

Language Policy and Planning for Linguistic Minorities in Japan:
Proposals toward Multiculturalism through the Analysis of Language Education
for Children of Japanese-Brazilians

by

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ABSTRACT

This paper examines the ways in which the Japanese and their government should regard minority languages in Japan for successful co-existence between the Japanese and Japan's linguistic minorities including Nikkei migrant workers (descendants of Japanese emigrants abroad). Japan must now consider co-existing harmoniously with these minorities in a society for two reasons. First, Japan is a multilingual society where various minority language speakers reside. Second, in order to fulfill the current labor force shortage, the government is accepting more Nikkei migrant workers who do not speak Japanese.

Particularly, Japanese-Brazilian students will be the focus of this paper, since they compose the largest single group among migrant workers' children in public elementary schools. Their language problems will be examined. This paper will ultimately propose appropriate ways for Japan to establish a new society where the Japanese people can live harmoniously with linguistic minorities.

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Chapter I

Introduction

1. Introduction

Japan is a multilingual society. This is easily illustrated by the data from the Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science and Technology (MEXT), demonstrating that 63 languages are recognized as students' mother tongues in Japanese public schools in 2003 (MEXT, 2004). All of the languages spoken in Japan can be classified as either the dominant language or as minority languages. A dominant language refers to a language spoken by the dominant group in a society, whereas a minority language is a language spoken by a minority group which possesses "relatively less power, rights, and privileges than one or more dominant groups" (Tollefson, 1991: 16). In the case of Japan, Japanese is the dominant language, and other various languages are minority languages.

The Ministry of Justice (2002) has also released demographic data for foreign residents in Japan, illustrating the presence of a substantial number of Koreans and Chinese residents and a considerable increase in recent foreign residents who have come mostly from Asia and Latin America. These foreign residents compose minority groups in contemporary Japanese society. When these minority groups are associated with their languages, they can be particularly identified as linguistic minority groups. A linguistic minority is a group that generally establishes an ethnic enclave within a dominant society where a minority language may be spoken and/or the language serves as an identity marker for people in that group.

The Japanese linguistic minorities are categorized into two groups, indigenous people such as the Ainu and the Ryukyans and immigrants who are from various countries. The immigrants are further divided into two groups, old immigrants and newcomers. Old immigrants migrated to Japan before 1945 from China and Korea. Most of them were forced to leave their countries to engage in hard labor in Japan. Newcomers are those who arrived in Japan after the Pacific War, and include various nationalities coming from the Philippines, China, and Brazil. Most of them came to Japan to engage in remunerated activity, so that this group is often referred to as migrant workers.

It is important, in this paper, to clearly define three groups of people: citizens, immigrants, and migrant workers. *Citizens* are people who reside in a country where they possess citizenship for that country. In political theory, citizens are defined as political beings having rights and duties which a state must respect (May, 2000). A modern state is founded on the concept that citizens are only constituents of the state, thus it exists to protect and serve its citizens (see Hobbes, 1651/1996; Locke, 1698/1988; Reiss, 1970). *Immigrants* are understood to be people who are not citizens in their residing country and whose languages are generally not indigenous in the country (Extra & Verhoeven, 1998). They migrated to a country for their own purposes and reasons, purposes and reasons which are not necessarily derived from economic reasons. UNESCO (2003) has estimated that 175 million people, representing 3% of the total world population, are immigrants who have settled in countries where they do not originate. *Migrant workers* are a type of immigrant whose purpose of migration is specifically a remunerated activity (United

Nations General Assembly [UNGA], 1990). They migrated to industrialized countries to earn money by providing their unskilled labor. UNESCO (2003) portrays migrant workers as non-citizens who usually possess fewer rights than citizens.

Industrialized countries need migrant workers to sustain and develop their industry and economy, so such workers are welcome to work in those countries in order to fulfill the countries' labor shortages in 3D jobs (*dirty, demanding and dangerous*) resulting from native workers' reluctance to engage in those (Castles, 2000; Tsuda, 1999; UNESCO, 2003). Japanese has an equivalent expression to 3D jobs, 3K jobs (*kitanai* 'dirty', *kitsui* 'demanding' and *kiken* 'dangerous') in Japanese, in which young Japanese people do not wish to engage. Even though migrant workers are welcomed by these industrialized countries, they find themselves in a vulnerable position because of political systems which recognize only citizens as constituents of that state. Migrant workers do not possess citizenship in their host countries, and a national government in these countries typically regards migrant workers as temporary residents. Rights of migrant workers are usually not guaranteed by either the national legislation of these countries or their originating countries (International Steering Committee for the Campaign for Ratification of the Migrants Rights Convention [ISCCRMRC], 2003). Moreover, a national government generally does not provide them with equal treatment in social services to citizens, because it considers that social services should be available only for citizens (Nafziger & Bartel, 1991). UNESCO notes that such treatment towards migrant workers is fundamentally wrong from a human rights perspective.

Whether or not Japan should accept more migrant workers is a controversial topic, and the acceptance of migrant workers is proposed by some scholars as a solution for Japan's population decline (see Miwa, Inoue, Ogawa, & Sakanaka, 2003; Tanimura, 2000). A population decline is considered to be a problem for a country in economic terms, because of the following negative economic consequences that this brings.

A fall in demand and consumption leads to excessive supply, and increases downward pressure on prices of assets such as land. A rising proportion of older, higher-paid workers leads to rising labor costs and undermined productivity. If no means is found to keep a population from declining as described in classic economics, deflationary pressures increase ("Foreigners Move," 2003: 6).

From an economic point of view, a population decline is not favorable for a society. However, since 1995, Japan has already been in a condition of population decline in its productive labor force, because the number of people between the ages of 15 and 64 who are able to engage in working have been steadily declining ("Declining Birthrate," 2003). According to the National Institute of Population and Social Security Research, Japan's overall population is still increasing and will peak at 127.7 million in 2006, after which a population decline begins ("Declining Birthrate," 2003). In a mere 44 years, the total national population will fall to 100 million by 2050 ("Declining Birthrate," 2003). In terms of Japan's population structure, the population of young people is decreasing whereas that of old people is growing ("Declining Birthrate," 2003). Additionally, current Japan's fertility rate is 1.32, insufficient to maintain the current population level in a country ("Declining Birthrate," 2003). Due to a low birthrate, it seems difficult to coerce the population structure into the pyramid shape, regarded as an ideal shape in economics, at least

not in the short term (Tanimura, 2000). Thus, in order to fill the current shortage in the labor force and to make the population structure an ideal shape, accepting migrant workers is considered to be one of the better solutions to population decline.

According to the Ministry of Justice (2002), Japan currently possesses only 1.4% of total population as non-Japanese citizens, who compose Japan's linguistic minority groups. However, it is possible that population of such minority people will increase, because Japan may have to accept more migrant workers near future due to the severe shortage in labor force. Japan may possess even more linguistic minorities than today. This means that the Japanese people will have to co-exist with more linguistic minorities in Japanese society.

Many Japanese are not ready to accept linguistic minorities as their neighbors, because of two reasons. First, they have never considered living together harmoniously with these minorities in their own society, even though, since ancient times, they have had other linguistic minorities such as the Ainu, Ryukyans, the Chinese and Koreans within the territory of Japan. However, these people have been typically concentrated in particular regions in Japan, forming their own societies, so that Japanese people have not had considerable contact with them. Thus, the Japanese did not have to think about harmonious co-existence with these minorities within Japanese society. Second, many Japanese people hold the popular belief that Japan is a monolingual and monoethnic society. This belief was especially developed after 1945 through the government's attempt to consolidate national unity by emphasizing Japan's uniformity (Lie, 2001). The notion of Japan as a monolingual/monoethnic society was widely spread by writings of two popular

novelists: Shintarou Ishihara and Yukio Mishima (Lie, 2001). Additionally many scholars published their works on the philosophy known as *Nihonjinron* (the theory of Japaneseness), discussing the uniqueness of the Japanese people from racial, geographical, historical, and linguistic perspectives (Lie, 2001). As a result of having a firm belief in a monoethnic/monolingual society, the Japanese people have not always been aware that Japan is in fact a multilingual society. Because of these two reasons, it is difficult for the contemporary Japanese to think about the condition that they will have to live together with people from different cultural/linguistic backgrounds in Japanese society.

As a matter of fact, Japan is already a multilingual society, and the government may even encourage more migrant workers, indicating that the time has come in Japan to seriously consider how to co-exist with linguistic minorities in Japanese society. Thus, this paper examines the ways in which the Japanese people and their government should regard various minority languages in Japan for living together harmoniously with linguistic minorities, because co-existence with these minorities in a society means that the Japanese people must live together with not only minorities but also the minority languages that these minorities speak.

For an example of the ways to achieve successful co-existence with linguistic minorities in terms of language, this paper focuses on a specific linguistic minority, namely, migrant workers' children who are Japanese-Brazilian (JB) students. The JB children group was chosen because they compose the largest single group among migrant workers' children in public elementary schools. For example, MEXT's (2004) data lists 39.6% of public elementary school students who belong to

linguistic minorities as speaking Brazilian Portuguese as their mother tongue, in contrast to the 18.9% who speak Chinese, and the 14.8% who speak Spanish. The following three sections will provide some background information about the Japanese-Brazilians (JBs) in Japan.

2. History of Japanese-Brazilians (JBs)

Japanese people started to immigrate to Brazil in 1908 (Yamanaka, 2000), due to a Meiji government (1868-1912) policy encouraging individual economic betterment (Fujisaki, 1991). When they immigrated, they did not intend to live in Brazil permanently but they aimed to become successful financially and then return to Japan (Fujisaki, 1991). As a matter of fact, most were not able to return to Japan, but remained and formed a Nikkeijin (people of Japanese ancestry) society there (Fujisaki, 1991). When Japan experienced economic expansion during the 1980's, JBs started to visit Japan for financial reasons since the economy in Brazil was devastated (Komai, 2001). In a reverse turn of history, they became temporary residents in Japan, thinking to return to Brazil after making the requisite amount of money.

3. The Current Condition of Japanese-Brazilians in Japan

The results of the following three surveys illustrate the current condition of JBs in Japan. By comparing these results, it is possible to infer some general tendencies about JBs in Japan. The Japan International Cooperation Agency [JICA] (*Kokusai Kyouryoku Jigyoudan*, now known as *Kokusai Kyouryoku Kikou*) conducted a

survey in 1991 about Nikkei Latin Americans (Japanese-Latin Americans), including JBAs (JICA, 1995). The results of this survey illustrate what kind of the people JBAs are, why they came to Japan, and how they live in Japan. The survey shows that 69.5% of the respondents from Brazil possess either a college or university degree, and that 76.7% of them were white-collar workers in Brazil. JBAs gave two major reasons why they came to Japan: (1) Brazil is in an economic recession, and (2) JBAs want to make money in Japan due to Japan's high wage structure. A majority (81.5%) of JBAs want to go back to Brazil, whereas 17% of them are thinking of remaining in Japan. After returning to Brazil, 44.8% of them intend to establish businesses there. About 80% of them work in factories as unskilled labor in Japan, and most of those work in automobile factories. One-third (35.2%) of Nikkei Latin Americans (not only JBAs, but also other Japanese-Latin Americans) brought some of their family members to Japan, but only 18.1% of them brought children of school age to Japan.

Kajita's (1998) survey of JBAs who worked as factory workers in Japan in 1998 is more recent than the JICA's. Kajita found that 30.2% of the respondents possessed either a college or higher education, and that 36.9% of them were white-collar workers in Brazil. There are two major reasons why this group came to Japan (people are allowed to give more than one answer for this question): (1) Due to Japan's high wage, they came to Japan to make the requisite amount of money to take back to Brazil (79.9% of the respondents), and (2) Brazil is in an economic recession (47%). These JBAs gave three major reasons why they want to make a large amount of money (people are also allowed to give more than one answer for

this question): (1) to purchase a house in Brazil (53.3%), (2) to establish a new business in Brazil (43.4%), and (3) to buy a car (25.3%). Half (52%) of the respondents stayed in Japan for two to five years, and only 1.9% of them intended to settle in Japan for the rest of their life.

Hamamatsu city in the prefecture of Shizuoka conducted a survey about Nikkei Latin American residents in Hamamatsu in 1999. The population of JB residents in Hamamatsu is over 10,000, the largest number of JB residents among cities in Japan (Hamamatsu-city, 2000). About 90% of Nikkei residents in Hamamatsu is JB residents (Hamamatsu-city, 2000); thus, most of this survey's respondents can be regarded as JB residents. The respondents gave the following as their major reasons why they came to Japan: (1) due to the economic recession in their mother country (54.5%), and (2) to make money (29.6%). Half of them (51.9%) work in automobile manufacture factories. Two-thirds (66.3%) of respondents live with their spouse and children in Hamamatsu, and also two-thirds (63.3%) of them have lived in Japan for more than five years. Most of their children (77.3%) go to public elementary school. About half (44.3%) of the respondents answered that they would like to stay in Japan for a while.

Given these data, two tendencies can be seen. First, the motivation to come to Japan has not changed since 1991. They came to Japan due to two major reasons: they want to make a large amount of money, and Brazil is in an economic recession. Second, the reason to earn money in Japan also has not largely changed: they still want to earn money to establish a new business in Brazil.

These data contain the interesting information that JB's tend to stay longer in Japan, even though they do not intend to settle in Japan for the rest of their lives. Typically, they initially intended to stay in Japan for one to two years, but, as Kajita (1998) notes, their duration of stay has to become longer than they expected because otherwise they cannot save enough money to purchase a house in Brazil or to establish a new business there. Thus, many of them have already stayed more than two years in Japan. The results of the Hamamatsu's survey clearly shows this tendency, since two-thirds of its survey participants answered that they have lived in Japan for more than five years. Additionally, they typically answer that they do not know how long they will stay. Another interesting reason why they stay in Japan longer than they expected is that they get married in Japan and form a family. One in six (16.7%) of the respondents of the Kajita's survey gave this reason. Once migrant workers form a family in their host country, they tend to settle in the country and decide not to return to their mother country. This is illustrated by the experience of Western European countries where migrant workers have permanently settled by forming a family and deciding to not return to their mother country, so that their children go to school as linguistic minorities (see Castles, 2000; Castles & Miller, 1998). For example, Germany possesses Turkish migrant workers who initially migrated to West Germany in 1950s and 60s. Once they settled there, they called their family members to live together, and they have not returned to Turkey yet. As a consequence of forming a family, their children have enrolled in public schools in Germany; thus, the German government has been searching for an appropriate way to educate such children. Indeed, this tendency is occurring in

Japan. The 1993 survey conducted by the Japan Statistics Research Institute demonstrates a result that JB's who have children are more willing to settle in Japan than those who do not have children (cited in Tsuda, 1999). Hamamatsu city (2000) also found from its own survey that JB's in Hamamatsu who live with their family members tend to stay longer.

4. Japanese Laws

Municipal laws (*Chihou Jichi Hou*) and the Immigration Act (*Syutsu-nyuukoku Kanri Hou*) are the two relevant sets of laws which help to understand why the Japanese government treats Nikkei migrant workers in the way it does and why JB's are in Japan. Since the Japanese Constitution was designed for Japanese citizens, it does not provide any support for residents who are not Japanese citizens (Pak, 2000; Tanaka, 1997). However, by following the municipal laws, a local government can serve non-Japanese residents since the laws state that local governments are obliged to secure the safety, health, and welfare of not only permanent residents but also temporary settlers (Miyajima, 1992).

Some local governments have therefore already been giving some support to migrant workers in the form of social services: public medical care, child benefits, child and adult education, public accommodation, etc. (Sellek, 2001). When foreigners move into a city, generally the city provides information about the city and its local government, and provides guides for living in Japan in a range of foreign languages (Pak, 2000). These cities also offer consultation services to foreign residents, providing advice and assistance "with problems concerning

employers, health care, family law (marriage, divorce, birth certificates), residency status, immigration procedures, etc.” (Pak, 2000: 252). Among these local governments, the more progressive ones allow foreign residents to participate in the governance of their local governments as advisors, and even grant the vote at a local level; in addition, such local governments have even abolished the nationality requirement for most local administrative positions (Pak, 2000).

The Immigration Act controls residents who are not Japanese citizens, and was amended in 1989 and implemented in 1990 (Mori, 1997), opening Japan’s labor market to foreigners (Komai, 1993). This act "forbids, in principle, foreigners from engaging in unskilled work" (Mori, 1997: 11), but Nikkeijin are allowed to reside in Japan with no limitation on economic activity, so that many of them are hired into the unskilled labor force (Mori, 1997). This is easily seen in the surveys introduced in the previous section. For example, in the JICA (1995) survey, about 80% of JBAs answered that they work in factories. Kajita (1998) surveyed 2,054 JB subjects, all of whom were factory workers, and half (51.9%) of the survey respondents worked in automobile factories in the Hamamatsu (2000) survey.

Because the Japanese economic structure necessitates unskilled labor and because many Japanese citizens do not want to work as unskilled labor, JBAs are welcome to work in Japan (Tsuda, 1999). This is the same situation as when migrant workers were recruited in Western European countries in the late 1950's and early 1960's (Castles, 2000). "Immigrants were becoming indispensable in ever more sectors of the economy [in Western Europe]" (Castles, 2000: 31), and this is currently true in Japan as well.

In addition to these two laws listed above, the Education Law (*Kyouiku Kihon Hou*) is relevant to JBs, because some of them brought their children to Japan. Although the Education Law does not lay out compulsory education of foreign children, the children of foreign residents are accepted for enrolment in public schools as a practice, if their parents so wish (Sellek, 2001). Once a foreign child is permitted to enrol in a school by a local government, it is understood that a school must treat her/him as equal to Japanese children (Ota, 2000). This treatment includes providing her/him with free tuition, free textbooks, and financial support for school enrolment (Ota, 2000).

5. The Scope of This Thesis

The background information about JBs in this chapter calls attention to three considerations. First, JBs came to Japan due to economic motivation and that their stay in Japan as unskilled labor is allowed under the relevant laws. They are accepted into the labor force to compensate for the lack of labor that Japan cannot provide within its own country. Second, JBs tend to stay more than two years in Japan, and they hardly know how much longer they will stay in Japan. As indicated by the experience of Western European countries, the longer migrant workers stay in their host country, the more they tend to form a family by making the decision of not returning to their mother country. This tendency has started to be seen in JBs in Japan, since some of them have already formed families in Japan. Third, some JBs brought their families, including children, to Japan, and their children enrol in public schools. The presence of these children at school is significant, because they

compose the largest single group among migrant workers' children at school and because they do not understand Japanese well. These pieces of information suggest that Japan needs to consider seriously to search for the ways to establish a society where the Japanese can live together with JB's, because JB's will definitely stay in Japan in the long term.

This paper focuses on language issues of JB children. Particularly, their language problems will be examined, since, due to their low level of Japanese proficiency, they confront various language problems in public schools where only Japanese is used as the medium of instruction. Actual language problems that JB children in Japan confront will be demonstrated, in a later chapter, through the analysis of data from various sources. Based on these data, solutions for their language problems will then be examined.

It is important for Japan to find solutions for their language problems, because the results of these observations will be applicable to also deal with languages of other linguistic minority groups in Japan. Moreover, Japan's population in its labor force has been declining, as introduced earlier. In order to fulfill shortages in its labor force, Japan currently accepts Nikkei migrant workers from Latin America, and may accept more such workers in the near future. When Japan accepts more migrant workers than today, it may have even more migrant workers' children in public schools in the near future. Thus, it is important for Japan to think about ways to resolve language problems of JB children, because the solutions for these problems can be applicable to future problems that educational

settings will confront because of the acceptance of more migrant workers' children in the future.

The ways to resolve JB children's language problems are approached from two directions: a top-down approach and a bottom-up approach. The top-down approach helps us to examine what a government can do to resolve language problems in society. Generally a government adopts a language policy to resolve language problems in a society; thus, this paper will largely discuss the content of a realistic language policy that the Japanese government can adopt. The bottom-up approach allows us to examine what factors are necessary for JB children in public schools to resolve their language problems, by focusing on the ways to treat their mother tongue and to teach Japanese. Thus, effective language education programs for mother tongue maintenance and Japanese acquisition will be the main concern.

A goal of this paper is to propose the most appropriate way in which the Japanese people and their government should regard various minority languages in Japan for successful co-existence with linguistic minorities. In order to achieve this goal, the following three aims will be largely discussed: (1) to demonstrate actual language problems of JB children, (2) to propose what the Japanese government can do to resolve JB children's language problems, and (3) to examine what type of language education JB children need. Given these discussions, this paper will approach the goal.

This thesis thus has six chapters, including this introductory chapter. The second chapter is the literature review where the importance of immigrant children raised as bilinguals and the importance of adopting multiculturalism to accomplish

accommodation between the dominant and minority groups in a society will be mainly discussed. The third chapter will investigate the characteristics of current Japanese language policy in order to demonstrate what is necessary for a language policy to manage language problems in contemporary Japan. The fourth chapter will analyze language problems of JB children in public elementary schools. By examining their language problems, the necessary factors for an effective language policy to resolve JB children's language problems will be demonstrated. The fifth chapter will lay out a framework of both an effective language planning and an appropriate language education program for JB children, by utilizing the factors found in the fourth chapter as underlying concepts for these frameworks. In the concluding chapter, it will be proposed the ways to establish a new society where the Japanese people can co-exist harmoniously with linguistic minorities.

Chapter II

Literature Review

1. Introduction

How to educate immigrant children is problematic in many host countries and in the current political system. Immigrants are not citizens in their host country, so that theoretically a government of the country does not have any obligations to serve immigrants (Ball & Piper, 2002). As a result, the government does not seriously consider educating immigrant children as bilinguals who are proficient in both their mother tongue (L1) and their host country's language (L2). It is not appropriate, however, for governments of host countries to take this attitude due to the reasons which will be introduced in this chapter. The thrust of this chapter is that governments should provide appropriate language education programs for such children.

The literature will be reviewed in this chapter taking four following questions into consideration: (1) why immigrant children should maintain their mother tongue (L1), (2) why they must remain bilinguals, (3) why a government has to design and implement language policy and planning for such children, and (4) what is necessary to design and implement effective language education programs for the children. The questions will be answered in the following five sections:

1. What is Bilingualism?
2. Reasons to Be Bilingual
3. Schools, Acculturation, and Multiculturalism
4. International Law and Education for Migrant Workers' Children

5. Various Language Education Programs for Immigrant Children.

In the first section, various terms and definitions of bilingualism are introduced. The second section demonstrates reasons why immigrant children should maintain their L1 and be bilinguals. The third section discusses what acculturation strategy is appropriate to accomplish an accommodation between the language majority with the minority people in a society and to educate immigrant children. Then, international law for migrant workers and their children are examined in the fourth section. Finally, various language education programs are introduced in order to ascertain the most effective language education programs for immigrant children.

