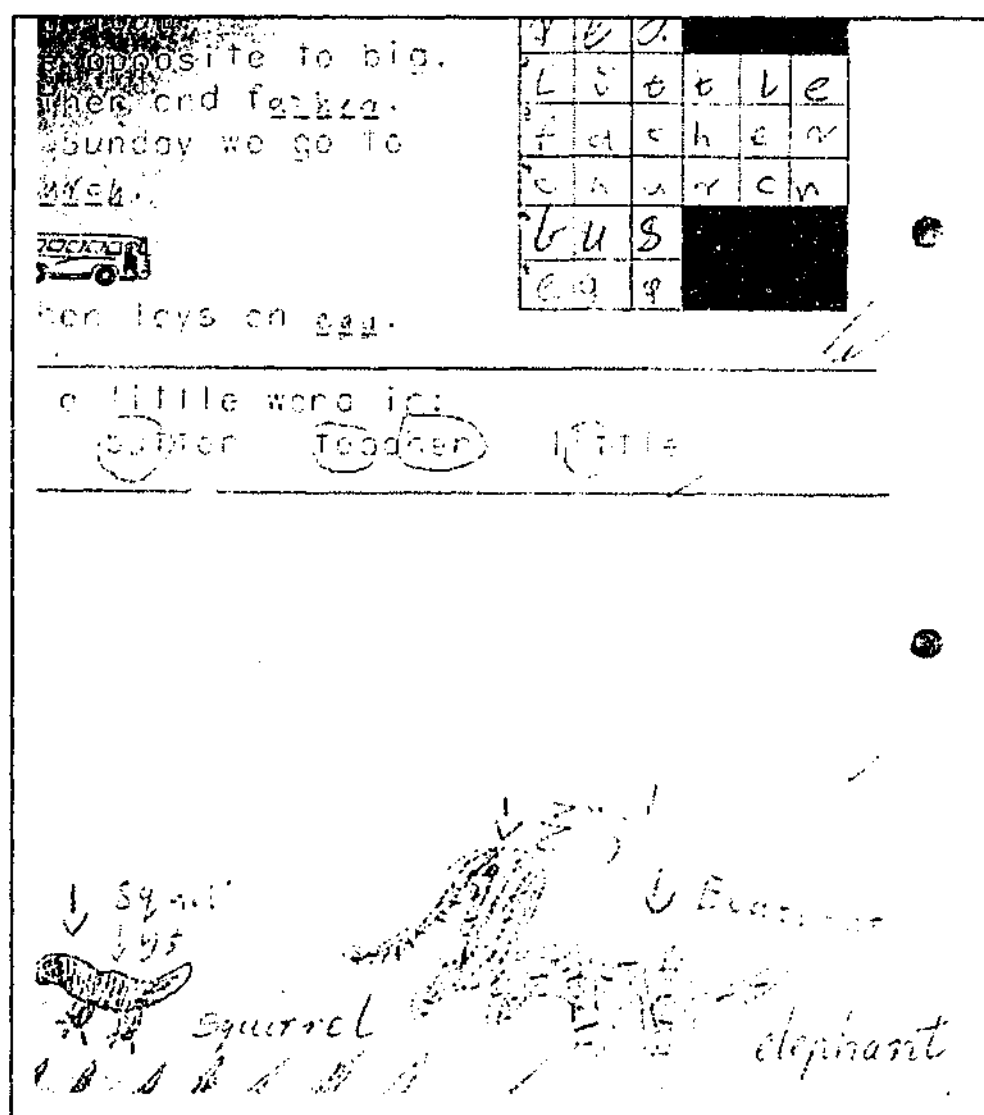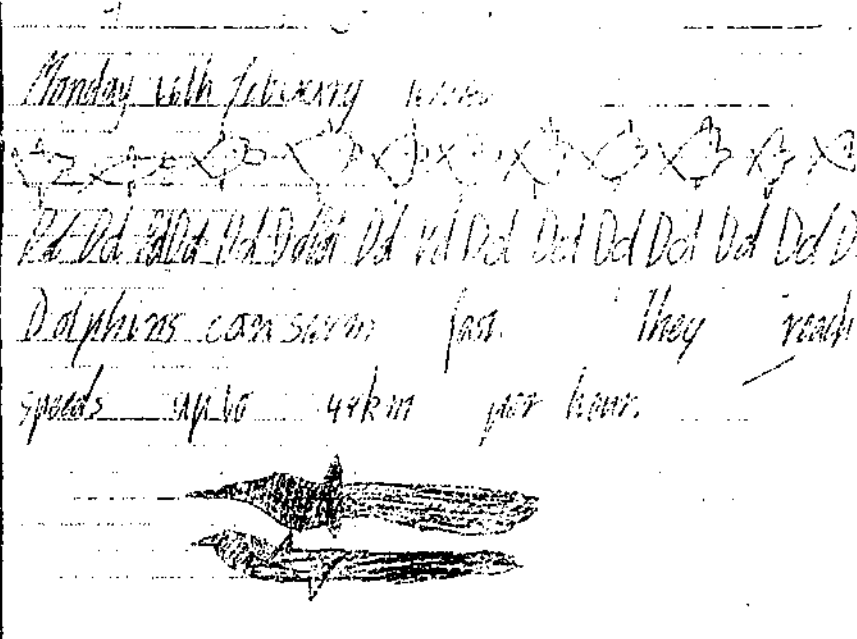
On some sheets Eiko adds pictures. In the text No.7, Eiko not only added pictures, but she also wrote words in Japanese and English. Unlike her brother Satoshi who is shy about his ethnic and linguistic identity, Eiko does not seem to mind displaying her identity in the texts that she writes.
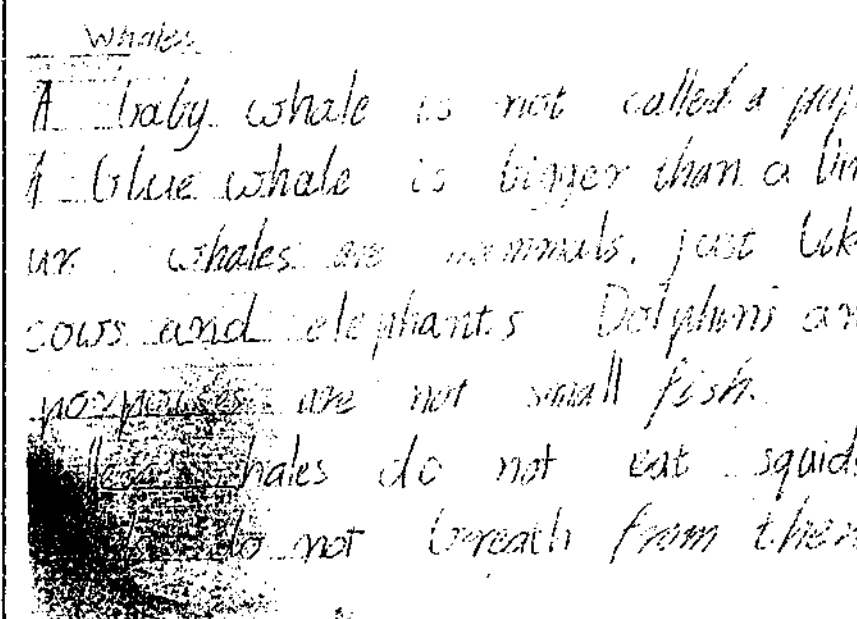
7.6.2.2 Expository writing

The expository writing that Eiko wrote in English was simple and short. She wrote short explanatory sentence next to her pictures.

Eiko's text No.8

Dolphins can swim fast. They reach speeds up to 44 km per hour.	*(handwritten facsimile of Eiko's text with illustration)*

Eiko's text No.9

A baby whale is not called a pup. A blue whale is bigger than a Dinosaur. Whales are mammals, just like cows and elephants. Dolphins and porpoises are not small fish. Killer whales do not eat squids. Whales do not breath from their mouths.	*(handwritten facsimile of Eiko's text)*

7.6.2.3 Creative and fiction

Text No.10 is a story titled "Boy who loved the rain" which is made of illustrations and some words.

Eiko's text No.10

She can write longer pieces with multiple sentences (No.11).

Eiko's text No.11

There are four seasons each year. They are spring, summer, autumn and winter. We are beginning a new season now. Which one is it? Autumn.	

Often what she writes has a model. Copying is still a frequent activity in school and also for homework at Eiko's age level. Models seem to help her to create her own stories or other types of written texts by modifying or adding some words or sentences (No.12 and 13).

Eiko's text No.12

issycat, pussycat, where have you been,
pussycat, pussycat, where have you been,
cking your lips with your whiskers so clean?
icking your lips with your whiskers so clean
ssycat, pussycat, purring and pudgy,
issycat, pussycat, purring and pudgy
issycat, pussycat, WHERE IS OUR BUDGIE?
WHERE IS OUR BUDGIE?

Eiko's text No.13

With my ears I can hear the green and cream leaves on the trees and the wheat and the sheep in the paddock.	

7.6.2.4 Narrative and recount texts

Eiko is assigned to write narratives occasionally at Park Primary (texts No.14 and 15). Her narratives are short and largely limited to the description of what she did, where she went and so on. Like Satoshi's narrative, her narrative does not have the sophisticated structure of Ryo's. She has not started writing *sakubun* or *enikki* (picture diary, see 6.5) in Japanese so she has not learned to write narratives in Japanese and use the *desu*-style which is used to write *enikki* (see for example Sakura's text No.1 or 5 in 6.6). Eiko does not have a separate notebook to write journals as the older children, such as Ryo do (see 6.5).

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Eiko's text No.14

On the weekend I went to the beach. It wasn't very clean so we didn't eat there. We ate meat and beans on a seat in the park instead.	*(handwritten text, illegible)*

Eiko's text No.15

We went to Gimmnastik (Gymnastics) and we did banana-rolls, cart wheels, spiderman stand, and (unclear) us the motorbike stand. I love it. The man was very kind and my favourite activity was cart wheels. And my second was spider man stand. My third was banana-rolls.	*(handwritten text, illegible)*

7.6.2.5 Fill in the blanks and answer questions

Many fill in the blank question sheets that Eiko brings back from school are spelling, grammar, word-building and maths (texts No.16 and 17). In these exercise sheets Eiko studies spelling and maths in a context-reduced format. Usually, there is no topic or story that connects the exercises in a sheet.

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Eiko's text No.16

Eiko's text No.17

7.6.2.6 Letters and cards

As cited above (Eiko's text No.2-5), Eiko often writes short messages. No.18 is a Christmas card she wrote to her mother's friend. Mrs. West helped her with what

words she should write, including the *desu*-style (see 6.6), which is appropriate for the occasion and the receiver of the card who is an adult.

Eiko's text No.18

Xxx さんへ メリークリスマス クリスマスカードありがとう。わたしは、いなかのおばあちゃんとおじいちゃんのいえにいきます。 キャンベラでたのしいなつやすみをすごすといいですね。 えいこより。 (Dear Mr.xxx Merry Christmas. Thank you for the Christmas card. I am visiting my grandmother and grandfather's house in the country. I hope you have a nice summer holiday in Canberra. From Eiko.)	

No. 19 is a text that Eiko wrote to her teacher at Park Primary. It seems that it is easier for her to write an emotional message to someone and show it rather than saying it. Not suppressing feeling in texts written in English is a similar behaviours seen among all three females in the study.

Eiko's text No.19

| Ms Bxxx is the best teacher in the world. | |
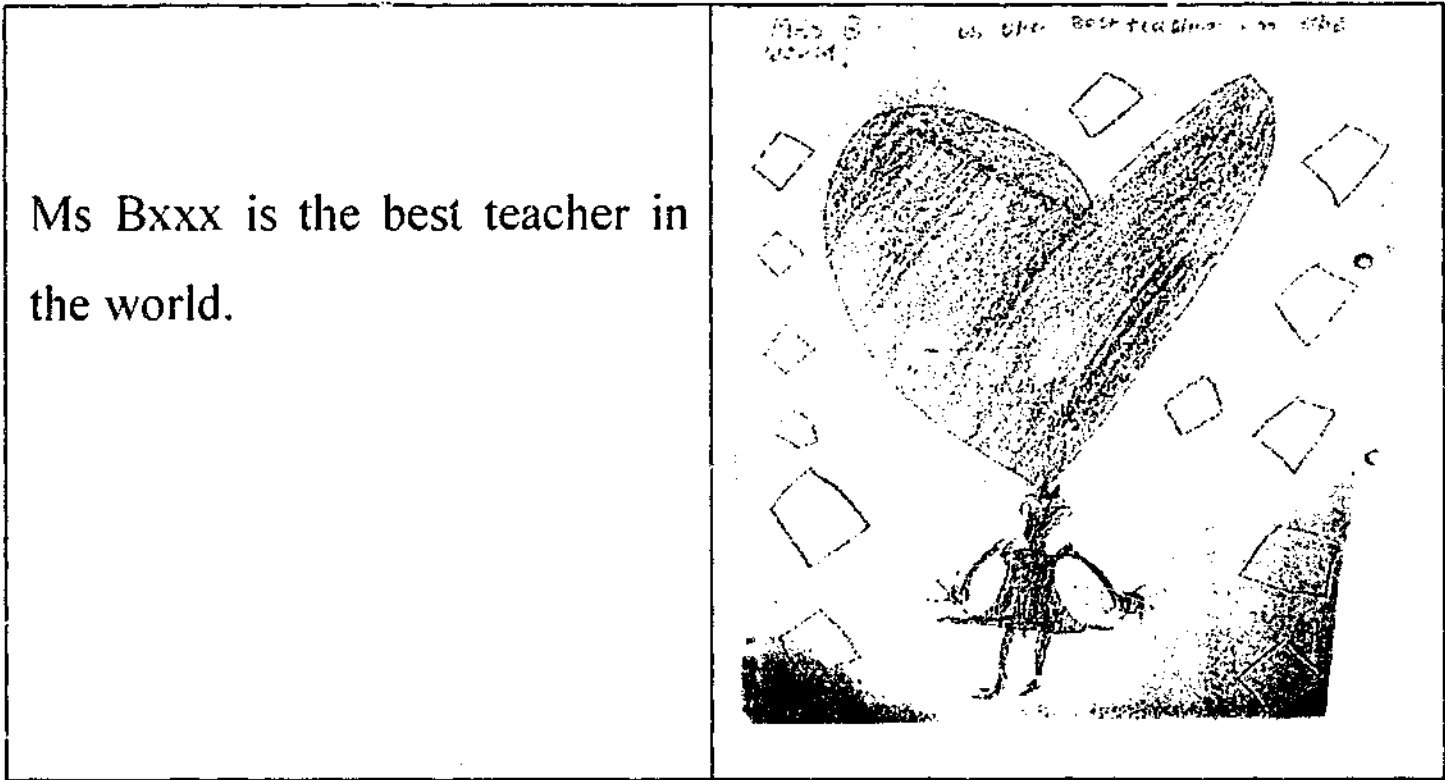
7.6.3 Use of Japanese and English scripts and linguistic levels in the use of scripts in Satoshi's and Eiko's texts

The breakdown of the uses of scripts and also linguistic levels (script, single word, clause or phrase, discourse) of Satoshi and Eiko are summarised in Tables 7.10 to 7.13 below.

7.6.3.1 Satoshi's use of scripts and linguistic levels of texts

Table 7. 10 Use of hiragana, katakana, kanji and the alphabet by Satoshi

Scripts	Number of texts
Alphabet	23
Hiragana and katakana	3
Hiragana, katakana and *kanji*	1

As listed in Table 7.10, Satoshi's ability to write Japanese scripts is probably less advanced than his ability to write the alphabet. He seems to be able to write *hiragana* quite well except for some characters. He seems to struggle writing characters あ、お、を、む that have round parts in them. He does not remember all *katakana* yet so he needs to ask Mrs. West or looks at the wall chart in the kitchen

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in order to write some characters. He does not seem to have mastered the different conventions to use *hiragana* and *katakana*, such as using a hyphen to indicate a long vowel when writing *katakana* instead of writing an extra vowel in the case of *hiragana*.

He seems to be able to write only a few *kanji* without looking at a model or asking Mrs. West for help. Although he has studied 200 or more *kanji* in the first and second year at the MJSS, he seems to remember how to write only a few of them. He used a total of 12 *kanji* in his text No.4 above (時 (time), 言 (say), 行 (go), 見 (see), 母 (mother), 帰 (return), 家 (house), 気 (feeling), 外 (outside), 買 (buy), 思 (think), 人 (person)). It is not certain how many of them he knows by heart. All of these *kanji* are included in the list that children learn in Year 1 and 2 in a Japanese school (see Table 3.2).

Table 7.11 Linguistic levels of texts written by Satoshi

Levels	Japanese	English	Total
Clausal or phrasal	0	10	10
Discourse	4	4	8
Single word	0	6	6
Script	0	3	3

As listed in Table 7.11, Many of Satoshi's texts are written at the clausal and phrasal level. He also wrote several texts at discourse level. With a limited number of texts, it is difficult to determine Satoshi's current level of writing skills. He appears to be finishing the stage of learning the basic phoneme-grapheme correspondence and entering the level to write longer texts in English, but still requires assistance in writing Japanese texts in writing scripts correctly.

7.6.3.2 Eiko's use of scripts and linguistic levels of texts

Mrs. West stated that Eiko is probably more advanced in terms of ability to write,

particularly in Japanese than her older brother. This may be reflected in her use of scripts and linguistic levels of her written pieces.

Table 7.12 Use of hiragana, katakana and the alphabet by Eiko

Scripts	Number of texts
Alphabet	38
Hiragana and alphabet	2
Hiragana and katakana	2

The majority of Eiko's pieces in the database are in English. The only two pieces that were written in Japanese had *hiragana* and *katakana*, but no *kanji*. Other pieces that I copied into my fieldnotes, such as Eiko's texts No. 1, 2 and 3 also do not contain any *kanji*. Eiko can write the alphabet, *hiragana* and *katakana* without needing much support from Mrs. West or her teachers.

Table 7.13 Linguistic levels of texts written by Eiko

Levels	Japanese	English	Total
Clausal or phrasal	0	16	16
Single word	0	15	15
Discourse	2	9	11
Script	0	5	5

Table 8.13 indicates that the majority of Eiko's pieces in the database are in the smaller linguistic units at clausal and phrasal or single word levels. She seems to be through with the stage in which she needs to practice alphabet or *hiragana* character by character. There are not as many discourse level pieces (n=11) compared to pieces in small linguistic units.

7.6.4 Topic, content and audience of Satoshi's and Eiko's texts

The majority of the topics of Satoshi's and Eiko's written texts were given because they are mostly homework and school-related work. Audiences of the texts are often not addressed in the texts.

7.6.4.1 Topic, content and audience of Satoshi's texts

The topics of writing that have been given to Satoshi by Mrs. Stevens at Park Primary are various such as maths, excursions that the class went on, school life, animals and so on. Many are related to Satoshi's life in Australia. As listed in Table 8.15, there are a few topics that are specific, such as the Chinese dragon, Dai Loong. The topics given to Satoshi are relevant to the school life and appropriate for children of his age.

