VOICES OF *KAKEHASHI* IN MULTICULTURAL CANADA:

Transcultural and Intercultural Experiences

Edited by Hiroko Noro and Tad Suzuki

Voices of *Kakehashi* in Multicultural Canada:
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University of Victoria

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PREFACE

Given the globalization of business and current political realities, there remains an urgent need for persons with global mindsets, necessitating a broader understanding of the developmental process of such individuals. Such individuals with global mindsets who bridge cultures are metaphorically referred to as *Kakehashi* in Japanese, a term that literally means "bridge across." This book is inspired by this powerful metaphor of the bridge and by its creator, Inazo Nitobe (1862-1933), arguably Japan's most respected international diplomat, renowned for his life-long dedication to the promotion of understanding between nations and people with a diversity of cultural values.

While there has been a considerable amount of literature on the development of the global mindset (Gupta & Govindarajan, 2002) and its closely related concept of "intercultural competence" (Byram & Zarate, 1996; Byram, et. al., 2002), the focus has tended to emphasize the conceptualization of these notions rather than mapping the concrete cases that illustrate how individuals develop these intercultural competences. Such conceptual approaches are unable to recognize the achievements of individuals whose personal profiles and experiences differ from that of the idealized and standardized learner that remains the focus of these more abstract studies (Kinginger, 2004). As Polanyi (1995) and Kinginger (2004) argue, there is an urgent need to listen to an individual's unique voice and to acknowledge his or her lived experience as it is "tailored to, by and for that individual"(Polayni, 1995, 287). This book hopes to illuminate the challenges and triumphs in the unique stories of individual *Kakehashi* who currently live cosmopolitan lifestyles and embody a bridge across cultures and languages.

2015 marked JALTA's (Japanese Language Teachers' Association) 40th anniversary as well as 50th anniversary for the establishment of the sister city relation between Yokohama and Vancouver. To celebrate this happy occasion, a symposium was held on Oct. 25, 2015 at the Asian Centre of the University of British Columbia. The theme of the symposium was *Voices of Kakehashi in Multicultural Canada: Transcultural and Intercultural Experiences.* The symposium consisted of two keynote lectures and a panel discussion by five panelists whose intercultural experiences illuminated their challenges and triumphs through

their unique and individual stories. The symposium had a goal to establish a supportive group environment for participants where processes of social interaction and learning could be present. This book came into existence as a fruit of the symposium held at the Asian Centre.

In Chapter 1, Noro introduces the key concept of this book, i.e., *Kakehashi,* contextualized in the history of Japanese language education in Canada. Noro explores Nitobe Inazo's legacy, and more specifically how his powerful metaphor of the "Bridge across the Pacific Ocean" has influenced the educational community in Canada.

In Chapter 2, Dr. Matsuo Soga, Professor Emeritus, of the University of British Columbia (UBC) chronicles the birth of JALTA, which has served as a cradle for students whose bilingual, bicultural, and intercultural aspects are well known. In Chapter 3, Dr. Soga gives a comprehensive and critical overview of Japanese language pedagogy in North America through the lens of the *Kakehashi* metaphor. In light of the remarkable increase in the number of interracial couples among Japanese in Canada, the enrolment of Japanese Mixed Heritage Youth (JMHY) in Japanese classes at post secondary institutions has increased. Nevertheless, in the field of Heritage Language (HL) education, there has been a very limited number of research studies focusing on this group of youth, or in distinguishing them from HL learners who have two parents from the same cultural background.

In Chapter 4, Naoko Takei provides in-depth understanding of some aspects of JMHY culture by analyzing narratives of their daily language use. In Chapter 5, Mr. Kojima discusses the changes and continuity of *Nikkei* with the special focus on identity issues. Chapter 6 is a synopsis of the panel discussion. The video clips of the panel discussion are available in order to listen to their "voices." In Chapter 7, Tadanobu Suzuki discusses Nitobe Inazo's seminal book, *Bushido* through the lens of the *Kakahashi* metaphor. Suzuki argues that the book, *Bushido* provides two bridges: 1) a *synchronic* bridge between East and West; and 2) a *diachronic* bridge between the past and the future. The last chapter epilogue provides not a conclusion to end, but rather a bridge to the future plans and aspirations of how to listen to more voices of *Kakehashi.* We also provide a resource list related to language education, especially for Japanese language education from the perspective of interculturality.

We would like to express our special gratitude to Dr. Matsuo Soga, Mr. Shigeru Kojima, Ms. Chika Buston, Mr. Rei Miyasaka, Ms. Susan Murakami, Mr. Matthew Pomeroy, and Mrs. Margaret Ritchie for sharing their valuable stories. We are

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Matsuo Soga

Professor Emeritus (University of British Columbia) Matsuo Soga came to North America to pursue his graduate studies in Linguistics in the '50s and taught in the department of Asian Studies, University of British Columbia from 1971 to 1992. During his time at UBC the Japanese language program grew substantially, thanks to his tireless work. He was also the mentor and advisor for the local Japanese heritage school teachers, and helped them establish the Japanese Language Teachers Association (JALTA) which to this date still organizes annual teachers' workshops. At the provincial, national and international level, he was also active in promoting Japanese language education, including becoming one of the founders in the '70s of the prestigious Middlebury College Summer Japanese Language Program, where language learning is combined with immersion in the culture. After leaving UBC, Professor Soga was invited to established new undergraduate and graduate programs in Japanese language teaching and Japanese Linguistics at Nanzan University and Nagoya University of Foreign Studies in Japan. Numerous former students of Professor Soga now work as language teachers on both sides of the Pacific Ocean, all contributing

greatly not only to the field of Japanese language teaching, but also to the promotion of intercultural communication and understanding.

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Naoko Takei received her PhD in Education from Simon Fraser University, where she currently holds a senior lecturer position in the Department of Humanities. She also has an MA in Curriculum Studies from the University of British Columbia. Her teaching career started in the United Kingdom after she obtained a teaching Japanese certificate. Before moving to Canada she joined the Japanese Overseas Cooperation Volunteers governed by the Japanese International Cooperation Agency to teach the Japanese language to university students in China. Her current academic interest is Japanese as a second language, including heritage language learners in post-secondary education, and cross-cultural communication. She is also engaged in developing an online course for university students, using multimedia tools such as animation software to increase interactions among students in online courses.

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CHAPTER 1

Voices of *Kakehashi:* The Role of Japanese Language in Constructing Intercultural Identity among Speakers of Japanese in Multicultural Canada

Hiroko Noro

Katsura Villa, Kyoto

CHAPTER 1

Introduction

In attempting to keep up with our rapidly globalizing world, companies and individuals have been forced to develop a more global mindset and we are increasingly aware that persons who live and work between cultures play a vital role in this process. Anil K. Gupta et al. (2002, 1) defines a global mindset as "one that combines an openness to and awareness of diversity across cultures." In Japanese, such persons who bridge cultures are metaphorically referred to as *Kakehashi,* a term that literally means, "bridge across." Given the globalization of business and current political realities, there is an urgent need for individuals with *Kakehashi*-like abilities. The present paper is inspired by this metaphor of the bridge and by its creator, Inazo Nitobe (1862-1933), arguably Japan's most respected international diplomat. Nitobe is renowned for his life-long dedication to the promotion of understanding between nations and peoples with a diversity of cultural values.

The field of Japanese immigration history, especially those accounts centering on the importance of Japanese language and Japanese language schools for the overseas Japanese communities, provides us with rich historical resources on many concrete cases of *Kakehashi* (Sato, 1954; Adachi, 1976; Matsubayashi, 1985; Oshiro, 1985; Ichioka, 1988; Morimoto, 1989; Aoki, 1991; Kojima, 1993; Fujii, 1997; and Azuma, 2003). Since the first official Japanese emigration to Hawaii in 1885, discourses surrounding second-generation Japanese children have flourished in Japan. In fact, the *Kakehashi* concept became so pervasive among pre-WWII overseas Japanese communities that many second-generation Japanese came to embrace its tenets as well. Often such discussions took place amongst intellectuals, social critics, educators, and government officials and were circulated in the form of books, articles, and public lectures. There are three notable characteristics of the *Kakehashi* ideology that emerge from these discourses: 1) an emphasis on bicultural/bilingual development of "peaceful ties" between Japan and host countries; 2) an emphasis on Japanese language education for Nisei (Second Generation Japanese); and 3) an emphasis on *Yamato damashii* (Japanese spirit).

This paper explores diplomat Nitobe's legacy, and more specifically how his powerful metaphor of the "Bridge across the Pacific Ocean" has influenced the educational community in Canada. The Japanese language schools, known as *nihongo gakko,* played a key role in keeping this metaphor alive. The *Kakehashi* metaphor as it is engaged in the present paper serves as an epistemological heuristic to reframe the significance and the role of the Japanese language in Canada.

Kakehashi – Prewar Period

Our Resolutions

Sumiko Suga, Alumni Association of Vancouver Japanese Language School

> To achieve prosperity in the future, we must plan our future, since Canada is our place of permanent residence. We must share our lot with Canadians, by improving ourselves, understanding Canada and thinking for Canada. This way of thinking will lead to the ultimate expansion of the Yamato nation and represents our loyalty to our motherland, Japan.
>
> Therefore we should, to the best of our ability, become exemplary Canadian citizens of Japanese origin. In doing so, we should demand that Canada acknowledge our ability, which could result in enfranchisement and employment equality. In addition, we should endeavour to build the civilization of the Pacific era, by introducing Japanese culture into Canadian culture. I believe that this is what the *Issei* generation was not able to accomplish, but what we, the *Nisei* are expected to accomplish.
>
> (Suga, 1930, 48-55)

The passage above is part of a speech made by a female *Nisei* graduate of the Vancouver Japanese Language School at a Japanese speech contest held in 1930. Her speech encapsulates the very essence of Japanese language education for Japanese Canadian children; to raise Canadian-born children of Japanese heritage to become "Bridge(s) across the Pacific" by being fully bilingual in Japanese and English. Being fully bilingual in both languages presupposes that those children are also bicultural as both Japanese and Canadian or more broadly bicultural as both Japanese and Western.

Abiko Kyutaro, publisher of the *Nichibei Shimbun* Japanese language press in San Francisco, was one of the earliest advocates of *Kakehashi-ron* (*"Kakehashi* theory"), and, in the mid-1920's, he initiated an educational program for

sending Nisei students to Japan based on the *Kakehashi* ideology (Azuma, 2003). In 1925 and 1926, Abiko's *Nichibei Shimbun* newspaper sponsored *Nisei kengakudan,* or study-tour groups, which traveled throughout Japan on three-month excursions (Azuma, 2004, 5-6). Thereafter, the *Kakehashi* bridge concept became so pervasive in the Japanese community that both *Issei and Nisei* generations began to internalize the ideology. As Azuma (2003) states, *Issei* leaders convinced themselves that the centre of the world had been shifted from the Atlantic to the Pacific. They believed that history would enter into a new "Pacific Era," whence the United States and Japan would emerge as the pivotal powers. These two areas represented the West and the East, but in the immigrant vision they would fuse the best of the divided worlds into one.

Although Azuma's argument centers on the prewar Japanese community in the United States, it could be applied to prewar Canada as well. Born as Canadian citizens of Japanese heritage, the *Nisei* inadvertently became saddled with the mission of facilitating this fusion process. As bridges of understanding between the two nations and the two worlds, their position was crucial especially as prewar Japanese language schools were under constant attack by anti-Japanese campaigners. Critics in mainstream society contended that the workload of daily classes at Japanese schools was an additional strain on the children and therefore conflicted with and hindered the public school program. More significantly, the Japanese language schools were viewed by many white British Columbians as agents for the fostering of Japanese nationalism in the Japanese community. Some British Columbians were convinced that the Japanese immigrants were nationalists, steadfastly loyal to the Japanese Emperor and therefore disloyal to Canada; they held a strong belief that these Japanese immigrants could never be integrated into mainstream society in the province. Such attitudes surely influenced the shift in advocacy for Japanese schools to become organs of supplemental rather than core education.

The Japanese language schools were so concerned about campaigns against them that by 1923 they had founded the Japanese Language School Educational Society in order to provide a forum for the problem to be discussed among the teachers and community leaders. The Society's first mandate was to encourage Japanese language schools to take responsibility for promoting better understanding and cooperation with white majority groups and, above all, with the general public (Sato, 1954, 58-88). Many of the Japanese language teachers already had a sense of multiculturalism being that Canada was a country to which people came from all over the world. They were attune to the fact that the best candidates for mediating the relationship between Canada and Japan were the Canadian-born *Nisei,* and it would be the *Nisei* responsibility to study the

Japanese language and culture and to further transplant their cultural heritage onto Canadian soil. Providing *Nisei* with Japanese language education was beneficial for both Canada and Japan and the mutual understanding between the two countries was a commonly cited reason for the operation of these schools.

Many teachers in Japanese language schools were keenly aware of the fact that Nisei had to be Canadian first and foremost. Through their direct engagement with public schools and interactions with anti-Japanese language school agitators, these teachers were aware of the prejudices faced by their students. They also saw their graduates experience issues with finding proper employment. It would have been very difficult for *Nisei* to confront the harsh reality of these prejudices unless they had had a strong sense of pride and self-worth as Japanese. There was a need to show how being a Canadian citizen of Japanese origin was a benefit rather than a stigma and the teachers felt this could be achieved through the teaching of language and culture. This was not to be an "either-or" approach of the kind that many people of the time fell into adopting. Mr. Aoki, a former principal of a Japanese language school in Cumberland, expressed his idea of "cosmopolitanism" at an Educational Society meeting as thus: "The concepts of citizenship and ethnic origin are often confused; being a Japanese national and having a Japanese ethnic background are two different things. Canadian citizenship can coexist in harmony with a Japanese ethnic background. The Japanese language schools teach *Nisei* pupils the virtues of Japanese culture so that they can become better Canadian citizens" (Sato, 1954, 178).

Issei parents had a slightly different desired outcome for sending their children to the Japanese language schools, but it overlapped with the schools' goal to produce better citizens. The parents' main hope was that the Japanese schools would be a powerful means of instilling in their children a sense of pride in their background. As Adachi states, "Without always being aware of the fact, the *Issei* were seeking to bring up their children as compromise Canadians, capable of living in two worlds (Adachi, 1976, 128). During my interview with Mr. Ogaki, a former student of one of the language schools, he remembered his teacher's remarks about the Japanese spirit: "My *sensei* (teacher) used to tell us that having a Japanese background was nothing to be ashamed of. That is something we should be proud of." He recalled his teacher's lecture on the concept of *Yamato damashii* (Japanese spirit) and how *Yamato damashii* consists of *on* (a sense of gratitude and obligation), truth, sacrifice, honour and responsibility. Mr Ogaki attributed the enhancement of students' identity and self-esteem to learning Japanese at the language school.

Kakehashi – Postwar period

Anti-Japanese hysteria climaxed with the outbreak of World War II. On February 26, 1942, the Dominion Government announced a complete evacuation of all persons of Japanese origin from the Pacific Coast. Of the 22,000 Japanese Canadians forced to leave, more than half chose to stay in the mountainous interior of British Columbia (B.C.). The British Columbia provincial government refused to offer education for the Japanese Canadian children. It was the B.C. Security Commission, the federal agency created to move and resettle the evacuees, which took responsibility for establishing and administering schooling in the internment camps. The Security Commission placed a ban on the use of the Japanese language by pupils and teachers in camp school facilities. This historical event robbed prewar Japanese Canadians of their sense of community and, in that moment, Japanese as a heritage language in Canada was destroyed completely. Consequently, Japanese was not passed on as a heritage language from second generation Japanese Canadian parents to their third generation Japanese Canadian children.

