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**Parental Involvement in Second-Generation Immigrant
Children's Japanese Language Maintenance**

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Thesis submitted in fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy

College of Arts, Society and Education

James Cook University

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This thesis is dedicated to Professor Hideo Shintomi and the late Professor Kimiko Ise from Toyo Eiwa College, Japan. They have always believed in what I do and supported me to fulfil my dreams. Unfortunately, Professor Ise passed away two months before my thesis submission; she will never be forgotten.

My heartfelt appreciation to my highly respected professors.

Abstract

This study investigates the Japanese language maintenance of six intermarriage families in Australia, where one parent is a Japanese-origin immigrant with Japanese as their first language, and the other is of Australian- (or other-) origin and a speaker of English or other languages. The study explored their use of Japanese at home and the resulting impact on their children's Japanese language ability and use, as well as on their perceived identities as plurilinguals. The children's perspectives in relation to Japanese and Australian cultural influences, and parental attitudes and feelings about maintenance of the heritage language, and use of Japanese and English, are also explored.

In addition to the six families, four adult children of Japanese–Australian intermarriage families were selected as participants in order to discover, from the perspective of adulthood, how their own and their parents' choices about language use at home and being part of the Japanese community has affected their ongoing language maintenance and cultural identities. Including adult children of immigrants in the study assists in understanding the possible future experiences of the children in the six intermarriage bilingual families at the centre of the study.

A phenomenological case study approach was adopted in the study, to capture the voices of individual participants, family dynamics, and to understand the phenomenon of Japanese heritage language and culture maintenance. In-depth interviews and questionnaires were used with all participants, and observation was additionally conducted with the six intermarriage families to examine the language interactions within each family, and to understand their views and how they affect language use at home and in the community.

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A conceptual framework was developed from the literature and in relation to the research questions, to enable analysis of the data and to understand the languages and cultures ecologies of the plurilingual families, in domains of use. The home was the main domain, while the community, including school(s), also played an important role in understanding families' overall languages and cultures ecologies. Three central themes emerged from the literature and data as organising principles for analysis: language choice, language exposure, and language use. These three themes allowed for in-depth examination of heritage language maintenance, alongside other influences, including the presence of English in participants' worlds.

Findings of the study included identification of tensions between parents around language choice at home, difficulties in sustaining Japanese use in an environment where Japanese was largely limited to the home, the importance of community interactions (including community language schools) on language maintenance and cultural affirmation, differences between families where mothers rather than fathers were the Japanese speaker, and recognition of changes to perceived identities as children became adults and realise the advantages and opportunities their bilingual heritage affords them. Recommendations offered can be used to inform heritage language maintenance policies, to understand and support the process of linguistic and cultural identity development in children from intermarriage families, to provide support for immigrant families, and to develop education policies for children of diverse backgrounds. Additionally, professional learning for current and pre-service teachers in Australia is recommended to build their awareness of the cultural and linguistic needs of immigrant children, to enhance the teaching of languages in Australian schools, and to further support heritage language maintenance in intermarriage families in school environments.

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Keywords: language maintenance, heritage language, heritage language maintenance, Japanese heritage language maintenance, intermarriage families, intermarriage Japanese families, bilingual cultural identities, plurilingualism, translanguaging, languages and cultures ecologies, phenomenological case study

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Declaration

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Prologue

This study emerged from my personal experiences as a schoolchild and university student in both Japan and Australia, and later as a school and university teacher in these countries. I am also a mother of two sons who were born in Japan and moved to Australia when they were 3 and 4 years old. My own experiences of moving between cultures, countries, and languages, as well as the challenges I encountered in navigating these shifts and their impact on my sense of identity, have influenced my desire to explore the issue of parental involvement in language maintenance more deeply in order to add to the emerging literature in this field. My experiences are summarised in the following story.

“Why did we have to go to Australia? That’s why I am struggling with my studies!” I yelled at my mother one day when I was in Year 6. My father was a coal mining engineer, and when his company in Japan appointed him to work in the Australian coal mining industry, our whole family moved. This was in 1983, when I was 5 years old, and over the next six months we lived in several different locations within New South Wales. I spent some months at a local preschool where I spoke no English and no one else spoke Japanese. I remember my sense of struggle while trying to fit in, but being a young, carefree child, I still enjoyed being there. We moved back to Japan and I started my formal primary school education there. I was only there for nine months when, in 1985, my family moved back to Australia, this time to Lithgow, a country town located 150 km west of Sydney. My two younger sisters and I still could not speak any English and it would have been unusual to do so, as Japan, rather like Australia, has a doggedly monolingual orientation and learning English would not have been an option until secondary school at that time.

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The school year had just started. Based on my age, I should have been placed in Year 2, but because I could not speak English I was instead put into Year 1, and my sister entered Kindergarten instead of Year 1. After two months, we were moved up to Year 2 and Year 1 respectively, as the teachers felt we had enough English to proceed with our schoolwork with our same-age peers. We had no choice but to attend a local Catholic school because the closest Japanese school was too far away to commute. I recall my mother telling me that a teacher had suggested that we should stop speaking Japanese and instead speak English at home in order to improve our English. This was a common practice in Australia, where well-meaning teachers who had received no education about the benefits of bilingualism or the importance of cultural identity believed they were supporting the child's educational—and probably cultural assimilation—progress. My own story reminded me of the novel *Hunger for Memory* (Rodriguez, 1982), in which he describes moving from Mexico to the USA with his family. Having limited English, he was also advised by the Catholic school sisters to stop using Spanish at home and was prevented from using Spanish at school.

My youngest sister, who was three at the time of moving to Australia, started preschool in that year and was the first of us to pick up “Aussie English”. I was the last to develop English to a functional standard as I had already started my primary education in Japan before I came to Australia. Every day, however, our English improved, and every day we lost more of our Japanese. Soon, my sisters and I started to speak in English amongst ourselves. We still spoke Japanese to our parents and they insisted that we keep up our Japanese studies at home. Japanese textbooks and materials were sent from Japan every month. Every day, my mother sat next to us at the dining table teaching us the Japanese work. I vaguely understood why we had to study Japanese and Japanese subjects, but with no Japanese people our age around us and

knowing that our Aussie friends were having playdates, my motivation for learning Japanese dropped. I recall that twice during summer holidays, two teachers from the Japanese school in Sydney came to Lithgow for two weeks to teach Japanese subjects to children who lived nearby. Here I discovered that there were Japanese children who were like us. This was a revelation for me, and really my first opportunity to engage with children in the same situation. We still spoke English to one another outside the class, however, as by this stage it was our preferred language for engaging with other children. Still, we had no concerns about the future language issues that we were about to face—it was just easier to speak English. It wasn't until I returned to Japan in 1989, when I was just about to turn 11, that I realised that I was in trouble with my Japanese studies, and the further turmoil this would cause me.

“What does that mean?” was a sentence I used often with my classmates and teachers when I started Year 6 in Japan after returning from Australia. It was difficult to communicate, let alone complete schoolwork. I stopped speaking English with my sisters as hardly anyone spoke English at school and everyone would look at us if we did. For us to maintain English in Japan, my sisters and I went to an English school for overseas returnee students once a week until Year 9. Gradually, we developed more Japanese while our English started to decline. I struggled for many years because I could not manage the two languages fluently and eventually blamed this on my parents for taking us to Australia. However, my story does not end negatively but rather positively after all.

After spending my secondary school and college years in Japan, I continued my education at a university in Australia, where I studied for four years. After completing three degrees, I returned to Japan and taught English for a tutoring company and at local secondary schools before returning to Australia in 2011—this time with my two sons,

then aged 3 and 4 years old. Recalling how important it was to retain Japanese when living overseas, it was not surprising to find myself speaking to my sons in Japanese at home (and mostly out in public) and teaching them Japanese using study materials sent from Japan. Now this time and effort seems to have paid off when I observe them interacting and communicating with Japanese people both here and in Japan, and understanding the cultural differences in the ways people think and act.

From my own story, I bring awareness of the challenges that children moving between nations, cultures, and languages face, as well as the challenges for parents who struggle (as mine did) in deciding how firmly to push language maintenance and how much choice to give their children in this matter. The cases I have explored in this thesis will add further insights to the growing literature on language maintenance, the benefits of bilingualism and biculturalism, and some of the positive and negative impacts of language choices on identity.

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Chapter 1. Introduction

1.1 Starting Points

Speaking languages other than English in a country where the majority of the population speaks English as a first language, and where there is a dogged adherence to a socially condoned monolingual mindset, requires endless effort (Clyne, 2004; Hajek & Slaughter, 2015; Morgan et al., 2021). Despite the understanding and support of members of the community who are willing to acknowledge and encourage the plurilingual and pluricultural reality of Australian society, speakers whose first language is not English still encounter daily challenges and are confronted with constant language choice decisions (Hajek & Slaughter, 2015; Morgan et al., 2021).

Australia is a multicultural and multilingual nation. Its population includes people from many cultural backgrounds, who use many different languages at home, at work, at school, and in the community (Clyne, 2005; Hajek & Slaughter, 2015; Oriyama, 2010). This cultural and language diversity is evident when considering population data gathered in the national census. In 2020, approximately 7.6 million people (30% of the Australian population) were born overseas (ABS, 2020). In Australia, 73% of the population declared in the 2016 national census that they speak only English at home, and approximately 21% reported speaking a language other than English at home (Australian Bureau of Statistics [ABS], 2017a). It should be noted however, that this census did not ask if individuals *can* speak other languages but do not use these at home. This situation can occur, for example, because of the convenience of speaking English, because it is the language of daily activities and the wider community, where no one else in the household speaks that language, or where people in the household are of mixed heritage and English is the only common language.

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As a school teacher and a parent, I encounter many families of different cultural backgrounds who speak a language (or multiple languages) other than English. Such languages might be used at home or in the community, but in some cases are not used at all. I frequently have the opportunity to talk to these families on a casual basis about the languages they use at home. There are a variety of responses, depending on the background of each parent, the size and proximity of a local community who speak the language, and the surrounding social environment. Many refer to the complex issues within their families that have forced them to reduce how much Japanese (or other languages) they use, which may run counter to their wishes and personal judgment about what will be of benefit to their children.

In 2011, I migrated with my two sons to a large regional city adjacent to a capital city in Australia. The reason I chose to locate my family here is that I had studied for my university degrees in this city for four years and felt attached to the city. My two sons, who were raised in Japan until they were 3 and 4 years old, started to speak English to one another within a year after they began their education in a preschool and a primary school in Australia, echoing the experience of my sisters and myself some 30 years earlier. We too had begun to use English with each other within a year of being in Australia when we were 7, 6, and 4 years old. I observed my sons' language development carefully, ever aware of the challenges of maintaining Japanese language skills and how difficult this becomes once they step out of the house into the English-speaking world. It was my turn as a parent to maintain Japanese language skills with my sons, in the same way my parents did when I was a child. I speak in Japanese to my sons every day, and have done so since the first day we arrived in Australia. As my sons became immersed in English, their Japanese ability rapidly began to decline without the everyday opportunities in Australian society or a school environment in

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which to use it. Nevertheless, I persistently speak Japanese to them, read Japanese books, and assist them to study four main subjects at their year level in Japan through a correspondence course. Although they are not as fluent as Japanese children of their ages and education levels, they can still communicate with their relatives and the people we meet during our visits to Japan.

In 2013 I opened a private Japanese language centre at my house in Australia. I did this because I recalled learning that Japanese was in popular demand in the 1980s when I first lived in Australia as a child with my parents, when Australia was increasing its engagement with Japan and Japan was Australia's major trading partner (Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade, 2018). At this time, many young Australian people asked my mother to teach them Japanese, which she did. When I migrated back to Australia with my sons in 2011, I was introduced to a few students and began to tutor them in Japanese, following the model of my mother. As I was already a qualified teacher, I decided to open the Japanese language centre for children, catering to a diverse array of young people, from those with no Japanese background at all, to others who were already immersed in Japanese at home. The purpose of the language centre was to connect these children with Japanese language and culture, and to each other. Most of the children I teach are second-generation Australian, with one Japanese immigrant parent and one parent who speaks English as their first language. There are also some children from families where both parents speak English as their first language, but who wanted their children to learn an additional language. Japanese is primarily spoken in my classes and it is clear that the level of Japanese that the children use varies widely, and that this difference is influenced by the level of, and commitment to, the use of Japanese at home by the Japanese-origin parent. Speaking with parents about the extent of Japanese use at home has indicated a need to understand the thinking and attitudes of

parents in such situations, to support them whatever their decisions, and to add to the research in this field in order to better understand these families' language support needs, as well as to discover implications for both children and parents related to linguistic, cultural, and national identity issues.

Children will be exposed to the languages that parents decide to use at home, and their parental behaviours, beliefs, and attitudes will also impact on the language acquisition and identities of the children (Verdon et al., 2014; Yamamoto 2008).

However, it becomes difficult for some parents to maintain their heritage language with their children because of a lack of support from the community and school, social pressures surrounding them, and a lack of understanding from their partner, especially if the partner does not share the same language (Fillmore, 2000; Pauwels, 2005). On the other hand, there are parents who strongly believe that maintaining their heritage language is important and insist on speaking to their children in that language from birth. However, sometimes their partner does not agree with this decision, as seen in the example of a Chinese–British couple who had different views on how to raise their child (Caballero et al., 2008). Witnessing the challenges and frustrations of the Japanese-origin parents in raising children with their Australian- (or other-) origin parents, countered by their strong desire to maintain the heritage language, led me to undertake the research reported here.

1.2. Aims

The aim of the study was to investigate the involvement of parents in the Japanese language maintenance of their children in intermarriage families in Australia, where one parent is a Japanese-born immigrant and the other is not.

As well as exploring the use of Japanese at home within families, and the children's Japanese language ability and use, the study also explored and reports on

impacts on the children's identities: how they understand their relationship to the world; how that relationship is constructed across time, space, and place; and how they understand possibilities for their futures (Norton, 2013) in relation to Japanese and Australian cultural influences, as well as parental attitudes and feelings about the use of Japanese and English. This focus followed similar studies such as that of DeCapua and Wintergerst (2009) who investigated language maintenance in intermarriage families of German- and English-speaking backgrounds, as well as that of Kasuya (1998), who studied Japanese- and English-speaking parents. In my study, to understand the importance of parental involvement over a range of age groups and lengths of time in Australia, participants who were second-generation immigrants (i.e., children of an immigrant parent) ranged from young children to adults at the time of interviews and observation.

Another purpose for the research was to view participants' "life-worlds" (Johnson & Christensen, 2019) related to the languages they chose to use at home, and how that language choice affects their children's language abilities and perceived identities, and how they understand and make meaning of their personal lives (Johnson & Christensen, 2019).

It is anticipated that the study will be useful for:

- building on the current literature in this field by focusing on parents' attitudes and involvement in heritage language maintenance and the resulting effects on children
- building on the literature of Japanese–Australian intermarriage families
- informing language maintenance policies in Australia and elsewhere
- assisting our understanding of the linguistic and cultural identity of children of intermarriage, immigrant families

- informing education policies for children from diverse backgrounds and
- informing the teaching of languages in Australian schools

1.3. Background of the Study

There were 42,423 Japanese-born immigrants in Australia in 2016 (ABS, 2017b). To retain Japanese as a heritage language amongst the younger second-generation children, parents' and communities' efforts to provide the opportunity to use the heritage language are vital, as Australia remains steadfastly monolingual in official domains, schools, and the wider community (Hajek & Slaughter, 2015). Community language schools provide one avenue of support for families wishing to maintain the heritage language, alongside families' own commitments to nurturing its use at home.

The term *heritage language* is defined as an indigenous or immigrant language other than English (in an English-dominant country) that is spoken by linguistic minorities (Valdés, 2005). The literature on heritage language maintenance indicates that many parents remain committed to using their heritage language with their children when they move to a country where most people speak a language other than their own (Kang, 2013; Lao, 2004; Lee, 2013; Park & Sarkar, 2007; Sakamoto, 2000). If someone with a heritage language marries or partners with someone from a different cultural and language background, they are confronted with the need to consider which languages to use between themselves, and, if they have children, with them. Anecdotally, a few of the parents that I have spoken to at school think that it is too confusing to use two languages in a household, and choose to speak the dominant language of their country of residence from the beginning of the child's life. However, in Kasuya's (1998) study, the Japanese-speaking parent in all four English–Japanese bilingual families studied spoke Japanese to their children except when the English monolingual parents were

present, and stated that it is the parents' decision whether to insist on the use of the heritage language in the home to maintain bilingualism.

Pauwels (2006) defines *language maintenance* as "continued use of background/first language(s) in some or all spheres of life" (p. 719). *Intermarriage families* comprise a parent couple from different racial, ethnic, or religious backgrounds, as well as their children, who embody cultural and language aspects of both parents (Caballero et al., 2008). Therefore, families made up of one Japanese-origin parent, one Australian- (or other-) origin parent, and their children were a primary focus in this study. Additionally, adults who were raised by a Japanese-origin parent and an Australian-origin parent and who were either born in Australia or moved to Australia at a very young age were also included, as the issue of language maintenance is considered most acute with this group (Lightbown & Spada, 1999). Saville-Troike (2006) showed that children usually acquire their first language by approximately three years of age, and it is likely that younger children acquire their second language more easily than older children in a naturalistic setting. These reasons led me to limit participant selection for this study to children who came to Australia at a very young age or who were born in Australia.

This study contributes to the research on heritage language maintenance among children of Japanese- and Australian- (or other-) origin parents in the Australian context in five distinct ways. Firstly, Japanese parents in such contexts face many barriers in speaking Japanese at home, especially when living in a country where English is spoken as a dominant language or when their partner is an English speaker. Moreover, it can be more challenging if the local heritage language community is small, unlike in large capital cities where many speakers of community languages live and have opportunities to connect (Clyne, 2005). The decision about which language to speak at home affects

children's language abilities and cultural identities (Norton, 2013; Pauwels, 2014). Therefore, it is important to discover the language(s) spoken at home and Japanese-origin parents' feelings towards their current use of Japanese with their children; they may face obstacles such as pressure to speak English or a lack of understanding of the importance of heritage language maintenance from their English-speaking partner, family, or the wider community. Understanding more about the experience of raising bilingual children has the potential to help find ways where immigrant parents (in this case Japanese-origin parents), policy makers, school administrators, and communities might collaborate to ensure optimal learning environments for bilingual children (Kondo-Brown, 2006).

Secondly, as there are increasing numbers of intermarriage families in a world that Vertovec (2015) describes as characterised by "super-diversity" (p. 2), it is important to reform the existing framework of nationality, language, identity, and bilingualism from the perspectives of children (Kawakami, 2011). Except for two participants, who were already secondary school students, in this study most children in the focus families were of primary school age. This age group provided particularly relevant information for my study as Fillmore (1991) and Nesteruk (2010) assert that once children begin primary school, English (in this case, as the dominant language in Australia) becomes their preferred language and the use of heritage languages decreases. Chinen and Tucker (2005) argue that ethnic identities may influence children's language development, especially the heritage language development. There were two or more children in four of the six families who participated in the study, and two families with only one child. One interesting aspect of the study was that the differences in the level of Japanese used related to the birth order of children, with first children more likely to use Japanese than subsequent children. Although there has been

little research conducted on birth order and bilingualism (Barron-Hauwaert, 2011), some studies (Parada, 2013; Shin, 2002; Stevens & Ishizawa, 2007) found that the firstborn child maintains the heritage language better than their younger siblings. My study also sought to examine possible reasons for the differences in the language levels of siblings, through comparing the data from the children's interviews to the interview data collected from parents.

As a third focus, this study compared genders of parents in relation to the use of Japanese with their children. Three Japanese-origin fathers and three Japanese-origin mothers participated in the study. Kawamura and Goza (2013) and Cunningham-Andersson and Andersson (1999) found that children with a Japanese-origin parent were more likely to speak Japanese if their mother, rather than their father, was Japanese. This may have occurred because the mothers spent more time with their children or were involved in more intimate domestic activities with the children. However, I found that children's use of Japanese varied according to the language that the Japanese-origin parents most often used to speak to their children. For example, if a Japanese-origin mother spoke English more than Japanese with her child, the child was more likely to speak English than Japanese. So, regardless of gender, the amount of the heritage language that the children are exposed to at home will affect their language ability in that language and their overall language preference. Selecting the same number of Japanese-origin parents of both genders provided the opportunity to investigate how children responded in relation to the language choices of parents.

Fourth, this study investigated the number of opportunities and the amount of exposure to Japanese language and culture that the Japanese-origin parents provided their children, such as connections with families in Japan, Japanese-origin parents' community groups, and Japanese Saturday community language school. As all

participants in this study were located in the same large regional city, the availability of resources and Japanese community engagement was quite extensive as compared to more remote areas, but not as substantial as in the capital cities. Saturday community language schools have been identified as ideal places to contribute to heritage language development as they offer an opportunity for ethnic group membership (Chinen & Tucker, 2005). In areas such as in the city where I conducted this study, a Japanese mothers' group was offered to the Japanese community. Nevertheless, I would note that such resources should be accessible to all Japanese-origin parents regardless of gender, so as not to disadvantage children who have a Japanese-origin father.

Finally, four adults who ranged in age from 18 to 47 and who were raised in Japanese–Australian intermarriage families participated in the study. Their experiences of Japanese language use at home and the impact of this on their Japanese language abilities and cultural identities in adulthood allow us to foresee what the future may hold for children with similar backgrounds to the participating families. It may also provide some useful insights on how the adult participants' Japanese language use at home impacts their language abilities and identities. Some studies such as those of Cho (2000) and Lee (2002) have investigated the experiences of young adults who were raised using their parents' heritage language. These studies found that those who had high-level Korean language proficiency reported stronger identification with being Korean.

Thus, my study addresses two perspectives on maintaining Japanese language use and heritage:

- the perspective of those who are currently raising children in a heritage language environment; and

- the perspective of adults who have experienced the process of being raised in such a language environment.

The purpose of this research is to discover how language use at home impacts children's language abilities and identities. Therefore, this study aims to build on international research investigating how parents choose to maintain heritage languages with their children, while providing information specific to the Australian context. This has the potential to inform language program development in schools and Saturday community language schools, and, in relation to languages and cultures, to influence social policy in Australia that impacts multilingual families.

1.4. Research Questions

To date, little research has been conducted in the field of bilingual and bicultural identity and language use in Australia, especially in relation to Japanese language maintenance. More people are crossing borders (Kawakami, 2011), and there is an increasing need for such research in recognition of Australia's cultural and linguistic diversity, and the significant number (21,180 families) of Japanese-origin families living in Australia (ABS, 2017b). The 2006 Australian census revealed that 14.9% of Japanese men and 40.6% of Japanese women living in Australia were married to Australian-born partners (Khoo et al., 2009), and it is assumed that the number of Japanese–Australian intermarriage families has since increased. There are even fewer studies that focus on Japanese–Australian intermarriage families. Maintaining Japanese language skills in Australia—a country where English is the dominant language—is complex and challenging, so there is an urgent need to identify how such families can be assisted and to contribute to supporting language education. This study was intended to begin to address this gap in the literature, with ramifications for both Japanese and other cultural and language communities, as well as a more generalised consideration of

issues of diversity and cultural identity in Australia. With this purpose in mind, and following the identified gap in the literature, the following research questions were developed to guide the study:

1. What are the perspectives of Japanese-origin parents in Japanese–Australian intermarriage families in Australia towards Japanese heritage language and culture maintenance for their children?
2. What are the perspectives of second-generation children in Japanese–Australian intermarriage families in Australia on Japanese heritage language and culture maintenance?
3. How does intermarriage parents' involvement in Japanese language maintenance impact their children's language abilities (in Japanese, English, and hybrid language use) and how does it impact their children's identities?

1.5. Methodology

Qualitative research methods were employed in this study to explore and present a detailed view of phenomena in a natural setting (Creswell, 2015; Johnson & Christensen, 2019; Kervin et al., 2006). Family observation, in-depth interviews, and questionnaires were collected as data to provide what some researchers term *thick description* (Croker, 2009; Hood, 2009; Jensen, 2008; Kervin et al., 2006) in order to better understand each participant's perspectives on parents' use of Japanese and its impact on their children's language abilities and identities. To capture detailed descriptions of the participants, the number of participants was limited to a small sample (Croker, 2009) of six participating families, as well as four additional adults who were raised in Japanese–Australian intermarriage families. The study used a phenomenological case studies research approach (Grant, 2008; Henry et al., 2008; Sumsion, 2002) to explore in-depth participants' experiences of the languages used at

home; the aim was to represent the actual voices of the individuals who participated in the study (Heigham & Sakui, 2009).

The conceptual framework for this study incorporates the exposure to, choice of, and use of Japanese in the intermarriage families where both the Japanese-origin parent's and the Australian- (or other-) origin parent's languages coexist. The main domain of heritage language maintenance is the home, although the community, including the child's school, also plays an important role in language maintenance. Hood (2009) argues that using the first person in writing such research is appropriate because the researcher interacts with the participants and is present in the research settings, making the story inseparable from the case. This is why I have used the first person throughout this thesis.

1.6. Limitations

In conducting this study, there are a number of identifiable limitations. I have collected data over a relatively short time period (six months) from six intermarriage families and from four adults who were raised by Japanese-origin and Australian- (or other-) origin parents. Although this would be considered a small sample and a short timeframe for a quantitative research approach, this qualitative study draws on a large amount of data from each family participating in the study. The data include in-depth interviews with three or more family members, as well as with adult children of Japanese-origin parents. Each case is closely analysed for each individual in the family as well as for the whole family, which is consistent with phenomenological case study methodology (Grant, 2008; Henry et al., 2008; Sumsion, 2002). This has allowed me to describe each case in detail as well as the dataset as a whole phenomenon. Such a depth of investigation provides rich, thick data (Kervin et al., 2006), and uses multiple sources

to explain the experiences of individuals and the participants' life-worlds (Johnson & Christensen, 2019).

1.7. Structure of the Thesis

The first chapter presents an overview of this study. The research aims, background of the study, research questions, methodology, and limitations of the study have been introduced in this chapter.

In the second chapter, the literature that underpins the theoretical basis of my study and this field of research is examined. Discussion is focused on two major themes in the literature: *language practices* (with a particular focus on plurilingualism, bilingualism, and translanguaging), and *heritage language maintenance*.

Chapter 3 presents a conceptual framework and methodology for the study based on the domains of language use by participants. It also outlines and explains the research design, methods, and approaches to data collection, as well as how the data were analysed.

Chapters 4, 5, and 6 present the findings from the six families' cases as well as the cases of four adults who were raised by Japanese-origin and Australian- (or other-) origin parents. Each family's case or phenomenon is analysed carefully by employing thematic analysis (Croker, 2009) of the field notes, observations, interviews, and questionnaire data collected. Chapter 4 introduces participants' backgrounds and their family language and culture ecologies, Chapter 5 examines the families' language use in the home, and Chapter 6 focuses on the families' language use in the community.

Chapter 7 provides a discussion of the findings from the data analysis presented in Chapters 4 to 6, and offers conclusions as well as suggestions for the dissemination of this research and further research areas. This discussion also reviews the findings in greater depth by examining the results cross-sectionally through the data, including

from the perspective of each participant's role: Japanese-origin parent, Australian- (or other-) origin parent, or second-generation child. Additionally, I consider whether the children's language ability is impacted by the gender of the immigrant parent and whether the level of Japanese language ability differs between siblings depending on their birth order/position in the family. The analyses are referenced against the current literature on heritage language use and bilingual/bicultural identity, as well as the experiences of intermarriage families, and pose new understandings arising from the context of this study. This study concludes by identifying the limitations that impacted this study, offering suggestions for how future studies may continue to build knowledge in this field, and discussing how the findings from this study might inform identity studies, the teaching of languages in preschools and schools, and approaches to diverse language and cultural backgrounds in education and social policy.

1.8. Conclusion

The perspectives of the Japanese-origin parents of Japanese–Australian intermarriage families in Australia towards Japanese heritage maintenance for their children, and their impact on children's language abilities and identities are the focus of this study. In addition, the perspectives of children growing up in, or adults who were raised in, Japanese–Australian intermarriage families regarding their Japanese use at home and in the community are examined.

The study provides unique data and perspectives that have the potential to inform multiple aspects of Australian social practice, including education and both community and government support for plurilingual families, and to underscore the ongoing social, cultural, and linguistic diversity of Australia. Further research opportunities building on this study, suggested through the data gathered and the perspectives and analysis presented in my study, emerged during the study. The

research approach and conceptual framework for analysis developed in the study could be utilised by other researchers undertaking similar studies.

Understanding more about the experiences of raising children from intermarriage families in Australia, and the use of heritage language in a country where English is spoken as a dominant language, can assist us to find ways to support the needs of immigrant parents and their children in an increasingly inclusive nation celebrating its cultural and linguistic diversity.

Chapter 2. Literature Review

2.1. Introduction

For children to use heritage languages and to build related cultural dispositions, many influences and factors are at play, including the parents' choice of language, use of the language at home and in the community (including both in-school and out-of-school contexts), the birth order of the children in the family, and the link between language use and identity. In this chapter, relevant literature addressing these themes is explored as a basis for considering how my study might build on previous work, provide new and further insights into heritage language use, and investigate gaps in the literature—especially in terms of the Australian context and in relation to families with one Japanese parent. *Heritage language* refers to a minority language of a community, family, or individual that is used in a context where a different language and culture is the dominant societal norm. Maintenance of a heritage language and its intertwined culture is an issue for immigrant communities in countries like Australia where the dominance of English is strong; there is a need for families to consider how and to what degree they will maintain their heritage and to contemplate its importance for themselves and their children.

Investigating this literature assists in understanding the complexity and challenges that heritage language speakers face in maintaining their language in a country where their language is not the dominant language; Australia, where English is the dominant language, is one such country. Kasuya (1998) points out that “families play a critical role in young children's active bilingual acquisition” (p. 328). Examining how parents' attitudes towards language maintenance affect children's language

abilities and identities raises the issue of the importance of the decisions parents make when their child is born and subsequently raised in a mixed language environment.

To date, much of the research on heritage language maintenance has been conducted in the United States and Canada, with some more recent work in Asia and a little in Australia. Reviewing the literature has confirmed my initial thinking, arising from my own personal history, on the importance of parental involvement in maintaining heritage languages with their children. Deeper engagement with the literature, as reported in this chapter, provided the foundation for the study. In my research, I examined the experiences of Japanese–Australian families as a means of exploring the complexity of maintaining a heritage language in Australia, where English is spoken as a dominant language, and of reflecting on how this new research might contribute to the literature of this field.

The review begins with a definitional exploration of key terms including *heritage language*, *bilingualism*, *plurilingualism*, and *translanguaging*; this is followed by parents' and children's perspectives on heritage language maintenance in the home and in the community, the relationship between heritage language and identities, and the influence of family ecologies including parents' gender and siblings' use of heritage language.

2.2. Heritage Language, Bilingualism, Plurilingualism, and Translanguaging

With more people crossing borders (Kawakami, 2011)—whether for a short-term stay or to relocate permanently in another country—resulting in what Vertovec (2015) and others (such as Max Planck Institute, 2018) refer to as *superdiversity*, there is an increased global population of multiple language speakers. Consequently, many languages have become globalised. Crossing borders and moving to places with new languages and cultures presents both challenges and potential advantages. The

challenges are in acquiring new languages and understanding new cultures (Kim, 2020). A recognised advantage, however, for people who know and use more than one language is not only facility in two or more languages, but also that they perceive and experience the world through more than one linguistic and cultural lens (García & Otheguy, 2020; Saville-Troike, 2006).