Table 7.14 Topic and content of Satoshi's written texts

Text types	Japanese	English
Word and script drill	N/A	Numbers Winter Olympics
Creative and fiction	Animals (lion, rabbit, etc) Sports	Travel
Fill in the blank and answer questions	N/A	Winter Olympics School
Expository	N/A	Animals Australian sports Chinese dragon Maths
Narrative and recount	Travel to Japan	Travel to Japan Excursion
List and table	N/A	Schedule

Satoshi sometimes selects his own topic and contents for some of the pieces. Even when a topic is given by the teacher, Satoshi writes more specifically on a topic within the general content area. One such topic that Satoshi chose to write on in English is travel to Japan. He also wrote a few pieces on this topic in relation to the winter Olympics. In Japanese he wrote a short recount on travel to Japan. A significant event such as the Olympics and travel to Japan seems to serve as a source of writing which is used a number of times on different occasions. Other topics that Satoshi is interested in writing about are animals and sports. In both English and Japanese, he wrote pieces on these topics.

7.6.4.2 Audience of Satoshi's texts

The audience of Satoshi's text is most of the time not explicitly addressed in the text. Most of his pieces are read by his mother and his teachers. He was of course aware that these texts would be read by them and often evaluated. He was never seen writing a letter or note for an audience other than his family members and teachers. The audiences of his writing are predominantly family. Although there is no instance in the database, there is evidence that he wrote pieces for his own use, such as writing cricket match scores. He wrote the cricket scores down almost purely for his enjoyment, which suggests that self-engagement (Lotherington et al. 1998) is a significant function of his writing practice.

7.6.4.3 Topic and contents and audience of Eiko's texts

In work sheets that Eiko brings back from her school, topics are already written. The topics on these sheets are almost random, and of little significance because most of the time these sheets are for studying spelling and grammar. Table 7.15 lists the topics for Eiko's texts.

Table 7.15 Topic and content of Eiko's written texts

Text types	Japanese	English
Word and script drill	N/A	The place that I live Spelling of words Mermaid Days of week
Expository	N/A	Sea mammals Sweets Dolphins Classmates Big and small animals Ice cream Shells
Creative and fiction	N/A	Apples and colours Clown The boy who loved the rain Seasons
Narrative and recount	N/A	Gymnastic class Bible Breakfast at school
Fill in the blank and answer questions	N/A	Lunch
Letter and card	Christmas card Phone message to her teacher at the MJSS	A card to Mrs.Kidd

In expository pieces she wrote in English, she was often given a topic by her teacher. She wrote several pieces on the topic 'sea mammals' which was the topic of the project in class. Although many of Eiko's pieces are school-related and topics are given, she also wrote some texts with self-selected topics. Self-selected topics are seen in creative writing, narrative and recount texts that she wrote in English, including a clown, apples and colours, the boy who loved rain, and seasons (Eiko's text No.10).

Sakura Misawa wrote on people around her (see Sakura's text No.5), such as her father, brother, mother, teacher and friends in her picture diary in Japanese. However, Eiko, a girl of the same age, wrote few texts about people around her. There are three recount texts in the database, in which she selected topics, gymnastic class and breakfast at school that are based on her own experience.

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In her personal letters, card and notes, Eiko sometimes chose to write her feelings and emotions both in English and Japanese (Eiko's texts No.2, 3, and 19). In small notes that she wrote to her mother in Japanese, she wrote her feelings as if Japanese is a secret language between Eiko and her mother (Eiko's texts No.2 and 3).

7.6.4.4 Audience of Eiko's texts

The audiences of Eiko's written texts are predominantly her parents (mostly Mrs. West), her brother and her teachers at Park Primary and the MJSS. As in the case of Satoshi, most texts that she wrote as homework do not have a specific audience, except for Mrs. West and her teachers who read them. She wrote some texts to distant, but known persons occasionally. She wrote few texts for self-engagement or to herself.

7.6.5 Similarities and dissimilarities between written pieces by Satoshi and Eiko in English and Japanese

Because the numbers of Satoshi's and Eiko's texts that were available in Japanese and English were very different, it is difficult to discuss similarity and dissimilarity fully. Only a limited picture is available regarding the texts they wrote.

The text types and functions in Japanese and English are predominantly academic in the case of both Satoshi and Eiko. What they wrote in Japanese and English were similar in that a large portion of them were written for learning literacy and vocabulary building. Other than for educational purposes, Eiko only wrote social-interactional texts and only a limited number (n=3). The majority of the content and topics also come from their schools. Some types of texts, such as creative writing, recount and journal involved self-selected topics.

In the case of Eiko, her behaviour and the texts she produced indicate that she enjoys writing both in English and Japanese. The texts present the fact that she can write freely in both Japanese and English. Satoshi, on the other hand, seems to be less motivated to write texts in Japanese than in English. He seldom initiates writing texts in Japanese unless prompted by his mother.

7.7 Overview

A short summary of the West children's biliteracy is made below under the heading of the research questions presented in Chapter 1.

7.7.1 What are the immediate contexts of English-Japanese biliteracy practices?

The English-Japanese biliteracy environment of the West family is more resourced in Japanese than English. As has been seen, the majority of the family's print materials consists of text in Japanese for recreational purposes and also materials for the children's study both in Japanese and English.

A characteristic of the family is a large number of hand written materials for learning Japanese made by Mrs. West that are posted in the dining room. Eiko has apparently been stimulated by them and made her own handwritten texts that she posted in her room (eg. Eiko's text No.1). From the statement of Mrs. West regarding the development of the children, the environmental prints such as these are effective for stimulating the children's emergent literacy (see also similar statement by Mrs. Kawada in 5.4 and 5.5).

On the other hand, Satoshi's behaviour indicates that the biliteracy environment at home, including the hand written posters in the dining room, may not be stimulating him much at this stage. He is not showing a great interest in practicing

literacy in Japanese and showing more enthusiasm for reading and writing in English. His self-initiated recreational literacy activities do not normally involve Japanese, except for reading *manga* and playing some video games that contain Japanese text. The print materials in English in the home seem to be limited for stimulating Satoshi to carry out more reading and writing in English.

7.7.2 What are the children's and parents' biliteracy practices?

The frequently practiced literate activities in the family are educational, recreational, instrumental, public record, news-related, social-interactional and oral-substitutional uses of reading and writing. Satoshi reads and writes actively when the texts are connected to content areas that he is interested in, such as sports and computer games. The largest amount of Satoshi's literacy practice is occupied by studying Japanese. Although he has mastered *hiragana*, he needs assistance in reading and writing many *katakana* characters. Although he spends a large amount of time learning *kanji*, there is little opportunity in his daily literacy practice to use *kanji* aside from studying.

Much of the reading and writing he does in English has relevance to his day to day life. It appears that he enjoys some literate activities, such as writing a journal based on his experience (Satoshi's text No.12). He also reads regularly, if not a large amount, in English. On the other hand, he seems to be much less interested in reading or writing texts in Japanese because they are largely drills and oral exercises that have little content and relevance to his life. There is little reading, particularly of books in Japanese.

Eiko likes reading and writing. She spends the largest amount of time reading and writing for recreational purposes. Although she gets a small amount of work from her schools, she has an excellent command of reading and writing in both Japanese and English, which may be better than that of her brother, particularly in Japanese. She seems to have mastered *hiragana* and *katakana* by making use of

the wall charts in the kitchen. She writes many texts, sometimes bilingually (Eiko's texts No.1 and 7). She seems to be able to express herself well in writing both in Japanese and English.

Eiko is in a fortunate position to benefit from Mrs. West's assistance in an environment in which there is little pressure to learn an overwhelming amount of *kanji* or other elements of literacy in Japanese. Eiko seems to have plenty of space in her life to explore what she likes to read or write. It is not known at this stage whether she will be able to continue maintaining this type of literacy environment even after formal learning of literacy in Japanese starts at the MJSS. However, it is assumed that with her firm foundation in reading Japanese and relatively high motivation, she would probably have little trouble practicing biliteracy in the following few years. This can be predicted from the behaviour of Sakura Misawa, who is only a year ahead at the MJSS and does not find the work challenging (see 6.5).

7.7.3 What are the attitudes of parents towards biliteracy?

Mr. and Mrs. West had placed a higher priority on the use of Japanese than English at home until recently. However, they are beginning to find that they have to change their attitudes slightly to increase the use of English. Mr. West had been enthusiastically pushing a Japanese-only policy at home. However, with Satoshi just started Year 3 and Eiko, Year 2, the amount of reading and writing in English is increasing.

Mr. West wants their children to be fluent in speaking Japanese, with some ability to read and write Japanese. He believes the MJSS and home learning are the most effective measures for maintaining Japanese and gaining ability in literacy, as well as developing an identity as a Japanese-Australian. At the same time, however, he stated that he could not contribute much to his children's biliteracy development because of his limited ability in Japanese literacy.

Mrs. West believes that it is her responsibility to share reading and writing with her children at home. Her commitment is showing a positive effect on children's biliteracy, particularly Eiko's ability in Japanese. It is Mrs. West's role to supervise homework and make sure her children cover all the work they are supposed to do. She is beginning to think the ability to read and write in Japanese is not essential for them in Australia. She thinks literacy in English is more significant for them. She thinks the significance of literacy in Japanese is limited to domestic communication and also to appreciating literary arts in Japanese. The slow change that is taking place in this family, to value literacy in English more, may affect the children's practice and development of literacy in Japanese.

7.7.4 How are home, school and social domains of literacy interrelated?

School, home and community have a strong connection in the West family's biliteracy practices. Mrs. West, Satoshi and Eiko read a large number of books and other types of written materials that originate in schools both in Japanese and English. Their writing activities also have a strong connection with the schools.

The schools strongly regulate the type of work they practice at home. The MJSS provides a list of *kanji* for Satoshi to learn each week according to the prescribed list of *kanji* in Japanese school textbooks. The Japanese textbooks also provide children with graded reading and exercises. Park Primary also provides children regularly with appropriate types of books for them to read.

The West family makes use of literacy resources in the community, largely materials in Japanese. They access the MJSS library and also friends for borrowing print resources in Japanese, such as books, *manga* and videos. The connection through the MJSS is useful for exchanging these materials. The family make use of the local library and bookstores for obtaining materials in English when the need arises. The relatives in remote areas, including Mr. West's parents

and Mrs. West's mother are significant suppliers of books, *manga*, and other types of materials.

In short, the West children's Japanese-English biliteracy practices seem to be shifting from Japanese-centred to English-centred. This transition is clearly seen in the behaviour of Satoshi. Eiko, on the other hand, seems to be enjoying recreational reading and writing in Japanese at home at this stage, thanks to the effort of Mrs. West.

Chapter 8 compares and discusses the biliteracy of the three children and their parents.

Chapter 8 Comparison of the Uses of Japanese-English Biliteracy and Written Texts Produced by the Five Children

8.1 Introduction

Chapter 8 presents a comparison of the uses of biliteracy in the Kawada, the Misawa, the West families and their children, and the written texts produced by these children.

8.2 Comparison of the Uses of Literacy and Language Choices for Reading and Writing

Each family and each child has a different repertoire of reading and writing and tendency for language selection for literacy. The Japanese-English bilingual children's reading and writing behaviour is not uniform. In the comparison below, firstly, the tendencies in the three families are compared. Secondly, the uses of literacy by the five children are compared.

8.2.1 Differences in uses of literacy and language choice across families

The selection of language for reading and writing by the three families is compared in Table 8.1.

Table 8.1 Language selection for reading and writing in three families*

	Japanese	English	English and Japanese mixed
The Misawa family (Migrant)	47%	32%	21%
The West family (Australian-Japanese mixed marriage)	41%	47%	12%
The Kawada family (Temporary resident)	34%	61%	6%
Average	41%	47%	13%

*The figures are calculated based on the length of time reported in the literacy diary.

The temporary residents, the Kawada family, use nearly twice as much English as Japanese for reading and writing in literacy events. The migrant Misawa family uses a considerably larger amount of Japanese. The Australian-Japanese mixed marriage family, the West family, uses nearly equal amounts of Japanese and English. English and Japanese are relatively more separated in the Kawada family than the other families. This is indicated by only 6% of literacy events in which they read and write using both languages. The Misawa family often read and write using both languages in the same literacy event, using English and Japanese together 21% of the time.

The priority of language choice is seen in the difference in the selection of Japanese and English by the three families. The Misawa parents seem to consider Japanese as their basic language for reading and writing in the family (see 6.2). The Kawada family use English frequently with their priority on it while they are in Australia. The West family also use English more than Japanese. However, they do so for a different reason because they are proficient in this language and comfortable in using it, particularly Mr. West, who uses English almost solely as the language of his reading and writing.

8.2.2 Comparison of the uses of literacy across three families

From the previous studies that have been mentioned in Chapter 2 and also the pilot study that has been described in Chapter 4, it was predicted that a large amount of the use of literacy by the three families would be educational, recreational and instrumental uses. In the studies done on children of various language groups (for example, Hardman (1998) and Lotherington et al (1998) on South East Asian (Chinese, Vietnamese and Cambodian) in the U.S.A. and Australia and Heath (1986), Purcell-Gates (1996), Teale (1986) in the U.S.A.), educational, as well as instrumental and recreational uses are frequently discussed. In the studies that involved Japanese-speaking school children overseas (Miyoshi 1994, Richards and Yamada-Yamamoto 1998), the educational use was also found to be prominent in the uses of literacy among the children. The motivational factor for promoting educational use is assumed to be the extremely competitive educational system and the returnee situation in Japan (see 3.5).

Table 8.2 lists in rank order the uses that are most frequently seen in these homes, including the children (based on Tables 5.6, 6.7 and 7.5):

Table 8.2 The uses of literacy in three families*

Kawada family (Temporary resident)	Misawa family (migrant)	West family (mixed marriage)
Recreational	Educational	Educational
Educational	Recreational	Recreational
Social-interactional	News-related	Instrumental
News-related	Public record	Public record
Instrumental	Memory aid	News-related
Confirmational	Expository	Social-interactional
Expository	Instrumental	Oral-substitutional
Memory-aid	Social-interactional	
Public record	Oral-substitutional	

*Ranked in order of frequency

Table 8.2 indicates that the most frequently observed literacy activities among the three families were educational and recreational uses. Unlike in some previous

studies (eg. Purcell-Gates 1996, Teale 1984), instrumental use was not high in the three households. News-related, public record, expository and social-interactional uses are also frequently used types of literacy in the three homes in either Japanese or English. Memory aid, oral-substitutional, confirmational and instrumental uses are seen sporadically across families in Japanese and English.

8.2.3 Comparison of language choice and the uses of literacy across children

Table 8.3 compares the percentage of language selection in all literacy activities involving the five children.

Table 8.3 Children's language selection for literacy

	Japanese	English	J and E mixed
Ryo Misawa (9;5, Primary Year 3, MJSS Year 3)	63.4%	33.6%	3.0%
Satoshi West (8;9, Primary Year 3, MJSS Year 2)	57.6%	42.4%	0%
Sakura Misawa (7;5, Primary Year 1, MJSS Year1)	61.6%	27.6%	10.8%
Eiko West (6;10, Primary Year 2, MJSS kinder)	46.9%	53.1%	1.7%
Miki Kawada (6;2, Primary Year 1, MJSS kinder)	16%	82.9%	1.1%
Average	49.1%	47.9%	3.3%

The rank ordered use of Japanese for literacy is Ryo (MJSS Year 3), Satoshi (MJSS Year 2), Sakura (MJSS Year1), Eiko (MJSS kindergarten) and Miki (MJSS kindergarten). This suggests that year lev. at the MJSS and/or age is playing a role in determining the amount of Japanese. This is not surprising considering the higher workload for older children in the MJSS curricula (see 6.3 and 7.3). Some children also seem to prefer Japanese for recreational reading (Ryo and Eiko in particular). In this trend, Sakura is an exception as her use of

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Japanese is higher than Satoshi's. Her high use of Japanese is considered to be the result of prioritisation of Japanese at her home.

8.2.4 Comparison of the children's uses of biliteracy

The variety in the children's uses of literacy is relatively limited compared to that of their parents. It seems that the variety in the uses of literacy at this age level is still limited.

Table 8.4 Comparison of children's uses of biliteracy*

Ryo Misawa (9;5)	Satoshi West (8;10)	Sakura Misawa (7;5)	Eiko West (6;10)	Miki Kawada (6;2)
Recreational	Educational	Educational	Recreational	Recreational
Educational	Recreational	Recreational	Educational	Educational
Social-interactional	News-related	Social-interactional	Oral-substitutional	Social-interactional
		Memory aid		Instrumental
		News-related		
		Oral-substitutional		

*Ranked in order of frequency

Table 8.4 indicates that in the children's uses, recreational and educational uses are the central functions for children's reading and writing. Other uses, including social-interactional (reading and writing letters and cards), memory-aid, instrumental, oral-substitutional and news-related uses are seen less frequently.

Among the five children, Sakura again stands out in that she uses biliteracy for a wider variety of functions compared to other children. At the time of the study, she was particularly interested in applying the uses of literacy that she learned at her school in the home domain. Memory aid, news-related and oral-substitutional uses are functions of literacy that she had just learned at school (see 6.5). She applied these uses not only in English but also in Japanese (social-interactional).

The application of the school-literacy at home is encouraged by her parents and she seemed to be delighted to show her competence in literacy to her parents. Her instance indicates that the home atmosphere is significant for encouraging children to practice biliteracy at home, particularly in applying what is learned in the language used in school and society to the home/minority language. Reinforcement of L2 literacy at home is considered to promote L2-L1 transference of literacy skills.

The proportion of recreational and educational uses, the two major uses of literacy by children, are summarised in Table 8.5 below. The children spend the majority of reading and writing time on these uses. For all children the total of the two uses occupies approximately 90% or more of their time.

Table 8.5 Recreational, educational and other uses of literacy by children*

	Educational use	Recreational use	Other uses
Ryo Misawa (9;5)	51%	46%	3%
Satoshi West (8;9)	63.8%	33.3%	2.9%
Sakura Misawa (7;5)	64%	24.7%	10%
Eiko West (6;10)	47.6%	50.8%	1.7%
Miki Kawada (6;2)	49.6%	50.2%	0.2%

*The figures in this table are percentages from all uses of literacy

8.2.4.1 Children's educational use of literacy

The children use both Japanese and English for their study in a variety of activities (see Table 8.6 below). The children's reading and writing for educational purposes are categorised into encoding-decoding, writing extended discourse, reading-understanding and others. What children do in one language

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and not in another is also determined by the nature of study in each language.