As the war was approaching its close, the federal government ordered the dispersal of the Japanese across Canada further shattering their sense of community. In the House of Commons in 1944, Prime Minister Mackenzie King announced that:

> They will have to settle in such a way … that they do not present themselves as an unassimilable or colony which might again give rise to distrust, fear and dislike...
>
> The sound policy and the best policy for the Japanese-Canadian themselves is to distribute their numbers as widely as possible throughout the country where they will not create feelings of racial hostility. (Canada, House of Commons Debate, 1944, 5917)

Responding to the "dispersal policy," the Japanese were again either forced to move and re-establish themselves in areas other than the West Coast, or be repatriated to Japan. Even before the dispersal policy of 1944 was enacted, the Ministry of Labour had attempted to persuade evacuees to move eastward. In 1943, 1,084 evacuees moved to Manitoba for beet farming and by the end of the year, 1,650 were in Ontario. The number of Japanese Canadians in Ontario escalated upwards to 8,581 within a decade and the city of Toronto became the largest center of Japanese Canadian re-settlement by the early 1970's. Prior to World War II, Vancouver had the largest concentration of Japanese Canadians but it was not until 1949, with the removal of the final restrictions imposed under the *War Measures Act,* that they were finally able to gain full rights of citizenship

and move freely anywhere in Canada including being able to return to Vancouver and the coast. With the return of Japanese Canadians to the West Coast, the Japanese Canadian Citizens' Association was created in 1954 to help facilitate the rebuilding of the Nikkei community in British Columbia.

Regardless of the restrictions being lifted on Japanese resettlement on the coast, Toronto still retained the highest concentration of Japanese Canadians. Subsequently, in 1956, after a moratorium of 26 years, immigration from Japan resumed and three distinct groups began to emerge in the Japanese community in Toronto: 1) prewar immigrants, the first generation and successive generations; 2) the postwar immigrants and their families and; 3) expatriate Japanese citizens and their families on overseas business assignments Although these three groups appear very similar to outsiders, there are clear divisions according to social class, occupation, and socio-historical background. The prewar immigrants group is the product of the dispersal policy the government implemented at the end of World War II. This policy and its consequences hindered the development of a sense of community usually characterized by an understanding of common needs and mutual assistance. For example, in the 1950s, more than half of the nation's population of Japanese Canadians resided in Toronto but studies show that they maintained a low degree of Japanese residential concentration and also a low degree of social interaction. (Wangenheim, 1956).

The virtual closure of immigration from Japan between 1930 and 1956 resulted in a socio-cultural gap between the prewar immigrants group and the postwar immigrants group. The average postwar immigrant did not experience World War II. They grew up with postwar Japan's economic recovery and development. Whereas the prewar generation of Japanese Canadian immigrants needed to support one another in order to survive economically under anti-Japanese discrimination, the postwar generation of Japanese Canadian immigrants were very independent and economically self-sufficient. As a group, they tended to be highly educated professionals and were employed in various areas of the Canadian occupational structure.

Most of the postwar immigrants were drawn to urban areas. According to Ueda's study of the Japanese community in Toronto (1978), 72.3 percent of the postwar immigrants among her respondents were employed and 14.4 percent of them were self-employed. These immigrants were characteristically highly educated and technically qualified. They tended to be independent, individualistic, and competitive. The postwar immigrants exhibited a diverse range of occupational backgrounds and they were also dispersed throughout the metropolitan area. This residential dispersion cannot be attributed to the

dispersal policy enacted by the government at the end of World War II. Rather, such dispersion should be regarded as one of the group's natural characteristics: They choose where to live based on factors such as proximity to place of employment rather than proximity to ethnic networks.

Unlike the prewar immigrants that relied on the support of organizations like the above-mentioned Japanese Canadian Citizens' Association, postwar immigrants did not feel the need to establish an institutionally complete social organization in order to secure employment. In general, immigrants that are equipped with adequate vocational training in technical and professional skills and that have a good command of English are far more likely to be able secure employment without help from their ethnic community. As evidence of this, the participation of postwar immigrants in associations and clubs is quite low. Most of those who are involved in ethnic associations or clubs do not belong to ones formerly established by the prewar Japanese Canadian communities. They tend to belong to organizations founded by the postwar immigrants themselves. It can be concluded that in Toronto the formal interaction between the prewar immigrants group and the postwar immigrants group is very small. Not only in the formal sphere, but also in the informal sphere, the interaction between these two groups is rare.

It is difficult to draw a boundary between the second and third group of immigrants in the Japanese community. Both the postwar immigrants and the expatriates on overseas business assignments speak Japanese and share a common culture. They are also highly educated. Although the material status of immigrants may generally be characterized as "middle class" (Ueda, 1978), the dividing line between the two groups cannot easily be drawn based on their socio-economic state of living. Regardless of the similarities, there is a division that stems from the stigmatized class relations that are historically rooted in the development of Japanese capitalism (Ueda, 1986). In the prewar era, the Japanese who emigrated to North America and Latin America were poor farmers and fishermen who left the country because they could not find any other means of survival. They became stigmatized because they migrated and the stigma remains to this day. Despite the fact that postwar immigrants did not emigrate from Japan to Canada for reasons of economic survival, they are still viewed as having given up their home country because they failed to fit into society. By contrast, expatriate Japanese on overseas business assignments are considered to be "elites" because they were chosen by their organization to be stationed abroad.

Ueda (1986) points out that, in Japanese organizations, positions for overseas work were typically very competitive, and those who were selected

were treated as, and expected to be, representatives of Japan. They took pride in their status not only as business personnel of a particular corporation but also as goodwill envoys of Japan. The people of Japan used to place a high value on the experience of overseas work and it was treated as a great undertaking; a fact that created and reinforced the glamorous image of the life of expatriate executives and managers. Among corporate expatriates and their families a sense of being an elite was internalized through this process of selection and perceived moral obligation.

The members of the expatriate corporate community have a strong "we" consciousness. Although they work for different companies that are often in intense competition, their cultural characteristics, social class, common language, their way of life and their goals as corporate expatriates bring them together. As of 1983, the Toronto Japanese Association of Commerce and Industry (Shoko-kai) lists 101 firms and its membership is exclusively for Japanese citizens on business visas. Except for honorary members of the diplomatic community, it is not open to local employees who work for the firms, nor to Japanese Canadians or postwar Japanese immigrants who operate small businesses in Toronto. Although it does not have a specific geographical area, the Toronto Japanese Association of Commerce and Industry (Shoko-kai) exists exclusively for members of the expatriate corporate community. Thus, this community exists as a distinctive group separate from Japanese Canadians and postwar Japanese immigrants.

This diversity amongst the Japanese immigrant and expatriate communities has had a significant impact on the development of Japanese language schools throughout Canada. The impact can be illustrated by looking at the history of one particular Japanese language school, the Toronto Japanese Language School, opened in 1949 and the first of its kind in the province of Ontario. Founders established the school because they believed in the importance of Japanese language maintenance in raising their children as Japanese Canadians. The school was very successful and in subsequent years it expanded to include two campuses. By the late 1960s and the early 1970s, two main factors led to an increase in the Japanese population in Toronto that would change the course of Japanese language education in the city: 1) a relaxation of immigration laws after 1966 attracted new immigrants to Canada; and 2) an increase in the number of Japanese expatriates employed at overseas branches of Japanese firms as described above. Initially, both the postwar immigrants group and the Japanese expatriate group sent their children to the Toronto Japanese Language School, which had originally been established for the descendants of the prewar immigrants group. However, the three groups had little in common with one another with respect to their expectations for the school and their preferred

educational ideology. Subsequently, both the postwar immigrant community and the expatriate community set up their own schools.

In 1974, the Japanese School of Toronto Shoko-kai Inc. was established to help the children of expatriate members keep up with the Japanese public school curriculum during their stay in Canada. One of the important missions of the Association is to manage the Japanese Saturday School. In addition to helping members' children keep up to date with the Japanese school curriculum, it also assists in the re-integration of students when they return home to Japan. The school, known as *Hoshuko,* includes over 400 students from kindergarten to high school and employs approximately 40 teachers. A board comprised of Shoko-kai members and headed by the Director of the Education Division manages the school. The Board works closely with the Principal and Vice Principal who have been seconded by the Japanese Ministry of Education for three-year terms.

In 1976, the postwar immigrants group founded the Toronto *Kokugo Kyoshitsu* (Toronto Japanese Language Classroom). The school was designed for children that had already acquired Japanese language skills in their home environment. This group did not agree with the policy of teaching Japanese as a second language that was implemented in the Toronto Japanese Language School. As the number of students increased, the parents' opinions and expectations concerning Japanese language education came into conflict, resulting in the creation of a number of different schools for the Canadian-born children of the postwar immigrant group.

During the same period, the educational system began to respond to increased diversity amongst Canadians by expanding heritage language programs in the public schools. The support for heritage languages was directly related to federal and provincial multiculturalism policies. Heritage language education was seen as an essential part of the Canadian cultural mosaic. It also reflected a response to pressures from various cultural groups, especially Ukrainian Canadians, for inclusion and recognition (Tavares, 2000). Throughout Canada in the 1980s, newer ethnocultural groups were emerging as important demographic and political factors. Thus from the mid-1980s to the early 1990s, there was a significant growth in the number of heritage languages offered. For example, in Manitoba between 1984 and 1990, new curricula for Portuguese, Filipino, and Mandarin were developed and implemented, primarily in Winnipeg School Division No. 1. These languages were offered in addition to the "older" languages such as Icelandic, German, Hebrew, Spanish, and Ukrainian already taught as "language of study" programs in various public schools. In Saskatchewan, a system was devised whereby students could receive high school credits for

heritage languages taught by community groups or organizations that followed the guidelines of Saskatchewan Education (Tavares, 2000).

During this period, the term "heritage languages" came to be preferred by ethnocultural communities and multicultural education activists. It tended to reinforce the idea that languages other than English or French were not "foreign" languages, as they were spoken by many Canadians and were part of their Canadian heritage. The maintenance of these languages was presented as a rational extension of the efforts to recognize and celebrate Canada's multicultural heritage and was in keeping with multicultural policies espoused by various levels of governments.

Changes in immigration policies and federal support for official multiculturalism led to a florescence of heritage language education. The main clients of the newly established Japanese language schools were the offspring of postwar Japanese immigrants. At its peak in the early 1990's, there were twenty privately run Japanese language schools operating in Vancouver. The oldest and largest of these schools was the Vancouver Japanese Language School, with over 400 students enrolled.

Kakehashi – Diversity, Hybridity, Inclusiveness

Japanese language as a heritage language in Canada displays the intricate balance of opposing forces of language preservation and language attrition. In the case of the Japanese Canadian community, generational words like *"Issei," "Nisei,"* and *"Sansei"* (first-generation, second-generation, third-generation respectively) are no longer appropriate for future generations. For example, at most of these Japanese language schools, more than 50 percent of the students come from interracial families where one parent is a Japanese native. As the Japanese Canadian community expands in new directions, the culture and the identity of "Japanese Canadian" naturally evolves as well. In response to changing student profiles, Japanese heritage language schools have also evolved.

Beginning in the early 1990's, another factor that has led to changes in Japanese language education is the strengthening role of Japan in the global economy. At the height of Japan's economic boom, the Japanese language attained its global status. Interest in Asian languages, such as Japanese, Mandarin, and, to a lesser extent Korean, resulted from a growing awareness of the impact of globalization and the significance of Asia in the new global economy. Japanese and Mandarin language programs were introduced to public schools in British Columbia. The significance of these programs is that they were not introduced as "heritage" programs targeted at Canadian students of Japanese or Chinese origin, but were primarily directed at students with no heritage connection to either

language or culture but with an interest in Asia-Pacific studies. In fact, the Asia-Pacific Foundation of Canada, a joint business and government-funded agency, promoted the introduction of Japanese language curricula throughout Canada, as did the Japan Foundation. For example, the Asia-Pacific Foundation funded the development of the Alberta Japanese Language and Culture Program. Increased trade and growing investment by Japan in British Columbia means that Japanese language and cultural knowledge have taken on new importance in this province. As Japan's global role widens to include business, science, politics and social development, individuals require cultural and linguistic knowledge about Japan. The involvement of the Asia Pacific Foundation of Canada in promoting Japanese and other Asian languages points to another emerging trend of corporations and business organizations beginning to actively support and promote "international" language education. Interestingly, there was not the same level of interest from this sector during the push for heritage language education.

The Japanese heritage language schools in British Columbia, especially in Vancouver, have survived both the competition from the provincially run Japanese language programs and a decline in population among Japanese Canadian children born to postwar Japanese immigrants. They did so mainly by opening their doors to learners without a Japanese background and by expanding their programs to incorporate two streams of curricula, namely a heritage language stream and an international language stream.

In contrast, the Japanese heritage language schools in Toronto have continued to emphasize their role of educating the offspring of postwar Japanese immigrants by focusing their attention on the importance of Japanese spoken at home. Unlike the schools in Vancouver, they did not opt for opening up their programs to include non-Japanese speaking students. One exception is a Japanese language school originally designed for the descendants of prewar Japanese Canadians. This school is the oldest among the schools in Toronto and is still in operation. Its curriculum is intended for non-Japanese speakers to learn Japanese as an international language rather than a heritage language.

New clients at Japanese language schools in Greater Vancouver are not only from inter-married families, but also from non-Japanese Asian families. Many of them came to the city with their parents when they were young. They are from Taiwan, Hong Kong, China, Singapore, and Korea. They are familiar with Japanese pop culture such as Japanese animation, comics and pop music. They are so immersed in the Japanese pop culture that they feel more comfortable with the Japanese language and culture than the English language and Canadian culture.

The Japanese language schools in Vancouver have constantly adapted to societal and political shifts. For instance, during the prewar anti-Japanese period, they functioned as community centers offering moral and practical support to Japanese immigrant families. They were central agents in constructing and negotiating the ethnic identity of the community. With the decline in population of Japanese Canadian children, they have sought a group of new clients from non-Japanese Asian families. They draw nourishment and vitality from both the historical and contemporary landscapes related to Japanese and Japanese Canadian cultures. In addition, the Canadian policy of official multiculturalism seems to have taken root among the wider population. It tends to reinforce the idea that languages other than English or French, i.e., Canada's two official languages, are not "foreign" languages, since they are spoken by many Canadians and are part of their Canadian heritage. Learning these languages is presented as a rational extension of the efforts to recognize and celebrate Canada's multicultural heritage and is in keeping with multicultural policies espoused by various levels of government. The attention to the diversity within the specific culture/language group and making sense of the group's contemporary social and political condition demonstrates an attempt to achieve a meaningful and less stereotypical approach to exploring culture.

Conclusion

Since their inception, Japanese language schools in Canada have experienced both continuity and change. They have adapted not only to historic and political change but also to the shifting dynamics of their students' profiles as evidenced in the development of curricula that reflects a diversity of needs for Japanese language study. According to Kitahara (2012), it is the Japanese language that ties together people of diverse cultural and linguistic backgrounds. As briefly evidenced above, Japanese language and the Japanese language schools have served to bridge speakers (more precisely, "the users") of Japanese on a number of levels, namely cognitive, interpersonal, communicative, affective, and social.