2.2.1. Heritage Language

It is useful to begin with a definition of heritage language, as explored in the literature. Clyne (1991) defines *heritage language* as “languages other than English” (p. 3). This view was confirmed by Krashen (1998) when he stated that a heritage language is “one not spoken by the dominant culture but is spoken in the family or associated with the heritage culture” (p. 3). Fishman argued similarly in 2006, relating heritage language to heritage culture, when he said that it is the “languages other than English” that have “a particular family relevance to the learners” (p. 12). For the purposes of my study, a *heritage language* is an immigrant language (other than English) that is spoken in an English-dominant country. As Australia is a multicultural society with many immigrants bringing their heritage language to the country, it is important to understand how they can maintain their languages in the English-dominant country to their children. Using these definitions, it is possible to explore the evolution of literature on heritage language maintenance. Therefore, as well as addressing heritage language use, I review studies on plurilingualism and translanguageing, as these newer dimensions in the literature provide additional angles for understanding how languages are used in families of mixed cultural and linguistic heritage.

2.2.2. Bilingualism

Many scholars have defined *bilingual* as someone who simply speaks two languages. A classic definition of bilingualism was introduced into language acquisition studies by Bloomfield in 1933 as “a native-like control of two or more languages” (p. 56). Cummins (1981) described it as the “production and/or comprehension of two languages by the same individual” (preface), and Fielding (2015) defined it as “the use of two or more languages with a minimal competence in one or more domains in each language” (p. 20). More recently, scholars have challenged the idea of bilingual simply referring to the ability to use two or more languages. Instead, some have offered broader definitions and sought to recognise nuanced and different types of bilingualism, such that defining who is or is not bilingual is perhaps no longer useful, and potentially impossible (Baker and Wright, 2017). Baker and Wright, for example, argued that bilingualism does not necessarily mean the same proficiency of the two languages and Byers-Heinlein and Lew-Williams (2013) specifically related the term to common use of languages, as the “ability to use two languages in everyday life” (p. 1).

In further debate about the term *bilingualism*, many scholars including Liddicoat (1991), Schambach (2006), and Baker and Wright (2017), argued that native-like fluency in both or all languages should not be the basis for a definition, as such a definition excludes the speakers with variable fluency in each language, and with different needs for languages in different domains of use. Grosjean (2010), for example, challenged Bloomfield's definition, suggesting it excludes most speakers of two or more languages, leaving them with no label (Grosjean, 2010). He also supported the idea that equal proficiency in both languages is not necessary (and which in any case virtually never happens), with one language more often than not being dominant, at

least in everyday domains of use. Baker and Wright (2017) have expressed concerns that some definitions are too narrow, but some are too broad.

Typologies of bilingualism have also proliferated and changed or expanded over time. Diebold, writing in the 1960s, labelled one type of bilingualism as *incipient bilingualism*, which he described as that which tourists and businesspeople use, and which is limited to a few greeting words (Diebold, 1961). In the research reported in this thesis, I investigated children of Japanese–Australian parents (or Japanese–Swiss) intermarriage families who have grown up with two languages from birth, a situation called *simultaneous bilingualism* (Baker & Wright, 2017; Fielding, 2015; Lanza, 2004; Patterson, 2002). Learning to use more than one language at home through everyday use is distinguished from the term *language learning*, where languages are learned in formal educational settings (García, 2008; Krashen, 1981). Simultaneous bilinguals are assumed to develop both languages almost to the same level of proficiency, thus becoming *balanced bilinguals*; however, it has been shown that even balanced bilinguals use one language with more proficiency than the other (Döpke, 1992; Grojean, 2010; Şakırgil, 2012).

Consequently, García (2008) and Edwards (2003) have challenged and even denounced the concept of balanced bilingualism, as bilinguals language differently and have diverse and different experiences of the two (or more) languages they use (García, 2008). Similarly, Baker and Wright (2017), who have argued that the concept of balanced bilingualism is idealised, suggest that one could rarely find anyone who is equally proficient in two or more languages across various domains of use. This is because speakers' use of a language in a variety of contexts tends to become stronger in one language (usually the more dominant one) when compared with the less frequent use of the other language (Döpke, 1992; García, 2008).

Bilingualism has been further subclassified by scholars in the field. I want to particularly focus on two types of bilingualism, first identified by Kasuya (1998) and further developed by other scholars such as García (2008), Edwards (2013), and Baker and Wright (2017): *receptive* (passive) and *productive* (active) bilingualism. Bilinguals with receptive skills understand the spoken or written varieties of the language but cannot produce the language themselves. On the other hand, the term *productive bilinguals* usually refers to bilinguals who can use both receptive and productive skills in the language (receptive skills being necessary for productive skills) (Edwards, 2013). Using these two subcategories (and other descriptive terms for different contexts of use) prevents classifying language users as simply bilingual or not, and provides a working definition that will be of use in my study (Baker & Wright, 2017).

Hinton (1999) and Pauwels (2005) both discussed the situation for children who are exposed to the heritage language in the home, where it is usual to develop receptive skills, noting that there may be limited development of productive skills. However, receptive bilinguals have the potential to develop their language skills from the receptive base into productive domains. As Hurtado and Vega (2004) and Kondo (1997) have shown, receptive bilinguals can become active/productive bilinguals. This is possible when parents put effort into their own language use and are involved in using the heritage language with their children, seeking productive use and not just understanding (receptive use) from the children (Nakamura, 2019). My study will focus on children's communication skills, or language use, examining in particular their understanding of Japanese (receptive skills), and their ability to speak Japanese (productive skills), as well as parental choices and encouragement of productive skills.

2.2.3. *Plurilingualism (and Multilingualism)*

The term *plurilingualism*, though in use from the 1970s by Denison (1970), began to be used more frequently in the literature after the turn of the century, having gained prominence following its inclusion in the Council of Europe's Common European Framework of Reference (CEFR), first developed in 2001. It has since been updated and is defined in the current version of the CEFR as “the dynamic and developing linguistic repertoire of an individual user/learner” (The Council of Europe, 2020, p. 30). This usage is also known as *dynamic bilingualism* (García, 2008) for its capacity to change and develop over time, such that the term “plurilingual acknowledges that speakers have different abilities in their various languages, according to their social uses” (Ellis et al., 2018, p. 18).

Plurilingualism does not necessarily refer only to individuals who are proficient in different languages but also to monolingual speakers in contexts where social dynamics of languages are constantly changing (Piccardo, 2019). This distinguishes the term from *multilingualism*, which refers to the “coexistence of several languages within one society” (Abendroth-Timmer & Hennig, 2014, p.23), or more easily understood as both many and separate languages, and from bilingualism, meaning “knowing and using two autonomous languages” (García & Wei, 2014, p. 11). The commonality between these three terms (bilingualism, multilingualism, and plurilingualism), however, is that they all refer to a “plurality of autonomous languages” (García & Wei, 2014, p. 11), and, in the case of plurilingualism, a mixing of languages. García and Otheguy (2020) express this in terms of a goal or objective of plurilingualism, which is to have partial proficiency in multiple languages and not full proficiency in two or three languages, thus freeing us from what is (in their view) an erroneous concept of balanced bilingualism.

2.2.4. *Translanguaging*

Translanguaging is another relatively new term to the field and was described by García (2008) as occurring in bilingual settings and used by bilingual families and communities to construct meaning in order to make sense of their bilingual worlds. Translanguaging is understood to involve a “linguistic repertoire with features that have been societally constructed as belonging to two separate languages” (García & Wei, 2014, p. 2). Translanguaging involves the “entire range of multimodal resources that make up the speaker’s full communicative repertoire- gestures, gazes, posture, visual cues, and even human–technology interactions” (García & Otheguy, 2020, p. 26). That is, translanguaging involves the full use of the user’s semiotic resources and does not seek to name discreet languages or modes of communication; nor does it confine use of language to one and then another named language in sequence and separately.

The terms *code-switching* (shifting from one discreet language to another) and *translanguaging* differ in that translanguaging has a broader definition and removes perceived language boundaries and hence the concept of switching. Code-switching refers to shifting and shuttling from one language to another (understood as different and separate languages) whereas translanguaging refers instead to bilingual speakers’ use of various language repertoires, intermixed (García & Wei, 2014). The considerable literature dedicated to this classification of code-switching indicates that children growing up in an environment where two or more languages are used can and will differentiate when it is appropriate to switch in accordance with the needs of the social situation (Lanza, 2004). García (2008) has identified two types of code-switching: intrasentential, where switching occurs *within* the clause or a sentence, and intersentential, where switching occurs *at* a clause or a sentence. García further argues that intrasentential code-switching is more common and occurs naturally in

plurilinguals' conversations, and due to its more fluid nature, is really a form of translanguaging rather than indicating an actual switch between two discreetly defined languages.

These definitional debates around bilingualism, plurilingualism, and translanguaging raise interesting questions in heritage language maintenance situations for parents in particular. If immigrant parents wish to maintain their heritage language, as a discreet language, they need to be aware of code-switching between the heritage language and the dominant language by their children, and how this differs from translanguaging as a family practice. Many authors (e.g., Cunningham, 2020; Kasuya, 1998; Lanza, 2004; Pauwels, 2005), note that the acceptance of frequent code-switching from children signals that it is acceptable to use the dominant language. Parents need to decide if this is desirable, acceptable, normal, and so on, or if they have concerns that this will lead to the erosion of the heritage language as the dominant language is increasingly used. Medvedeva (2012) argues that although children are likely to use English to speak to their immigrant parents in an English-dominant nation, it has a minimal effect on language shift to English provided the parents have a habitual practice of speaking their heritage language to their children. García and Wei (2014) and García and Otheguy (2020) suggest that allowing the child to make choices and to freely use all their semiotic resources boosts meaning-making, capability within both the discreet (named) languages, and a more fluid translanguaging process. Recent work in tertiary learning contexts (e.g., Rafi & Morgan, 2021) amplifies the benefits for both languages in bilingual settings when translanguaging is freely allowed, noting that there are differences between home practices and those in formal learning settings.

Translanguaging thus has different purposes as it occurs in different domains such as school, community language school, and in the family domain (at home). Baker

& Wright (2017) acknowledged in their analysis that the “use of two or more languages changes across people, time, place and need” (p. 99).

As my study involves parents of different language backgrounds and their children, it was natural that translanguaging would occur regularly in their everyday communication. For bilingual families and communities, translanguaging practice can be used to construct meaning and further deeper understanding, and is the only discursive practice that includes all family members in the conversation (García, 2008). Sometimes translanguaging possibilities are constrained by the level of language skill in discreet languages, or by personal preferences. Immigrant parents who have limited proficiency in the new dominant language, for example, may prefer or need to use their native language (almost) exclusively with their children (Clyne, 2005).

In the family domain, and particularly in the case of many families considering heritage language maintenance, the parents' determination to use the heritage language with their children has the potential to exclude the English-speaking parents if they cannot speak that language (Cunningham, 2020), although they may not necessarily consider this a negative. Language minority children in immigrant families translating for their parents who do not speak the dominant language is also one of the examples of translanguaging that García (2008) provides, and is expressed as a commonplace act of extending meaning-making relevant to the people involved. These translating and interpreting practices are known as *brokering* (Baker & Wright, 2017; Cho, 2000; Fielding, 2015; McQuillan & Tse, 1995; Tse, 1997). By taking the role of broker, children can establish stronger relationships with their parents (Cho, 2000), and gain self-esteem and metalinguistic awareness (Baker & Wright, 2017). On the other hand, they may feel responsible to meet their parents' expectations, which may cause them to feel stressed and burdened (McQuillan & Tse, 1995; Weisskirch & Alva, 2002).

In community events, bilingual families come from different language backgrounds, and they sometimes have to select from a multilingual or plurilingual repertoire that may exclude others (García & Wei, 2014). Yet, at the same time they can use their multilingual and plurilingual repertoire to maintain family and community cohesion and to establish identity (Clyne, 2005). At school, bilingual children may be forced to separate the two languages without being able to reference their existing language, such as in immersion programs (García & Otheguy, 2020), or in additional language learning classes where teachers are insistent on the use of one language in the classroom (though discouraged in the Australian Curriculum, this is known to occur in Australia) (Morgan, et al., 2021b).

In the case of community language schools, Creese and Blackledge (2010) suggest concern when students' language use is English dominant and the teachers' language use is community language dominant. Their study shows that a translanguaging approach was used effectively between the teachers and students in community language schools for identity performance, and for language learning and teaching practice. Further studies on translanguaging practices are needed to understand its impact on heritage language maintenance, the current literature on which is discussed in the next section.

2.3. Heritage Language Maintenance

There is no doubt that Australia is culturally and linguistically diverse even though it is still considered usual or normal to be monolingual in English (Ellis, 2016). Currently, over 300 languages are spoken at home in Australia (including Indigenous languages) with Mandarin, Arabic, Cantonese, and Vietnamese the most commonly spoken languages after English (ABS, 2017a). A more recent census, conducted in 2021, will reveal any shifts from the 2016 data, with immigration numbers suggesting

the number of languages and the percentage of users of other languages could be even higher. This diversity of language use gives rise to the need to contemplate the demand for language maintenance in immigrant families who wish to retain connections with their first language and culture. However, it also indicates just how difficult it is for immigrant parents to maintain their home languages in a country where English is the dominant language, including in most public domains.

The use of English in Australia fits the definition of a dominant language, in that it is primarily used in “government, education and public communication, and is not an ‘official language’” (Kelleher, 2010, p. 1). Although English is not the official language, as Australia has no identified official language(s), this has more to do with the arrogance of assumption that English *is* the official language (without it having to be named), due to the dominance of the English colonial rule and later the federated Australian nation, in which only English is used officially and any other language use is a translation (Clyne, 2005). Nevertheless, despite the mammoth impact of and pressure to use English, maintaining a heritage language is rewarding despite the many challenges for both the parents and children, as studies from around the globe and in Australia attest (Ellis, 2016; McCabe, 2014; Oketani-Lobbezoo, 2007; Pauwels, 2014; Sakamoto, 2000; Yousef, 2016).

As previously discussed, the term *heritage language* is defined by scholars in different ways. Valdés (2005) defines heritage languages as languages spoken by minorities, including the language of the people “indigenous to a particular region” or “populations that have migrated to areas other than their own regions or nations of origin” (p. 411). Kelleher (2010) claims that there are concerns with the term *minority*, which indicates “smaller in number, which is less than 50% of a group” (p.1) and has a

negative connotation. For this reason, I will use the term *heritage language* for my study.

García et al. (2012) distinguish between bilingual education and heritage language education, the former being the teaching of a language other than English using English as a medium of instruction, whereas the latter involves teaching languages other than English to bilinguals. Heritage language education is often provided at community language schools on weekends for children of families who have a heritage language and so plays a vital role in helping to maintain heritage languages.

Regarding the second language acquisition perspective, Saville-Troike (2006) claims that “second language learning begins with children’s first experiences with the families into which they are born, the communities to which they belong, and the cultural environment within which they live” (p. 128). This aligns with the experience of children who are developing their languages as bilinguals; they experience their languages and cultures through their parents, and from their communities including schools.

In the following section, I will review the literature on heritage language maintenance from the perspective of parents, children, and its use in the community.

2.3.1. Parents and Heritage Language Maintenance

Participants in my study include parents of different cultural and language backgrounds: Japanese–Australian (and one Japanese–Swiss) intermarriage couples and children, living in Australia. Many immigrant parents want their children to grow up bilingual, thus maintaining their heritage languages through their children. Phinney et al. (2001) found that children who immigrated to a country with a strong dominant

language (in this case, the United States and English) at a young age or who were born in the United States may not acquire their parents' heritage language.

Learning the heritage language is often only possible if the parents make a conscious effort on a regular basis to develop the heritage language (Nesteruk, 2010). Nesteruk lists four strategies parents can use to maintain their heritage language with their children. The first is to speak their language with their partner and their children. The second is to involve grandparents in interactions using the heritage language, whether they are in or out of the new country. The third strategy is to use community resources, and the fourth to interact with heritage language speakers in the community. Parents are responsible for choosing their children's language programs and encouraging them to use the heritage language and the dominant language concurrently. In addition, children must feel the need to use the heritage language (DeCapua & Wintergerst, 2009). The consistent use of a heritage language by parents contributes to successful maintenance of the heritage language in their children (Cho, 2015; Pauwels, 2005; Zhang & Slaughter-Defoe, 2009).

In an earlier study by Döpke (1992) who investigated German-English families in Australia, the importance of child-centred interactions as a parental discourse strategy was emphasised. Lanza (2004), responding to Döpke's strategies, argued that child-centredness alone was insufficient for heritage language maintenance if output in the heritage language was not demanded; as in Döpke's study, children's use of both languages was reported based on a subjective evaluation. However, this view differs from the work of García and colleagues (see Otheguy et al., 2015) in relation to the concept of translanguaging, so remains a contested perspective.

Nonetheless, it is clear from multiple studies that patterns of parent interaction impact children's opportunities to socialise through their heritage language (see

Velázquez, 2013, for example). Technological affordances of communication media and digital social networks are also now other ways in which families seeking heritage language maintenance can connect with different languages and cultures (Abendroth-Timmer & Hennig, 2014; Hsieh et al., 2020; Kim, 2020; Pauwels, 2014).

Many studies have shown immigrant parents' positive attitudes and desires to maintain their heritage language with their children. For example, Park and Sarkar (2007) examined Korean immigrant parents' attitudes towards heritage language maintenance in Canada. Data were collected from nine Korean-born immigrants with school-aged children. The results of the study indicated that all parents strongly supported heritage language maintenance for their children, principally for the expressed reason of maintaining their cultural identity. These authors demonstrated that parents are primarily responsible for their children's heritage language and culture maintenance, but also found Korean churches provided Korean language skills, social interaction, and reinforced Korean identity in this Korean language community setting.

Brown (2011) also investigated Korean parents' perspectives on their Korean language maintenance in the United States and found that Korean parents had a strong desire to maintain Korean; however, it became challenging after their children entered primary school. Nevertheless, participants continued to show positive attitudes and put in effort towards maintaining their heritage language with their children. Although Park and Sarkar (2007) and Brown (2011) studied Korean participants, I have explored how Japanese parents' beliefs and attitudes can impact their children's Japanese language skills and cultural identities through interviews. There are some similarities with the Korean example, especially culturally, but also differences for Japanese expatriate and intermarriage communities in Australia. One notable difference is the varying orthographic complexity of the written languages and its impact on literacy

development. Japanese has unique challenges related to its character systems (morphographic kanji derived from Chinese characters and two forms of syllabic kana); this differs from Korean, which principally uses an alphabetic writing form (Hangul, with vowels and consonants) that is more quickly mastered.

The circumstances surrounding the decision made by parents about which language to use with their children may impact on their actual use of language with their children. Some parents determine the family language policy by having conscious discussions together (Tsushima & Guardado, 2019); in other families, mothers decide the family's language use (Kondo, 1997; Okita, 2002; Yamamoto, 2001), while others may continue to use the language they had been using since the start of their relationship, or the one that emerged naturally as they raised their children (Guardado, 2017).

What these studies reveal is that the decision on language choice needs to be considered carefully as it will affect the rest of the children's lives and their relationships with their parents and grandparents (Tsushima & Guardado, 2019). Parents who were committed to using the heritage language have likely had conscious discussions on language choice between themselves (Tsushima & Guardado, 2019); however, situations where parents do not actively employ any strategies in their language use may lead children to become passive bilinguals or monolinguals (Yamamoto, 2001). Sometimes even immigrant parents who wish to retain their heritage language feel the need to prioritise their children's dominant language as they live in the (English-dominant) country and must cope with the school environment (Tsushima & Guardado, 2019) as they fear their children may have dominant language development delays in school (Guardado, 2002; Okita, 2002).

Although more recent studies (Bialystok, 2018; Grosjean & Byers-Heinlein, 2018) suggest little or no impediment to dominant language acquisition when the heritage language is used at home, this has long been a concern of immigrant parents and has been exacerbated by ill-informed advice from schools about using English with children at home (Baetens-Beardsmore, 2003; Ellis et al., 2018; Kawamura & Goza, 2013; Shibata, 2000). Despite these concerns, those parents do not necessarily abandon the use of their heritage language, as the desire for identity maintenance (including maintaining their heritage language) remains strong (DeCapua & Wintergerst, 2009; Li, 1999; Zhang & Slaughter-Defoe, 2009).

There are various reasons that immigrant parents wish to maintain their heritage language. Some immigrant parents use their heritage language with their children because of their own limited English proficiency. Dominant language proficiency of the immigrant parents is an important means for deciding the choice of language use between parents and children. Medvedeva (2012) found that immigrant parents' dominant language (in this case English) proficiency affected the choice of their use of languages with their children, with increased use of the heritage language associated with lower levels of proficiency in the dominant language. Parents speak their heritage language because they feel more comfortable using it to speak with their child; this is called "communicative satisfaction" (Okita, 2002, p. 89). Thus, using the heritage language is practical (easier) if immigrant parents are less proficient in the dominant language, rather than using it just for the purpose of maintaining the language and culture (Mouw & Xie, 1999).

Repeatedly, studies reinforce the view that to retain heritage language use with their children it is crucial for parents to be committed to using their heritage language; once the parents' use of the heritage language reduces, a language shift to English

occurs rapidly (Cho, 2000; Hinton, 1999), and consequently even ordinary conversations may be disrupted due to communication gaps (Oh & Fuligni, 2010). De Houwer (2019) found that children who do not speak the same language as their parents in the home also showed an emotional distance from their parents, with less engagement in conversations compared to those who speak the same language as their parents. Parents' limited English abilities and a child's limited heritage language ability may cause communication gaps, which may affect parent–child relationships as parents and children cannot express and share values, beliefs, understandings, and wisdom (De Houwer, 2019; Fillmore, 1991).

Similarly, Portes and Rumbaut (2014) report that children learning English and abandoning their heritage language cause “breakdown of intrafamily communication and loss of parental control over their young” (p. 390). It can also have a negative effect on relationships with grandparents and relatives in the immigrant parents' home countries (Guardado, 2002). Jackson (2009) examined an intermarriage family made up of a native-English-speaking American father and a Japanese mother living in Japan. Although the father was a primary carer of the children, he was not a proficient speaker of Japanese, and he began to feel emotionally distant from his 4-year-old son, as the child had more meaningful conversations with his mother in Japanese. Nevertheless, he remained committed to speaking English with his son, and, somewhat curiously, expected his son to improve his English rather than feeling the need to improve his own Japanese skills.

Regardless, parents know that learning the dominant language from their partner can assist their own language development (Cunningham, 2020). Cunningham promotes regular corrections from the stronger speaker, which should not interfere with their communication, as the purpose is to provide examples of correct forms of the

dominant language. Medvedeva (2012) takes this point further, suggesting that to minimise communication gaps between the parent and the child it is essential to prioritise the maintenance of positive relationships. Therefore, she suggests it is ideal for children to be proficient in both English and the heritage language in order to avoid conflict between parents and to establish family harmony and higher self-esteem for all family members (Medvedeva, 2012).

Another reason for immigrant parents to use their heritage language is to connect with their families and relatives in their home countries, and there is ample literature demonstrating the value of this connection in ensuring the success of heritage language maintenance. Family connections provide exposure by immersing the child in the heritage language and culture and connecting them back to previous generations and a sense of familial longevity. Kaveh's (2018) immigrant participants revealed that consistent connections with grandparents can help maintain the heritage language, as children feel obliged to use it to speak with their grandparents. Denman's (2009) study reveals that his Japanese participants have regular visits to Japan so as not to later regret not seeing their Japanese parents, which Penny and Khoo (1996) called "the burden of guilt and regret of separation" (p. 208). Similarly, Okita (2002) in her study of Japanese-British families in the United Kingdom called her Japanese immigrant participants' strong relationships with their own Japanese parents "old hearth ties" (p. 89). She proposed three key features that connect directly to the relationships of the Japanese mothers' families and relatives in Japan: "strength, quality, and practicality" (Okita, 2002, p. 89). The combination of these features strongly links to the language choice and language use.

Many studies also reveal multiple benefits to learning the heritage language of one or both parents, such as maintaining a strong relationship with grandparents, a

positive cognitive impact, career benefits, and enhanced understanding of cultural diversity (Bialystok, 2018; Brown, 2011; Cho, 2000; Costa et al., 2008; García, 2008; Nesteruk, 2010). Bialystok (2018) emphasised the long-term benefits to bilingual children's literacy skills in both languages as well as their academic achievement in school. Nesteruk's (2010) study shows that all 50 participants in her study of immigrant parents from Eastern European countries emphasise the importance of maintaining their heritage language to facilitate communication across generations. One of the practical benefits is that heritage language speakers can use the heritage language if they wish to carry on a personal conversation that others cannot understand. However, Grosjean (2010) warns that this may "backfire and create an embarrassing situation" (p. 47), as there can be someone who understands the heritage language near the speakers.

Despite these multiple benefits, maintaining a heritage language is almost uniformly described as difficult by parents across all studies, and is therefore often not maintained by the heritage speaking parents, with the consequent language shift to the dominant language being "powerful and rapid" (Cho, 2000, p. 370). Oh and Fuligni (2010) also claim that as children become older and parental influence is less powerful, they often choose not to maintain proficiency in their heritage language.

Abdelhadi (2017) confirms the many challenges and difficulties for parents attempting to maintain their languages, especially under the linguistic and cultural pressure of the English language. This is especially the case if the parents are the only speakers of the heritage language in the family (Fillmore, 1991). Consequently, it becomes frustrating for parents if their children start responding in the dominant language, which may eventually cause parents to reduce the use of their heritage language (Cunningham, 2020; Döpke, 1992). Krashen had articulated these ideas convincingly in 1998, noting that social factors such as lack of input and exposure to

the non-English language and literacy, children's refusal to engage in the heritage culture, ridicule and corrections by proficient speakers of the heritage language, and poor language teaching programs, can significantly reduce parents' use of their heritage language (Krashen, 1998). Even if the families receive extensive support from relatives and make frequent visits to the home countries, shifts to the dominant language can be unavoidable (Ellis et al., 2018).

Notable findings relating to the gaps between the immigrant parents' ideals of maintaining their heritage language with their children, and the reality that the children ultimately cannot effectively use the language, have been recorded in some studies. McCabe (2014) found that all her immigrant parent participants stated that their children's understanding of the heritage language and sense of their identity did not match their original expectations. Her participants also noticed their inconsistent use of their heritage language and increased use of the more dominant language, which led some participants to change their original goals to more achievable goals—to become comfortable with what by then seemed inevitable.

Similarly, Brown's (2011) study showed that immigrant parents were not successful in putting their beliefs into practice. She interviewed seven Korean college-aged students in the US who had successfully maintained their Korean language skills, as well as their parents, to record their beliefs and perspectives on the heritage language and their child-rearing practices in relation to heritage language maintenance. The interviews revealed that the parents' beliefs and intentions about using Korean at home did not reflect what actually happened. Parents' statements that they intended to consistently use Korean at home may not have been conveyed to their children effectively, and the use of English may have been greater than imagined, which inadvertently undermined the significance of the heritage language. Brown assumed

that the reduced use of heritage language is due to parents' increasing English speaking proficiency. Consequently, despite their original intentions, parents' reduced use of the heritage language may shift the nature of children's bilingualism from active to receptive where children who were initially active users cease using the heritage language (Nakamura, 2019).

To better understand the experiences and complexity of the challenges facing immigrant parents who want to maintain use of the heritage language in their families, Sakamoto (2000) used a life history research method, which investigates the connection between personal experiences and social factors. She interviewed six Japanese immigrant parents living in Canada to understand their experiences of the choice of language used at home, and how their decisions affected their children's Japanese language use. She also investigated social factors that may affect the parents' decisions about Japanese use at home. I was able to build on Sakamoto's (2000) study by interviewing parents who have reduced their use of Japanese, or are finding it challenging to retain Japanese with their children, due to social factors such as lack of supportive networks that affected the use of Japanese at home. Although Sakamoto only selected parents who were both Japanese-born, I have intentionally chosen intermarriage partners as participants in order to ascertain differences between parents, to explore tensions arising from the mix of languages and cultures in the family and at home, and to contribute to this gap in the current literature.

Raising children in intermarriage families has led immigrant parents to face emotional, physical, and financial burdens, which cause anxiety, guilt, confusion, and frustration (Guardado, 2017, p. 11). Interviewing English-speaking partners is important as their views and thoughts towards the Japanese parents' use of Japanese at home can impact the overall performance of the family in retaining Japanese, and also

have a profound impact on children's and parents' identities. Thus, we must remember that successful heritage language maintenance is not about dependence on the immigrant parents' efforts alone, but involves collaboration between parents as well as requiring the English-speaking parents' understanding and support.

2.3.2. Children's Perspectives on Heritage Language Maintenance

Understanding children's perspectives is as important as understanding parents' attitudes and perspectives towards successful heritage language maintenance. DeCapua and Wintergerst (2009) argue that children must feel the need to learn the heritage language, reinforced by the parents' positive attitudes and interactions at home. Even though children understand the importance of learning their parents' heritage language, they may show resistance to using it. Many children are receptive users and understand the heritage language, but cannot express themselves using contextually appropriate language (Hinton, 1999). In Kagan's (2012) study, her participant, a medical student, felt embarrassed and ashamed over her inability to speak fluently in her heritage language when she had to act in an interpreter role as part of a medical workshop. Baker and Wright (2017) assert that this is due to a reduced sense of proficiency in expressing ideas caused by a lack of precise vocabulary or structures. This causes frustration for children as they cannot share their meanings effectively with interlocutors. Such frustrations can end negatively; however, if children realise that other strategies can be used to fill those language gaps, such as finding alternate wordings in their heritage language, this can help them overcome their frustrations (Fielding, 2015). García and Wei (2014) and more recently Rafi and Morgan (2021) argue that the use of translanguaging in such situations boosts meaning-making and confidence for all participants in the discussion, as meanings are negotiated and mediated by all involved with no passive observer.

Another reason for children's embarrassment in using the heritage language arises when they visit relatives in the immigrant parents' home countries and feel ashamed of their lesser language skills, relative to their similarly aged cousins, for example (Kagan, 2012). Brown's (2011) Korean study showed that children are expected not only to speak Korean but also to understand Korean culture in ways that show respect to their grandparents and elderly people, for example, bowing deeply. Many authors note that understanding culture through a language, whether a person's heritage language or a foreign language learnt through study, is essential and cannot be separated as a distinct skill (Guessabi, 2017; Jiang, 2000).

Further, children may feel embarrassed speaking their heritage language in the new country as they do not wish to look different from others. Dewaele (2017) reported his personal experience with his daughter where he spoke French, and his wife Dutch, when they were living in an English-dominant environment. At the age of 5, their daughter refused to speak French to her father at the school gate as she wanted to avoid standing out amongst her peers. As evidenced in Dewaele's example, children begin to discriminate themselves in interpreting perceived experiences through other people's eyes around the age of 7 (Kondratiuk, 2020). Many scholars have also demonstrated that in fact children of all ages, particularly during adolescence, find it embarrassing to speak their heritage language outside the home (Cummins, 1981; Kaveh, 2018; Motaghi-Tabari, 2017). This may be because it makes them feel different from others at school, or conversely, because it causes them to be criticised or mocked by peers who speak the heritage language more proficiently (Hinton, 1999). For these reasons, such pressures from others surrounding their heritage language maintenance may cause a shift to the dominant language (Ellis et al., 2018).

Children may develop their own perception of heritage language proficiency but they are also aware of how they are perceived by the heritage language communities (Kurata, 2015). This is not necessarily a negative; for some children, particularly those who are relatively proficient in their heritage language, their motivation to engage in conversation and improve their language skills increases if they are in situations where they are compelled to speak the language (Cho, 2015). Motivation for learning a language is “the combination of effort, desire to achieve the goal of learning the language, and favourable attitudes toward learning the language” (Gardner, 1985, p. 10). Similarly, Zhang and Slaughter-Defoe (2009) and Norton (2016) argue that positive attitudes towards language learning foster increased efforts to learn it, leading to higher proficiency levels.