Table 8.6 Types of reading and writing for educational use of literacy

Types of reading and writing	Language of the text	Ryo Misawa (9;5)	Satoshi West (8;9)	Sakura Misawa (7;5)	Eiko West (6,10)	Miki Kawada (6;2)
Encoding-decoding						
Spelling exercises	English		√	√	√	√
Kana drills	Japanese		√	√	√	√
Kanji drills	Japanese	√	√	√		
Aural/oral exercises (reading text aloud)	English		√	√	√	√
Aural/oral exercises	Japanese	√	√	√	√	√
Writing extended discourse						
Journals	English	√	√	√	√	
Journals (*e/nikki*)	Japanese	√	√	√		
Creative	English	√	√		√	
Creative	Japanese		√	√		
Expository	English	√	√		√	√
Expository	Japanese	√		√		√
Reading-understanding						
Reading stories	English	√	√	√	√	√
Reading stories	Japanese	√	√	√	√	√
Reading comprehension	English		√			
Reading comprehension	Japanese	√	√	√		
Word definition	English				√	
Word definition	Japanese	√	√	√	√	
Others						
Grammatical exercises	English		√		√	
Grammatical exercises	Japanese	√	√	√		
Science projects	English	√				
Maths	English	√	√	√	√	
Maths	Japanese	√	√	√		
Music	N/A	√		√	√	√

The encoding-decoding activities (eg. English spelling and *kana* drills) are typically exercised by the younger children, Sakura and Eiko. The work on the basic characters and spelling was most frequently seen in Sakura's and Eiko's study sessions. Sakura does a large amount of this type of activity both in Japanese and English because both at the primary school and the MJSS she is in the year level (Year 1 in both schools) in which these exercises occupy a significant amount of study time. Eiko does spelling exercises in English often because it is a focused area of her study at Park Primary. However, being in the kindergarten class at the MJSS, she is not given as much of this type of work in Japanese as she gets in English. Miki (Year 1 at her primary school and kindergarten at the MJSS) was not seen engaging in this type of activity as frequently as the other children due to the small amount of homework of this kind. Miki sometimes does *hiragana* exercises (eg. Miki's text No.3 in 5.6) although the amount of *hiragana* she practices is small as in the case of Eiko because she too is in the kindergarten class at the MJSS.

Satoshi, who is in Year 3 at his primary school and would begin Year 3 soon at the MJSS is doing a large amount of *kanji* and *hiragana* drills. Ryo, who is in Year 3 at both schools is doing *kanji* exercises, but no spelling exercises in English. The oral exercise (reading text aloud) is done by all children in Japanese and considered a significant part of the study of reading in the Japanese school curricula, up to Year 4 level (see 3.7.3).

In the children's study, the decoding-encoding activities in Japanese are the area that seems to be reinforced strongly in all families. All parents were seen giving extra work to their children in this area. This seems to reflect the view shared by the parents that learning scripts, particularly in Japanese, is a significant part of learning literacy in Japanese.

In writing extended discourse, the year level at the local primary school seems to play a significant part. The older children, Ryo and Satoshi, wrote a variety of extended discourses often in English, less frequently but also in Japanese in the

form of journals, expository writing and also creative writing. The younger children, Sakura and Eiko wrote this type of text less frequently than Ryo and Satoshi. Miki, the youngest girl, hardly ever wrote extended discourse in either Japanese or English.

In the reading-understanding category, all children engaged in reading stories both in English and Japanese. Story reading seems to be one of the significant areas in study-related reading in all the families. The parents stated that this is still a significant type of reading for the children and also themselves (see 5.2. 6.2 and 7.2). It is interesting, however, to see that there is a divide between the parents and the children in that the children were often seen reading in English, whereas the parents preferred reading stories with children in Japanese. Because the children bring back books in English from school regularly, they seem to be becoming more accustomed to reading stories in English than in Japanese. However, the Japanese-born parents strongly desire to share reading in Japanese for cultural reasons and also for bonding between them and the children. Reading comprehension exercises and word-definition activities were done in Japanese by some children, but not as much in English. Those children who are studying Japanese using the standard Japanese textbooks, Ryo, Sakura and Satoshi, do these comprehension and vocabulary exercises regularly.

To summarise individual children's levels from the point of view of the study-related literacy activity, Ryo Misawa is clearly past the stage of learning basic encoding-decoding mechanisms of the Japanese and English writing systems. He is developing his level to write longer discourses, for various academic genres and also for accessing a large amount of information via written texts in both languages.

Satoshi carries out a wide variety of reading and writing for studying, but he seems to be more advanced in English in reading or writing. In Japanese, he carries out a large amount of work in decoding-encoding mostly for writing, but not much for reading. He writes extended discourses, such as journals, expository

and creative writing in English, but writes few of these texts in Japanese and also requires help and models in writing in Japanese. Due to the rapid pace of study at the MJSS, he is beginning to struggle to keep up with the study of Japanese. He and his parents seem to be beginning to think he will become fully literate in English, but only functionally literate in Japanese.

Eiko West likes reading in both languages. She loves reading Japanese and English, but is not seen studying them frequently because she is not getting much homework. She was seen carrying out some word building and spelling exercises in English, but not much in Japanese. Her literacies in Japanese and English are parallel at this stage although it is not known what will happen to her biliteracy development once formal studying of Japanese at the MJSS begins.

Sakura Misawa is a blessed child regarding biliteracy development. She did not require heavy study to learn *hiragana*, *katakana* and the English alphabet. The speed of learning at the MJSS, approximately 10 *kanji* a week, is not challenging for her. In reading and writing longer texts she requires assistance. She is discovering various functions of writing, such as keeping records and writing messages, which she does mostly in English but also in Japanese in small amounts. Her use of literacy in English seems to be expanding rapidly. Japanese literacy seems to be developing well, but not diversifying as much as that of her English.

Miki Kawada has the narrowest range in her literacy activity for educational purposes, which is limited to some writing (expository writing based on a model) and reading stories. The centre of her study is reading books in English. As was described throughout Chapter 5, her writing skill, including her ability to spell both Japanese and English, are developing and she is still in the process of constructing the notions of phoneme and syllable. Her overall literacy development is at a much earlier stage compared to the other children. It seems to be progressing mostly in English at this stage.

8.2.5 Children's recreational use of literacy

Each child showed different preferences in selecting recreational activities and language. The types of recreational literacy activity have been categorised into 'text as a source of entertainment', 'text as instrumental to engaging in the entertainment itself', and 'text as a facet of media entertainment' based on Anderson and Stokes (1984). These are shown in Table 8.7.

Table 8.7 Types of reading and writing for recreation by five children

Types of reading and writing	Language of the text	Ryo Misawa (9;5)	Satoshi West (8;9)	Sakura Misawa (7;5)	Eiko West (6,10)	Miki Kawada (6;2)
Text as source of entertainment						
Reading picture books	English			√	√	√
Reading picture books	Japanese	√		√	√	√
Reading story books	English	√	√	√	√	√
Reading story books	Japanese	√			√	
Reading comic books	Japanese	√	√	√	√	√
Reading game books	English	√	√		√	
Reading packages and advertisement materials	English	√	√	√	√	√
Reading a news paper			√	√		
Drawing illustrations with text in them	English	√	√	√	√	√
Drawing illustrations with text in them	Japanese	√	√		√	
Instrumental to engaging in the entertainment itself						
Assembling plastic models	Japanese	√				
Playing board games	English	√		√		
Writing scores of sports game on TV			√			
A facet of media entertainment						
Playing computer or multimedia games	English	√	√	√	√	√
Playing computer or multimedia games	Japanese		√	√	√	
Watching TV (video) programs with some texts to read (cartoon)	Japanese	√	√	√	√	√
Watching TV programs with some texts to read	English		√			√

Most of the recreational activities that children carry out are receptive activities

rather than productive in Japanese or English. In other words, they are more often reading (viewing) than writing. This contrasts with the educational use that contains large amounts of writing. When Japanese and English are compared for recreational use, there is more variety in English than in Japanese in the type of activity the children choose from although whether they spent more time using Japanese or English differs from child to child.

There are several types of activities that are popular. In English, all children read storybooks, read packages and advertisement materials, draw illustrations with some text in them and play computer games. In Japanese, the popular activities are reading comic books (*manga*) and watching Japanese cartoon programs recorded on video. All the children read books almost every day for recreation. This is done more in English than in Japanese for most children, except for Ryo who reads extensively in Japanese.

There is some age difference in the manner of reading. While storybooks (books with few or no illustrations) are read by all the children, picture books (books with illustrations on all or most pages with relatively small amounts of text) are largely read by the younger children, Eiko, Sakura and Miki. The children read books (story and picture books) in English more often than books in Japanese. Bed-time story reading done by the mother is done with Miki and Eiko only. Eiko seems to enjoy this type of reading so much that her mother reads with her nearly every day. Reading *manga* is done by all children, but only in Japanese.

The effect of *manga*, particularly in learning *katakana* is worth comment. As Mr. West stated (7.2) *manga* seem to motivate children to read Japanese because of their interesting content. Although the quality of *manga* is perceived as low and considered as a strong factor contributing to the poor reading ability among Japanese children by some educators (Sasakura 2002), for Japanese-speaking children overseas *manga* seem to be a valuable resource for learning reading in Japanese, particularly *katakana*. Hagino (2002) states that *manga* had a great benefit for her children who grew up in Melbourne as they learned the entire set

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of *katakan*a by remembering the names of hundreds of monsters that appear in *Pokemon*, the TV series.

The positive effect of *manga* was seen among all children in the current study. Satoshi, who normally required assistance in reading books in Japanese and Miki who is not yet an independent reader in Japanese, were both seen reading *manga* by themselves. All children showed eagerness to read *manga*. In the case of Eiko, she seems to have learned to read *katakana* largely by reading *manga*. The children's preference of *manga* clearly suggests that even with the minimal knowledge of the writing system, the children choose to read the material frequently and for a long period of time.

Other popular recreational activities, which involved some use of written texts, carried out by all five children, were computer games, some other types of multimedia games and also watching cartoon programs in Japanese on video. In playing the *Gameboy, Tamagocchi, Nintendo* and some computer games, children read some texts in Japanese and English and also wrote short texts for keeping scores. Many Japanese cartoon programs contain some information on cultural elements that can be background knowledge and schemata for reading stories in Japanese (Clancy 1985, Polanyi 1982). Mrs. West said that these videos are extremely valuable for introducing aspects of Japanese culture that children do not have access to in Australia.

There is language specificity to these activities. All the children played computer games mostly in English and watched cartoons on video in Japanese. The effect of the use of multimedia may be positive in that they may increase the use of Japanese and its literacy. However, there are also some shortcomings, such as that the use of these materials reduces time for other quality literacy activities.

Table 8.8 Language choice for recreational use of literacy

	Japanese-English ratio
Ryo Misawa (9;5)	4:1
Satoshi West (8;9)	1:1
Sakura Misawa (7;5)	6:1
Eiko West (6;10)	1:1
Miki Kawada (6;2)	1:3

The use of language by the five children showed trends similar to the use of language in their family as seen in Table 8.1. The language selection for educational and recreational uses by children and also the language selection by the family as a whole showed a similar trend (Japanese use: Misawa>West>Kawada). One reason for the parallel between the family and the children in language selection may be that many literacy events were joint activities between the children and parents. In these events language selection was often influenced by the parents' choice of language.

8.2.6 Other uses of literacy by children

The uses of literacy by all five children are dominated by recreational and educational uses. Others, including social-interactional, instrumental, memory-aid, oral-substitutional, and news-related uses occupy a smaller portion of their literacy practices. The functions of literacy other than educational and recreational uses are summarized in Table 8.9.

Table 8.9 Uses of literacy other than educational and recreational by children *

Child	Japanese	English	J + E mixed	Total
Ryo (9;5)			3% (soc-int)	3%
Satoshi (8;9)		2.9% (news)		2.9%
Sakura (7;5)	0.9% (oral-sub)	0.6 % (soc-int, news-related, memory-aid)	8.5% (soc-int)	10%
Eiko (6;10)	1.7% (oral-sub)			1.7%
Miki (6;2)		0.2% (soc-int)		0.2%

*The figures in this table are percentage from all uses of literacy by each child

A notable use in Table 8.9 is social-interactional use, which includes writing and reading post-cards, letters and birthday cards, which the children (Ryo, Sakura and Miki) carry out either in English or English and Japanese mixed. Whether the children use literacy for uses other than educational and recreational purposes seems to be dependent upon person. Among the five children, Sakura seems to read or write texts more often and with a wider variety than others. The other children do not have as much variety in their use of literacy as Sakura.

Although the data is limited in the non-recreational and non-educational uses of literacy, what is interesting in the children's behaviour here is the preference of English for social-interactional uses. The children write only a small number of cards and letters in their daily lives and they seem to write mostly to friends in Australia. The audience of their correspondence in Japanese is limited to their grandparents and very few others friends.

8.3 Children's Written Texts: the Use of Japanese and English Scripts, the Content and Audience

The uses of English and Japanese scripts in the children's written texts are compared to examine whether or not the difference in writing system leads to different types of literacy activities. In order to see the differences, the language use, use of scripts, linguistic levels of the children's texts, types of texts, topics/content of the texts, and audiences of the texts were examined.

8.3.1 Language use in the texts

The ratio of Japanese and English texts in the database (n=242) is approximately 1:1 (Japanese 117 and English 125). The ratio of each child's written text in Japanese and English is presented in Table 9.10.

Table 8.10 Number of texts in Japanese and English by all children in the database

Number of written texts	Ryo (9;5)	Satoshi (8;9)	Sakura (7;5)	Eiko (6;10)	Miki (6;2)
Japanese	37	4	37	2	36
English	48	23	12	40	2

The ratios are different across children for a number of reasons. They do not write similar texts in Japanese and English because their schools (local primary and the MJSS) assign different types of homework. The local schools generally give children a larger amount of reading for homework, but not writing. From the MJSS the children receive a large amount of written homework, but not as much reading. The parental influence is also assumed to be another factor. Generally parents make children do more writing in Japanese than in English.

Code-switching is rarely seen in the children's written texts. Particularly in

homework and other educational type of texts, the children's language is well separated. The children seem to have an awareness of the appropriateness of language selection for school-type texts. In pieces with non-educational functions that have inter-personal functions (social-interactional or oral-substitutional), for example Sakura's and Ryo's birthday party invitation (Sakura's text No.8 in 6.6) and Eiko's texts that warn trespassers in her room (Eiko's text No. 1 in 7.5) English and Japanese are mixed. Eiko's text No.1 is a bilingual text. The birthday invitation of the Misawa children (Sakura's text No.8 in 6.6) is basically written in English with her and her brother's names in Japanese. The children seem to know which language to select for getting their meaning across for the audience that they have in mind.

8.3.2 Linguistic levels of children's texts

The analysis of linguistic levels of written texts (script, single word, clause/phrase, discourse) was carried out to determine children's development in writing; to know whether they are practising scripts or spelling, writing words only (their names), and phrases or sentences (short messages) or something longer than this (letters and composition) in the two languages.

The five children behaved differently in choosing linguistic levels to write their written pieces and their behaviours also differed in selecting levels in English and Japanese respectively as in Table 8.11 below.

Table 8.11 Linguistic levels of written pieces written by children

	Ryo (9;5)		Satoshi (8;9)		Sakura (7;5)		Eiko (6;10)		Miki (6;2)		Total	
Language	E	J	E	J	E	J	E	J	E	J	E	J
Discourse	35	2	4	4	25	7	9	2	1	0	74	13
Clause/phrase	11	22	10	0	4	7	16	0	1	6	42	35
Single word	2	14	6	0	15	5	15	0	0	27	23	47
Script	0	0	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	3	3

In children's written texts, a tendency appears to be that children write long, discourse level texts more in English and shorter, clausal or phrasal and word level texts in Japanese. In the total numbers of discourse level texts (English 74+Japanese 13=87) and clausal or phrasal texts (English 42+Japanese 35=77), the number of texts in English at both levels is higher. The number of Japanese texts was higher only at the single word level (English=23, Japanese=47).

8.3.3 Types of texts

The tendency to write longer texts in English and shorter texts in Japanese is assumed to reflect the type of texts the children are required or chose to write. Table 8.12 below shows that children wrote many texts at discourse level in writing journals, *enikki* and stories. On the other hand, the texts at clausal or phrasal level and below are written for learning vocabulary, various exercises and maths to learn rudimentary knowledge of literacy and other areas, which is labelled as 'literacy for the sake of learning literacy' (Teale 1984). Japanese is generally used more at clause or phrasal level than English. English is used, more for content at the discourse level rather than at the lower levels for learning formal aspects of literacy. Children wrote a large number of journals, expository writing, lists and tables, creative writing and fiction in English. These areas are studied in their primary schools and brought back as homework. Some parents, such as Mr. and Mrs. Misawa in particular are especially enthusiastic in letting their children write these texts at home (see 6.2).

Table 8.12 Example of texts that children wrote at each level

Linguistic level	Japanese	English
Discourse	*Enikki* (picture diaries) and *nikki* (diary without pictures) Stories Poem Letters Cards Phone message Note on the door	Journals Science projects Stories Certificate Expository writing Letter card Note on the door
Clause/phrase	Reading comprehension exercise Vocabulary drill Grammar exercise	Vocabulary exercise Maths Entry in calendar Allowance calculation
Word	Vocabulary drill *Kanji* drill *Hiragana/katakana* exercise	Vocabulary exercise Spelling exercise Maths drill Science drill
Script	*Kanji* exercise *Hiragana/katakana* exercises	Spelling drill Letter drill

Ryo (9;5) in Year 3, the oldest boy in the study, wrote no word and script drill text in English at home (see 6.5). The other children, Satoshi, Sakura, Eiko and Miki, all wrote a considerable number of texts for word and spelling drills. This indicates that learning of basic writing skills, such as spelling, capitalisation, punctuation and basic vocabulary generally finish at around the end of Year 2 in these Victorian primary schools. After this, the focus of writ' g is assumed to proceed to content-based writing.

The children seem to prefer English when they write texts for uses other than studying. The majority of non-educational pieces that the children wrote were in English. They sometimes wrote a bilingual text (see Eiko's text No.1), but rarely Japanese only. The children seem to be aware that English is the language of the society and social-interactional texts need to be written in English. These non-educational and social-interactional texts that the children wrote in English

included birthday cards, letters, small notes, game scores, entries in a calendar and a certificate. The children would often see their parents and other adults write these types of texts in English in their daily lives. They also receive cards, letters, and notes etc that are written by their English-speaking friends. All of these would be likely to stimulate children to write similar texts in English.

The texts that the children wrote in Japanese are restricted in variety compared to those in English. Generally, the children wrote more texts for learning how to write Japanese, but fewer for other purposes. The children wrote a small number of social-interactional texts in Japanese that are addressed to grandparents and some Japanese friends, but none to Japanese peers in Melbourne.

All the children wrote a considerable number of texts for word and script drills for practising *hiragana, katakana* and *kanji*. The difference between the younger and the older children was that the younger children's (Miki, Eiko and Sakura) focus of this exercise was syllabaries, *hiragana* and *katakana*, but the older children's focus was *kanji* (Ryo and Satoshi).