2. What is Bilingualism?

Many scholars define bilingualism in variety of ways in the literature by creating many terms in order to describe two languages in various conditions of co-existence. This section introduces some of these terms and their definitions, in order to explore what type of bilingualism is suitable for immigrant children, because the children should be raised as people who can function in two languages, their mother tongue (L1) and the language of their host country (L2).

2.1. *Ambilingualism/Balanced Bilingualism/Semilingualism*

Three types of bilingualism, *ambilingualism*, *balanced bilingualism*, and *semilingualism*, describe the degree of balance between two languages within an individual. *Ambilingualism* refers to a condition of a person who has perfectly mastered two languages in all fields of linguistic activity with no traces of interference on phonological, morphological or syntactic features to either language,

and native speakers cannot find traces of interference and deviation in speech of the bilingual person (Baetens Beardsmore, 1982).

Balanced bilinguals are those who have mastered both languages at roughly equal level (Edwards, 1994). *Balanced bilingualism* is different from *ambilingualism* in a sense that a balanced bilingual refers to a person who has a fairly balanced knowledge of two languages but shows possible traces of interference or deviation in both languages from native speakers' point of view (Baetens Beardsmore, 1982).

Semilingualism is defined as a condition of people who lack "complete fluency in either language" (Edwards, 1994: 58). A semilingual generally demonstrates the following characteristics in both languages: having a small vocabulary with incorrect grammar usage, thinking about language production consciously, showing uncreativity in each language, and having difficulty in expressing emotions in either language (Baker, 2001).

Among these three types of bilingualism, balanced bilingualism is an appropriate bilingualism for immigrant children to aim for, since it is necessary for them to possess fully developed competence of both L1 and L2 in order to live in their host country successfully. It is harmful for them to become semilinguals; thus, they have to prevent themselves from being semilinguals.

2.2. Additive Bilingualism/Subtractive Bilingualism

Both *additive bilingualism* and *subtractive bilingualism* illustrate the situation of a child's L1 while acquiring L2. The child does not possess fully developed L1 ability like adults when s/he is acquiring L2. When s/he is placed in additive

bilingualism, her/his L1 and L2 abilities would be developed in different ways from the situation when s/he is placed in subtractive bilingualism. Consequently, a child in additive bilingualism would become a different type of a bilingual from a child in subtractive bilingualism.

Additive bilingualism describes the situation where a child has little or no pressure to replace or reduce L1 when acquiring L2 (Baker, 2001). The development of L1 ability is not interfered with by L2 acquisition; at the same time, the acquisition of L2 is not interfered with by L1 development. In this situation, immigrant children become proficient in both languages, having positive attitudes to both L1 and L2 (Baker, 2001). Therefore, both languages can be fully developed. As a result, such children can become balanced bilinguals.

In contrast, *subtractive bilingualism* describes the situation where a child is under pressure to replace or demote L1 when acquiring L2 (Baker, 2001). L2 replaces L1 as a child's working knowledge of a language, so that s/he cannot become a balanced bilingual since L1 is not fully developed. This situation may create "a less positive self-concept, loss of cultural or ethnic identity, with possible alienation or marginalization" in the child's mind (Baker, 2001: 114).

In order to become balanced bilinguals, immigrant children should be placed in additive bilingualism. They should avoid being placed in subtractive bilingualism, because they cannot become balanced bilinguals under this condition.

3. Reasons to Be Bilingual

There are some reasons why immigrant children must maintain their L1 while acquiring their L2 and must be raised as balanced bilinguals who are proficient in both L1 and L2. These reasons are discussed in the following sections.

3.1. The Cognitive Development and Bilingualism

Many scholars think that there is a correlation between bilingualism and cognitive performance. Research by Peal and Lambert, published in 1962, is considered as a classic study about this relationship, in which they examined bilingual and monolingual elementary school students (Baker, 2001). Baker (2001) describes their findings as follows:

Bilingualism provides: greater mental flexibility; the ability to think more abstractly, more independently of words, providing superiority in concept formation; that a more enriched bilingual and bicultural environment benefits the development of IQ; and there is a positive transfer between a bilingual's two languages facilitating the development of verbal IQ (p.141).

Many scholars support findings of Peal and Lambert and believe that being bilinguals is positive and beneficial for children. Due to this belief, numerous scholars engage in studying to prove a positive relationship between bilingualism and cognitive performance. The followings are examples of these studies.

The Threshold Hypothesis illustrates the relationship between children's cognitive performance and bilingual proficiency (Baker, 2001). Archibald and Libben (1995) describe this hypothesis as follows:

Bilingual children may have to attain thresholds of linguistic competence in both languages in order to avoid general cognitive disadvantages. If they attain a relatively high level of proficiency in both languages, they will have cognitive advantages. We can think of the thresholds as marking the borders between below-average proficiency, average proficiency, and above-average proficiency. Bilingual children who do not achieve at least the lower

threshold of proficiency in both languages may suffer cognitive deficits.... These people have been referred to as semilinguals because they do not function well in either language (p. 437).

This hypothesis was constructed by the observation of students' performance in a Canadian French immersion program where Anglophone students are taught most of the school subjects in French (L2) and where the students showed a temporary lag in academic performance until they developed their L2 to a sufficient level to manage curriculum material (Baker, 2001). Once L2 is developed sufficiently, students are likely to show good academic performance (Baker, 2001).

The Thresholds Hypothesis is supported by considerable numbers of research. Among these research, a study by Clarkson and Galbraith (1992, cited in Baker & Jones, 1998) is illustrated here. They studied bilingual (English and Tok Pisin) students in Papua New Guinea. Students in five community schools were divided into three groups: (1) a group of students who are highly proficient in both languages (Group A), (2) a group of students who are highly proficient in one language but not another (Group B), and (3) a group of students who have low proficiency in both languages (Group C). They took three mathematics tests. The results of their test scores demonstrated that Group A marked the highest average scores in all three tests among the three groups, and Group B marked the second highest scores. Lindholm and Aclan (1991) also researched on the Thresholds Hypothesis. Their subjects were elementary school students who are enrolled in bilingual/immersion programs (Spanish/English) in California where they were given most instructions in Spanish. Two-thirds of the students are native Spanish speakers and the rest are native English speakers. Based on their L2 proficiency

level, these students were divided into three groups, the High bilingual proficient group in both languages, the Medium bilingual proficient group (medium proficiency in L2), and the Low bilingual proficient group (low proficiency in L2). The subjects took two types of reading tests and two types of mathematics tests. The results of such tests showed that High bilingual proficient group performed better than Low and Medium proficient groups in all four tests. Thus, the results of two studies introduced here show that students who attained a high level of proficiency in both languages have more cognitive advantages than other levels of bilinguals.

The Thresholds Hypothesis was refined as the Interdependence Hypothesis, which states that L2 competence of a child is relatively dependent on the level of her/his L1 competence that s/he has already achieved (Baker & Jones, 1998). This predicts that the level of L2 proficiency tends to be low when L1 is not sufficiently developed (Baker & Jones, 1998). Huguet, Vila, and Llorca (2000) give supportive evidence for this hypothesis. Their subjects are all Grade 7 students in Eastern Aragon in Spain who are divided into three groups. Group A is composed of Spanish monolingual students. Group B is composed of Catalan(L1)/Spanish(L2) bilingual students who take Catalan as a subject at school. Group C is composed of students who are bilinguals of Catalan(L1)/Spanish(L2) but do not study Catalan at school. The medium of instruction for all of these students is Spanish. The researchers compared Spanish knowledge of participants by language tests which measured their listening, speaking, reading, and writing skills. They found that Spanish knowledge possessed by bilinguals did not significantly differ from that

possessed by Spanish monolinguals. Interestingly, Group B students (bilinguals who study Catalan at school) scored slightly higher in Spanish tests than Group A (Spanish monolingual students). In contrast, Group C (bilinguals who do not study Catalan at school) scored lower in Spanish tests than Group A and B. Based on these results, the researchers concluded that bilinguals who possess more Catalan (L1) knowledge also have a better Spanish (L2) knowledge. This indicates that Catalan (L1) ability of bilinguals who study Catalan has been more developed than that of bilinguals who do not study Catalan, and this made it different in the achievement of their Spanish (L2) competence. In other words, L2 competence of such students are dependent on the level of their L1 competence that they have already achieved. Thus, it can be said that L1 development is a necessary factor to attain a better L2 ability.

Such theories and studies suggest that it is important to develop both L1 and L2 abilities. When children attain the high level of competence in both L1 and L2, they can achieve higher academic performance than those who possess the low level of competence in both languages.

3.2. Heritage Culture/Language Maintenance and Academic Performance

Several researchers think that there is a relationship between immigrant students' heritage language/culture maintenance and their academic performance. Gibson (1998) researched Punjabi immigrant students in California, and found that they preserved their heritage language/culture and traditional social values at home and in their community. She concluded that this maintenance led their children to good academic achievement; that is, their children performed better academically than

White American students at a high school, since they maintained their heritage culture/language and traditional social values. Zhou and Bankston (1994) observed Vietnamese students in New Orleans to see the relationship between heritage language/culture maintenance and academic achievement, and found that students who adhered to their traditional social values by maintaining their heritage language competence received As and Bs at a high school. Lee (2002) examined Chinese- and Korean-American high school students, and found that students who preserved their heritage language and who had positive attitudes toward their heritage culture acquired a higher GPA than students who were not interested in their heritage culture/language. These research findings suggest that the heritage culture/language maintenance and the positive ethnic identification can enhance immigrant children's academic success. Feliciano (2001) notes another benefit in maintaining heritage language/culture for immigrant students. She analyzed the U.S. census data on the 8 largest immigrant groups: Vietnamese, Koreans, Mexicans, Puerto Ricans, Cubans, Chinese, Filipinos, and Japanese, in order to see whether youths who connected to their heritage culture tend to drop out from high schools easier than others. She found that students who maintained their heritage language/culture were less likely to drop out from the schools.

These study results suggest that the maintenance of heritage culture/language encourages immigrants to proudly identify themselves as members of a particular ethnic group. Having this identification is important for immigrant children, because it brings positive consequences in their schooling: they tend to achieve academic success and exhibit a lower drop out rate.

3.3. The Facilitation of Communication Within a Family and Bilingualism

Some researchers studied the relationship between L1 maintenance of immigrant children and family ties. Tannenbaum and Howie (2002) examined the correlation between L1 maintenance of immigrant children and their family relationship, and found that the children who have a greater tendency to use their L1 also have a closer relationship with their parents. Thus, Tannenbaum and Howie (2002) think L1 maintenance contributes to develop family cohesion and to establish positive family relationships.

In contrast, there are some research illustrating how heritage language loss by immigrant children affected negatively to establish family relationship within their families. Cho (2000) reported the case of a Korean-American student who is not proficient in her parents' L1 (Korean), and feels uneasy at home because she cannot speak Korean well and her parents cannot understand English well. Thomas and Cao (1999) observed one Vietnamese family in Nevada, composed of three generations: grandparents, parents, and children. Members of this family's language profile are illustrated as follows: the grandparents do not speak English well. The parents are also not proficient in English, so that they mostly use Vietnamese at home. Older children are proficient in both English and Vietnamese, whereas younger ones are not proficient in Vietnamese. English is used among siblings. Younger children and grandparents do not communicate with each other, because these children cannot speak Vietnamese well and grandparents cannot speak English well. Parents have to ask their older children to translate when the parents communicate with their younger children. This gave rise to the feeling in the

parents' mind that they lost authority over children. Wong Fillmore (2000) also introduced a similar example of a Chinese immigrant family in the U.S, composed of three generations. The adults do not understand children and the children do not understand the adults, because the adults cannot speak English well and children cannot speak Cantonese well. One of their children became reluctant to spend time with the adults at home, so most of the time he was out with his friends and eventually dropped out of school. These examples have illustrated the loss of L1 by immigrant children caused discomfort within a family. Parents feel that they lost parental authority over children and children are frustrated and feel emotional distancing from their family, because both parents and children cannot communicate well with each other.

These communication problems in an immigrant family are caused by different language proficiency levels in languages spoken within the family. Parents are generally slower learners of a new language than their children; meanwhile, their children easily become more proficient in the new language than in their mother tongue (Mouw & Xie, 1999). Because of the different rate in L2 acquisition between children and parents, a communication gap can be caused within a family if the children prefer to speak L2 while their parents are more comfortable speaking their mother tongue (Wong, cited in Mouw & Xie, 1999). In order to reduce the communication gap between parents and children within an immigrant family, the children have to become competent bilinguals.

These studies demonstrated that L1 maintenance is necessary for immigrant children to have healthy family relationships. Furthermore, such studies suggest

that it is easy for immigrant children to lose their L1 because they do not use their L1 outside of their family. They do not have opportunities to improve their L1 in a society except within their family.

3.4. Self-esteem and Bilingualism

L1 maintenance relates to the self-esteem development of linguistic minority children, including immigrant children. The development of their self-esteem is considered to derive from giving status to and acknowledging the value of a home language (L1) (Benson, 2002). The following studies give support of this thought. Wright and Taylor (1995) researched Inuit children in Canada, and found that the children considerably increased their collective self-esteem when enrolling in a heritage language program where they were educated in their L1. Collective self-esteem is defined as one's feeling of identifying oneself as a member of one's belonging group (Wright & Taylor, 1995). In contrast, the children who were educated in L2 in an education program did not increase such self-esteem. Benson (2002) examined elementary school children in bilingual language programs where both their L1 (a home language) and L2 (an ex-colonizer's language) were used as the medium of instruction in four developing countries: Guinea-Bissau, Niger, Mozambique in Africa, and Bolivia in Latin America. In these countries, children are traditionally educated only in L2. Benson (2002) found that students in bilingual programs were more actively involved with learning and communicating with teachers than students in traditional schools where only L2 is used as the medium of instruction. She thinks that the students performed actively in these bilingual programs due to their high self-esteem that they were able to establish, by

having education not only in L2 but also in L1. These studies list an example in which linguistic minority children demonstrated greater self-esteem when having education in their mother tongue as the medium of instruction.

Developing self-esteem is important for children since self-esteem is regarded as a necessary factor for academic success in education (Lucas & Katz, 1994; Wright & Taylor, 1995). The previously introduced studies, showing the positive relationship between heritage culture/language maintenance and academic success (see Gibson, 1998; Lee, 2002; Zhou & Bankston, 1994), also indicate that self-esteem correlates to the educational achievement of students from heritage cultural backgrounds; that is, students' self-esteem is developed by identifying themselves proudly as members of their ethnic group, and possessing self-esteem helps them to achieve a good educational performance.

3.5. Bilinguals as Human Capital

In economics, being bilingual is a form of human capital, since language acquisition by individuals is considered as an investment to improve their future benefits and economic opportunities (Chiswick, cited in Mesh, 2003; Espinosa & Massey, cited in Mesch, 2003; Harris, 1998).

Through economics theory Grin and Vaillancourt (1997) describe how becoming multilingual is beneficial for people in society for the following reasons:

Some unilingual individual j , who speaks language A as a mother tongue, becomes trilingual by virtue of learning languages B and C . In so doing, she will earn private benefits in the form of higher labor income. However, her knowledge of languages B and C will increase the usefulness of the language skills of some trilingual individual k , because the latter's language skills will now be usable with an additional person; this may have a positive (if marginal) effect on k 's wage rate. (p. 50-1).

Pendakur and Pendakur (1998) investigated the wage relation between monolinguals and bilinguals in Canada, and found that "English-French bilinguals earn more than English unilinguals in both Montreal and Toronto" (p. 98). They analyzed that bilinguals in this case benefited from proficiency in two languages for their economic establishment and development, as well as for expanded labour market competition. Since bilinguals are more beneficial than monolinguals in economy by having more economic opportunities and higher wages, being bilingual is a form of human capital.

3.6. Bilinguals as a Resource for both Society and State

Bilinguals are resources to both the society and the state because they bring benefits to the society and the state. Fradd and Boswell (1996) showed an example of bilinguals who are treated as resources in Miami where there is a high demand of bilinguals who can engage in international business. Many companies are seeking to expand economic opportunities in Latin America, and there is an increasing demand of the bilingual capacity for the workforce (Fradd & Boswell, 1996). As a result of these companies' demand, Miami has become one of the centres of international business in the U.S. due to Miami's possession of a large number of bilinguals (Fradd & Boswell, 1996). This example shows that bilinguals are resources which attract economic incentives.

This section introduced six reasons why immigrant children should maintain their L1 and to be raised as balanced bilinguals. These six reasons can be categorized into several groups: (1) for their academic performance, (2) for their family, (3) for their psychological well-being, (4) for their economic betterment,

and (5) for their state and society. Then, what is necessary for immigrant children to maintain their L1 and to be raised as balanced bilinguals? This will be answered in the following section.

4. Schools, Acculturation, and Multiculturalism

Immigrant children should maintain their L1 while acquiring their L2 and should be raised as balanced bilinguals because of various reasons, as demonstrated in the previous section. Schools are an important place to help the children to maintain their L1 and to be raised as such bilinguals. In general, schools have two major purposes in a society: practical and social. A practical purpose is to teach academic subjects and to give vocational training to students for their future careers. A social purpose of schools is to assist in the socialization and acculturation of students. The following sections illustrate the social purpose of schools, by focusing on acculturation strategies that help us to consider what strategies people from both dominant and subordinate groups should adopt to live harmoniously with each other in a society and what support is necessary to maintain immigrant children's L1 and to raise them as balanced bilinguals in their host countries.

4.1. Socialization and Acculturation

Socialization is a term that indicates interaction among people in general, whereas acculturation is a term that illustrates specifically the interaction of people from linguistic minority groups toward people of the dominant group (Vedder & O'Dowd, 1999). A school is the place where children from various cultural backgrounds encounter and spend a certain amount of time together (Vedder & O'Dowd, 1999),

and the place for them to learn how to interact with other children, that is, to learn socialization skills. As a social mechanism, a school expands children's range of socialization from home to include the educational setting (Byram, 1998). At the same time, the school also teaches children discipline and social justice/norms by regulating their behavior (Moses, 2000). Through this education system, children learn socialization skills and social justice/norms.

A school is also the place for immigrant children to be acculturated (Vedder & O'Dowd, 1999), because the school provides linguistic minority members with a setting where they are directly addressed the dominant culture and realize changes in their traditional beliefs, values, and behavior by interacting with the dominant culture and people (Berry, Trimble and Olmedo, 1986, cited in Farver, Narang, & Bhadha, 2002). Montreuil and Bourhis (2001) further elaborate acculturation on as the change in two ethnocultural groups brought by the bidirectional interaction between these groups. Therefore, acculturation indicates an attitude of people not only from linguistic minority groups toward a dominant group, but also from a dominant group towards the minority groups.

The acculturation attitudes are categorized into four strategies: integration, assimilation, separation, and marginalization, defined as follows:

The integration orientation reflects a desire to maintain key features of the culture of origin while also valuing the adoption of key elements of the host majority culture. Immigrants who adopt the assimilation orientation relinquish most aspects of their own culture for the sake of adopting the cultural practices of the host majority. The separation orientation is characterised by the desire to maintain all features of the immigrant culture while rejecting the culture and relations with members of the majority host culture. Marginalisation characterises individuals who feel ambivalent and somewhat alienated from both their own and the host majority culture,

thereby feeling excluded from both their heritage culture and that of the host majority (Montreuil & Bourhis, 2001: 699).

When acculturation strategies are viewed through the dominant group's perspective, different terms are used: assimilation refers to the 'melting pot,' separation becomes 'segregation,' marginalization is called as 'exclusion,' and integration is 'multiculturalism' (Berry, 2001).

4.2. Acculturation Strategies for Immigrants

Among the four-acculturation strategies, immigrants adopt integration as the most popular strategy (Berry, 2001; Farver, Narang, & Bhadha, 2002; Neto, 2002b; Phinney, Horenezyk, Liebkind, & Vedder, 2001; De Vijver, Helms-Lorenz, & Feitzer, 1999; Zick, Wagner, van Dick, & Petzel, 2001). Integration is an additive attitude whereby an immigrant child can possess two cultures, their parents' culture and their host country's culture. Neto (2002a) exhibits an example of adolescent immigrants in Portugal who adopted an integration attitude to accommodate with two cultures. As a consequence of taking such attitude, they identified themselves as both members of Portuguese dominant society and those of their ethnic group. They need to possess bicultural identification, because (1) they are living in Portugal as immigrants and (2) their parents maintain their heritage culture by thinking to return to their originating country someday (Neto, 2002a). Thus, by adopting integration, these adolescents manage to accommodate with two cultures within themselves. In this study, Neto (2002a) also found that assimilation is typically the second most popular strategy, and the least preferred one is marginalization.

From the psychological perspective, some scholars think that the integration strategy is beneficial to immigrants since the immigrants, taking the integration strategy, can have higher self-esteem (see Farver, Narang, & Bhadha, 2002), healthier psychological adaptation to the dominant society (see Berry, 2001; Phinney, Horenczyk, Liebkind, & Vedder, 2001), and better school adjustment (Berry, 2001). Furthermore, integration is regarded as an important concept because it promotes bilingualism by accommodating two cultures/languages within individuals (Portes & Hao, 2002) and because it helps resolve the conflict that immigrant students feel between acquiring host culture/language and maintaining their heritage (Gibson, 1998). By taking an integration attitude, immigrant children can maintain their L1 while acquiring their L2. Thus, of the four strategies, an integration attitude is the one most profitable to promote.

4.3. Acculturation Strategies for the Dominant Group

There are a few studies that examined what acculturation strategy a dominant group generally adopts to live with linguistic minorities, which are subordinate groups, in a state. A state with a homogeneous group is very rare in the world. Many states are constituted by various cultural groups, in general hierarchically ordered with a dominant group and subordinate groups. Zick, Wagner, van Dick, and Petzel (2001) have found through their research that dominant members favor an assimilation approach, contrasting with immigrants' preferences for an integration approach, and suggest that the different preferences for acculturation strategies between dominant and subordinate members should be balanced for social peace. According to Montreuil and Bourhis (2001), an assimilation approach creates unfavorable

consequence: it enhances ethnocentric and authoritarian ideologies among the dominant members, and creates prejudice towards immigrants by developing an attitude of avoidance. If people from the dominant group think integration is the best acculturation strategy, it is easier to realize a harmonious and stable society since integration enhances positive interethnic contacts among people (Montreuil & Bourhis, 2001; Zick, Wagner, van Dick, & Petzel, 2001), and do not emphasize authoritarian nor ethnocentric views in dominant members (Montreuil & Bourhis, 2001). Thus, integration is favorable to be adopted by a dominant group, if a society is constructed by both the dominant and subordinate groups.