In more recent years, Japanese language schools have undergone a transformation from being educational institutions specifically intended for Canadian-born Japanese *Nisei* to ones promoting Japanese language and culture among non-Japanese learners. While there have been many changes, there are a few elements that remain constant, namely the passion for Japanese language and culture education among teachers and parents and the adaptability of the language schools. They have also remained a constant for the students who view the Japanese language schools as places where they can nourish long-

term friendships; a place where they can meet with people from a similar family culture with respect to customs and foods.

Dr. Ted Aoki, a renowned scholar and educator in curriculum studies as well as a Japanese Canadian that spent his life living between two cultures and languages, popularized the concept of "in-betweenness", a discourse that helps us to conceptualize the very nature of *Kakehashi* Described by Smith (2003) as "the master of in-between"(xv), Dr. Aoki's main concern was the rejection of divisive binary approaches, that he felt forced us to choose between "this" or "that", resulting in a social structure based on insider vs. outsider delineations. Drawing from the explanation presented by Dr. Aoki and his disciples, "in-betweenness" can be understood as closely related to our concept of *Kakehashi;* a bridge is neither here nor there, but at the same time it is here and there as it exists in-between two points of contact. Homi Bhabha's notion of "the third space" (1994), where identity negotiation takes place through projecting an outlook in which one sees and identifies with others' perspectives is also very closely related to the concept of *Kakehashi* that shapes this paper. In order to map the realities of *Kakehashi* of diverse linguistic and cultural backgrounds and to conceptualize *Kakehashi* identities, we need to gather concrete cases based on individuals who are not only of Japanese origin, but also individuals of non-Japanese origin who have achieved high linguistic proficiency in Japanese.

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CHAPTER 2

Keynote Lecture Part 1: History of JALTA (Japanese Language Teachers' Association)

Matsuo Soga

Chionin, Kyoto

CHAPTER 2

Professor Noro, members of the organizing committee of this symposium, and ladies and gentlemen, I feel very honored to stand here today to talk about my experiences and my ideas on Japanese language education. My talk will be about something very basic but I hope that it will be of some use to you for your future Japanese language education. As you know, we celebrated the fortieth anniversary of Japanese Language Teachers' Association in BC (JALTA) this past spring, and since I was one of the charter members of the formation of JALTA, I will talk about the initial part of its history first (Part I) and then I will talk about my ideas on Japanese language teaching (Part II).

In February 1973, at the Hyatt Regency Hotel, a "Multi-Cultural Conference" was held for three days sponsored by the BC Government. At that time, the Canadian Government was trying hard to promote the multi-culturalism in this country. To this conference, ethnic language teachers from various schools, public and private including colleges and universities, were invited, and together with each ethnic language group discussions in separate rooms, there was a panel discussion for the plenary session. I remember that it was truly a lively successful conference. This conference really became the starting point of JALTA. To explain a little further, I must mention that one of the resolutions of the conference was to set up a communication mechanism between ethnic language teaching groups and the BC Government.

In accordance with this resolution, two UBC professors and several of the Japanese language school principals in the Vancouver area had meetings at the UBC Faculty Club to start a Japanese language teachers' organization. The members who attended the meetings were Rev. Yokoyama of Steveston Japanese Language School, Mrs. Kanazawa of Vancouver Japanese Language School, Mr. Matsushita of Vancouver Language Center, Mrs. Murakami of Gladstone Japanese Language School, Professor Takashima of UBC and myself. In these meetings, the proposed organization was named "BC Shuu Nihongo Kyooiku Shinkookai" (The Association for Promotion of Japanese Language Teaching in BC), and its purpose was to promote Japanese language education through teachers' cooperation in British Columbia. Rev. Yokoyama was asked to play the

role of the first president of the organization, and the others were also been given important roles such as secretary, treasurer, planning, etc.

Soon after the organization was formally started in 1974, the first things that the Association planned were "Recitation Contest" by children from various Japanese language schools, "Research Seminar" by teachers, and "survey" through questionnaires of the actual situations of Japanese language teaching in BC.

In the recitation contest, lower grade children were given selected Japanese sentences which they memorized and recited, and the higher grade children recited their sentences which they themselves wrote. The first seminar was held at the Vancouver Japanese Language School, and Mr. Tsutae Sato, the distinguished Japanese language teacher in Vancouver, spoke on Japanese language schools in the US and Canada, and Mrs. Yoshiko Kanazawa reported on the result of the survey of actual Japanese language teaching situations. The survey showed the number of Japanese Language Schools existed in the area, the number of students and teachers at each school, the kind of textbooks used and desired equipment at each school, etc. Along with Mr. Sato and Mrs. Kanazawa, I myself had the honor of speaking on some of the linguistic problems of teaching Japanese. The seminar was attended by 27 participants and among them were Professor Saint Jacques of UBC and Mrs. Warkentyne from Victoria. I must particularly mention that Mr. and Mrs. Sato, and Mr. Aoki who attended the conference had been teaching Japanese since before WW II.

In the following years, the seminars and the recitation contests were continued to be held, and then, joint school play sessions were added. Also, Japanese movie sessions were held in Vancouver Japanese Language School and Steveston Community Center although they were soon discontinued. As for the survey of Japanese language teaching in BC, it had to be discontinued later for some time because Mrs. Kanazawa who was the key member of survey and research passed away to our great, great sorrow.

In 1978, Mr. Kawamoto of the Japanese Consulate in Vancouver made a suggestion for members of the Association to produce Japanese language textbooks suitable for Canadian children. At that time, Japanese Language Schools around here were using textbooks approved by the Japanese Government for children in Japan, so they were not quite suitable for children in Canada. Certainly, new textbooks with Canadian contents suitable for the Canadian children were most desirable, but we all knew that writing new textbooks would take a lot of work, so no one wanted to take on the enormous task. Nevertheless, Mr. Kawamoto's suggestion was taken very seriously by the members of the Association and became the starting point of the big project

of textbook writing. So, in response to his suggestion, a textbook committee was formed in this Association. The members were: Rev. Takeo Yokoyama and Mrs. Michiko Yokoyama of Richmond Japanese Language School, Mrs. Michiko Tateno of Coquitlam Japanese Language School, Mrs. Fumiko Maniwa of Fraser Japanese Language School, Mrs. Yasuko Morikochi of Killarney Japanese Language School, Mrs. Kazuko Trudel of UBC, Professor Ken-ichi Takashima of UBC, and myself also of UBC.

We made seven textbooks from the first grade to the seventh grade, and the corresponding teachers manuals had also to be developed. The work was financially supported by grants from the Japan Foundation and the Canadian Government to which we had to apply every fiscal year. We met almost every month under the excellent chairmanship of Rev. Yokoyama and we had to decide on various details such as the number of kanji for each grade and kind of contents relevant to the Canadian culture, etc. The work needed tremendous amount of effort and it took almost twenty years before completion in 1998. (I have to mention as a footnote that I had to drop out of the committee since I had to move to Japan in 1992.) Those textbooks were the very first textbooks made in Canada with Canadian contents suitable for Canadian children. I understand that a Canadian Government official, who read the English translation of a chapter "Kebekku o Tazunete (Visiting Quebec)" in the sixth grade textbook, was so impressed that he even said that he would put it on display at the Canadian Pavilion of the Paris World Expo of the year.

In 1987, Mr. Motoaki Egawa became the Association President, which meant that the activities of the Association were to be continued by younger people. At that time, there were eighty seven listed members in this Association. Under the new leadership of Mr. Egawa, an important new project was introduced-- to conduct the Japanese language proficiency test for the students in BC. I should mention that for the purpose that test, the examination and grading system were created for which Mr. Egawa worked hard together with members of the Association.

In 1988, we came to know that in the Toronto area, the Japanese Language Teachers' Association for Canada was organized and we subsequently became a part of that organization. Then, in 1989, we changed the name of our Association to "Japanese Language Teachers' Association in BC," which was abbreviated to JALTA as we still call it today. I moved to Japan in 1992 and I am sure that you are all well aware of the JALTA activities since then.

CHAPTER 3

Keynote Lecture Part 2: Japanese Language Pedagogy

Matsuo Soga

Shimogao Jinja, Kyoto

CHAPTER 3

We all know that the word *Kakehashi* (bridge across) was used by Dr. Inazo Nitobe, referring to his resolve that he would work to bridge the cultures between the West and Japan. At that time, not many people could travel from Japan to the US or Europe, and a person such as Dr. Nitobe who knew both about Japan and Europe was very rare. Therefore, in order for the Japanese to understand the Western culture, and in order for the Westerners to understand Japan, Dr. Nitobe was certainly a very precious person. We are aware that he played a very important role for intercultural and international understanding, and I think that the word *Kakehashi* was very suitable for him to use. Today, because of the globalization of business or tourism, and because of the advancement of technology, different cultures may be more in close contact than before. Thus, from a cultural point of view, Japanese food such as sushi is not necessarily something rare in Canada, or a Japanese sport such as "sumo" seems to be widely known all over the world. In Japan, on the other hand, many Japanese newspapers and magazines are full of loan words which tell us about foreign cultures. Therefore, we can even say that today many of us should be able to play the role of some kind of *Kakehashi*. We certainly want that bridge to be a good one, and in this sense, I consider that the symposium of *Kakehashi* today is very meaningful.

For intercultural understanding, I believe that there are many ways. We can understand other cultures through music, paintings, pictures, dancing, merchandise, political system, etc. However, I believe that language is one of the most important and effective means of understanding another culture. It is through language that we can understand what is going on in the brains of another person, and in much the same way, it is through language that we can understand what is going on in the minds of the people of another culture. In this sense, we may even say that language plays the essential role of *Kakehashi.* Since it plays such an important role, it has to be an excellent bridge, and the architect and carpenter of the bridge must be excellent also so that the bridge will successfully connect between cultures and peoples. In a sense, a language teacher can be compared to an architect or carpenter of *Kakehashi.*

I understand that many of you today are in the field of language teaching, and since I used to be a language teacher myself, so I will spend the rest of my time here to talk about language learning and teaching.

First of all, I must mention that in teaching a foreign language, I believe that we should follow different approaches and methods depending upon grades and levels. Could we say, for example that the introductory level should be taught differently from the advanced level. This is because at the introductory level basic phonological and grammatical structures must be correctly internalized together with a basic writing system, but in the advanced level, the students' knowledge of vocabulary items, expressions, and sentences must be enhanced and strengthened. This basic principle of teaching a foreign language is the same whether you are teaching Japanese in Canada, or English in Japan.

I have spent over forty years of my life in teaching English to Japanese students, and Japanese to students in the US and Canada. As a linguist and a language teacher, I have observed that theories and methodologies of language teaching have often changed during those years. We can ask why there have been so many changes. I can think of various reasons, but I should mention three of them briefly today.

First, I have to mention that foreign language learning is a very slow process, and there has always been a sense of frustration among both the teachers and students. Therefore, they tend to search constantly for some better ways of teaching and learning.

Secondly, there have been changes in linguistic and learning theories on which approaches must be based. For example, during the 1950's, many linguists considered language from the viewpoint of habits. They were called "structural linguists." Then, in the 60's, linguists began to consider language from the viewpoint of rule-governed knowledge. They were generative grammarians. Educational viewpoints were also varied: some may stress activities and others, thinking for learning. These varied views emphasized different aspects of learning and teaching.

Thirdly, I must mention the change of social needs that may be brought about by political, economic or technological changes. We all feel that our society and its needs change with times. For example, right after Japan lost in WWII, suddenly we had to deal with the occupying Americans in English, and naturally, spoken English was particularly emphasized. I remember also that the appearance of tape-recorders changed the ways of language teaching. What we now call "language laboratory" appeared after tape-recorders came into

existence. Today, thanks to the modern means of transportation, many Japanese tourists and businessmen can visit foreign countries. For them, English is becoming more familiar for communication. On the other hand, many foreigners can visit Japan, and they are becoming more familiar with Japanese. Also, recently, the remarkable progress in computer technology is influencing not only language teaching and learning but also education in general. The advancement of computer technology may even create a situation in which students can learn languages entirely by themselves.

Now, let me briefly review and evaluate some of the characteristic theoretical features of representative approaches and methodologies.

When I was a student studying English about 70 years ago, I learned it primarily through grammar and translation. Then, when I started teaching English about 60 years ago, the prevailing methodology of foreign language teaching was based upon the principle called "oral approach" which has since been given another name, "audio-lingual approach." Teaching methodology based upon the oral approach was also known in Japan as the "Fries Method," or "Michigan Method." This was because Dr. Charles Fries, a great advocate of oral approach, was teaching at the University of Michigan. As a young teacher of English, I was influenced by Dr. Fries, and decided to study under him at the University of Michigan. However, when I arrived there, I found out to my disappointment that Dr. Fries had just retired. So, I studied under the guidance of Dr. Robert Lado, who succeeded Dr. Fries. Dr. Lado was an excellent professor and he was also the Director of English Language Institute at that time for training foreign students in English at the University of Michigan. I still remember his speech to the new students at the 1957 matriculation ceremony. He emphasized that the English Language Institute at the University of Michigan had three basic principles for language teaching and said, "Principle Number One: Repeat! Principle Number Two: Repeat! Principle Number Three: Repeat!" I think that his speech reflects very well the idea of structural linguistics at the time which emphasized speech as primary in language and linguistic activities as habits. Such an idea was the basis for "pattern practice" that we often used for any language teaching, and it influenced English teaching in Japan greatly during the 1950's, 60's, and even 70's. I might also add that Dr. Lado wrote a book by the title, "Linguistics across Cultures," which reflects his ideas that are quite relevant to the theme of our symposium here today.

As a graduate student at the University of Michigan, I was lucky to get a position as a teaching assistant in Japanese. They had had a Japanese program for quite some time, and Professor Yamagiwa, a second generation Japanese

American as I understood, was in charge of the program. I remember that the first year textbook which Professor Yamagiwa wrote was all written in Roomaji, and it took some time for me to get used to the textbook. I must say that the textbook showed the basic idea of the emphasis upon "speech" for language teaching at that time.

The oral approach applied to classroom instruction through pattern practices, and repetitions subsequently became too mechanical and even boring, so teachers began to think about other effective ways of teaching. Several approaches and methodologies were proposed and coexisted with the oral approach, but I will mention one approach called the "cognitive approach," which is associated with the ideas of generative grammar. The cognitive approach was well received by many teachers as a kind of reaction to the oral approach. As the term "cognitive" suggests, this approach emphasized the conscious understanding of the structure of language first before it was practiced and "internalized" in the brains. Once a sentence structure is internalized, the students will be able to produce many of their own sentences with the similar structure. Thus, linguistic activity was looked at as CREATION, NOT imitation. We can often observe such creation. For example, we often hear children's sentences such as "This is gooder than that," or "I goed there yesterday." Apparently, the children are trying to follow the general grammatical rule of comparative form of adjectives for the former, and the rule of the past tense form of the verbs for the latter. They could not have heard those wrong forms from adults, and they could not have imitated adults' language here. Not knowing extra-rules applicable to those forms, they have just created the wrong forms in accordance with the general rules, which they know. I consider that this is a good example which indicates that we use our linguistic structural knowledge to produce our own sentences creatively, not imitatively.