The children (Ryo and Sakura) also wrote some lists and tables of new words and *kanji*. Writing the characters down in a list form with little or no context is the most frequent manner of learning these characters. The reason for learning *kanji* in isolated, context-reduced form is assumed to have derived from the format of vocabulary-*kanji* quizzes that the children are given weekly at the MJSS. In these quizzes, the children normally write down a dozen or so *kanji* or words in a list format without context.

8.3.4 The uses of scripts

The numbers of texts that have been written using the four types of scripts for each child are compared in the Table 8.13.

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Table 8.13 Number of texts that children wrote using four scripts

	Ryo (9;5)	Satoshi (8;9)	Sakura (7;5)	Eiko (6;10)	Miki (6;2)
Alphabet only	47	23	29	38	2
Alphabet and kana	2	0	2	2	0
Hiragana only	1	0	1	2	33
Hiragana and katakana (no kanji)	0	3	0	0	3
Hiragana and kanji (and other characters)	36	1	16	0	0

Table 8.13 indicates that all children use *hiragana, katakana* and the alphabet. *Katakana* is used much less frequently than *hiragana* or the alphabet. *Kanji* was used by the children who are in primary level at the MJSS, Ryo, Satoshi and Sakura. Eiko and Miki, who are in kindergarten class did not use *kanji* at all.

Individual children clearly have differing competence in using *hiragana, katakana, kanji,* and the alphabet. Ryo, the oldest child, seems to be able to use all characters without help or using a model, except for *kanji* that he is learning. He can recognise the Year 1 and 2 *kanji* that he has already learned.

Satoshi's development in the English writing system seems to be appropriate for his grade level, Year 3. He writes with few spelling mistakes and can write complete sentences. He seems to write *hiragana* without using a model, but has trouble writing *katakana*. He spends a considerable time learning Year 1-2 *kanji*, but his ability seems to be passive, rather than active as he used *kanji* in only one text, which appears to have had a model produced by Mrs. West.

Sakura seems to have mastered *hiragana, katakana* and basic spelling of the

English. alphabet. Her writing of English at the earlier stage included a considerable number of spelling mistakes and invented spelling. However, entering the third term in Year 1, her spelling has improved to the level that her written pieces contain few mistakes. She does not have trouble writing *hiragana* and most of *katakana*. She sometimes requires assistance in putting English words in *katakana*. She is beginning to learn *kanji* at the MJSS, but she does not use them for anything other than learning them.

Eiko's ability to write is similar to that of Sakura. She has a good control of *hiragana, katakana* and the alphabet. She used no *kanji* in her texts and she was not seen studying them yet. From her capability to read books in Japanese (she can read them by herself provided that they are written in largely *hiragana* and *katakana*) it is not known whether she has an ability to recognise any *kanji*.

Miki's ability to write seems to be the most limited among the five children. When she writes a text, she requires help of Mrs. Kawada or needs a model to copy from both in Japanese and English. Her written pieces are often illegible with frequent invented spellings.

8.3.5 Topic and content of children's written texts

The children seem to have written on a wider range of topics in English than in Japanese. Table 8.14 below indicates that younger children, the children in kindergarten to Year 2 (Miki, Sakura and Eiko) seem to write only on the topics that are directly related to themselves, such as family, pets, friends, holiday and school. In Year 3 (Ryo and Satoshi), the change in content of texts is dramatic, as topics of writing move away from them and shift to more general, academic areas. For example, content such as 'animal' is chosen not as the topic 'pet', but as an essay on natural science. Some topics, such as family and friends and school seem to remain popular across grade levels.

Table 8.14 General topic and contents of children's written pieces

	Japanese	**English**
Year 3	Poem, folktale Animals Grammatical points (word order, parts of speech and word meaning) Family and friends Self	Fiction (SF, horror) Natural science (including animals) Social science Sports Travel Self School
Year 2	Animals Travel and holiday Story Family and friends Sports	Social and cultural events School Food
Year 1	Animal Family and friends Travel and holiday	Animal Family and friends School Money
Kindergarten (Japanese only)	Family and friends (Many word level pieces (word drills) had no particular topics)	N/A

Despite the assumption that there would be many references to culture-specific content in both English and Japanese, there were few pieces that were written on these themes. At kindergarten level, texts contain little content related to Japanese or Australian culture, except that some illustrations written on the vocabulary sheets have some Japanese referents (see Miki's text No.3 in 5.6). At the primary school level, there are some references to Japanese cultural contents in texts. Some children wrote on recent trips to Japan (Sakura, Ryo and Satoshi) and also about their Japanese friends (Ryo). Satoshi wrote on the Chinese New year festival that is held in Australia and also wrote about sports.

Even when the children's writing has reference to Japanese and/or Australian cultures, their focus seem to be somewhere else. The emphasis of the topic, 'trip to Japan' (journals in English and *enikki* in Japanese) seems to be their personal

experience, not Japan. Satoshi wrote about sports, not to discuss Australian culture from the point of view of sports, but because he is interested in it. Ryo wrote on some aspects of Japanese folktales, but from the point of view of story structure (see Ryo's text No.9 in 7.6). The only example of the text in which a cultural aspect is the main focus is Satoshi's text on Chinese New Year (Satoshi's text No. 9 in 7.6).

8.3.6 Audiences of children's texts

The majority of the children's pieces had no specific audience. In some texts, the children had a specific audience (recipient) and the audience is explicitly accounted for. Among the types of audience or recipient used in the analysis ('self or no particular audience', 'close-familial' and 'distant' audiences, see 4.6), the five children seem to have written texts mostly to close-familial audience, which includes friends, teachers, grandparents and family members. They also wrote stories and expository writing to what seem to be a 'distant' (general) audience. The audience who were accounted for or marked in one or another of the children's written pieces are as summarised in Table 8.15.

Table 8.15 Audience of children's texts

	Japanese	English
Ryo Misawa (9;5)	Friends (card/invitation) Grand parents (letter/fax)	General audience (stories, expository) Friends (invitation) Teacher (journal)
Satoshi West (8;9)	General audience (story)	General audience (story) Teacher (journal)
Sakura Misawa (7;5)	Grand parents (letter/fax) Teacher (*enikki* diary) Friends (card/invitation)	Teacher (journal) Friends (card/invitation)
Eiko West (6;10)	Friends (card) Teacher (message)	Teacher (card)
Miki Kawada (6;2)	*Friend (card) Mother (message)	*Friend (card)

*Miki did not send her card to her friend because the card she wrote was a pseudo-birthday card.

The most frequently chosen audiences are the children's teachers, friends, and grandparents. The children wrote to their teachers largely as a part of their study for journals and *enikki* diaries. In the letter/card categories in English, children addressed the recipients by writing "Dear xxx". They did similarly in Japanese by writing the recipient's name and also adding the address word *sama* after the name, which is equivalent to 'dear', 'Mr' or 'Ms' in English. All children used these address terms.

In other types of texts, such as journals and *enikki* diary, the children either used "Dear xxx" and/or used colloquial style in the writing, or used the recipient's name within the body of the texts. Ryo always starts his journal by writing "Dear Miss Xxx ". Sakura also starts her journal in English with "Dear Mrs Xxx". She also used a casual, friendly style by starting to write her journal in English with "Hello, Mrs. xxx". Sakura also used the polite *-desu* verb ending instead of the plain *-da/dearu* ending for the sentence final verbs to the reader in her *enikki* diary. Other children who also wrote journals did not use this method. Eiko and Satoshi wrote journals that do not account for the reader in the text or indicate that they had in mind someone (eg. teacher) as an audience.

In stories that Ryo and Satoshi wrote, the presence of the reader is accounted for in a number of ways. Both Ryo and Satoshi edited and polished their stories for the sake of the reader by correcting their spelling and wording (corrected by their teachers), writing letters legibly and neatly. In Japanese, the children used similar methods to mark audience in the texts. Ryo used volitional and polite forms of verb ending to invite the audience to do something. Satoshi edited and re-wrote his "Lonely Lion" piece (see Satoshi's text No. 4 in 7.6) neatly for the audience (Mrs. West and his teacher at the MJSS). He also used the polite *–desu* ending for a sentence, which is often used in children's stories.

It can be concluded from the comparison of the biliteracy practices and the written texts produced by the five children that the children's practices and abilities of biliteracy are not uniform. The difference in their behaviours can be attributed to their family and residential background, grade levels, age, preference of language and types of literacy that are enhanced in their homes.

In Chapter 9, the discussion on the children's Japanese-English biliteracy will be carried out by focusing on what the characteristics and individual differences mean in the light of the current knowledge of literacy and biliteracy. This is based on the discussion in Chapter 2 and our knowledge of the social, cultural and political situations that surround the Japanese-English biliteracy of these families and children.

Chapter 9 The Children's Japanese-English Biliteracy

9.1 Introduction

This chapter discusses the Japanese-English biliteracy practices of the children. In their behaviours there are some recurrent patterns and similarities as well as dissimilarities across the five children, which have been summarised and compared in Chapter 8. Discussing the meaning of these patterns, similarities and dissimilarities is the aim of Chapter 9.

The factors that seem to be prominent in characterising the behaviours of the children are

1) age and grade level at school,
2) family culture, which seems to derive from parental attitudes towards biliteracy, the family's residential status and access to literacy resources,
3) individual differences of the children in preferred topics for reading and writing, and
4) different literate cultures of Japanese and English.

In the following sections, the children's biliteracy practices are discussed in relation to these factors.

9.2 The Role of Age and Grade Level in School in Determining What Children Read or Write

As would be predicted, the ages and grade levels at school of the children seem to be strong elements in difference in the reading and writing behaviour of the children. Between the older children, Ryo and Satoshi, and the younger children, Sakura, Eiko and Miki, there is a considerable gap in reading and writing behaviours. As the children get older, their uses of

literacy begin to cover a wider range of uses including complex tasks. With the two languages involved, what the children read and write contains some genres of texts that are only seen in a particular language.

9.2.1 Age and the books that children read for recreation

The children's developmental stages across age may be better understood when their recreational reading and writing are examined because these are self-initiated activities. It had been expected that the older children would read more complex, longer and more varied books for recreational reading. However, it was not known whether these tendencies were the same across Japanese and English.

As was anticipated, the two older children, Ryo and Satoshi were seen reading independently long storybooks that consist of several chapters and few illustrations. They were more often seen reading these books in English. It was only Ryo who was seen reading storybooks in Japanese without the help of adults. Eiko was also seen reading storybooks in Japanese, but often with her mother. Sakura and Miki, were only beginning to read long storybooks, and only with the help of their mother in either English or Japanese (mothers preferred to read books in Japanese). There is a discrepancy between the parents' and the children's attitudes. Although the mothers read more frequently to their younger children in Japanese and wish to share reading experiences in the language, the older children are apparently attaining a preference and a better ability to read in English. This indicates that teaching the children reading in Japanese requires greater effort than teaching them reading in English. It is probably an extremely difficult task to encourage the children to read longer stories in Japanese because the children seem to be more interested in reading books in English, also because learning reading Japanese requires mastering a complex writing system. Limited access to books in Japanese may also be preventing the children from becoming interested in reading books in Japanese. Picture

books were read by Eiko, Sakura and Miki, the younger girls, as was expected. Reading picture books was done in both English and Japanese, but more often in English.

The topics of the books were also related to the children's age. The older children selected more specific topics and topics that are distant from their daily lives, whereas younger children selected topics that are closely related to their lives. The topics they select for their reading seem to become more specific as they get older (compare Tables 8.4 and 8.7 for their range of uses of literacy). As stated in 8.2.1, the older children, Ryo and Satoshi read books in English (and Japanese in the case of Ryo) that are dense in content and that require more general knowledge in reading. Compared to the picture books, the books that the older children read have more distance from their own lives. This tendency was seen mostly in the materials that the children read in English, except for Ryo who reads similar books in Japanese.

The children's behaviour in selecting different types of books in Japanese and English seems to suggest that the children's recreational reading development, except for Ryo, is strongly asymmetrical between Japanese and English (see Table 6.8). The children seem to be developing the ability to read more in English and not as much in Japanese. When it comes to selecting age appropriate reading material in English, all children are able to select reading material suitable for them. Satoshi, for example, although not the most advanced reader, reads texts in English that seem to reflect his age level. However, in Japanese, he seems to have little clue in selecting appropriate material. The range of his reading in Japanese is much more limited.

The comparison of what they read and how much they read in Japanese and English (see Tables 8.8 and 8.9) reveals that, with schooling in English, generally greater progress in English than in Japanese is seen in all the children at this stage. The amount of class time in the primary school and the

MJSS are greatly different.

One reason for the development in English and Japanese being asymmetrical may be due to the introduction of the children to literacy at different stages in different languages. According to the parents, the typical age the children started having an interest in written language and learned to do these things was between three to four years of age (see 5.2, 6.2 and 7.2). Ryo, Sakura and Miki were first exposed to written language in Japanese in Japan when they were these ages. Satoshi and Eiko started reading in both Japanese and English in Australia.

In the case of Ryo, the early introduction to literacy in Japanese, including experience in a Japanese school is considered to have prepared him for schooling in Australia. In other words, Ryo had reached the threshold level in Japanese upon entering the Australian school, which enabled him to transfer skills that he learned in Japanese to English (see 2.6.4), and subsequently helped him to have nearly parallel abilities in reading in Japanese and English at the time of the investigation.

Whether the other children would reach Ryo's level of biliteracy later on is difficult to predict and it is beyond the scope of this study. However, the evidence of previous studies (Cummins et al. 1984, Nakajima 1998) suggests that Ryo is in an advantageous position for developing biliteracy with a firmer foundation of basic skills of literacy in Japanese upon initial exposure to literacy education in English. The Japanese children in Cummins et al's (1984) study who were introduced to literacy in English later than other children did better in transference of skills than the children who were introduced at a younger age due to the stronger foundation in literacy in Japanese (see 4.6.4).

In order to facilitate the children to continue reading in L1 while they develop the ability in reading in English (L2) it is probably essential to

maintain their interest in reading in L1 as much as possible by making it possible for the children to access interesting reading materials in L1. In the case of the Misawa children, Ryo and Sakura, the parents are successful in taking this initiative. In the case of Eiko West, Mrs. West was also successful in having books that interest Eiko at home. In the cases of Miki Kawada and Satoshi West, the lack of interesting and accessible materials in Japanese and the restricted variety in their literacy practice in Japanese may be preventing them from gaining an interest in reading and writing using Japanese.

9.2.2 Difference in the input from primary school and the MJSS

Because of the time constraint and the limited resources at the MJSS, the input that these children are receiving in Japanese is more limited compared to what they are receiving in English at primary schools. Because they go to primary school full-time, their development in English is similar to that of their monolingual, English-speaking peers. In the current study, all the teachers who teach the children at the primary school commented in their interviews that the children's academic performance and development in English are no different to that of monolingual peers, or sometimes better than them. On the other hand, the Japanese part of their learning is in many ways different from their monolingual Japanese-speaking peers because of the restrictions on literacy learning in Japanese in Melbourne. Consequently, their Japanese-English biliteracy development may not result in two full literacies in Japanese and English, but full-literacy in English and partial in Japanese (or vice versa in the case of Miki once she returns to Japan). In many studies in child biliterate development, similar cases are reported in which the language used in school (L2) serves as the main language in the literacy development of children and the children's L1 is used for more specific types of literacy practices, such as letter writing, particularly after children enter school (Aidman 1998, McQuillan and Tse 1995, Smith 1994, Townsend and Fu 1998).

In Table 8.6 above, the types of reading and writing that the children carry out for

educational use have been listed. From the primary school in English, children bring back a variety of reading, writing, project work and journal writing. From the MJSS in Japanese, on the other hand, children bring back a similar amount of homework, but with less variety, largely focused on form, rather than content. As has been discussed in 3.5 and 3.7, Japanese language teaching at the MJSS is based on Japanese standard school curricula and textbooks, but in a much more compressed and simplified manner.

9.2.3 Grade level differences in school-related work

The difference between children at the grade level is reflected in both quantity and quality of the homework that the children do. In English, the children in higher grades bring back a wider variety of homework and a larger amount compared to children in lower grades. What the older children are given for homework also seems to change from time to time depending on what they are studying in class. For the children in lower grade levels, the content of homework is more fixed than for older children. The young children generally bring home a small amount of reading only.

In Japanese, the time that children spend on homework seems to increase drastically after Year 1. Satoshi in Year 2 and Ryo in Year 3 spend approximately half an hour doing homework each day, but the younger children do not spend as much. The increase in the amount of homework and the advance in the content level in English seem gradual so that the children have little trouble keeping up with the study. However, the amount of homework in Japanese is generally larger than that in English because the Saturday school attempts to cover in one day the same amount of study that normal Japanese school children study in one week. What has not been studied in class needs to be assigned as homework. The rapid increase of work in Japanese in the second and the third year in the primary curricula is making learning of Japanese literacy using the standard textbooks difficult. For the children whose basic foundation in Japanese literacy is weak, this rapid increase in workload appears to be overwhelming, and may inhibit their

motivation to continue learning literacy Japanese using the textbooks as seems to be happening with Satoshi.

The analysis of the children's written texts showed that the five children seem to have mastered *kana* and the alphabet appropriate to their age levels. On the other hand, the written texts of the children show that *kanji* is written almost only for learning them, but not for other authentic purposes. Even Ryo who is clearly the most advanced in learning *kanji*, and who seems to be learning them without too much difficulty, is not using them much.

The reason for the lack of use of *kanji* in the bilingual children's texts may be that there is a mismatch of the *kanji* that they learn and the content areas that children prefer in writing texts. The *kanji* that Ryo had learned so far, for example, may not be useful for writing on the topics he prefers. Another reason may be the difficulty or ineffective approach of writing *kanji* and a lack of opportunity to use them. The children practice *kanji* every day, but they write only a small number of texts. The limited opportunity to actually use them, together with the difficulty in writing them, may have been preventing them from writing *kanji* more often.

Without adult intervention, it appears that the children do not use *kanji*. The *kanji-kana* dual writing system of Japanese may be preventing the children from using *kanji* in the case of early primary level because the children can write texts using *hiragana* and *katakana* only. The children may not be motivated to use *kanji* for writing also because they do not see many *kanji* in actual use in their lives at home and in community in Melbourne. The learning of *kanji* at the MJSS seems to be the only domain for the use of *kanji* for them.

Although the children in the current study do not use *kanji* frequently, there are some reports in other situations that Japanese-speaking bilinguals were seen using *kanji* actively (Nakajima 1998, Yukawa 2000). Yukawa (2000) who raised her children in Sweden and Hawaii reports that she did not have much trouble teaching her children literacy in Japanese while her family was overseas when her

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son was between six and seven years old. She states that her children became naturally interested in reading and writing through picture books, *manga* and other authentic materials that were available at home. In the case of Yukawa (2000), an informal approach to teaching literacy in Japanese at home was reported to be successful. Nakajima (1998: 156) studied Japanese-speaking children of different age groups in Toronto and reports that the Year 11 students (n=19) who learned Japanese at a Saturday school used a considerable amount of *kanji*, approximately 12.3% of scripts in the texts they wrote. This is equivalent to the amount of *kanji* used by Year 4 pupils in Japan (approximately 300). These results suggest that a slower pace and informal manner of learning *kanji* may eventually bring positive results.