4.4. Acculturation and National Policy

A national policy is influential to acculturation attitudes that the dominant group members take. Zick, Wagner, van Dick, and Petzel (2001) found that German majority members expect immigrants to accept assimilation and separation attitudes, and speculated that Germans' expectations on immigrants' acculturation strategies arose from German immigration policy, which adopted strategies of both assimilation and separation. Through an observation about which acculturation strategy dominant group members in Quebec adopted towards immigrants, Montreuil and Bourhis (2001) concluded that the members took an integration strategy, which was influenced by the integration policy adopted by the Canadian federal government. Therefore, a state should consider which strategy the state adopts as a national policy, because this ultimately affects the acculturation strategies of individuals in the state.

4.5. Multiculturalism as a National Policy

A national policy is influential to the dominant group members' acculturation strategy, as pointed out in the previous section; thus, it is important for a government to adopt an appropriate national policy if it wishes to establish a society where a dominant group and subordinate groups can accomplish a mutual accommodation.

Multiculturalism is a national policy that promotes cultural diversity for the entire society and its individual members, and that requires each individual to accommodate to such diversity (Berry, 2001). Berry (2001) thinks that, in order to realize multiculturalism in a state, it is inevitable for people to secure their own cultural identity before they accept people from different cultural backgrounds. Furthermore, under multiculturalism, a mutual accommodation between dominant and subordinate group members can be established (Berry, 2001; May, 2001), because (1) people who belong to linguistic minorities are asked to accommodate to their given situation and condition within a state (De Varennes, 1999), and (2) people who belong to the majority group and only speak a majority language are asked to accommodate to minority languages by recognizing status of these languages (May, 2001). Thus, multiculturalism can realize not only cultural diversity, as Berry (2001) addresses, but also linguistic plurality, as May (2001) suggests, in a society.

By adopting multiculturalism as a national policy, a government can help immigrants to maintain their heritage culture while adopting their host culture (Grosfoguel, 1997; cited in Phinney, Horenczyk, Liebkind, & Vedder, 2001,

Icduygu, 1996; cited in Phinney, Horenczyk, Liebkind, & Vedder, 2001). Furthermore, the immigrants can maintain their heritage language, because this policy formally promotes the minority language maintenance with the accommodation to the majority language that still occupies most of the key domains as a dominant language (May, 2001). Thus, multiculturalism is a policy that a government needs to adopt for immigrant children in order to help their heritage language/culture maintenance, since such children typically become unwilling to maintain their heritage language/culture while they enrol in schools. They come to possess this feeling because they are imposed on the assimilation into the dominant language/culture in order to be successful in the educational system organized by a dominant group (Moses, 2000; Wong Fillmore, 1991) where they learn that their heritage language/culture is less valuable than the dominant language/culture, and thus not worthy of maintenance (Moses, 2000). The education system organized by a dominant group is considered to implicitly encourage immigrant children to not want to maintain their heritage language/culture. In order to help such children to realize the importance of their heritage language/culture maintenance, multiculturalism is a form of support that a state can provide, and details of this support will be discussed later in this chapter.

Some people are skeptical about the successful implementation of multiculturalism because multiculturalism is not functioning in a satisfactory way in Canada, when comparing it to the implementation of bilingualism. However, a study by Taylor and Lambert (1996) indicates that people are willing to accept co-existence between dominant and ethnic languages/cultures. They researched how

women in both ethnic minority groups and a dominant group in Miami perceive the maintenance of heritage languages/cultures in relation to a dominant language/culture. They found that women in all groups in their study agreed on the maintenance of heritage languages and cultures at home as well as on the predominance of U.S. culture and English in the public domain. This result suggests that people can accept co-existence of dominant and ethnic languages/cultures when the dominant culture and language are assured its predominant position in a society. It seems whether or not multiculturalism is successfully implemented in a state is dependent on how a government design and employ multiculturalism.

5. International Law and Education for Migrant Workers' Children

This section focuses on international law for a specific group of immigrants, migrant workers, and on education for their children in international law. Education for these children is a big problem because they typically do not possess citizenship in their residing country where a government is indifferent to educating them as balanced bilinguals. Are there any obligations for a government of migrant workers' host country to educate migrant workers' children? What rights do such children have with respect to education? These questions will be answered, by examining how migrant workers are considered in international law.

5.1. *International Law*

International law is organized by international treaties, and provides "legally binding obligations for the nations that are parties" (Gromacki, 1992: 517). In order

to enforce a treaty as international law, the treaty must be ratified by 20 states (Taran, 2001). The United Nations has adopted various international treaties ratified by many countries, as for example, the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights and the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights. Among these, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, adopted by the General Assembly in 1948, is considered as the basic documents for international human rights (Mattila, 2000). As these titles indicate, international treaties generally aim to ensure the rights of individuals in a particular setting, and to demonstrate how a state should treat individuals within its territory.

A convention is one of these treaties, understood as an agreement between countries (UNESCO, 2003). When the United Nations General Assembly has adopted a convention, states are encouraged to ratify it. The ratification of a convention by a state indicates that the convention has been adopted by a national legislative section of a government which has ensured to integrate it into its domestic laws (UNESCO, 2003). International law regards the rights of states as superior to the rights of immigrants (Piper & Iredale, n.d.), but the law is influential in changing domestic laws in favour of international norms (Hammer, 1999).

In principle, immigrants are protected under international law (Mattila, 2000), and so states should extend their protection to immigrants; however, they fail to do so for various reasons (Mattila, 2000). One of the reasons is that human rights are commonly interpreted to be only applicable to citizens, so that immigrants are excluded from participation in politics in their host country and for equal access to social services provided by a government of the country (Nafziger & Bartel, 1991);

consequently, as a general practice, states do not provide good support to protect immigrants' human rights. UNESCO (2003) notes that such treatment towards migrant workers is fundamentally wrong from a human rights perspective.

5.2. The International Convention on the Protection of the Rights of all Migrant Workers and Members of Their Families (ICPRMW)

The United Nations adopted the International Convention on the Protection of the Rights of all Migrant Workers and Members of Their Families (ICPRMW) in 1990 (UNGA, 1990). It took effect on July 1st, 2003, because 22 countries had ratified it (UNESCO, 2003).

The ICPRMW is designed to foster the rights of both migrant workers and their families in each country (Nafziger & Bartel, 1991; UNESCO, 2003). The ICPRMW also has an important role in providing international standards to states for the protection of citizens living abroad (UNESCO, 2003). This convention is significant because it recognizes the fundamental human rights of all migrant workers, both documented and undocumented. Specifically, in this convention, documented migrant workers and their family members are clearly recognized to possess rights equal to citizens in their residing states in legal, political, economic, and social areas (ISCCRMRC, 2003).

Of all the Articles in the ICPRMW (93 Articles), the following are relevant to education for migrant workers' children. Article 30 of the Convention guarantees the rights of access to education for migrant workers' children equal to the citizens in the state (UNGA, 1990). Article 45 further states that the migrant workers' host country, with the appropriate collaboration with their state of origin, shall design a policy, aiming to integrate migrant workers' children into the local school system by

teaching the local language, as well as the children's mother tongue and culture (UNGA, 1990). Article 31 (UNGA, 1990) notes that a host country shall make an effort to respect and help maintain the cultural identity of migrant workers. The convention suggests that a host country has to organize some kind of policy for minority language maintenance such as minority language education, which many states are reluctant to do (May, 2000).

By 2003, only 22 states have ratified the ICPRMW. There are various reasons for countries, including Japan, not ratifying this convention. Most Western states argue their domestic laws satisfactorily protect migrant workers, so that it is not necessary to ratify the convention (UNESCO, 2003). Some states think the number of migrants on their territory is very small, thus they do not see the necessity of national legislation on this issue (UNESCO, 2003). Other states regard immigration policies as a domestic issue, and they do not want to be interfered with by international law (UNESCO, 2003). Due to these reasons, many states are reluctant to ratify the ICPRMW.

5.3. Education for Migrant Workers Children

The International Convention on the Protection of the Rights of all Migrant Workers and Members of Their Families (ICPRMW) is considered to be the most relevant convention to the rights of migrant workers and their children. However, a lot of states do not ratify this convention; thus, it seems that educational rights for migrant workers' children are not fully guaranteed in most of the states in the world. Even though a state does not ratify the ICPRMW, educational rights for migrant workers' children can be guaranteed by the Convention of the Rights of the Child (CRC) if

the state has ratified this CRC. Japan is an example of this case: it does not ratify the ICPRMW (UNESCO, 2003), but it has ratified the CRC in 1994 (Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2004).

The Convention of the Rights of the Child does not refer specifically to children for migrant workers; however, it is clear from the content of this convention that this could be applicable to all children in a state that has ratified this (see UNHCHR, 2002). Article 2 of this convention states that every child is not discriminated in respect to her/his language and national origin. Article 28 addresses the requirement that a state recognize a child's educational rights, including giving her/him equal opportunity for education. Article 29 mentions that a state agrees on giving a child an education sufficient to develop respect for her/his own cultural identity, as well as the language and values of both countries in which s/he is living and s/he originates. Furthermore, Article 30 states that a child from a linguistic minority is not denied the right to use her/his own language and to enjoy her/his own culture.

As a matter of fact, most of the states in the world (192 states) have ratified this CRC by 2003 (UNHCHR, 2003). Thus, these states should respect educational rights for migrant workers' children and provide them with an appropriate education.

6. Various Language Education Programs for Immigrant Children

If a state has ratified either the International Convention on the Protection of the Rights of all Migrant Workers and Members of Their Families or the Convention of the Rights of the Child, it must provide migrant workers' children with an

appropriate education for their L1 maintenance and L2 acquisition. Thus, schools should offer language programs that assist migrant workers' children to maintain their L1 as well as to acquire their L2 in order to raise them as balanced bilinguals. Then, what factors does a language program need to make them such bilinguals? What kind of programs can schools offer? What kind of language education will help migrant workers' children to raise the bilinguals? This section introduces types of language education programs and related issues.

6.1. Factors Necessary for Bilingual Programs

In order to design an appropriate language education program for migrant workers' children, the three perspectives, (1) the language program designer's perspective, (2) the national policy planner's perspective, and (3) the learners' perspective, are useful. From the designer's perspective, we can see what factors are necessary to design a language education program. As addressed by Kaplan (1994), the following are the necessary points to design the program: (1) who teaches students, (2) how are students taught (withdrawal, segregation, immersion etc.), (3) when do they start to have the language program, (4) how long they will have instruction in the majority language and how long in the minority language (one year or two years etc.), (5) how much they will have instruction in the majority language in a day and how much in the minority language (50/50 or 20/80, etc.), and (6) what kind of bilinguals they should be raised as.

From the national policy planner's perspective, the type of a language education program in relation to a language policy should be concerned with. Having the governmental support is necessary for migrant workers' children in

order to become balanced bilinguals, because they are imposed on assimilation into the dominant language/culture in order to be successful in the educational system organized by a dominant group (Moses, 2000; Wong Fillmore, 1991) where they learn that their heritage language/culture is less valuable than the dominant language/culture, and thus not worthy of maintenance (Moses, 2000). It is considerably difficult for them to become balanced bilinguals without formal support. As a type of formal support, a government should provide an appropriate language policy which encourages language program designers to design and implement an appropriate language education program where migrant workers' children can be raised as balanced bilinguals. May's (2001) scale is useful to see the relationship between a language policy and a language education program, since this demonstrates how the perspective of national policy planners towards linguistic minorities and their languages determines the content of a policy for a language education and the design of a language education program, and this scale is constructed on the basis of Churchill's (1986) work:

- Stage 1 (Learning Deficit): Because of the use of a minority language, children from minority groups are considered to have educational disadvantages. Rapid assimilation to the majority language is encouraged.
- Stage 2 (Socially Linked Learning Deficit): Because of family status, children from minority groups are considered to have an educational disadvantage. In order to assimilate into the majority society, additional/supplementary programs are promoted.
- Stage 3 (Learning Deficit from Social/Cultural Differences): Because the dominant society does not recognize and accept the minority culture positively, children from minority groups are considered to have an educational disadvantage.
- Stage 4 (Learning Deficit from Mother Tongue Deprivation): Minority languages gain some support so that transitional bilingual programs are offered at this stage.

- Stage 5 (Private Use Language Maintenance): The importance of minority cultures and languages is recognized, and minority groups are encouraged to maintain their languages and cultures in private life. Maintaining minority languages and cultures in the private domain is emphasized.
- Stage 6 (Language Equality): Only national minority groups, which are also recognized as indigenous groups, are relevant to this stage. National minority languages are officially granted equal status to dominant languages in public institutions. In order to accomplish the accommodation of languages between majority and minority groups, multilingual policies are adopted, requiring the dominant group to accept the use of language(s) of the minority groups as well as the dominant language in all shared domains (May, 2001).

This suggests that national policies involving language policy are greatly influential in the organization and design of language education programs. As an example of this influence, Stage 1 implies that no bilingual programs are organized for linguistic minority children under an assimilation policy, and the children are not likely to become balanced bilinguals. Stage 4 means that a national policy for language education offers a transitional bilingual education program, which does not aim to educate linguistic minority children as balanced bilinguals but to assimilate them successfully into the mainstream classes (Baker, 2001). In this program, linguistic minority students are often taught in their L1 until being proficient enough in their L2 to study with students in mainstream classes (Baker, 2001). At this stage, the children can remain bilinguals, but they are less likely to become balanced bilinguals as they would in the programs offered under Stage 5 and 6, because transitional bilingual program is less effective than language maintenance program to raise children as balanced bilinguals (see Baker, 2001).

The learners' perspective is important to design an effective language education program for migrant workers' children, because having this view can help to design a program which emphasizes the advancement of these children's

educational achievements together with the improvement of their L1 and L2 abilities. These children's needs should be reflected in the program. Thus, such needs will be examined in Chapter 4 where their language problems will be investigated.

In order to design an effective language education program for migrant workers' children, language program designers should take the factors introduced in this section into consideration. Furthermore, language policy planners should employ an appropriate language policy to allow language program designers designing and implementing an effective language education program for migrant workers' children, and such program should be designed through the learners' perspective where the needs of migrant workers' children are reflected.

6.2. Types of Language Education Programs

Language education programs for linguistic minority children are categorized into two groups, transitional and maintenance (Baker, 2001; Nunan & Lam, 1998). Baker (2001) explains the difference between transitional and maintenance programs as follows:

Transitional bilingual education aims to shift the child from the home, minority language to the dominant, majority language. Social and cultural assimilation into the language majority is the underlying aim. Maintenance bilingual education attempts to foster the minority language in the child, strengthening the child's sense of cultural identity and affirming the rights of an ethnic minority group in a nation (p.192).

Various types of language education programs have been implemented in the world. Nunan and Lam (1998) illustrate these programs and categorize them into two, language shift and language maintenance, which are further divided into type A and B in language shift and language maintenance programs. It should be noted that

they use 'Non Dominant Language' (NDL) and 'shift' instead of 'minority language' and 'transitional', respectively.

NDL is used as a medium of instruction (+)

LANGUAGE SHIFT TYPE B Transitional bilingual programs Bridging programs	LANGUAGE MAINTENANCE TYPE B Canadian immersion Protected language programs Language shelter programs Language exposure time programs
LANGUAGE SHIFT TYPE A Cultural sensitivity programs Dominant Language programs for NDL students Submersion programs	LANGUAGE MAINTENANCE TYPE A Modern language programs Foreign language programs Heritage language programs

NDL is not used a medium of instruction (-)

Figure 1. Models in language dominance contexts (Nunan & Lam, 1998: 121)

Both Language maintenance Type A and B give a value to a NDL as a target language; however, Type A does not use a NDL as a medium of instruction whereas Type B does use it as a medium of instruction (Nunan & Lam, 1998).

Of all the language education programs introduced by Nunan and Lam (1998), the following are relevant language education programs to immigrant children.

Language shift Type A (-target language, -medium of instruction)

- *Submersion programs*: All school subjects are taught in the DL to NDL speakers and the NDL is not valued at all (Cummins, 1984; Hammers & Blanc, 1989; cited in Nunan & Lam, 1998).
- *DL intensive programs*: In order to follow academic subjects in DL instruction and to improve their DL competence, intensive language classes in the DL are organized for the NDL speakers. These classes are usually organized outside of their regular classes.
- *Cultural sensitivity programs*: The NDL is taught in relation to culture, but the language is not regarded as a cultural asset.

Language shift Type B (-target language, +medium of instruction)

- *Transitional bilingual programs*: Initially all or most of the school subjects are taught in the NDL. After a certain period of time taught in the NDL, NDL speakers are transferred to the mainstream classes where all subjects are taught in the DL.

Language maintenance Type A (+target language, -medium of instruction)

- *Heritage language programs*: The NDL is valued but likely to be taught outside of regular class time. NDL speakers learn their NDL as part of their cultural heritage. These programmes are designed for a specific ethnic group to maintain their NDL.

Language maintenance Type B (+target language, +medium of instruction)

- *Language shelter programs*: The DL is taught only as a subject.
- *Protected language programs*: Children can go through the entire educational process from elementary school to university in the NDL. It is optional to learn the DL.
- *Language exposure time (LET) programs*: NDL speakers are simultaneously and proportionally exposed to both the NDL and the DL, which are used as media of instruction for school subjects (Goh, 1978, cited in Nunan & Lam, 1998).

Various types of language education programs can be offered at school to educate migrant workers' children. Which program is the best suitable for such children should be determined by the school environment. For example, if a school has many children from one linguistic minority group, then it can offer either program easily. However, when a school has only a few linguistic minority students, it is impossible to offer some of the programs such as Protected Language Programs.

7. Conclusion

There is a risk of immigrant children becoming semilingual, if they are exposed to two languages in their host country. Their L1 cannot be fully developed when they are placed in a condition of subtractive bilingualism, the situation where a child is under pressure to replace or demote L1 when acquiring L2 (Baker, 2001). When their L1 is not fully developed, their L2 are unlikely to be developed either, because L2 competence of a child is relatively dependent on the level of her/his L1 competence that s/he has already achieved (Baker & Jones, 1998). The level of L2

proficiency tends to be low when L1 is not sufficiently developed (Baker & Jones, 1998). Thus, immigrant children have possibility of becoming semilingual, which is harmful for them since they cannot successfully learn school subjects and ultimately cannot function well in their host country, due to language deficiency. To date most members of a majority group are typically indifferent to immigrants' L1 maintenance and development and do not provide effective support for immigrant children's L1 maintenance and development (Hamel, 1997). They are unconsciously placing immigrant children in a situation of subtractive bilingualism, which can lead the children to become semilinguals.

There are five reasons why immigrant children should maintain their L1 which helps them to become balanced bilinguals. First, L1 maintenance and development as well as L2 development can help immigrant children to advance their cognitive development. Second, the maintenance of ethnic culture and their L1 helps immigrant children to acquire high academic achievement at school in their host country. Third, L1 is necessary for immigrant families to maintain healthy family relationships. Fourth, L1 maintenance helps immigrant children to consolidate their self-esteem. Lastly, being bilingual is a form of human capital that not only gives better economic opportunity to individuals, but immigrants are also beneficial to their host country because they become the conduit for international business, thus becoming resources of the country. Therefore, from the perspective of language development and psychological well-being for immigrant children, the children should be raised as balanced bilinguals who are proficient in both their L1 and L2. A society should realize that the children must become such bilinguals.

With support from people of both majority and minority groups, and with support from a government of their residing country, the children have a good chance to become balanced bilinguals.

It is quite difficult for immigrant children to become balanced bilinguals in a host country where the pressure of assimilation into the dominant society is intense. Therefore, it is necessary to organize a language education program in which they can learn L2 at the same time they can maintain and improve their L1, and the maintenance and development of their L1 is the most important issue in selecting or design a language education program. A national policy based on the concept of multiculturalism and integration should support a language education program where linguistic minority children can be educated to become balanced bilinguals.

The design of a language education program is determined by the content of language policy, and the type of bilingual that minority group children become is determined by the language program they are enrolled in. Thus, language policy planners should take a scale shown by May (2001) in consideration to design effective national policies, and language program designers should incorporate the necessary factors presented by Kaplan (1994) when designing a language education program. In addition, needs of migrant workers' children should be reflected in the program.

Although the ways to treat migrant workers and their family members, and how to educate their children are problematic in most current political systems, countries should seriously consider these, because international migration is a global phenomenon: many countries have become receiving countries today

(UNESCO, 2003). Countries in North America and Western Europe possess 55% of migrants while the rest of the world possess the remaining 45% of them (UNESCO, 2003). Since most states have not ratified the International Convention on the Protection of the Rights of all Migrant Workers and Members of Their Families (ICPRMW), these states do not have any obligation to support bilingual education for migrant workers' children. In fact, governments of most countries today do not provide the children with any effective language education programs that ensure L1 maintenance and L2 development simultaneously. However, even though a state does not ratify the ICPRMW, education for migrant workers' children can be guaranteed by the Convention of the Rights of the Child (CRC) if the state has ratified it. As a matter of fact, most of the states in the world (192 states) have ratified this CRC by 2003 (UNHCHR, 2003). These states such as Japan should promote language policy and language education program which ensure L1 maintenance and L2 development for migrant workers' children. The next chapter will examine Japan's language policy in order to see how the Japanese government considers minority languages and language education for migrant workers' children in Japan.

Chapter III

The Characteristics of Japanese Language Policies

1. Introduction

This chapter investigates the characteristics of a current Japanese language policy. The current language policy is founded on a language policy developed in the Meiji era (1868-1912), so observation of the Meiji government's language policy helps to investigate the characteristics of the current policy. Thus, language policies in two periods, the Meiji era and the present, will be studied. Through the observation of these policies, what is necessary for the Japanese government to manage language problems in Japan will be demonstrated. This chapter also describes which organizations are currently involved in Japanese language policy. Therefore, there are three main sections in this chapter:

1. Characteristics of language policy in the Meiji era
2. Characteristics of the current language policy
3. Organizations involved in designing and implementing Japanese language policy and planning.

In order to examine characteristics of language policy in Japan, the following concepts are applied. A government organizes language policies and planning to solve language problems in a society (see Kaplan, 1994). Language policy focuses on "the goals of language planning" (Cooper, 1989: 29), and has two functions, status planning and corpus planning. Status planning attempts to give or change the status of a language or variety of a language in a society. Corpus planning is designed and employed to change the internal conditions of a language or its variety

by standardizing the language. Corpus planning generally involves the development of orthography, the adoption of vocabularies from new sources, and the compilation of dictionaries and grammar books, so that the use of the language is extended in a society to a greater degree (Wardhaugh, 2002).

2. Characteristics of Language Policy in the Meiji Era

During the Meiji era (1868-1912), Japan was organized as a modern state where a powerful centralized bureaucracy was established. The modernization of Japan was realized by adopting advanced modern technology and knowledge from the West. Under this condition, the two complementary aspects of a language policy, standardization and linguistic assimilation, were implemented. The following subsections will examine why and how the Meiji government implemented such aspects of language policy.