There are also other factors that motivate children to use their heritage language recorded in the literature. Visiting the immigrant parents' home country can be a motivator for children to learn their heritage language (Hinton, 1999). Children can improve their heritage language by communicating with their grandparents and relatives. Being recognised by teachers and peers at school can also be a motivator for some children. For example, Tse's (2001a) participant felt positive about being able to help with his peers' homework and to form a team to complete a project using his heritage language. Furthermore, in the case of Japanese products in Australia, Kinoshita-Thomson (2020) asserts that products related to Japan that are present in everyday life motivate children and increase their interest in comparing the two languages and cultures. Hence, Japanese heritage children feel proud and appreciate their Japanese culture when their peers develop an interest in Japanese-related products (Oketani-Lobbezoo, 2007). It is not only the immigrant parents' use of the heritage language that promotes successful language maintenance but also the children's

willingness to use the heritage language which impacts their social identities; these factors may change over time depending on individual circumstances (Kondo, 1997).

2.3.3. Heritage Language Maintenance in the Community

Community plays a vital role in maintaining a heritage language. As Brown (2011) explains, immigrant parents can seek assistance from the heritage language and broader communities if they find it difficult to retain their language in the home. Brown's work built on earlier scholars' work that identified, for example, that the family's immediate environment such as relatives, friends, and colleagues can help facilitate heritage language development (Pauwels, 2005). Nesteruk (2010) described how an extended social network can provide enriched opportunities for immigrant parents and their children to use their heritage language through utilising resources such as community-based preschool, schools, and language classes in churches and community centres, to foster development in the heritage language.

Denman (2009) studied four intermarriage families consisting of Japanese wives and Australian husbands living in Australia, each with at least one child of primary school age. He sought to explore family interactions in Japan, and with Japanese language and culture, and the families' connections with the local Japanese community. His study differed from mine in that he studied only Japanese mothers and not fathers, and limited his research to three specific contexts. I additionally investigated the language interactions in the three domains of home, community, and school; how Japanese use affects children's identities; and siblings' language use. Denman's (2009) data show that Japanese mothers tend to have an extensive social network with other Japanese women (and especially with mothers who are also married to Australian partners) in their community, such as through informal mothers' groups and semi-formal playgroups, where children of a similar age can interact. These networks

provided opportunities to maintain the heritage language with other mothers, and also among their children, as well as reinforcing the legitimacy of heritage language maintenance. Additionally, Denman found that providing the opportunity for the Australian fathers and children to experience Japanese culture by visiting Japan was important. He identified a tension, however, between how the travel to Japan was perceived by the Japanese mothers, who found it necessary to visit Japan for language and culture maintenance, and the Australian partners, who considered it a (perhaps unnecessary) luxury holiday. As such, differences in values are commonly observed between intermarriage families, which may interfere with Japanese parents' effort to maintain the heritage language. It is crucial that Australian parents develop an understanding of the importance and practicalities of maintaining heritage language if they wish to raise their children bilingual.

Nonetheless, as discussed earlier, parents may receive negative advice from non-specialists about raising children bilingually, such as from school teachers, and parents may accept this advice (Baetens-Beardsmore, 2003; Ellis et al., 2018; Kawamura & Goza, 2013; Shibata, 2000). Although some parents may not abandon the use of heritage language, others may be discouraged from raising their children bilingually, despite strong community supports around them. Nesteruk's (2010) study, however, argues that generally when families are connected to extended communities of the same heritage through personal friendships, extended social networks, and school-based connections, they have a higher chance of maintaining their heritage language (Nesteruk, 2010). Okita (2002) had earlier concluded that the primary source of influence for parents with a heritage language is other parents in the community who are also raising their children bilingually, demonstrating the importance of these same-background social networks. Even though they may not immediately need support from

their closest families or friends of the same heritage, the network ties enable them to seek help when needed (Velázquez, 2013). She found that connections between parents who speak a heritage language encouraged their use of the heritage language and affirmed their decisions regarding their use of the heritage language (Okita, 2002). Conversely—and ironically, as it reduces support for a range of points of connection—when a heritage language is not maintained for the children of intermarriage families, there may be consequences for their relationships within their cultural communities. Children and adults who have limited proficiency in their heritage language report feeling isolated from their cultural communities (Cho & Krashen, 1998; Hinton, 1999; Imbens-Bailey, 1996). This inability to participate in these communities can have far-reaching consequences for the development of ethnic identity, and also lead to avoidance of social activities with the very networks that could offer support.

Several studies have examined the importance of maintaining the heritage language through community language schools. Community language schools are usually established and run by parents and community members outside mainstream schools, with the aim of maintaining language and cultural understanding through language classes and related social activities (Cruickshank, 2018, p. 129). They are sometimes classified as “‘in between’ sites: between home/community and mainstream schools” (Cruickshank 2015, p. 87). For Japanese maintenance in the community language schools, spoken and written language are taught to enable learners to socialise in Japanese language and culture environments, because social relationships that fail to fully understand cultural nuances may potentially disrupt relationships by unintentionally offending others if social norms are transgressed (Kano, 2012).

Although it is important to create an environment for both teachers and students to use the heritage language, there is also evidence that children in these schools easily

shift back to English, especially in interactions with other students (Cruickshank, 2014). Using English in the community language school is therefore sometimes seen as a sign of resistance towards the heritage language (Cruickshank, 2015), which is a view counter to that of scholars promoting translanguaging, where all semiotic resources are valued and no negativity is attached to fluid movement across language skillsets. Whatever the preferred policy on heritage language and English use in community language schools, there is agreement among scholars that community language schools can contribute to enhancing heritage languages, and consequently provide an opportunity for “ethnic group membership” (Chinen & Tucker, 2005, p. 29), which reinforces the value of the schools for cultural and ethnic identity.

Shibata (2000) conducted a case study on a Japanese family in the United States, and discovered how their son of primary school age, Ken, developed confidence in maintaining Japanese after the opening of a local community language school. The family's original plan of moving back to Japan encouraged the mother to teach Ken Japanese every day, but due to his father's career change, they moved to a small town in the United States where there were no Japanese-speaking children in their neighbourhood. This caused Ken to speak more English and, eventually, he rejected studying Japanese with his mother. With strong support and effort from the community and the parents, all the Japanese and Japanese–American families with school-aged children in the town were contacted and agreed to open a community language school, which led to Ken enjoying the community language school and speaking Japanese regularly with this community and in his family. Shibata concluded that the community language school played an important role, not only in teaching Japanese but also in nurturing ethnic identity and friendship among children of the same age or beyond. She also emphasised the limits of any parents' isolated efforts and demonstrated that the

presence of community supports such as community language schools pave the way for easier acceptance of the value and maintenance of the heritage language.

Plurilingual literacy also plays an important role in supporting heritage language maintenance (Abendroth-Timmer & Hennig, 2014). Oriyama (2011) examined how society, community, and school affected school-aged Japanese–Australian children's literacy skills in Japanese. Two groups of Japanese–English bilingual children attending a weekend Japanese community language school and two groups of Japanese monolinguals attending a full-time Japanese school were selected as participants. Results from several written tests indicated that the level of literacy of bilingual groups was significantly lower in all Japanese language macro skills (reading, writing, speaking, and listening) in Year 3 and 4 students compared to the Japanese monolinguals, despite attending weekly community language school. Although this would be an expected outcome given the relative amount of time the two groups spent on learning and using Japanese, there were other consequences that emerged. Because the weekend community language school was using the same Japanese textbooks as the Japanese monolingual school, Oriyama concluded that using those textbooks was not suitable for both groups of children, and that different resources were needed to support the children at appropriate levels for learning. Similarly, in the case of Japanese community language schools in the United States, Kano (2012) argued that the Japanese curriculum from the Japanese government does not meet the needs of the US permanent resident children of Japanese heritage who wish to learn Japanese language and culture. This is also the case in Japanese community language schools in Australia. In reference to the textbook, it is important for learners to have access to literacy materials that are relevant and appropriate for their environment and proficiency level (Cruickshank, 2014; Pauwels, 2005; Tse, 2001a). Cruickshank (2015) also points out

that some textbooks do not contribute to student achievement, and may limit students' learning opportunities by being too difficult for the students. Tse's (2001a) study also investigated the literacy demands and print resources of weekend religious services as one of the settings where people can engage with texts written in their heritage language, including the Bible, missals, and prayer cards. Whereas Oriyama (2011) and Tse's (2001a) studies on literacy ability provided a useful reference for written skills, in my research the focus will be primarily on speaking ability since it pertains to the issue of heritage learners' language use in the home and community. As a currently under-researched field in Australia, yet one that is of critical importance for young people learning in bilingual contexts, further research on literacy for heritage language groups is therefore needed and recommended.

For immigrant parents, access to quality, relevant, and appropriately levelled learning resources is crucial for heritage language maintenance. In some communities, particularly in regional cities and remote areas, the availability of resources is insufficient. Immigrants in urban cities have greater access to concentrated social networks (Abdelhadi, 2017; Harte et al., 2009; Karidakis & Arunachalam, 2016), and consequently, language resources for children are usually allocated to these concentrations in urban cities rather than children in regional areas, resulting in a scarcity of appropriate resources for families living in the regions (Ellis et al., 2018). Additionally, Pauwels (2014) pointed out that languages that are widely taught have sufficient resources available for teachers to use; however, languages less widely taught have fewer resources. Personal communication with researchers currently conducting a project to develop a national plan for languages education in Australia also revealed that banks of shared resources is the number one request from community language school teachers seeking to improve opportunities for learning in their communities (A.

Morgan, personal communication, September 24, 2021). As Ellis et al. (2018) have pointed out, lack of access to resources will consequently result in learners shifting more to the dominant language.

Although the studies of Shibata (2000), Oriyama (2011), and Tse (2001a) confirm that community language schools play an important role in maintaining heritage languages, Archer et al. (2009) identified some negative aspects of their participants' experiences at community language schools. These included the poor physical environments of their schools (such as a lack of suitably equipped classrooms and the use of spaces without a sense of ownership among the users), and a lack of access to resources, such as the prohibition against using IT equipment or recreational facilities when they are using the premises of mainstream schools. This sense of prohibition and the lack of access to what should be publicly available resources was also found by the researchers developing the Australian national plan to be a deeply insulting and wounding experience for community language teachers and their students (A. Morgan, personal communication, September 24, 2021). Nevertheless, there are currently 105,350 students learning at 783 community language schools in Australia (Community Languages Australia, 2021), which operate to promote heritage language use among subsequent generations in Australia.

In the eyes of scholars such as García and Wei (2014), fluid and flexible language practice, known as *flexible bilingualism* (Creese & Blackledge, 2011; Cruickshank, 2014; García, 2008), or *translanguaging*, accepts the learners' ability to use two or more languages in the community language school. Flexible bilingualism and translanguaging opportunities facilitate language learners to maintain languages in their homes, schools, and local communities (Cruickshank, 2014). Not only do children learn their heritage language in community language schools, they also become friends

with children from similar ethnic backgrounds, allowing them to share their heritage culture with community members. Cruickshank concludes this is the main motivator for children to attend community language school—it is an opportunity to meet their friends (Cruickshank, 2019). In this study, to capture the experiences of the participants in relation to heritage language and community language schools, I have included interview questions about these aspects, with a view to considering whether the decision to be involved in a community language school is indicative of the parents' positive attitudes towards retaining their heritage language.

2.4. Heritage Language and Identity

To explore how heritage language development influences identity, it was necessary to examine the literature on heritage language identity. One of the first questions I considered was: what do we mean by heritage language identity? Through the process of developing one's heritage language, identity can be formed by various factors: not only through parents' ethnic background but also through the language used at home and in the community, heritage language proficiency, and so forth. Fielding (2015) notes that “who we are” (p. 38) relates closely to the language we use. *Identity* is defined by many scholars in fields such as psychology and sociology, but in particular, I examined the specific relationship between languages and identity. Kawakami (2011) pointed out that understanding the importance of “the relationship between language and identity and its subsequent relationship to one's individual consciousness is crucial” (p. 80). He refers to the individual consciousness as geographical, temporal, and linguistic experiences of children growing up in a multilingual environment (Kawakami, 2011). Hence, language learner identities are multiple and changing (Norton, 2013). Additionally, every time we speak, we are negotiating and renegotiating our sense of self in relation to the larger social world, and reorganising

that relationship across time and space (Norton, 2010, p.350). The children in my study are constantly renegotiating what they are saying, to whom, in the language they are choosing to say it, that language's connection to culture(s), and to their life at that moment. Therefore, identity is always connected to language use, and language choice. Oriyama (2010) defines identity as "who we believe we are, a construct which is expressed in our attitudes and behaviours and which consists of ethnic, linguistic, and cultural identities" (p. 238). Individuals share cultural identities with other members of their ethnic groups who have a common language and a way of understanding the world (Norton, 2013). Pauwels (2014) provided the example of communities in the United Kingdom where South Asian languages have displaced Polish among migrants and their families as a result of shifts in migration patterns. These communities see languages as "a key component of their identities and wish to pass the language(s) on to their offspring" (p. 43).

The process of reclamation of languages in Indigenous communities around the world, including in Australia, reinforces the connection between language and identity. First Languages Australia, a national body in Australia dedicated to supporting the First Nations peoples of Australia, says that:

It has long been understood that language is the verbal expression of culture. It is the medium through which culture is carried and transferred. Stories, songs and the nuanced meaning of words contain the key to understanding one's world and one's part within it. Strong culture gives the individual a sense of belonging to people and places. For this reason, language and culture are deeply interconnected and core parts of one's identity. (First Languages Australia, 2021, Why maintain our languages? Section)

This sense of identity and its connection to language and culture also applies to heritage language speakers who wish to maintain their language with their children. For this reason, my study also investigates whether the immigrant parents' language maintenance with their children impacts immigrant children's language abilities and identities. In considering the identity literature, it became apparent that it was important to ask the children how they identify themselves. In other words, I needed to ask the children if they identify themselves as Japanese, Australian or both—and if both, in what contexts was one or the other identity more dominant, or if there was also a sense of hybrid or changing identity (Baker & Wright, 2017; Cruickshank, 2015).

Developing ethnic or cultural identities when two or more languages are present in the home is complex and challenging. It is especially so when children of immigrant families enter school, and gradually experience the loss of their heritage language ability, which may lead them to struggle to develop a strong cultural identity (Lee, 2013). Cho (2014) pointed out that heritage language identities can be negotiated through the ways in which heritage language speakers perceive themselves and interact with others in various communities. For instance, a child may form connections and become friends with someone who has the same heritage background. Heritage language speakers—in this case, children—gain self-esteem from their sense of belonging through their cultural communities (Phinney et al., 2001). Kobayashi and Preston (2014) examined two types of participants, Canadian-born Chinese children and children who recently migrated from China to Canada, to understand how they perceived themselves. The Canadian-born Chinese children did not identify themselves as Chinese but rather as Canadian. Children recently arrived from China stayed together as a group with other immigrant Chinese, whereas the Canadian-born Chinese children regarded the immigrant children as not sufficiently Canadian in their behaviour and

identity. Such an example shows that children, through their experiences of heritage language learning and community exposure to those with backgrounds like their own, build their positive cultural identity, increase self-esteem, and foster feelings of being accepted for who they are (Lee, 2013). Lee points out the importance of this sense of identity, especially to enable these recently arrived children to feel a sense of security (Lee, 2013).

Three important factors that influence the identities of children of immigrant families have been proposed by Phinney et al. (2001): “ethnic language proficiency, cultural maintenance by parents, and social interaction with peers from the same ethnic group” (p. 137). Their findings suggested that all three factors promoted children’s positive cultural identities, and, most significantly, the effect of social interactions with peers was stronger than heritage language proficiency. The presence of all three factors provides greater opportunities for strong identity development. As Creese and Blackledge (2015) pointed out, language is mobile and complex but a language does not necessarily equal an identity. Several studies examined the relationships between immigrant parents’ attitudes towards heritage language maintenance, and the development of children’s heritage language and cultural identities. For example, Lee (2013) conducted a study in the United States where seven young Korean children and their parents examined the beliefs and attitudes of their heritage language maintenance and cultural identity. She found that parents’ actual practices in heritage language use with their children could influence a child’s positive cultural identity as well as heritage language maintenance. Whether or not the children were born in Korea, they identified themselves as Korean because they spoke and looked Korean. The parents’ strong desire to maintain the Korean language also influenced their children’s cultural identity. Li (1999) examined the process of bringing up her 12-year-old daughter in Hawaii after

migrating from China. This study showed that the heritage language parent's positive attitudes towards both languages and cultures, and supportive interaction with the children at home in both languages, allowed for the children's bilingual education and identity to be better established, through recognition of both identities. Conversely, Brown (2011) interviewed university-aged Korean students and their parents in the United States and found that almost all parents did not force their children to speak Korean, and were less concerned with heritage language use and its effect on identity. One family, returning to Korea after a short stay, also tended to speak English because of the fear of losing English language skills after they returned to Korea, indicating their English-speaking and American identities were important to them.

Some studies examined the correlation between a community language school and children's cultural identity. Chinen and Tucker (2005) examined the relationship between ethnic identity and Japanese in a community language school of 31 Japanese-American high school youth in the United States who used Japanese at home with one or both parents. Results indicated that students responded positively towards the community language school because it was an important place to socialise and nurture their Japanese identity. Similarly, Cruickshank (2015) reported that community language schools foster a positive influence on children's language learning and shared cultural heritage, although their identity formation was more fluid and complex, especially between the mainstream school and community language school. Although the studies of Lee (2013), Li (1999) and Brown (2011) examined children with both parents as immigrants, Chinen and Tucker's (2005) and Cruickshank's (2015) participants were predominantly children from intermarriage families. My study builds on the intermarriage literature and investigated children of intermarriage parents from different language backgrounds. It has the potential to provide deeper understandings of

the complexity of identity formation of mixed-background children and its relationship with their parents' use of heritage language. Additionally, the role of children's "exchanges with others and their subjective awareness of their own language" (Kawakami, 2011, p. 81) in identity formation are also important to consider further in my study. The experiences of four adult immigrant children of intermarriage families in my study provide an opportunity to review the language choice that their parents made and how that choice has affected their cultural identities as they became adults, and allow them to contemplate the same questions for their future families.

2.5. Heritage Language Maintenance and Family Ecologies

Heritage language maintenance by immigrant parents is already a challenging task in itself; therefore, it was important for me to understand various factors of family ecologies and the totality of influences and interrelationships of factors that may have an impact on language maintenance. Two main factors, the parent's gender and the siblings' use of heritage language, were therefore included as aspects to review in my study following consideration of the existing literature.

Many studies discuss the issue of parents' gender in maintaining the heritage language, especially where the heritage language speaker is the mother. Such studies consistently demonstrate that the children are more likely to speak a heritage language if their mother is the heritage language speaker. The studies from Kawamura and Goza (2009) and Cunningham-Andersson and Andersson (1999), for example, indicated that if the mother is a heritage language speaker, it is likely that children will use the language more, compared to the situation where the father is the heritage language speaker. Kondo-Brown's (2006) study even showed the difficulty in arranging an interview with a Japanese father who is often away for work, demonstrating that the

major childrearing responsibility rests with the mothers, and hence exposure possibilities are weighted towards the more physically present parent.

Changes in the role of fathers in the household have been noticed in some studies. In sub-Saharan Africa, for example, childcare responsibility traditionally lies with women and if men are seen to perform the role, they are viewed as bewitched; in recent times, however, Ejuu (2016) and Mugadza et al. (2019) indicate that men are beginning to play a more central role in childrearing.

Caballero et al.'s (2008) study in the United Kingdom found that fathers played a significant role in their children's lives and were often involved in passing on a sense of cultural heritage to their children; however, mothers still adopted the dominant responsibility in bringing up their children, including primary responsibility for passing on theirs and their partners' cultural backgrounds.

A somewhat different picture emerged in Jackson's (2009) study of the same period (as noted in 2.3.1. in the review), which involved a Japanese mother and English-speaking American father who lived in Japan, with the main carer of the children being the American father. Even though English was used by the main carer, Jackson reported that the children tended to have more meaningful conversations with their mother in Japanese, the dominant language. It may be, in this case, that the strength of the dominant culture in Japan is such that it would be unthinkable or impractical for these children not to have their mother's input and Japanese language influence in their everyday lives, and for them not to be immersed in Japanese in all institutional situations as well as in conversations within the family. As a single study, it may also be the case that family dynamics and personalities lent themselves to more meaningful conversations with the mother. However, it may indeed be that gender makes a difference, and that relationships with mothers are the more usual context for

deeper personal conversations, therefore indicating that gender makes a difference in heritage language maintenance. A further difference between the United Kingdom and Japanese contexts may be that the United Kingdom is highly multicultural and plurilingual, especially in the large population centres, whereas Japan is less so.

Although many studies emphasised positive effects on language maintenance if a mother was a heritage language speaker, Baker (2000) also found that fathers contributed more when they interacted with their children in child-centred ways.

Given these studies and their findings, I believed it important for me to extend this literature through my study, where I could seek to understand fathers' roles in language maintenance. I therefore included in my design an investigation of the importance of continuous efforts of Japanese parents to maintain Japanese at home despite gender, and, further, to investigate whether the use of the heritage language changes over time for parents, even when the father is the heritage speaker.

Another factor in considering the home environment and family ecology is that of sibling position—whether the child has older, younger, or no siblings—and whether this makes a difference in heritage language maintenance. Studies I reviewed indicated that where there are siblings in the intermarriage families, the first-born child is likely to use the heritage language more than subsequent children (e.g., Barron-Hauwaert, 2011; Ellis & Bilbatua, 2013; Lee, 2013; Shin, 2002; Stevens & Ishizawa, 2007) all found reductions in heritage language maintenance for subsequent immigrant children within a family due to different circumstances affecting each family. Shin (2002) and Lee (2013) reported reduced use of the heritage language because of social pressures through subsequent children in the family. Ellis and Bilbatua (2013) reported a change in family circumstances (intermarriage parents' divorce), which impeded the use of the heritage language as the family grew. Stevens and Ishizawa (2007) found that older

siblings may have been born in the immigrant's home country and had the opportunity to be immersed in a non-English environment before moving to the United States. They also pointed out that siblings may have a different role in the birth order position, such as where older siblings are expected to be a translator between their parents and English-monolingual speakers. Parada (2013) also found increased use of the dominant language (English) in younger siblings, who are less proficient in Spanish (heritage language), when responding to their linguistic needs and preferences.

As noted earlier in 2.3.1., reduced use of heritage language and the language shift to English occur when children begin school. Amongst siblings, older siblings bring English home from school which causes younger siblings to lose the heritage language earlier (Fillmore, 1991; Fishman, 1991; Guardado, 2002; Hinton, 1999). Therefore, Nakamura (2019) argues that later-born children tend to be receptive bilinguals compared to first-born children, as they may receive less exposure to their heritage language from their parents than first-born children. Again, this was an issue that was important to consider in my study. I explored the language behaviour of the immigrant families living in Australia to examine whether Japanese is maintained with the same intensity and frequency in subsequent children, and to discover if the reasons are similar to those found in these other studies. I have collected data from observations along with interviews and questionnaires in order to reach a more comprehensive understanding of the phenomenon that is language and cultural ecologies of Japanese–Australian intermarriage families in this regional city.

2.6. Conclusion

Reviewing the literature has shown how challenging and complex it is to maintain heritage language in intermarriage families in a country where English is spoken as the dominant language. Many studies have revealed the positive aspects of

plurilingualism, but when raising children to become plurilingual speakers, immigrant parents' positive attitudes and significant efforts are crucial. What was recognised, however, is that there is a limit to relying only on the immigrant parents' efforts, or this being the only contributing factor. Other ways that language maintenance occurs include interacting with other heritage speakers in the community, involving grandparents and relatives of the immigrant parents, and accessing community resources.

Regardless of parents' efforts, it has consistently been shown that a language shift to the dominant language eventually occurs, especially when children enter primary school. Here they begin to develop self-consciousness and feel embarrassed when using the heritage language in front of peers, or they may resist using the heritage language because they may be ridiculed for their inability to express themselves as proficient speakers of the heritage language. Children's willingness to speak the language is seen to be a key factor for heritage language maintenance.

Identities are fluid and complex, and can change over time in accordance with the environment in which children live. It has been repeatedly shown that interacting with heritage language speakers fosters positive cultural identities, which demonstrates the importance parents and communities place on their roles in fostering heritage language maintenance and cultural identities in children.

Many studies have been conducted in the United Kingdom, the United States, and Canada, but very few in Australia, and especially not focusing on Japanese–Australian intermarriage families' experiences of heritage language maintenance. My study seeks to add to the literature and address this gap. Selecting three Japanese mothers and three Japanese fathers as participants has the potential to build on and even challenge the existing literature on gender roles by identifying whether fathers'

contributions to heritage language maintenance can impact children's heritage language development, in the Australian context, and with Japanese as the heritage language.

To further consider the impact of heritage language maintenance later in life, and as a comparison set of cases, adult children who were raised by intermarriage parents were selected as additional participants to provide further insights into the childhood experiences in relation to the current intermarriage families who are in the process of raising bilingual children.

Through this literature review, I have identified a gap in the literature and highlighted the value of further investigating how language maintenance begins at home, and the need to explore further the idea that parents need to understand the importance of retaining their heritage languages with their children by drawing on the experiences of others.

Chapter 3. Methodology

3.1. Introduction

In intermarriage families in Australia, the different perspectives of parents and their children impact the children's heritage language and culture maintenance. These perspectives, specifically in the context of Japanese–Australian intermarriage families, are the focus of this study. The study was conducted using qualitative methodologies to explore and present a detailed view of a phenomenon in a natural setting (Creswell, 2015; Kervin et al., 2006; Johnson & Christensen, 2019), and draws on a range of methods including observation, in-depth interviews, and questionnaires. A phenomenological case study was adopted as the methodology for investigating the impact on children's language abilities and identities related to parents' language choices for the family, because it provides a way to consider a range of interrelated qualitative data particular to a small group of participants within each family, as well as between families.

Data collected included observations of language interactions between family members at home in natural settings, as well as individual interviews with each family member in which all participants were asked about their language background and language use at home and in the community. Children were invited through interviews and questionnaires to describe how they feel about language use at home and how they identify themselves (ethnically, nationally, linguistically, and culturally, for example). This chapter outlines the overall methodology adopted for this study and the research design and methods used to conduct the study, beginning with the conceptual framework.

3.2. The Conceptual Framework

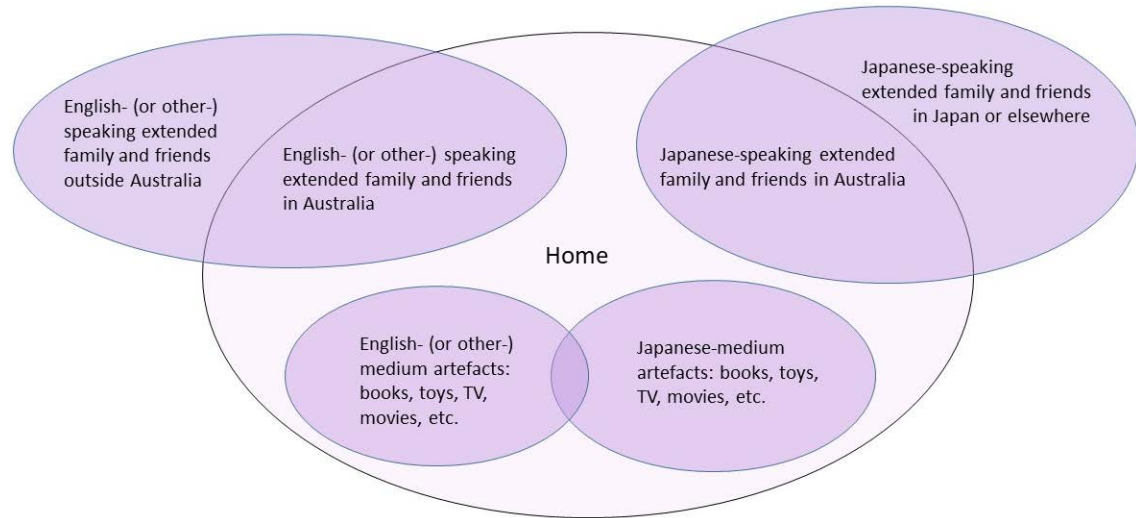
In this section, I present the conceptual framework used to guide the key processes for data collection and analysis in my study. Three central organising thematic concepts emerged from the literature as relevant to my study: bilingual family contexts, language use of bilingual families in the home, and language use of bilingual families in the community. Each element of the conceptual framework is introduced first using the diagrams (Figures 3.1 to 3.4) in order to further understand the whole conceptual framework (Figure 3.5). Bilingual family contexts was therefore the first component of the framework used to develop an understanding of these Japanese–Australian (and one Japanese–Swiss) intermarriage families in Australia. This included a focus on the languages and cultures of the families, with an emphasis on what happens in relation to heritage language maintenance and how this influences child-rearing in bilingual families.

Language use of bilingual families in the home is, as indicated by the literature, a principal domain (context of use) of heritage language maintenance, and thus features prominently in the conceptual framework. It is the second key thematic concept of the framework, and it also encapsulates the first concept of bilingual family contexts—that is, language use of bilingual families in the home is part of bilingual family contexts. Figure 3.1 expands on the various language dynamics of the bilingual home and provides greater detail to the framework, indicating how it was considered in analysis of data and linked to the literature. As indicated in the literature review, parents' decisions about language choice at home and motivation of both the parents and children to use (or not) the heritage language are factors that strongly influence language use in the family (DeCapua & Wintergerst, 2009), and hence are also considered in the study and inform this section of the conceptual framework.

Figure 3.1

Languages and Cultures Ecology of Plurilingual and Bilingual Families – Home

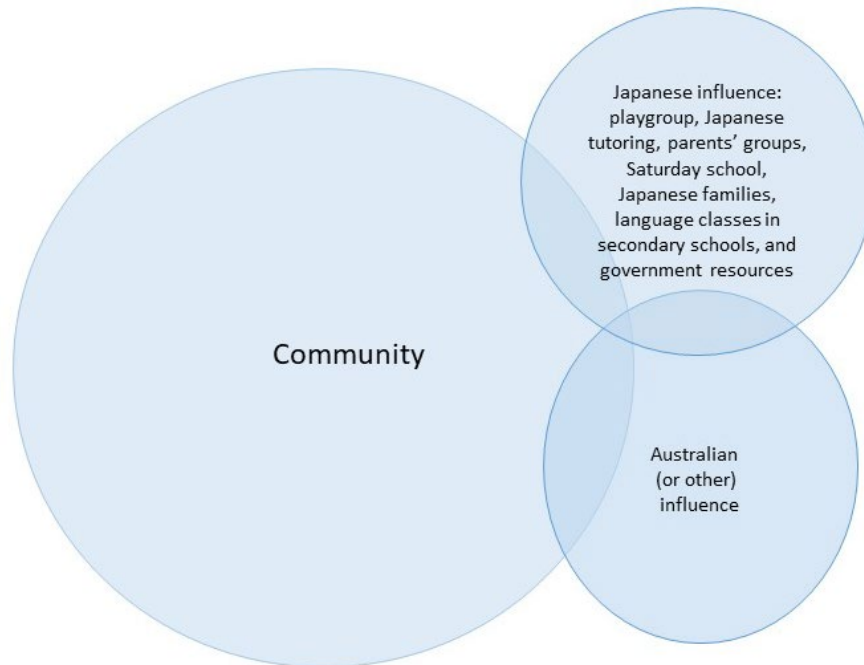
Domain



The third thematic organising concept, language use of bilingual families in the community, is another important area or domain of influence on heritage language maintenance. Figure 3.2 elaborates on this part of the conceptual framework and is used as a focus for the examination of parents' and children's language choices in the community, and the availability of resources such as Japanese community groups and weekend Japanese community language schools that are offered to the families of a Japanese background. It also considers social and multimedia communications and cultural artefacts that might be encountered in these domains outside (and which are also encountered inside) the home.