These reports have revealed that *kanji* are learnable by Japanese-speaking children overseas although it is difficult to attain the level of the children in Japan with limited time and resources. Nakajima (1998: 156) reports that *kanji* was the weakest element in the overall language development among other elements including, reading, grammatical, and lexical competencies of the Japanese-speaking children she studied in Toronto.

Nakajima (1998) reports that there is a considerable pressure on children learning Japanese and its literacy due to peer pressure and also parents' heavy expectations. She argues that children often suffer from the heavy burden of learning Japanese on top of regular schoolwork. The refusal to learn the first language, including literacy, is often reported in the developmental studies of bilinguals (Grosjean 1982, Harding and Riley 1986, Maher and Yuasa 1993). Informal observation by the current author among Japanese-speaking children in the USA and Australia shows that there are cases in which Japanese-speaking bilinguals refuse to learn literacy in Japanese, particularly *kanji* due to their complexity, the large number and the uninteresting learning style.

9.2.4 Restriction of what the children learn in Japanese

The studies involving Japanese-speaking bilinguals dealt with a number of aspects that are significant for the literacy development and maintenance of these children, such as the onset of formal education in L1 and L2, parental perceptions and their involvement (Cummins et al, 1984, Yashiro 1995, Yokota-Adachi and Geva 1999). However, the issue of relevance in what children are learning at home and in mainstream and Saturday schools has not been sufficiently dealt with. The current study found that there is an obvious gap between the types of literacy that children use and learn at their home, the local primary school and the Saturday school.

The contrast between the highly formal manner of learning *kanji* and extremely limited use of these characters by children in their written texts is particularly striking in the findings of the study. Steinberg (1995) and others (Fukusawa 1995, Gao 1996, Okubo 1986) suggest that teaching children *kanji* may not require hard work if they are taught effectively. Steinberg states that rote memorisation is not the best way to interest them in reading and learning *kanji* because it gives a perception to children that *kanji* learning is intrinsically difficult, and the more complex *kanji* becomes, the more difficult it becomes to learn. She argues that children can learn *kanji* without much trouble when it is taught and used in meaningful communication. Gao (1996) also argues that learning logographic and other Asian writing systems would be fun for many children, and as the children advance, they would have a higher motivation to use these scripts. However, most parents in the study did not seem to know effective ways to teach *kanji*.

The audiences of the texts that the children wrote were considerably different across the languages, age and grade levels. The older children not only wrote to a close or familiar audience, but also to a general, unknown audience (see Table 8.15). The written pieces that the children wrote in English often had real audiences and they received replies or feedback from these readers, which seem to have motivated them to write these texts more frequently. The social-interactional,

expository and creative writing pieces that Ryo, Satoshi, Sakura and Eiko wrote in English had real audiences, who are their classmates and teachers. However, similar texts that they wrote in Japanese were only read by their teachers for correction. Satoshi, for example, put a considerable amount of time and effort into writing his piece 'Lonely lion' (Satoshi's text No. 4 in 7.6) in Japanese. Despite his effort, this piece was not presented anywhere except for showing it to his teacher at the MJSS.

The difference in the use of the computer for literacy learning at the local primary school and the MJSS are noted here because the use of the computer and the collaboration of teacher and children using the multimedia is language specific. In English at the local primary school, all children are instructed to use a computer. The computer is becoming a significant part of their learning in mainstream schools. Some of the texts that the children produced in the primary schools were edited and published using a word processor with the help of the teacher. The computer is also used for as a source of entertainment and a tool for information gathering. Although not all children participated in the process, the older children in particular seem to be aware that multimedia technology is becoming a part of their literacy practices at school. At the MJSS, on the other hand, the computer was not a part of education. There was no occasion on which the children and the teacher collaborated in text production using the computer in Japanese.

The use of the computer means the collaboration of the children with an adult who knows how to operate it. Although the use of the computer does not seem to have changed the nature of literacy drastically at lower primary level, the use of computers in classroom between the children and the teacher is adding a new dimension to the children's literacy practices in English. It is significant for the children to participate in using multimedia technology in literacy events for understanding its functions and usefulness. The adults' scaffolding is necessary in this process in order to learn how to use the technology in the school context. In a Vygotskian sense, the teacher's role is significant in providing the children with the framework for the use of technology for an academic purpose within the

society by using the children's already existing knowledge and abilities in literacy.

Lack of this mode of communication in Japanese means the lack of the communicative and learning processes between the children and adult mediated by the multimedia. Even though all the children were using computers at home to varying degrees and for different purposes, it was only the Misawa children who were using a computer at home for their biliteracy practices—for academic and other authentic communicative purposes for writing essays, accessing the Internet for collecting study materials, writing a birthday invitation with graphic images and also a fax letter to the children's grandparents (see 6.4 and 6.5).

9.3 Family Culture: Residential Background and Parental Attitude

The family culture of literacy, which is strongly influenced by the families' residential background and parental views of literacy, has been identified as an important factor influencing children's biliteracy behaviours. The parental factors have been major variables that are used in many studies of child literacy development (Anderson and Stokes 1984, Auberch 1989, Leichter 1984, Liddicoat and Shopen 1999, Teale 1984, Wells 1986, Williams 1991). Various features of family as a social unit, including socio-economic status and parents' educational levels, were taken into consideration in these studies when children's varying performances are being explained. When linguistic minorities are studied, elements such as length of residence in the host country, linguistic competence and integration of the family in the society were also used (eg. Cummins et al. 1984, Richards and Yamada-Yamamoto 1998). In the case of the Japanese speaking population, recent studies done in Australia have revealed that people with different residential status, namely migrants and sojourners, behave distinctively due to their different degrees of integration (see 3.2). The residential status appears to present different biliterate behaviours at home in the case of the

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families who took part in the current study although no real generalisations can be made from the small sample.

What was not considered much in previous studies, but was found significant in the current study, is the role of fathers. The evidence suggests that the extent which the father participates in his children's home literacy practice makes a considerable difference in the children's range of uses of literacy and also the development of biliteracy.

9.3.1 Language priority

The language preference of each family seems to affect the children's uses of biliteracy. As has been seen, the Kawadas, the temporary resident family, prioritise English. The Misawas, the migrant family, are determined to keep Japanese as their first language for literacy. The West family, the mixed-marriage family, who had been using Japanese at home, seem to be beginning to regard literacy in English as the norm. The difference in the residential status seems to generate different reasons for developing biliteracy at home (see Tables 5.2, 6.2 and 7.2). Mr. Misawa, Mrs. Misawa and Mrs. West stated that sharing reading and understanding Japanese culture through written material is a significant reason for practicing biliteracy in these families. On the other hand, the Kawada parents, temporary residents, did not stress that cultural transmission as a significant element of Japanese-English biliteracy because of their limited duration of residency in Australia and emphasis on their children's learning of English.

Noguchi (1996) who studied the behaviours of English-speaking biliterate families in Japan states that it is ultimately the parents' determination in teaching literacy in their L1 to the children which makes the difference in the outcome of children's biliteracy development. Noguchi raises several factors that seem to be strong determinants of the level of success in children's acquisition of biliteracy, which include both parents speaking L1, the children having acquired a basic ability to read in L1 prior to schooling in L2, and a future plan to return to the

country where L1 is spoken. However, she states that none of these factors overrides parents' determination to teach literacy in L1 to their children. As far as the language priority is concerned, the only parents who seem to be determined to promote Japanese-English biliteracy at their home are Mr. and Mrs. Misawa. The Kawada parents think that Miki's Japanese is not threatened so that they are promoting literacy in English more. Although Mr. and Mrs. West are determined to maintain Japanese for oral communication, Mr. West is not enthusiastic in promoting literacy in Japanese at this stage. Mrs. West is working hard to teach her children written Japanese, but she is unsure about the future of it. The West and Kawada families seem to be in a transitional stage in which the significance and the uses attached to literacies in English and Japanese for children seem to be going through some changes.

The children's literate behaviours seem to be reflecting their parents' language preference and attitudes. As has been seen, Miki Kawada seems to prefer English to Japanese for her literacy. Ryo and Sakura Misawa use both Japanese and English for a variety of uses. Eiko and Satoshi West present contrasting behaviours. Eiko, who is not under pressure of formal and academic Japanese learning like her brother, is enjoying reading and writing both in Japanese and English. Satoshi, on the other hand, seems to be coming to prefer English. He is having difficulty in keeping up the study of Japanese or being motivated to read and write using Japanese, while his literacy in English seems to be developing fairly smoothly. In the case of Satoshi, the influence from his Australian-born father and his peers at school seems to be a force in making him prefer English.

9.3.2 Family's view of literacy

As has been discussed in Chapters 5, 6 and 7, there are different views of literacy among the parents, which appear to have a considerable influence over the children's reading and writing practices. The reading and writing that originated in school not only enters home as homework, but some of it is reinforced and some may be de-emphasised. The reinforcing and de-emphasising of certain types

of literacy is based on the parents' view of literacy and the type of literacy that they think is important. Although often the parents shared a similar stance regarding their children's biliteracy, the father's and mother's views and attitudes differed in certain areas. Particularly in regards to their roles: the fathers tended to consider that their wives are primarily responsible for their children's literacy and fathers consider their roles secondary. This tendency was seen strongly in Mr. Kawada, who admitted this openly and Mr. West, who only occasionally participated in his children's biliteracy. Mr. Misawa showed a contrasting attitude from these two fathers and participated in his children's biliteracy practice frequently. Mr. Misawa stated that his children's learning of literacy, particularly in Japanese, deteriorates when he is too busy to help (see 6.2).

As was discussed in 2.2, literacy in socio-cultural contexts needs to be regarded as practices as well as abilities and skills. The views of literacy held by the parents in the three families are generally narrower than this. Mr. and Mrs. Misawa seem to have the broadest view of literacy among the parents in the three families. They regard literacy not only as reading and writing, but also as information processing, thinking skills and as multimode activity (see 6.2). Their behaviours and statements suggest that they hold the view that literacy is 'multiple abilities' (McQuillan and Tse 1995) to read the text in certain ways in different situations according to the needs and objectives, and also connecting these activities to other broader activities, including researching, categorising and organising thoughts. However, Mr. and Mrs. Misawa do not seem to regard cultural and social aspects as equally significant as the skill side although they note that without abilities in reading Japanese, children would not be able to access a large part of culture that is written, such as novels. The West parents and the Kawada parents, on the other hand, seem to possess a comparatively narrower view of literacy than the Misawa parents. The parents in these two families seem to regard literacy primarily as reading and writing conventional texts for studying, doing work, and playing (see 5.2 and 7.2). They do not seem to think that reading and writing for these uses (eg. recreation and studying) have much connection with each other.

In viewing literacy as a multifaceted and integrated set of skills, the Misawa parents connect reading and writing activities together with discussion, and also connect multimedia technology with conventional reading and writing. With Mr. and Mrs. Misawa's help, Ryo and Sakura seem to be successfully developing their literacy skills both in English and Japanese in a parallel manner. In the Kawada family and the West family, the parents also help the children's reading and writing regularly in order to enrich their literacy practice. However, their interventions in the children's literacy practices seem to be more limited than those of the Misawa parents. The computer, for example, is used as a tool of entertainment for the children in the Kawada and the West families, but the use of it had no connection to other significant literacy activities.

In the Kawada and the West family, the lack of participation of the fathers has been noted. Mr. Kawada's participation in literacy activity with his children was seen in reading bedtime stories and reading stories on some other occasions. Mr. West was seen listening to his children's reading assignments in English at night. He also shared time with Satoshi watching sports on television, which involved keeping scores on a piece of paper. In the case of these two fathers, however, these activities were seen only sporadically. The fathers were rarely seen to engage in active participation in which they initiated reading and writing, and also integrate these activities with other recreational or educational activities that the children carry out. It should be noted that in the Misawa family, the use of multimedia to assist the children's reading and writing was often initiated by Mr. Misawa, who is skilful in using the technology. His willingness to help his children with the computer enriched Ryo's and Sakura's biliteracy practice at home considerably.

Although the Misawa family emphasise the integration of reading and writing, there still is an imbalance in terms of the language used for literacy activities. The members of the Misawa family are apparently using literacy for a wider variety of activities in English than in Japanese with their children (see 6.2.3) even though they use Japanese for a considerably longer time. The family seem to be trying to

carry out similar types of literacy in Japanese as in English. However, because what Ryo and Sakura are required to study at the MJSS is limited in variety compared to what they learn in English, there is less variety in what the parents and the children study in Japanese. For example, parent-child joint work in researching using Japanese was not seen. Instead, analysing sentence structure and discussing word definition in depth in Japanese, which are typical homework tasks that children get from the MJSS, were frequently seen. Analysing language in detail is a cognitively demanding activity, which would enhance children's analytical skills. However, carrying out mostly this type of activity in Japanese would not develop other types of literacy skills in Japanese, such as social-interactional, news-related, creative writing and other uses that involve socio-cultural knowledge and interpersonal skills of literacy. The transference of skills across languages would probably occur if the need for these skills arose. Ryo's behaviour suggests that he may be able to carry out what he had acquired in English in Japanese and vice versa. However, without an opportunity to apply skills the transference is unlikely to take place.

9.3.3 School-home relationship

Williams (1991) argues that parents' participation in school activities and their understanding of school curricula are influential in children's literacy development. Liddicoat and Shopen (1999) state that the school-home partnership is significant in terms of how much information parents and school share and they also suggest that the key issue for both parties is to share a view of literacy. However, there seems to be a gap between the three families and the mainstream school in the view of literacy.

The gap in the information sharing seems to be present in the parents' frustration about mainstream school. All the mothers expressed some frustration towards the schools and also their own lack of confidence in literacy in English. The frustration with the Australian curricula and also their lack of confidence in English may be preventing them from carrying out a wider variety of literacy

activities in English, or participating in school activities to a greater extent.

The distance between the mothers and school is considered to be inhibiting them from enhancing the type of literacy activities carried out in school, particularly the West and the Kawadas. The Misawa parents, although they showed frustration towards the local school, were slightly different from the West and the Kawada parents because they reinforce what Ryo and Sakura study at school by assisting the children with their schoolwork. It is considered that even though Mrs. Misawa is not fully confident about her competence in English and knowledge about Australian culture, she assists the children because of her and her husband's relatively high expectations of schools and the goal of biliteracy that is highly academic.

The fathers' distance from school is considered to have a strong impact on the children's biliteracy practices. Although the fathers in the three families all stated that they wish their children to succeed academically, their attitudes in participating in their children's biliteracy differ greatly. Mr. Kawada and Mr. West stated that they are not strongly interested in what is going on at their children's primary school and they did not show active participation in their children's reading and writing in both languages and doing homework. Their attitudes show that these fathers keep a greater distance from their children's school than their wives. Their stance is similar to the findings in a previous study that father's participation to children's literacy practice tends to be abstract and they tend to maintain a distance from the children's school (Nichols 1994). On the other hand, Mr. Misawa, who participates more in his children's biliteracy practices than the other fathers, has more specific criticisms regarding the schools that his children go to. Although the father's influence on children's literacy development is not as often discussed as that of mothers, having their involvement or not appears to make a considerable difference to the children's literacy development, particularly in a minority language in which the children have limited input.

Auberch (1989: 397) argues that it is significant for a parent to support children's reading and writing in the areas where they are strongest. In this sense, Mr. Misawa's effort, particularly helping his children with maths, natural science and computer, would greatly motivate Ryo and Sakura to practice literacy in these areas in Japanese. The input from Mr. Misawa definitely adds a wider variety of literacy practice for his children compared to the other children who lack similar support from their fathers. Not only the amount and quality of input, but also moral support gained from Mr. Misawa is considered to be significant for the children 's motivation to practice biliteracy.

As Rivalland (1994) argues, children's literacy socialisation in Australia is still shaped through women even though many women today work outside the home. In the case of the Japanese-speaking families the children are considered to be getting a stronger influence on literacy socialisation from their mothers than their fathers due to longer and more frequent sharing of literacy activity with the mothers.

The fathers' influence on the children's biliteracy practice may be smaller than that of the mothers. However, as has been seen, the attitudes of fathers' have a considerable effect on the children's behaviours. In the case of Satoshi, his father's increasing intervention in Satoshi's literacy practices in English seems to be changing Satoshi's language preference for his reading and writing and consequently his cultural identity. In the case of the Misawa children, Ryo and Sakura, similar influence of their father is seen in their practice of literacy in the areas of maths and science, particularly in the behaviour of Ryo, who loves these subjects. Although the fathers' influence and participation in the children's biliteracy is relatively smaller compared to that of mothers, they have a considerable influence on the children by participating in the areas of their expertise and interests.

According to Liddicoat and Shopen (1999:57), parents tend to understand literacy as more static, product based, form focused, independent work oriented and

decontextualising, whereas schools take it as more process focused, content based, cooperative oriented and contextualising. In Canada, Yokota-Adachi and Geva (1999:539) found that there is a gap between local teachers and Japanese parents regarding the perception of education. As mentioned earlier, the Canadian teachers that Yokota-Adachi and Geva studied complained that Japanese parents were only interested in the academic aspect of children's learning, but not enough in the physical and emotional aspect of it. On the other hand, the Japanese parents perceived Canadian schools as lacking in the effort to teach the fundamentals in academic areas. In the current study, it is not apparent whether there was such a gap between Australian teachers and the parents. Although the Australian teachers were interviewed, their responses to the interview did not include such comments.

Although the gap between the teachers and the parents regarding the views of literacy and education in the current study is not clear, the parents showed different degrees of involvement in participating in children's reading and writing in Japanese and English. In Japanese all the parents (except for Mr. West) are generally eager to help the children with the schoolwork although they are not satisfied with the MJSS's curricula. The Japanese-born parents seem to have a better familiarity with what is being taught at the Saturday School, the textbooks and workbooks that are used in the class. Their own educational experience in the Japanese school system would have helped the Japanese-born parents understand the curricula of the MJSS. However, their understanding of the curricula seems to have made the parents more critical about the MJSS than the local schools.

The Japanese-born parents showed a conflicting stance towards the MJSS. Although most parents (except for Mr. West) are critical about the MJSS, they seem to have a tendency to repeat and reinforce at home the type of study carried out in the school (see 5.4, 6.4 and 7.4). This contradictory behaviour may be explained by a number of reasons. The parents are critical about the school, which only operates on Saturdays. They are also critical about the curricula, which are not tailored to the children's needs. However, the parents seem to be tolerating the MJSS's educational quality because it is the only educational institution in

Melbourne that can provide children with the opportunity to study Japanese and also to socialise with other Japanese-speaking children of their age.

The 'pedagogisation of literacy' (Street and Street 1991), which refers to distancing of literacy from the subject areas, normally takes places at school. This process has also been seen in the homes of these children. Cook-Gumperz (1986b) uses the term 'schooled literacy' to point out the process in which the school-type of literacy come to have authority in homes and community due to the power placed on a skill-based view of literacy and from standardised testing. The impact of formal teaching of Japanese, such as *kanji* quizzes, seems to have reinforced school-type literacy in Japanese in the children's homes. The testing and formal assessments have a str··ng impact on the type of literacy carried out in the homes.