The Ministry of Education and its agencies played a key role in designing and implementing the language policy in Japan (Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science and Technology [MEXT] 1980; Twine, 1991). These agencies were the following (MEXT, 1980; Twine, 1991): The *Kokugo Chousa Iinkai* (National Language Research Council) was established in 1902, and later replaced by *Rinji Kokugo Chousakai* (Extraordinary Committee to Survey the Japanese Language) in 1921. In 1934, this agency was again replaced, this time by the *Kokugo Shingikai* (National Language Council).

2.1. *Standardization*

The Meiji government thought that the facilitation of communication was a necessary factor to modernize Japan, because this facilitation was considered to make it possible to spread the knowledge and technology introduced from the West throughout its realm and to transmit information efficiently between the centralized government and its citizens (Twine, 1991). Due to this necessity, the government carried out standardization of the Japanese language.

In order to accomplish this standardization, the Meiji government engaged in implementing corpus planning after the Meiji Restoration, by initiating two types of projects. First, a large number of vocabulary items were borrowed from English, German and French, along with the adoption of new technology and knowledge from the West (Noguchi, 2001). Second, the government compiled grammar books. In 1916, the first official normative grammar was compiled by the National Language Research Council (Twine, 1991). Furthermore, standardization was implemented through the newly established, nationwide education system by the Ministry of Education. The standard language has been used as the medium of instruction ever since, and it has been used for writing all textbooks since 1900 (Twine, 1991). The Ministry also determined the curriculum in all public schools (Noguchi, 2001). Because of possessing a view that the implementation of universal and egalitarian nature of education is only possible by using the standard national language (Twine, 1991), the Meiji government took advantage of this education system in order to implement the standard Japanese.

The standardization of the Japanese language was accomplished by the adoption of a particular dialect as a standard spoken language and by the development of a new orthographic style as a standard written language. The following two subsections illustrate how standardization of Japanese was fulfilled by the adoption of the speech form and the improvement of the orthography.

2.1.1. The Adoption of a Speech Form

Local dialects are diverse in Japan, and some of these dialects are mutually unintelligible. The disparity between the dialects was enhanced by the feudal system in the Edo period from 1600 to 1868 (Twine, 1991). Most people were not allowed to move out of their residing domain where a feudal warlord reigned, and the Edo Shogunate prohibited people from traveling freely (Twine, 1991). Under this condition, the local dialect in each feudal domain functioned as the standard language in the domain (Twine, 1991), and people had fewer chances to hear other dialects. After the Meiji Restoration in 1868, this prohibition on travel was removed. As a result, people became aware of the diversity of local dialects in Japan, since they encountered much variety in dialects as people began to move around the country.

The Meiji government viewed the disparity of local dialects as an obstacle to the facilitation of communication and to the spread of modern knowledge and technology (Twine, 1991). In order to overcome this obstacle, the government determined to develop a standard language, so that everyone could understand the information provided by the government (Twine, 1991). Among all of the dialects, the educated middle- and upper-class Tokyo dialect was chosen as a standard

(Twine, 1991). As this standard dialect was given status, other dialects were soon perceived by people as inferior (Twine, 1991), and speaking these dialects were perceived by people as embarrassing (Noguchi, 2001). Thus, even though the Meiji government did not overtly address status planning, the government had implemented actually such planning.

2.1.2. A Written Language

A written language before the Meiji era had an “archaic, difficult Sino-Japanese” style (Twine, 1991: 108), which was used by people from the upper class and which was very different from the typical speech forms. People who did not belong to the upper class were basically illiterate. The Meiji government and intellectuals considered that the written language needed stylistic reform, because there of the wide disparity between the spoken and written languages (Twine, 1991). They also thought there was a necessity for written language reform in the improvement of the actual orthography, because most people were not familiar with the archaic Sino-Japanese written language (Twine, 1991). The government considered that the disparity of between the spoken and written languages hindered the transmission of information and that the preservation of the archaic Sino-Japanese written language was the obstacle for all Japanese to access information (Kess & Miyamoto, 1999; Twine, 1991). In order to overcome these obstacles, the government accomplished the standardization of the written language through two dimensions, colloquialization and orthographic reform.

Colloquialization of a written language was carried out by the adoption of the speech style. This colloquialization was initially proposed by intellectuals,

working as a group to pressure the government for the adoption of this style (Twine, 1991). Orthographic reform was carried out by reducing the number of daily use *kanji* (Chinese characters) and by improving punctuation in texts (Twine, 1991). *Kanji* reform was particularly a controversial issue, and was not fully accomplished until 1981 when the List of Kanji for Daily Use (*Jouyou Kanji*) was officially declared (Kess & Miyamoto, 1999).

2.2. Linguistic Assimilation

Linguistic assimilation was adopted by the Meiji government along with the development of nationalistic sentiments. The government viewed language as an essential element in the development of national identity and social cohesion (Twine, 1991), a view which was enhanced by the victory over China in the Sino-Japanese War in 1895 (Twine, 1991). Because of this victory, the Japanese people were encouraged to be proud of being the Japanese and to think the Japanese language was superior to other Asian languages. As a result, other ethnic groups who had their own languages – the Ainu and Ryukyuans who are an indigenous people of Japan, as well as the Koreans and Chinese who became subjects of Japan's colonial control – were forced to learn Japanese through the education system for the purpose of assimilation into Japan (Noguchi, 2001). At school, children from other ethnic groups were punished when they spoke their mother tongues (Noguchi, 2001).

The following case of the Ainu illustrates how minority children were merged into a Japanese school system. Compulsory education started in 1886 for all Japanese children. Ainu children became subjects of the 1901 Education Code, which addressed the need for special education programs for Hokkaido Ainu,

forcing them to acquire Japanese and eliminating the Ainu language (Maher, 1997; Noguchi, 2001). The Meiji government issued the Revised Regulations of Education for Former Native Children in 1911 to further differentiate the educational access between the Ainu and the Japanese children (Maher, 1997). The government implemented this educational system, because it regarded the Ainu as inferior to the Japanese people both mentally and physically (Maher, 1999). These examples indicate that the government took an ethnocentric attitude toward other ethnic groups, making these groups and their languages appear inferior among the people who lived in the territory of Japan, and in contrast, making the Japanese people and their language appear superior. Thus, the government has taken an active strategy of status planning.

Given these characteristics of language policy during the Meiji era, both status planning and corpus planning can be said to have been implemented in Japan and its territory through standardization and linguistic assimilation.

3. The Characteristics of the Current Language Policy

Today's Japanese language policy is designed on the basis of the Meiji government's language policy, since standardization and linguistic assimilation are still recognizable. The following illustrates these characteristics in the contemporary Japanese language policy.

3.1. *Standardization*

Standardization of the Japanese language has been largely implemented through the public education system. The standard Japanese is used for teaching a curriculum as

the medium of instruction in all Japanese public schools, and it is used for writing all textbooks (Maher, 1997; Noguchi, 2001). The education system has been used for the main focus of implementation of corpus planning, changing the internal conditions of a language by standardizing the language.

Nihon Housou Kyoukai (NHK, the Japan Broadcasting Corporation) also plays an important role in implementing the standardized language throughout the nation. The NHK determines acceptable usage of language, and disseminates this usage by broadcast (Carroll, 1995). The language used in the NHK broadcasting is considered as standard or correct by audiences (Carroll, 1995). People are likely to use language according to the NHK's usage, and the influence of the NHK is recognizable in word accents which have shifted in various areas of Japan towards the standard that the NHK uses (Carroll, 1995). The NHK has also published a pronunciation and accent dictionary regularly since 1943, texts which hold reputation of being the most authoritative guidebooks on standard language use and accents (Carroll, 1995). NHK established an internal NHK committee, the *Housou Yougo Iinkai* (Broadcasting Language Committee), in 1934, to discuss broadcast terms and language use (NHK, 2003a). This committee decides the standards for vocabulary, usage, pronunciation, accent, and the written characters used in the media (Carroll, 1995). The results of this committee's discussion are published in a book form, 'NHK Handbook of Japanese Language' (NHK, 2003a). Due to these functions, NHK should be seen as an organization central to implementing corpus planning, since the functions that the NHK fulfills are strategies of corpus planning,

attempting to change internal conditions of Japanese in the larger society by disseminating a standard form of Japanese.

3.2. Linguistic Assimilation

In addition to standardization, a linguistic assimilation attitude in a language policy has not changed since the Meiji era. There are three types of linguistic minority groups in contemporary Japan: an indigenous group composed of the Ainu and Ryukyuan, an old immigrant group of Koreans and Chinese, and a newcomer group which arrived in Japan after the 1970s as either refugees, family members of the Japanese returnees from China, or migrant workers from Latin America and Asia. The following are examples of these linguistic minorities, illustrating how their languages are treated by the current Japanese government.

Japan has only about twenty native Ainu speakers today, although many people possess receptive knowledge of Ainu; that is, they can understand it but cannot speak it (Anderson & Iwasaki-Goodman, 2001). In order to transmit the Ainu language to the next generation, the Ainu people established their own Ainu language classes in Nibutani in the prefecture of Hokkaido (Anderson & Iwasaki-Goodman, 2001). Ainu has not yet been taught in the public education system except in universities (Maher, 1997). In Nibutani, it is no longer possible to transmit the Ainu language from parents to their children; because parents only possess receptive knowledge of Ainu, intergenerational language transmission within a family is no longer possible in Ainu communities. According to Fishman (1991), intergenerational language transmission is the key to maintaining endangered languages. If this transmission does not occur, these languages will die

out eventually. In order to save endangered languages from extinction, from the Fishman's point of view, these languages need governmental support in the form of a language policy. Thus, if people wish to preserve Ainu, a language policy has to be implemented by the Japanese government, and in 1997 the Agency for Cultural Affairs (ACA, *Bunka-chou*), an agency of MEXT, has employed the Act for the Promotion of Ainu Culture and of the Dissemination and Education of Knowledge about Ainu Traditions (ACA, 2003d). This act aims at promoting the Ainu culture and language, and the ways that the Ainu language should be maintained and disseminated are laid out on the ACA's website (see ACA, 2003d). However, the Ainu people have not been considered as a distinct group by the government, as proven by Japanese census data; and no figures are available for the current Ainu population (Shibatani, 1990). This fact indicates that the government simply promotes Ainu language revitalization without protection for the Ainu people. The government needs to give support to these people if it truly wishes to protect the Ainu from extinction, because Ainu is the unique language spoken by the Ainu people.

Similarly, Ryukyuan has not been taught in schools either (Maher, 1997; Noguchi, 2001). All Ryukyuan are bilinguals in Ryukyuan and the Standard Japanese, but their competence in Ryukyuan differs according to their age (Matsumori, 1995). The older generations are more likely to be fluent bilinguals in both languages, whereas the younger generations are no longer fluent in Ryukyuan but are likely to possess only receptive knowledge of Ryukyuan (Matsumori, 1995). Ryukyuan are in the process of a language shift, from being bilingual to becoming

monolingual in Standard Japanese (Matsumori, 1995). This indicates that intergenerational language transmission of Ryukyuan is not being successfully carried out in Okinawa, and Ryukyuan will also become extinct. If people wish to prevent Ryukyuan from disappearing, a language policy should be implemented.

Japan has a large number of Koreans who compose the largest ethnic minority group in Japan. According to the Ministry of Justice (*Houmu-shou*) (2002), 625,422 of Koreans resided in Japan as permanent residents in 2001, occupying 33.8% of the total population of permanent residents who are non-Japanese citizens. Many of them were brought to Japan forcibly before 1945 to work as hard labour in mines and factories (Noguchi, 2001). In 1948, the Ministry of Education promulgated an order that all Korean children in Japan must enrol in the Japanese public education system (Maher, 1997), where only Japanese is used as the medium of instruction and where Korean is never taught as a school subject. In order to maintain their language, Koreans established their own bilingual schools in which students are taught Korean language and history (Maher, 1997). These schools are run by one of two groups, the General Association of Korean Residents in Japan (*Souren*) and the Korean Residents Union (*Mindan*). *Soren* is a group organized to serve Koreans in Japan who are originally from North Korea, whereas *Mindan* is a group to serve those from South Korea.

Similarly, there are also some bilingual (Mandarin-Japanese) schools for Chinese permanent residents, which are run by the Chinese communities (Maher, 1997). Graduates of these Korean and Chinese schools are regarded as unqualified to take entrance exams for Japanese public universities, because their schools are

not credited by the government (Noguchi, 2001). The attitude of the Japanese government toward the maintenance of minority languages basically revolved around non-interference and non-recognition. Those groups seeking to maintain their own language can establish their own schools, but they do not receive accreditation of those institutions from the government (Maher, 1997). In addition, they only receive small financial support from some local governments (see Tani, 1997), and thus must run their schools mostly at their own expense.

The implementation of linguistic assimilation is also recognizable in public schools, because only Japanese is considered as the medium of instruction at school, and a Japanese as a Second Language (JSL) education has been operated in Japanese public schools since 1990's when newcomer children began to enrol in these schools. In the JSL education classes, newcomer children learn the beginner level of Japanese, a necessary level to communicate with Japanese teachers and students (Ota, 2000). In order to improve a JSL education, MEXT has completed developing the JSL elementary school curriculum in 2003, which was developed to help these children acquire the higher level of Japanese and to enhance their understanding of school subjects, since many of these children have difficulty in studying at school due to their low level of Japanese proficiency (MEXT, 2003c). Although the government supports a JSL education for newcomer children, it does not give any support for their mother tongue maintenance. The fact that a JSL education has been operated in public schools and that MEXT has not developed a language education program for the maintenance of these children's mother tongue suggests that the government only concerns the Japanese competence development of

newcomer children by encouraging them to acquire Japanese proficiency. Assimilating these children linguistically into Japanese society is carried out by a JSL education. This linguistic assimilation attitude indicates the government's view that people who live in Japan must speak Japanese, although Japanese is not declared as an official language in specific legislation.

3.3. Other Language Policies in Current Japan

In addition to standardization and linguistic assimilation, the current Japanese government has demonstrated two other aspects in its language policy, internationalization of the Japanese language and that of the Japanese people. MEXT (*Monbu-kagaku-shou*) and the Agency for Cultural Affairs (*Bunka-chou*) are in charge of designing and implementing these aspects in the language policy.

3.3.1. Internationalization of the Japanese Language

The Japanese government thinks that it is necessary to address the importance of the Japanese language to the world because Japan is one of the world's economically powerful states (National Language Council [NLC], 2000); thus, it has adopted a concept of internationalization for the Japanese language in a language policy. This policy concept was formulated on the basis of two goals: to spread Japanese as an international language throughout the world, and to improve Japanese for international communication (NLC, 2000). In order to enhance the internationalization of the Japanese language, the government determined to take three major strategies: (1) to send information about Japan in Japanese out into the world, (2) to promote and support the Japanese language education in the world, and (3) to advance the Japanese language ability of the Japanese people (NLC, 2000).

The first strategy, to send information about Japan out to the world, has been implemented with the NHK's cooperation. The NHK's willingness to cooperate with this policy is clearly seen in its business plan for 2003, where NHK states that it broadcasts news and other information about Japan in English and Japanese towards the world in order to enhance mutual understanding between Japan and other countries (NHK, 2003b).

The second strategy is to promote and support Japanese language education in the world. In order to promote this education, both MEXT and the Agency for Cultural Affairs (ACA) cooperatively engage in the following strategies: (1) to train Japanese language teachers, (2) to provide financial assistance for the Japanese Language Proficiency Test and Japanese Language Teaching Competency Test, (3) to improve Japanese language educational facilities, (4) to offer scholarships to pre-college students in Japanese language institutes, (5) to implement a program that sends Japanese public school teachers to overseas as Japanese language teachers, and (6) to build a database for the Japanese language education (ACA, 2003c). Additionally, the government thinks that the Japanese language itself must be comprehensible for everyone who learns Japanese. Given this view, the National Language Council (NLC, *Kokugo Shingikai*) (2000) suggests that borrowed words from foreign languages should not be used excessively, since these are difficult for Japanese language learners to understand.

The third issue, to advance the Japanese ability of the Japanese people, is conducted by the ACA through a campaign aimed at using correct Japanese. This promotion is part of corpus planning, attempting to change the internal conditions

for Japanese by demonstrating the norms for correct Japanese. In order to implement this successfully, the agency has embarked upon the following projects: (1) organizing workshops for parents and children to encourage them to use correct Japanese, (2) conducting surveys about how the Japanese people see their language, (3) publishing books about Japanese and distributing them in educational institutions, (4) making series of videos in order to demonstrate correct Japanese, (5) organizing meetings where various problems related to Japanese are discussed, and (6) arranging meetings where reports from the National Language Council are examined (ACA, 2003b).

In relation to the promotion of using correct Japanese, the excessive borrowing of foreign words has become a governmental concern, as seen in the National Language Council's (NLC) announcements. The NLC (2000) provides a warning that the excessive use of borrowed words could promote the view that Japanese original words and Sino-Japanese words are inferior to borrowed words, so that the excessive use of borrowed words could cause the loss of both the functions and the beauty of the Japanese language as developed over history. Furthermore, the NLC (2000) thinks that excessive use of the borrowed words would hinder communication, since many people may not be familiar with the meaning of these words. Thus, the NLC advises to use borrowed words with deliberation.

3.3.2. Internationalization of the Japanese People

Due to the progress of globalization, the Japanese government holds the view that foreign language education programs in Japan must be improved (MEXT, 2003e). In particular, the government considers English to be the important language for the

Japanese, because English has become the common international language, helping people from different linguistic backgrounds to communicate with each other and connecting Japan with the rest of the world (MEXT, 2003i). Possessing a high level of English proficiency is regarded as important, since this ability allows the Japanese to gain the world's understanding and trust, to make their presence in the world known significantly, and to further their national development (MEXT, 2003i). The government developed this view due to the following concern: many Japanese possess the insufficient English ability, so that they are restricted in exchanging their ideas with foreigners, and thus their ideas may not be evaluated appropriately (MEXT, 2003i). In order to resolve this situation, the government thinks that the Japanese must acquire good English communication skills (MEXT 2003i). Therefore, MEXT adopted internationalization of the Japanese people as an ideology for a language policy, and announced the implementation of the plan, the Action Plan to Cultivate 'the Japanese with English Abilities' in 2003, which aims at improving the level of English language education in the next five years (2003d).

In 2002, MEXT (2003e) also implemented the new Courses of Study as the standard curriculum, aiming at enhancing children's ability to learn fundamental subjects as well as emphasizing the cultivation of students' English ability. English is encouraged to be taught in elementary, lower and upper secondary schools. At elementary schools, a 'Period for Integrated Study' under the Courses of Study has been implemented, where foreign language conversation can be taught as a subject for international understanding (MEXT, 2003i). As a matter of fact, about 50% of elementary schools have adopted English conversation activities as a subject for

international understanding (MEXT, 2003i). In order to support English study at the elementary school level, MEXT (2003d) has prepared a teachers' manual and has implemented a teacher training system. At lower and upper secondary schools, foreign languages have become compulsory subjects, emphasizing the cultivation of communication skills (MEXT, 2003d). MEXT (2003d) also provides secondary school English teachers with both domestic and overseas training programs, in order to improve their teaching skills and English ability. Additionally, in 2002, 5,676 people from overseas were hired through the Japan Exchange and Teaching (JET) Programme to engage in foreign language teaching at school as Assistant Language Teachers (ALTs) (MEXT, 2003d). About 5,600 people are employed from countries where English is spoken as the primary language (MEXT, 2002c).

Given these contexts of a policy of internationalization for the Japanese people which is only concerned with the acquisition of English competence, it is obvious that English has status in Japan. In fact, English has been given the highest status since the Meiji era, although the government encouraged the Japanese to learn German, French, as well as English during the Meiji era (Kimura, 2002). The effect of such status planning was clearly recognized early on in Japanese society, even before the implementation of the policy of internationalization. Yamamoto (2001) shows this in her survey of how Japanese students in two universities perceive bilinguals in relation to their specific languages. The results illustrate that over 73% of the students perceive a bilingual as one who is a fluent speaker of both Japanese and English, but not of Japanese and other minority languages such as Chinese and Korean (Yamamoto, 2001). This perception has been generated by the

implementation of a language education program, in which only English has been taught as a school subject for a foreign language in public schools. By implementing the new ideology of internationalization, English has been given status continuously in Japanese society as the primary international language by encouraging students to learn it, and the Japanese government has been complicit in implementing status planning for English.

3.4. The Analysis of the Characteristics of the Current Japanese Language Policy Relevant to Japanese-Brazilian Children

Japan currently possesses four characteristics in its language policy: standardization, linguistic assimilation, internationalization of the Japanese language, and internationalization of the Japanese people. Among these, standardization and internationalization of the Japanese language have nothing to contribute to the main focus of this thesis, language education for Japanese-Brazilian children in Japan, since standardization is concerned with the spread of the standard Japanese throughout the nation and internationalization of the Japanese language is concerned with the dissemination of the Japanese language throughout the world. Thus, both linguistic assimilation and internationalization of the Japanese people in relation to language education for Japanese-Brazilian children will be analyzed in the following subsections by Ruiz's (1984) three concepts: language-as-problem, language-as-right, and language-as-resource. These three approaches are useful because these help to illustrate what kinds of problems the current language policy has and what factors the Japanese government needs to improve its policy. The orientation of language-as-problem focuses on identifying and solving language problems, the orientation of language-as-right considers language as a basic human

right, and the orientation of language-as-resource encourages raising the status of subordinate languages and attempting to solve tensions between majority and minority communities by making the majority community recognize minority languages as resources for the entire society.

3.4.1. The Analysis of Linguistic Assimilation

The Japanese government continuously employs a linguistic assimilation attitude, so that it supports a JSL education which encourages Japanese acquisition by newcomer children such as Japanese-Brazilian children. This suggests that the government acknowledges the low level of Japanese competence possessed by these children as a language problem in Japan. Thus, the JSL education was employed by the government with the language-as-problem perspective.

Meanwhile, MEXT does not recognize another language problem that newcomer children have: the maintenance of their mother tongue. As noted in the literature review, immigrant children such as JB children generally face a risk to become semilinguals who possess insufficient language ability in either language due to the interdependence between L1 and L2 abilities. Being semilinguals is harmful for these children since they cannot successfully learn school subjects and ultimately cannot function well in their host country, because of language deficiency. To date most members of a majority group are typically indifferent to immigrants' L1 maintenance and development and do not provide sufficient support for immigrant children's L1 maintenance and development (Hamel, 1997). This is happening in Japan. The Japanese people and their government which constitute the dominant group in Japanese society are indifferent to L1 maintenance and

development of newcomer children. This is supported by a fact that MEXT gives support a JSL education for newcomer children where these children are encouraged to learn Japanese and that it has developed a JSL curriculum to help these children to acquire a higher level of Japanese. On the other hand, MEXT does not give any support for such children's' L1 maintenance and development. Members of the dominant group in Japan are unconsciously placing such children in a situation of subtractive bilingualism, which can lead these children to become semilinguals.