Figure 3.2

Languages and Cultures Ecology of Plurilingual and Bilingual Families – Community Domain



As represented in Figure 3.3, schools (including language classes in Australian schools), the culture of schools and their receptiveness to plurilingualism, and local Japanese schools in Japan, also inform discussion of the community domain, which is a critical element in the lives of young people (Cruickshank, 2018; Oriyama, 2016; Pauwels, 2014).

Figure 3.3

Languages and Cultures Ecology of Plurilingual and Bilingual Families – School Domain

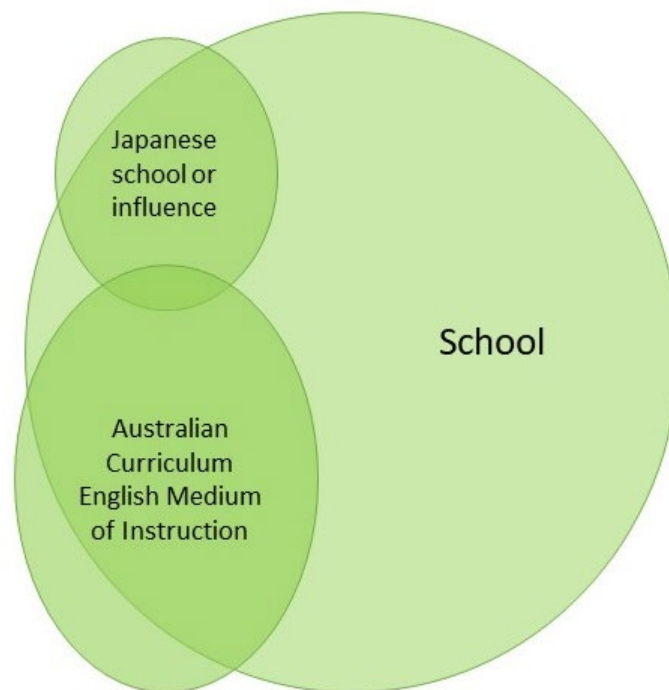
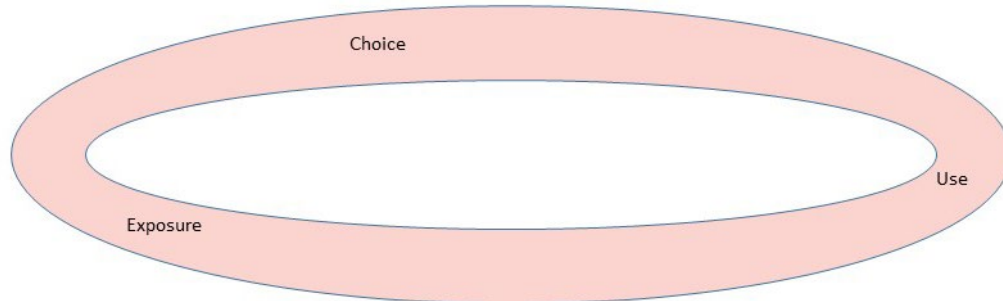


Figure 3.4 shows the network loop that intersects the intermarriage families' language maintenance in the home, community, and school. It includes three central themes, which themselves become organising principles for analysis within the domains of language choice, exposure to languages and cultures, and use of language.

Figure 3.4

Plurilingual and Bilingual Families' Languages and Cultures Network Loop



The network loop links the domains and participants and illustrates the constant cycling through these three themes by all participants (including parents, children, extended families, friends, and community networks). It reminds us that these three themes are interconnected:

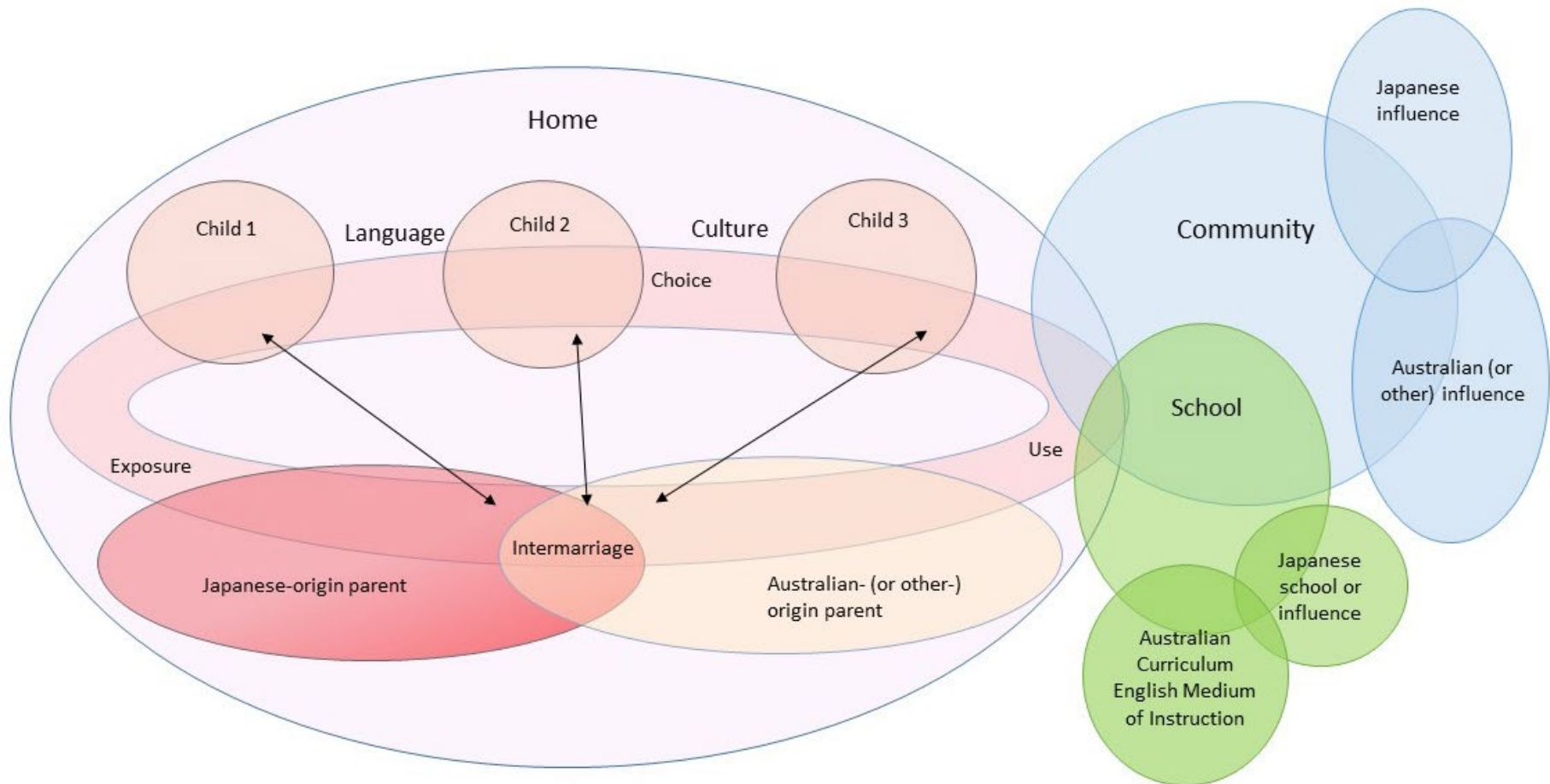
1. Which languages (or hybrid languages) are children and parents *exposed to* (including where, when, and how)?
2. What *choices* are made about languages by parents, children, and others in their networks, from birth to adulthood, and how do these choices also influence cultural exposure and identity formation, as well as heritage language maintenance possibilities?
3. What language is actually *used* after choices are made (either consciously or subconsciously), and how does this use affect heritage language maintenance and identity formation?

Figure 3.5 presents an overview of the languages and cultures ecology of the bilingual family context in the study, illustrating my entire conceptual framework. It shows the underlying platform of the languages and cultures landscape, the bilingual family context, and the situating of the overlapping and interconnected domains of

language use in the home and the community (including school). It also demonstrates how these are linked through the central themes of language exposure, language choice, and language use in an overall language ecology (Haugen, 1972, as cited in Garner, 2005).

Figure 3.5

Plurilingual and Bilingual Families' Languages and Cultures Concept Map



In Figure 3.5, the family unit is central. As this is a study of intermarriage families living in Australia, each parent is represented with a focus on their origin, with one of Japanese origin and Japanese-speaking; and the other of Australian (or Swiss) origin and English-speaking, keeping in mind that English is the dominant language in Australia. Intermarriage couples are linked with their children (from one to three children in each family), and the children linked with each other as sibling position has been shown to be important. In these bilingual (or plurilingual) families, languages and cultures coexist and children are constantly exposed to two or more languages, principally Japanese and English. While the families are sometimes exposed to other languages, including German or Indonesian as additional languages of the English-speaking parent, to avoid over-complication in Figure 3.5, these are not explicitly indicated, although they do influence the overall languages and cultures ecology for the relevant families and are discussed in deeper analysis of each family. As revealed in the literature review, the main domain of heritage maintenance is (at least early in life) the home, hence the locus of the family within the home domain in Figure 3.5. We know that languages and cultural influences also figure in the families' community lives, including in schools, which play an important role as key socio-cultural learning and identity formation sites (Kondo-Brown, 2006; Zhang et al., 2018). This has informed the location of the community domains, including school, as intersecting with the home domain, and the positioning of school as being part of community influence but also a domain of its own. The placement of these domains within Figure 3.5 shows the interactions across domains and provides a visual representation of the language ecology concept.

The overview of the languages and cultures ecology of the bilingual family context in the study was introduced using the concept maps. The following section

presents each of the three central organising thematic concepts: bilingual family contexts, language use of bilingual families in the home, and language use of bilingual families in the community.

3.2.1. Bilingual Family Context

Language and culture are inseparable, each bound to the other in language learning and daily life, whether language learning commences from birth or later, and regardless of the number of languages learned throughout life (Guessabi, 2017; Jiang, 2000; Liddicoat & Scarino, 2013). Most of what we do, we do through language, inflected by underlying and overarching cultural contexts and circumstances, within and surrounding the language we use. Therefore, languages and their related culture are treated throughout this study as inextricably connected, and as critically informing each other and all domains of language practice. The languages and cultures landscape for this bilingual family context is therefore represented in the conceptual framework for this study as the underlying and, at the same time, overarching platform.

The conceptual framework illustrates, on this platform of the languages and cultures landscape, the languages and cultures ecology of the essentially bilingual (Japanese and English) families in this study. Loosely based on Haugen's (1972, as cited in Garner, 2005) language ecology framing, which defines language ecology as "the study of interactions between any given language and its environment" (Haugen, 1972, as cited in Garner, 2005, p.91), the concept of language ecology as a conceptual framing allowed me to consider the different conceptual organising themes and overall phenomenological cases of the families and their use of languages within their life domains (environment) in connected ways. I was also able to use this idea of language ecology to consider more deeply the discreet (while still interconnected) domains of the

home and the community, and link them back to the broader platform of a language and culture landscape.

Exposure to the heritage language can influence children's heritage language abilities and identities (Lee, 2013). Exposure opportunities include interactions with parents and extended family, hearing the language in the community, watching Japanese films, and attending community language school. Pauwels (2005) claims that the greater the exposure to the heritage language in the home, the more actively children can and do use it. Regarding choice of language, many studies state that parents have the major responsibility for providing continuation of the language choices they have made through regular and frequent input of both languages (De Houwer and Bornstein, 2016). The use of the heritage language by the heritage-language-speaking parents, their extended families, and their community is demonstrated in numerous studies as the most practical way to support children's heritage language maintenance (Hinton, 1999; Kaveh, 2018).

3.2.1.1. Intermarriage Families in Australia. Intermarriage families comprise couples from different racial, ethnic, and faith groups, and their children (Caballero et al., 2008). In Australia, between 1901 and 1958 the Immigration Restriction Act 1901, also known as the White Australia Policy, was used to control immigrants entering Australia and to keep Australia British (National Archives of Australia, 2021). This Act was finally fully repealed in 1975, but people from all over the world had already entered Australia in response to many geopolitically influenced events (for example, gold rushes, world wars and other conflicts, the reunification of Vietnam, natural disasters, and ethnic oppression leading to mass refugee movements) to create the multicultural society we see today (Morgan, 2020; National Archives of Australia, 2021).

This shift to a multicultural (or plurilingual and pluricultural) society encouraged Japanese people, among other immigrants, to enter Australia after 1975 (Nagatomo, 2014). According to Fang and Zhou (2020), about 30% of registered marriages in Australia are couples in which partners are of different ethnic backgrounds, which increased from 12 percent in the 2006 census. English-born immigrants continue to be the largest group to enter Australia, followed by people from China and India; the number of immigrants from these two Asian countries represents a significant shift over recent decades (Hughes, 2020; Morgan, 2020). Khoo et al. (2009), who investigated the rates of intermarriage in migrants and their descendants in Australia, found that people who have the choice to open up their social networks through school, university, and the workforce, as occurs in Australia, can be liberated from the influence of parents; for this reason ethnic communities have higher rates of intermarriage. These authors claim that intermarriage (or partnering outside their origin ethnic group) helps them develop emotional ties to their new network, rather than following their parents' preferences regarding ethnic background, and economic ties to their children (Khoo et al., 2009).

My study particularly focuses on the intermarriage of people of Japanese origin and Australians. The first Japanese migrants to enter Australia after World War II were war brides—Japanese women marrying Australian servicemen (Denman, 2009; Mizukami, 2006). The data analysed by Khoo et al. (2009) from the 2006 census reveal that 14.9% of Japanese men, and 40.6% of Japanese women living in Australia were married to Australian-born partners. According to Denman (2009), from the 1960s to the mid-1990s, the majority of Japanese communities in Australia were sojourning families (intending a temporary stay), with considerably fewer other migrant types such as marriage migrant (Hamano, 2019), which refers to Japanese women migrating to

Australia as a consequence of marrying an Australian partner. Numbers of lifestyle migrants (that is, migration motivated by lifestyle choices rather than for convenience or economic reasons) also increased (Nagatomo, 2014). This trend is now changing again towards highly individualised reasons for migration, for example, “a career-oriented and professionally-motivated change of residence” (Mizukami, 2006, p. 48). Regardless of gender, all Japanese-origin participants in my study travelled in Australia or other countries for tourism, a working holiday, or to study at a university prior to their marriage and, eventually, settled in Australia after marriage “because they married an Australian” (Denman, 2009, p. 70), a common phenomenon according to Denman.

3.2.1.2. Child-Rearing in Bilingual Families. Child-rearing itself is already a challenge for any family, but there are more challenges for immigrant parents raising children with partners of different ethnic backgrounds. For example, Mugadza et al. (2019) reported that in relation to sub-Saharan African parents’ child-rearing in Australia, they “bring their traditional cultural beliefs, values, attitudes, practices and migration experiences about childrearing and parenting” (p. 2927). This may apply to any migrant parents who bring beliefs of parenthood from their country and culture of origin to the country where they migrated. Penny and Khoo (1996), on the other hand, found that intermarriage couples in Australia “felt free from the expectations of men and women’s roles” (p. 1) evident in some other cultures, and so they implement each other’s cultures in ways that best suit their family. These two examples show significant variation in the impact of culture and country of origin on childrearing in intermarriage families, indicating there is no “one size fits all” solution, and that choices about language use will also differ among families.

Every family establishes and enacts its own beliefs and understanding of child-rearing. In this study, I will focus on the child-rearing of Japanese and Australian

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parents in Australia. First, the Japanese parents in this study range in age from their early 30s to their late 40s, which means they spent their own childhoods in their country of origin in the period from the 1970s to the early 1990s.

They were brought up by pre-World War II or immediately post-World War II parents. For these generations in Japan, as recorded on Japan's first census in 1920, 31% of three or more generations (great-grand parents, grandparents, parents, and children) were living under one roof (Ronald & Alexy, 2010). Traditionally, the Japanese family system is based in principle on the feudal system, with the male as the head of the household and the one who held the title to family property, and who was responsible for other family members. It was most common in Japan in earlier eras for families to be made up of breadwinning husbands and full-time housewives (Ronald & Alexy, 2010).

In post-World War II Japan there was an increasing number of nuclear families (i.e., households with parents and children only, not multiple generations).

Traditionally, when more generations lived in the same household, more family members shared responsibilities for running the household, including childcare. The rise of the nuclear family has meant that parents take responsibility for their household with less support from extended families. Japan is slowly changing towards parents both working and taking care of their children, although it is still common for mothers to be the primary carer of children and the household (DeCapua & Wintergerst, 2009), regardless of whether they are in the workforce to the same extent as men. There is still a tendency for mothers to take leave from work to look after their sick child, for example, and hence spend more time with children, and in intimate situations such as illness. There are still many fathers who come home late and leave early in the morning

for work, which adds to the challenge of childrearing for mothers, if they are expected to provide this primary care (Yu & Kuo, 2018).

3.2.2. Bilingual Families' Use of Language in the Home

As discussed previously, and indicated in the conceptual framework, the main domain of language use for intermarriage families is the home. Regardless of what language the family decides to speak, Figure 3.1 shows that for the family, the English-speaking environment and the Japanese-speaking environment co-exist. This includes connections with family and friends in Australia, Japan, and other countries, along with other cultural influences such as books, television programs, film, social media, and popular culture. When a child is born, parents in intermarriage bilingual families need to consider what language(s) to use within the family. This is not an easy decision to make, especially since they are raising their child in a home where both parents' first languages are different and, more critically, living in a country where English is the dominant language (Zhang & Slaughter-Defoe, 2009) such as in Australia. The initial decision may not be made prior to or when the child is born, but may occur later during the process of child-rearing (Okita, 2002). If parents choose to use the heritage language at home, both the parent who speaks the heritage language and their children need motivation to use the language consistently in the long term (De Houwer, 2019).

3.2.2.1 Language Choice. For bilingual families the decision about what language to use at home is a difficult but important one to make. It becomes more difficult if one parent cannot speak his or her partner's first language; however, as Cunningham (2020) explains, it may never be raised as a problem if both can speak the dominant language of the country they live in (or if both parents speak both languages). Nonetheless, when they have a child, parents need to plan for the language they choose

to speak to their child. When mothers are the heritage language speakers and primary carers of children, the decision about which language to use often rests with them (Okita, 2002). When fathers are the heritage language speaker, there is more likely to be a discussion between parents about language use, or a situation where the fathers simply follow their partners' decisions (Okita, 2002). As we have seen from the literature review, parents who speak heritage languages play a central role in maintaining active bilingual acquisition for their children (Kasuya, 1998; Kondo, 1998). Some immigrant parents want their children to attain a high level of English proficiency and adapt to the dominant English-speaking culture at a rapid pace, but on the other hand, may also want their children to maintain their heritage language (Hinton, 1999; Lee, 2013; Zhang & Slaughter-Defoe, 2009). Cunningham (2020) argues that one of the ways that dominant language parents can support maintenance of their partners' heritage language is to put effort into learning their partners' heritage language alongside their children to minimise the language shift towards the dominant language, which she argues occurs at about the age of 2.

As we saw in the literature review, parents who speak a heritage language generally understand the personal and societal benefits of maintaining the heritage language with their children (Bialystok, 2018; Brown, 2011; Cho, 2000; Costa et al., 2008; García, 2008; Nesteruk, 2010). The many benefits that children can experience if they can speak two or more languages include the formation of a good relationship with grandparents in the heritage language parent's country, cognitive and intellectual advantages, and increased career opportunities. Despite their understanding of such benefits, parents still face many challenges in the use of their heritage language. While many studies show that parents have a strong desire to maintain their heritage language with their children, a study by Brown (2011) found that this desire did not necessarily

reflect their practice; it is also necessary for children to be willing to speak the language (Kondo, 1998).

3.2.2.2. Motivation. In considering the element of the conceptual framework focused on the bilingual family context, an additional element related to motivation around heritage language exposure, choice, and use provides more insights to assist in the analysis. Whilst parents who speak a heritage language understand the benefits of their children being able to speak English as well as their heritage language, many parents face challenges in not only motivating their children to learn the language but also in remaining motivated themselves to use the language with their children. Gardner (1985) defines motivation as “the extent to which the individual works or strives to learn the language because of a desire to do so and satisfaction experienced in this activity” (p. 10). As children grow older and the topics of everyday conversations become more advanced, it becomes stressful for both the parent and their children to communicate in the heritage language, due to the potential consequence of a growing communication gap between them (Fillmore, 1991). In such circumstances, if the desire is to maintain the heritage language, the increasing use of English is not considered ideal practice; nevertheless, there are several factors that can increase children's motivation to learn the heritage language to counter this encroachment of the dominant language. For example, Kurata (2015) employed two types of motivational concepts from Dörnyei's (2005, 2009) “L2 (second language) motivational self-system framework” in her study: *ideal* and *ought-to selves*. Her study found that the young adult participant was motivated to improve her Japanese writing skills in order to communicate with her Japanese grandmother and to connect with her, which is an example of the ideal motivation. Kondo (1998) also found that her participant, who has a Japanese mother, could not speak Japanese; however, when he realised that he could

not communicate with his relatives in Japan, he was motivated to speak Japanese at home. These examples show that real-life experiences motivated those participants to use Japanese, and that they can occur at different life stages.

Tse (2001a) argues that to increase motivation, it is important that children are interested and engaged in using the heritage language. She examined exposure and access to printed materials for US-born bilingual college students, and found that her participants were engaging in different types of entertainment to support language use, such as karaoke which requires them to follow lyrics on a screen. This confirms the importance of finding resources which include the heritage language that interest children as motivators to learn the heritage language.

3.2.3. Bilingual Families' Use of the Heritage Language in the Community

The community is a domain outside the home that can significantly influence children's heritage language development. As represented in Figure 3.2, parents and children participating in this study have opportunities to connect with other Japanese families in the local area and at the community language school. Each of these elements overlaps and provides opportunities for language and culture mixing as well, considered through the exposure, choice and use network loop. Shibata (2000) also discusses how parents and their interaction with and in communities that support heritage language use are pivotal to heritage language maintenance and identity formation. Community language schools, where they exist, also impact children's heritage language development and identity formation. Within the broader Australian community, the everyday social networks, such as connections with friends and families in which both parents are English speaking, and after-school activities, often dominate children's lives. At the same time, through Japanese parents' connections to the Japanese community, children gain some influences from Japanese language and culture. Schools

can also influence children's heritage language development, in both expanding and narrowing ways. Children spend most of their education at local schools in which English is the medium of instruction, but some children attend community language schools on weekends to develop and maintain their knowledge in heritage language and culture, and most schools offer an additional language, which is sometimes Japanese. Thus, the domains of the Japanese community and Japanese community language schools can provide an opportunity for ethnic group membership (Chinen & Tucker, 2005).

School is another domain that can impact plurilingual and bilingual children. As shown in the Figure 3.3, I elaborate further in this section of the conceptual framework, to consider the languages and cultures of the schools participating children attend. Shibata (2000) and Zhang and Slaughter-Defoe (2009) argue that parents on their own cannot succeed in maintaining their heritage language; it is crucial for parents, teachers, and the community at large to work together to provide children with positive attitudes towards learning the heritage language. Therefore, what happens at school for these children, in particular how their languages and cultures are visible, represented, acknowledged, and honoured, matters to the children and their families.

3.2.3.1. Language Choice. Language choice, as represented in the conceptual framework, is one of the three core themes in the loop. For bilingual families, the language used by the heritage-language-speaking parents and their children in the community may be different from the language they use in the home. For example, some families may speak their heritage language in the home but only English outside home. On the other hand, there are middle-aged speakers who do not speak their heritage language in their homes, but do speak the language with their older parents or relatives, or in the community (Clyne, 2003). As noted in the literature review,

Cummins (1981) and Nesteruk (2010) assert that it is common to observe children, and in particular adolescents, refusing to speak the heritage language, as they find it embarrassing for their parents to speak their heritage language outside home. In the school context, children want to fit in with their classmates and do not want to feel different from others. The children's environment outside the home is predominantly English speaking, causing them to respond to their parents in English; consequently, their language choice as adults increasingly becomes English (Nesteruk, 2010). On the other hand, if children have the habit of speaking the heritage language to their heritage-speaking parent, they would feel rather awkward speaking in English to them, throughout their lives.

Some parents believe it is important to prioritise the dominant language, English, with their children as they fear that their children will suffer a language delay if they are learning two languages, or that they will fail to keep up with schoolwork (Okita, 2002). Although these parents still wish to maintain their heritage language, these fears cause them to speak more English with their children at home.

Children have the potential to "learn a language 'naturally' if they are in the right environment" (Okita, 2002, p. 139). Nevertheless, to maintain children's use of the heritage language requires not only use of the language at home, but crucially also collaboration with the community and schools, and an active choice to use the heritage language.

3.2.3.2. Availability of Resources. Resources in the heritage language impact on several areas of the conceptual framework, including in the home and in the community. To maintain a heritage language, parents, as well as the community and schools, need to provide access to suitable resources to assist in engaging with and learning the heritage language. Resources are not limited to concrete materials such as

books, audio files, and toys, but also include interactions with families from the same heritage background and access to schools that teach the heritage language. If the parents of the heritage language parent also live in the new country, regardless of their own English language skills they can play an important role in helping their grandchildren learn the heritage language, especially if they take on a childcare role (Pauwels, 2005), and are themselves a resource for the intermarriage families.

Improvements in today's transportation systems have provided easier access to long-distance travel (Max Planck Institute, 2018; Pauwels, 2014; Vertovec, 2015); however, even when there is support from relatives or frequent visits to the heritage language parent's home country are possible, challenges remain in maintaining the heritage language due to the lack of ongoing access to resources (Ellis et al., 2018). Nevertheless, there are still ways to open up interaction opportunities and to access relevant resources. For example, parents may increase heritage language or their children's exposure to the heritage language by enrolling their children in community language schools, where there are learning and language use opportunities, as well as access to physical and digital materials to support the learning (Tse, 2001b).

Language resources are more extensively available to residents of urban areas than those in regional towns (including regional teachers who may have less experience with children of different backgrounds), leaving regionally based children with limited support (Ellis, et al., 2018). In turn this may result in a language shift to English, especially when a child begins school. Many language- and culture-based groups have a well-established infrastructure in urban areas to support learning, including media, cultural organisations, places of worship, and dedicated shops, which creates a geographically concentrated area in which the heritage language is used (Chiswick et al., 2001). For this reason, the heritage language can be more easily maintained in urban

areas where the larger number of speakers can result in additional opportunities to use the language and easier access to material and personal resources (Karidakis & Arunachalam, 2016). Although urban areas have the advantage of better access to heritage language resources when compared with rural towns, technologies today may promote better access to heritage language resources (Pauwels, 2014), especially for people who live in the regions.

3.2.4. The Composition of the Conceptual Framework

In summary, elements that make up the ecology of participant bilingual families are included in the conceptual framework. These include the bilingual family context as well as language use in the home and in the community, with a network loop of language exposure, choice, and use threading throughout the ecology. All these elements are placed within a landscape envelope of languages and cultures.

The conceptual framework is the starting point to understanding how languages and cultures co-exist in plurilingual families in the home and in the community. Home is the main domain for heritage language and identity maintenance, while community and schools are also important to help develop heritage language skills as well as cultural identities. Children's everyday lives are lived in English-speaking communities, so it is particularly important for parents and the Japanese community to provide opportunities for children to develop their heritage language. Parents' language choice for children, the amount of exposure to heritage language that parents provide, and the actual use of the heritage language with the children, are the three central themes to be considered for heritage language maintenance in the intermarriage families.

3.3. Research Design

3.3.1. Qualitative Approach

For this study I adopted a qualitative, interpretivist approach, using a phenomenology research framework. A qualitative research approach is typically used to understand and investigate individual perspectives of a phenomenon (Creswell, 2015; Glesne & Peshkin, 1992) in a natural setting. Qualitative research describes routine and problematic moments and meanings in individuals' lives and allows the researcher to better understand human behaviour and experience (Bogden & Biklen, 2003; Denzin & Lincoln, 2011). Burns (2000) states that "the task of the qualitative methodologist is to capture what people say and do as a product of how they interpret the complexity of their world, to understand events from the viewpoints of the participants" (p. 11). It was important to capture the actual feelings of parents and children of different language and cultural backgrounds, as these differences influence difficult choices that the parents of Japanese origin may face in raising their children using Japanese.

In this study, the number of participants was deliberately limited to a small sample to enable richly detailed descriptions of the participants (Crocker, 2009). Hammersley and Campbell (2012) describe this kind of qualitative case study as providing the opportunity "to study a small number of naturally occurring cases in detail" (p. 15). Through a small number of participants (detailed in the following section), I was able to collect individual voices and ideas in detail, capturing the natural interactions in participant families' homes, and to analyse each case; that is, I was able to capture the experiences of families as well as adult children of immigrant families, told in their own words, as reflections of their own lived experiences.

3.3.2. Phenomenological Case Study

Phenomenology allows investigation of human experience at a fundamental level, drawing on the lived experiences of participants, in order to understand their conscious thinking around a particular issue or phenomenon (Johnson & Christensen, 2019; Patton, 2015; Savin-Baden & Major, 2013), and to gain access to their worlds (Johnson & Christensen, 2019). Descriptive case studies allow for detailed accounts of the subject or phenomenon being studied, enabling researchers to develop an in-depth understanding of the phenomenon (Johnson & Christensen, 2019; Yin, 1993). This study explored the phenomenon of language and culture maintenance in Japanese–Australian intermarriage families in a regional Australian city. This includes an exploration of the extent to which the heritage language, Japanese, is maintained in the language use of children in the participating families. This study identifies and analyses participants' experience of this phenomenon and, critically, what it means to them (Savin-Baden & Major, 2013).

I conducted phenomenological case studies observing Japanese–Australian intermarriage families. I selected six families comprising Japanese-origin immigrants and Australian- (or other-) origin partners (including their children), as well as four adults who were raised by Japanese–Australian intermarriage parents, to understand the phenomenon of Japanese heritage language and culture maintenance. I explored the phenomenon of Japanese-origin parents' language choices at home, and how their choices affected their children's proficiency in Japanese and their perceptions of identity. Using a case study design allows researchers to examine a given uniqueness in order to reveal a phenomenon that otherwise may not be accessible (Merriam, 2009). Through this approach, the researcher is able to come to understand the phenomenon through the participants' descriptions of their lived experiences as well as to search for

the meaning of those experiences (Moustakas, 1994). Additionally, case studies allow researchers to build upon existing theories. The results of the case studies facilitate an understanding of real-life complexities that directly relate to participants' routines and ordinary experiences (Hood, 2009).

Families revealed to me their life-worlds; that is, one's own world or immediate experience (Johnson & Christensen, 2019), so I could discover what factors led them to decide to speak Japanese (or to decrease their use of it), and to allow me to describe the process of raising children in intermarriage families. Because raising children in a heritage language setting is a challenging task, my interest also concerns issues or conflicts that have arisen, including the views of English-speaking parents who might have influenced the decision about whether their Japanese partner used Japanese with their children. During the data-gathering process, the participants and I developed bonds through interpersonal and interactive relationships, which allowed for smooth information gathering and easier analysis, as well as creating an environment where participants developed an openness to expressing detailed views and perspectives (Alase, 2017).