Smith (1994) argues that in order to give children balanced abilities in literacy in their L1 (home language) and L2 (language of the society), it is significant for parents to demonstrate to children that children's literacy in L1 has as wide a range of uses as L2. He states that when the use of L1 is limited to the use within the home, the parents need to carry out reading and writing with their children in the most efficient and interesting way. However, in the case of Japanese families overseas, there seems to be a difficulty among the parents in making reading and writing interesting for children (Nakajima 1998), which may be due to their academic view of literacy, restricted time, and the narrow and formal approach to literacy at Japanese Saturday schools.

Studies in biliteracy, such as Kenner (2000) and Saxena (1994) indicate the key for successful biliteracy development is not only that the children and their family understand the school policy of literacy, but also that the school incorporates the children's cultural patterns of literacy and establishes a system tailored to the needs of students and families of diverse backgrounds. Although these three families seem to be coping well in the situation, there seems to be a wide gap between the school systems (the MJSS and the primary schools) and the needs and the perceptions of literacy held by these families. For the families' side, in

order to enhance their children's biliteracy effectively, it is probably not sufficient for them to repeat school-type literacy because the school curricula have deficiencies and are not flexible enough to meet the needs of families of diverse cultural backgrounds. It is significant for the families to understand their needs for literacy by situating it in social and cultural contexts. Auberch (1989:403) reports that one way to empower a minority group through literacy is to direct them to develop their own literacy and language through family and community issues. The highly school-centred approach to literacy practices in these three families indicates that there may be space to strengthen biliteracy.

9.3.4 Cultural identity, emotion and biliteracy

The last points that need to be discussed regarding the family literate culture are the issues of cultural identity and the emotional aspect of biliteracy. Because literacy is a culturally defined construct (Ferdman 1990: 360), it is considered to have a strong impact upon one's cultural identity. As has been discussed in Chapter 2, literacy is not only a form of communication, but it is also a symbol of social and cultural affiliation. Literacy also represents values, discourse and ideologies. As Luke (1994) suggested, teaching literacy is a form of transmission of culture and these value systems. Emotional climate of the children's Japanese and English biliteracy practices is also considered to be significant because they are considered to be indicative of the five children's cultural orientation.

The Japanese-born parents in the study, particularly Mr. and Mrs. Misawa and Mrs. West, seem to fear that if their children do not maintain Japanese and do not acquire literacy in Japanese, their channel for communicating emotion will be severely restricted (see 6.2.3 and 7.2.3). They also stated that they want their children to be literate in Japanese because they want to share the reading experience. These parental attitudes are testimonies of their desire to share same cultural identity with their children. It has been compared in Chapter 8 that the five children's literate behaviours were in accordance with their residential status and their parents' attitudes and concepts of biltieracy. The parents' attitudes and

the children's biliterate behaviours are considered to have significant relationship to their sense of identity.

Ferdman (1990: 358) states that cultural identity is an "internalised view of the cultural features characterizing his or her group". In the case of these parents, literacy seems to be considered as one of these features. Norton (2000: 5) also argues that cultural identity is one's understanding of his/her relationship to the world, which includes the understanding of his/her future possibilities. From these parents' attitudes, it is considered that being literate in Japanese is an extremely significant element of Japanese identity, which is influential to their children's future well being. Literacy may also be considered as one of the 'core values' (Smolicz 1989) of Japanese culture. Smolicz (1989: 15) states that a core value is crucial element of a culture for the survival of it, which differs from a group to a group, such as language, religion or family structure. The tireless effort that the parents made to teach their children literacy in Japanese can be considered as the evidence that literacy is taken as a core value of Japanese cultural identity by these parents. Making children practice *kanji* every day, which may not have relevance to their day-to-day life in Australia, may be due to the value attached to Japanese literacy.

From a Japanese-born parent's perspective, not only having a basic rudimentary ability in Japanese literacy, but also having age appropriate levels of ability may be a significant part of being literate in Japanese, and also having Japanese identity. In the attitude of Mrs. West it was seen that she was becoming upset with Satoshi falling behind in his study of Japanese at MJSS (see 7.5). Mr. and Mrs. Misawa also stated that they want Ryo and Sakura in future to have at least the level of literacy that high school graduates in Japan have. This view is probably one of the strong reasons why they keep sending their children to the MJSS despite high costs, time pressure and their critical views about the educational quality of the school.

All parents who participated in this study were aware that biliteracy empowers

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their children. Norton (2000: 8) states that the motivation to be a member of a culture is not only symbolic, but it is also strongly related to power that the culture brings to the individuals. The power can be any form of power that enables one to be recognized, to feel secure and to do things that this individual wants to pursue. As indicated by critical theorists of literacy, literacy is not neutral in terms of power (Bond 2000, Fairclough 1989, Luke 1994). The Misawa and the West parents think that English would crucial for the survival of their children in Australia and it would be their children's stronger language for literacy, but also having abilities in reading and writing in Japanese would make their children accessible to better education and more job opportunities (see 6.4, 6.5, 7.4, 7.5). Mr. Kawada also thought that English-Japanese biliteracy would benefit Miki greatly in the future (5.5, 5.6). The MJSS, a large and formal Japanese educational institution in Melbourne, may be a representation of such power that Japanese culture has, which the parents want their children to have access to. Mr. West stated that teaching his children literacy in Japanese is an investment for their future (see 7.2).

Learning literacy in two languages, in Japanese and English, means internalizing Japanese and Australian cultures partially through reading and writing in these languages. In other words, becoming biliterate is a process of becoming bicultural. The remaining question about relationship between biliteracy and cultural identity is, by practicing Japanese-English biliteacy, whether these children are developing Japanese and Australian identities in isolation or developing a single identity that integrates Japanese and Australian cultures.

Modern theorists in bilingual language learning and biliteracy development stress that, in the individual level, the acquisition of multiple literacies is continuous and integrative both cognitively and socially (Cummins 2001a, Hornberger 1989, Hornberger and Skilton-Sylvester 2000, The New London Group 1996). Based on this conceptualization, it can be argued that bicultural identity that the Kawada, Misawa and the West children are developing is also continuous and integrative. As individuals, these children are constructing sense of self through two divergent

systems, Japanese and Australian cultures and literacies, but integrating them as one within themselves. For Sakura, writing journals in English and *enikki* in Japanese are clearly different type of activities, but she is same person even when she is doing different things. Particularly carrying out reading or writing activities that require cognitively demanding skills, as Cummins (2001a) argues by using the Common Underlying Proficiency model, the child is using cognitive capabilities that exist in a deep level that are not entirely language specific. Her identity, which is strongly influenced by the stories, discourses and narratives that she has been exposed in her day-to-day literacy practices, is also considered to be rooted deeply inside the child, where input from Japanese and English are integrated as one.

Ferdman (1990: 357) argues that in a multicultural society, there is a wide range of bicultural individuals who have different degrees of involvement in the minority and mainstream cultures. He argues that some individuals are acculturated more rapidly than others and some are not, depending on the sense of self. In the current study, it has been seen that the five children were identified by their parents to different degrees as Japanese and/or Australian. Mr. West stated his view clearly by stating that his children are half Japanese and half Australian. His children also seemed to think so too (see 7.2.3). In the case of the temporary resident child, Miki, it was seen that her Australian self was stronger than her Japanese self at the time of the study although her parents foresaw that it would be difficult to maintain English and an Australian way of life once they returned to Japan. The Misawa children, who are migrants, seemed to identify themselves more as Japanese at that time, and their parents also seemed to think this way. Mr. and Mrs. Misawa seemed to have a neutral position about their children's identity stating in their interviews that it is totally up to the children whether they choose to live in Australia or what they do in future. Each family's different literate cultures and choice of languages for their literacy practices seem to reflect the degrees of their participation in mainstream (Australian) and minority (Japanese) cultures. However, no matter what the degrees are, by becoming literate in English and also in Japanese, the children would have a wider choice and more

opportunities in engaging with the society and to express themselves. As Maher (2001: vii) states, by being empowered by bilingualism and biliteracy these children will be able 'to freely choose' their identity. It is assumed that the children's identities would constantly change in each stage of their lives depending on the degrees of their involvement in the Australian and Japanese cultures, and also the type of literacy practices they carry out in Japanese and English.

Another significant point is different emotional attachment to literacy in Japanese and English. As can be seen in the parents' statement, the value attached to literacy in Japanese seems not only practical, but also emotional. Emotion is a significant issue in bilingual-biliterate development because children show different bilingual performance influenced by their emotions (Aidman 1998, Dien 1998, Grosjean 1982, Maher and Yuasa 1993, Pavlenko 2002). Aidman (1998) in her case study of a Russian-English biliterate girl demonstrated that literacies in L1 and L2 would have different emotional functions. Pavlenko (2002: 72) argues that the process of language socialisation in a language involves not only learning linguistic forms but also internalisation of new meanings and verbal patterns associated to these meanings, which includes culturally and linguistically specific emotional expressions. Certain types of written text, such as personal letters and poems, contain emotional words and expressions that may be difficult to translate. Pavlenko (2002: 71) states that when an emotional expression is not translated properly, the hearer or the reader would think either the speaker or the writer is cold or overly emotional.

The emotional value placed on Japanese literacy by the Misawa and West parents would be strong motivation for them to promote literacy at home. In discussing the definition of the concept the 'mother tongue', Maher (1993) argues that without strong attachment placed on the language by the bilingual speaker, the language would be lost eventually from the linguistic repertoire of the speaker. The emotional attachment to literacy is probably as significant as the practical merit of it, particularly for migrants, such as the Misawa and the West children,

because Japanese and literacy in it constitute significant parts of their cultural identity.

9.4 Individual Difference in the Preference of Topic for Reading and Writing

Some of the differences in children's literate behaviours have been attributed to factors other than age, schooling and family literate culture. The differences among the children seem to come largely from differences in gender and personal interest.

The overall gender division of literacy may be seen in the variety of recreational and other non-educational activities, particularly in social-interactional uses of literacy. Generally, the three girls, Miki, Sakura and Eiko, wrote and read texts for social-interactional purpose more than the boys. The three girls wrote some cards, letters and birthday invitations (including the pseudo-birthday cards that Miki wrote) as a part of their daily writing activity, mostly in English. The girls seem to be strongly influenced by the literate behaviour of their mothers who generally write letters and cards more often than the fathers. The boys did not write social-interactional texts in either Japanese or English except when the writing was initiated by their parents. The girls wrote cards or messages for maintaining social relationships and friendship. Eiko, for example, wrote "I love my teacher" in her message to her teacher (Eiko's text No.19 in 5.6). Sakura and Miki also wrote similar messages to their teachers in English. However, the boys did not write this type of message. Ryo wrote a fax message to grandparents and birthday invitations only in collaboration with Mr. Misawa and Sakura.

The topics that the boys and the girls choose for their reading and writing also seem to have differences. Although all the children like animals for a topic of their reading and writing, the girls seem to choose animals for their reading and

writing more often than the boys. Sakura and Eiko wrote about animals (guinea pigs, dolphins and chickens) repeatedly, but boys only chose animals when something notable had happened which involved animals (eg. Ryo's father being bitten by a possum, see Ryo's text No.3 in 6.6). Sports are Satoshi's favourite topic, but the girls, Sakura, Eiko and Miki only occasionally read or wrote about sports. The girls wrote about sports only when they played them.

In Japanese, the gender division is also seen in reading *manga* and watching cartoon programs on video. The *manga* that all children subscribe to have girls' comic strips and boys' strips, and also come with gender marked accompanying toys. Japanese cartoon programs recorded on video that the children often watch, are also clearly gender marked and the children showed a similar tendency in preferring the programs for their own genders.

Other types of materials that children use frequently are digital and multimedia games, including various computer games and *Tamagocchi*. These games are also gender marked. The boys, Satoshi and Ryo both like to play flight simulation and car driving games. They also play games involving shooting and killing of monsters. Eiko was seen playing a car driving game and *Space Invaders*, but she seemed much more interested in playing *My story time*, the software designed for girls. Although all the children possessed a *Tamgocchi* the girls seemed to be fonder of the toy that requires care.

Various reports on child literacy and biliteracy development state that female children seem to be more literate than male children (Garton and Pratt 1989, Nichols 1994, Rivalland 1994). There are a number of reasons why girls are more literate than boys, including that girls acquire language earlier than boys and they become better speakers because mothers tend to talk to girls more than boys (Garton and Pratt 1989: 56). Another reason may be that in many cultures there are expectations that reading and writing are feminine types of activities rather than masculine, so girls are encouraged to do more literate activities than boys (Rivalland 1994). Although this is not necessarily true in some cultures (eg. the

Vai literacy in Scribner and Cole 1981), this seems to apply for the children in the current study as there seems to be a stronger expectation on the girls to be more literate than the boys. One piece of evidence is that the parents in the study seem to be slightly more concerned about literacy development of the boys than the girls. The parents think that, without their intervention and encouragement, the boys would not acquire literacy fully and successfully. The boys in the current study, Ryo and Satoshi, are both older children. Therefore, it is not conclusive to attribute their parents' concern only to the gender. However, Mrs. West in particular seems to show stronger concern regarding Satoshi's development. When asked about what type of reading and writing Satoshi carries out at home regularly, she answered as follows.

サトシは、とにかく勉強の方が多い。とにかく土曜校が大変だから。
(Satoshi does studying much more (than recreational activity). The study at the Saturday school is so hard for him.)
(Mrs. West's interview 23/2/98)

As he is entering year 2 at the MJSS, the amount of work for Satoshi is increasing rapidly. When she discussed Satoshi's reading and writing, she often used the word 大変 (hard, difficult), which might suggest that she was concerned that he was not making steady progress, whereas, when she discussed Eiko's reading and writing, she often changed to a relaxed manner using positive expressions, such as 読書は楽しみ (reading is for pleasure). She described Eiko's literacy practice as follows:

エイコはまだ勉強らしいことはあんまり。ドリルとかは少し…少しやらせようと思っているんだけど、ひらがなとカタカナと、あと…本は絵本をよむんだけど。読書は楽しみですよね。
(Eiko has not started studying much yet. A bit of drilling…I am thinking about making her do some drills, such as *hiragana* and *katakana*… she reads picture books. Shouldn't reading be for pleasure?)
(Mrs. West's interview 23/2/98)

Although this may only be indirectly connected to the behaviours of the five children, the situation in Japanese schools and job prospects may be influential because the parents in this study are all educated in Japan and/or working in a Japanese company. Their background and experience in Japanese schools and companies is likely to be influential in their children's upbringing. Okano and Tsuchiya (1999) state that education is strongly gender marked in Japan and boys are generally expected to go to better schools than girls and occupy higher job positions. The parents in the current study must be conscious of this social situation in Japan, which would still strongly influence their children's future. Mr. Kawada, who works for a Japanese company, presented a relatively relaxed attitude in stating the goal of biliteracy for Miki, which may come from the fact that Miki is a girl.

9.5 Difference in Japanese and English (Australian) Literate Culture

The children are exposed to literate cultures in Japanese and English through their schools, books and other types of materials that they read, the media and from the people around them. The influence of these cultures seems to be present in the texts that they read and write. While the input from their schools is significant, the input from their parents is also a powerful factor in accounting for differences between the children.

9.5.1 Japanese and Australian school literate cultures and children's behaviours in reading and writing

The schools are a powerful source in determining what is culturally appropriate and what is not (Luke 1994). The schools preselect reading materials for the children, define basic genres, and teach children how reading and writing should

be done. Not only the content of the texts that children read and write are significant, but also the manners in which children comprehend and compose texts are considered to comprise a significant part of school literate culture. At home, as has been seen, certain elements of these school literate cultures in Japanese and English are emphasised and de-emphasised depending on the family's views and goals of literacy, language priority and access to literate resources. In this sense, parents' scaffolding and filtering of types of reading and writing are extremely significant factors in characterising the children's biliteracy.

There are notable differences between English and Japanese literate cultures at schools in how children are taught to read and write. The selection of reading materials is done differently in Japanese and English at the schools. The children are taught to select their own books in English at the primary school. The books that the children take home are normally preselected by the teacher and school librarian to be included in the class collection. The children are encouraged to select books from this collection. By doing so, the teachers in primary schools attempt to involve children actively in reading. On the other hand in Japanese, the school collection of books at the MJSS is rarely taken to classrooms. What the children read in their class is prescribed and annotated texts that are contained in the Japanese textbook. The books from the MJSS collection are selected by mothers. The children sometimes participate in the selection of books, but they can only borrow one book and the collection is small.

The manner of interpretation may be different in reading books in Japanese and English. The books in English that children read are mostly authentic books. On the other hand, the short readings in the Japanese textbooks that they are required to read every day are excerpts from longer books and readings that have been reduced in number of words and difficulty of lexical level, with comprehension exercises attached. These readings in the Japanese textbook have points that children must understand and a set of *kanji* and vocabulary that they need to learn. In reading this type of text, the children are led to a certain meaning of the text, which might be different from their own interpretation. On the other hand, books

that they read in English do not usually have such guidelines for comprehension. The children must think, analyse and use contexts to arrive at their own meaning from the texts. The children seem to have mastered these cultural differences in literacy across languages.

9.5.2 Objectivity and subjectivity in children's written texts

This school literate culture is a particularly strong influence on what children write because children write a larger number of texts for studying than for any other purposes. In English, the school makes children write a wide range of texts from journals to poems. In Japanese, the literate culture for writing for these children is that of the textbook. This is primarily due to the limitation in the opportunity to write in Japanese in the context of Melbourne and limited literate resources. The limitation is also considered to derive from the Japanese literate culture which views school literacy practice, particularly the textbooks, as authoritative (Okano and Tsuchiya 1999).

In Japan, school children are encouraged to write a broader range of texts than these children in Melbourne are required to write in Japanese (Fukusawa 1995). There are many other reports that indicate children in Japan like to write texts of various types in their day-to-day lives (eg. Muto 1997, Yamane 1989). The implication that derives from this is that these children in Melbourne will develop full literacy in English but the development of literacy in Japanese would be comparatively limited or delayed by time pressure.

The children are taught to write in different ways in Japanese and English. Contrasting examples are recount and narrative texts, i.e. *enikki* (picture journal) or *nikki* (journal) and journals in English that most of the children write. How the children write in these texts is different in form and content in Japanese and English. Sakura who chose the same topic, 'guinea pig' for an *enikki* (Sakura's text No. 1 in 6.6) and journal text (Sakura's text No.2 in 6.6) wrote these two texts differently. In Japanese, she wrote the text descriptively and objectively by

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selecting 'guinea pig' as the main subject using passive voice (*Today, guinea pig babies were born*). On the other hand, she wrote the English journal text choosing herself as the subject and using an emotional tone (*Gues wot my mum and dad brot ...*).