The Japanese government should adopt the language-as-resource perspective, which promotes an idea that all the linguistic minorities and their own languages are resources in a society. By having this perspective, Japanese-Brazilians who possess Portuguese proficiency can be seen as an asset for Japanese society. Portuguese is the fifth most widely spoken language in the world, having 168 million speakers (Baker & Jones, 1998). Portugal, Brazil, and some African countries - Angola, Cape Verde, Guinea Bissau, Mozambique, and Sao Tome & Principe - recognize Portuguese as their official language (Baker & Jones, 1998), making Portuguese an international language. The knowledge of Portuguese helps Japan to link with these countries. Furthermore, Brazil has rich natural resources (World-Atlas, 2003), so that it can be a primary trade partner for Japan. Having language proficiency in the language of a trade partner gives a favorable impression to the partner, and may help a business negotiation to be successful. If Japan wishes to facilitate its economic relationship with Brazil, it needs people who are proficient in both Portuguese and Japanese. Fortunately, Japan possesses Japanese-Brazilians as one of its linguistic minority groups. The government can utilize their language ability

in order to produce bilinguals of Japanese and Portuguese, able to engage in business between Japan and Brazil.

A language-as-resource perspective helps the government to recognize another language problem of newcomer children, their mother tongue maintenance, due to the following reasons. This perspective encourages the Japanese government and its people to acknowledge minority languages such as Brazilian Portuguese as resources for Japan, and gives these languages status in Japanese society. Under this condition, for example, Brazilian Portuguese will be supported by a government and the Japanese people; at the same time students will be encouraged to learn it. The government will consider how to support Japanese-Brazilians in their Portuguese maintenance in order not to lose this resource. Therefore, recognizing minority languages as a resource makes it possible for the government to work toward resolving another language problem, mother tongue maintenance for newcomer children such as Japanese-Brazilians.

3.4.2. The Analysis of Internationalization of the Japanese People

Internationalization of the Japanese people is also designed through the language-as-problem perspective, because this aims at solving communication problems between the Japanese and people who do not speak Japanese in international business settings. The government regards the low level of English proficiency by the Japanese people as a language problem, so that the concept of internationalization for the Japanese people is adopted to make them able to achieve successful communications in global settings by improving their English ability. This concept demonstrates the fact that the government regards only English as an

important language and thinks that the Japanese should be proficient only in English. However, having English proficiency does not guarantee the successful communication with other people from different cultural/linguistic backgrounds, because there are many people who do not speak English in the world. True internationalization should mean that the Japanese people can communicate successfully with people who are from different cultural/linguistic backgrounds in many languages; therefore, in order to achieve internationalization of the Japanese people, it is better for the government to recognize not only English but also other languages as important, and to encourage the Japanese people to learn these languages.

Meanwhile, the policy of internationalization for the Japanese people does not recognize the existence of other languages spoken in Japan, due to the status planning position that the government has adopted. The government does not encourage teaching minority languages in public schools, with the sole exception of English, even though about 73% of the linguistic minority students in public schools speak either Portuguese, Spanish, or Chinese as their mother tongue (MEXT, 2004). Their languages are not reflected in school subjects as foreign languages. This is supported by the fact that there were no ALTs for Portuguese and Spanish and only eleven or so for Chinese, whereas about 5,600 ALTs for English in 2002 (MEXT, 2002c). These aspects suggest that minority languages in Japan other than English are not considered to be important, so that the government does not give any status to these other languages in Japanese society.

In order to accomplish the policy of internationalization for the Japanese people, the government should adopt the language-as-resource approach, which encourages raising other languages' status. By adopting this perspective, the focus of internationalization of the Japanese people can be shifted from the acquisition of English proficiency to the appreciation of linguistic diversity. The status of other languages will be raised to the level of English as a result of the adoption of the language-as-resource perspective. In other words, status planning for minority languages is implemented by the adoption of the language-as-resource approach. Then, the Japanese and their government can see other languages as important as English, as the appreciation of linguistic diversity is developed among the Japanese.

Furthermore, by adopting the language-as-resource approach, internationalization of the Japanese people can be accomplished, since the Japanese people, possessing this view, allow seeing linguistic minorities as resources for Japanese society. They can regard such minorities as resources because they can learn how to communicate with people from different cultural/linguistic backgrounds by interacting with such minorities, who possess different cultural knowledge and language ability from the Japanese. Three linguistic minority groups are currently recognizable in Japan: an indigenous group composed of the Ainu and Ryukyans, an old immigrant group of the Koreans and Chinese, and a newcomer group of people from Asia and Latin America. The Japanese people can become truly internationalized, as the government wishes, by learning how to communicate with these linguistic minorities, particularly the newcomers who are not naturalized in Japan.

3.4.3. What is Necessary for the Japanese Government

The Japanese government adopted the language-as-problem approach to resolve two language problems: (1) the low level of Japanese competence possessed by newcomer children, and (2) that of English proficiency by the Japanese people. Thus, the government supports a JSL education for these children and implemented the Action Plan to Cultivate the Japanese with English Abilities for the Japanese people. There is another language problem in Japan, mother tongue maintenance of newcomer children. The government should adopt the language-as-resource approach to solve this problem. In order to solve these language problems, Japan needs a new language policy and relevant planning, which should be designed through not only the language-as-problem approach but also the language-as-resource perspective.

The language-as-right perspective should also be carefully studied to improve a language policy, due to the fact that academia and the United Nations try to promote the language rights of linguistic minorities (see MacMillan, 1998; May, 2001; Skutnabb-Kangas, 2001; UNESCO, 2003). To date the Japanese government is not aware of language rights for linguistic minorities, failing to design language policy through the language-as-right approach which rests on the concept that a language right is a basic human right.

4. Organizations Involved in Designing and Implementing Language Policy and Planning

There are numerous organizations involved in designing and implementing language policy and planning in today's Japan. This section introduces what kinds of

organizations are involved in language policy and planning. There are three subsections: Governmental Organizations, Think Tanks, and Foundations.

4.1. Governmental Organizations

Governmental organizations are directly involved in designing and implementing language policy and planning. Among these, the Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science and Technology (MEXT) is the main body for designing and implementing language policy. The promotion of national language policy is one of MEXT's main concerns, which is seen in six policies for the administration of cultural affairs that MEXT has set up: the promotion of the arts, the preservation and the utilization of cultural properties and facilities, the promotion of copyright, the promotion of national language policy, and the administration of religious affairs (2003g).

There are several agencies organized under MEXT, responsible for a language policy. The National Institute for Educational Policy Research (NIER, *Kokuritsu Kyouiku Seisaku Kenkyuujo*) is one of the agencies of MEXT (MEXT, 2003h). The NIER was established in 1949 in order to study and conduct research on fundamental issues of educational policies (NIER, 2003b) as well as to give advice and support to other educational institutions (NIER, 2003a). Under the NIER, the Curriculum Research Center was established in 2001 for the improvement of school curriculums (MEXT, 2003e).

The Agency for Cultural Affairs (ACA) is also an agency of MEXT (MEXT, 2003h). The ACA, established in 1968 (ACA, 2003e), is responsible for improving and spreading Japanese, and for teaching Japanese as a foreign language (MEXT,

2003a). The ACA has two agencies: the National Language Subdivision of the Council for Cultural Affairs (*Bunka Shingikai Kokugo Bunka-kai*) and the National Institute for Japanese Language (NIJL, *Kokuritsu Kokugo Kenkyuujo*). The National Language Subdivision of the Council for Cultural Affairs (*Bunka Shingikai Kokugo Bunka-kai*) was initially established as the National Language Council (*Kokugu Shingikai*), the main body for deliberating and investigating Japanese language issues until its abolishment in 2000 (MEXT, 2003b). This Council published various guidelines for the standard Japanese, including “Revised Guide to the Use of *Okurigana*” (1972), “The *Joyo Kanji* Table” (1981), “Revised Modern *Kana* Usage” (1986), “Notation of Borrowed Foreign Words” (1991), “Honorific Expressions in Modern Society” (2000), “The Form of *Kanji* Characters not Listed in the *Joyo Kanji* Table” (2000), and “The Optimum Response of the Japanese Language to the Global Society” (2000) (ACA, 2003a). After the abolishment of the National Language Council in 2000, the National Language Subdivision of the Council for Cultural Affairs (*Bunka Shingikai Kokugo Bunka-kai*), was established in 2001 (MEXT, 2003b).

The ACA has another agency, the National Institute for Japanese Language (NIJL, *Kokuritsu Kokugo Kenkyuujo*) (MEXT, 2003h). The NIJL conducts research on both the Japanese language use among the Japanese people and Japanese language education for foreigners (NIJL, 2003a). The NIJL also trains instructors for the Japanese language, and develops teaching materials for Japanese language education for foreigners (ACA, 2003c). The NIJL researches Japanese through dimensions as varied as speech style, borrowings, dialects, and the Japanese

language for an international society (NIJL, 2003b). The following figure illustrates the relationship among governmental organizations under MEXT.

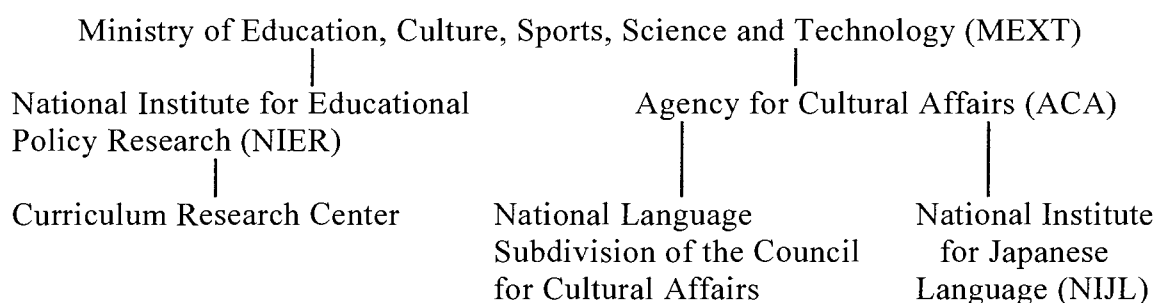


Figure 2. Language Policy Designing and Implementing Organizations

Nihon Housou Kyoukai (NHK) is also a governmental organization, and is involved in language policies by disseminating standard Japanese through its broadcasting, as introduced earlier in this chapter. NHK started broadcasting by radio in 1926 (Carroll, 1995), and now broadcasts in the television medium as well. According to the Broadcast Law, NHK is responsible for broadcasting high quality programs domestically, for improving its business necessary to broadcast, and for conducting international broadcasting and related issues with international broadcasting (Ministry of Public Management, Home Affairs, Posts and Telecommunications (*Soumu-shou*), 2003).

4.2. Think Tanks

Think tanks also have some impact on language policies. Think tanks are defined by Kobayashi (2003) as policy research organizations influencing policy designs. The following demonstrate examples of activities by think tanks. A non-profit organization (NPO), the Hamamatsu NPO Network Center, conducted a research project about problems of the Japanese-Brazilian youth living in Hamamatsu in

2002. After the completion of this research project, they submitted a proposal for the improvement of education for linguistic minority children to the Japanese government (Hamamatsu NPO Network Center, 2002). Another think tank, CDI, researched policies on immigration, language education for immigrants, and other language issues in five countries in order to provide information for the Agency for Cultural Affairs that might help to design a language policy (National Institute for Research Advancement [NIRA], 2003a).

There are a considerable number of think tanks that MEXT supervises (see MEXT, 2003j). For instance, *Nihon Brazil Chyuuou Kyokai* (Japan-Brazil Central Association) was established for the enhancement of economy and cultural exchange between Japan and Brazil, and has been working to collect information about Brazil and to provide Japanese society with the information collected. Both *Kokusai Nihongo Fukyuu Kyokai* (Association for Japanese-Language Teaching) and *Nihongo Kyouiku Gakkai* (Society for Teaching Japanese as a Foreign Language) engage in promoting Japanese language education for foreigners in order to enhance mutual understanding between Japan and foreign countries. *Kanamojikai* (Society for *Kana* Letters) promotes *Katakana* use for writing instead of *Kanji* use, by convincing society of the inconvenience of *Kanji* use for writing. This society also promotes writing in a horizontal way like English, instead of writing in a vertical way used in Japanese and Chinese classics. *Nippon no Romaji Sya* (Society for Romaji writing in Japan) was established for the promotion of the Romaji writing in Japan.

All of these think tanks function to provide the Japanese government with data and information about language issues, so that they work as pressure groups for various aspects of language policies in Japan.

4.3. Foundations

Several foundations play an important role as funding providers for numerous research projects on language and language education issues. The Toyota Foundation provides researchers with research grant on studies as varied as traffic safety, social welfare, education, culture, and environment (Toyota Foundation, 2003b), but some linguists have also received research grants from this foundation for their language and language education studies (see Toyota Foundation, 2003a). The Panasonic Foundation (*Matsushita Kokusai Zaidan*) also financially supports numerous research projects which are conducted to enhance mutual understanding between Japan and other countries, to advance the global culture, and to contribute to world peace (Panasonic Foundation, 2003b). This foundation recently gave support to a project encouraging the co-existence of children from other cultural backgrounds in a community in Japan (Panasonic Foundation, 2003a). The Japan Foundation was established in 1962 for the purpose of providing financial support for research projects on marine security, social welfare, and international cooperation (Japan Foundation, 2003). This foundation assisted the project of the think tank which researched Japanese-Brazilian youth living in Hamamatsu in 2002 (NIRA, 2003b). The Mitsubishi Foundation is also available to give financial support to researchers who engage in fields of science, education, culture and welfare in order to enhance these studies in Japan (Mitsubishi Foundation, 2003).

All of these foundations were established by private companies, except for the Japan Foundation, which was established by government funding. Ministries also function as funding providers for think tanks, and often profit from their research deliberations (see NIRA, 2003c).

Various projects and research have been conducted through research grants from such foundations. By carrying out these research and projects, researchers can find and demonstrate language problems in Japanese society, analyze what is necessary to resolve these problems, and make proposals to the Japanese government for the improvement of its language policy.

5. Conclusion

Standardization and linguistic assimilation have been the major ideologies of language policy in Japan since the Meiji era. In addition to these two ideologies, internationalization of the Japanese language and that of the Japanese people have been recently promoted. Standardization is concerned with the spread of standard Japanese throughout the nation. Linguistic assimilation has been implemented for the purpose of assimilating linguistic minorities into Japanese society. Internationalization of the Japanese language is concerned with the dissemination of the Japanese language throughout the world. Internationalization of the Japanese people is designed to raise the level of the Japanese people's fluency in English for successful communication in international settings. Among these ideologies, standardization and internationalization of the Japanese language have nothing to contribute to language education for Japanese-Brazilian children in Japan; thus,

linguistic assimilation and internationalization of the Japanese people were analyzed from the language-as-problem and language-as-resource perspectives.

Through the analysis, it was found that the current Japanese government recognizes two language problems: (1) the low level of Japanese competence possessed by newcomer children and (2) that of English proficiency by the Japanese people. In order to solve these problems, the government has adopted the language-as-problem approach. As introduced in the Literature Review, immigrant children need to maintain their L1 while acquiring L2; thus, L1 maintenance of such children can be another language problem in Japan, which is not recognized by the government. This problem has to be acknowledged because newcomers' mother tongues are resources for Japan, since such languages allow Japan to connect to countries where these languages are spoken and help the Japanese people to be internationalized. Such problem is not solved by adopting simply a language-as-problem approach: it is necessary to adopt a language-as-resource approach as well. Thus, in order to solve all these three language problems, Japan needs a new language policy and relevant planning, which should be designed through not only the language-as-problem approach but also the language-as-resource perspective.

Governmental organizations, think tanks, and foundations influence one another in how to design and implement language policy. An example of how these organizations are involved in designing and implementing language policy is demonstrated as follows. A think tank, the Hamamatsu NPO Network Center, conducted research about the lives of Japanese-Brazilian in modern Japan, and made a proposal to the Japanese government for resolving problems of their youth about

their two major language problems, namely, their Japanese acquisition and their mother tongue maintenance. This think tank conducted its research through a research grant from the Japan Foundation. By having pressure from this think tank, the government may change its attitudes toward minority languages and this might be reflected in language policy in the future. Therefore, Japanese language policy can be seen as the product of cooperation by national and local governments, the business sector, and interested individuals.

This chapter has demonstrated how Japanese language policy has been developed since the Meiji era, and how the Japanese government has treated languages of linguistic minority groups, both an indigenous group (the Ainu and Ryukyans) and an old immigrant group (the Koreans and Chinese). The government has encouraged these minority group members to acquire Japanese proficiency, and seems to have not been concerned with them maintaining their own language. Contemporary Japan possesses not only these linguistic minority groups but also a new linguistic minority group, called newcomers who arrived in Japan after the 1970s, among them the very large group known as Japanese-Brazilians. Their presence in Japanese society has become significant due to their sudden increase in number within these last twenty years. Under the current Japanese language policy, we might test the usefulness of this policy by asking how newcomer children are treated. Thus, in the next chapter, by focusing on Japanese-Brazilians in Japan, actual language problems of their children as found in various sources will be demonstrated and the usefulness and appropriateness of both the

current language policy and a new language policy will be examined in order to resolve JB children's language problems.

Chapter IV

Analysis of Specific Problems that Japanese-Brazilian (JB) Children Confront

1. Introduction

Japanese-Brazilians (JBs) have come to reside in Japan as part of the unskilled labor force since the 1980's, and some of them were accompanied by their family members, including children. Their school age children generally enrol in Japanese public schools where only Japanese is used as the medium of instruction. Only 4,955 JB students enrolled in public elementary school in 2003 (MEXT, 2004), occupying 0.069% of the total number of public elementary school students in Japan (see MEXT, 2003b). Although their number is extremely small, they compose the largest single group among newcomer children in public elementary schools (MEXT, 2004). Since JB children do not understand Japanese well, they confront language problems in schools.

This chapter analyzes language problems of JB children who enrol mainly in public elementary schools (Grade 1-6). From the government's top-down perspective, two language problems, ((1) the acquisition of Japanese fluency and (2) the maintenance of their mother tongue), were identified as language problems for linguistic minority children such as JB children in the previous chapter. In this chapter, we will examine whether there are any other language problems that JB children confront from JB children's bottom-up perspective. First, the ways that JB children are treated in Japanese public elementary schools will be investigated. Then, JB children's language problems as found in various sources will be demonstrated, and such problems will be analyzed through variety of concepts

introduced in the Literature Review. After this analysis, two issues, ((1) the usefulness and appropriateness of the current Japanese language policy directive described in the previous chapter and (2) those of a new language policy directive proposed in the previous chapter), will be tested in order to find solutions for JB children's language problems.

2. The Ways that JB Students are Treated in Japanese Public Elementary Schools

This section examines the ways that schools have been teaching Japanese and regular school subjects to JB children. Generally such students receive two types of education when enrolling in Japanese public elementary schools: (1) regular school subject education and (2) a Japanese as a Second Language (JSL) education. All students in Japanese public elementary schools study in an assigned 'Regular Class' where a teacher teaches all subjects except Music, Art & Craft, and other non-academic subjects. JB children are also assigned to a 'Regular Class' where they study with other Japanese students, once they enrol in school. Basically depending on their age, guided by the MEXT (Ota, 2000), they are assigned to their 'Regular Class,' and take courses of Calculations, Music, Art & Craft, and PE, where advanced Japanese knowledge is not necessary in order to understand contexts of subjects (Ikegami, 2001; Sato, 1996). JSL education has been operated in Japanese public schools since the 1990's, with the goal of teaching the beginner level of Japanese to newcomer children such as JB children, to produce a level to communicate with Japanese teachers and students (Ota, 2000).

JSL education has not yet systematically organized as a language education program by MEXT, and this is proven by the following evidence. Each school with JB children has developed its own curriculum and teaching materials to teach Japanese to these children as a JSL education mechanism according to its own needs (Yamamoto & Narusawa, 2002). Thus, there is currently a lack of uniformity in the way to teach Japanese to JB children among schools. Although MEXT does not organize a JSL program to teach the beginner level of Japanese, it has developed the JSL elementary school curriculum in 2003, which is designed for newcomer students who have already acquired the beginner level of Japanese, to help their acquisition of a higher level of Japanese and to enhance their understanding of school subjects (MEXT, 2003a). This curriculum was developed because many such students have difficulty in studying at school even though they have acquired the beginner level of Japanese (MEXT, 2003a).

In order to cope with JB children who keep coming to Japanese public schools, MEXT in 1992 suggested school boards to allocate an extra teacher who engages in teaching Japanese to newcomer children such as JB children when a school has sufficient number of such children (Ikegami, 2001). As a general rule, a school board provides an extra teacher with a school when the school had more than eight newcomer students (Hamamatsu NPO Network Center, 2003). Due to the result of this suggestion by MEXT, two types of schools with JB children emerge: (1) a school where a school board provides an extra teacher who engages in teaching Japanese to these children, and (2) a school where a school board does not provide an extra teacher (Yamamoto & Narusawa, 2002).

All teachers assigned to teach Japanese to JB children do not have any special training to teach Japanese to students whose mother tongue is not Japanese (Ikegami, 2001; Onai, 2003; Yamamoto & Narusawa, 2002). They are appointed to teach Japanese to JB students by school boards regardless of their own wishes (Ikegami, 2001; Onai, 2003; Yamamoto & Narusawa, 2002). In addition to a teacher who engages in teaching Japanese to JB children, a school board generally hires personnel who can speak Portuguese (Ikegami, 2001). Such personnel are employed because of the MEXT announcement in 1993 that school boards hire someone who can cooperate with teachers for JB children's Japanese acquisition, for their studying, and for their adjustment to Japanese schools (Ikegami, 2001). The following two subsections illustrate how JB children are taught Japanese through JSL education and taught regular school subjects in both types of school, (the case (1) and the case (2) listed above).

2.1. A Public Elementary School with a Japanese as a Second Language Class

When a school board provides a school with an extra teacher who engages in teaching Japanese to JB children, the school establishes a special class. This is a Japanese as a Second Language (JSL) class, generally named as either 'Japanese Class (*Nihongo Kyoushitsu*)' or 'International Class (*Kokusai Kyoushitsu*)' (Sato, 1996). A 'Japanese Class' is organized to help JB students acquire the beginner level of Japanese and to help them adjust to Japanese school life (Ota, 2000). Teaching JB children in a 'Japanese Class' until they acquire the beginner level of Japanese is called 'Initial Teaching (*Shoki Shido*)' (Ota, 2000). Although the length of the 'Initial Teaching' is not formally set, it generally takes six months for JB

students to acquire the beginner level of Japanese (Ota, 2000). JB students, regardless of their age, who need to acquire Japanese proficiency are all assigned to a 'Japanese Class' in a school. Thus, they belong to two classes at school, a 'Regular Class' and 'Japanese Class.'