Each family raises its children in different ways. However, Johnson and Christensen (2019) indicate that phenomenologists generally assume that there is some commonality in human experiences, and seek to understand this commonality. Japanese parents who have decided to raise their children to speak Japanese might experience child-rearing processes differently, but the ways they view and use Japanese with their children may be similar.

Moran (2000) defines phenomenology as "an approach that must pay close attention to the nature of consciousness as actually experienced, not as pictured by common sense or by the philosophical tradition, and that it must carefully describe

things as they appear in a lived consciousness” (p. 6). So as to obtain and interpret the participants’ voices correctly, I had to bracket prejudgments and preconceptions that I have about the phenomenon, to allow the perspectives of the participants to be heard (Creswell, 2015; Holstein & Gubrium, 1994; Johnson & Christensen, 2019; Merriam, 2009). Importantly, bracketing does not preclude my own perspectives in interpreting these experiences from being an essential part of the research and writing experience. As a result of my own experience, there is also a deeply personal reason for wishing to explore this topic and to offer information for other families in the future, and I can therefore draw on both research findings and the depth of my own circumstances.

3.4. Participant Selection

The initial process of recruiting participants, which received ethics approval, involved inviting current and previous families from the Japanese language centre I run from my home (as described in Chapter 1). Additionally, I recruited participants through families I know personally in a large regional city adjacent to the capital city in Australia. Although Glesne and Peshkin (1992) advise us to avoid “backyard research” (p. 21), these are families I knew who met the participant criteria of being intermarriage families with children, with one parent of Japanese origin and one English-speaking Australian (or other) parent, who want to maintain Japanese language skills, and who were geographically accessible.

To overcome possible ethical concerns, such as creating difficulty for participants to refuse to participate in the study, an arms’ length recruitment process occurred, where interested people could opt in after seeing an announcement on the school noticeboard, with no direct approach having been made. I also assured the participants that they have the right to opt out at any time, and that not participating will not affect our relationship or their children’s participation in the Japanese language

centre in any way. Information including the purpose of the study and selection criteria were further explained through email, allowing the families to choose not to respond, without feeling undue pressure from a face-to-face invitation. Ethics approval from the University of New England Human Research Ethics Committee was obtained to recruit participants in this way, and to conduct the research in the manner described (the ethics protocol approval is included in Appendix B).

Six Japanese–Australian (or Japanese–Swiss) intermarriage families, and four adult children of Japanese–Australian intermarriage families were selected for this study. Out of the six participating families, five consisted of a Japanese-origin parent whose first language is Japanese, an Australian- (or other-) origin, English-speaking partner, and their Australian-born child or children who moved to Australia when they were below four years of age. The remaining family consisted of a Japanese-born mother, a Swiss father (who speaks English fluently), and their Canadian-born children who were raised both in Canada and in Australia. This family was chosen for two reasons. The first was that the father was born in the US and speaks predominantly English in his daily conversations with his family and work colleagues, and is as fluent as a native English speaker. The second, although their children were born and raised in Canada for some time, having lived in Australia for five years and attended Australian schools, their experience was similar to the children who were born and raised in Australia. Further, they had lived in an English-dominant part of Canada, so their social contexts were similar. All the participant children of these families are of primary school age or early secondary school age, and in all cases attend local schools where English is the medium of instruction. All participants live in a large regional city adjacent to the capital city in Australia. Pseudonyms are used for all participants. Table 3.1 identifies the participants selected for this study.

Table 3.1*Overview of Participants From the Six Families*

Participating family	Japanese-origin participant	Australian- (or other-) origin parent	Child(ren) (age)
Brown family	Fukie (mother)	Darren (father)	Max (10)
Berna family	Chie (mother)	Martin (Swiss father)	Lorenz (11) Markus (7) Trina (6)
Bradley family	Yoko (mother)	Jason (father)	Adam (13) Tessa (10)
Uchimura family	Tomoki (father)	Louisa (mother)	Lachlan (13) Jasper (10) Sienna (7)
Kitajima family	Riku (father)	Josephine (mother)	Lucy (7) Joel (1)
Okuda family	Yasuhiro (father)	Sharon (mother)	Hibiki (6)

Japanese immigrant families in which both parents are Japanese, or where the non-Japanese parent's first language is not English, families who live outside Australia, children of Japanese families who came to Australia after they had turned four, and children who attend full-time Japanese school (where Japanese is the medium of instruction) have been excluded from the study.

In selecting participants, I initially intended to recruit three families who are raising their children predominantly in Japanese at home, and three who are raising their children predominantly in English at home. The latter group would have included families who had never decided to use Japanese at home, had abandoned or decreased the use of Japanese, or who had begun to adopt Japanese once children were older. However, it became clear that there were few (if any) local families in this latter

category, so due to availability issues, and in seeking a more genuine reflection of family choices about language use, I eventually recruited one family who is raising their children predominantly in Japanese, with the rest of the families either decreasing their use of Japanese or mixing Japanese and English in their conversations with their children. There were no families who have completely abandoned the use of Japanese as the Japanese parents all have a strong desire to retain some Japanese with their children. This was partly to be expected, in that all the families are or were involved in the community language school, my Japanese language centre, or a local school in Japan; further, the choice to retain at least some Japanese may be a more common situation. My aim was to develop an “in-depth exploration” (Creswell, 2015, p. 204) of the immigrant families’ language use and identity, in whatever variations this ultimately turned out to be.

Although the sample size is small, the number of participants is sufficient for phenomenology of this kind, which seeks an in-depth investigation of the phenomenon of interest with smaller samples (Creswell, 2015; Croker, 2009). Three Japanese fathers and three Japanese mothers were selected to investigate the gender differences that may influence Japanese language maintenance.

In addition to these participants, four adults aged from 18 to 47 who are children of Japanese–Australian intermarriage families have been included in the study. Table 3.2 provides an overview of the adult children of Japanese immigrants included in the study. Again, pseudonyms have been used for the participants.

Table 3.2*Overview of Adult Children of Japanese–Australian Intermarriage Families**Participants*

Adult children of Japanese–Australian intermarriage families	Gender	Japanese-origin parent	Australian- (or other-) origin parent	Language(s) spoken at home
Yamato Burgess	Male	Mother	Father	Japanese to mother, English to father
Sara Crowley	Female	Mother	Father	Japanese to mother, English to father
Sonia Stevens	Female	Mother	Father	English to both parents
Samantha Alford	Female	Mother	Father	As a child, Japanese to mother but gradually shifted to English

Of these four adult children of Japanese–Australian intermarriage families, I have included two who were raised primarily using Japanese, and two who were raised mainly using English. All four participants have a Japanese-origin mother and an Australian- (or other-) origin father and they were all educated at a local school in Australia where English is used as the sole medium of instruction. The reason for this was to discover, from the perspective of adulthood, what they think about their parents' choice of language use at home and in the community, and how this affects their ongoing language maintenance and cultural identity. Additionally, as adults, they are in a position to speak without reference to their parents' views and without parents present, which differs from the interviews with younger children, where parents are necessarily present. This group provides an important comparison group for the families still raising their children, and still in the process of navigating choices surrounding exposure to and use of language.

3.5. Data Collection Methods and Procedures

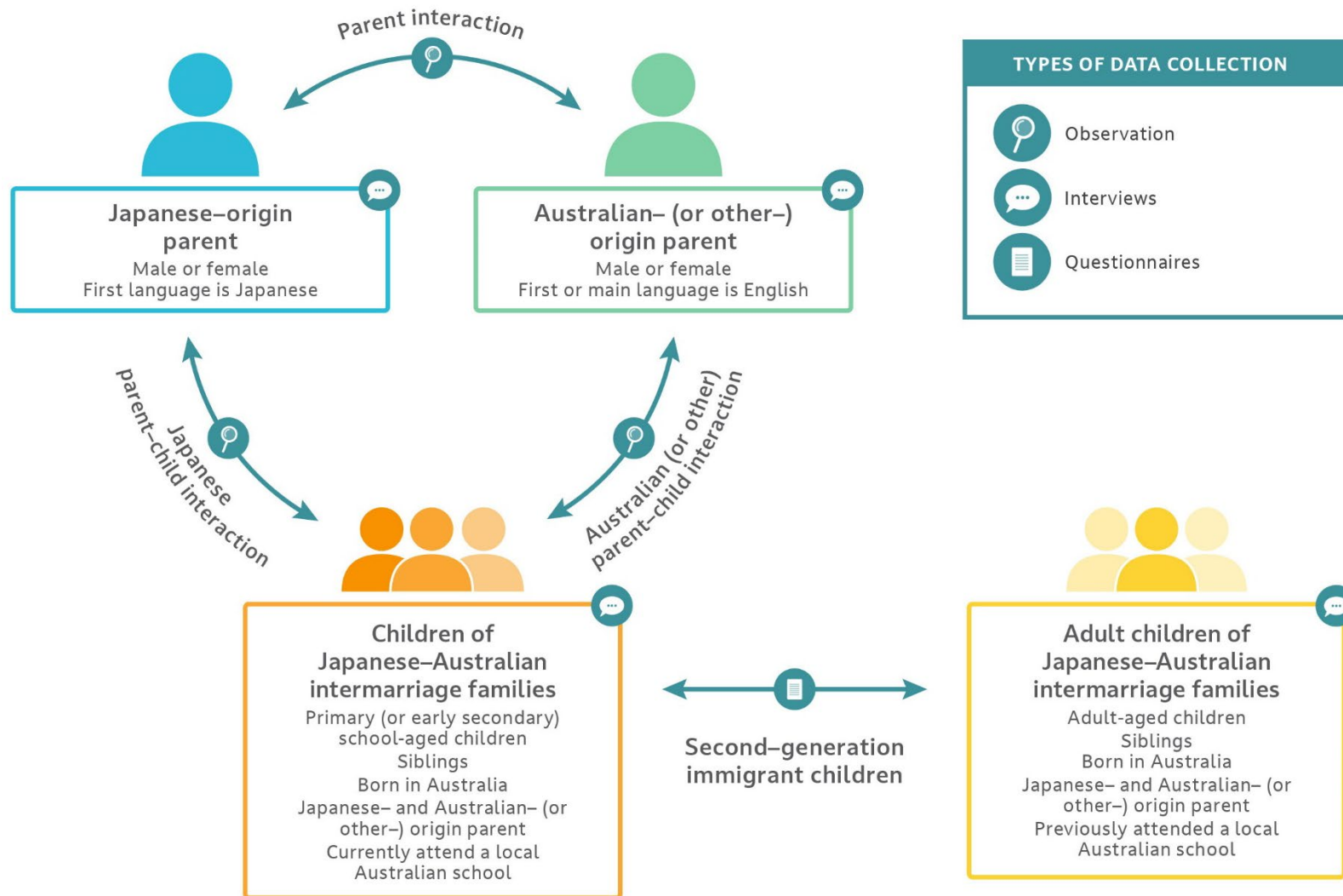
The main tools for data collection with the families were observations, interviews, and questionnaires, consistent with a qualitative, phenomenological approach (Savin-Baden & Major, 2013). Using multiple data sources has allowed me to understand the participants through a range of perspectives and response formats, and to review the different data sets as ideas from analysis emerged. Project information sheets and informed consent forms were distributed to all participants before the study commenced. As children were participating in the study, I obtained informed consent from parents, which indicated that they or their children could withdraw from the study at any time, and their identities were protected from being through the use of pseudonyms. Because the nature of phenomenology is to obtain in-depth information from participants, Creswell and Poth (2018) recommends easy access to the individuals for convenience. For this reason, I selected participants from the area where I live.

To present a structure of data collection and procedures, I used a data collection map (Figure 3.6) to provide an overview of the study, including the types of data collected and the language interactions between each participant of the study.

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Figure 3.6

Structure of Data Collection and Procedures



3.5.1. Observation

Observation was the first step in understanding the characteristics of the family and the interactions between the family members. Observation is the process of gathering firsthand information about participants in a natural research setting (Creswell, 2015; Patton, 2015), to allow analysis of how the actions of participants correspond to their words (Glesne & Peshkin, 1992). Observation dates were arranged individually through emails. For family observations, all individual members needed to be present for this study since the purpose was to investigate the language interactions between all family members. Therefore, sufficient time was needed to organise a suitable date for all members of the family to be present for the observation. During the observations, I acted as an *observer-as-participant* (Johnson & Christensen, 2019), where I took on the role of observer and recorded notes without becoming involved in the activities of the participants myself (Creswell, 2015). Observations took place at the participating families' homes to enable me to observe them in a setting where they were most comfortable, and also to be able to comment on and analyse language use in the home, as a key domain recognised in the literature and included in my conceptual framework. Language interactions were observed between the Japanese-origin parent and children, between the Australian- (or other-) origin parent and children, between the Japanese parent and English-speaking parent, and, where relevant, between siblings. Participants were aware that they were being observed and I was visible to them at all times. These observation sessions took from 30 minutes to one hour and, with participants' consent, audio and video recordings were made to assist with my analysis (but were not for publication). The collected data were supplemented by recorded field notes taken to capture the experience observed by the researcher (Johnson & Christensen, 2019; Kawulich, 2005; Kervin et al., 2006). As mentioned previously,

observation was only conducted with all the family members present (even if the focus was on one-to-one interactions at times), as the intention of this study is to capture the current family interactions.

3.5.2. Interviews

Following observations, face-to-face interviews were conducted with all family members including each Japanese-origin parent, each Australian- (or other-) origin parent, and their children, and the four adult children of Japanese–Australian intermarriage families. Most of the families preferred to conduct interviews straight after the observations. Interviews allowed me to capture useful information that I could not directly observe from participants, and permitted them to offer detailed personal information (Creswell, 2015). I conducted one-on-one interviews where I asked questions and recorded answers from one participant at a time (Creswell, 2015). Conducting interviews in such a way allowed participants to describe their beliefs and actual practices towards their language use with their family members with minimal pressure from other family members. Semi-structured interviews were used to obtain comparable data across the range of participants (Bogden & Biklen, 2003), which provided me with background information about the language use of each individual. These types of interviews adopt a format where questions are flexibly worded or less structured than interview protocols seeking to ask exact questions of all participants. Where necessary, structured questions can be used to obtain specific information such as demographic data (Merriam, 2009).

Although the interview questions were determined before the interviews were conducted, I allowed participants to respond freely to probes and to provide additional information, or information they thought was particularly relevant (Kervin et al., 2006). Conducting interviews enabled me to obtain participants' thinking about their

experiences and to describe these experiences in rich detail in the analysis (Johnson & Christensen, 2019).

An audio recorder was set to record the interviews with the participants' consent. After conducting the interviews, the transcripts of all Australian- (or other-) origin participants and adult children of Japanese-Australian intermarriage families conducted in English were professionally transcribed using a verbatim approach, which captures every word, emotion, and murmuring (Cogito, 2017). I transcribed the interviews that were conducted in Japanese with Japanese-origin parents and later translated them into English by repeatedly listening to the recorded interview audio. I used edited approach in transcribing omitting parts of the audio without disturbing the meaning (Cogito, 2017). Casual expressions in Japanese were translated into informal English to keep a similar tone of the conversation. Additionally, I transcribed child participants' interviews, which were conducted in English. Slight variance in tone (more casual expression in the Japanese interviews) may have reflected both interviewer and interviewee comfort in using Japanese, as first language users.

Interview data were analysed by grouping the interview transcripts into segments and labelled to identify common themes and experiences across participants. During this process, I highlighted important points in the interview transcripts and took notes of participants who had similar perspectives as well as different perspectives on the same topic. This allowed me to later reorganise the material into more detailed topics and used participants' quotes as examples to understand their actual feelings. I selected two interview transcriptions in Appendix E and F as they showed the richness of emotions and greater depth of challenges of participants' experiences. They are nonetheless indicative of the full data set, and the data are analysed with extensive quotations from all families.

3.5.2.1. Participating Families. Interviews were conducted at the homes of participating families. Four of the six families preferred to conduct interviews after the observation on the same day. Two families undertook their interviews on a different day from the observation due to other commitments on the day of the observation. Different interview questions were organised for each member of the family, as per the study design and approved in the ethics protocol; the Japanese-origin parent, Australian- (or other-) origin parent, and children and all were interviewed separately (see Appendix A). This enabled me to gather views from each individual about their different roles, as well as their views about the languages used at home and surrounding issues of identity.

All parent participants were interviewed for between 30 minutes and one hour, and interviews were approximately 10 to 15 minutes each for the children. All participants were asked about their background and language use, and the primary-aged children and the adult children of Japanese–Australian intermarriage families were also asked to share their perspectives regarding their ethnic identity. Japanese parents had a choice of using either Japanese or English in their interviews, but all preferred to conduct these in Japanese. All other participants, including adult children of Japanese–Australian intermarriage families who speak Japanese, were interviewed in English, by their own choice. Due to their younger age, some children needed help from a parent to answer interview questions.

3.5.2.2. Adult Children of Japanese–Australian Intermarriage Families.

Interviews with adults of Japanese immigrants were conducted at different locations depending on participants' preferences. Two participants were interviewed in a university library in the large regional city, one participant at a café in a suburb of the state capital city, and another participant at a communication space at a university in the state capital city. An audio recorder was set in a fixed position with the participants'

consent, and field notes were kept so that I could review the information for data analysis.

3.5.3. Questionnaires

After conducting the interviews, questionnaires were distributed by email to each participating family and adult children of Japanese–Australian intermarriage families (Appendix A). Questionnaires allowed me to obtain a variety of additional information from participants such as “thoughts, feelings, attitudes, beliefs, values, perceptions, personality, and behavioural intentions” (Johnson & Christensen, 2019, p. 192). Questionnaires were designed to take 20 minutes to complete. In the same manner as the interviews, the different participant groups of Japanese-origin parents, Australian- (or other-) parents, and their children were asked different questions, as they all have different roles and views on language use. While interview questions focused on participants’ perspectives towards the languages used at home with extended responses, questionnaires for Japanese-origin parents focused on what languages are used within the family and their children’s abilities in using the Japanese language. This was achieved by using checklist responses where participants select one of the presented alternatives (Burns, 2000). Participants indicated their agreement with the statement by selecting one of six options ranging from “strongly disagree” to “strongly agree”, to measure their feelings towards the languages used at home and the connections with the community. For the Australian- (or other-) origin parents, questions were organised similarly to the Japanese parents’, except that they were asked about their feelings towards their Japanese partner’s language use with their children.

A mixture of open and closed questions was used by adapting Chinen and Tucker (2005), Okita (2002), and Oriyama’s (2010) questionnaire formats. According to Creswell (2015), closed-ended responses can capture useful information to support

theories and concepts from the relevant literature while open-ended responses provided reasons and comments beyond the responses to the closed-ended responses. Closed questions were used to gather data about participants' background and ethnic identity, and open-ended questions were used to gather additional detailed information and to gather descriptions of the circumstances of language use in the family. In addition to the questions that asked about Japanese use and their cultural connections to Japan, children and adult children of Japanese–Australian intermarriage families were asked about their ethnicity and how they identify themselves. This was done by presenting participants with a series of statements and asking them to indicate their agreement by selecting a response from a six-point scale (four points in the case of the children) with answers ranging from “strongly disagree” to “strongly agree”, in order to investigate how the languages used at home affect their identity. Two of the families printed out the questionnaires and returned them to me personally. All other families returned them to me by email. The use of multiple sources of data allowed me to consider a range of perspectives from the interviews when compared with the other data sources; this was achieved by cross-checking information and drawing conclusions through the use of multiple interpretive procedures, based on thematic analysis (Bogdan & Biklen, 2003; Burns, 2000; Creswell & Poth, 2018; Glesne & Peshkin, 1992; Johnson & Christensen, 2019; Kervin et al., 2006; Yin, 1993).

3.6. Conclusion

This study investigates Japanese language maintenance of six intermarriage families in Australia which comprise Japanese-origin parents, Australian- (or other-) origin parents, and their children. A phenomenological case study approach was adopted to understand the phenomenon of Japanese heritage language and culture maintenance in the Japanese–Australian intermarriage families in Australia, and to

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investigate the impact of the languages used at home on children's language abilities and identities. Additionally, four adult children of Japanese–Australian intermarriage families participated in this study to share their perspectives on their parents' Japanese language use and how it affected their own Japanese language abilities and identities. Three central thematic concepts emerged from the literature for this study: bilingual family contexts, language use of bilingual families in the home, and language use of bilingual families in the community. In the bilingual family contexts, languages and cultures coexist and children are constantly exposed to two or more languages, which are Japanese and English in the case of my participants. Heritage language maintenance occurs in three domains; home, community, and school. The main domain of heritage maintenance is the home, but language and cultural influences also feature in the families' community lives and in children's schools, which play an important role. Language choice, exposure to languages and cultures, and use of language are the three central themes that intersect the intermarriage families' language maintenance in the home, community, and school. Hence, the languages and cultures ecology of the bilingual family context is situated in the overlapping and interconnected domains of language use in the home, and the community, including school; these are linked throughout the language exposure, language choice, and language use in an overall language ecology.

A range of data collection methods was used, including observation, interview, and questionnaire, to capture language interactions between family members, participants' perspectives on the language they use at home, and, in the case of children, how language use at home affects their identities. Such rich data enables us to understand the challenges and complexity of maintaining the heritage language of intermarriage families in a country where English is used as a dominant language.

Additionally, this chapter includes a discussion of why I chose the methodology and methods used, how I adapted these to fit the purposes of my study, how participants were selected, who the participants were, and the procedures for data collection. In the following three chapters (Chapters 4, 5, and 6), the three thematic concepts will be analysed separately, leading to recommendations for use of the findings, as well as further research that might follow this study.

Chapter 4. Bilingual Family Contexts

4.1. Introduction

In Chapter 4 the backgrounds and family ecologies of all six participating families are introduced, as well as the backgrounds of the four adult participants who were raised in Japanese–Australian intermarriage families. In the first section of this chapter, my personal connections with the families and the relationships between the families are explained.

Although the number of participants is too small for this description of the family ecologies to be generalisable, the study provides us with a framework for considering a plurilingual family's languages and cultures ecology, and, in the context of my study, offers an understanding of the connectedness between members of the Japanese community in this large regional Australian city which is adjacent to the state capital. Strong connections within ethnic communities can provide more opportunities for children to be exposed to and to maintain their heritage language (Tse, 2001b), although parents and the community still need to work together to support children's heritage language maintenance (Shibata, 2000).

The backgrounds of the six participating families and their family language and culture ecologies are introduced separately. Five of the six families consist of a Japanese immigrant parent, his or her English-speaking Australian-born partner, and their Australian-born children, with the exception of one child participant who was born in Japan but moved to Australia at the age of 1. One of the six family groups consists of a US-born Swiss father, a Japanese-origin mother, and their Canadian-born children. The father speaks Swiss German to his family and friends in Switzerland, but he only speaks English with his partner and children. Thus, regardless of the father's German

language skills, he has a native-like fluency in English, making this family suitable for this study.

In the second section of this chapter, the four participating adult children of Japanese–Australian intermarriage families who were raised by a Japanese-origin mother and an Australian- (or other-) origin father are introduced. The age range of these participants is from 18 to 47 years. The adult participants' backgrounds add valuable information to our understanding of children's perspectives on their experience of being raised in a Japanese and Australian intermarriage family. This chapter mainly draws on in-depth interviews and questionnaire data.

4.2. Participating Families' Backgrounds and Family Ecologies

An overview of the backgrounds of the participants from the six families is provided in Table 4.1. The first three families listed in Table 4.1 have a Japanese-origin mother, and the next three families have a Japanese-origin father. All English-speaking parents are of Australian-origin except for the father of the Berna family who is Swiss. The Berna children were born in Canada and moved to Australia in 2013, when the children were 7, 3, and 2 years old. Lucy (from the Kitajima family) was born in Japan but came to Australia at the age of 1. All the other participating children were born in Australia.

Table 4.1*Overview of the Backgrounds of Participants From the Six Families*

Family	Japanese-origin parent (mother/father, birthplace)	Australian- (or other-) origin parent (mother/father)	Children (age)	Children's birthplace
Brown family	Fukie (mother, Japan)	Darren (father)	Max (10)	Australia
Berna family	Chie (mother, Japan)	Martin (Swiss father)	Lorenz (11)	Canada
			Markus (7)	Canada
			Trina (6)	Canada
Bradley family	Yoko (mother, Japan)	Jason (father)	Adam (13)	Australia
			Tessa (10)	Australia
Uchimura family	Tomoki (father, United States)	Louisa (mother)	Lachlan (13)	Australia
			Jasper (10)	Australia
			Sienna (7)	Australia
Kitajima family	Riku (father, Japan)	Josephine (mother)	Lucy (7)	Japan
			Joel (1; not a participant)	
Okuda family	Yasuhiro (father, Japan)	Sharon (mother)	Hibiki (6)	Australia

The children range in age from 6 to 13. All attend primary school, except the oldest two children who are in secondary school. Joel Kitajima was 1 year old at the time of the data collection, so he was too young to be a participant in this study. I did, however, observe how his parents spoke to him as an infant.

The Japanese population of the large regional city where my participants live is much smaller than that of the adjacent capital city. To raise children in a significantly smaller population of Japanese-origin people in a regional city with limited access to a Japanese speech community can produce challenges for parents wanting to maintain the heritage language with their children (Sims & Ellis, 2015).

I personally knew all of the participants in my study prior to participant selection; however, some families have a stronger connection to me than others. I met Darren Brown for the first time at his son Max's preschool, which my son also attended, in 2011. Darren instantly recognised that I was Japanese and told me that his wife was Japanese too. His wife, Fukie, was the first Japanese mother I met after moving back to Australia with my sons in 2011. We became friends and invited each other to family social events in the ensuing years.

I met Chie Berna and her children at a local swimming pool in 2013, a few months after the family moved to Australia from Canada. I heard a conversation in Japanese so I greeted them and introduced myself in Japanese. Subsequently, the Berna family and my family invited one another to family social outings such as barbecues and picnics. Soon after our first meeting, my sons were speaking Japanese with the Berna children, as they have the ability to communicate in Japanese.

In 2013, through a Japanese community group in Australia, I was introduced to Yoko Bradley by an Australian woman who was married to a Japanese man. As we do not live in the same suburb and our children go to different schools, our families did not maintain strong connections with one another. We occasionally came across the family at parks or local events, but we have never organised a playdate or otherwise met socially. I sometimes see Adam at his secondary school, where I worked as a language teacher.

Tomoki Uchimura was the first Japanese-origin father with children of a similar age to mine that I met after returning to Australia. In 2013, when I offered a trial lesson at my Japanese language centre before opening, Fukie invited Tomoki and his two older children to join the trial lesson. Fukie knew Tomoki, as their children went to the same school. On one occasion, I invited the Uchimura and Berna families for a barbecue with

some other Japanese families (who were not the participants of this study). Besides this social gathering, I have had very few opportunities to socialise with the Uchimura family.

In 2011 I was involved in a university committee to support international students, which is where I met Josephine Kitajima. Later, I was introduced to her Japanese partner, Riku. Their daughter, Lucy, was 3 years old in 2013 when she attended my Japanese language centre for six months with Hibiki Okuda, another child participant.

I met the Okuda family for the first time in 2013 when their son, Hibiki, who was two at the time, attended my Japanese language centre with the Kitajima family. The two families have some commonalities: they lived in the same suburb at the time, both fathers are Japanese, the children were the same age, and the English-speaking parents have previously lived in Japan. I met Sharon for the first time with Hibiki at my Japanese language centre in 2013 and noticed that I could converse freely with her in Japanese. Hibiki continued at my Japanese language centre for six months before deciding not to continue. Unlike Lucy, Hibiki did not attend Saturday Japanese community language school afterwards.

I know some of the participant families better than others. The families do not have many personal connections with one another, such as regular social interactions or events. Some families knew each other through attending my Japanese language centre or the community language school. Some mothers met through a playgroup offered on a weekday when their children were young. Living in this large regional city for seven years, my personal connections with these participants taught me that some Japanese parents do not seem to know other Japanese–Australian families in the same

community, possibly due to differences in their children's ages, the locations where they live, or simply the busyness of everyday life.

The following sections introduce the six participant families as a means of understanding their background and family language and culture ecology.

4.2.1. *Brown Family*

4.2.1.1. Family Background. The Brown family consists of: Fukie, a Japanese woman in her 40s; Darren, her Australian husband, also in his 40s; and Max, their 10-year-old Australian-born son. Fukie is a Japanese woman who came to Australia for the first time on a holiday in 1997. She speaks Japanese as her first language and completed her education up to junior college in Japan. She worked as a nurse in Japan and Australia, and currently works as an accredited translator of Japanese and English with NAATI (National Accreditation Authority for Translators and Interpreters). She met Darren while studying at university in Australia. Fukie describes her English as adequate at a social and conversational level, and she also uses English in her work as a translator. As she specialises in translating documents from English to Japanese, and vice versa, her reading and writing ability in English is much stronger than her English-speaking ability.

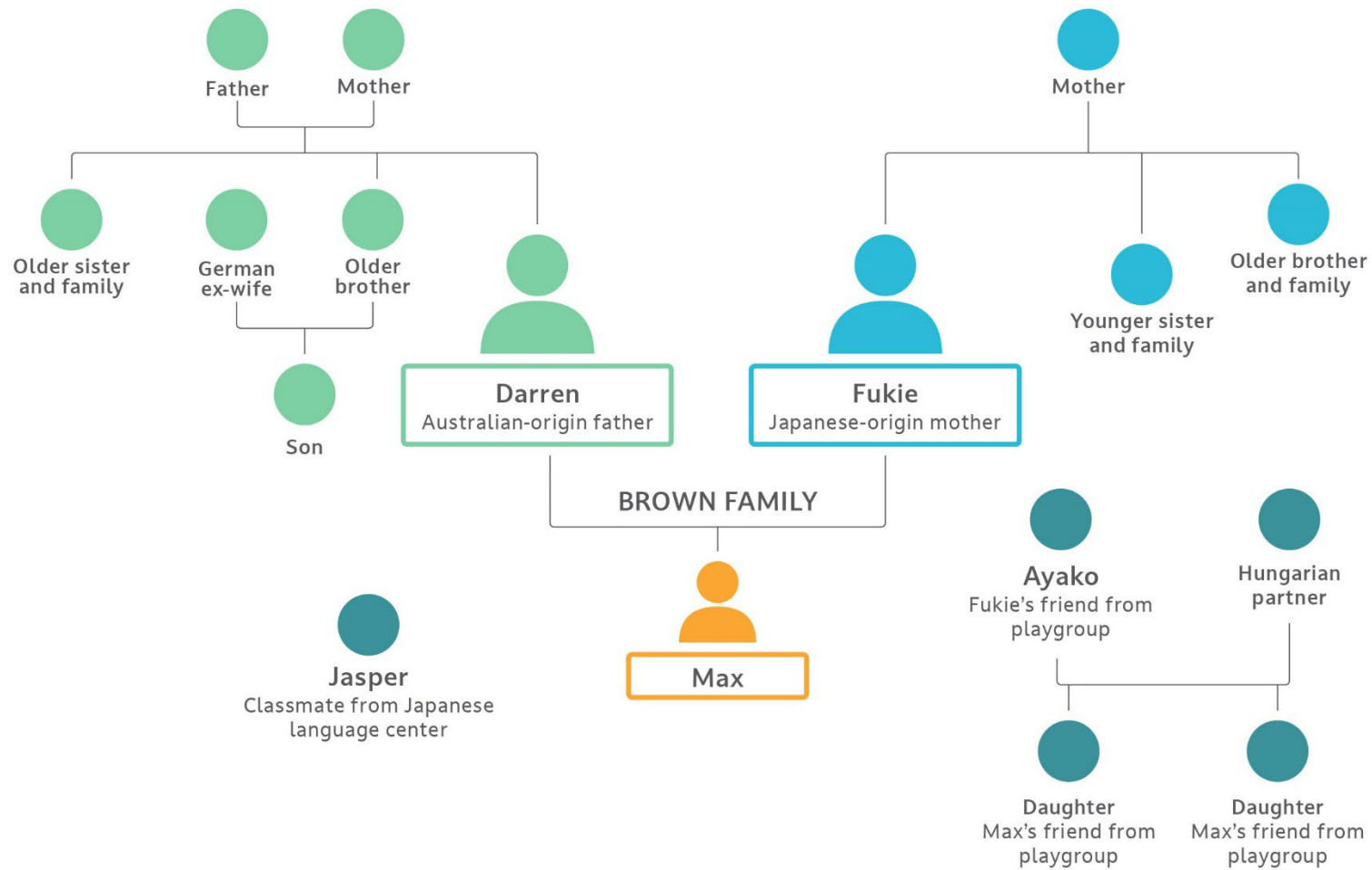
Darren is an Australian man of European heritage who was born and raised in the large regional city adjacent to the capital city in Australia—that is, the city where the study was undertaken. He has a bachelor's degree from an Australian university and has been working at an IT company. He met his wife, Fukie, in this regional city and has been living there since they married. After meeting Fukie, he learnt Japanese for a total of two years at a community college, and later participated in group lessons with the same teacher outside of the college.