I must point out here that the oral approach and cognitive approach share some things in common. In particular, both of them emphasized linguistic structures, and the teaching materials were organized primarily in accordance with grammatical structures or categories. However, the difference is that the oral approach aimed at the development of students' speech habits, while the cognitive approach emphasized the cultivation of student's grammatical knowledge, or grammatical competence, with which they can produce any number of other sentences. Without such grammatical competence, a student cannot produce sentences of their own. After all, I must say that sentence production is not imitation but creation, and for the creation of sentences, the grammatical competence that the cognitive approach aims at is essential.

I must add that although both of those approaches emphasized grammar, they never neglected the communication aspects of language. Thus, there were often conversation practices in their classrooms, and they considered that as long as sentences were grammatical, the desired communication would naturally take place.

Although those approaches were later criticized as ineffective, I tend to believe that they are very good, particularly for the beginning students, and those approaches have succeeded in producing many good students, and I am inclined to give credit to those approaches. In fact, when I wrote my own textbook, "Foundations of Japanese Language," the underlying principle was in the line with the cognitive approach.

In reaction to "grammatical competence," the notion of "communicative competence" began to be noticed toward the end of the 1960's. It was based upon the view that language is a social tool for communication, and it emphasized the communication aspect rather than structural aspect of language. Originally, the notion was proposed by an anthropological linguist, Dr. Dell Hymes. It emphasized the idea that along with the knowledge of producing grammatical sentences, a person ought to know when and to whom such sentences must be used. In this sense, it was fundamentally associated with specific styles of sentences such as politeness, formality, informality, etc. Thus, the term "communicative competence" was in reference to the knowledge of appropriate language use. Emphasizing the central idea of "communication," some teachers even began to tolerate students' errors, particularly at the lower level, as long as communication was possible. Primarily associated with speaking ability, the communicative approach is sensitive to students' needs in situations that they may be in, or topics that they may talk about. Placing linguistic structure to the back burner, so to speak, the teaching materials were not based upon grammatical categories but upon communicative acts such as how to greet, how to introduce someone, how to make a phone call, etc.

As the communicative approach was enthusiastically received, both the oral approach and the cognitive approach were unfortunately characterized by some people even as "old fashioned."

Derived from or associated with communicative approach, a few more approaches came to be noticed. There was the "Proficiency Oriented Approach," which focused on the level of proficiency based upon accuracy. Then, there was "Monitor Model Approach," known also as "Natural Approach," which assumed that language acquisition would begin with listening, and after some listening period, speech would emerge spontaneously passing through stages similar to

native language acquisition. They claimed that grammatical explanation was not necessary, and grammar was useful only to monitor or correct errors. Language acquisition apparently meant "picking it up" rather than learning it. Then there were approaches called "Total Physical Response," "Community Language Learning," "Suggestopedia," etc., which could all be categorized under the name of the "Humanistic Approach." They emphasized that foreign languages should be learned in the most relaxed atmosphere through actions, music, pictures, games, etc. Since they were concerned with students' psychological inhibition, they tended not to correct errors. Considering all those subcategories of communicative approach, I may summarize its basic points as follows: (1) Language is for communication and teaching aims at developing students' communicative competence. (2) Communicative competence includes areas beyond grammatical competence and it must be acquired through activities or simulations, so the teaching materials are organized around situations and/or topics. (3) Although all four skill are important, listening and speaking are "crucial, and adults can acquire a second language like children can.

Interestingly, on some of those points, even the advocates of the oral or the cognitive approach must agree. For example, nobody can deny the fact that language is for communication, and that language teaching should aim at developing the students' communicative competence. However, I must question its relative de-emphasis on the structure of language. In theory, at least, teaching materials arranged according to speech acts cannot logically be ordered or graded. For example, if a lesson deals with a speech act of "Making a Request," for window closing, we have many ways of expressing the request. We can say, "Close the window," or "Please close the window," "Would you please close the window," or "I would appreciate it if you would kindly close the window for me," or even "It is chilly here," etc. In Japanese, we can make the same kind of request by saying, "Mado o shimete kudasai," or "Dooka, mado o shimete kudasaimasen ka," or "Mado o shimete itadakitai no desu ga," or "Kono heya wa chotto samui desu ne," etc. There are many other ways of request with different degrees of politeness. Teaching all those together in one lesson is clearly out of the question. Obviously, it is most reasonable to teach structurally simpler ones first followed by more complex ones. If we seek this kind of solution, we invariably end up in coming back to the organizing principles of the oral approach or the cognitive approach. Therefore, I believe that grammar should be considered more fundamental for the arrangement of teaching materials for the lower level students.

The next question I have for ideas in the communicative approach concerns whether or not adults can learn a foreign language like children can. What I

question here is the idea of unconscious language acquisition applied to foreign language learning. This issue reminds me of the long debated issue of "direct" versus "indirect" methods. Rodrigues, a Portuguese missionary to Japan about 400 years ago, mentioned in one of his books that there were two ways of learning a foreign language.

One was to learn it like a native language, and the other, to study it according to the strict phonological and grammatical rules. He further said that the former would be good, but it would take a lot of time, while the latter would not comparatively take too much time, but it would tend to produce incorrect sentences unless the instructor gives correct information. I believe that he was right then, and he is right today. As Rodrigues said, I believe that an adult CAN learn a foreign language like a child learns his/her native language. However, it requires a lot of time. For teaching a foreign language at a school where time is usually limited, it is essential to think about most economical and effective ways of teaching. For that purpose, teachers should constantly be aware of what are easy as against what are difficult to learn and they should provide accurate information systematically to the students so that they can learn language systematically. I do not agree with the idea that a foreign language can be effectively "picked up" naturally or it can emerge spontaneously through just listening. I rather believe that effective teaching should be based upon the students' conscious understanding of the structure of the target language first which they can apply to produce infinite number of their own new sentences. Needless to say, such new sentences should always be tested and practiced and tested again in the classroom. I think that is more economical, after all, for foreign language education at a school, and regardless of the remarkable advancement of computer technology, good teachers are always necessary for good guidance of the students to learn a foreign language well.

Here, I must say a few more words about grammar. Grammar should be looked at not as a corrective or restrictive device but as a device for sentence production and interpretation. Knowing grammar does not mean that one must be able to tell how an adjective is different from a verb or what a conditional construction is, etc. It means that one can produce and interpret an infinite number of sentences by applying a limited number of grammatical rules. Since grammar is a sentence production as well as a sentence interpretation device, I do not agree with the idea that grammar is useful only for monitoring or correcting sentences. In this sense, I agree with some of the communicative approach advocates who regard grammar as an important part of communicative approach. After all, for satisfactory communication, we need accurate sentences together with reasonable relationships between sentences, logical flow of

conversations, presuppositions relevant to the situation, etc. Therefore, along with some advocates of communicative approach, I must say that grammar is a part of communicative approach.

So far, I have discussed that the oral approach and cognitive approach emphasize primarily structural aspects of language at the lower level. When the students reach the level in which they have acquired the structure of the foreign language, the approach should emphasize different aspects of what the oral approach, or the cognitive approach primarily aims at. At this advanced level, students' enhancement and solidification of knowledge seem to be fundamentally important.

I have heard that some of the Japanese language school students are speaking Japanese at home to their parents, and English at school or elsewhere to their friends. Apparently, their knowledge of the basic structure of Japanese should be good, and they can produce their own sentences for communication. Therefore, I believe that they can be treated in the same way as advanced students. What they need at this level will be to enhance their extended Japanese language abilities for reading, writing, listening, and speaking. They have to be trained for logical conversations and speeches, for producing acceptable sentence styles according to the situations, for choosing right vocabulary items according to topics, and for using even nonverbal gestures accompanying the conversations, etc. Thus, they have to know more vocabulary items and phrases together with about 2,000 kanji that are commonly used in newspapers and journals in Japan. They have to know them not only for reading, but also for writing. In addition, depending upon the students' interests, vocabulary items and phrases specific to their interests and specialties should be enhanced at this level. Together with the idea of enhancement, solidification of knowledge is important. Thus, while reading some materials with the students, constant review sessions of important grammatical items are necessary to confirm the students' understanding of the structure of language. We know that these invariably require hard work on the part of the teachers and the students, but I have to emphasize that the more students read, write and think, the better they can learn.

Although at the advanced level, the communicative approach and its related approaches seem to be most effective, some of the ideas in the oral and the cognitive approaches are still useful at the advanced level, too. For example, the idea of "repetition" may even be useful at the advanced level for memorizing and internalizing vocabulary and phrase items. Also, repeated listening with a computer to the recorded reading of a story or a chapter in a textbook will certainly be very useful. In addition, listening to or singing Japanese songs

repeatedly, or seeing Japanese dramas or movies repeatedly will certainly be effective. A program for repeated active use of Japanese is also necessary. That is, not only speaking but also repeated active writing is to be stressed. I know that teachers will have to work hard making suggestions or corrections of the students' writings, but it will get a good result. Also, for active use of speech, a debate session in Japanese or a drama session will be very useful. Through those repeated communicative activities, the students' Japanese abilities will certainly be strengthened at the advanced level. I am sure that Japanese teachers can think of many other effective ways of teaching the students at the advanced level. I only emphasize two key words for effective teaching of the advanced students: enhancement and solidification.

So far, I have discussed three approaches: the oral approach, the cognitive approach, and the communicative approach. I think I have discussed some of their merits and short comings, and although each approach seems to be competitive with another, they should not be looked at as opposing views. Rather, each has its own merits and they should be looked at as complementary to one another. This reminds me of an old story of blind men and an elephant. Touching an elephant's tail, one says that an elephant is a thin long animal. Another touches the elephant's trunk and says that elephant is a long creature. Still another blind man, touching one of the elephant's four legs, says that elephant is a tree-like creature. All of them are partially right, but none of them are totally right. In a sense, we are like those blind men, and language is like an elephant. Language is related to various notions such as structures, meanings, communication, knowledge, habit, behavior, etc. Teaching also has many aspects such as students' psychology, motivation, aptitude, grades, etc. We must consider that what we call different approaches have been derived from varied emphasis on different aspects of language which gets connected to the notion of "how" to teach. Thus, some may advocate teaching through repetition, but others, through listening or singing. Some advocate that teaching materials must be organized according to topics, and other, according to structures. I do believe that for effective language teaching, all of those are important. Perhaps, we should only consider that simpler sentences should be taught before more complex ones and basic structures should be taught before more complex structures. When all those aspects are fully considered can language teaching become truly effective? In this sense, I find it difficult to subscribe to any one approach for all levels as better than another. I can only say that concerning methodologies of teaching a foreign language, there are all kinds of "HOW TO TEACH," which are changeable, and we should never forget unchangeable "WHAT TO TEACH." That is, we are teaching Japanese which is a postpositional language as against

English which is a prepositional language. Also, we are teaching Japanese which is a verb final language as against English which is a not verb final language. We are teaching Japanese which is a pitch accent language as against English which is a stress accent language. Japanese has a relative tense system, but English has an absolute tense system. These fundamental features of Japanese as against English do not change, and hopefully they have to be internalized in the student' brains at the lower level.

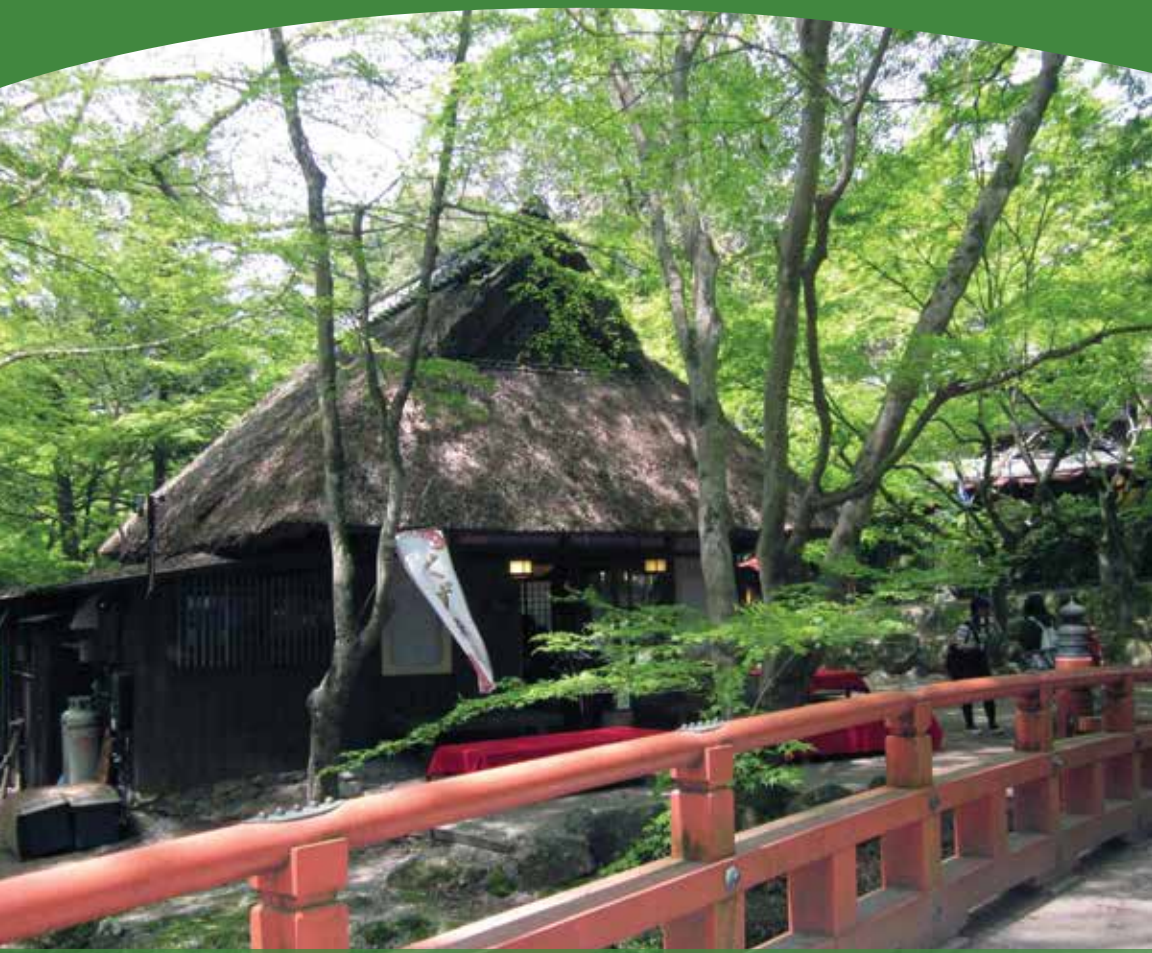
As I mentioned, teachers should supply enough correct information systematically to the students. I believe that the information should be relevant to the students' needs in accordance with their levels. I have discussed that there are various approaches and methodologies for supplying information to the students, and some may be recommended for one level, and some, for another level. However, there is one thing that is essential for any teaching. It is the teachers' extensive knowledge of the language that they are teaching. I believe that, by comparing English and Japanese, teachers have the responsibility to be aware of what are easy to learn and what are difficult to learn and why they are difficult to learn, etc. They should provide the information systematically to the students. In this sense, I believe that teachers are encouraged to be always interested in comparing two languages with their respective systems of sound, grammar, vocabulary, writing, and culture. This, I am aware, is a tremendous work for you teachers, and I will be always cheering for you.