JB students are sent to a 'Japanese Class' to study Japanese, while their Japanese classmates are studying certain subjects such as Japanese, Social Science, Science, and Mathematics, all of which necessitate an advanced level of Japanese to understand the contexts (Ikegami, 2001; Sato, 1996). This type of teaching is called 'withdrawal (*Toridashi*)' (Ikegami, 2001; Sato, 1996; Yamamoto & Narusawa, 2002). In many cases of 'withdrawal teaching,' JB children are taught not only Japanese but also other subjects such as Social Science and Mathematics in their 'Japanese Class' (Ikegami, 2001; Ota, 2000). When JB children are 'withdrawn' to a 'Japanese Class,' they are taught by one of the following study styles: (1) an individual study, (2) group study, by organizing groups based on students' age, (3) group study, organizing groups based on the level of their Japanese proficiency, and (4) a combination of the individual and the group study (Nakanishi, 1995).

Team Teaching (T.T) is sometimes used for teaching regular subjects to JB children. T.T refers to a teaching method that a teacher of a 'Japanese Class' sits next to a JB student in his/her 'Regular Class' and helps him/her to understand contexts that his/her 'Regular Class' teacher is teaching (Ikegami, 2001). T.T is employed for JB children to enhance their understanding of subjects' contexts. This teaching method is available for JB students who almost possess the beginner level of Japanese, but have difficulty in understanding of regular school subjects'

contexts (Ota, 2000). The teacher of a 'Japanese Class' decides which student will be taught by T.T (Okada, 2000). Generally only a few students can receive T.T, due to the availability of the 'Japanese Class' teacher (Okada, 2000).

2.2. A Public Elementary School without a Japanese as a Second Language Class

When a school board does not provide an extra teacher who engages in teaching Japanese to JB children, there are currently four ways employed to teach Japanese to these children through JSL education: (1) a few times a week the children are sent to a school with an extra teacher who engages in teaching Japanese, (2) the children are taught by an instructor who visits their school a few times a week, (3) someone else in a school such as a principal or other teachers who are not assigned to a 'Regular Class' teaches them, and (4) the children are taught by their 'Regular Class' teacher (Ota, 2000; Sato, 1996; Yamamoto & Narusawa, 2002). An instructor in the case of (2) is hired by the school board, and is sent to schools where JB children enrol (Ota, 2000). S/he is chosen because s/he can speak Portuguese; thus, s/he is expected to teach JB children Japanese and other school subjects using Portuguese as well as Japanese (Ota, 2000; Yamamoto & Narusawa, 2002). When their 'Regular Class' teachers teach Japanese to the children in the case of (4), they teach the children either (a) in a 'Regular Class' while Japanese students are doing assignments or (b) after school (Ota, 2000).

There are also some cases where JB students are not taught Japanese at all because a school is unable to provide either a teacher or an instructor who engages in teaching Japanese (Yamamoto & Narusawa, 2002). This is proven by MEXT's (2004) report, stating that 84.4% of linguistic minority elementary school students

are taught Japanese in 2003. The rest of the students are not given an opportunity to learn Japanese.

3. Language Problems of JB Children in the Educational Settings Demonstrated in Various Sources and the Analysis of These Problems

Even though the majority of JB students learn Japanese at school, they confront various language problems which are caused in relation to the educational settings. This section introduces such problems demonstrated in various sources, and then these problems are analyzed in terms of what is necessary to solve them.

3.1 Problems Caused by the Language Barrier Between Japanese Teachers/Students and JB Children

The language barrier between Japanese teachers/students and JB children is a big problem. Teachers are monolingual Japanese, so that they have a hard time teaching and communicating with JB children who do not understand Japanese well (Ehara, 2002; Nakanishi, 1995; Ota, 2000). JB children also cannot understand school subjects (Ehara, 2002; Nakanishi, 1995; Onai, 2003; Ota, 2000), cannot communicate with teachers (Ehara, 2002; Nakanishi, 1995; Onai, 2003), and cannot make Japanese friends (Nakanishi, 1995), due to their lack of Japanese competence. Thus, some of them become frustrated and fight with Japanese students (Nakanishi, 1995); some are bullied by Japanese students (Nakanishi, 1995; Ota, 2000); and some stop going to school altogether (Nakanishi, 1995; Ota, 2000). All of these problems are caused by the language barrier between JB children and the Japanese teachers/students; that is, JB children do not have sufficient Japanese competence to communicate with Japanese teachers/students, and at the same time Japanese teachers/students do not understand Portuguese. Until JB children acquire sufficient

Japanese, there is always their language barrier between JB children and Japanese teachers/students.

3.2. *Semilinguals*

According to the Interdependence Hypothesis introduced in the Literature Review, L2 competence of a child is relatively dependent on the level of her/his L1 competence that s/he has already achieved (Baker & Jones, 1998). When L1 is not sufficiently developed, the level of L2 proficiency tends to be low (Baker & Jones, 1998). Furthermore, the Thresholds Hypothesis states that bilingual children may have to achieve at least the low level of threshold of proficiency in both languages; otherwise, they may suffer cognitive deficits and may become semilinguals (Archibald & Libben, 1995). Bilingual students face the risk of becoming semilinguals with insufficient competence in either language; they do not possess sufficient L1 and they are unlikely to be able to acquire better L2 competence.

A few cases are reported that a linguistic minority student has become a semilingual. Ikuta (2000) asked JB students to write an essay in Japanese and in Portuguese. The results showed an example of Student A (Grade 8) who had been enrolled in a Japanese public school for eight years and who had never attended at school in Brazil: Student A could not write an essay in either Japanese and Portuguese any better than Student B (Grade 9) who had had education in Brazil until he was 11. Student A should be able to write better in Japanese than Student B, since Student B has fewer years of exposure to Japanese. However, the result of Ikuta's study demonstrated that Student B wrote better in Japanese than Student A. Ikuta explains this phenomenon, using the concept of the Interdependence

Hypothesis: Student A's L1 is not well-developed, and so her L2 cannot be well-developed either. Additionally, Nakanishi (1995) exhibits an example of a semilingual Chinese student (Grade 4) who enrolled in a Japanese public school for four years. She hardly can read and write in Japanese and in Chinese. She also cannot understand abstract ideas, and cannot think logically. Thus, she cannot understand school subjects of Grade 4.

In contrast to these students, Ota (2000) gives an example of two JB students (Grade 6) who do well academically in their 'Regular Class' in a Japanese elementary school. Both students possess a good command of Portuguese ability in listening, speaking, writing, and reading, since they went to school for four years in Brazil. They receive good scores in quizzes in the Japanese language, so that their Japanese competence is not lower than their Japanese classmates'. Both of them use Portuguese at home, and maintain Portuguese competence even though they have not had education in Portuguese for four years in Japan. This example suggests that students did well academically because they had sufficient L1 knowledge. Due to their better developed L1, they were able to acquire a high level of L2 competence.

The examples of the students above can be explained by the Thresholds Hypothesis and the Interdependence Hypothesis. The students possessing the low level of L1 ability possessed the low level of L2 ability, and did not do well academically. They have not reached the low level of threshold in both languages, or simply achieved at the low level of threshold; thus, they have a cognitive disadvantage, when compared to students who achieved higher levels of threshold in both languages. In contrast, students possessing a well-developed L1 ability were

able to acquire high levels of L2 and able to perform well academically even though they are learning school subjects in L2. They have reached high levels of threshold in both languages; consequently, they have cognitive advantages. These results suggest that the maintenance and development of L1 are necessary for JB students to have better L2 ability and to have academic success.

3.3. Two Types of Language: CALP (Cognitive Academic Language Proficiency) and BICS (Basic Interpersonal Communicative Skills)

After about half a year from initial enrolment in a school, JB children generally acquire a basic knowledge of Japanese, a necessary level to play with their Japanese classmates and to talk to teachers face to face (Ota, 2000). This level of proficiency, namely, beginner Japanese, is expected for JB children by schools (Ota, 2000). However, even though JB children have acquired beginner Japanese, they cannot understand school subjects, a fact reported by many teachers (see Ota, 2000). One theory introduced by Cummins (2000) provides an explanation about this phenomenon.

Cummins categorizes language ability into two types, one for school performance called CALP (Cognitive Academic Language Proficiency) and the other for communication called BICS (Basic Interpersonal Communicative Skills) (cited in Driessen, Van der Slik, & De Bot, 2002). CALP is the language necessary to understand abstract ideas in school subjects, while BICS is the language used for people's daily conversations (Driessen, Van der Slik, & De Bot, 2002). JB children reported by Ota (2000) can be said to possess BICS but not CALP, so that they cannot understand school subjects. There is a time lag of acquisition between CALP and BICS, which Cummins (2000) explains as follows:

There was a gap of several years, on average, between the attainment of peer-appropriate fluency in L2 and the attainment of grade norms in academic aspects of L2. Conversational aspects of proficiency reached peer-appropriate levels usually within about two years of exposure to L2 but a period of five to seven years was required, on average, for immigrant students to approach grade norms in academic aspects of [L2] (p. 58).

The research conducted by Noyama and Yuki (2003) gives support for Cummins' explanation about the time lag. They researched JB students (Grade 6-9) in public schools, and found that about 80% of students answered that they can understand and join daily conversations in Japanese, but only 70% of them answered that they can read and write in Japanese without problems. This result can be interpreted as follows: most the students can acquire BICS, but not all students who acquire BICS possess CALP. Some students require more time to acquire CALP than BICS.

MEXT acknowledges that JB children cannot develop CALP from the JSL education that they have been receiving. Thus, in 2003 MEXT completed a JSL elementary school curriculum, aiming at both helping these children acquire the higher level of Japanese, as well as enhancing their understanding of school subjects (MEXT, 2003a). This curriculum is designed for foreign students who have already acquired the beginner level of Japanese. The beginner level of Japanese is the necessary level to communicate with Japanese teachers and classmates, roughly equivalent to BICS, while a language placed in a higher level than BICS can be regarded as CALP. By having these definitions for BICS and CALP, the phenomenon found by research of Noyama and Yuki (2003), as introduced earlier, can be explained as follows: some students cannot develop CALP, because, as the Interdependence Hypothesis and the Thresholds Hypothesis suggest, they do not possess sufficient L1 ability, so that they cannot develop the higher level of L2; that

is, CALP. Students who do not possess CALP have difficulty in studying at school, and this can be counted as a major language problem for JB children. In this new curriculum, teachers are asked to use simple Japanese for instructions and to make the students learn a study topic through their actual experience; at the same time, the students are asked to express what they found in their study topic and what they think about the topic in Japanese (MEXT, 2002b). This curriculum also proposes the possibility of the use of foreign students' mother tongue for the students to introduce study topics (MEXT, 2002a).

3.4. L1 Maintenance by Young JB Children

The younger JB students are, the easier they forget Portuguese while acquiring Japanese competence. They easily lose their L1 competence by having education in Japanese because their L1 is not well-developed, and Ota (2000) provides the following reason to explain this phenomenon: they normally do not have school experience in Brazil, so that they do not possess writing and reading abilities in Portuguese. Thus, after a few years of enrolment in Japanese public schools, most students become more proficient in Japanese than Portuguese, and they speak to each other in Japanese in their 'Japanese Class' (Ota, 2000). Furthermore, their home language also changes from Portuguese to Japanese within a few years (Ota, 2000).

Some students cannot develop their L1 sufficiently because their mother tongue is not taught at school. To learn mother tongue at school is important for linguistic minority students to develop their L1 proficiency, a fact pointed out by Huguet, Vila, and Llurda (2000). They compared L1 (Catalan) knowledge between

students in Eastern Aragon and those in Catalonia in Spain. The Eastern Aragon group studies Catalan as a school subject at school, and Spanish is the dominant language in Eastern Aragon so that it is used as the medium of instruction. The Catalonia group is taught most of the school subjects in Catalan, since it is the dominant language in Catalonia. The researchers found that the Catalonia group possesses significantly better knowledge in written and oral Catalan than the Eastern Aragon group. They explain this phenomenon as follows: the dominant presence of L1 in the educational settings is essential to develop children's L1 to the sufficient level, although such language ability is initially nurtured within a family and a community where they attain some minimal requirements of this ability. They also point out that using L1 as the medium of instruction is much more effective than teaching this as a school subject (Huguet, Vila, & Llurda, 2000). Speaking L1 at home and in a community is not enough to develop children's L1. Thus, even though JB children speak Portuguese at home, they need to learn it at school to develop their such ability. Ideally, they should be taught most of the school subjects in Portuguese.

3.5. JB Children's Perception of Inferiority Towards Their Heritage

Some JB children have developed a perception of inferiority towards their heritage language/culture while enrolling in Japanese educational institutions. The *Nikkei Weekly* introduces a case of one JB student who did not want to tell her origin to her Japanese friends ("Putting Down Roots," 2003). She came to Japan 15 years ago with her family from Brazil, and she is now a high school student in Kobe. Until recently, she had never told her friends that she is a JB, because she did not want to

be alienated from them. She wanted to be the same as her 'Japanese' friends. Ota (2000) reports another student who is ashamed of his Brazilian culture and Portuguese. A teacher asked this JB middle school student, who possessed a Japanese competence, to translate what the teacher said to a new JB student into Portuguese. But the student possessing Japanese competence refused to translate by answering that he did not know such a language. And Ota (2000) shows yet another example of this phenomenon. An elementary school organized a dance festival as an international understanding class for all students in school, and JB children were asked to show Brazilian dances in the class, but some JB children refused to dance. They insist that they are not foreigners but are Japanese, and seem to reject their heritage language and culture. Ota (2000) thinks that they reject their heritage language and culture because they perceive these as inferior to Japanese language and culture.

JB children's perception of inferiority also impacts their families. Tsuda (1999) interviewed some JBs whose children attend school in Japan, and found that parents want their children to maintain Portuguese and Brazilian culture because they intend to go back to Brazil someday; however, their children want to be like the Japanese because they do not want to be distinguished as foreigners by their schoolmates. Tsuda (1999) analyzes why these children do not want to be identified as JBs: they are ashamed of Brazilian culture and Portuguese. Ikegami (2001) also gives an example of a JB student (Grade 8) who has many Japanese friends at school but does not want to be involved with JBs. Because he only uses Japanese at home, his parents who are not proficient in Japanese cannot always understand what

he says. These children do not want to maintain their heritage language/culture, due to their perception of inferiority towards their heritage. Having this perception causes problems in JB families: parents are worried about children's heritage language/culture loss, and parents and children cannot communicate well with each other because they use different languages at home. JB children do not want to maintain Portuguese due to their perception of inferiority, and this is another aspect of the language problem for JB children.

JB children's perception of inferiority towards their heritage language/culture can be generated by the Japanese education system itself. As introduced in the Literature Review, there is a prevailing view that the children from subordinate groups should be assimilated into the dominant culture in order to be successful in the educational system organized by a dominant group (Moses, 2000; Wong Fillmore, 1991); here they learn that their heritage culture is less valuable than the dominant culture, and thus not worthy of maintenance (Moses, 2000). This view can help to explain why JB children perceived their heritage language/culture as inferior. Since they enrol in Japanese public educational institutions which are organized by the dominant group in Japanese society, they have had a sense that their heritage language/culture is less valuable than the dominant culture, and thus not worthy of maintenance.

Furthermore, collective self-esteem is an important factor to analyze why JB children perceive their heritage language/culture as inferior to the Japanese language/culture. Wright and Taylor (1995) define collective self-esteem as one's feeling of identifying oneself as a member of one's belonging group. It can be said

that linguistic minorities' such self-esteem is generally seen when they positively identify themselves as members of their ethnic group. JB children do not want to be identified as JBs because they are ashamed of their heritage, indicating that they do not possess collective self-esteem as JBs. Having collective self-esteem is important for linguistic minority children because this can reduce these children's perception of inferiority towards their heritage language/culture, by identifying themselves as JBs. As noted in the Literature Review, this self-esteem can be developed when linguistic minority children's L1 is valued at school; on the other hand, this self-esteem cannot be developed when their L1 is not valued. Thus, the maintenance of heritage culture/language encourages immigrants to proudly identify themselves as members of a particular ethnic group. JB children need to develop such self-esteem to reduce their perception of inferiority toward their heritage language/culture. In order to develop collective self-esteem, they have to value their L1.

4. The Test of Two Language Policy Directives to JB Children's Language Problems

In the previous section, JB students' five language problems in the educational settings were identified. First, JB children face a language barrier with Japanese teachers and children. In order to overcome this barrier, they are expected to acquire Japanese proficiency. Second, JB children risk being raised as semilinguals because they cannot develop their L1 ability in Japanese schools. Since they do not have sufficient L1 ability, they cannot acquire better L2 ability and they cannot do well academically, issues which are addressed by the Thresholds Hypothesis and the

Interdependence Hypothesis. Third, JB children can acquire BICS generally within six months, but they cannot acquire CALP within six months. The acquisition of CALP takes much longer than BICS, according to Cummins (2000). Because they do not possess CALP, they cannot understand school subjects adequately. Fourth, some JB children simply possess low levels of Portuguese competence. Thus, they easily lose their Portuguese competence while acquiring Japanese fluency. Fifth, JB children develop a perception that their heritage language and culture are inferior to Japanese language and culture, and thus they do not want to maintain the Portuguese language and Brazilian culture.

In order to resolve JB children's five language problems listed above, the usefulness and appropriateness of two underlying concepts for language policy directives introduced in the previous chapter, (1) a linguistic assimilation perspective and (2) a language-as-resource perspective, will be tested in the following section.

4.1. A Linguistic Assimilation Perspective

The Japanese government has adopted linguistic assimilation to resolve language problems of linguistic minorities in Japan. Of the five language problems identified in this chapter, the linguistic assimilation perspective can resolve only one problem: the problem of JB children's language barrier towards Japanese teachers/students. The primary aim of this directive is to linguistically assimilate JB children who cannot speak Japanese into Japanese society, by encouraging them to acquire Japanese. In fact, they are taught Japanese in a JSL education system where they can acquire BICS. To communicate with Japanese teachers/students, JB children

only need BICS, which can be developed within six months. Once acquiring BICS, they can reduce the language barrier between Japanese teachers/students and themselves. However, they need CALP to understand school subjects, which takes much longer to develop than BICS.

MEXT has developed a JSL curriculum to fulfill the necessity of CALP development for JB students' academic success. However, this curriculum is not concerned with the importance of LI development for the acquisition of CALP, or even a higher level of L2 than BICS. JB children need to consolidate their L1 competence for the acquisition of CALP and their academic success, according to the Interdependence Hypothesis and the Thresholds Hypothesis. Thus, the JSL curriculum will not be enough to support JB students' complete understanding of school subjects. The language assimilation approach can resolve the language barrier problem between JB children and Japanese teachers/students; however, this directive does not resolve other language problems that JB children possess, because other problems are related to L1 maintenance and development, which is not a concern of this directive at all.

4.2. A Language-as-resource Perspective

A language-as-resource perspective is an underlying concept for a new language policy directive, as introduced in the previous chapter. This perspective addresses the fact that all languages are resources in the entire society, so that people are encouraged to accept linguistic diversity in the society. JB children currently have language problems in their L1 development and maintenance; because they cannot develop their L1, they cannot have a better and higher L2 competence, and because

their L1 is not sufficiently developed, they cannot maintain their L1. For these reasons, they cannot develop CALP and some of them have become semilinguals. These suggest that L1 maintenance and development are necessary for JB children to live in Japanese society. The problems related to JB children's L1 maintenance and development listed above can be solved by the language-as-resource perspective. By adopting such a perspective, JB children's L1 can be regarded as a resource for Japanese society; as a result, the government will encourage JB children to maintain their L1 by giving them support, in order not to lose this resource. Thus, they have a better opportunity to develop their L1 ability. When they can develop their L1 ability to a sufficient level, they have a better chance to acquire a higher level of L2 competence and to have academic success.

The language-as-resource perspective also encourages raising minority languages' status in a society. In other words, status planning for Brazilian Portuguese is implemented by the adoption of the language-as-resource perspective. JB children have a problem when they perceive their heritage language/culture as inferior to Japanese language/culture. In order to reduce their perception of inferiority, it is necessary to develop collective self-esteem. This is proposed by Benson (2002), as introduced in the Literature Review. She thinks that linguistic minority children's L1 should be given status and valued in the entire society in order to develop these children's collective self-esteem. Thus, when Portuguese is given status and valued in Japanese society, JB children's perceptions of inferiority will be reduced and can they develop their collective self-esteem. When they possess such self-esteem as JB, they are aware of the importance of their L1

maintenance. Thus, the employment of status planning helps JB children to minimize their perceptions of inferiority toward their heritage language/culture and to acknowledge the importance of their L1 maintenance.

A language-as-resource perspective can work to resolve JB children's language problems in L1 maintenance/development and perceptions of inferiority toward their heritage language/culture. When their L1 is sufficiently developed, then they can acquire higher L2 competence, and ultimately they can have academic success by managing to perfect CALP. Therefore, the language-as-resource perspective is more useful and appropriate to resolve JB children's language problems in Japan than the linguistic assimilation perspective. The Japanese government would be well-advised to adopt the language-as-resource perspective as a new language policy directive.

5. Conclusion

JB children are taught Japanese and school subjects in variety of ways. However, the ways they are taught are not sufficient to acquire a higher level of Japanese proficiency and to learn school subjects. This is supported by the fact that they confront various language problems in schools. In this chapter, five language problems in the educational settings were identified from a JB children's point of view as a bottom-up approach. Such problems can be divided into two types: (1) a language barrier problem between JB children and Japanese teachers/students caused by JB children's L2 ability, and (2) a problem of their L1 development/maintenance which gave rise to perceptions of inferiority towards their

heritage. Thus, it can be said that L1 maintenance/development is a necessary factor for JB children's language education program, and this factor must be reflected in their language education program. Then, two language policy directives were tested to see their usefulness and appropriateness to resolve JB children's language problems, and it was found that a new language policy directive with a language-as-resource perspective works better to resolve their language problems than the current Japanese language policy directive.

In the third chapter, from the government's top-down perspective, two language problems, (1) the acquisition of Japanese fluency and (2) the maintenance of linguistic minority children's mother tongue, were identified as these children's language problems. The Japanese government adopted the language-as-problem approach to resolve one language problem, namely, the low level of Japanese competence possessed by newcomer children such as JB children. Thus, the government has implemented a JSL education just for these children. However, there is another language problem in Japan, mother tongue maintenance of newcomer children, which the government does not concern itself with at all. Immigrant children such as JB children generally face the risk of becoming semilinguals who possess insufficient language ability in either language, and some examples of JB children who have difficulty in acquiring CALP or a higher level of L2 and who are losing their L1 competence while acquiring Japanese proficiency were demonstrated in this chapter. These children have possibility of becoming semilingual: when their L1 is not fully developed, their L2 is unlikely to be developed as well, so that they cannot successfully learn school subjects and

ultimately cannot function well in their host country. Moreover, from the educational and psychological points of view, as discussed in the literature review, losing L1 is not beneficial for newcomer children and their families. Thus, in the third chapter, the adoption of the language-as-resource approach to solve the language problems of newcomer children was proposed.