Max was 4 years old when I met him at preschool. My younger son, who was at the same preschool as Max, told me that there was a boy who had a Japanese mother. For the following few years, Max and my two sons played together and we organised social outings. I recall that they could not communicate easily when we first met, as my sons could not speak English at that time and Max's Japanese-speaking ability was limited. I gradually began to learn more about Max after the opening of my Japanese language centre in 2013. Max has been my student since then, and I have continued to connect with the Brown family in both a personal and professional capacity. The Brown family's interview transcripts are included in Appendix E.

4.2.1.2. Family Language and Culture Ecology. The Brown family has been living in their current home in the large regional city adjacent to the state capital since Darren and Fukie were married in 2002. Fukie's family of origin and her extended family live in Japan, and Darren's family of origin and his extended family live in Australia. Figure 4.1 uses a family tree diagram to present the Brown family and their family connections.

Figure 4.1

Family Ecology of the Brown Family



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Fukie, Darren, and Max are in the centre of Figure 4.1. Fukie's Japanese family is represented on the right side and Darren's Australian family is represented on the left. Fukie's connections with the Japanese community (a Japanese-origin mother and her Japanese–Hungarian children from playgroup) are also represented.

Fukie's mother lives alone in Japan, and she has an older brother and a younger sister who also live in Japan. Both Fukie's siblings have children, Max's cousins, and they see each other when the Brown family visits Japan. Fukie's mother often looks after her grandchildren who live in Japan. Darren's parents live in the same city as the Brown family in Australia. They have a positive attitude towards learning multiple languages and they are supportive and proud of Max's ongoing Japanese language development. Darren has an older sister who lives in the adjacent capital city and an older brother who lives 2.5 hours north of this capital city. His older brother was previously married to a German woman, with whom he had a son, but they have since separated and he now lives with a new Australian partner. During the school holidays or family celebrations, they connect through family gatherings.

Fukie and Max joined the Japanese community playgroup before Max began primary school. They met many Japanese families with a similar background—that is, with one Japanese-origin parent and one Australian- (or other-) origin parent. In particular, Fukie became good friends with another Japanese mother, Ayako. She has a Hungarian husband, whose first language is not English, and two daughters. Fukie and Ayako have been organising playdates for their children; these were initially held weekly, but later reduced to monthly. Another community connection, Jasper, is a boy who has attended the same class as Max in my Japanese language centre since its opening in 2013. He is the same age as Max and has a Japanese father. Jasper's

Japanese ability has impacted Max's feelings towards his own ability to use Japanese.

Jasper, from the Uchimura family, is also a participant of this study.

4.2.2. *Berna Family*

4.2.2.1. Family Background. Like the Brown family, the Berna family has a Japanese-origin mother; their father, however, is Swiss. The Berna family consists of five members: Chie, a Japanese-origin woman in her 40s; her Swiss husband, Martin, in his 40s; and their three children, Lorenz (11), Markus (8), and Trina (7), who were all born in Canada. Chie was born and raised in Japan and completed her university degree in Japan, where she also worked as a secondary school teacher. She met Martin in New Zealand during a holiday and they were married in 2001. They lived in Japan and later moved to Canada, where their three children were born and Chie became a stay-at-home mother. The family moved to Australia in 2013.

Martin is Swiss but was born in the United States where his family lived at the time; they returned to Switzerland soon after his birth, where he was then raised and later completed his undergraduate degree. After meeting Chie in 1997 in New Zealand, Martin lived in Japan with her for four years and taught English there. After that, they spent 10 years in Canada where Martin completed his master's degree. In 2013, the family relocated to Australia, where Martin began his doctoral degree while also working as a lecturer at the same university where he was studying. Having lived in Japan for four years, he has some understanding of Japanese, as he learned some Japanese from Chie's father during this time. Martin is a fluent speaker of German and has a good understanding of French. The Berna children do not learn Japanese at a local Japanese community language school in Australia nor at my Japanese language centre.

4.2.2.2. Family Language and Culture Ecology. The Berna family relocated in 2013 to a suburb of the large regional city adjacent to the state capital city in Australia. They lived in university accommodation for the first three years during Martin's doctoral study and later moved to a flat. The Berna family has three children who were all born in Canada, and the oldest son, Lorenz, began primary school there. The children speak English with a Canadian accent, but they do not speak their father's heritage language, German, which is not used in the home. Chie and Martin have no other family members living in Australia. Chie's immediate and extended family live in Japan and Martin's live in Switzerland. Figure 4.2 presents an overview of the Berna family and their connections with their extended families and the community.

Figure 4.2

Family Ecology of the Berna Family

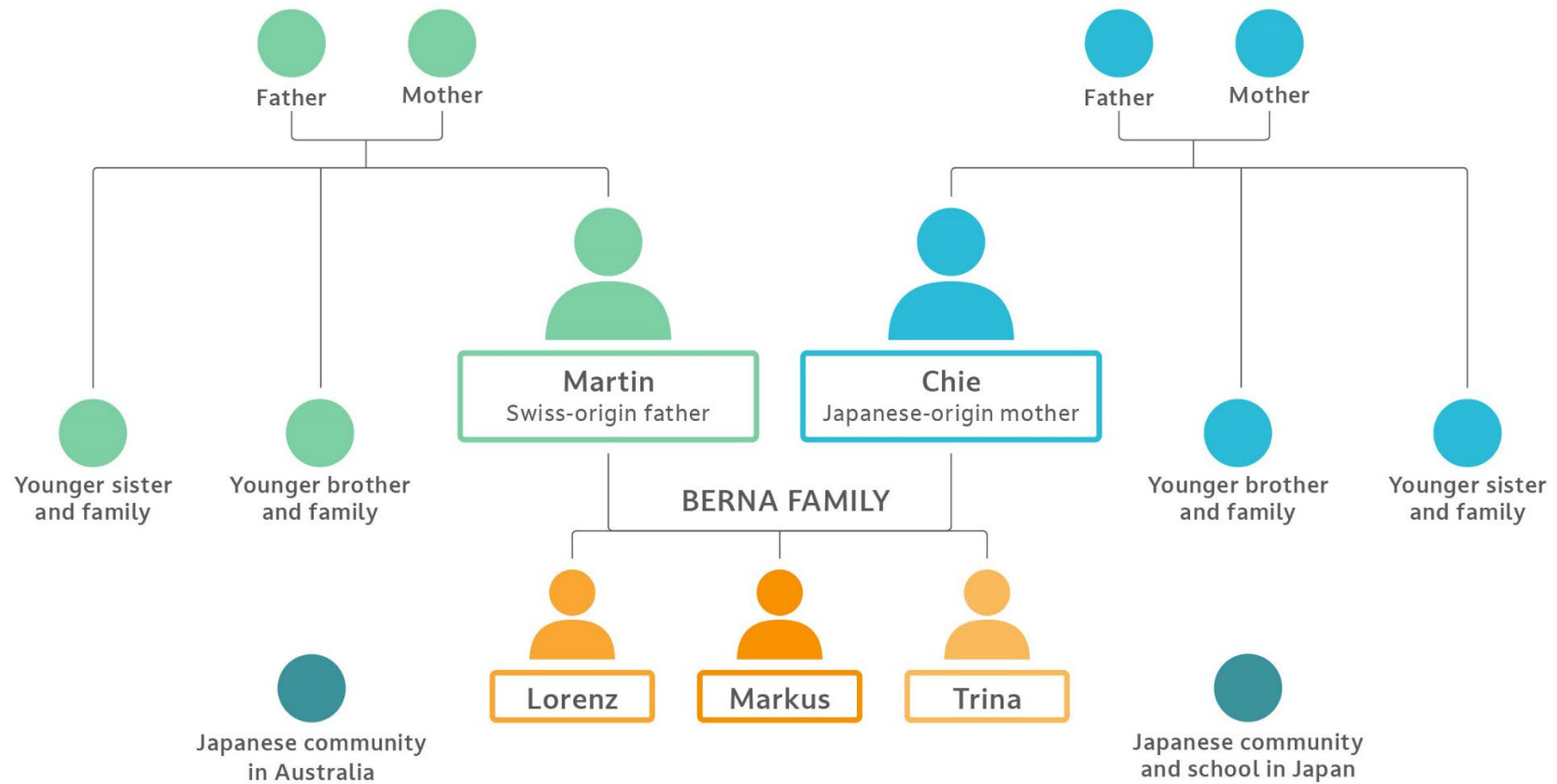


Figure 4.2 shows the Berna family in the centre, Martin's Swiss family on the left side, and Chie's Japanese family on the right. The Berna family visits Japan more frequently than they visit Switzerland. They visit Japan once each year or every two years, and they stay for two to five months. During their visits, they stay with Chie's family. The family has some connections with people in Japan, as well as with Japanese people in their local community in Australia.

Chie's parents and her siblings live in a large city in Japan. She has a younger brother who has two children, and a younger sister who is single. When the Berna family visits their family in Japan or communicates online from Australia, the Berna children speak Japanese to Chie's Japanese family as the family members can only speak Japanese.

Martin has parents and younger siblings. His parents and his younger sister and her family live in Switzerland, and his younger brother and his family live in Germany. His family speaks English, except for his younger sister's family who only speak Swiss German. When the Berna children speak with Martin's younger sister's children, Martin's sister translates for her children and Martin's children to help them communicate.

4.2.3. *Bradley Family*

4.2.3.1. Family Background. With a similar family structure as the Brown family, the Bradley family consists of four members: Yoko, a Japanese woman in her 40s; her English-speaking husband, Jason, in his 50s; and their two children, Adam (13) and Tessa (10), who were born in Australia. Yoko came to Australia for the first time during the summer holidays when she was in the second year of senior secondary school. She stayed for a month but after a few trips back and forth between Australia

and Japan, she settled with Jason (who she had met online) in Australia in 2002, and they married in 2003. Yoko was an English instructor at an English conversation school in Japan. After settling in Australia in the large regional city adjacent to the state capital city, she worked as an administrative assistant at a university college. Yoko speaks English with a high level of proficiency and before their marriage, had visited Australia frequently. She was involved in establishing a Japanese community language school in her city and has been teaching there since its opening in 2013. During school terms Yoko takes Adam and Tessa to the community school once a week for a two-hour class every Saturday.

Jason commutes to the capital city and currently works full-time for the state government. He also holds a qualification in adult and secondary education. He was born to an English father and an Australian mother, and he only speaks English. However, he makes an effort to speak other languages through his extensive travelling and has taught himself Japanese. He can speak and understand routine words in Japanese, which he uses occasionally with his family.

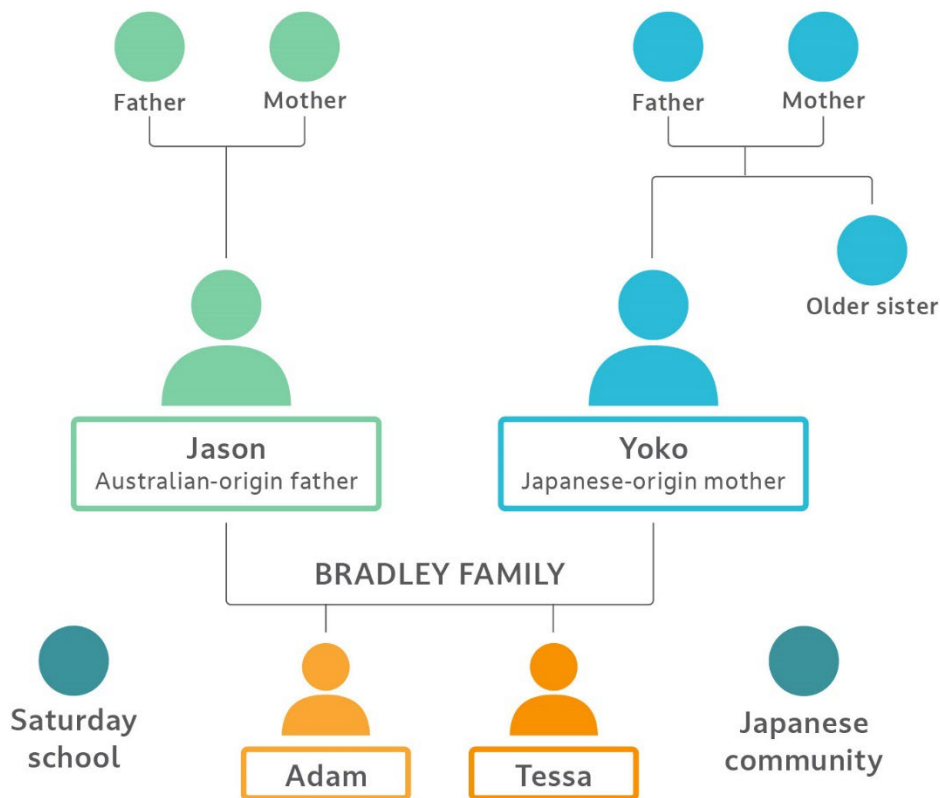
Adam is a secondary school student in Year 8 and Tessa is in Year 5. I met Adam and Tessa at a local event in 2013 when I was introduced to Yoko by an Australian mother who is married to a Japanese man. Both Adam and Tessa learn Japanese at the local Japanese community language school where their mother teaches every Saturday.

4.2.3.2. Family Language and Culture Ecology. The Bradley family lives in a suburb of the large regional city adjacent to the state capital city in Australia. After meeting online, Yoko and Jason regularly visited one another in Japan and Australia until Yoko relocated to Australia in 2002. Yoko's family of origin and her extended

family live in Japan and Jason's family of origin lives in Australia. Figure 4.3 presents an overview of the Bradley family and their connections with the community.

Figure 4.3

Family Ecology of the Bradley Family



The Bradley family is in the centre of Figure 4.3. Yoko's Japanese family is positioned on the right, and Jason's family on the left. Yoko was born and raised in Japan and her family of origin lives in Japan. She has an older sister who lived with them in Australia for four years when Adam was at preschool and thus played an important role in using Japanese with Yoko's family. The Bradley family visits Japan every two years. Her parents also visit Australia to see Yoko and her family. Yoko's mother cannot speak English so she uses Japanese to speak to her grandchildren. Her father and older sister can speak English, so when the children do not seem to understand their Japanese, they use English to communicate.

Jason was born in Australia to English-speaking parents. It is unclear whether Jason has any siblings as this was not discussed in the interview. Jason revealed that he only speaks English and therefore only speaks English with all his family members in Australia. He tries to learn other languages, especially Japanese, so that he can be part of conversations in Japanese with the rest of his family.

Yoko has strong connections with her Japanese family and with the local Japanese community in Australia. Yoko and Jason's interviews both revealed how strongly Yoko is connected to her Japanese family and the Japanese community. The Bradley children socialise with a few friends from Japanese backgrounds in their local area in Australia. As the children go to the community language school, they also connect with teachers and students from Japanese backgrounds there.

4.2.4. Uchimura Family

4.2.4.1. Family Background. While the Brown, Berna, and Bradley families consist of a Japanese mother, the Uchimura family has a Japanese father. There are five members in the Uchimura family: Tomoki, a Japanese man in his 30s; his Australian wife, Louisa, in her 40s; and their three children, Lachlan (13), Jasper (10), and Sienna (7), who were all born in Australia. Tomoki was born in New York (where his family were based for his father's work) but returned to Japan when he was 10 months old. Tomoki graduated from secondary school in Japan and was enrolled in a vocational school there, but later withdrew. He met his Australian wife, Louisa, in Japan, and they lived together there before returning to Australia in 1999 and living in the large regional city adjacent to the state capital city in Australia. He enrolled at an Australian university to study. Tomoki has never worked in Japan but since residing in Australia, he has been working for an IT company. Tomoki's two older sons, Lachlan and Jasper, decided to

learn Japanese at my Japanese language centre. At that time, Lachlan was 9 and Jasper was 5 years old.

Louisa is an Australian woman of European heritage who was born in a small town located in the central west of a state in Australia. She completed her teaching degree at university and worked as a primary school teacher in Australia. Currently, she is a stay-at-home mother raising her three children. In Japan, Louisa worked at an English conversation school for one and a half years. She met Tomoki when she was a customer at his workplace in Japan. Although she has lived in Japan, she cannot speak Japanese.

As Sienna was very young when her brothers began learning Japanese at my Japanese language centre, she did not join our Japanese lessons. My first impression of Lachlan and Jasper was that they can communicate using basic Japanese with their father and myself. I have observed Tomoki's interactions with the boys and noticed that Tomoki only rarely uses English with them. Sienna, on the other hand, speaks very little Japanese despite Tomoki speaking to her in Japanese.

4.2.4.2. Family Language and Culture Ecology. The Uchimura family lives in a suburb of the large regional city adjacent to the state capital city in Australia. Tomoki and Louisa met in Japan in a large city near Tokyo. After living in Japan, in 1999 they moved to Australia, Louisa's home country. Tomoki's Japanese family of origin and his extended family live in Japan and Louisa's family of origin and her extended family live in Australia. The Uchimura family and their connections with their extended family and the community are represented in Figure 4.4.

Figure 4.4

Family Ecology of the Uchimura Family

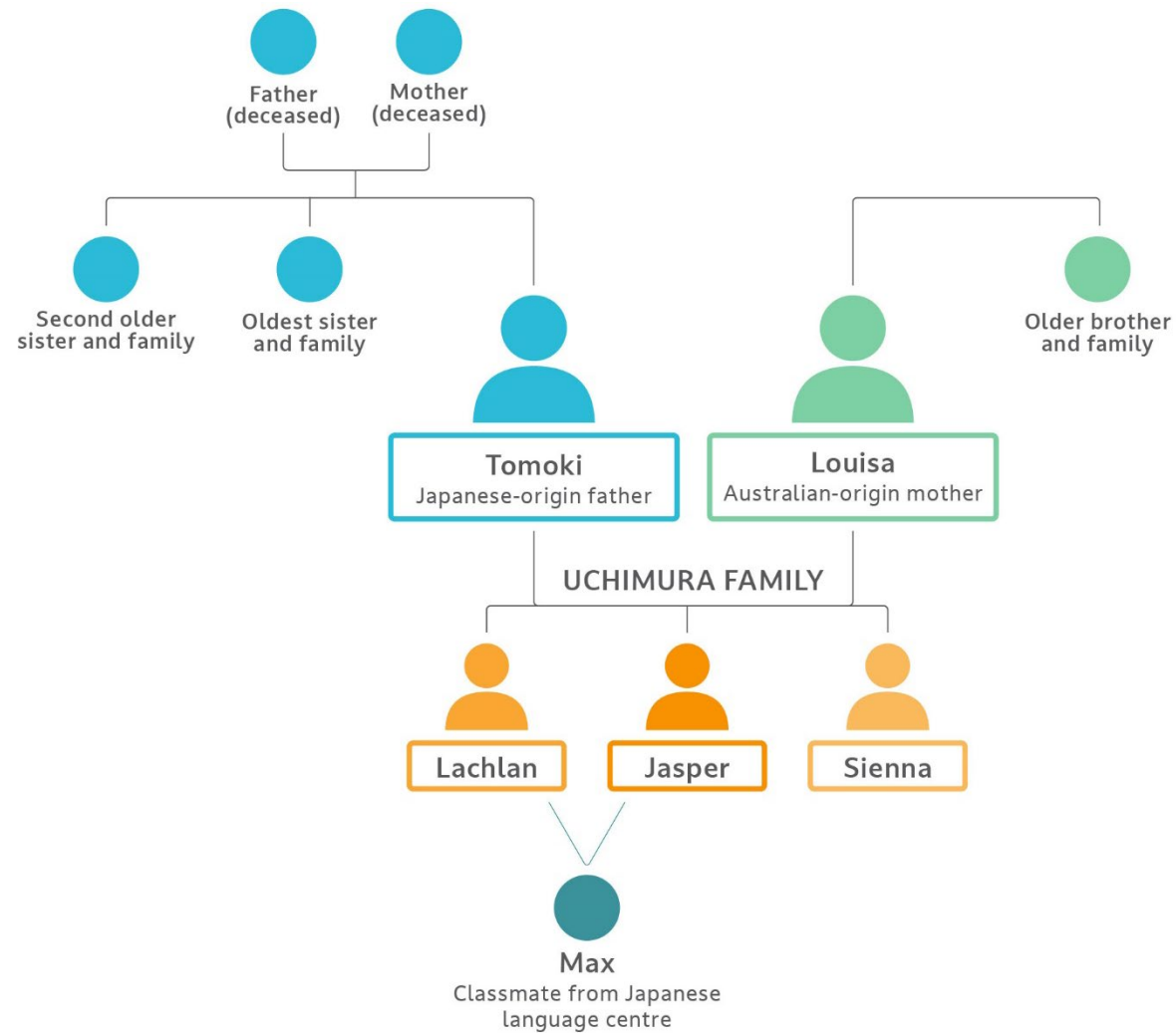


Figure 4.4 shows the Uchimura family in the centre, Tomoki's parents and siblings on the left, and Louisa's Australian family on the right. Tomoki's family lived in the United States for 10 years due to his father's work. He has two older sisters; his oldest sister was born in Japan, but his other sister and Tomoki were both born in the United States. They returned to Japan when they were 8 years old, 4 years old, and 10 months old respectively. Tomoki's oldest sister has one child and his other sister has two children; they all speak Japanese with Tomoki's children when they meet in Japan. His oldest sister is an interpreter of English and Japanese and plays an important role in Tomoki's decisions about his language use to his children.

Louisa's family lives in Australia and she has an older brother. Her older brother has one child and the Uchimura children see their cousin once or twice a year. As Louisa's family speaks only English, conversations between Louisa's family of origin and Louisa's children are in English. The older two sons of the Uchimura family, Lachlan and Jasper, were in the same class as Max (the son of the Brown family) at my Japanese language centre. Max is an only child with a Japanese background, and he has connections with the Uchimura children.

4.2.5. Kitajima Family

4.2.5.1. Family Background. Similar to the Uchimura family, the Kitajima family also consists of a Japanese-origin father and Australian-origin mother. There are four members in the Kitajima family: Riku, a Japanese man in his 30s; his Australian wife, Josephine, in her 30s; and two children, Lucy (7) and Joel (1). The family was living in Japan but relocated to Australia in 2011 to avoid the radioactive fallout from the nuclear power plant damaged by the earthquake in Fukushima. They had been living in Australia for six years at the time of the data collection. Lucy, their daughter, was

born in Japan and was 1 when the family moved to Australia. Their younger child, Joel, was born in Australia but he was too young to be a participant in this study, so Lucy is the only child participant of this family. As Lucy was born in Japan, she was exposed to Japanese at birth and attended preschool in Japan.

Riku was born in Japan and completed secondary school there. He then went to Canada to study at a cooking school. Riku and Josephine met at an English class, where Josephine taught, at a school owned by Riku and his parents in Fukushima, and married in 2009. After the unprecedented earthquake that hit northern Japan in 2011, the family relocated to Australia, where he opened and manages two Japanese restaurants in the state capital city. Due to his work commitments in the capital city, a 1.5 hour drive from their home, he stays there alone from Tuesday to Thursday every week.

Josephine is an Australian woman of European heritage who was born in a state capital city. She completed her university teaching degree in Australia and taught at various schools in Australia. After moving to Japan, she worked as an English teacher at a college, as well as at an English school. Josephine and Riku married and lived in Japan for six years before relocating to Australia. Josephine understands Japanese but only speaks a little Japanese. After I met Josephine for the first time in 2011, she brought her daughter Lucy to university social events when they were sometimes held on weekends.

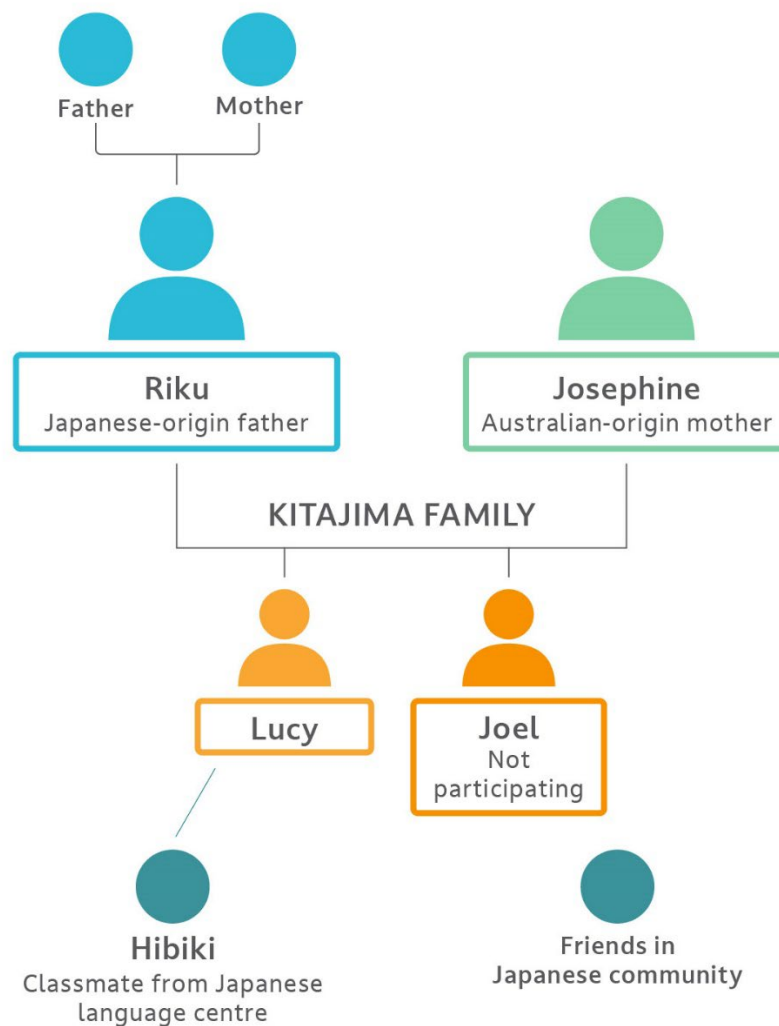
Lucy was 7 years old at the time of the data collection. She had previously joined my Japanese language centre for about six months but later moved to the Japanese community language school as it offers two-hour classes compared to only 30-minute lessons at my centre.

4.2.5.2. Family Language and Culture Ecology. After moving to Australia, the Kitajima family has lived in two places, both of which are located in a suburb of the

large regional city adjacent to the state capital city. Riku's family of origin lives in Japan and Josephine's family of origin lives in Australia. The Kitajima family and their family connections are represented in Figure 4.5.

Figure 4.5

Family Ecology of the Kitajima Family



In Figure 4.5, the Kitajima family is in the centre, Riku's Japanese family on the left, and Josephine's Australian family on the right. The Kitajima family's life began in Japan when they were married in 2009. They lived in different places in Japan including Riku's hometown. After relocating to Australia, the family continues to have a strong relationship with Riku's parents, especially Lucy, who is very attached to her

Japanese grandmother. The interview with Josephine reveals that Lucy and Joel have cousins in Japan, which indicates that Riku has one or more siblings. As it was not part of the interview questions, I did not specifically ask whether Riku had siblings. Little was mentioned about Josephine's family in Australia other than that her mother lives in a different state. The Kitajima family first evacuated to Josephine's mother's house after returning to Australia in 2011. In the interview she provided no information about her father or siblings.

Lucy has a good relationship with her grandmother in Japan. Riku's parents have visited Australia to see the family; during their visits to Australia, Japanese was used more frequently within the Kitajima family. Since attending the local Japanese community language school, Lucy has had the opportunity to mingle with other children of a Japanese background and to be immersed in Japanese language and cultural activities. Lucy became friends with some Japanese children, one of whom lived in her previous neighbourhood and the other in Japan. She also has a connection with Hibiki, who also attended my Japanese language centre in 2013.

4.2.6. Okuda Family

4.2.6.1. Family Background. Like the Uchimura and Kitajima families, the Okuda family has a Japanese father. There are three family members: Yasuhiro, a Japanese man in his 40s; his English-speaking Australian–Indonesian-origin partner, Sharon, in her 30s; and their only son, Hibiki, who is 7 years old and was born in Australia. Yasuhiro was born in Japan and completed his primary and secondary education in Japan, where he later worked as a plumber. He came to Australia for the first time on a working holiday in 1995 and met his future partner, Sharon, in a large resort city. They lived in Japan and Australia until they settled in their current home in a

small suburb of the large regional city adjacent to the state capital city in Australia.

Yasuhiro owns the plumbing business where he works in Australia. He has many Japanese clients in the state capital city; he takes at least an hour to commute there from his home. He spends time with his family on weekday evenings and weekends. Sharon describes him as someone with a quiet nature who does not talk much. Yasuhiro enjoys outdoor activities such as surfing and fishing with his son Hibiki.

Sharon is an Australian woman with an Indonesian father and an Australian mother. She has experienced the process of maintaining a heritage language with a parent, in this case, the Indonesian language with her father. She was born in a large state capital city in Australia and completed her bachelor's degree in primary school education. She currently manages her own tutoring centre in a nearby suburb. Sharon lived in Japan for over two years and can speak Japanese fluently. During her childhood, she spoke both English and Indonesian at home but this did not last long. As she entered primary school, she was teased due to her different cultural background and the different language that she spoke. She refused to speak Indonesian from Year 1 and has forgotten a lot of her Indonesian language skills, but nonetheless had an experience of bilingualism in her early years. This experience has shaped Sharon's perspective on the use of the Japanese language at home. Hibiki is a 6-year-old boy who attends a local primary school in Australia.

4.2.6.2. Family Language and Culture Ecology. The Okuda family lives in a small suburb in the large regional city where other participating families live.

Yasuhiro's Japanese family of origin and extended family live in Japan, and Sharon's family of origin lives in Australia. Figure 4.6 presents the Okuda's connections with their families and the community.