The other children also showed similar differences in writing texts in Japanese and English. Miki wrote letters and messages only in English (Miki's texts No.5 and 6 in 6.6). Eiko wrote a card formally and politely to a family friend in Japanese (Eiko's texts No.18 in 7.6), but wrote a card informally and intimately to her teacher in English (No.19 in 7.6). Ryo used a dialogic style when he wrote journal texts in English (Ryo's text No 3 and 4 in 6.6), which he seldom does in writing Japanese. By using the colloquial style, he wrote his texts in English in a more personal and intimate style. He wrote his journal to his teacher and often he writes in a style as if he is talking to her because the teacher writes comments in his journal. In contrast, almost none of his texts in Japanese have this personal, intimate and interactive style.

In short, the children seem to have a tendency to suppress their emotions in writing Japanese and tend to be more open about their emotions in English. The children seem to distance themselves from the topic or content of the text that they are writing, and possibly from their readers when writing in Japanese because they rarely took account of the readers or addressed them in the texts. This contrasts with what Aidman (1998) found in the behaviour of a Russian-English biliterate girl. The girl wrote informally and intimately in Russian and formally and in a business-like manner in English. These opposite behaviours of the Russian-speaking child and the Japanese-speaking children seem to come largely from the literate cultures of their first language (Russian or Japanese) and how the texts in these languages are used in their lives.

Wierzbicka (1999: 218) writes that emotionality is a significant element in the Russian language and it has rich linguistic devices for expressing emotions. In Aidman's study, the Russian-Australian girl seems to be acquiring this cultural

value through letter writing. On the other hand, the Japanese-speaking children in Australia are clearly learning a different tradition of cultural values attached to written text through their writing practice in Japanese and English. The children are learning that one should be open in English (though not be as open as in Russian) and probably more subtle in Japanese. Muto (1997) argues that for Japanese-speaking children, the written text is not a significant means of transmitting emotion to others. The young children who Muto studied, aged from four to six, largely wrote formalities in their letters such as おげんきですか (how are you) and またあそぼうね (let's play again), but nothing else. Whatever the way the children learn to write, they learn to differentiate styles of writing across the languages that they use and they become bicultural. In this sense, becoming biliterate is becoming bicultural.

Fukusawa (1995) argues that in teaching *sakububun* (composition) in Japanese schools in lower primary level, children are encouraged to write their viewpoint, argumentation and feeling in their writing. However, the children in the current study do not write this way in their writing in Japanese for those who are assigned to write *sakubun* or *nikki* (journal) texts (Ryo, Satoshi and Sakura). One of the reasons why the children behave this way might be the lack of instruction for writing both at the MJSS and at home. The children are assigned to write these texts regularly, and these texts are corrected by their parents and teachers. However, the corrections are made largely on grammatical mistakes and errors in usages, but not on the style or the content.

Takenaga (1984: 27) argues that the Japanese children returning from overseas have many things to write about, but they do not have proper style to present what they want to write. He states that it is necessary to teach these children genres that are unique to Japanese written texts, such as *shookaibun* (introduction/description), *ikenbun* (argumentation) and *hookokubun* (reports). These genres of writing have different structures compared to the equivalent genres in English. A considerable amount of time is dedicated to teaching these children these genres in Japanese

schools. Takenaga's report indicates that teaching how to write these texts in Japanese at Japanese schools overseas is little practised.

In English the children have access to a wide variety of books in different genres, which would be a significant exposure to different styles of writing. The Japanese school textbooks also introduce children to different types of texts, including poems, stories, and expository writing. Sometimes children are required to imitate the style of these texts in writing their own text (eg. Ryo's text No.5 in 6.6). However, these short texts in the Japanese textbooks are only short excerpts of authentic texts. From quality and quantity points of view, the types of texts that children are introduced to in Japanese are more limited to what they are exposed to in English.

In the current stage, the children's generalisation about Japanese and English literate culture seems to be still developing. The dominant literate culture for the children is that of English in which children are introduced to basic notions of genre, how books should be selected, expressing themselves freely in writing and communicating with others via written texts.

9.6 Overview

Japanese and English are clearly serving complementary roles in the literacy practices of the children. In their biliteracy practices, it is literacy in English where the children are developing their greater ability. In the literate behaviour of Satoshi, for example, literacy in Japanese is becoming limited in its range compared to English. For him, literacy in Japanese seems to have little practical use for communication and it may be becoming a source of stress. In the behaviour of all the other children, there is also the problem of functional limitation of literacy in Japanese in varying degrees, even for Ryo whose ability in literacy in Japanese is considered to be most advanced among the five children.

Cummins (2001b) argues that bringing in functional, cultural and critical literacy into biliteracy education would truly make the teaching of biliteracy an act of empowerment. Transferring literacy skills from English to Japanese is probably the most effective measure for enriching biliteracy competence for these children under the circumstances that they are in.

The functional limitation may be the inevitable consequence of minority literacy as many studies in biliteracy have found (see 2.6). However, in the case of biliteracy in languages that have relatively strong ethnolinguistic vitality (Willemyns et al.1993), such as English and Japanese, this weakness may be overcome by using rich human, material and cultural resources.

Although the children's use of literacy in Japanese has relatively limited functions compared to that of English, there is also ample evidence in the current study that literacy in Japanese is clearly contributing to the children's overall Japanese maintenance by increasing the opportunity to use Japanese and widening the language variety as well as constructing their cultural identity, which Janssen and Pauwels (1993) and Saunders (1988) suggest as the benefits of biliteracy. Some evidence for this is the large amount of time these children and families spend reading and writing in Japanese and communicating in Japanese around written texts. The children's love of Japanese popular culture may be further evidence.

While there is an obvious motivational factor promoted by *manga*, and also the benefit of the children acquiring character recognition, the effect of *manga* may not be entirely positive because of their poor and commercial contents. Sasakura (2002) warns that *manga* may distract children from reading quality books because of their extremely easy reading demands whereas reading longer stories requires considerable effort and assistance from a literate adult in reading. Whether the reading of *manga* boosts children's ability to read, and also desire to read other types of materials in Japanese (and in English) requires further study.

The children are also highly competent in using Japanese scripts, *hiragana* and *katakana,* which they use for writing various written texts, such as greeting cards and notes. There still is potential for the children and their family to enrich their Japanese-English biliteracy by adding new dimensions to what they have already acquired, such as incorporating the use of *kanji* in literacy events that have non-academic functions.

One way to improve the quality of literacy in Japanese would be to give the children more freedom and choice in their literacy practices. Townsend and Fu (1998) report that a Chinese boy's biliteracy in English and Chinese bloomed when he was given a wider choice and freedom in reading and writing at school and at home, and when the boy felt the sense of belonging to the American literate community. Literacy is not only about skills in reading and writing. As was stated in 2.4, it is cultural practice, discourse, ideology and membership in a literate community. By being given a wider choice in the types of literacy children practice, the children are given a literate culture of their own. As Saxena (1994) states, Panjabi literacies in England revived among the second and the third generation youths when they made a conscious choice in selecting Panjabi literacies as their own along with literacy in English. Biliteracy seems to flourish only when children discover a strong motivation to read and write in the languages they practice because of relevance to their lives.

In the current study, it has been described that some children, such as Ryo and Sakura, have access to a wider choice of resources in Japanese and assistance in their home in practicing Japanese-English biliteracy. For Miki, the maintenance of Japanese and learning literacy in Japanese seem to have little significance at this stage because her parents are reinforcing literacy in English. For Eiko West, although she does not have access to as wide a variety of literate resources in Japanese as Ryo and Sakura, her development of literacy in Japanese is fairly smooth thanks to her role model, Mrs. West. Also with her lighter amount of homework and not very high expectations of her parents regarding her achievement in learning literacy in Japanese, she seems to be enjoying freedom in

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reading and writing whatever she likes in Japanese. In the case of Satoshi West, he is clearly struggling and stressed from practicing Japanese because his workload in Japanese is overwhelming. He has little choice and freedom in reading and writing in Japanese at this moment because he is required to keep up with the study at the MJSS. On the other hand, he seems to be enjoying reading and writing in English much more than he does in Japanese. In order to relieve Satoshi from the stress and improve the situation, it is crucial to free him from the stress and reduce the workload. Removing him from the current class at the MJSS and giving him an alternative way to learn Japanese literacy at a much slower pace than the current speed may be a solution.

It can be concluded from the discussion that the children's biliteracy practices are a product of family literate culture, schooling, and Japanese and English (Australian) literate cultures. Their biliteracy practice is specific to the socio-cultural contexts in which they read and write, and their literacy development proceeds according to the needs in the environment.

In Chapter 10 Conclusion, the implications and limitation of the study, practical recommendations for parents, educators and researchers who are involved in child biliteracy are made.

Chapter 10 Conclusion

The purpose of this chapter is to conclude the thesis by discussing the implications of the findings and the limitations of the study and making recommendations for parents, teachers and specialists who deal with biliterate children, and also to suggest possible further study in child biliteracy.

10.1 The Implications of the Study

The aim of the investigation was to examine the Japanese-English biliteracy practice of the five bilingual children in the home context of Melbourne, Australia, in order to study how these children develop their abilities in literacy through reading and writing using Japanese and English. In this thesis, the home and school environments of biliteracy, the family background, parents' attitudes, the functions of biliteracy, language selection for literacy and the texts these children wrote have been described and discussed in detail.

In the overview in Chapter 9, it has been argued that Japanese-English biliteracy of the children is asymmetrical with the range of uses of literacy in Japanese being considerably limited compared to that of English. The use of Japanese is seen generally for academic and recreational functions, but limited in other areas, while the use of English covers a wider area including social-interactional, memory aid

and news related functions. The use of Japanese scripts is more restricted than the use of the alphabet. Particularly *kanji* is little used by the children other than in learning them. Despite the functional limitation of literacy in Japanese, however, reading and writing practices in Japanese are positive because they are adding an extra dimension to the literacy practices of the children and also increasing the amount of use of Japanese at home. The asymmetrical nature of Japanese-English biliteracy and the functional limitation of literacy in Japanese are expected to be overcome by L2>L1 transference of literacy skills (Edelsky 1986). It was also argued that the children might be able to expand their use of literacy in Japanese if they are given more freedom and choice in reading and writing. These possibilities are perceived as realistic considering the relatively strong ethnolinguistic vitality of Japanese in the Australian social and linguistic environment although they may not be achieved easily in a short period of time.

10.1.1 Need to be Japanese-English biliterate in Australia

The need to be biliterate in Japanese (L1) and English (L2) is evident from the parents' perception of reasons for practicing biliteracy, uses of literacy by the children and the written texts they produced. The needs and reasons for practicing biliteracy are considerably different across the families and they also view the role of literacy in English and Japanese differently. The differences in these views of

biliteracy seem to be dependent on their residential status, and also dependent on whether they are Japanese or Australian-born.

The functions of Japanese and English for literacy by the children were different and complementarily distributed. Schooling in English seems to have the strongest role in the children's literacy. Reading and writing in Japanese and the role of the Saturday school seem to be generally limited compared to that of English although some children spent longer reading and writing in Japanese at home.

Writing practice was highly education-based across the five children both in English and Japanese. The five children wrote more texts for studying than for any other purposes. The burden of learning to write Japanese scripts, not so much with *hiragana*, but *katakana* and *kanji* seem to be strongly influencing the children's learning of literacy in Japanese. Even the oldest and most proficient writer, Ryo Misawa, was still spending many hours a week learning to write. Japanese-speaking children overseas who learn literacy in Japanese with limited time and resources experience the learning as more difficult than children in Japan.

To summarise, the needs for biliteracy for these five children are generated by and dependent upon the parents and the schools they go to. The need to learn

biliteracy arises also from the children's future job and academic prospects as Mr.
Kawada and Mr. West stated. Teaching *kanji* that seem to have little practical use
for the children at the current stage is an example of preparing the children for
future. Cultural maintenance is also a significant reason for practicing biliteracy at
home, particularly for intergenerational transmission of culture.

10.1.2 The benefit of biliteracy

Despite the difficulty of practising reading and writing at home in Japanese while
going to an Australian school and also keeping up with the study at the Saturday
school, the parents and the children seem to share a general awareness that it is
beneficial for them and their children to practice biliteracy for social as well as
developmental reasons.

These three families live in a modern, multilingual society in which the value
placed on written language is very high, particularly that of critical and academic
types of literacy. Mr. and Mrs. Misawa are well aware of this (see 6.2) and the
other parents also recognise that literacy is a crucial element in their children's
academic development. These families not only reinforce the academic type of
literacy in English, but also in Japanese at home. The reason is that they, like
some other language groups (Dien 1998), are also aware that there are many
benefits to be biliterate in a LOTE and English, not only for the domestic and

cultural reasons but also for wider academic opportunities and for job prospects.

The range of activities that these children carry out using literacy by involving two languages is quite broad. The exposure to Japanese culture through written texts is clearly a benefit of biliteracy. On the other hand, some researchers argue that learning literacy in two languages influences overall literacy development negatively, i.e. may results in semilingualism (Fukusawa 1995, Ono 1994). However, none of the children's behaviour showed a sign of semilingualism or inhibition of development that seems to have resulted from biliteracy. Their development of literacy in English was by no means impeded by the practices of literacy in Japanese (Martin-Jones and Romaine 1985). On the contrary, the practice of biliteracy seems to be contributing positively to their formation of bicultural identity and bilingual language development .

Researchers in biliteracy (Hornberger and Skilton-Sylvester 2000:96, Scribner and Cole 1981: 257) state that the broader the dimension of biliteracy, the more the development of biliteracy is enhanced. With the mainstream education in English and the strong relevance to reading and writing in English to their lives in Australia, their development in Japanese may be slower and partial compared to that of English. However, learning Japanese literacy along with that of English should eventually show a positive effect. The older and/or relatively active reader-writers, Ryo (9;5), Sakura (7;5) and Eiko (6;10) seem to be beginning to

show signs of transference in some areas, such as topics and the types of texts that they write. It is assumed that other children would reach this level provided that they continue to be exposed to literacy in the two languages. Edelsky (1986) observed in her study that the transference of literacy skills could occur from relatively early stages when the need arises and not only from L2 to L1, but also from L1 to L2. Scribner and Cole (1981: 258) state that as the range of uses increases, existing practices may come to embrace more complex tasks. They also argue that formerly separated uses would be combined as new content or domains and technologies are introduced. The use of the computer at home by Ryo and Sakura assisted by their father, is such an example.

10.1.3 The children's construction of the view of literacy

It has been suggested that those who practice literacy in two or more languages form deeper metalinguistics awareness (Snow and Ninio 1986) and have a more dynamic and broader view of literacy compared to a person who practices monolingual literacy (Pérez 1998c). This is considered another benefit of biliteracy.

Through the use of two distinctive writing systems, the children gain deeper metalinguistic awareness by learning *hiragana, katakana, kanji*, the Roman alphabet and also reading and writing different genres in Japanese and English.

They may also be able to create a new, hybrid type of literacy, which is not confined to the realms of previously existing literacies.

Because the degree of multilingualism, multiplicity of media and the global nature of literacy are considered to increase in modern, industrialised societies, it is crucial for the children's welfare that they have the ability to read and write in the languages they speak. With the help of technology, such as the Internet, literacy in a particular language or culture is no longer confined to a specific time and space. The biliterate children are able to participate in a number of discourse communities (Gee 1996). The children are empowered by biliteracy and have a better potential to critically evaluate existing discourses and ideologies (Cummins 2001b, Mabuchi 2002).

The general implication of the current study is that biliteracy is beneficial for the children for a number of reasons. The study demonstrated that home is an excellent domain for developing, enhancing and maintaining literacy, language and cultural values for the bilingual children.

10.2 Limitation of the Study

Some methodological limitations of qualitative, ethnographic studies have been discussed and dealt with in 4.2. These issues include ambiguity that arises in treating qualitative data, dealing with young children as informants and the intrusiveness of data collection that takes place in the informant's home. Although some of the problems have been avoided by anticipating them, the nature of the study, the methods of data-collection and the restriction of resources have limited the study.

10.2.1 Participant families and children

The small sample population of the study, i.e. five children from three families, was sufficient for a case study and compiling an ethnographic description of a members of each of the residential categories (temporary resident, migrant or Japanese-Australian mixed marriage families). However, the small sample size prevented the inclusion of a broader range of instances of uses of literacy, literacy events and written texts. In particular the data taken from the youngest child, Miki, who did not produce as many written texts as the others and also Satoshi West, who was not an active reader-writer, were relatively limited in quality and quantity. A larger sample size might limit this shortcoming although the duration

of the fieldwork and processing of the data would require time and resources that would be not manageable for a single researcher project.

Not only the number of participant families, but the types of families, particularly the children were restricted in the current study. The current study did not include the children who do not attend the MJSS. The cooperation of these children and their families was not sought for the current study because it was considered that they were small in number and do not represent the population of Japanese-speaking children in Melbourne. However, it was discovered after the study that there are a considerable number of Japanese-speaking children in Melbourne and other parts of Australia who do not go to Japanese Saturday school, but practice Japanese-English biliteracy at home. Inclusion of this type of child would enrich the result of the study by presenting the fact that there are ways to practice and develop biliteracy other than depending on Saturday school or other educational institutions. These children would merit comparable study.

10.2.2 Language used for the investigation

The language of the data collection may have influenced the study. Japanese was used throughout the fieldwork, except when the researcher visited the primary schools. Although the researcher gave the participants a choice in which language they wanted to use, Japanese was used most of the time in the fieldwork because

most informants and the researcher speak Japanese as a first language. The use of Japanese was slightly problematic in interviewing Mr. West, the Australian-born father. Although he preferred to speak Japanese to the researcher, Mr. West may have been able to express himself better in English which might have allowed him to speak more about himself and about his children. The use of Japanese sometimes made the communication difficult with Satoshi West and Miki Kawada who use English at home more often than the other children. It is considered that Satoshi and Miki may have expressed their thoughts better in English in some situations, such as when they talked about what they do at school. These children and Mr. West might have thought that they had to speak Japanese because the researcher is Japanese. However, language selection in the field is dependent on what the informant feels is appropriate, which is beyond the control of the researcher.

The intrusive presence of the researcher may have resulted in heightened awareness of literacy practices in the subjects. Not only the researcher's presence, but also literacy diaries and parental interviews may have influenced the participants' literacy behaviours. The overall influence is considered to be a minimal one which did not affect the outcome of the study significantly. Because these factors were consistent across the study their influence can be regarded as minimal and not to have affected the outcome of the study.

10.2.3 Frequency, duration and time of home visits

The frequency, duration and the time of the visits to home and school (see 4.7) were limited to three to four months for each family, with two to three visits a week and a few hours a day in each visit. This limited the participant observation to be carried out mostly in the late afternoon to early evening on weekdays during one semester. Although the frequency and the time slot was considered to be most suitable for home visits, some literacy events, such as bed-time reading and some father-child reading sessions which took place late at night or on weekends could not be directly observed by the researcher so data had to be collected using tape recordings and literacy diaries. Data taken from direct observation of these events may have enriched the findings although observing some events, such as bed-time reading, would be extremely intrusive.