It was found that, from both a top-down approach and a bottom-up approach, Japan needs a new language policy directive designed specifically through a language-as-resource perspective. A language-as-resource perspective should address the way to raise status of Portuguese in Japanese society and the way to maintain and develop L1 as well as to acquire L2 for JB children. In order to maintain and develop L1, children need to be educated at school where their L1 is taught as a school subject or is used as the medium of instruction. Thus, JB children need support from schools which are essential institutions for them to develop their L1. By having appropriate language education at school, children can develop their L1 ability to the high level that helps them to acquire a sufficient level of L2 and that helps to have a better understanding of school subjects. Therefore, any new policy directive should consider incorporating two issues, (1) status planning for Portuguese and (2) a language education program for JB students, and the framework for these two issues will be explored in the next chapter.

Chapter V

Proposal for a Frame of Reference for a New Language Policy and Planning for JB Children

1. Introduction

As a new policy directive, a language-as-resource perspective was proposed in the previous chapter to raise the status of Portuguese and to help JB children's L1 maintenance/development as well as their L2 acquisition. Such a perspective can be realized by implementing both status planning and a language education program, and these are the main issues of this proposed policy directive.

Status planning is necessary because JB children exhibit perceptions of inferiority towards their heritage language and culture. In order to reduce such perceptions, they should maintain their L1 while acquiring L2, and their L1 should be given status in Japanese society. A language education program is necessary because JB students have difficulty in maintaining and developing their L1 while acquiring L2. They need support from schools to develop their L1. By having appropriate language education at school, children can develop their L1 ability to a high enough level that will help them to acquire a sufficient level of L2 and that will help them to have a better understanding of school subjects.

In this section, the content of both status planning and a language education program will be designed, with consideration of the practicality needed to implement such an ambitious program. Status planning should be designed to make Portuguese perceived as one of the prestigious languages by the Japanese people, and a language education program should be designed to make it possible for JB

children to develop their L1 as well as L2. These directives are not absolute but should be regarded as contextual frames of reference.

2. Status Planning

The aim of status planning is to raise Brazilian Portuguese status in Japanese society by making the Japanese people acknowledge Portuguese as important in the society. Thus, status planning must be designed to change Japanese people's perceptions toward Portuguese. Furthermore, the presence of JB in Japan should be acknowledged by the Japanese people, because this acknowledgement can help the Japanese people recognize the presence of Brazilian Portuguese as spoken by JB in Japanese society. Thus, emphasizing the presence of JB in Japanese society should be one of the functions of status planning. In order to design status planning, three issues are involved: governmental services, the media services, and education for Japanese students. The following subsections illustrate the contents of these three issues.

2.1. *Governmental Services*

Under status planning, both national and local governments should produce governmental publications relevant to JB in Japanese and Brazilian Portuguese. By demonstrating the presence of Portuguese in governmental publications, Japanese people also have more chance to recognize the presence of JB in Japanese society. In order to create such publications, both national and local governments need bilingual staff who can understand Japanese and Portuguese.

Furthermore, a local government should supply bilingual staff when the population of JB's exceeds 1% of the total population in its controlling region. Statistically JB's population concentrates only in certain cities in Japan: Toyota and Toyohashi in the prefecture of Aichi, Hamamatsu in Shizuoka, Oizumi and Ota in Gunma (Onai, 2003). JB's in each of these cities occupy 1.7% (Toyota-city, 2003b; 2003c), 2.56% (Toyohashi-city, 2003a), 2.13% (Hamamatsu-city, 2003), 11.45% (Oizumi-town, 2003; Onai, 2003), and 2.32% (Ota-city, 2003) of the total residents, respectively. As a matter of fact, these local governments have already had bilingual staff in Japanese and Portuguese to serve JB's, due to necessity (Komai, 1997; Toyohashi-city, 2003b; Toyota-city, 2003a).

2.2. The Media Service

The new approach to status planning should encourage the media to provide more information about JB's, since the media is a powerful tool to show the presence of JB's to the Japanese people. When the presence of JB's is acknowledged by the Japanese people, Brazilian Portuguese also can be recognized by them because this is their language. Radio and TV programs can introduce stories about JB's, the Portuguese language, and Brazil, and some of these programs can be broadcast in Portuguese with Japanese subtitles. In 1996 there was one Portuguese satellite channel in Japan (Ikegami, 2001), and in 2003 some radio stations, such as FM K-City and Love FM (Kyusyu International FM), broadcast programs in Portuguese (see Yahoo Japan, 2003).

NHK (*Nihon Housou Kyoukai*) should play a key role in providing programs about Portuguese, JB's, and Brazil. Since it has been a central governmental

organization in implementing corpus planning, it should function as the organization for implementing status planning as well. NHK currently broadcasts language education programs on TV for the Japanese people, teaching English, Chinese, French, Italian, Russian, Korean, German, and Spanish (NHK, 2004a). A Portuguese language education program on TV should be included in this list. NHK also broadcasts various language education programs on the radio where Portuguese is broadcast as well as other languages (NHK, 2004b). Portuguese language education programs on both TV and radio should provide not only Portuguese lessons but also information about Brazil and its culture.

The amount of broadcast time for Portuguese programs on Radio NHK is less than other languages such as English and Chinese. English programs are allocated the largest amount of broadcasting time, having several types of English programs a day, and six days a week (NHK, 2004b). Other language programs – German, Korean, French, Spanish, Chinese, Russian, and Italian – are broadcast for one program a day, and six days a week (NHK, 2004b). The amount of time spent on the Portuguese program is less than these languages: it is broadcast one program a day, and five days a week. The time allocation for the Portuguese program should be the same as these languages. Ideally, it should be the same as English programs. When the Portuguese program has the same amount of time allocation to other language programs, it can be said that Portuguese status is raised in NHK. Since the NHK is an influential institution, as noted in Chapter 3, the Japanese people may change their perceptions toward Portuguese by viewing and listening to NHK's programs. They may come to regard Portuguese as one of the prestigious languages.

Newspapers and magazines can also be an effective tool to introduce Brazil, Portuguese, and JBs to the Japanese people. There are four Portuguese newspapers in Japan in 2001, which are sold in convenience stores where JBs concentrate (Ikegami, 2001). Circulating these publications helps the Japanese people to be more aware of the presence of JBs in Japan, since the Japanese people have more chance to see such publications. The most important issue in relation to the media service is to expose the Japanese people to Portuguese as well as information about JBs. When they are exposed to these, they will increase recognition about the presence of JBs and the language that they speak.

2.3. Education for Japanese Students

Status planning should also contain a way to educate Japanese students, aiming at changing Japanese students' perceptions toward JBs and Portuguese through the education system. In order to realize this change, Brazilian Portuguese could be taught to Japanese students as a school subject.

Teaching Brazilian Portuguese helps Japanese students to enhance their consciousness toward JB students and Portuguese. Onai (2003) conducted a survey to see how Japanese students in Grade 5 and Grade 8 perceive having JB friends. This result demonstrated that about half of the students think that having JB children as friends gives them an opportunity to expand their interest in the world. However, they answered that they want to study English, not Portuguese, to fulfill their interest toward the world, even though they have JB friends (Onai, 2003). Their answer is caused by the low status of Portuguese and the high status of English in Japan. This result suggests that having JB friends does not change

Japanese students' perceptions toward Portuguese. In order to make Japanese students realize that Portuguese as international a language as English, and thus worthwhile studying, Brazilian Portuguese should be treated similarly to English in educational settings. It is a fact that a majority of Japanese public schools teach English as a school subject, which is supported by the following evidence: (1) there were no Assistant Language Teachers (ALTs) for Portuguese in 2002, whereas there were about 5,600 ALTs for English in 2002 (MEXT, 2002); and (2) MEXT implemented the plan, the Action Plan to Cultivate 'the Japanese with English Abilities' in 2003, which aims at improving the level of English language education in the next five years (2003a). Teaching English as a subject at school is one of the reasons why the Japanese people perceive English as a prestigious language. Thus, in order to raise Portuguese status in Japanese society, it is necessary to adopt Portuguese and Brazilian culture as a school subject. Having similar treatment to English, the status of Brazilian Portuguese can be perceived as similar to English.

When a school runs a language education program for JB students, which will be discussed later in this chapter, Brazilian culture and Brazilian Portuguese must be taught as a school subject to Japanese students. This is important, because teaching this subject can raise Japanese students' consciousness toward JB students' language and culture. As a result, Japanese students would be more motivated to communicate with JB students, and a friendship could be established between Japanese and JB students.

In order to teach Brazilian Portuguese and culture to Japanese students, schools should utilize the time slot of a 'Period for Integrated Study' under the

Courses of Study. MEXT implemented the new Courses of Study as part of the standard curriculum in 2002, which provides schools with flexibility in teaching content, moral education, and special activities, whereby schools are allowed to set specific content in each subject based on the particular needs of the children in their school district (MEXT, 2003b). In elementary schools, a 'Period for Integrated Study' under the Courses of Study has been implemented, where foreign language conversation can be taught as a subject for international understanding (MEXT, 2003d). Students of Grade 3 and above at elementary school have three school hours a week as their 'Period for Integrated Study' (MEXT, 2001).

The Brazilian Portuguese language and Brazilian culture are to be combined as one school subject, and this will be taught in the time slot of a 'Period for Integrated Study' as International Understanding. Curriculum and teaching materials have to be developed to teach Brazilian Portuguese and culture. The development of these resources will be under the charge of MEXT, since MEXT has already developed a teachers' manual and implemented a teacher training system for English study in elementary schools. It can adopt its know-how acquired by the development of a support system for English study to the development of a support system for Portuguese study. Additionally, MEXT can hire Assistant Language Teachers (ALTs) from Brazil who can engage in teaching Portuguese to Japanese students through the Japan Exchange and Teaching (JET) program. In this way, Japanese students will be taught Brazilian Portuguese and culture three school hours a week when their school has a language program for JB students.

Additionally, higher educational institutions should have a Portuguese course. Middle schools and high schools will have Portuguese as a school subject, so that Japanese students who learned Portuguese at elementary school can continue to study it. Universities will possess a Portuguese department where students can major in Portuguese and Brazilian culture. High school students are allowed to take Portuguese as their elective subject for their university entrance exams. By being taught Brazilian Portuguese and culture, and by being provided Portuguese courses in higher educational institutions, Japanese students can nurture the sense that Portuguese is a prestigious language.

3. A Language Education Program for Japanese-Brazilian Children

As part of a new language policy directive, a language education program will be designed and implemented for JB students. They will learn Japanese as well as develop their Portuguese, so that a bilingual program is appropriate for their new language program, which can apply equally to all schools possessing a sufficient number of JB children. This program should be designed on the basis of other language programs' frameworks implemented in the world, for which many researchers have already studied the advantages and disadvantages (see Baker, 2001). The list of frameworks for bilingual education programs in the world by Nunan and Lam (1998), as introduced in the Literature Review, is applied in this section to determine what type of bilingual education program is appropriate for JB children.

Additionally, in order to choose an appropriate framework and design of a bilingual program for JB children, the following points must be considered: (1) who teaches students, (2) how are students taught (withdrawal, segregation, immersion etc.), (3) when do they start to have the language program, (4) how long they will have instruction in the majority language and how long in the minority language (one year or two years etc.), (5) how much they will have instruction in the majority language in a day and how much in the minority language (50/50 or 20/80, etc.), and (6) what kind of bilinguals they should be raised as (see Kaplan, 1994). In the following section, a bilingual program for JB children will be designed by taking these issues into consideration.

3.1. The Number of Japanese-Brazilian Students Needed to Operate a Bilingual Program

The number of JB children must be sufficient enough to operate a bilingual program because developing and implementing such program is an expensive project for a government. As current practice, when a school has more than eight newcomer students, a school board assigns an extra teacher to the school who engages in teaching Japanese to these children. The following demonstrate examples of this teacher allocation. Oizumi in Gunma where the proportion of JB's concentration is the highest in Japan has a substantial number of JB children in each school: School A possesses 22 JB students, School B possesses 85, School C possesses 71, and School D possesses 22 (Onai, 2003). School A has one teacher who engages in teaching JB children, School B has 2 teachers, School C has 2 teachers, and School D has one teacher. In addition to 'Japanese Class' teachers, each school is provided one bilingual instructor who speaks Portuguese and Japanese to teach JB children

and to do a translation work (Onai, 2003). School N in Ogaki in the prefecture of Gifu has about 30 JB students, and the school had appointed two teachers and one bilingual instructor to teach them (Nishi-elementary school, 2001). These data indicate that either one teacher or instructor is assigned to teach about eight JB students. Thus, eight JB students in a bilingual education class can be regarded as the minimum number for providing JB children with a bilingual program from the practical point of view.

There are two possible ways to teach JB children in a bilingual program: (1) a school organizes a bilingual program for JB students if more than eight JB students are in the school, and (2) a school board organizes a bilingual program for them in one school if each school in the school board's controlling region has less than eight JB students. In the latter case, JB students are gathered in one school to make it possible to establish a bilingual program.

3.2. Types of Bilingual Programs for Linguistic Minority Children

In order to design a bilingual program, May's (2001) scale, as introduced in the Literature Review, is useful to see in which direction the government should head in order to design a program for linguistic minority students.

The Japanese government is currently at Stage 1. The government thinks that JB children have educational disadvantages because they use Portuguese; thus, it promotes linguistic assimilation to resolve their educational disadvantages. However, this policy directive has proven to not resolve most of the JB children's language problems. The current system of JSL education is only concerned with the development of their L2, so that these children cannot develop their L1. In order to

maintain and develop JB children's L1 ability as well as to acquire L2 proficiency, the Japanese government should be at least at Stage 4 in the scale. At Stage 4, linguistic minority children are educated in a transitional bilingual program where they can remain bilinguals, though they are less likely to become balanced bilinguals as they would in language maintenance programs offered under Stage 5 and 6 (see Baker, 2001). Thus, the government should ideally be at Stage 5. In order to be at least at Stage 4, the government needs to employ the proposed new language policy directives, since such directives encourages to raise status of minority languages and to implement a bilingual education program for linguistic minority children.

A government can offer two types of bilingual education programs for linguistic minority children: transitional and maintenance (Nunan & Lam, 1998). A transitional bilingual program refers to a program where all or most of the school subjects are taught linguistic minority students in their L1 for a certain period of time, and then they are transferred to the mainstream classes where all subjects are taught in their L2 (Nunan & Lam, 1998). This program aims to shift linguistic minority children's proficient language from a home language (L1) to the dominant language (L2), and these children are often taught in their L1 until being proficient enough in their L2 to study with students in mainstream classes (Baker, 2001). In contrast, a language maintenance program refers to a program which gives value to a minority language and regards the minority language as a target language (Nunan & Lam, 1998). This program aims to raise linguistic minority children as balanced bilinguals who possess fully developed competence in both L1 and L2 (Baker &

Jones, 1998), by encouraging them to maintain their L1 as well as to affirm their ethnic cultural identity (Baker, 2001). Thus, language maintenance bilingual education program is considered to be an ideal language program for raising linguistic minority children as balanced bilinguals.

The implementation of language maintenance education is difficult in contemporary Japan, due to the small number of JB students. Only 4,955 JB students were enrolled in public elementary school in 2003 (MEXT, 2004), occupying a mere 0.069% of the total number of public elementary school students in Japan (see MEXT, 2003c). Due to the small number of JB students, the Japanese people and government are not keenly concerned with such students: they do not recognize the importance of a heritage culture/language for JB students and do not realize that such students need to maintain and develop L1 for the acquisition of better L2 competence. The recognition of the importance of minority cultures/languages by the dominant group is an essential condition to implement a language maintenance education at Stage 5, according to May's (2001) scale. The Japanese people and their government have not yet reached Stage 5. Onai (2003) provides the evidence of this in a survey he conducted in Oizumi, where JB concentration is the highest in Japan. In response to how Japanese parents who have school age children perceive JBs and JB children, most parents answered that they do not support the idea that JB children should be educated in their L1. Japan's level of awareness has not yet reached the point where support for the implementation of language maintenance education is automatic, so that it is difficult to implement such program.

Because of this reason, a transitional bilingual language program is best chosen as the type of a bilingual program possible for JB children, allowing the Japanese government to be at Stage 4 of May's (2001) scale. The following sections will illustrate the framework for such a transitional bilingual program.

3.3. The Length of a Transitional Bilingual Program for JB Students

When JB students first enrol in a school, they will not be assigned to a 'Regular Class' but to a transitional bilingual program. JB students are taught all school subjects separately from Japanese students until the completion of this program. The length of study in this program is determined by a student's experience with previous school education in Brazil.

When a student does not have a history of school education in Brazil, s/he studies in the bilingual program for four years, and then moves to a 'Regular Class' in her/his fifth year to study with Japanese students. To study in the program for four years is determined by two reasons. The first reason is based on research results. A transitional bilingual education program can be categorized into two types: Early-exit and Late-exit (Baker & Jones, 1998). In the Early-exit, children usually study around two years using their home language, then they are transferred to mainstream classes; whereas in the Late-exit, students' mother tongue is used in 40% of the classroom teaching by the sixth grade (Baker & Jones, 1998). Research results in the U.S. demonstrated that children in the Early-exit program showed little difference in the academic performance from children in the Late-exit by the end of the third grade; however, by the sixth grade, students in the Late-exit showed higher academic performance than children in the Early-exit (Baker & Jones, 1998). Thus,

it is better for children to study in their L1 for longer than 2 years for their academic success. The second reason is that separation is undesirable to realize successful co-existence between Japanese students and JB students in a school; after all, they are ultimately in charge of realizing co-existence with each other in Japanese society in the future (Onai, 2003). Onai (2003) conducted research asking Japanese students in Grade 5 and Grade 8 about how many JB friends they have. Grade 5 students have more JB friends than Grade 8 students, though in terms of overall number of friends, Grade 8 students have more friends than Grade 5 students. Additionally, Onai (2003) found a fact that Japanese students tend to have more JB friends when the number of JB students in a school is significantly high: School B and C have more JB students than School A and D, and Japanese students in School B and C have more JB friends than those in School A and D. These results can be interpreted as Japanese younger children tending to accept JB children as their friends easier than older children. Taking this result into consideration, it seems to be better to mainstream JB children as early as possible. Thus, the length of the bilingual program should be a little longer than 2-3 years, but shorter than 6 years, and so that it is set for 4 years.

When a JB student has had school education in Brazil for more than two years, s/he starts her/his study in the third or fourth year of a bilingual class. Such students need fewer years to study a bilingual program than students who have not had school education experience in Brazil, because their L1 is much more developed than the latter students. If students' L1 is sufficiently developed, they can acquire

L2 easily and can do well academically, as suggested by the Thresholds Hypothesis and the Interdependence Hypothesis.

3.4. Language Used as a Medium of Instruction in a Transitional Bilingual Program

The amount of the time JB students have instruction in Portuguese and in Japanese in a day changes according to the year of students' enrolment in a transitional bilingual program. In the first and second year of this program, students are all taught in Portuguese except the subject of 'the Japanese Language.' In the third and fourth year, they are taught in Portuguese in the morning and in Japanese in the afternoon. JB children in the third and fourth year class are taught Japanese in the time slot of both 'the Japanese language' and 'International Understanding.' Thus, a school has to provide two classrooms for a transitional program: one for the first and second year students, and another for the third and fourth year students. When students completed a transitional bilingual program and transferred to a 'Regular Class,' they still study Brazilian history and culture in Portuguese in the time slot of 'International Understanding' by either a bilingual instructor or a monolingual Portuguese instructor.

3.5. Instructors in a Transitional Bilingual Program

An instructor in a transitional bilingual program should be bilingual in both Portuguese and Japanese. They teach all subjects in a bilingual class, so that a school needs to have two bilingual teachers to engage in teaching each bilingual class (the first/second year class and the third/fourth year class).

When a school board cannot find a bilingual instructor, both a monolingual Portuguese instructor and a monolingual Japanese instructor will teach in a bilingual

program. A school needs to have two Portuguese teachers and one Japanese teacher in order to operate a transitional bilingual program: one Portuguese teacher teaches subjects to students in the first and second year class in Portuguese, and another Portuguese teacher teaches subjects to students in the third and fourth year class in Portuguese. A Japanese teacher teaches regular school subjects in Japanese in the third and fourth year class, and also teaches ‘the Japanese Language’ and ‘International Understanding’ in all classes of the bilingual program.

3.6. Resource Development

In order to run a transitional bilingual education program successfully, the development of resources becomes important in respect to four issues. First, such program needs to have either Portuguese monolingual instructors or bilingual instructors in Japanese and Portuguese. Both monolingual Portuguese and bilingual instructors can be recruited through the JET program, if they are not available in Japan. They have to possess a teaching certificate in either Brazil or Japan. Second, MEXT must develop a program at universities to produce teachers who specialize in teaching Japanese and school subjects to children whose mother tongue is Portuguese. They would study Portuguese as well as methods for teaching children whose mother tongue is not Japanese. When they complete this program, they can be certified to become teachers in bilingual programs. Preferably they should become proficient bilinguals. Third, all Japanese students who wish to be teachers in Japanese public schools must take some courses related to second language acquisition in universities as a prerequisite. Even a small amount of knowledge about second language acquisition can help teachers to teach JB children when these

children are mainstreamed and assigned to their 'Regular Class.' Fourth, textbooks and other teaching materials have to be developed. Two types of textbooks are necessary: those written in Portuguese, and those written in Japanese which are designed for non-native Japanese speakers.

Since MEXT and the Agency for Cultural Affairs possess the know-how needed to develop Japanese and English language education programs, as introduced in the third chapter, they are capable of developing such resources for the Portuguese education program in consultation with local schools.

4. Conclusion

The current language education experience that JB children has been receiving in public elementary schools is not sufficient to learn Japanese and school subjects for them. Thus, they confront various language problems in schools. In order to resolve these language problems, both status planning and a language education program were designed as new language policy directives within the frame of reference in this chapter.

Status planning was proposed to raise the status of Portuguese in Japanese society. This involves three inter-related issues: governmental services, the media services, and education for Japanese students. Under status planning, national and local governments must provide their publications relevant to JBs in Portuguese as well as in Japanese. A local government also must hire bilingual staff to serve JBs if a city possesses JBs who compose of more than 1% of the total population of the city. The media provide some services in Portuguese; specifically, NHK should

broadcast Portuguese language education programs on TV and radio in order to make the Japanese people familiar with Portuguese and Brazilian culture. As status planning through the educational perspective, the adoption of Brazilian Portuguese and culture as a school subject for Japanese students was proposed. Japanese students would be taught Brazilian Portuguese and culture as a subject in the 'Period for Integrated Study,' if their school runs a transitional bilingual program for JB students. Teaching Brazilian Portuguese and culture to Japanese students is important, because this can help Japanese students nurture the perception that Portuguese is as prestigious as English. English has been taught as a school subject in Japan for a long time, so that its status is consolidated in educational settings and students regard it as a prestigious language. When Portuguese is treated similarly to English, the students are encouraged to raise their consciousness toward Brazilian Portuguese and culture. Being taught Portuguese and Brazilian culture as a school subject can help to change Japanese students' perceptions toward Portuguese, and ultimately, the status of Portuguese can be best raised in educational setting.