Figure 4.6

Family Ecology of the Okuda Family

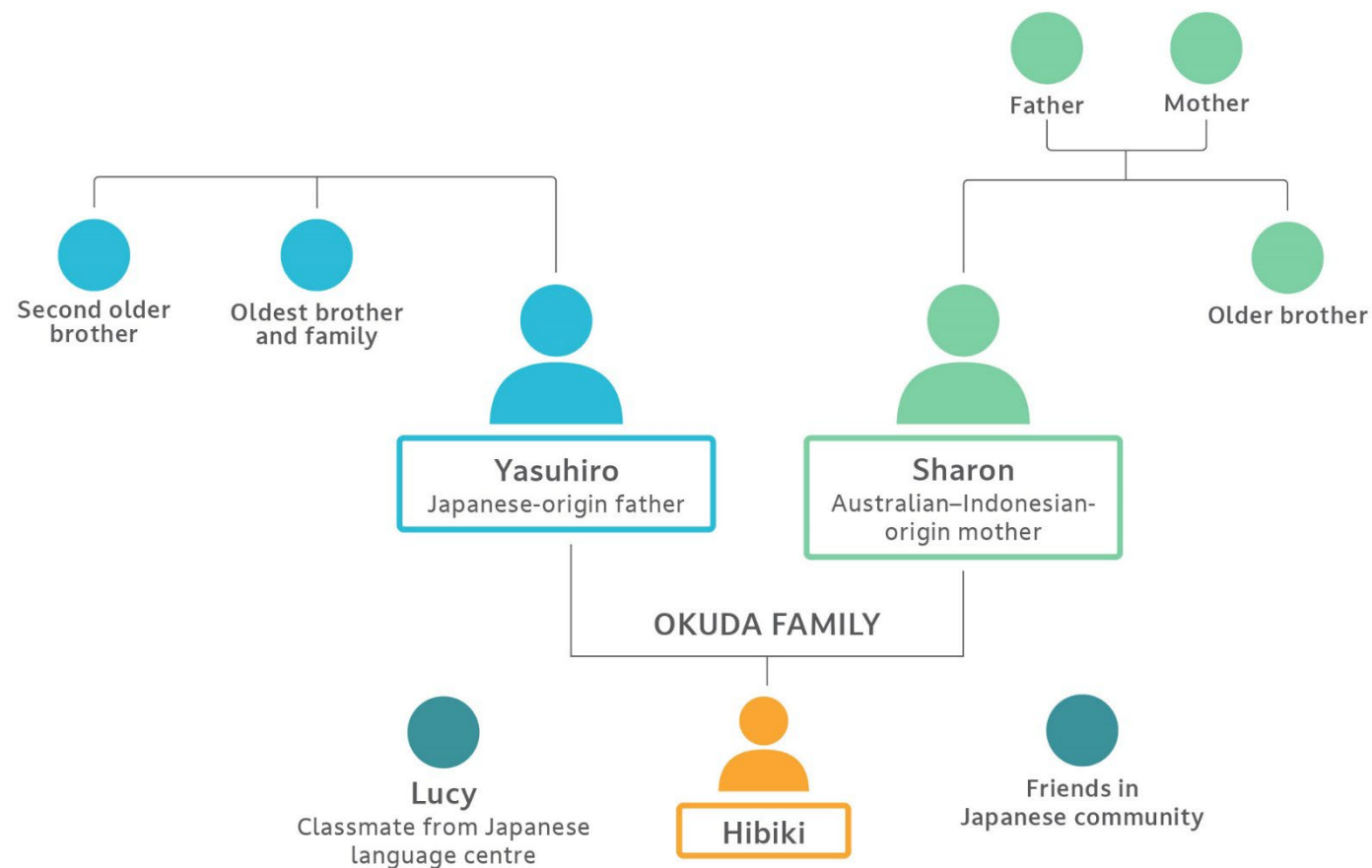


Figure 4.6 shows the Okuda family in the centre, Yasuhiro's Japanese family on the left, and Sharon's on the right. Yasuhiro has parents and two older brothers who live in Japan. One of the older brothers has two children, who are Hibiki's cousins. When the family visits Japan, Japanese is spoken as Yasuhiro's Japanese family cannot speak English. When Japanese is spoken to Hibiki, he replies in English (understanding, receptively, but not speaking in Japanese, productively). Hibiki tends to hide when Yasuhiro speaks to his Japanese family online from Australia so that he can avoid speaking in Japanese.

Sharon's family lives in the northern coast of a state in Australia. She has an older brother who has a good relationship with Hibiki. They participate in outdoor activities together when they visit his house. Her parents and her older brother live far from the Okuda family, so they cannot meet frequently. Sharon knows several families from Japanese backgrounds in their neighbourhood and in their local community in Australia. The family has connections with the Kitajima family, who used to live in the same suburb as the Okuda family. Hibiki had a connection with the daughter of the Kitajima family, Lucy, while they attended my Japanese language centre, but this connection did not continue after they left the centre.

4.3. Adult Participants' Backgrounds

This section introduces the backgrounds of the four adult children of Japanese–Australian intermarriage families, all of whom were raised by a Japanese-origin parent and an Australian- (or other-) origin parent in Australia. Table 4.2 provides an overview of the four adult children of Japanese–Australian intermarriage families: one male and three females. Two of the four adult participants currently live in the state capital city, and the other two participants live in the same large regional city adjacent to the state capital as the participating families. All participants have a Japanese mother and at least

one sibling. Samantha was the only adult participant who was born in Japan, and she relocated to Australia at the age of 4. The following sections provide an introduction to each adult participant.

Table 4.2

Overview of the Backgrounds of Participating Adult Children of Japanese–Australian Intermarriage Families

Adult children (age)	Participants' birthplace (current residence)	Japanese- origin parent	Australian- (or other-) origin parent	Siblings
Yamato Burgess (23)	Australia (state capital city, Australia)	Mother	Father	2 older brothers
Sonia Stevens (47)	Australia (large regional city, Australia)	Mother	Father	1 older sister
Sara Crowley (18)	Australia (state capital city, Australia)	Mother	Father	1 younger sister
Samantha Alford (25)	Japan (large regional city, Australia)	Mother	Father	1 older brother

4.3.1. Yamato Burgess

Yamato is a 23-year-old man who was raised by a Japanese-origin mother and an Australian-origin father. He is the youngest of three male siblings. He attended local government schools and graduated from a university in Australia, and is currently a researcher at a finance-related company involved in the Japanese market. I met Yamato for the first time at a Japanese seminar in a large state capital city in 2017, where his mother was a presenter and he attended as a panellist. I conducted an interview with Yamato on the same day as the seminar. Yamato can freely converse in Japanese, although he believes that his two older brothers speak more fluent Japanese than he

does. His Japanese mother is a well-known Japanese–English interpreter and has previously taught at a Saturday Japanese community language school in the capital city.

4.3.2. *Sonia Stevens*

Sonia is a 47-year-old woman who was born in Australia to a Japanese-origin mother and an Australian-origin father. She was born and raised in the large regional city adjacent to the state capital city. Sonia works as a researcher in a library at a university. She completed her school and university education in Australia. Sonia has an older sister who lives in the same city. I met Sonia when I visited the university library in 2016, a year before conducting the interview. She heard me speak Japanese to my family and she introduced herself and told me that her mother was Japanese. I recall her saying that she wished she could speak Japanese. Sonia's mother had worked at a retail shop and in childcare in Australia, so was often away from home. Her father was usually at home due to his health issues, so she spent more time with her father, who could not speak Japanese. Sonia's mother has a good grasp of English but speaks with a heavy Japanese accent, meaning that others may have difficulty understanding her English.

4.3.3. *Sara Crowley*

Sara is an 18-year-old secondary school student who was born and raised in a large state capital city in Australia. She was also a panellist at the same Japanese seminar where Yamato (see 4.3.1) was a participant. I met her for the first time at the seminar and arranged a date for an interview. Sara was born to a Japanese-origin mother and Australian-origin father of British heritage; she has a sister who is four years younger. Her parents are separated and she lives with her mother and sister. Sara speaks Japanese fluently and has the ability to converse freely. Sara has been studying

at local schools in Australia and has attended a local Japanese community language school since she was in preschool. Her mother is a principal of the community language school and also works at a retail shop, as well as owning her own cosmetics business. Sara's interview transcript is included in Appendix F.

4.3.4. Samantha Alford

Samantha is a 25-year-old woman who was born in Japan and moved to Australia at the age of 4. She was born to a Japanese-origin mother and an Australian-origin father of Hungarian heritage and has an older brother. She attended preschool in Japan and after moving to Australia, she completed all her education in local Australian schools. Samantha moved with her father and brother to a large regional city adjacent to the state capital; due to her work commitments, her mother joined the family two years later. During her mother's absence, her father, who is a fluent Japanese speaker, raised her and her brother in Australia. Samantha's mother worked at the US Embassy in Tokyo, and after relocating to Australia she now works as a Japanese–English translator and interpreter, as well as a Japanese teacher at a secondary school. I met Samantha for the first time for this interview in a university library. I have known Samantha's mother for approximately 3 years through events within the local Japanese community in Australia.

4.4. Conclusion

The family backgrounds of participants from the six families and their language and culture ecologies, as well as the family backgrounds of four adult participants who were children of Japanese–Australian intermarriage families, were introduced in this chapter. The family dynamics of all the participants' backgrounds are unique in various

ways regardless of similarities in family structures and the fact that all are from Japanese–Australian (with one Japanese–Swiss family) intermarriage families.

Not all participating children of the six families attend the local community language school or my Japanese language centre, which limits these participants' connections within the Japanese-speaking community. None of the four adults from a Japanese–Australian background had connections with each other; however, their backgrounds provide useful information about their language use at home and in the community, as well as about their sense of identity.

This overview of the backgrounds and family ecologies of these participants is an important source of information for understanding the family structures, including the parents' birth places, where they first met, the places they have lived, their occupations, and connections with their family and community. This information is important for understanding participants' language use in the home and in the community, as detailed and analysed in the following chapters.

Chapter 5. Bilingual Families' Language Use in the Home

5.1. Introduction

Chapter 5 analyses the language use of intermarriage families in the home using the observational, interview, and questionnaire data collected from participants in the study. In the previous chapter, the language and cultural profiles and family ecologies of all six families were introduced, along with those of the four participating adult children of Japanese–Australian intermarriage families, to better understand who they are and how they are connected in the Japanese community in the large regional city in Australia. This chapter examines the Japanese-origin and Australian- (or other-) origin parents' perspectives on Japanese use in the home, and the practical use of Japanese with family members and with Japanese relatives in Japan. For the purposes of this analysis, this domain is identified as the home, which distinguishes it from the community (including school), which is outside the home and family, and which is discussed in the next chapter.

Consideration is also given in this chapter to examining the children's perspectives on language use and how the language choice of the family impacts their cultural identities. Some authors (see Park & Sarkar, 2007; Shen & Jiang, 2021; Shin, 2018) argue that parents' positive attitudes towards the heritage language and its use at home greatly influence their children's heritage language skills and identity formation. Further, the childhood language experiences of the four adult children of Japanese–Australian intermarriage families are considered. Their experiences offer a retrospective view that is informed by their current perspectives as adults, and can be used for comparison with the young children's perspectives. As such, it becomes evident how these different life stage perspectives provide insights into pivotal moments in lives,

and how the children and their parents might benefit from these insights. The analysis follows the conceptual framework's emergent themes of language choice, language exposure and language use as organising principles for the analysis.

Note that younger children's interview and questionnaire responses were sometimes limited by their language expression skills (in both English and Japanese), with parents at times assisting the children to respond; hence there may be parental influences reflected in the children's responses. This is not considered problematic in seeking to understand the actual voices of the children, as their opinions and identity formation are of course deeply affected by their parents' presence in their lives. It is nonetheless mentioned here as an observational note.

5.2. Language Use in the Home

Maintaining a heritage language in a country where English is spoken by the majority of the population (such as Australia) can be challenging (Baker & Wright, 2017), and more so if the parents' first languages are different. Parents provide the initial impetus towards maintaining the heritage language with their children (Brown, 2011; Cho, 2015). Family plays a crucial role in providing children with "a sense of belonging", "knowledge of who one is and where one comes from", and "understanding of how one is connected to the important others and events in one's life" (Fillmore, 2000, p. 206); hence decisions about heritage language maintenance are deeply connected to the family context.

Table 5.1 summarises which languages were predominantly observed in family interactions, as well as those reported as spoken at home to children by Japanese-origin parents and languages spoken to Japanese-origin parents by children. It also reports Japanese-origin parents' English proficiency (self-reported and observed), and Australian- (or other-) origin parents' Japanese proficiency (also self-reported and

observed). The languages spoken by Australian- (or other-) origin parents and children are not included in Table 5.1 as they predominantly speak English amongst themselves. Parents' language proficiency is a useful information tool that may affect their language use within the family (which is related to confidence in using the language), and how children perceive their parents' capacity to understand them (for immediate meaning-making). In particular, if a Japanese-origin parent has a high proficiency in English, children may take advantage of this by using English to them (Pauwels, 2005).

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Table 5.1

Language Use and Proficiency in Participating Families

Participating family	Language(s) spoken by Japanese-origin parent to child(ren)	Language(s) spoken by child(ren) to Japanese-origin parent	Children's Japanese proficiency (as judged by the researcher)	Japanese-origin parent's English proficiency (as judged by the researcher and participants)	Australian- (or other-) origin parent's Japanese proficiency (as judged by the researcher and participants)
Brown family	English and Japanese (to the extent of being mixed within a sentence; i.e., translanguaged)	Mostly English with some Japanese routine words	Max: greetings and routine words	Sufficient for everyday conversation	Sufficient for greetings and routine words (more usually at the word or short phrase level)
Berna family	English and Japanese (without mixing the language within a sentence; i.e., without translanguaging)	Reflect the language spoken to them; English spoken if English used by parent, Japanese spoken if Japanese spoken to them	Lorenz: converses freely Markus: converses freely Trina: basic conversation	Sufficient for everyday conversation	Sufficient for greetings and routine words (more usually at the word or short phrase level)
Bradley family	Mostly Japanese and important information in English	Adam (older): mostly English with some basic Japanese sentences Tessa (younger): English	Adam: basic conversation Tessa: greetings and routine words	Converses freely, across everyday conversation and more specialised subject areas	Sufficient for greetings and routine words (more usually at the word or short phrase level)
Uchimura family	Mostly Japanese	Lachlan (oldest): Japanese Jasper (older): Japanese Sienna (youngest): English	Lachlan: basic conversation Jasper: basic conversation Sienna: greetings and routine words	Sufficient for everyday conversation	Very low; rare use at single word level
Kitajima family	Mostly English	English	Lucy: greetings and routine words	Converses freely, across everyday and more specialised subject areas	Sufficient for basic conversation (understanding and short sentence level)
Okuda family	English and Japanese (to the extent of being mixed within a sentence; i.e., translanguaged)	English	Hibiki: greetings and routine words	Sufficient for everyday conversation	High; sufficient to converse freely

As indicated in Table 5.1, all Japanese-origin parents make an effort to speak Japanese to their children, with use ranging from very little (the Kitajima family), with mostly English used, to mostly Japanese (the Bradley and Uchimura families). On the other hand, most of the children respond to their Japanese-origin parent in English at least some of the time, and for four of the six families, virtually all the time. The Uchimura and Berna families are those in which the children use Japanese more when speaking to their Japanese-origin parent. While this might be more understandable for the Uchimura family, with the Japanese-origin parent having limited facility with English, the reason is less clear in the case of the Bernas. It may be that the children make this choice based on their own interests, rather than considering the capacity of their Japanese-origin parent. Also, Max Brown and Tessa Bradley in particular mentioned in their interviews that they understand the Japanese spoken by their parents, but they either do not know sufficient or appropriate Japanese to respond and therefore have no choice but to use English. Baker and Wright (2017) have described the choice due to lack of proficiency as possibly happening because the children lack the precise vocabulary or structures in the heritage language (in this case Japanese), but know them in the societally dominant language (English).

All Japanese-origin parents have at least an everyday conversational level of English, although the fluency of English varies across the set of parents, which will be seen as important in the discussion of language proficiency and identity issues of the children.

To compare two Australian- (or other-) origin parents' Japanese proficiency, Louisa Uchimura cannot speak Japanese whereas Sharon Okuda can converse fluently. Because Louisa cannot speak Japanese, the family conversations where she is involved take place in English. On the other hand, Sharon, who can converse fluently, uses both

English and Japanese with her Japanese-origin partner, Yasuhiro, in everyday situations. In the observation, however, she used some routine Japanese phrases when speaking to their son Hibiki, as he shows resistance when Japanese is spoken to him. All other parents have some understanding of Japanese but can only use greetings and routine words in their conversation. This is seen in Diebold's (1961) definition, which was further described by Brendemuhl (2020) as *incipient bilingualism*, which occurs when users have regular contact with speakers of a language but have a low level of proficiency in that second language and so use it minimally—hence its incipience or emergence in the early stages of their second language development. This was the case for parents in this study, who made little effort to learn Japanese even though it is the first language of their partners, primarily because in Australia the dominance of English is such that it has never seemed necessary to these English-dominant speakers to learn more Japanese.

None of the Australian- (or other-) origin parents mention in the interview the reasons they remained as in incipient bilinguals. In fact, some Australian- (or other-) origin parents (Darren Brown and Jason Bradley) decided to learn Japanese after they married their Japanese partners. Darren spent two years learning Japanese after meeting Fukie by attending a Japanese course at an institution and later, learned privately from the same teacher. Jason also made an effort to learn Japanese through tapes after meeting Yoko, explaining that:

Bilingualism was always an objective, was always valued. I don't speak two languages and I always—though I have travelled extensively and I have, ah, many friends who can and it was always something I envied, so it was always an objective of ours. Um, so working towards that, I tried to learn some Japanese. I

did some Japanese instruction using, sort of, you know, [Pimsela's] tapes and recordings and stuff.

Hence, Jason has a strong desire for his children to have the opportunity to speak Japanese as much as possible in the home with their mother Yoko, that sometimes he removes himself from their conversation to allow them to speak more Japanese. Although Jason learned Japanese, he mentioned that he does not have the time to study Japanese further due to his work commitments:

I think she [Yoko] wishes it was more Japanese and I think she probably wishes that I would've contributed more by learning to speak Japanese, or putting more effort into—and I probably should've, but it—it's, um, it's hard with work and everything.

This quote indicates that Jason has the desire to improve his Japanese, but his busy life prevents him from studying Japanese. His quote states that Japanese is not maintained solely by a Japanese-origin parent but by both the Japanese- and Australian- (or other-) origin parents (De Houwer & Bornstein, 2016).

Three Australian- (or other-) origin parents, Jason Bradley, Martin Berna, and Josephine Kitajima, reported that they wished they could speak Japanese more fluently in order to contribute to the Japanese maintenance in the home. As for Martin, he learned to speak Japanese from his partner Chie's father when they lived with Chie's parents in Japan in their early years of marriage. He also wished he could speak Japanese fluently but he prioritised his doctorate study in Australia.

I just wish I could speak fluent Japanese. I think that ... I was going to study, formally study Japanese, and then I decided to focus on my career, so that in

hindsight, I—little bit I regret, but then I wouldn't be sitting here, so I—it's a bit of toss-up.

This quote confirms that Martin also has the desire to learn Japanese, but like Jason, work and study commitments prevented him from learning Japanese. Josephine, on the other hand, finds that she feels frustrated when trying to speak Japanese as she wants to be in control of understanding what is happening as a mother. As a result, she cannot take control due to her limited Japanese proficiency. She blames herself for not speaking Japanese enough, sensing that her partner Riku wants to use more Japanese in the home. Regardless, she shows her eagerness to contribute to maintaining Japanese within the family by occasionally organising a time where only Japanese is to be spoken with her family for an hour. These examples show how Australian- (or other-) origin parents' efforts to understand their Japanese partner by learning Japanese is an ongoing process that requires intention and time (Thomas & McDonagh, 2013). This confirms Cunningham's (2020) argument that the dominant language parents can support their partners by learning the heritage language to minimise their children's shift to the dominant language.

Table 5.2 presents an overview of the language practice of the four adult children of Japanese–Australian intermarriage families. All Japanese-origin parents of these participants are mothers, and all Australian- (or other-) origin parents are fathers. Table 5.2 details the language spoken by their Japanese-origin parents, the language the participants spoke to their Japanese-origin parents as children, and their Japanese-origin parents' English proficiency (as reported by the adult children of Japanese–Australian intermarriage families).

Table 5.2*Language Use of Adult Children of Japanese–Australian Intermarriage Families*

Adult children of Japanese–Australian intermarriage families	Language spoken by Japanese-origin parent to child	Language spoken by child to Japanese-origin parent	Japanese-origin parent's English proficiency
Yamato Burgess	Japanese	Japanese	Fluent
Sonia Stevens	English	English	Sufficient for everyday conversation
Sara Crowley	Japanese	Mostly Japanese	Sufficient for everyday conversation
Samantha Alford	Japanese and English	English	Fluent

There were two participants whose Japanese-origin parent spoke Japanese to them as children, one whose parent spoke English, and the other whose parent spoke a mixture of English and Japanese. Those children whose parents spoke Japanese (Yamato and Sara) reported that they also used Japanese to communicate with their Japanese-origin parents, unlike most of the young children in the study. The English proficiency of the Japanese-origin parents is determined only from each participant's perspective, unlike in the case of the participating families where I was also able to directly observe and comment. Two participants indicated that their Japanese-origin parents' English proficiency was fluent. Yamato's mother is a well-known English and Japanese interpreter, and Samantha's mother is an interpreter and a translator as well as a secondary school Japanese teacher. Both have had professional roles requiring a high level of proficiency in English. Yamato's mother has continued to use Japanese with Yamato since he was born. His questionnaire revealed that "my mother speaking Japanese to me was a major factor in my current level of Japanese, especially in terms of spoken Japanese." Samantha's mother continues to use Japanese with Samantha

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today, despite the rapid shifts that occurred after relocating to Australia with her father and brother while her mother stayed in Japan for two years for work commitments.

However, she had no choice but to use English to communicate with her daughter.

Samantha revealed in the questionnaire that “[if we did not use English] we could not communicate and our geographic separation meant we could only afford short amounts of time communicating with each other.” Although both Yamato and Samantha’s mothers had a high level of English, Yamato’s mother chose to use Japanese while Samantha’s mother reluctantly chose to use English due to physical circumstances, as Samantha has difficulty in responding in Japanese to her mother.

The other two parents (Sara’s and Sonia’s) have reasonable proficiency in English and can communicate at an everyday conversational level. These parents both worked in retail stores in Australia and did not require professional levels of English proficiency. Sara mentioned that her family speaks English when all family members are present. Even though her mother’s English proficiency is at a conversational level, Sara sometimes needs to “translate quickly” to Japanese for her mother. Sara provided a response in the questionnaire that one of the reasons her mother used Japanese with her was “because her English was not good enough to speak to me”. This shows that her mother felt most comfortable in using Japanese to communicate with her daughter. Her mother’s choice of using Japanese was a positive influence as Sara revealed that she was “glad that my Japanese parent spoke Japanese to me”. On the other hand, Sonia’s mother also has the ability to communicate in English at an everyday conversational level but her pronunciation is “heavily accented”. This sometimes causes others to not understand her speech. Sonia spent most of her time with her Australian-origin father (who cannot speak Japanese) during the part of her childhood while her mother was away for work, and was significantly exposed to English as a result. Sonia revealed in

the questionnaire that her mother may have chosen to use mostly English because Sonia's mother "did not bother speaking Japanese" to Sonia. She repeatedly told me had she wished her mother spoke Japanese to her.

It was only evident in Sara's case that the English proficiency of the Japanese-origin parent influenced their choice to use only Japanese. All other parents' English proficiency did not seem to have impacted on their language choice. The family circumstances were rather prominent in their choice of language.

The information in Tables 5.1 and 5.2 is key to understanding the language choice that parents made for their children (which languages were used, encouraged, and promoted), and the various opportunities they provided for their children in Japanese. The following section considers in greater depth the families' language use in home settings, through the conceptual framework lenses of language choice, language exposure and language use. Also considered in the next section is how these factors may have had an impact on children's Japanese language proficiency and cultural identities.

5.3. Parents' Language Proficiency

As indicated previously, the English proficiency of the Japanese-origin parents, and the Japanese proficiency of the Australian- (or other-) origin parents, varies across the participant families. All Japanese-origin parents identify their English ability as "enough to get around everyday life [in Australia]". Although some of these parents can speak English beyond the everyday conversation level, they may have responded to my questions on this point in a modest way that underestimates their capacity, which is often valued in Japanese culture. In particular, Yoko Bradley and Riku Kitajima's Australian- (or other-) origin partners and children believe that they speak "very good" English. Riku's partner, Josephine, responded that he speaks extremely well, such that

she sometimes forgets that he is a second language speaker, so she sometimes speaks English “too fast” for him to follow. Sharon Okuda, who is a fluent Japanese speaker, was also hesitant to admit that she speaks Japanese fluently. Her act of modesty reflects her understanding of Japanese language and culture and her acculturation into her extended Japanese family. Sharon's act of modesty may also suggest that she considers herself to be continuing to learn the language, a common disposition for learners of additional languages (Kano, 2012).

Apart from Sharon, the other Australian- (or other-) origin parents do not have the ability to converse fluently in Japanese; however, they seem to understand some of the Japanese spoken around them and can use basic Japanese greetings and everyday routine words. Hence, all families use English to communicate with family members, especially if the content is considered important for everyone to understand. For instance, in the Bradley family, Yoko speaks predominantly in Japanese to her children but “if it's dead, dead serious and everyone needs to understand, it's in English” (quoted from Jason's interview). If the Japanese-origin parents know that their partner or children cannot understand Japanese, they will simply avoid it and use English instead (Cunningham, 2020).

Four of the six Australian- (or other-) origin parents lived in Japan before marrying their Japanese partners. Louisa Uchimura lived in Japan for one and a half years as an English teacher at an English school in an environment where Japanese use was not required most of the time. As a result, she did not learn to speak a great deal of Japanese in that time. Louisa reported that she does not speak Japanese, so she speaks English to her children.

Sharon, on the other hand, lived in Japan for over two years and can speak Japanese fluently; she has the ability to hold conversations with native Japanese

speakers smoothly. She developed her Japanese ability during her stay in Japan and mentioned that “I can hold a conversation, can order, can go to the bank. Can do everything.” She did not mention any difficulties in learning Japanese. Sharon can also speak a little Indonesian, as her father was Indonesian and spoke Indonesian to her as a child, but, interestingly, she related to me how she eventually refused to speak that language due to bullying at her local Australian school. In Japan, where there was an incentive and encouragement to learn Japanese, her approach was quite different, resulting in enthusiastic learning of this additional language.

Josephine lived in Japan for approximately six years, yet she identifies her Japanese skills as “elementary”. She worked as an English teacher at a college and at an English conversation school that her partner Riku and his parents owned. My observation is Josephine’s Japanese it is not as developed as Sharon’s fluent Japanese. Like Louisa, she was not in a work environment or social milieu where the learning of Japanese was especially valued, and found that speaking Japanese was difficult.

Josephine’s partner, Riku, mentioned that Josephine’s Japanese is at an “intermediate” level; however, she maintained that her Japanese is only at an “elementary” level. Even though she spent six years in Japan, there are times she cannot express herself and becomes frustrated. She did not seem to have neglected nor refused to learn Japanese but explained that it was “hard” to speak Japanese and be in control of the conversation. She cannot easily hold an extended conversation in Japanese, and says she eventually switches to English because of the sense of frustration: “I find communicating in another language quite frustrating, and Riku gets—speaks really fast and won’t repeat or explain things simple in Japanese.”

Hence, my own observations and knowledge of the participant families were useful in providing a further perspective on the questions related to English language

and Japanese language proficiency levels, and I believe they provide a more comprehensive picture of proficiencies in each language for the purposes of comparison in this analysis.

5.3.1. Language and Cultural Misunderstanding

All Japanese-origin parents report having experienced language and cultural misunderstandings with their Australian- (or other-) origin partners. For Yoko Bradley, the experience with language and cultural barriers with her partner, Jason, was different. She says that Jason is very strict with the English language. If correct English is not used, he becomes frustrated, so she feels the need to use English correctly—which she says is sometimes a challenge for her and requires a level of concentration she does not need when speaking in Japanese. The challenges of this situation can be understood by considering Cunningham's (2020) argument that non-native speakers, while learning from native speakers, experience heightened anxiety if corrections are made that interrupt their communication. This appears to be happening for Yoko. On the other hand, Tomoki Uchimura accepted the cultural differences in the way that Louisa acts towards Tomoki's parents and sisters. Japanese people expect people of a younger age to respect older people, whereas Louisa seems to act in a relaxed manner and without notable deference.

Although some Japanese-origin parents did not specifically indicate their misunderstanding with their partners, Australian- (or other-) origin partners noticed and commented on it more; this is perhaps because of the cultural acceptance of such commentary in Australia, which is not the same for the Japanese-born and enculturated partners. Three Australian- (or other-) origin partners (Darren Brown, Martin Berna, and Sharon Okuda) indicated that their Japanese partners' English has improved over time. Darren Brown noticed that his partner, Fukie, found it difficult to understand

Australian idioms and sarcasm in the earlier years of their relationship. This phenomenon is referred to by Baker & Wright (2017) as “sociocultural competence” in which “an inner cultural understanding of a specific language” is needed to understand a particular conversation so as to “interpret cultural references” (p. 14). Fukie still says she finds some complicated contexts difficult to understand, and the Japanese ways of pronouncing English words (such as an example provided by Darren, “genre”, which Japanese people pronounce in a unique way as “janru”) have at times been difficult for Darren to understand. Cunningham (2020) suggests that native speakers of a dominant language need to use a simplified language to communicate with their partners, as both may not realise that the non-native speaker may be misunderstanding the context. It was difficult to gauge whether this approach was adopted by the families in my study, but there was a willingness to describe some instances of language or cultural misunderstanding.

Sharon said her partner, Yasuhiro, was improving in English but that his “biggest hindrance has been pronunciation skills and reading abilities”. Yasuhiro (being a native speaker of Japanese) and Sharon’s fluency in Japanese seems to be an advantage for the Okuda family’s Japanese maintenance with their child, as they use it more often and without the awkwardness of needing to include the “other”, nor think about whether they will understand.

Martin Berna also found that in the 20 years he has known his partner, Chie’s English had improved to an everyday conversation level. He seemed pleased about this. Chie was nearby during our interview and because she did not protest, I sensed Chie was proud of this affirmation and judgment from her partner.

Acceptance of differences (or conversely, expressed frustrations) with cultural *faux pas* can be understood as part of what these families need to negotiate when

parents are from different ethnic backgrounds. Such negotiation also influences their language choices with their children.

5.3.2. *Communication Gaps*

Limited language proficiency can create communication and emotional gaps between a parent and a child. For example, Fukie Brown's limited English ability and her son, Max's, limited Japanese ability has gradually created some communication gaps as he grows older. She has felt increasingly emotionally distant from Max over the years, as they do not understand each other as much as she observes occurs in his relationship with Darren (all quotes from Japanese-origin parents were transcribed and translated in English by me):

最近感じるのは、マックスとの理解し合うことがダレンとマックスほどになって
ないっていう寂しさっていうか。(中略) ダレンとマックスはネイティブ同士
だから色んなこともツーカーみたいな感じでしゃべれる。そこで自分との違い
を感じちゃうっていうか。

What I feel these days is that I feel sad that Max and I are not understanding each other like it is with Darren and Max ... Darren and Max are native speakers so they can talk as if they understand each other so easily. I feel the difference there with myself.

Fukie believes that her relationship with Max would be different now if he understood more Japanese; this is clearly a sorrow for her. Fillmore (1991) argued that communication between parents and children is crucial and if parents are not able to communicate with their children, they cannot express their values, beliefs,

understandings, and wisdom, which will lead to serious consequences for parent-child relationships. For Fukie and Max, this appears to be the case, as even ordinary communication is disrupted by the communication gap (Oh & Fuligni, 2010). Fukie admitted that her limited communication ability in English led her to rely heavily on Darren for all the administrative work and communications with the school, further isolating her from Max's everyday life:

ちょっとダレンに頼りすぎていることがあると（思う）。日本だったらもうちょっと自分でできることはやってたと思うし（中略）こっちが、ちょっとこみいったことはもうダレンに押し付けちゃうから（中略）ちょっとめんどくさそうなこととか。（中略）ダレンに窓口係って全部やらしちゃうってか。学校との、こういうコミュニケーションとか（中略）英語の理解力っていうのに、あー、コミュニケーション能力っていうのに、自分自身持ちきれていないから、そういうの、ダレンにやってもらっちゃってる。

I think I rely too much on Darren. If we were in Japan, there were more things I could have done myself ... If there's something complex, I will just shove work onto Darren ... Things that are troublesome to deal with ... I let Darren handle all the business matters ... like communication with the school ... The understanding of English... ah, I don't have enough communication ability [in English] ... those things, I let Darren do them.