Lastly, I would like to come back to *Kakehashi.* The three approaches I have discussed remind me of one of the *Kakehashi* in Nitobe Garden at UBC. As you know, there are two *Kakehashi* across the pond in the garden. One is a straight bridge, but the other is composed of three "half bridges" partially connected to one another to make a crooked whole bridge. I am interested in this crooked bridge. If I were to start walking across this bridge, I would soon come to the dead end of the first "half bridge." Since I would not want to fall into the pond, I would have to step aside to the second "half bridge" to proceed, but here again I would soon come to the dead end. If I were to try to proceed further, I would have to step aside again to the third "half bridge," which would take me successfully to the other side of the pond. I think that the crooked *Kakehashi* is very symbolic of the three approaches of foreign language teaching I have discussed. They need one another, and all of them together accomplish the goal of successful foreign language education.

CHAPTER 4

Language, Culture and Ethnicity: A case of Japanese mixed heritage youths in Canada

Naoko Takei



Mizutani bashi, Nara Park, Nara

CHAPTER 4

Introduction

One of the most common questions that mixed heritage people encounter daily is "What are you?" It is also the question that inspired Kip Fulbeck, a professor at the University of California Santa Barbara to embark on the hapa project and publish the book called *Part Asian, 100% Hapa* (Fulbeck, 2006). Fulbeck himself is a hapa, a Hawaiian word meaning mixed heritage person. For his book, he gathered over 1200 self-identified hapas' photos accompanied with a handwritten response to the question: "what are you?" The following are some of responses:

> What am I? Shouldn't you be telling me that? People tell me I'm white because I "look white." But then others say they can see the Japanese in me after I tell them. They say, "oh, I can see it in your eyes." Where does that leave me? No one questions my father's race or ethnicity. But suddenly, one generation later, I'm not "Asian." (146)

> I am millions of particles fused together making up a far less than perfect masterpiece. I am the big bang. (164)

> I am many little bridges joined. My parents and grandparents have many stories of making paths, and following paths, and crossing paths. I come from whalers, trappers, adventures, nomads --- all trails led to a point: me. (78)

> What am I? I'm exactly the same as every other person in 2500. (24)

The responses echo the voices of the Japanese mixed heritage youths (hereafter JMHY) whom I interviewed for my dissertation research. As a language teacher, I have modified the question so as to understand how they perceive their ethnicity and who they are as language learners. Fourteen JMHY spent some time with me to share their life stories and assisted me to find the answers to the questions. The quoted responses above, even within a concise sentence, suggest the complexity of their sense of ethnicity, which does not

simply merge from the cross over between Japan and Canada. Their words indicate that the complexity is produced from the intersection of past, present and future, the tension between denial and acceptance, and uncertainty around their own perception of themselves and the perceptions of others. In this paper I present the short summary of my dissertation, also my long journey with fourteen JMHY participants with the hope of illustrating what appears to be a common theme among them. It should be noted that what I present here is my analysis or interpretation of the JMHY's life stories, which may represent only one dimension of factors about their lives (Freeland 2006; Hammersley & Atkinson, 2007).

Background of the Study

A society that consists of many immigrants such as Canada not only becomes a multicultural society, but also many of its households become intercultural or multicultural. The data from Census Statistics Canada (2006) released in 2010[1] reported that the proportion of interracial couples in Canada is on the rise, with a third more than in the previous census taken in 2001. Among numerous ethnic groups in Canada, Japanese reportedly have the highest ratio of interracial couples. According to the report, there are 29,700 interracial couples of which three-quarters (74.6%) have one partner who originates from Japan. This percentage is remarkably high in comparison to the second largest group (47%), which is made up of Latin American and non-Latin American partners. The report explains that this high proportion may be due to the long residential history for many Japanese in Canada, as well as the low overall number of Japanese, which may have led to an increase in interaction with persons outside of their group.

This census report confirms my own observations. In my experience teaching Japanese as a second language (JSL) in university over the last ten years, I have noticed an increased enrolment of JMHY studying Japanese. The majority of the JMHY in my class start from the beginner's class as a result of not having attended formal Japanese language class previously. When JMHY claim their Japanese heritage background as the reason for studying Japanese, over other university language courses such as French, German or Chinese, this raises issues in terms of how they relate to JSL students. How are they different from JSL learners? At the same time, how do they differ from heritage language (HL) learners with parents from the same cultural background? Most importantly, how

[1] *The census is conducted every five years and it takes several years before the public sees its results. The latest census took place in 2011, the results of which were released only partially, by the time I wrote this dissertation in December, 2013.*

can a Japanese language instructor best respond to JMHY's needs as learners in a JSL class? In effect, we researchers have not investigated this segment of the population enough to answer these questions. Mixed heritage persons have not received adequate attention in HL studies (Noro, 2009; Shin, 2010), although in the fields of psychology and cultural studies scholars have conducted a great volume of research on mixed heritage persons and have analyzed their ethnicity (e.g., Bettez, 2010; Collins, 2000; Murphy-Shigematsu, 2000; Root, 1997). I consider this to be one of the research gaps in HL education and in fact there is another one I identify, which is explained below.

In the HL field, since Fishman's (1966) pioneering work, the importance of maintaining the HL of immigrants has been continuously promoted and studied in various contexts. While the work of Cummins (1979, 1991, 2000) emphasizes the cognitive and academic developmental benefits of retaining the first language of any immigrant, a large body of research (e.g., Cho & Krashen, 2003; Luo & Wiseman, 2000; Wong, 1991) has shown that one of the personal benefits of language maintenance is to improve family relationships. In the Japanese heritage language (JHL) context, the main trend is in line with the rest of HL education, and many studies (e.g., Hayashi, 2006; Oketani, 1997; Sakamoto, 2006; Shibata, 2003) have documented the importance of the retention of JHL and have investigated key factors for HL maintenance in North America. Thus, the benefits of maintaining one's HL are well documented. The flip side of this story is not so celebratory: there is a negative view of those who cannot manage to retain their HL. They are not only perceived as disadvantaged, but are also often placed outside the scope of HL research.

Because research focused solely on mixed heritage persons is extremely limited in HL studies, I have designed my research to address this gap. I see an urgent need to investigate an appropriate pedagogical approach for the JMHY in my classes and those in JSL classes elsewhere. I used the following research questions to shape my study:

> Q 1: How is the sense of ethnicity of JMHY shaped by culture in their everyday lives, and what role does their heritage language, Japanese, play in this process?
>
> Q 2: What are the implications of JMHY's lack of "linguistic proficiency" in Japanese in the post-secondary Japanese language classroom?

Theoretical framework

With regard to the first research question, the main concern is to gain a better understanding of who JMHY are. In HL research, this question is often rendered as an investigation of learner's sense of belonging, identity or ethnicity. Instead, drawing on Baumann (1996) who approaches "ethnicity as culture," this study considers that it is JMHY culture that shapes their sense of belonging, identity and the role of HL in that process. Therefore, to examine who JMHY are requires an investigation of JMHY culture, which assists me to comprehend two interrelated processes: how JMHY culture shapes the relationship between heritage language and ethnicity, and at the same time how their view of heritage language and ethnicity reshape JMHY culture (Baumann, 1996).

Investigating ethnicity as culture inevitably leads to the question of how "culture" could be defined. In the era of postmodernism and post-structuralism, scholars like Rampton (1995) and Harris (2006) who support Hall's (1989, 1991, 1992) anti-essential approach to culture claim that a rigid essential view of culture does not adequately explain the relation between language and ethnicity. On the other hand, those who suggest an indexical link between language and ethnicity (e.g., Edwards, 2009; May, 2005), point out the danger of completely dismissing an essentialised view of culture. My take on culture is grounded in Baumann's notion, which does not see essentialised and non-essentialised views as oppositional but posits "two cultural discourses." He explains the significance of this approach in the following manner:

> We have a lot to gain as soon as we theorize what people say and do about culture as two discourses, both of them rational in their different contexts. It opens up a whole new universe of study. By viewing culture as the object of two discursive competencies, one essentialist and one processual, we can study and appreciate the culture-making sophistication of exactly those people who are usually treated as the dupes of "their" reified cultures. (Baumann, 1999, 94)

The notion of two cultural discourses sets up the core theoretical framework for the study, which aims to gain understanding of JMHY's sense of ethnicity from their cultural perspective. To investigate JMHY's ethnicity, I pay particular attention to the meaning making process, as Street (1993) suggests that we should study culture as an action, not a thing, because the most important aspect of culture making is that it is an active process of meaning making.

For my second research question, the focus is shifted to JMHY's linguistic competency, so I investigated JMHY culture as a question of who they are as language learners. Since a conventional language test or questionnaire labels them as a beginner of Japanese, their linguistic competency has to be examined from a different perspective. This study found Byram's intercultural competence (1997, 2000, 2012) that emphasizes critical cultural awareness useful to examine JMHY's communication competence. Byram suggests that recognizing cultural differences does not necessary divide "our" and 'their" culture, but it could work both as a tool to bridge the differences and an analytical lens to see differences within a culture. One of the benefits in employing this perspective is that it creates distance from the comparison with a native speaker of Japanese as it is not necessarily present in native speakers.

Secondly, Cook's (1991, 1992, 2005, 2011) multicompetence theory is used to scrutinize the JMHY's use of Japanese words or phrases in English. Like intercultural competence, Cook explains that multicompetence is not equivalent to two monolinguals but is a unique combination that is not present in a native speaker. Thus, multicompetent speakers can actively use more than one language for their own needs and their pattern of language use is deeply rooted in their daily life.

To sum up, the framework of the investigation of JMHY culture is supported by these four major theories. Among them I regard Baumann's two cultural discourses as a key as it underlines the other three theories. For this study, I consider that essentialised and non-essentialised views of culture are not oppositional but both are a process of cultural making.

Method

Gaining a better understanding of JMHY culture is aided by an ethnography approach. Among various ethnographic approaches, I employed linguistic ethnography promoted by Hymes (1980, 1996, 2010) because the aim of this study is most appropriately accommodated by his propositions for the study of language on three points. First of all, Hymes suggests the duty of an ethnographer is that he or she "must begin, not with the function of language in culture, but the functions of languages in cultures" (Hymes, 2010, p. 577). His claim applies suitably to this present investigation of youth who do not demonstrate an advanced linguistic proficiency in their HL. Outsiders who do not share the same cultural code may not recognize any functions of JMHY's non-verbalized behaviours, but there could be an important function in these behaviours for those who share the same cultural code.

Secondly, in line with Baumann's notion of "ethnicity as culture," Hymes insists what makes us who we are is not our age, sex, race, class or occupation but our daily experience, including daily language use. Our experience makes connections between language and social life, and only that realization allows us to study the functions of languages. This is an important starting point of this study, as the study takes on Baumann's notion of "ethnicity as culture" and explores the daily language use of JMHY whose group is formed not based on a shared sense of ethnicity but of culture.

The third point is the similarity lying in the concept of intercultural competence and multicompetence. Like Hymes' ethnography of communication (Hymes, 1974), both intercultural competence and multicompetence focus on communicative competence and reject the view of communication as simply an exchange of information. In this sense, I believe that linguistic ethnography provides the most suitable methodology for investigating JMHY daily interactions from the perspectives of intercultural competence and multicompetence.

Participants and Analysis

I recruited fourteen participants from seven families (four males and ten females), who met all the following criteria:

- Be between 18 – 30 years of age
- Have one first generation Japanese parent (born and raised in Japan) and have one Canadian parent (born and raised in Canada)
- Have grown up (or have spent significant time) in Canada
- Speak English fluently

I interviewed all of them at least once, but four of them were not available for the second interview. Apart from the interviews, I collected and analyzed six self-reflected life essays, several photos from eight participants, my brief field notes when I had a chance to observe their interactions with their parents or siblings, and emails that I exchanged with them.

As ethnographic research is generally structured around researchers' subjective stances, or their epistemological and ontological stances, how we deal with these positions determines the credibility of the analysis process (Heller, 2008). In my attempt to make sense of the data, I could not help but notice that I was juxtaposing the JMHY's life stories with my own personal experience. As a result, it was inevitable that my personal life history, and even my moods were all incorporated into the analysis. Creese and Blackledge (2012) metaphorically

describe this phenomenon: "as we tell our stories in the voices of others inevitably we perform them, speaking in and through the words of our characters" (p. 318).

Also when we consider researchers' subjective stance in relation to participants, one important question to be asked is whether a researcher is an insider or outsider in relation to the group of participants. Initially, I consider myself as an outsider to the participants, but at some points I realized I was not a complete outsider to them. Because of their mixed heritage background, my assumption was that their sense of being Japanese could not have been the same as mine. However, there were some cases where I had to ask myself consciously: "is it really different?" This encounter led me to the realization that it was not the participants who considered me as an outsider, but I myself categorized JMHY as non-Japanese and thus regarded myself as an outsider to JMHY. Inevitably, my assumption had to be reshaped[2] (Shao-Kobayashi, 2014), and I took into consideration that our experience or meaning making process might have a common ground regardless of how different we were from each other in terms of our personal backgrounds. I began to make an intentional comparison between participants' understanding of who is Japanese and my understanding of who is Japanese.

Findings

In this section I describe the results of the study, but due to the limited space of this book, only the condensed summary of the findings are presented here. To review a full discussion of the findings and analyses including interview excerpts, please refer to my dissertation that is available at the library of Simon Fraser University, Canada.

The first three findings are responding to the first research question, which focuses more on the relation between language and the sense of ethnicity. First I noticed that many participants used the term "half Japanese" to describe their ethnicity. They use that term to distinguish themselves from people who can speak Japanese and to emphasize the difference from them. In this regard, the lack of Japanese proficiency closely related to their sense of ethnicity, indexical link between language and ethnicity (May, 2005). However, when it comes

[2] *This was my assumption but at the same time it is an important hypothesis that this study was structured on. As mentioned in the previous section and here, the research questions were formed on the premise that when people make sense of their experiences, they assign their own meanings to particular events. This foreground is not changed, but the change is in accepting the possibility that the JMHY may have the same sense of being Japanese as I, or any Japanese who was born and raised inside Japan.*

to the Japanese language itself, the participants call it "my culture" or "part of my heritage" to indicate the closeness to Japanese heritage. Thus, "half Japanese" doesn't mean they have half of everything Japanese people have, but it's their acknowledgement of the other half, which they cannot separate from their Japanese halfness. While many participants see Japanese language proficiency as separating them from "Japanese people," they do not think gaining full linguistic proficiency will completely wipe out their other half. For example, Stacy—who exhibits a strong desire to obtain an advanced level of Japanese—believes she will be a very Canadianized-Japanese person, even if one day she becomes fluent in Japanese. Another participant, Holly, who claims to be an intermediate speaker and says that she has two different mindsets, describes the sense of being not "half" but "double".