As a language education program for JB children to help maintain and develop their L1 while acquiring their L2, a bilingual program was proposed. The current system of JSL education is only concerned with the development of their L2, so that these children cannot develop their L1. JB children need to enrol in a bilingual program where they can maintain and develop their L1 ability as well as acquire L2 proficiency. There are two types of bilingual programs: transitional and maintenance. A language maintenance program is an ideal program for linguistic minority children, because they are likely to be raised as balanced bilinguals when

educated in this type of program (see Baker, 2001). However, the implementation of language maintenance education is difficult in contemporary Japan, since the Japanese people and their government are not keenly concerned with JB students due to the small number of such students in Japan. They do not recognize the importance of heritage culture/language for JB students, and thus are not supportive of such students' L1 maintenance education. Due to this reason, a transitional bilingual language program was chosen as the appropriate bilingual program for JB children. In this program, JB students have at first little interaction with Japanese teachers since they are taught mostly by a Portuguese instructor; in addition, they do not have any contact with Japanese students since they are taught in a bilingual class for four years separately from Japanese students. Thus, they cannot develop BICS within six months. However, they can develop their L1 and can learn Japanese as a school subject. When they are transferred to the mainstream class, they can acquire BICS easily because they have a basic knowledge of Japanese learned in a bilingual class. Moreover, they can develop CALP because their L1 is sufficiently developed.

The framework of a transitional bilingual program demonstrated in this chapter is not absolute, but should be rather treated as a reference guide, so that every school and school board can modify this framework in order to fit to the needs of JB children and community. Flexibility is important for schools and school boards to operate an appropriate transitional bilingual program for JB children.

In order to realize Portuguese education for Japanese students and a transitional bilingual program for JB children, MEXT and the Agency for Cultural Affairs (ACA) must provide the support needed to develop resources. They have

already developed teacher training systems, teaching materials for teachers, and study materials for students to implement Japanese education for foreigners and English education for Japanese students, as demonstrated in the third chapter. This know-how obtained from the development and implementation of such educations can now apply to develop Portuguese education for Japanese students and a transitional bilingual education for JB students.

This chapter has illustrated a framework for two issues of new language policy directives, status planning and language education program, as a reference guide. The employment of status planning and a bilingual program would help to deal with future language problems when Japan accepts more migrant workers' children in the future. Furthermore, the employment of these directives could lead Japan to transform to a new society where the status of Brazilian Portuguese would be raised and the importance of L1 maintenance/development for JB children would be recognized. In this new society, ultimately the Japanese people can realize successful co-existence with linguistic minorities in Japanese society. The next and final chapter will explore what factors can lead Japan to establish this new society.

Chapter VI

Conclusion: Proposals Toward Multiculturalism

1. Reasons to Resolve Language Problems of Japanese-Brazilian Children

This paper focused on JB children who compose the largest ethnic group among groups of newcomer children in Japanese public elementary schools, although their number is very small. Particularly, JB children's language problems in educational settings were examined to find solutions. This issue was focused on because of the following reasons. First, its solutions will be applicable to also deal with languages of other linguistic minority groups that Japan currently possesses. Second, its solutions can be applicable to future problems that educational settings will confront when Japan accepts more migrant workers from Latin America than today in order to fulfill shortages in its productive labor force. Third, Japan has ratified the Convention of the Rights of the Child (CRC) in 1994 (Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2004). The first two reasons were introduced in Chapter 1; however, the third reason has not discussed yet so that this will be explained in the following.

The Convention of the Rights of the Child (CRC) does not refer specifically to children of migrant workers; however, it is clear from the content of this convention that this could be applicable to all children in a state that has ratified this (see UNHCHR, 2002). Japan violates Article 29 of the CRC, which addresses that a state agrees on giving a child an education sufficient to develop respect for her/his cultural identity, as well as the language and values of both countries in which s/he is living and s/he originates. Japan promotes the acquisition of Japanese language, culture and values to JB children in order to assimilate them into Japanese society,

but does not take any actions to promote the language, cultural identity and values of their originating country. As a result of this lack, Japan has inadvertently helped JB children to possess perceptions of inferiority towards their heritage language and culture, so that these children no longer not want to maintain their heritage language/culture. If they do not maintain their L1, they cannot possess better L2 proficiency and cannot have academic success. The Japanese government's oversight of this aspect of the CRC has negative impacts on JB children. Japan has to work to erase these negative impacts by resolving their language problems, because Japan has ratified the CRC.

Because of the three reasons demonstrated above, Japan should resolve language problems that both Japanese public schools and JB children currently confront. By discussing such solutions, this paper has been approaching the goal as addressed in Chapter 1: to propose the most appropriate ways in which the Japanese people and their government should regard various minority languages in Japan for successful co-existence with linguistic minorities. In this final chapter, all the issues discussed in previous chapters will be incorporated to realize this goal. Particularly, two issues, ((1) identifying language problems of JB children and (2) proposing a new language policy directive as a reference guide for solutions for such problems), were explored in this paper. In this final chapter, both findings of JB children's language problems and proposals for Japan's new language policy directives will be summarized. Then, the factors that Japan needs to achieve successful co-existence will be re-iterated. The final section will propose the type of societal change which Japan should work towards.

2. Summary of both Findings about JB Children's Language Problems and Proposals for Japan's New Language Policy Directives

This section summarizes both findings about JB children's language problems and proposals for Japan's new language policy directives. Furthermore, as part of such directives, transitional bilingual program was proposed; however, this program has a few limitations, so that these limitations will be introduced. Then, a suggestion for the future language education program for migrant workers' children will be offered.

2.1. Summary of Findings about JB Children's Language Problems

Both identifying JB children's language problems and finding solutions for such problems were approached from two directions: the government's top-down approach and the JB children's bottom-up approach. From the government's top-down perspective, a low level of Japanese competence possessed by newcomer children was identified as a language problem. In order to solve this, the Japanese government promotes linguistic assimilation by encouraging such children to acquire Japanese through a Japanese as a Second Language (JSL) education program in schools. The government provides them with support for acquiring Japanese; on the other hand, it does not take any actions to help the children to maintain their mother tongues.

From the JB children's bottom-up approach, various language problems in schools were identified and categorized into two types: (1) a language barrier problem between JB children and Japanese teachers/students caused by JB children's L2 ability, and (2) a problem of JB children's L1 development/maintenance which gave rise to perceptions of inferiority toward their

heritage. In order to resolve these problems, it was found that Japan needs a new language policy directive designed through a language-as-resource perspective.

2.2. Summary of Japan's New Language Policy Directives

As new language policy directives, it was proposed that Japan should implement status planning for Brazilian Portuguese and a transitional bilingual program for JB students. Although these directives were designed specifically for JBs, these are also applicable when each linguistic minority group has a substantial number of people.

Status planning was proposed to raise Brazilian Portuguese status in Japanese society by making the Japanese people acknowledge Portuguese as important in the society, since Portuguese is not regarded as important in Japan. This planning was founded on three issues as its pillars: governmental services, the media services, and education for Japanese students. Particularly, it was proposed that Portuguese should be treated similarly to English in Japanese society, because this encourages the Japanese people to realize Portuguese as international a language as English. In order to raise Portuguese status, this thesis proposed two points: (1) to broadcast Portuguese language programs on TV and radio by NHK and (2) to adopt Portuguese and Brazilian culture as a school subject.

As part of a new language policy directive, a transitional bilingual program was proposed as the best bilingual education program for JB children, and its framework was demonstrated as a guide in Chapter 5. By being educated in this program, JB students can develop their L1. Possessing a sufficient level of L1 is an

essential condition for them to acquire a higher level of L2 and to achieve academic success.

2.3. Limitations of Transitional Bilingual Program and a Suggestion for the Future Language Education Program for Migrant Workers' Children

A transitional bilingual program was proposed for JB children's language education program as a new language policy directive. This program has three limitations. First, a transitional bilingual program is less effective to raise linguistic minority children as balanced bilinguals than a language maintenance program, as pointed out in the Literature Review. A language maintenance program is ideal for linguistic minority children to enrol in; however, it is difficult for the current Japanese government to implement a language maintenance program, since both the Japanese government itself and the Japanese people do not recognize the importance of JB students' heritage culture/language. According to May (2001), this recognition is a prerequisite to implement language maintenance education for linguistic minorities. Due to this reason, a transitional bilingual program was chosen for JB students' language education program so that they can develop their L1 as well as learn their L2.

The second limitation of the proposed transitional bilingual program is that this program was designed for students who are from one linguistic minority group, JBs, so that this does not work when a 'Japanese Class' in a school has students from various minority language backgrounds. In a real situation, many schools have established a 'Japanese Class' for newcomer children, but the class usually has JB students as well as other linguistic minority students such as Spanish and Chinese speakers (Nishi-elementary school, 2001; Noyama & Yuki, 2003; Okada, 2000; Ota,

2000). The third limitation is that a 'Japanese Class' in a school has to have at least eight students from the same linguistic background to operate. As data from MEXT (2004) indicate, about 80% of schools possess only 1-4 linguistic minority students as their JSL students in each school. When a school is in either the second situation or the third, the proposed transitional bilingual program is unable to be implemented. These schools have to teach such children by the 'withdrawal' method as currently employed.

Although the proposed transitional bilingual program has limitations, some schools in regions where JB's concentrate can adopt this program now. As mentioned in the earlier chapter, JB's tend to concentrate in particular regions. The reasons why these regions attract JB's can be explained by the following: (1) their ethnic community has been already established in these regions (Ikegami, 2001; Noyama, 1997; Onai, 2003) so that living there is more comfortable than living in other cities, and (2) companies in these areas are motivated to hire migrant workers to fulfill the shortages in the labor force and so that jobs are available for such workers (Noyama, 1997). This tendency could continue for a while, as long as Japan keeps the Immigration Law as it is. Due to this law, Japan only accepts Nikkei migrant workers from Latin America in order to compensate for the lack of domestic labor force. If Japan accepts more Nikkei migrant workers from Latin America in the future, they are likely to live in these regions because such regions attract them. This suggests that the number of their children in these regions would increase as well. Thus, the transitional bilingual program proposed in this paper is a necessary program to educate Nikkei children in these areas not only today but also

in the future. A school in these regions may in fact need to establish a transitional bilingual program for two languages, one for Portuguese and one for Spanish.

This paper proposed a transitional bilingual program for JB students' language education, since this program is suitable to Japan's current social conditions. In the future, however, a language maintenance program should be implemented in order to raise immigrant children as balanced bilinguals. A language maintenance education is considered to be able to raise these children as balanced bilinguals, since this education aims at developing respect not only for their host country's culture and language but also for their originating country's (Baker, 2001).

In order to implement a language maintenance program, the Japanese government and the Japanese people have to be aware of the importance of L1 maintenance/development for linguistic minorities. First, the government must recognize the importance of L1 maintenance/development for linguistic minorities. When the government has recognized it, status planning proposed in the previous chapter will be implemented. As a result of this implementation, the Japanese people can perceive minority languages as important. Ultimately, to design and implement a language maintenance program for JB children will be possible. Furthermore, having this recognition makes it possible for them to establish a society where they can co-exist harmoniously with linguistic minorities in Japanese society. The establishment of such a society is a goal that this paper aims for, and the following sections will explore the factors that Japan needs to achieve this goal.

3. The Factors that Japan Needs to Achieve the Goal

The employment of status planning and a transitional bilingual program as new language policy directives was proposed to solve current JB children's language problems and to deal with future language problems when Japan accepts more migrant workers' children in the future. When these new policy directives are accomplished, the Japanese government and the Japanese people will come to give value to three concepts: integration, multiculturalism, and internationalization. By realizing these, they can co-exist with linguistic minorities successfully in Japanese society. The following sections describe why these three concepts make it possible to lead Japan to establish a society where the Japanese people can co-exist successfully with linguistic minorities.

3.1. Integration of Linguistic Minorities into Japanese Society

Japan currently takes a linguistic assimilation approach toward newcomer children, by encouraging them to acquire Japanese proficiency. If a society wishes to establish harmonious co-existence between immigrants and members of a dominant group, people should not take an assimilation approach, because this approach can create unfavorable consequences in the society. It enhances ethnocentric and authoritarian ideologies among the dominant members, and creates prejudice towards immigrants by developing an attitude of avoidance (Montreuil & Bourhis, 2001). Additionally, under linguistic assimilation, immigrant children are unlikely to maintain their L1 while acquiring L2, as demonstrated in Chapters 2 and 4.

People from a dominant group have to change their attitude from assimilation to integration for the establishment of successful co-existence between immigrants

and dominant members in a society, since integration enhances positive inter-ethnic contacts among people (Montreuil & Bourhis, 2001; Zick, Wagner, van Dick, & Petzel, 2001), and do not emphasize authoritarian nor ethnocentric views in dominant members (Montreuil & Bourhis, 2001). Therefore, members of a dominant group should adopt an integration attitude if they wish to co-exist with immigrants in a society.

An integration attitude also gives favorable effects to immigrant children. Such an attitude is an additive attitude that immigrant children take whereby they can possess two cultures without conflicts that they feel between acquiring host culture/language and maintaining their heritage (Gibson, 1998; Neto 2002). This attitude also promotes bilingualism by accommodating two cultures/languages within individuals (Portes & Hao, 2002); thus, by taking an integration attitude, immigrant children can maintain their L1 while acquiring L2. It can also be said that such children are placed in an additive bilingualism situation where the development of L1 ability is not interfered with by L2 acquisition; at the same time, the acquisition of L2 is not interfered with by L1 development. In this situation, immigrant children are likely to become proficient in both languages, having positive attitudes to both L1 and L2. When they are proficient in both languages, they are more likely to be successful academically. In addition, when they adopt an integration attitude, they can accommodate two cultures/languages within themselves. They do not have to replace their heritage culture/language by acquiring their host culture/language; consequently, they can maintain their heritage and this helps to develop collective self-esteem. Collective self-esteem refers to

one's feeling of identifying oneself as a member of one's belonging group (Wright & Taylor, 1995), a necessary psychological attainment for immigrant children to reduce perceptions of inferiority towards their heritage. The case of JB children who needed to erase their perceptions of inferiority, as illustrated in Chapter 4, is a good example of immigrant children who need to take an integration attitude. When they possess collective self-esteem, they can maintain their L1; consequently, they can also acquire a higher level of L2 and can do well academically. Thus, immigrant children should take an integration attitude if they want to live successfully in a host country by accommodating two cultures/languages.

When both immigrants and members of a dominant group adopt an integration attitude, it is possible for Japan to be able to become a society where both of them can co-exist harmoniously with each other. This is possible because immigrant are encouraged to accommodate two cultures/language within themselves and the members of a dominant group are unlikely to possess ethnocentric views and are likely to make positive inter-ethnic contacts.

3.2. Multiculturalism

As pointed out in the Literature Review, a national policy is influential in achieving acculturation attitudes of the dominant group members. When a government implements an assimilation strategy towards immigrants, members of the dominant group tend to adopt an assimilation strategy towards immigrants. In contrast, when a government implements multiculturalism, such members tend to take an integration attitude towards them (Zick, Wagner, van Dick, & Petzel, 2001; Montreuil & Bourhis, 2001). Thus, a government attitude towards immigrants

ultimately affects the acculturation strategies that members of a dominant group take toward immigrants. This suggests that it is necessary for a government to adopt the appropriate acculturation attitude towards immigrants if the government wishes to establish a society where members of a dominant group and immigrants co-exist harmoniously with each other.

Multiculturalism is a national policy that promotes the maintenance of cultural diversity for the entire society, and that requires each individual to accommodate to that diversity (Berry, 2001). In order to realize multiculturalism in a state, people need to secure their own cultural identity before they accept people from different cultural backgrounds (Berry, 2001). Thus, developing collective self-esteem is essential for each individual. Under multiculturalism, immigrants can maintain their heritage culture as well as adopt their host culture (Grosfoguel, 1997; cited in Phinney, Horenczyk, Liebkind, & Vedder, 2001, Icduygu, 1996; cited in Phinney, Horenczyk, Liebkind, & Vedder, 2001). Furthermore, multiculturalism formally promotes minority language maintenance together with the accommodation to the majority language (May, 2001). People who belong to the majority group and only speak a majority language are asked to accommodate to minority languages by recognizing the status of minority languages (May, 2001). Therefore, linguistic plurality and cultural diversity in a society can be established under multiculturalism.

Japan is a multilingual society where various languages are spoken by linguistic minorities including immigrants. The Japanese government does not recognize the importance of L1 maintenance for immigrants; as a result, it does not give any support for this maintenance to them, but rather it promotes linguistic

assimilation. In order to help immigrant children to maintain their L1 and in order to make it possible to establish a society where both immigrants and the Japanese people can live together harmoniously, the government should adopt multiculturalism as a national policy.

Status planning as proposed in this thesis can lead Japan to adopt and implement multiculturalism, because such planning makes it possible for the Japanese people to recognize the importance of Brazilian Portuguese in Japan through education. Specifically, being taught Brazilian Portuguese and Brazilian culture at school, Japanese students can recognize the presence of Portuguese, Brazilian culture, and JBs in Japanese society. When they recognize such presence, they would be sensitive to other minority languages and linguistic minorities, so that they can see that Japan has various languages, cultures and people in the society. As a result of the recognition of one minority language, Japanese students can recognize the presence of other minority languages and to be aware of linguistic diversity in Japan. Then, the Japanese students will recognize Japan as a multilingual society, where not only the Japanese people but also other language speakers are living. Consequently, they will come to acknowledge multiculturalism as necessary concepts for a multilingual Japan because this is the policy that can help people from different cultural/linguistic backgrounds co-exist harmoniously in a society.

3.3. Internationalization of the Japanese People

The Japanese government considers English to be the most important international language for the Japanese, because English is one of the common languages in the

world, helping people from different linguistic backgrounds to communicate with each other and connecting Japan with the rest of the world (MEXT, 2003). Internationalization of the Japanese people is one current language policy characteristic among the four language policy ideologies that the Japanese government has adopted, and this is designed to raise the level of the Japanese people's fluency in English for their successful communication in international settings. This policy characteristic is only concerned with the acquisition of English competence, and this implies that English is the only status language among other minority languages in Japan; thus Japan overlooks resources of linguistic minority speakers in Japan who already speak other international languages such as Spanish, Portuguese and Chinese. Minority languages in Japan other than English are not considered to be important, so that the government does not give any status to these other languages in Japanese society.

Internationalization of the Japanese people is a good language policy ideology in order to help them communicate successfully with people from different cultural/linguistic backgrounds in international settings, but its meaning should be enlarged by shifting its focus from English to all minority languages in Japan, in order to make the Japanese truly internationalized. True internationalization should mean that the Japanese people can communicate successfully with people who are from different cultural/linguistic backgrounds in many languages. It is important for the Japanese people to become proficient in English, but it is also important to have competence in other languages, since not only English but also other languages are used for communication in international settings.

It is necessary to shift the Japanese people's focus from English to the major minority languages in Japan, which are Brazilian Portuguese, Spanish, and Chinese spoken by about 73% of the linguistic minority students in Japanese public schools as their mother tongue (MEXT, 2004), because this shift helps the Japanese to acknowledge the importance of migrant workers in Japan. When acknowledging their importance, the Japanese people can see such workers as valuable resources to make themselves internationalized; since they can learn how to communicate with people from different cultural/linguistic backgrounds by interacting with these workers who speak international languages and who possess different cultural backgrounds. By having learned communication skills, consequently, the Japanese people can be truly internationalized. Furthermore, the Japanese government should adopt a language-as-resource perspective, which is a view encouraging to see the linguistic minorities and their languages as resources for the entire society. By adopting this perspective, the government and the Japanese people can recognize linguistic minorities and their languages as valuable tools for their internationalization. The government should take advantage of language skills and cultural knowledge possessed by migrant workers in Japan for making the Japanese people internationalized. When the government adopts and implements the true meaning of internationalization, the Japanese people would recognize the necessity of harmonious co-existence with migrant workers in Japanese society because they can see such workers as valuable resources for them to make themselves internationalized. Then, it would be possible to establish a society where the Japanese people can co-exist harmoniously with migrant workers.

Furthermore, the Japanese people have to recognize what internationalization truly means in order to achieve the policy of internationalization for the Japanese people. School education can be used for making them recognize this, since having such education allows them to acknowledge the value of Japan's minority languages for their internationalization. By teaching a minority language such as Brazilian Portuguese as a subject at school, Japanese students can perceive that the minority language is as prestigious as English. English has been taught as a school subject in Japan for a long time, so that its status is consolidated in educational settings and students regard it as a prestigious language. When Portuguese is treated similarly to English, the students can raise their consciousness toward Brazilian Portuguese and culture. Consequently, they can see that internationalization does not mean simply to be able to communicate with people from different cultural/linguistic backgrounds in English, but to be able to communicate successfully with people from different cultural/linguistic backgrounds in many languages.

4. For Successful Co-existence Between the Japanese People and Immigrants

Japan possesses Nikkei migrant workers from Latin America who are brought into Japan to compensate for the lack of domestic labor force, and the number of such workers may increase in the near future when the Japanese government decides to accept them more. Since Nikkei migrant workers and their family members speak languages different from Japanese, both the Japanese people and migrant workers confront problems to live together in Japanese society. Thus, the Japanese government should consider the ways for successful co-existence between them.

The government promotes a language policy ideology of internationalization for the Japanese people, and this policy concept is useful to realize successful co-existence between the Japanese people and migrant workers because this concept can encourage the Japanese people to see migrant workers as resources for internationalization of the Japanese people, as discussed in the previous section.

Japan needs to establish a society where the Japanese people can live together with migrant workers harmoniously, and this society should be constructed by the following two acculturation attitudes taken by individuals and a government: (1) integration as the individual's attitude and (2) multiculturalism as the government attitude. An integration attitude helps migrant workers to accommodate two cultures/languages within themselves, and helps the Japanese people to accommodate to migrant workers in a society. Multiculturalism allows the Japanese people and their government to respect and appreciate linguistic plurality and cultural diversity in Japanese society. When both individuals and the government in Japan take these attitudes, they can establish a new society where they can harmoniously co-exist with migrant workers, as they accommodate other languages/cultures and respect linguistic plurality and cultural diversity. Thus, Japan should promote the adoption of integration as the individual's acculturation attitude and the implementation of multiculturalism as the national policy. This new society also gives a value to all minority languages in Japan due to the adoption of integration and the implementation of multiculturalism. In this new society, the resultant language maintenance program can be implemented to have migrant workers' children likely to be raised as balanced bilinguals.

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