The duration of the visits, i.e. one semester, is a long enough period for compiling a profile of biliteracy practice for regular reading and writing done at home. However, some literacy events that take place on special occasions, such as Christmas and the new year, were not included in the study. Although the study included some instances of literacy events and written texts from birthday and Christmas, there were not sufficient sources in the database to discuss literacy practices related to these occasions in depth.

10.3 Practical Recommendations for Parents, Educators and Researchers who are Involved in Child Biliteracy

In order to facilitate and nurture biliteracy for children, effective pedagogies and ways to practice biliteracy at home and in the community must be generated. Several recommendations are made based on the findings of the study.

For parents of bilingual and biliterate children, it is recommended that literacy practice in the home language be made more meaningful and purposeful. Adopting school-like methods in practicing literacy in the home language, or reinforcing a particular aspect of it, are effective for enhancing school-type literacy. However, intense rote memorisation of *kanji* and other types of formal studying may make learning literacy more difficult than it should be. It might also give children the idea that learning literacy in the home language is intrinsically difficult and uninteresting. In order to avoid learning unnecessarily difficult, particularly in non-alphabetical languages, making the learning more relevant, fun and meaningful is recommended. In order to teach *kanji* effectively, for instance, frequent use of the characters for authentic purposes might replace repetitive and monotonous memorisation. Another possible way of teaching *kanji* is use of multimedia and computer assisted language learning (CALL) technologies. There are numerous *kanji* programs and websites that are available on the Internet today and some of them are suitable for young children. The use of these technologies is

not only beneficial for the sake of learning formal elements of literacy in Japanese, but also an effective means for increasing the frequency of parent-child literacy events in the home language and an opportunity for a parent to engage in scaffolding using a computer. This gives children a culture- and language-specific use of multimedia technology as seen in the behaviour of Ryo and Sakura (see 6.5 and 6.6). This may be quite different from what they learn in mainstream school.

Enriching the biliteracy practices at home is considered to be effective when success in the long term is aimed at. Bringing in group work and forming a peer group for using literacy may be another idea (Janssen and Pauwels 1993). Participating in *bunko*, a home library activity, which became available in Japanese in Melbourne in 2000 (Sasakura 2002) is an excellent instance of informal learning of literacy in Japanese. A slower, unthreatening manner of learning may be more effective in the long run for a child like Satoshi. In any case, parental encouragement, modelling and scaffolding are crucial.

Educators should be aware that adopting formal curricula and textbooks without making necessary alterations to suit the needs of children places them under considerable pressure, particularly in the case of a Saturday school or other type of schools whose resources and time are limited. Although adoption of a formal curricula and guidelines may be necessary for gaining funding or for other reasons, this may not always be effective for the children's biliteracy development.

Streamlining students is probably necessary because the children's ability and motivation to learn *kanji* and other aspects of literacy in Japanese vary from child to child. Although it was not available at the time of study, an international stream has become available at the MJSS for non-Japanese background children as well as children like Satoshi whose language or literacy in Japanese is comparatively weaker. This initiative is highly commendable for catering to the needs of the children who live in Australia permanently. The use of CALL technology at Saturday school is also recommended for more effective and possibly fun ways to teach *kanji*. It is recommended also because the cost of the technology has reduced considerably in recent years.

As Liddicoat and Shopen (1999) and Williams (1991) argue, dialogue between teacher, parents and children is crucial for improving the curricula and for increasing participation of the family in school activities. The schools should develop ways to utilise the non-English speaking families' expertise in the literacy of their home language, otherwise it is not possible to gain their active participation in school activities. One direction is presented by The Multilingual Resources for Children Project (1995) in which school, community and families worked together to produce bilingual resources, such as picture books, information books and brochures. With the latest multimedia technology, producing biliterate material for children is probably not as time consuming and high cost as it formerly was. The schools should recognise that they are a

powerful body enforcing a view of literacy regarding how literacy should be taught to children (see Cook-Gumperz 1986b). In order to ensure communication between school and families, they need to build bridges for having bilateral relationship with families and children.

For researchers, it is recommended to carry out more studies in biliteracy in various social contexts, with different languages, and children of different age groups because little is known about the effect of literacy practice at homes and in communities in LOTEs. Because of the social changes and technological advance today, children's literacy behaviours require constant study. It is hoped that ethnographic studies that are based in community and the home domain would increase to fill the gap in our current knowledge of child biliteracy.

10.4 Further Studies

Many important questions remain unanswered about child biliteracy. As a consequence of this study, some new questions have been generated.

(1) Is there any use of Japanese literacy by children outside the home, in the community in Melbourne, other than the Saturday school?

What was expected to be found, but was not seen much was the use of literacy in

Japanese which originated in the local Japanese-speaking community in Melbourne. Some instances were seen in the parents' literate behaviours, but not in the children's behaviours excluding the homework from the MJSS. This issue requires further research involving community wide participants, possibly with slightly older children who participate in a wider range of literate activities.

(2) What are the Japanese-English biliterate behaviours of the children who do not attend a Japanese Saturday school or similar institution that teaches Japanese?

As stated above, the behaviour of the Japanese-speaking children who do not study Japanese formally at Saturday school or similar places requires study because there are a considerable number of these children residing in Melbourne and throughout Australia. The behaviour of this group of children in Australia or in other English-speaking societies is little studied.

(3) What happened to the five children who participated in the current study (Ryo, Sakura, Miki, Satoshi and Eiko) regarding their biliteracy development?

As they planned, the Kawada family returned to Japan two years after the investigation. The Misawas and the Wests are still residing in Melbourne. It would be valuable to investigate the outcome of their biliteracy development against the goals and objective of biliteracy stated by their parents.

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(4) What is the impact of multimedia technologies in learning biliteracy, particularly in languages that use non-roman scripts?

With the recent technology in multimedia, the literate behaviours of children are changing. Introduction of multimedia into learning is probably one of the most emphasised areas in schools today. However, the influence of these technologies on biliteracy is little known. It is assumed that the impact of multimedia is greater now than at the time the study because the use of these technologies has increased rapidly and also multimedia resources in LOTEs has improved.

(5) Do certain types of reading and writing contribute to increase other types of literacy activities, and/or contribute to influence the overall amount of reading and writing?

It has been observed that all the children frequently read *manga*. However, it is not known whether *manga* motivate children to read other types of materials in Japanese (and in English) or whether it is only a specific, 'situational literacy' (McQuillan and Tse 1995) that has little connection to other reading. Because *manga* are an extremely popular reading resource in Japanese, their role in the biliteracy behaviours of Japanese-speaking children requires in-depth study including the positive and negative influences.

10.5 Concluding Remark

The study provided a discussion regarding ways in which biliteracy in English and a LOTE with a non-alphabetical writing system (eg. Japanese) is practiced at home. The biliteracy behaviours of young children in changing social and linguistic environments requires further and continuous studies because what is known about biliteracy is still very limited and the meaning of literacy is unique to culture, language and social contexts. It is hoped that the results of this study will help those carrying out research on biliteracy and also parents and teachers who are responsible for the biliterate development of children who use languages that are different from that of the wider society and mainstream school.

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APPENDICES

I. Biliteracy interview schedule for a parent about his/her child

Date: _____

Place: _____

The child: _____ (pseudonym)

Family: A, B, C, D, E, F   (interviewee: mother/father)

Part A: Demographic information of the interviewee:

Date of birth: _____ year _____ month

生年月日_____年_____月

Place of birth: city _____ country _____

Residential history: 住居歴

age 0

age 1

age 2

age 3

age 4

age 5

age 6

age 7

age 8

The length of residency in Japan: a total of _____ years ____months

日本で暮した年月　計 _____年_____カ月

The length of residency in Australia: a total of _____ years _____ months
オーストラリアで暮した年月　計　　　　　　年　　　カ月

Australian school the child goes to:

Japanese school/class the child goes to:
(Since when?) いつから？_____

Did the child go to kindergarten/daycare centre?
In which country?
For how long?
How often?

Part B: The child's language history of English and Japanese:

When did the child start talking?　　Japanese
いつからことばを話すようになりましたか？　　From:

When did the child start separating English and Japanese?　J / E
日本語と英語を分けて使うようになったのはいつごろからですか？

When did you start reading books to the child?　J / E
本を読んであげ始めたのはいつごろですか？

When did the child start showing interest in print and books?　J / E
本や活字に興味を持ち始めたのはいつごろですか？

When did you notice the child start reading by him/herself?　J / E
お子さんが自分で本を読み始めたのはいつごろですか？

When did the child start writing words?　J / E
字を書き始めたのはいつごろですか？

Part C: The child's literacy practices and communicative routine:

How much time does the child spend on reading and writing on a regular weekday?

平日、一日平均どれくらいの時間を読み書きに費やしますか？

What does the child read in Japanese?

日本語で読む物は何ですか？

What does the child read in English?

英語で読む物は何ですか？

What does the child write in Japanese?

日本語で書くものは何ですか？

What does the child write in English?

英語で書くものは何ですか？

How long does the child watch TV in a day?

一日どれくらいテレビを観ますか？

Does he /she have opportunity to use Japanese outside of the home on regular basis?

自宅外で定期的に日本語を使う機会がありますか？

Do you think the child has mastered the English alphabet?

英語のアルファベットはマスターしていると思いますか？

From　　　　からマスターした。

Do you think the child has mastered Hiragana and Katakana?

ひらがなカタカナはマスターしたと思いますか？

Is he/she learning another LOTE at his/her primary school?
学校で何か外国語（LOTE）を学んでいますか？

How is the child's progress in this LOTE?
LOTEで学んでいる言語の上達はどんな具合ですか？

Part D: Child's attitude about literacy practices in Japanese and English

Has there been a noticeable change in the child's attitude to English and Japanese over the years?   When?   How?
過去において、何か英語と日本語に関する態度で、特に注目に値する変化はありましたか？

Which activity does your child prefer, non-literacy activities (play outside, play musical instruments, etc), or literacy activities?   What sorts of attitude does your child hold towards literacy activities in general?
読書以外の活動（外で遊ぶ、楽器を弾く、など）と、読書や何かを書いたりする活動のどちらを好みますか？　読書や書いたりする活動をどのようにとらえていると思いますか？

Which language does the child prefer to read, English or Japanese?
読むのには、日英どちらの言語をよく用いますか？

Which language does the child prefer to write, English or Japanese?
書くのには、日英どちらの言語をよく用いますか？

What is the child's favorite topic of reading?
どんなトピックの読書を好みますか？

What is the child's favorite topic of writing?

どんなトピックのことを好んでかきますか？

Which does your child carry out more often, literacy activities for academic
purposes, or literacy activities for pleasure?
勉強のための読み書き行為と、楽しみのための読み書き行為と、どちらを
頻繁に行いますか？それらにどのような態度を示しますか？

How is the child coping with the study and the activities at the Australian school?
オーストラリアの学校の生活には順応していると思われますか？

How is the child coping with the study and the activities at the Japanese school?
日本語学校／教室での活動には順応していると思われますか？

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II. Biliteracy interview for teachers at Japanese school/class

About literacy activities in class: 授業での読み書き行動について

1.What guideline/curriculum/syllabus do you follow when you teach reading and writing to the students in your class? 授業で読み書きを教える際、どのような カリキュラム、ガイドライン、シラバスに従っていますか？

2.When you teach reading and writing to lower level primary students, what is/are the point(s) you emphasise? 読み書きを低学年児童に教える上で、どうのよ うな点を重視していますか？

3.Please describe how much reading the students do in your class in a day. 授業で一日にどれくらいの読む行為を行うか目安を教えて下さい。

4.Please describe how much writing　the students do in your class in a day. 授業で一日にどれくらい書く行為を行うか目安を教えて下さい。

5.Do you give the students any reading and writing homework? 読み書きの宿題をどれくらい出しますか？

6.Do you expect the students' parents to help/share some reading and writing at home? 保護者が手伝うことを前提に宿題を出しますか？

About the informant child: 調査対象の児童について

7.How do you describe the child's development of literacy skills in Japanese in general? 対象児童の読み書きの発達、習熟はどの程度だと思いますか？

8.Do you have any difficulty in teaching the child literacy skills in Japanese?
日本語の読み書きをこの児童に教えるのに何か問題や困難な点があります
か？

9.Is the child having any difficulty in learning literacy skills in Japanese? この児童は日本語の読み書きを学ぶ上で何らかの困難に行き当たっていますか？

10.Do you find any positive sign in his/her development of literacy because of learning literacy in English at the same time? この児童において、英語での読み書きの学習からの好影響が何か感じられますか？

11.Do you find any negative sign in his/her development because of learning literacy skills in English at the same time? この児童において、英語での読み書きの学習からの悪影響が何か感じられますか？

12.Other than reading and writing, how do you describe the child's development in general? この児童の読み書きの発達、習熟に関して全般的にどうお感じですか？

III. Biliteracy interview schedule for parents

Date: _____

Place: _____

Family: A, B, C, D, E, F, (mother /　father)

Part A: Demographic information of the parent:

Date of birth: _____ year _____ month

生年月日 _____ 年 ___ 月

Place of birth: city _____ country _____

生まれた場所　都市 _____ 国 _____

Occupation 職業: _____

Education: completed secondary / tertiary (2 / 3-4 years) / postgraduate

最終学歴 高校 短大／大学 大学院

Date of arrival in Australia: _____ 19 _____

オーストラリア到着年月日 _____ 年 ___ 月

Residential status in Australia: Citizen / permanent / working visa

オーストラリアでの居住ステイタス　国民　／　永住　／　就労ビザ

The length of residency in Japan: a total of _____ years _____ months

日本での居住歴 _____ 年 ___ カ月

The length of residency in Australia: a total of _____ years _____ months

オーストラリアでの居住歴 ＿＿年＿＿＿ヵ月

The length of residency in other places: その他の場所

_____a total of _____ years _____months

_____a total of _____ years _____months

Planned date of return to Japan: 日本への帰国予定 予定 有り／無し

Undecided / Decided: month _____ year _____

Part B: The parent's proficiency and the use of English and Japanese:

What languages do you speak, understand, read and write?

読み、書き、話す、理解できる言語は何ですか？

_____ (understand, speak, read, write)

_____ (understand, speak, read, write)

_____ (understand, speak, read, write)

_____ (understand, speak, read, write)

<u>Which language do you use for doing the following activities?</u>

<u>以下の活動にどの言語を用いますか？</u>

J / E / Both: Read the front page of a newspaper (please specify: eg. The Age, Herald Sun, Asahi, Yomiuri, etc)

_____

新聞の見出しを読む（何新聞？）_____

J / E / Both: Read articles on Australian politics in a newspaper

オーストラリアの政治にこいての記事を読む。

J / E / Both: Read magazines for enjoyment

娯楽のための雑誌を読む。

J / E / Both: Read novels

小説を読む。

J / E / Both: Read technical journals / textbooks

専門雑誌、学術書を読む。

J / E / Both: Use Internet (browsing WWW, writing email etc.)

インターネットを使う。

J / E/ Both: Watch TV news

テレビのニュースを観る。

J / E/ Both: Watch TV shows

一般的なテレビ番組を観る。

J / E/ Both: Watch video movies

ビデオ映画を観る。

J / E/ Both: Listen to news on radio

ラジオ出ニュースを聞く。

J / E/ Both: Communicate with others at work / your and/or child's school

職場、子供の学校でのコミュニケーション

J / E/ Both: Play sports with friends

友達とスポーツ活動をする。

J / E/ Both: Engage in a community/volunteer work

コミュニティー活動やボランティア活動をする。

J / E/ Both: Talk on the phone

電話で会話をする。

J / E/ Both: Fill out documents for Australian government offices

オーストラリア政府の書類を記入する。

J / E/ Both: Write personal letters

個人的な手紙を書く。

J / E/ Both: Write notes to your family members

家族にメモを書く。

In the past three years, have you visited Japan with your child?   When? How long each time?

過去3年間にどれくらい期間、頻度で、こどもと一緒に日本を訪問しましたか？

How frequently do you correspond with relatives and friends in Japan?

日本の知人友人、親戚の方々と文通していますか？

Do you belong to a club or an association that uses Japanese and meets regularly?

日本語を使うクラブや団体に参加していますか？

Do you belong to a club or an association that uses English and meets regularly?

英語を使うクラブや団体に参加していますか？

Part C: Language use by the family members

In which language, English or Japanese, do you usually talk to each other   in your family?

家族同士で、通常日英どちらの言語を用いますか？

Mother to Father   J / E

Father to mother   J / E

Mother to older child   J / E

Older child to mother   J / E

Father to Older child   J / E

Older child to father   J / E

Mother to younger child   J / E

Younger child to mother   J / E

Father to younger child   J / E

Younger child to father   J / E

Older child to younger child   J / E

Younger child to older child   J / E

What are the literacy activities do you engage in most frequently with your child?

How often do you do these activities?

子供と頻繁に行う読み書き行動を以下から選んでください。頻度はどれくらいですか？

Please select from the following:

Helping homework　宿題を手伝う。

Reading stories and picture books　絵本や本を読む。

Writing letters to friends and relatives　手紙を知人や友人に書く。

Playing games　ゲームをする。

Playing computer/video games　コンピュータのゲームをする。

Telling stories without using a book　本なしでお話しをする。

Going to libraries　図書館へゆく。

Other　その他

Do you ever read to your child in Japanese?

日本語で本を読んであげますか？

 (if your first language is not Japanese)

（第一言語が日本語でない場合。）

Do you ever read to your child in English?　英語で本を読んであげますか？

(if your first language is not English)　　（英語が第一言語でない場合。）

Part D: Attitude about child's practices in Japanese and English literacy

Do you think reading and writing skills in English and/or Japanese are important
for your child?　Why?

日本語と英語（あるいはどちらか）の読み書き能力は、子供にとって大切
だと思いますか？なぜですか？

English 英語

Speaking: y / n　(reasons)

_____

Listening:　y / n　(reasons)

_____

Reading:　y / n　(reasons)

_____

Writing:　y / n　(reasons)

_____

Japanese　　日本語

Speaking:　y / n　(reasons)

_____

Listening:　y / n

(reasons)_____

Reading: y / n   (reasons)

_____

Writing: y / n   (reasons)

_____

Do you like doing reading and writing with your child, or do you feel it is an obligation?

子供とともに、本を読んだり、何かを書いたりすのは、義務だと思いますか？

What kind of literacy activities do you want your children to do more?

親として、お子さんにどのような読み書きをして欲しいですか？

What kind of literacy instructions do you expect from your children's schools?

お子さんの通っている学校からはどのような読み書き教育を期待しますか？

How much ability of reading and writing in English and Japanese do you expect your child to have at the end of his/her secondary schooling?

高校終了後、日本語英語ともに、こどもにどれくらいの読み書き能力を、身に付けていて欲しいと思いますか？

IV. Literacy diary

読み書き作業 Reading/writing	内容 Activity	言語 Language	時間 Duration	コメント Comments

午前Morning

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午後Afternoon

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夜Evening

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