The second finding is the ways the JMHY assure or are assured of their Japanese heritage. As discussed already, the lack of Japanese language proficiency makes JMHY's sense of being Japanese more vulnerable than their sense of being Canadian and as a result they feel a need to assure their connection to Japanese heritage. Interestingly, while some JMHY clearly distinguish themselves from "Japanese people" who are speakers of Japanese in their eyes, the presence of their Japanese parent seems to assert for JMHY participants their origin or roots, where they came from (Hall, 1996). Several of them claim that they feel more Japanese simply when they are with their Japanese parent or Japanese side of family members. Similarly, they try to cling to the tradition or reconnect to the past to assure their Japanese connection. A good example is the choice of tattoo. One of the female participants has the most well-known origami figure of a crane on her shoulder; another participant (male) uses a Kanji (Chinese character) to write "friends" and "family" on his ankles. That is what Hiramoto (2014) calls "inked nostalgia" that has a value in the immigrant country but is not necessarily in line with native Japanese values. The JMHY's very action to maintain tradition represents a re-interpretation of "tradition" in their own right and context, thus reflecting their own meaning making (Street, 1993). Drawing on Baumann's two cultural discourses notion, here we can see evidence that the process of culture making involves essentialist rhetoric to reify Japanese traditional culture in JMHY's view while they are actively engaged in establishing their sense of ethnicity:

> Yet cultures, even in their most individualized practices, result also from validation of a past. Culture-making is not an ex *tempore* improvisation, but a project of social continuity placed with, and contending with, moments of social change. They reify cultures while at the same time making culture. (Baumann, 1996, p. 31)

For the third finding, I identified that a sense of loss or incompleteness influences the way the participants define their ethnicity and aspire to gain advanced Japanese proficiency. Not all participants feel a sense of loss stemming from the lack of Japanese proficiency, but those who show a strong desire to speak Japanese tend to believe they could feel fuller or more accepted as a Japanese by gaining Japanese proficiency. For example, Sachi is one of the participants who showed a desperate desire to speak Japanese, so her essay starts with, "the subject of language is, for me very much a subject of loss and recovery" and in the interview she said, "I started to tune into the fact that I was missing something. So I think on some level I felt the need to legitimatize myself by speaking Japanese." Those who indicate a strong desire to speak Japanese display a rather painful sense of loss or incompleteness. Although some previous studies describe a correlation between the level of HL and ethnicity, in my study I found that regardless of the level of HL proficiency, the sense of loss or incompleteness hinges on the way participants relate their ethnicity.

The next findings are responding to the second research question where JMHY are regarded as language learners, and the focus is on their linguistic competency. In this study I identified that JMHY show their intercultural competence in the absence of an advanced level of Japanese proficiency, and I found the following factors to be an important source of this competence. First, even though Japanese is not a mutual language used at home, JMHY observe how their parents interact in a cross-cultural situation. Many of the parents speak both Japanese and English and their interracial marriage is a great contributor to multiculturalism. JMHY notice the different communication styles between their parents, stemming from their different cultural backgrounds, but at the same time the participants' perception of their parents' communication style does not always follow a stereotype of Japanese or Canadian. Because their parents do not only provide a cross-cultural setting at home, but also act as models of intercultural speakers. The participants were able to recognize differences within both cultures as well.

The experience of JMHY as mixed heritage persons heightens their sensitivity to cultural boundaries and differences. However, for them, noticing a difference doesn't build a wall between two cultures; rather, they use their critical cultural awareness to bridge differences. Byram (1997) is not explicit about how intercultural competence could be gained without any linguistic competence, but he mentions that one of the conditions of intercultural competence is to be able to establish a good relationship among interlocutors. In the case of the JMHY participants, they cannot be intercultural speakers but intercultural mediators or listeners.

I also found that JMHY exhibit multicompetence in daily language use. I reiterate here what Cook (1991, 1992, 2005, 2011) tries to emphasize: that multicompetence is not equivalent to two monolinguals but is a unique combination that is not present in a native speaker. Thus, multicompetent speakers or in his words, "L2 users," can achieve different functions for their needs with more than one language. Among the participants the most commonly used Japanese is kinship terms and names of Japanese food. For example, Sachi uses three different languages to call her grandparents, her Japanese grandmother to whom she feels so close is "obachan," while her paternal side of grandmother is called "noni" in Italian. Sachi didn't develop a close relationship with either of her grandfathers, and they are normally referred to as "grandfather" in English. Using three different languages Sachi tried to covey the different level of intimacy she has developed with her grandparents.

Another factor that contributed to JMHY's multicompetence is the way they learned these Japanese words. Their use of Japanese is deeply rooted in their actual experience; they have learned the Japanese words through what Gee (2004) terms "cultural process." Joseph possesses an advanced level of Japanese, having gone to Japan regularly a summer time, but he has only a limited vocabulary related to winter events. Also, his family never celebrates Japanese New Year due to his family's religion, so—although he speaks fluent Japanese—his Japanese coworkers were surprised to find out Joseph didn't know what Oshougatu (Japanese New Year) means.

Conclusion

Even though the findings I have presented here are rather concise, it is hoped that these findings support and underscore the complexity in the JMHY's sense of ethnicity and the role of Japanese language in their daily life, namely JMHY culture. Their daily experience, including their daily language usage, helps them form JMHY culture, and at the same time their culture assists the functions of their language use. A conventional language examination simply sends them to a beginner's class, but with a close look at their language use, this study highlights their communicative competence, such as intercultural competency and multicompetence. These competencies are the result of their unique "cultural process" (Gee, 2004), which is deeply rooted in their daily lives. It would be helpful if language instructors acknowledge such a process and create a curriculum that strengthens such communicative competences. For example, adopting a more individualized curriculum would help to evaluate JMHY's learning process. Also to support such a learning process, the use of

content-based learning might be a more appropriate approach. In this regard, studying in Japan could be a good option. However, studying abroad involves a different interaction with Japanese people, which this study did not explore. More research is needed to confirm the effect of a study abroad program for JMHY. I consider that would be an interesting direction to take for my future research.

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CHAPTER 5

Keynote Lecture: Identity of *Nikkeijin* and the Definition of *Nikkei*

Shigeru Kojima

Kinosaki Onsen, Hyogo

CHAPTER 5

The word, *Nikkeijin* 日系人 consists of three kanji, or Chinese characters, which respectively mean 日＝日 (本［人］) Japan or Japanese, 系＝系 (統) family line or lineage, and 人＝人 (間) person. In other words, *Nikkeijin* means Japanese immigrants and their descendants. Looking back to the photos, all of the people are *Nikkeijin*.

According to the Discover Nikkei website (What is Nikkei?, 2005-2016), approximately three million *Nikkeijin* reside in the world, mainly in the Americas (e.g., 1.6 million in Brazil, 1.3 million in the U.S.A., and 109 thousand in Canada). However, how *Nikkeijin* is defined is somewhat problematic, because the term was coined from the viewpoint of the Japanese people in Japan. Three million *Nikkeijin* do not necessarily have the true identity of *Nikkeijin*. Naturally, most of them have the cultural identity of the country that they emigrated to. So when we ask them, "What are you?" we find a wide variety of answers such as American, Japanese American, Japanese Canadian, Japanese descendant, Brazilian, Nikkei, Hapa, etc. These are some examples. Do you know the terms "Nikkei" and "Hapa"? The latter means "of mixed racial heritage with partial roots in Asian and or Pacific Islander ancestry." It is relatively well known in the U.S. and Canada. Prof. Kip Fulbeck of University of California Santa Barbara published the book, titled *Part Asian, 100% Hapa.* This is an album of the portraits of Hapas and their responses to the question, "What are you?" (Fulbeck, 2006).

Looking at the many portraits of Hapas photographed by Fulbeck enables us to embrace diverse identities of *Nikkeijin*. Some Nikkeijins in the book identified themselves as "half Japanese Canadian and half Chinese Canadian" or "half Japanese, quarter Danish and quarter English." Although the way ethnic origins are combined is almost infinite, each person has a right to choose his or her own identity.

At the Japanese Overseas Migration Museum (JOMM) in Yokohama, we always ask *Nikkeijin* visitors the same question, "What are you *(Anata wa nani-jin desu ka)?"* Table 1 shows their answers.

	Brazil	USA	Peru
1	Japanese Brazilian **30.3**	Japanese American **76.3**	Peruvian **46.0**
2	Brazilian **29.7**	Japanese **5.0**	Japanese Peruvian **36.0**
3	Nikkeijin **27.3**	American **3.4**	Nikkeijin **12.0**
4	Japanese **1.8**	Nikkei **2.0**	
5	Others **10.9**	Others **13.3**	Others **6.0**

Table 1: Answers to the question "What are you?"
(Japanese Overseas Migration Museum, Yokohama)

Among those who were from Brazil, 30% answered "Japanese Brazilian" and almost the same percentage answered "Brazilian." This is only 2 % more than those who answered *Nikkeijin*. In the case of U.S.A., almost 80% answered Japanese American. Among those who were from Peru, almost one half answered "Peruvian;" and 10% less answered "Japanese Peruvian." Also about 10% answered *Nikkeijin.* In other words, we can see clear differences among those countries. Answers on cultural identity appear widely different from each other in relation to social and cultural surroundings.

Another important point is the term "Nikkei." *Nikkeijin* themselves have been trying to define this term. The terminology cited below was given as a part of the report of the *Nikkei* conference held in San Francisco in 2000, where Japanese Americans discussed the meaning of the term "Nikkei." Based on their discussion, the term "Nikkei" was defined more inclusively than "Japanese American":

> The term "Nikkei" is used throughout this report and is not necessarily interchangeable with the term "Japanese Americans." Although the term literally means "of Japanese ancestry," the Japanese currently use it to describe people of Japanese ancestry who've left Japan. We've found that with the changing definitions of what our community has become, "Japanese American" is too exclusive of a term. Participants in the conference found that although far from perfect, "Nikkei" was a better label. "Nikkei" is a state of mind, not a label defining ancestry. It applies to those who are simpatico with the Nikkei community and its people. (California Japanese American Community Leadership Council, Nikkei 2000 Conference Committee, and Japanese Cultural and Community Center of Northern California, 2000, 8)

Furthermore, Nikkei was viewed as a state of mind rather than a label defining ancestry. In other words, anyone can be Nikkei as long as he or she is "simpatico" with the Nikkei community and its people.

During the 2001 Pan-American Nikkei Convention (COPANI) in New York, there was a workshop about nikkei identity, and they came to define Nikkei as follows:

Working definition of *Nikkei*

After about an hour's discussion on Friday morning, July 27, we arrived at the following working definition of the term *Nikkei.*

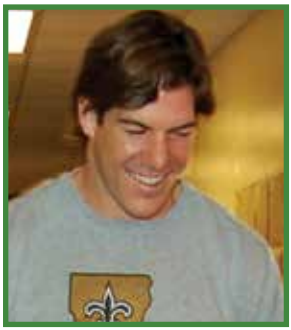
A Nikkei is anyone who has one or more ancestors from Japan, and/or anyone who self-identifies as a Nikkei.

Although not everyone agreed with the second half of the definition, we have included it in the spirit of being (1) open to self-definitions; and (2) inclusive.

For example, there are people of whole and part Japanese ancestry who do not self-identify as Nikkei, and we all agreed that we cannot and should not force them to do so. On the other hand, there are people who may not be of whole or part Japanese ancestry who need to identify with the larger community and we should try to include them. An outstanding example would be of a child who is not of Japanese descent who is adopted into a family with one or more persons of Japanese descent. If this child is raised in the context of a Nikkei family and community, and identifies with that, it would be cruel to deny affiliation simply because of ancestry. (Panamerican Nikkei Association USA East, 2001)

These above-cited two definitions of Nikkei are clearly different from the meaning of *Nikkeijin*. However, it seems to be understandable and convincing if the following examples are considered:

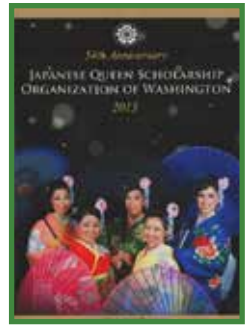
Scott Fujita is a professional American football player and was adopted into a Nikkei family. Technically he is not a *Nikkeijin*, but his father is a Japanese American Nisei. Fujita identifies himself as a half Japanese, despite the fact that he is not biologically Japanese at all, as he was quoted to say, "I recognize the fact that I don't have one single drop of Japanese blood in my body. But I've always felt half Japanese at heart" (Youngmisuk, 2010)



Photographs: (Left) Scott Fujita, Wikipedia (public domain); (Right) His Nisei father and family, Youngmisuk (www.nydailynews.com, 2010.)

Another example can be seen in the Nikkei Queen Contest in Seattle. One of the conditions of participation in the Nikkei Queen Contest is the blood quantum rule. In Honolulu, Los Angeles and San Francisco, applicants need to have more than 50% of Japanese blood. In Seattle, however, the percentage is 25%. Why is the percentage lower in Seattle? According to one of the Seattle committee members, the committee considers that the most important factor is not the blood, but the "heart" and the participation in Nikkei community activities (Kojima, 2013a).

Kiana Kobayashi won the 2009 Japanese Queen Contest in Seattle. Interestingly, she is not *Nikkeijin*. She is Chinese. Her case did not meet the condition of 25%, but she had wanted to participate and acquired the right to enter the contest. How? In Seattle, the Japanese Queen Contest is not only a contest to showcase beauty, but also to evaluate the qualifications to be a member and successor of the Nikkei community. She was actively participating in every event in the Nikkei community. Queens receive a scholarship to promote cultural exchange programs and play a vital role to revitalize the Nikkei community. In case of Kiana, her daily activities in Seattle's Nikkei community were highly regarded by the committee.



Images: (Left) Kiana Ye Mayumi Kobayashi, as cited in the Seattle Japanese Community Queen Scholarship Program (2009); (Right) The program brochure (2013)

Today *Nikkeijin* are of diversified racial backgrounds, and we cannot say who is *Nikkeijin* only by looking at their physical appearances. Many of them have multi-racial ethnic backgrounds and very often some of them do not look Japanese. According to Census Canada in 2011, there were 109,740 *Nikkeijin* in Canada. From these, only 54,900 were of single ethnic origin. In other words, the other 54,840 were of multiple ethnic origins and represent 49.9%.

If we look at the existing statistics in the U.S.A. and Brazil, the tendencies are the same. Table 2 shows the percentages of mixed roots in *Nikkeijin* populations.

Country	USA	Canada	Brasil
Nikkeijin population	1,304,286	109,740	1,228,000
Single ethnic origin	763,325	54,900	905,036
Multiple ethnic origin	540,961	54,840	322,964
Mixed roots %	41.5	49.9	26.3
Census year	2010	2011	1988*

Table 2: Sources: U.S. Census Bureau, Asian Population by Number of Detailed Groups, 2010; Statistics Canada, National Household Survey, Ethnic Origin, 2011; Sanpauro Jinmon Kagaku Kenkyûjo, *Burajiru-ni okeru Nikkei jinkô chôsa hôkokusho, 1987-1988 (1988).*

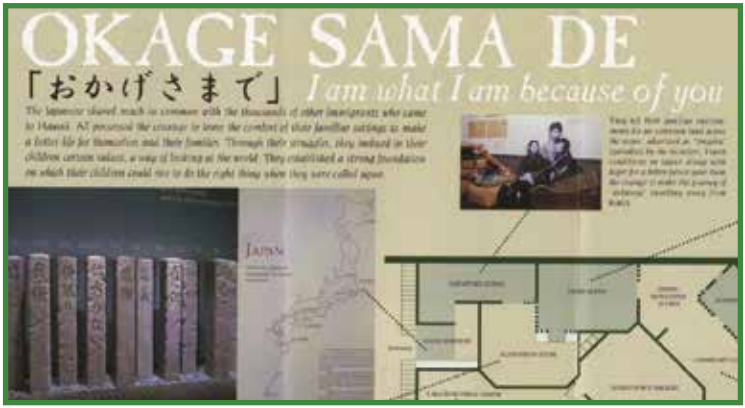
According to Prof. Duncan Williams of University of Southern California, the mixed roots percentage in the United States will probably exceed 50% (Kojima, 2013b). In Canada, it has already passed 50%. In Brazil, the situation will be almost the same as in the other two countries.

At the end of the permanent exhibit at JOMM in Yokohama, visitors appreciate a wonderful picture titled "Nikkei Big Family." In this picture, Nikkei family members totaling 58 persons, from Sansei (3rd generation) to Rokusei (6th generation) appear to be cheerful and harmonious. They are part of the Nikkei family, but their ethnic backgrounds are diversified. It is difficult to tell who is *Nikkeijin* and who is not. This is a reality. This is today's Nikkei family and community.

Nikkei Big Family in Hawaii, 2002. (Permanent exhibition, JOMM, Yokohama).

Coming back to the definition of Nikkei, some *Nikkeijin* define themselves as Nikkei and others define themselves in many other ways such as American, Canadian, Japanese American, etc. In the case for those *Nikkeijin* identified as Nikkei, for what reason do they consider themselves as Nikkei? What is the basis for having the identity of Nikkei?

One of the reasons for having the identity of Nikkei can probably be found in the exhibit of the Japanese Cultural Center of Hawaii. In their brochure, a Japanese phrase *"Okage sama de"* is emphasized and translated into English, "I am what I am because of you."



Brochure, Japanese Cultural Center of Hawaii

This translation cannot be found in Japanese-English dictionaries, but expresses the true meaning of the phrase very well. This is surely one of the most important parts of cultural heritage that Nikkei has received from their Issei parents. Nobody can live by him or herself. We live together by always helping each other. This sense of community and sentiment of appreciation for others is always highly evaluated and taught by the Issei generation. Some of the 2nd and 3rd generations continue to pass down these values to the next generations. Until today, I remember very well the interview I conducted when I was preparing my Masters thesis in Brazil more than 20 years ago. I asked a Nisei woman what was the most important part of cultural heritage that she received from her Issei parents. Her answer was simple: in Japanese *"kansha no kimochi* (a sense of appreciation)." She said that for her this is the most important part of cultural heritage that she learned from her parents. I was deeply touched by her answer. I never thought about that, but it gave me a new perspective of the cultural heritage as a Japanese person.

Every time I receive a Nikkei group at JOMM in Yokohama that wants a short lecture about the exhibit, I always talk about *"Okage sama de."* During one of these occasions, a Japanese American Yonsei (4th generation) came to me and showed me her arm. She had the words *"Okage sama de"* tattooed on her arm. I was surprised and of course loved her tattoo! You may know of many books titled "Okage Sama De" in Canada too.

"Okage Sama De" tattooed on the arm of a Japanese American Yonsei (4th generations) (Photo by author)

In Brazil, we can find another way to appreciate Issei's cultural heritage, that is, "Japonês garantido." In Portuguese, the phrase means that the Japanese are trustworthy and diligent. Here is a Brazilian Volkswagen advertisement that appeared in the weekly magazine *Veja* in 2000.

Advertisement of Kombi in Brazilian weekly magazine, *Veja* (2000)

It says "Garantido (guaranteed)," which means that Volkswagen is guaranteed to be a good car manufacturer. However, if you carefully look at the photo on the page, you may notice that the man is a Nikkei. In Brazil, Nikkei people are known for their contribution to agriculture. They produced, commercialized,

and distributed agricultural products or produce and established agricultural cooperatives. This is a remarkable and unusual phenomenon. Not a small number of great statesmen nor thousands of wonderful volunteers, but millions of unknown Japanese common people have earned the reputation of being honest and diligent. Because of that, in Brazil, Brazilian people came to use a saying "Japonês garantido." This identity label, I believe, is the very foundation for the ethnic pride found among Brazilian people of Japanese descent.

To preserve on these values and cultural heritage and also convey them to the next generations in many ways, Nikkei communities celebrate and promote events such as Powell Street Festival in Vancouver, Nisei Week Festival in Los Angeles, and the Cherry Festival in San Francisco, Folklore and Ethnic Festival of Parana in Curitiba and so on. Through these community activities, self-conscious Nikkei will try to pass on their cultural heritage and will play a vital role for *Kakehashi* (bridge-across) building in multiple ways: *Kakehashi* between the past and the future, *Kakehashi* among the countries in the America, and *Kakehashi* between Japan and the Americas.

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CHAPTER 6

Synopsis of Panel Discussion, Voices of *Kakehashi*

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Sanjo bashi, Kyoto

CHAPTER 6

The main objective of the panel discussion was to "listen" to the voices of the panelists who had lived across languages and cultures. The background of the panelists varied quite widely, from a fourth generation Japanese Canadian to an American whose parents were former Christian missionaries to Japan. Despite the differences in their background, they seemed to have shared perceptions and experiences as "intercultural" beings, in other words, *Kakehashi.* This chapter aims to represent the shared perceptions and experiences being *Kakehashi* among the panelists.

The panelists and the chair for the panel were as follows:

Chika Buston
Born in Kyoto, Japan and raised in Burnaby, exposed to three languages (mainly English, Japanese, and French), actively involved in diverse community organizations, ranging from Greater Vancouver Japanese Canadian Citizens Association, Tonari gumi, Powell Street Festival, to various music festivals. She attended a local Japanese language school in her childhood.

Rei Miyasaka
Born in Niiza, Saitama; raised in Greater Vancouver from age four, bilingual (Japanese and English), editor and translator for the Japanese community journal, The Fraser, translator for the US anime/drama site Crunchyroll, conductor of the SFU Orchestra

Susan Murakami
Born in Vancouver, BC and raised in Richmond, her parents belonged and helped to build the Steveston Buddhist Temple which exposed to her Japanese heritage; she taught English in Japan for two years.

Matthew Pomeroy
Born in Shinyurigaoka, Kawasaki, Kanagawa prefecture Japan, raised in Victoria from age three, exposed to Japanese Language and culture from his mother as well as a local heritage Japanese

language school, welsh culture from his grandmother, Anglo-Canadian culture from his father and Franco-Canadian culture and language from his schooling.

Margaret Ritchie
Born in Tokyo, Japan to Christian missionaries who continued to live and work in Japan for 35 years, since 1978 has been living and working in Vancouver with her family, taught English in Japan and Japanese at all levels in the public school system.

Chair: Naoko Takei
Instructor, Simon Fraser University

The panelists were asked to answer the following questions prior to the symposium.

Questions about your background

1. Where were you born? Where did you grow up?
2. What language(s) and culture(s) were (are) you exposed to?
3. Please tell us about your schooling experiences.
4. Please tell us about your affiliation, ranging from occupation to community organizations.

Questions about your thoughts /perceptions on your intercultural experiences

5. Please tell us about the challenges regarding your intercultural experiences.
6. Please tell us about the rewards regarding your intercultural experiences.
7. Please tell us about the most memorable intercultural experience.
8. What kind of advice would you like to give to the people (Canada or Worldwide) who are bridging between cultures and languages?
9. If you chose a metaphor for encapsulating your intercultural/transcultural experiences, what would it be?

Summary of the panel discussion

Each panelist was asked to tell the audience about his/her personal challenges and rewards. The synopsis attempts to highlight some of the recurrent and shared themes discussed at the panel.

The themes that resonate among the panelists are: 1) issues related to identity ranging from other people's perception to self-identification process; and 2) in-between-ness. In order to protect the panelists' privacy, the following summary does not identify each panelist.

Issues related to identity

One of the panelists stated that strangers sometimes ask her the following question: "Where are you from?" In spite of the fact that she was born and raised in Canada, some people still ask such a question. Another panelist who has a mixed background recounts her experience. The bulk of her challenges are due to being half Japanese and half Euro-Canadian. She struggled with identity issues for the better part of her life. Issues arose out of the notion that what constitutes culture associated with her father versus culture associated with her mother. Her sister looks more European, while the panelist looks more Asian. The difference between her sister and herself in terms of appearance could cause some people's treatment or perception of the sisters. She related her experience to a notion of stigmatization. Her illustration of stigmatization is very interesting. She compared it to being like Mrs. Potato Head. People express their ideas about her appearance with the following statements. "You look like this way." "You look like that way." "Who are you?" Such statements and questions were least welcome, but she came to learn to be patient and cognizant of such behaviors by others about her appearance.

Questions like "where are you from?" prompted the aforementioned panelist to journey to Japan. She also took a Japanese course during her undergraduate days at UBC. After graduating from Education in 1986, she set off on a journey to Japan hoping to find a place where she could belong. After living in Japan for two years, although she loved her life in Japan, she realized she could not relate to Japanese people entirely and share their value system simply because she was not Japanese. It dawned on her that she is Canadian. The journey to Japan brought her full circle. Only after leaving Canada and returning to Richmond after two years in Japan, she knew, this was her home. The metaphor she chose to encapsulate her experience was that of a Pacific salmon, born in the clear waters of the Adams River. Salmons are strong and skilled, and stay focused to make their way from the river back to the ocean. With strength and perseverance, salmon swim upstream to find their birthplace.

She also touched on another challenge of being Japanese-Canadian. A bigger challenge was to come to terms with the Japanese-Canadian internment during the war. A few years ago, in her hometown of Steveston, while driving her

son to work along the main street she noticed a bicycle shop. Her grandfather used to own and run his barbershop at the exact spot where this bicycle shop is now located. She told him that her grandfather started the barbershop in 1938. He worked hard and saved all of his money to be able to buy the building. Back then he charged maybe 5 cents per haircut. Finally, he saved $2,000 for the building. The Canadian government confiscated his building just because he was of Japanese descent. What the government did to the Japanese people, to her community, to her ancestors, was a lifelong struggle for her.

Another panelist shared his experience about his appearance. He is half Japanese and half European. His classmates at the elementary school in Victoria were predominantly of European origin. He was always asked where he was from. He never reflected on that question and to him it was never a negative thing to be asked. When he was five or six years old, during his stay in Japan, he had a rude awakening. He attended school in Japan for two months during the summer. He was still thinking that he was Japanese, because at the school in Canada he was regarded as Japanese. When he was in Japan he asked his Japanese friends, "Do you see me more as Japanese or Canadian?" They answered, "Canadian, of course," and "You are such a foreigner." That answer blew his mind. After that, his sense of identity changed. He feels now that it does not really matter what people think of him because of his self-confidence.

In-between-ness

The second theme of "in-between-ness" needs some clarification. We would like to use the concept of "in-between-ness" popularized by Ted Aoki. Aoki was a renowned scholar and educator of curriculum studies who, as a Japanese Canadian, lived between two cultures and languages. Described by Smith (2003) as "the master of in-between"(p. xv), Aoki's main concern was the rejection of binary approaches that he considered divisive to the extent that binaries force us to choose between "this" or "that" and result in a social structure based on insider vs. outsider delineations. Drawing from the explanation presented by Aoki and his disciples, "in-betweenness" can be understood as closely related to our concept of *Kakehashi*; a bridge is neither here nor there, but at the same time it is here and there as it exists in between two points of contact. This bridge concept can also be closely related to the notion of "the third space," as described by Homi Bhabha (1994), where identity negotiation takes place through projecting an outlook in which one sees and identifies with the perspective of others.

One panelist expressed this in-between-ness very clearly as follows: "I am not really tied up with what's Canadian and what's Japanese."

"In-between-ness" has both positive and negative sides. To one of the panelists, it was a major negative aspect being between two cultures when she was young. When she was 20 years old, she did feel negative aspects of being between cultures, but her experience was very different from anyone else on the panel. She lived in Japan for the first 17 years of her life. Let us listen to her voices about her life between two cultures:

> Growing up blond and blue-eyed in Japan is not necessarily the best thing in one's own development; there's way too much attention, and you start to think you are someone really special all the time. As a result, you don't mature as quickly as others, because no one tells you when you are doing something wrong and corrects you. So you are just allowed to proceed like a barbarian. So it probably took me a lot longer to grow up and mature than other people.
>
> I also never felt part of either culture when I was still young, although I don't feel like that any longer as an adult. But you don't feel part of either culture because you haven't gone down deeply enough into either culture. My Japanese wasn't good enough because I was sent to a boarding school, so I missed my parents and felt there were large psychological holes since I came home only on a weekend every few months. I think there was always a sense of anxiety for not fitting in anywhere, and that leads to developing a defense mechanism, like you don't care anymore; you don't fit in, so it doesn't matter. Then you either feel anxious or you start to look down on the culture. I found when I was in Japan, I thought, well, I'll be glad when I finally get to the United States and fit in with my real culture. But then when I once got back to the United States, where my parents are from, I looked down on everyone in the U.S., because they weren't like in Japan. It was very hard to appreciate the U.S. with their positive things because all I see now was how good Japan was. It took me a long time to work that through. But like all of the other panelists, Vancouver is an ideal place for me, too, because everyone else doesn't fit in anywhere else. Not fitting in anywhere is the norm here in Vancouver.
>
> I felt I was cut off from my early childhood in Japan, because I suddenly moved here in my teens. So there was a clear separation; and for a long time, I couldn't blend the two. Because I couldn't keep up with the relationships in Japan, there was always a sense

of grief. Then in my early 20's, I started to wonder if I could ever find a mate who could understand where I'm from."

The same panelist now appreciates her intercultural background. Because she lives between the cultures, her deepest friendships are with other people who are primarily from other cultures. Her closest friend at her church (not a Japanese church) is a Japanese woman. Her close colleagues are other Japanese teachers. They can understand each other better than any other colleagues regardless of how long they had taught together. The capacity for deeper friendship across the cultures is the sweetest reward for her. Deep friendship was a theme shared by all the panelists in the context of "in-between-ness."

Let's turn to the language issue. One panelist emphasized that the largest reward to him is his ability to speak Japanese without extensively studying the language. Learning kanji had to come later, but the grammar and pronunciation, especially nuances of such words as senpai (superiors) and kôhai (subordinates), all of that came to him naturally, compared to other learners who had to learn these words later in their lives. Another panelist pointed out that a great reward to be in-between languages is to have access to two bridges, that is to say, access to two vocabularies to express two ways of thinking. As he explained what was going on in his mind, " I'm translating back and forth in my mind, it happens a lot. It gives me certain breadth. Ideas that come naturally in one language may not be quite natural in the other language. For example, in Japanese there's no word for "critical thinking," well, it's a loan word and the concept is not really in their education system. Another type of vocabulary that is hard to translate is the vocabulary related to emotions. Certain cultural-emotional words that don't exist in English exist in Japanese. For example, amae, or amaeru in Japanese, is "making yourself dependent," which is hard to translate and explain in English."

One panelist addressed a reward to living between cultures from the perspective of choice. In other words, he is able to pick and choose some elements from various cultures accessible to him. He chose Kendo, Japanese traditional martial art. He told us about his fascination of Kendo as follows: "I must say, my kendo is a positive experience. With it I learned bushidô ideology but also it was a very intimate way of learning traditional Japanese culture. It is very beautiful to learn mannerisms, structure and disciplines of bushidô and apply it to any other culture, Japanese or non-Japanese. I apply it to studies and exercise, to do things in a proper way. These things are not possible if it was not for my *Kakehashi* experience."

To sum up this chapter, we would like to highlight the statement made by one of the panelists as follows: "The more I see myself in juxtaposition with my family,

the more I reflect myself and question about myself." This statement is exactly what Homi Bhaba defines "the third space." The panel discussion highlighted the central tenets of intercultural identity development as follows: an individual's openness and elasticity that enables "projecting an outlook in which one sees and identifies with others' perspectives" (Kim, 1994, 10), a striving for "the third place" (Lo Bianco, 1999) that enables us to negotiate a dialogue despite different creeds, traditions, or cultures, and an intercultural identity formation as only being possible through "lived communication", in other words, language.

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CHAPTER 7

Two Bridges in Nitobe's *Bushido* (1900) and Their Symbolism Today

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CHAPTER 7

The Bridge across the Pacific

Later in his life, Inazo Nitobe (1862-1933) recounted that "I wished to be a bridge across the Pacific" was his response to a professor at the University of Tokyo while seeking entrance to the university.Previously, Nitobe had completed a bachelor's degree in agricultural science at Sapporo Agricultural College, along with his life-long friend Kanzo Uchimura (1861-1930). In addition, he worked for the Hokkaido government for several years. Still in his early 20s, seeking entry to the University of Tokyo was a career readjustment for young Inazo. He wanted to study economics along with English literature, since the university did not offer a formal program in "agricultural policies." "Why English literature?" asked the professor. To that, Inazo reportedly answered "I would like to be a medium to introduce foreign thoughts to Japan and Japanese thoughts to the foreign countries." (my trans., *Zenshû,* vol. 6, 20).

It is very well known how the rest of his life turned out. Nitobe held a series of prestigious professorial positions in Japan from 1891 to 1919, followed by six years in Geneva as one of the founding Under-Secretaries Generals of the League of Nations. During his tenure as professor, Nitobe taught agricultural economics, law, and colonial studies in Sapporo, Kyoto and Tokyo. He also served as the headmaster of the First Higher School and preparatory division for the University of Tokyo (1906-1911). In addition, he was the founding president of Tokyo Women's Christian University (1918-1923). While in Geneva, he established the International Committee on Intellectual Cooperation (a forerunner of UNESCO) under the hospices of the League of Nations. He also took a leadership role in settling the territorial dispute between Sweden and Finland over the Swedish-speaking Åland Islands. This was the first case of a territorial dispute peacefully settled by a multilateral international body by the means of demilitarization and minority self-governance (Hein, 2009, 42-43; Nauclér, 2007). In his final years, Nitobe served in the House of Peers (upper house) in the Japanese Imperial Parliament, and in 1933 died in Victoria, British Columbia, after attending an international conference in Banff, Alberta.

Today, Nitobe's life is celebrated and commemorated on both sides of the Pacific. Museums in his birthplace, Morioka, and ancestral hometown, Towada, in Japan have permanent displays dedicated to his legacy. His portrait was printed on the Japanese 5,000 yen bill in the 1980s and 1990s. The University of British Columbia in Vancouver, has a renowned Japanese garden named after him. Victoria's Royal Jubilee Hospital, where he spent the last days of his life, also built a courtyard named after him. The cities of Morioka and Victoria celebrated their 30th anniversary of their twin city relationship in 2015. As Nitobe had longed for, his life indeed was regarded as a "bridge across the Pacific."

Midlife Crisis and Writing of *Bushido: The Soul of Japan*

Looking over Nitobe's life with 20/20 hindsight, it is hard to imagine that his scholarly and international diplomatic achievements were results of a twisted path of failed "career change," nervous breakdowns and subsequent interruptions during his early career due to an extended period of recuperation. The writing of his most famous English book *Bushido: the Soul of Japan* (1900) played a pivotal role of "breakthrough" during those difficult years.

After a brief academic stint at the University of Tokyo, young Inazo soon headed to the United States in 1884, and enrolled at John Hopkins, a recently established graduate university endowed by the named Quaker entrepreneurs. Having been baptized by a Methodist Episcopalian missionary in Sapporo, Inazo soon became a Quaker in Baltimore. He also found a new research topic at Johns Hopkins: U.S.-Japan relations. It is obvious that Inazo at this time was clearly seeking a career change. He was no longer interested in agricultural studies, but switched to international relations, possibly in pursuance of his "bridge" building dream through diplomacy or law. Ironically, Inazo was poverty-stricken at the time, and his time living in Baltimore was cut short. As a result, he was forced back to agricultural studies. His alma mater, Sapporo Agricultural College, appointed him as an assistant professor in absentia and gave him a full scholarship for completing a PhD in agricultural economics in Germany. He had no choice, and withdrew from Johns Hopkins. His aspiration in international relations was put on hold for the time being.

With a newly-minted PhD from Germany in hand, Inazo revisited the United States in 1890 on the way home to Japan. Inazo married an American Quaker, Mary Patterson Elkinton, in Philadelphia. Now married to a fellow Quaker, Inazo settled in Sapporo and started his academic career. However, life in Sapporo was difficult for the young couple. They lost their child a few days after birth. Overworked, Inazo eventually had a nervous breakdown after six years of

teaching. Inazo took a leave of absence from the College; the couple left Sapporo in 1897. I suspect that a career in agricultural science, rather than in his primary passion of international relations, may have contributed indirectly to his nervous breakdown. Inazo needed to sort out and reexamine his life's direction. In today's terms, he was having a midlife crisis.

It was ironic, albeit timely, that during the prolonged period of recuperation in Japan and later in California, Nitobe wrote his most famous English book, *Bushido: The Soul of Japan* (1900). Writing Bushido gave Inazo an opportunity to reexamine the moral values he learned as a child growing up in a *samurai* family. It also gave him an opportunity to contextualize the traditional values in post-*samurai* Japan with its increasing international role as an emerging power in competition with Western colonial interests in East Asia.

Written in eloquent English, *Bushido* sold well despite the first edition being published by a small press in Philadelphia. A revised and enlarged edition was published in 1905 by a much larger and well known, G.P. Putnam's Sons of New York. The timing could not have been better. The Russo-Japanese war ended in 1905 on terms favorable for Japan. As interests in this new Asian powerhouse, Japan, skyrocketed around the world, so did worldwide sales for *Bushido* (Ôshiro, 1992, 95-96). Inazo's career also took off. He was offered a position as an agricultural development advisor for the Japanese colonial government in Taiwan. With his success in developing the commercial sugar industry in Taiwan, Nitobe was subsequently invited back to academia as an agricultural economist. As they say, the rest is history.

Two "Bridges" in Nitobe's *Bushido*

The writing of *Bushido* took place at a pivotal moment in Nitobe's life and career. *Bushido* literally "bridged" Nitobe's past life as a lost-status samurai, struggling to realize his ideals as a professor in the remote backcountry of Sapporo with his future as a scholar of international stature. With the English version of Bushido being widely read, Nitobe's name became increasingly known throughout the world as one of the most eloquent spokespersons of Japanese matters. The content of *Bushido* reflects the "bridge" in two ways: a bridge between cultures of East and West, and a bridge between class values of the samurai past and the more egalitarian future. In other words, Nitobe's *Bushido* provides two bridges: 1) a *synchronic* bridge between the East and West and 2) a *diachronic* bridge between the past and the future.

The word *bushido* literally means *"samurai's* way," or the codes of ethics for the *samurai* class. In the preface, Nitobe sets out to answer frequently

posed questions by his American wife as to why certain ideas and customs prevail in Japan. In addition, a question posed by a Belgian legal scholar M. de Laveleye as to how moral education was delivered in Japan without religious instructions in school (Nitobe, 1906, ix-x). As a response to these questions, Nitobe, in his *Bushido,* laid out "[w]hat I was taught and told in my youthful days, when feudalism was still in force" (x). In the course of exploration on the topic, he tried to "illustrate whatever points [he had] made with parallel examples from European history and literature, believing that these will aid in bringing the subject nearer to the comprehension of foreign readers" (xi).

Bridge between East and West

Thus, chapter by chapter Nitobe explains traditional values (such as justice, courage, benevolence, politeness, veracity, honour, loyalty, self-control, etc.) with references from Japanese or other Eastern sources along with his own anecdotal accounts, in parallel with Western sources and traditions. His point is clear: Japanese people are not special or so different from Westerners, but rather, they are just like anyone else. Nitobe explains his intention in his own words:

> As you see, what I wrote in *Bushido* were all elementary things which every Japanese knows. So, I did not intend it for a Japanese audience but for foreigners who seem to think that the Japanese are really a very strange people. I wanted to show in it that the Japanese are not really so different, that you can find similar ideas to those of the Japanese even in the West, thought under a slightly different guise, and that there is no East or West as far as human beings are concerned. (Cited in Ota, 1995, 250)

How successful Nitobe was in presenting things about the East and West on an equal plane is debatable. There is plenty of criticism about Nitobe's *Bushido* in this regard. Especially about how samurai virtues, so lyrically and poetically presented in *Bushido,* created illusions of how "special" the Japanese people and culture were in the reader's mind (Ota, 1995; Powles, 1995). However, considering the historical context, Nitobe's original intention was valid. Nitobe had been resentful over unequal treaties between Japan and the United States ever since he was a student in Baltimore. To him, the principle of equality in international relations must be upheld on the mutual understanding among the nations.

Bridge between the Past and the Future

Writing *Bushido* also gave Nitobe an opportunity to reexamine the virtues from his *samurai* heritage of the past, alongside his future direction as a Christian (Quaker) in new Japan equipped with a constitutional monarchy and a budding democratic government. The notion of *bushidô* (warrior's way) clearly belongs to old Japan. Nitobe asserts, now is the time to "prepare for an honourable burial" for *bushidô* because, he states, "[t]he history of the world confirms the prophecy that 'the meek shall inherit the earth.' A nation that sells its birthright of peace, and backslides….makes a poor bargain indeed!" (Nitobe, 1906, 187) Therefore, he continues, "the moral system of Feudal Japan, like its castles and its armories, will crumble into dust and new ethics rise phoenix-like to lead New Japan in her path of progress" (189).

In other words, the military aspects of the warrior class of the past would die out. However, the best elements of Japanese culture (justice, courage, honor, etc.) must be inherited and incorporated into a new ethical system for new Japan, which Nitobe identified in his later publications as *heimindô. Heimindô* literally means "commoner's way" or "peaceful people's way" as opposed to *bushidô* ("warrior's way" or "military person's way") *(Nitobe, Zenshû,* vol. 4, 538-539). In Nitobe's (Quaker) pacifist ideal, the world is seen moving from the waring past to the peaceful future. This view is most explicit in the final chapter of *Bushido,* where he argues, *bushidô's* "schools of martial prowess or civic honour may be demolished, but its light and its glory will long survive their ruins. Like its symbolic flower, after it is blown to the four winds, it will still bless mankind with the perfume with which it will enrich life" (192).

Two Bridges as Symbolism Today

The two bridges, between cultures and time, seem to be useful tools of analysis in our own lives today. Each one of us, in a way, is a symbolic bridge of our circumstances and historical contexts, bridging space and time. That we are symbolic bridges in our own lives is perhaps more evident and pronounced among those of us who live and work using multiple languages or are of mixed family heritages, consciously negotiating the contrasting traditions in daily life. Chances are, Canadians with Japanese origins are most likely to embody mixed heritages, considering the high percentage of interracial marriages among Japanese-Canadians during the postwar era. The Japanese in Canada are identified as "the visible minority group most likely to marry or live common-law with a partner who does not share their ethnic heritage" (Makabe, 2005, 122).

Typical, then, is the case of my son, whose mother is of English-Scottish descent and father (myself), a new immigrant from Japan that landed in Canada in the early 1990s after several years of studying on a student visa. My son's experience on Remembrance Day a few years back illustrates his role as a "bridge" in time and space.

A WWII veteran visited my son's grade 9 class and talked about his combat experience in Europe. After the veteran's talk, my son apparently spoke up and shared his Japanese grandmother's wartime experience in Japan. That is, his grandmother was a schoolgirl coming home after school in rural Shizuoka. When she saw a U.S. fighter plane descending towards her, she let go of her bicycle on the dirt road in the midst of rice paddies, and hid herself in the roadside ditch. The low-flying fighter flew passed while machine-gunning her abandoned bike.

"It was interesting," my son told me, "I was the only kid in the class who had *both sides* of the war in the family." I said, "That's really brave of you for sticking out in class like that, telling the Japanese side of the story." Then I asked, "Didn't it put you in an awkward position, being Japanese and all?" "No, not at all," replied my son, "Everyone loves Japan."

Born in Victoria during the turn of the millennium, my son is obviously a product of his time. To him and to his peers, Japan represents soft power, not monstrous military power. Thus, anything associated with Japan (e.g., video games, anime and Harajuku fashion) nowadays has a "cool" factor. Representing "both sides" to his peers with his stories is my son's way of being a *synchronic* bridge. To him, Japanese-Canadian's wartime hardship in the internment camps is something he learned indirectly from his history class, even if he directly enjoys the equality hard-won by Japanese-Canadians and other visible minorities in postwar Canada. My son also enjoys frequent visits to Japan, prosperous under its postwar "pacifist" Constitution, an indirect legacy of Nitobe's, which until recent years had never been seriously threatened (Suzuki, 2015). "Both sides" to him are experiences of his Japanese father's families and that of his "mainstream" Canadian mother's families, which include a long line of church ministers, some of whom served as missionaries to First Nations in northern British Columbia, being involved in Native residential schools. These are the heritages he shall bridge, I expect, *diachronically* through his life.

Each of us bridge time and space in our own unique circumstances. One's own bridge may or may not neatly fit into the predominant national narratives or the ethnic community narratives. It is perhaps our own responsibility to consciously and conscientiously negotiate the terrain of human relationships, and

to curve out footings for our own bridges to build upon, as we travel through our lives' journeys. Nitobe closes his *Bushido* by quoting a Quaker poet, as follows:

The traveller owns the grateful sense
Of sweetness near, he knows not whence,
And, pausing, takes with forehead bare
The benediction of the air.

John Greenleaf Whittier (1807-1892), "Snow-Bound: A Winter Idyl"

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Appendix

A Resource List for Interculturality

Shinagawa, Tokyo

Appendix

Resource List

What resources are available from the *Kakehashi* perspective? The list below is provided for those who are interested in furthering their studies on the related topics. The list consists of the following categories: 1) a reference list related to overseas Japanese, intercultural education, intercultural identity, heritage language education, and language education with a special reference to intercultural competences; and 2) Voices of *Kakehashi,* i.e., links to the video clips of *Kakehashi* people.

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2) Voices of *Kakehashi* video clips

2.1) The voices of the panellists at the Symposium, Voice of *Kakehashi* in Multicultural Canada, Oct. 25, 2015, at University of British Columbia

Please access the following link for viewing highlights of the panel discussion.

(2015, October 25). The voices of the five panellists: Chika - challenges. In Voices of Kakehashi in multicultural Canada symposium at Vancouver, British Columbia, University of British Columbia [Video file]. Retrieved from https://youtu.be/mikpGBvqju4?list=UUpunqESXhSes_-zgDNjNYYg

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2.2) Youtube video clips

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Rainbow Bridge, Tokyo

This book serves to develop a strong internal narrative that connects the diverse dimensions of intercultural experiences, ranging from scholarly work on Japanese immigration history, language pedagogy on intercultural competences, to personal accounts by the people from diverse cultural and linguistic background. In other words, it offers those who are keenly aware of the importance of the development of a global mindset with a platform or common ground to share their endeavours formerly pigeonholed and isolated, by fostering interest in community engagement and partnership building.

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