Fukie characterised her situation as a dilemma; if she did not use Japanese at home and all the conversation took place in English, she would be repressing her own Japanese identity, but on the other hand, she would be communicating better with her

family. Okita (2002) refers to “communication satisfaction” (p. 89) which is the desire of Japanese-origin parents to use the language they feel most comfortable speaking with their children. For Fukie, though, the satisfaction of communicating in English for the benefit of the family leaves her with a sense of communication dissatisfaction as well, because she somewhat represses her Japanese identity to do so.

Similar to Fukie's example, some Japanese-origin parents reflected on their English capability and its impact on them and their families. Tomoki Uchimura, who uses mostly Japanese with his children, was not confident in communicating using only English, due to his self-perceived limited English ability, so felt he also needed to use Japanese to feel he was adequately expressing his own feelings.

Regardless of Japanese-origin parents' English proficiency, some parents said they needed to use English to communicate with their children to deliver some essential information that they felt they would not understand in Japanese, a phenomenon also explained by Fillmore (1991). This works the other way, too, with some parents indicating that even if the message could be delivered (better) in English, using Japanese had other benefits. Tomoki's partner, Louisa, for example, felt that Tomoki's use of Japanese with their children was creating a positive influence on maintaining Japanese culture. She believes that if Tomoki had not tried to speak Japanese to their children, the communication in the household would be different and they would not have as much Japanese cultural understanding as they have now, in particular about how Japanese thinking and sociocultural norms influence family life (Boutakidis, et al., 2011; García & Wei, 2014; Painter, 2005).

Understanding parents' language proficiency is a starting point to discovering how languages are used at home. The implications of this understanding in language choices will be discussed further.

5.4. Language Choice

Deciding which language to use in a home where both parents have different language backgrounds is not easy. Krashen (1998) argues that “immigrants are reluctant to give up their heritage languages, and prefer to keep them rather than acquire English” (p. 3). However, the challenges of doing so are discussed in literature, such as Cunningham (2020), who argued that speaking the immigrants’ heritage language with their children has the potential to exclude the English-speaking parents, which may cause immigrant parents to reluctantly decide to use English. This section provides parents’ perspectives on the choice of language(s) that they considered for use in the home, and the reasons behind these decisions.

5.4.1. Language Choice in the Family

Three Japanese-origin parents (Chie Berna, Riku Kitajima, and Tomoki Uchimura) responded that they had made a conscious decision about which language(s) to use with their children, and in what domains of use. Chie decided, when her children were born, that she would use mainly English to raise them. She believed that English should be the main language for her children, as they were in Australia. She chose not to speak Japanese especially to her eldest son, Lorenz, when he was born; she was concerned about language delays if she used Japanese as well as English, which prompted her to use English as much as possible. This is a common misconception by parents that language delays occur in bilingual children (Byers-Heinlein & Lew-Williams, 2013). Petitto and Holowka (2002), who studied young children’s early language development, confirm that children who are exposed to two languages simultaneously do not experience language delays nor do they become confused with

both languages; they have similar language development as the children with monolingual language acquisition.

Fukie had a similar view to Chie: that Max's first language was English, so English should be prioritised—although in Fukie's case, she did not make any deliberate decision about the language to use with him.

The Kitajima family (Riku, Josephine, and Lucy) decided to speak Japanese at home, even though it is not the dominant language in the country in which they live. As the Kitajima family lived in Japan when their child was born, they spoke English at home; however, after relocating to Australia when Lucy was 2 years old, their initial decision was to speak Japanese at home; this decision did not last long as the sustained practice of the family, however.

Tomoki Uchimura made his own decision to speak Japanese to his children before his children were born, and he intended to maintain this position even if there was a different decision by his wife Louisa, which indeed happened after the move to Australia.

最初子供が生まれる前に、ぼくは子供たちに日本語でしゃべるからっていうふうに言ってあって（中略）それだけは決めました。（中略）自分で、自分でですけど。

Before my kids were born, I told her [my partner] that I will speak to the kids in Japanese ... that's what I have decided ... just me, it was just me that decided.

Tomoki emphasised that it was “his decision” to use Japanese, as he believed that Louisa did not agree to his use of Japanese with their children. However, Louisa thinks that the language choice was decided by both; that is, she uses English, and

Tomoki uses Japanese so that they can be bilingual. Tomoki wanted to speak Japanese to his children as he underwent hardships in learning another language at an older age, so wanted his children to speak other languages while they were young. Tomoki's strong beliefs about using Japanese were influenced by his oldest sister, an interpreter of English and Japanese. She insisted that he use Japanese for his children, based on her experience in raising her child bilingually in Japan. On the other hand, Louisa recalled that the language used at home happened "naturally", which was a sentiment echoed in other families. A drift to the dominant language is difficult to resist (Yamamoto, 2001).

More than half of all parents (7 of 12) reported that they did not make any deliberate decision about the language to use with their child at birth, insisting instead that it happened naturally. Two Australian- (or other-) origin fathers (Darren Brown and Martin Berna) reported that they did not want to make any decisions about language use, as they feel obliged to follow through with their decisions and would constrain themselves if they were to make the decisions on the language choice. Chie Berna, who prioritised using English when her children were born, recalls that her children "naturally started to pick up Japanese so I would just maintain that [Japanese]". Her intention was to raise her children in English but because they picked up Japanese, she wanted to respect their choice of language. Yoko Bradley had not specifically decided what language to use to speak to her children until she noticed her older son, Adam's, reduced use of Japanese, which prompted her to use Japanese more, indicating that in fact there was a strong desire to maintain the heritage language. This occurred when Adam was in the upper years of primary school. As with Yoko's case, decisions are not always made near the time of birth or even during early childhood but can be made at a later stage; these decisions can be quite dynamic, with shifts occurring due to choices, responding to particular circumstances, or altered feelings (Okita, 2002).

5.4.2. Benefits of Being Plurilingual

Families shared their views on the importance of language choice for their families. All the parents, both Japanese-origin and Australian- (or other-) origin parents indicated the importance of their children being able to speak Japanese. Shared reasons for this position included benefits for careers, as well as cognitive and academic benefits. These advantages were also found in many studies such as Cho (2000), Brown (2011), Costa et al. (2008), García (2008), Nesteruk (2010), Bialystok (2018), and Canadian Association of Second Language Teachers (CASLT) (2021). Krashen (1998), Bialystok (2018), Grosjean & Byers-Heinlein (2018), García & Otheguy (2020), CASLT (2021), and Morgan (2021) claim that as long as the dominant language is acquired, developing a heritage language will have no detrimental effect on the individual and will, moreover, be beneficial.

Two Japanese-origin parents, Riku Kitajima and Fukie Brown, expressed the belief that having one language limits one's worldview, and that having two languages will ensure twice the view. Fukie added that those children (with two worldviews) will be able to "communicate with other Japanese people, that others can't experience". As an educator, Martin noticed from studies that children who speak more than one language "obtain better jobs, are better at multi-tasking, and have a very different worldview. They are more accepting of cultures and unknown things than monolingual children".

Two other Japanese-origin parents, Chie Berna and Yasuhiro Okuda, agree that speaking more than two languages is desirable; however, they did not mind if their children did not show interest in speaking Japanese, as they can choose the additional language(s) they wish to speak. Yasuhiro noted that:

そこまで(言語に関して)深くは考えたことはないので、まっ、できればひびきが日本語がしゃべればいいかなって程度のあれなんで。(中略)あとは、正直、本人次第だと思うんで。

I haven't really thought about (the language use) deeply. Well, it'll be good if Hibiki can speak Japanese but it's up to him.

While Chie said:

家族の言語を決めるのに大切なもの。うーん。子供かな。子供の、子供がどこで育っていくかということが、どこで生きていくかということかな。

The important thing in deciding about the family language... Hmm... I guess the kids. Where the kids are going to be raised and where they are going to live.

This shows that Chie and Yasuhiro respect their children's choices in life, including choices regarding languages. Perhaps this reflects their own life trajectories, in which they may not have imagined as children that they would someday live in another country and speak another language, especially as Japan has a history of insularity and has had (until recently) a somewhat monolingual mindset, centred on Japanese (Turnbull, 2019).

Similarly, Fukie also revealed that she supports her child, Max, in learning the languages that are used in the countries he wishes to live in, in the future. Shibata (2000) argued that children ought to be able to choose which language to use in childhood with their families, but should understand why their parents want to maintain their heritage language, and that parents are responsible for providing the environment

for children to use the language in. It would seem that there is strong support for this position in relation to Japanese in all the families, but there is also an openness to learning further languages.

Participant children also reported the advantages of speaking both English and Japanese. Max Brown finds it beneficial for wider job opportunities such as translator jobs and having the opportunity to speak with people from other countries. Authors such as Krashen (1998), Nesteruk (2010), Bialystok (2018), Asia Society (2020), and Chapman and Hayes (2020) note the economic and trade benefits of being able to use the language of the country with which one wants to trade. Max added that “if you can’t find a good job in Japan, you can just go back to Australia”, which shows that these young people are thinking there are other options if job seeking in Japan is not successful, and that the world is a much more connected place now, with fluidity of movement of people across the globe (note that data were collected pre-pandemic, so no participants anticipated restrictions on travel).

Yoko Bradley’s younger daughter, Tessa, believes that “if someone needs help, maybe a tourist or something, I can always help them and that’s what I always thought I could do.” Tomoki Uchimura’s oldest son, Lachlan, believes that the benefit of speaking both English and Japanese is that he “can communicate with more people” and it “makes your brain work better”.

Such views shared by child participants show how learning additional languages can be advantageous in this interconnected world. While some children mentioned more practical benefits in their surrounding environment (e.g., to help tourists or communicate with more people), others mentioned the cognitive benefits, and wider job opportunities. For intermarriage families, intentional decisions regarding language use

in the home are thus important in allowing children to obtain the various benefits of bilingualism.

5.4.3. The Importance of Using Japanese With Extended Family

The majority of parents in the study indicated that one main reason for using Japanese is to communicate with grandparents and relatives in Japan. In most cases, there is no choice but to speak Japanese, regardless of children's Japanese proficiency, because their grandparents or relatives cannot speak English. Furthermore, in the community in Japan the children will be expected to use Japanese as they will be identified as Japanese (or part Japanese). In Okita's (2002) study, she also identified the grandparent factor, although could not fully capture its importance due to the nature of her questionnaire.

The Bradley family offered a different reason for the importance of language choice. After their marriage, Jason invited Yoko to live in Australia away from her Japanese family. He felt a strong obligation to ensure that Yoko, who has a very strong cultural heritage, could retain those links, and this in itself was a reason to promote the use of Japanese with their children, as they were *her* children, and she was Japanese. Okita (2002) refers to this feeling as "old hearth ties" (p. 89). This is the Japanese-origin parents' relationship with their own parents in Japan, recognised by both Jason and Yoko. Relationships with Japanese relatives will be discussed further in Section 5.5 of this chapter.

Similar and different views were uncovered in intermarriage families' language choice for their mixed heritage children. There were some deliberate choices, and some serendipitous choices, or choices of convenience. Some reasons were associated with family and cultural heritage, and some with cognitive and learning benefits. Some parents had already chosen what language to use for their children before they were

born. Others have changed their use of language at a later time to adapt to a situational change in their children's language development. All families had positive views on plurilingualism and could explain the benefits of knowing and using two or more languages. Given the parents' perspectives on language choice and the benefits of plurilingualism that were uncovered, the following section investigates the language opportunities that parents provided for their children.

5.5. Language Exposure

In this section, parents' explanations of and views on the various opportunities they provided, and are providing, for their children to use the heritage language are discussed. Pauwels (2005) contends that the more exposure children have to the heritage language, the higher the chance that the children will actively use it. Kasuya (1998) asserted that children who are not speaking much of a heritage language cannot be assumed to be failing to learn the language, and that exposure itself has benefits. Parents have an influence on the amount of heritage language that their children are exposed to, including through speaking the heritage language, through enrolling in institutions to support ongoing learning and use of the language, and in opportunities for practice (Tse, 2001b). Shin (2010) emphasised that "language identity is contextually embedded and constructed through interaction" (p. 206), but Ellis et al. (2018) noted that peer pressure and the lack of opportunities to speak the heritage language may lead to a shift to English. There were several ways that Japanese-origin parents participating in this study provided opportunities for their children to be exposed to the Japanese language and culture. These included visits to Japan, visits by Japanese relatives to Australia, Japanese culture in the home, and the time spent in the home by the Japanese-origin parent.

5.5.1. Visits to Japan

Visiting Japan is a way for families to provide the opportunity for children to be exposed to Japanese language and culture, as travel is a way to introduce Japan to Australian- (or other)- origin parents and children (Denman, 2009). As mentioned earlier, the Japanese-origin parents' relationship with their parents in Japan is called "old hearth ties" (Okita, 2002, p. 89). Okita describes how travel to Japan can be related to the language choices and familial ties if the three factors of "strength, quality, and practicality" (p. 90) are achieved:

Strength refers to how strongly the mother [in my case, Japanese-origin parents] felt about the links with her family. Quality refers to how she (they) felt effectively about the relationship. Practicality refers to financial resources to go back to Japan, flexibility to fit in trips, and so on. (p. 90)

From the perspective of practicality, all families in the study have had opportunities to visit Japan to see parents, grandparents, and other relatives, to brush up their Japanese language skills, and to experience Japanese lifestyles. Interestingly, the two Japanese-origin fathers, Tomoki Uchimura and Yasuhiro Okuda, want to visit Japan for their own benefit rather than for the sake of their families. All the Japanese-origin parents reported that they want to visit Japan every year, but most families only achieve a visit every two years for reasons such as financial limitations, and available leave from their jobs. Most parents in the study indicated that it becomes difficult to plan a trip to Japan after the children start school, consistent with Okita's (2002) findings, and it becomes increasingly difficult as the children grow older and have more of their own commitments, such as sporting activities. Jason, for example, mentioned

his family's busy life schedule as well as his son's studies for his secondary school senior years:

As Adam gets closer to his HSC [Higher School Certificate] studies, that [visits to Japan once a year] won't be able to happen ... There's not challenges in terms of money ... it's just trying to fit it in with busy schedule.

Sometimes there are other reasons for not visiting Japan. The Kitajima family, for example, wishes to visit Japan more frequently but have concerns about the radioactive contamination in the area in which their Japanese family lives, so hesitate to visit at all. The Uchimura family does not visit as often as the other families because Tomoki feels that his wife, Louisa, might think "Japan again?" He said that if they spend the whole two-week holiday in Japan, it "won't be fun for her", so he restrains his feelings of wanting to reconnect with Japan and Japanese people in consideration of Louisa.

The family that visits the most frequently and regularly is the Berna family, who visit Japan every two years, with visits lasting for two to five months. The purpose of their visits is somewhat different from the other families, as they send their children to school in Japan during these visits. This case will be further examined in Chapter 6, which explores language choice, exposure, and use in school, and other out-of-family contexts.

Visits to Japan enhance children's Japanese language abilities and promote a deeper connection to Japanese culture. For example, the Kitajima family visited Japan once since they had evacuated from Japan after the 2011 tsunami that caused nuclear contamination when the nuclear power plant was damaged. Noticing the reduced use of

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Japanese in their child, Lucy, the family made an effort to visit, and found a significant improvement in her proficiency and interest in the Japanese language after their visit:

1 回日本に帰って、たった 2 週間半、3 週間だったんですが、ルーシーの日本語が飛躍的に上達したんで、やっぱり、日本にしばらくいる機会を作った方がいいと思うんです。

We went back to Japan once, um, it was only two and a half weeks or three weeks and Lucy's Japanese has improved massively and I think it is better to create an opportunity to be in Japan for a while.

From this statement it can be seen that Riku intends to and is hopeful of developing Lucy's Japanese skills. Lucy herself reported that she did not experience difficulty in speaking Japanese as she "gets used to it". Having witnessed her development in Japanese during this three-week-visit, I was able to understand the frustration Riku expressed in his interview as he sees her ability slipping.

Sharon Okuda also believes that visiting Japan will increase the opportunity for her son Hibiki's Japanese maintenance:

I think definitely it's good for immersion and great for Hibiki, and good for him to interact with his cousins in Japanese, 'cause they don't speak any English. So, the majority of his family don't really speak any English. So without him realising, he's actually being fully immersed into the culture and language. Um, but he'll always respond in English! Or, he'll learn naughty words in Japanese and repeat them over and over again!

As Sharon's response indicates, Hibiki is immersed in Japanese when the family visits Japan. Although he responds in English, he seems to enjoy repeating the "naughty words" in Japanese, which is an indication of absorbing and being playful with the language. Martin Berna also feels glad that his children can communicate with their families in Japan. He finds it rewarding that they can easily switch between English and Japanese.

All four adult children of Japanese–Australian intermarriage families in the study visited Japan during their childhood. Yamato visited with his family at least once a year to see their relatives and to travel. Sara has visited Japan every year since she was very young. She visited Japan by herself at the age of 12 and stayed with her aunt and two cousins for a month. Sara also attended school during her visit, which will be further explored in Chapter 6.

Sonia had visited Japan a few times during her childhood, with a lengthy gap in between visits, and as an adult. When she was 6 months old and her older sister was 3 years old, they spent six months in Japan at their relatives' home. Her sister became fluent in Japanese; however, after returning to Australia, she could not retain these skills due to Japanese not being spoken at home.

Samantha recalled visiting Japan to help her mother move to Australia in 1999, two years after she relocated to Australia with her father and brother. By then, she could hardly communicate in Japanese. She met with many relatives, most of whom could not speak English. Yet, she still enjoyed spending time with her cousin, noting that "language wasn't really an issue at all". She felt the same when she spent time with her grandparents, who also could not speak English, as she had a strong bond with them before Samantha and her brother moved to Australia. Park and Sarkar (2007) and Fillmore (1991) argue that strong and healthy relationships between children and

grandparents are facilitated through communication in the heritage language; however, for Samantha and her grandparents, the communication gap was not so much of an issue as long as they had the strong bond that was built between them in her early childhood. It should also be noted that her recent return visits have been as an adult, hence there is perhaps not the same impetus as for a younger child still learning both languages, and social contact can be managed for short periods. In fact, for Lucy Kitajima, who was born and raised in Japan until the age of 1, a strong bond with her Japanese-origin grandparents remains, even though she is still a young child.

Participants' experiences confirm that visits to Japan can increase exposure to Japanese language and culture. Although many families' visits are only short, they have produced a powerful effect on children's Japanese language development and engagement with Japanese culture and ideas. The Japanese-origin parents' desire to visit Japan more frequently indicates that they understand the positive benefits for their children's language development and their Japanese cultural identities.

5.5.2. Japanese Relatives' Visits to Australia

In addition to the visits to Japan, visits to Australia by Japanese relatives can provide further exposure to Japanese language and culture for intermarriage families. Yoko Bradley's older sister was living with Yoko's family in Australia until Adam, their oldest son, was 4 years old. At that time, Adam attended preschool twice a week and had many opportunities to be immersed in Japanese at home. After Yoko's sister returned to Japan and Adam entered primary school, English became the dominant language at home. As Jason reported previously, Yoko has strong family ties with her Japanese family, which confirms Okita's (2002) "old hearth ties" (p. 89), and strength and quality elements needed for successful impact on language maintenance. In some families, one or both of the parents' Japanese-origin parents have passed away, so the

strength in family ties was difficult to observe; however, the strongest ties I found from the interviews was in Yoko's case. Her older sister living with the Bradley family when Yoko's son Adam was at preschool, and her parents' visits to Australia, show the strong ties between them. The Kitajima family also shows their strong ties with Riku's parents in Japan. They have visited Australia a few times, understanding the reluctance of Riku's family to visit Japan due to the effects of radioactive contamination. The visits from relatives from Japan increase the opportunity to be exposed to the Japanese language and the culture, such as the Japanese ways of greetings and mealtime manners that they bring from Japan. It will be a positive experience if both the parents and children have a good relationship with their Japanese families.

5.5.3. Japanese Culture in the Home

As well as exposure to Japanese language, exposure to Japanese culture enhances children's positive attitudes towards the use of the Japanese language and establishing cultural identities (Guessabi, 2017; Jiang, 2000). All the participating families live in typical Australian homes without any Japanese traditional elements embedded in their homes, such as *tatami* mats or a hanging scroll called *kakejiku*. The most culturally noticeable experience during the data collection was the breakfast food served in the Bradley's home. Japanese traditional food was served, which demonstrates that the Bradley family values the importance of Japanese customs. The meal, including steamed rice, miso soup, and *natto* (fermented soybean) was eaten with chopsticks. Understanding manners such as greetings before and after the meals and holding the chopsticks are some of the cultural experiences that children are exposed to in the everyday environment.

Celebrating cultural events in the home is another way to connect with the heritage culture (Burridge & Chodkiewicz, 2008). In the Brown family, Fukie created

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Japanese crafts, read Japanese stories, played Japanese nursery songs, and watched Japanese DVDs as an extension of the Japanese playgroup that she and Max attended.

Pauwels (2005) argues that access to media can increase exposure to the heritage language and possibly increase heritage language input. Some grandparents send Japanese food or Japanese cultural products from Japan. Yoko's family send Japanese songs and DVDs for Yoko Bradley's children since she told the family that her children's Japanese use is decreasing. Fukie's mother sends Japanese food and Max's favourite character's merchandise such as calendars. Most of the children reported that they engage with Japanese TV programs, YouTube videos, movies, and anime (including Hibiki's interest in Pokémon cards).

The oldest son, Lachlan, from the Uchimura family, mentioned that he used to watch many Japanese TV shows; however, the two younger siblings have not had the same experience of being exposed to Japanese-related products. When Lucy's grandparents visited the family from Japan, they brought Japanese toys, books, and movies on a USB stick. Lucy also said that her father, Riku, reads Japanese books to her. Josephine recalled that when Lucy was younger, she watched Japanese television programs in Japanese and never watched them in English. She believes that it helped her develop her Japanese skills.

Most of the children receive Japanese culture exposure in the home, which helps them develop positive attitudes towards their use of Japanese language and enhance Japanese cultural identities. To further increase Japanese language and culture exposure, time spent with Japanese-origin parents in the home contributes to Japanese language and culture maintenance.

5.5.4. Japanese-Origin Parents' Time in the Home

To maintain Japanese in the household, Japanese-origin parents' presence in the home is crucial. Japanese-origin parents' use of Japanese is one of the essential sources of the language for their children, and therefore, regular and frequent input of the language is required (De Houwer & Bornstein, 2016). When an adult child of Japanese–Australian intermarriage family participant, Yamato, was a child, his mother worked on a contract basis, which meant he spent a lot of time with her as she worked. He was raised using Japanese with his mother and two older brothers. Yamato feels awkward, even now, speaking English to his mother, so when the family is speaking English and his mother speaks to him in Japanese, he switches to Japanese:

I find it very awkward speaking English to my mum, just because we've always spoken Japanese, so even if the whole—the kind of, the ah, like, the language that everyone speaks is in English, you know, we'll speak in English, and then if my mum says something to me, I'll immediately change into Japanese.

Another adult child of a Japanese–Australian intermarriage family, Sara, also always spoke Japanese with her mother at home in her childhood. Her mother was a stay-at-home parent. Sara still predominantly speaks Japanese to her mother and believes that she (Sara) still speaks Japanese “very well”.

Therefore, we see that Yamato and Sara's Japanese-origin parents were usually at home, and spent time with their children, which shows an extensive exposure to Japanese, and hence accounts in part for the continuation of Japanese use between these adult children of Japanese–Australian intermarriage families and their Japanese-origin parent.

Two Japanese-origin mothers of the six Japanese-origin parents from the participating families are stay-at-home parents or work from home. One Japanese-origin mother works part-time outside the home, and all Japanese-origin fathers work full-time outside the home, so have less time with the children. Two Japanese-origin fathers, Riku Kitajima and Yasuhiro Okuda, are absent from home during the week or come home late. Riku's partner, Josephine, mentioned in her interview that she would "love and adore their children to be bilingual and feel that it is an amazing gift to be bilingual". She followed this comment by explaining that the current circumstances of her family, with the father out of the home during the week, may be affecting language use at home: "Riku disappears during the week. He lives – well, he doesn't disappear, but he works in [the capital city], so he leaves on Tuesday morning and gets back Thursday, so it's just me and the kids."

During Riku's absence, Josephine and her children communicate in English, without exposure to Japanese. She mentioned that she does not speak Japanese during Riku's absence. She blames herself that "it's probably my fault, but a lot of English is spoken", as she does not feel that she is in control if she has to use Japanese.

In the Okuda family, Sharon mentioned that Yasuhiro sometimes comes home late from work, which results in Hibiki having fewer interactions in Japanese during his father's absence as Sharon predominantly speaks English to him, although she is a fluent Japanese speaker. Sharon analyses Yasuhiro's personality as a "quiet person [who] does not talk much"; however, he "definitely interacts with Hibiki on a daily basis in Japanese". His absence causes Hibiki to have reduced exposure to Japanese.

Another Japanese-origin father, Tomoki Uchimura, works full-time on weekdays. During his absence, Louisa, who is a stay-at-home parent, looks after their children and the household. Louisa cannot speak Japanese so only English is spoken to

the children. However, when Tomoki is present at home in the evenings, on weekdays, and weekends, the children are exposed to Japanese due to Tomoki's determination and commitment to speak Japanese to their children. In this case, all children are exposed to Japanese, and in particular their older two sons, who can communicate in Japanese with their father.

A similar situation had been experienced by two of the participating adult children of Japanese–Australian intermarriage families, Sonia and Samantha, whose Japanese-origin parents had also been frequently absent. In Sonia's case, her Japanese-origin mother, who worked full time out of the home, used English to raise Sonia and her sister when she was at home. Sonia's father, who could not speak Japanese, stayed at home due to his medical conditions. Therefore, Sonia was exposed to English from her father, as well as her Japanese-origin mother. Sonia had the opportunity to listen to her mother speak in Japanese to her friends who lived in the community or in Japan; however, Japanese was not spoken to her children. She mentioned in the interview three times and in the questionnaire that she wished she could speak Japanese. Due to her limited exposure to Japanese, Sonia now cannot communicate using Japanese.

As for Samantha, she relocated to Australia from Japan at the age of 4 with her Australian- (or other-) origin father and her older brother. Her Japanese-origin mother stayed in Japan for the next two years, which left Samantha to live with her father and brother in Australia during her mother's absence. Her father was a fluent speaker of Japanese but discontinued speaking Japanese after arriving in Australia, and had difficulty maintaining his fluency without practice and use opportunities. Although her mother continued to use Japanese through their conversations on the phone, Samantha's Japanese gradually diminished and she shifted to almost exclusive use of English. She

understands some Japanese; however, she cannot use Japanese to communicate complex or deeply personal ideas herself.

The amount of exposure to the Japanese language and culture that children received from parents and Japanese relatives had a significant impact on their Japanese development. Trips to Japan and visits to Australia by Japanese family members increase authentic immersion in the Japanese language and provide cultural experiences. Incorporating Japanese culture and customs into everyday living can enhance exposure without consciously learning the culture, as it becomes embedded naturally in the household (Chen, 2021). Most importantly, Japanese-origin parents' presence in the home and their use of Japanese with their children is the basis of language maintenance in the home.

5.6. Language Use

Deciding which language to use and the kind of exposure that parents provide to their children were discussed in the previous sections. In this section, parents' perspectives and experiences of the language used in the home are discussed.

Firstly, I reiterate that all Japanese-origin parents and Australian- (or other-) origin parents were consistently positive about using Japanese with their children and understand its advantages. While various opportunities were provided by parents to their children to be exposed to Japanese, as noted earlier in Chapter 2, there is a tendency to shift to English once the children enter primary school (Cho, 2015; Clyne & Kipp, 1997; Nesteruk, 2010; Okita, 2002). On the other hand, there may be increased use of Japanese over time if the initial decision was not made while the children were infants, and there was a later decision to use Japanese (Okita, 2002). Such a case was observed in the Bradley family, as mentioned earlier, where the use of Japanese reduced

after Yoko's older sister returned to Japan and more English was spoken after her son Adam entered primary school.

While all the Japanese-origin parents in the study expressed a desire to use Japanese with their children, things do not always go as planned. Observation and interview data revealed that while at least two of the six Japanese-origin parents used mostly Japanese to communicate with their children, three other parents use both English and Japanese, and one parent uses English almost exclusively—at least in the observations made for the study, and at other times when I saw the families. All Japanese-origin parents who use mainly English or a mixture of English and Japanese recognise that they are not using Japanese as much as they would like, and want to use more Japanese. Following is Riku Kitajima's quote about his desire to use more Japanese:

ぼくは完全にもう、家では日本語っていう、もうブローケンでもいいから日本語、ってやりたかったんですけども、あのやっぱ大変みたいで。そうはならなかったです。

I wanted to speak in Japanese at home, even if it was a broken Japanese but it seems it was difficult so ... it didn't happen.

As identified previously, most of those children respond to their parents in English regardless of the amount of Japanese used by parents.

5.6.1. Translanguaging in the Home

Translanguaging, which is the fluid movement across and between languages (in this case English and Japanese) occurs in most intermarriage families where two or

more languages are present in the home (García, 2008). Tomoki Uchimura, who is determined to use Japanese with his children, strictly uses Japanese unless his children do not understand a particular word, in which case he will use the English word within an otherwise Japanese utterance. In a casual conversation I had with Tomoki, he mentioned that he would not respond if his children speak English to him, which is a way that parents engage in heritage language maintenance (Brown, 2011), providing boundaries around language use expectations and practice.

This section examines the families' use of language obtained from the observations, with a particular focus on translanguaging, especially by the Japanese-origin parents and the children. Additionally, it investigates how the language does or does not change when the Australian- (or other-) origin parents join in the conversation. Parents' and children's perspectives from the interviews are also included.

Consistent use of Japanese to children by the Japanese-origin parents was observed in the Uchimura and Bradley families. Tomoki Uchimura has used Japanese since their children were born, whereas Yoko Bradley had a stronger focus on using Japanese when Adam was in the upper years of primary school, after noticing his reduced exposure to Japanese. In the Uchimura family's observation, I observed the family playing a board game. Due to the nature of the game, Tomoki and Jasper formed one team, and Louisa and Sienna formed the other, and English cards were read to the whole family by Lachlan. It was clear that Tomoki was speaking Japanese to all his children, but not to his wife. During the game, a constant shift between English and Japanese was observed. While Tomoki and Jasper discussed the answers in Japanese, they respond to other members of the family in English. When Tomoki speaks Japanese to Lachlan, he switches to Japanese to answer his father's questions but soon switches back to English. The youngest daughter, Sienna, on the other hand, was not responding

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to her father in Japanese even though Japanese was spoken to her. She used English with her whole family. Sienna's potential inability to express what she wanted to say in Japanese may have led her to not respond to her father's Japanese with Japanese.

The Bradley family's observation was conducted during breakfast at home. Yoko mostly gave instructions in Japanese, which was also used for routine words, or when she was making appropriate responses during the conversation. All of the family members seemed to understand what Yoko was saying but they used English to respond:

Adam: I love Shakespeare.

Jason: Oh, you love Shakespeare? Love to hear that!

Adam: Heaps of girls in my class, when Leonardo DiCaprio came on. They were (imitating the scream).

Yoko: そう。で、またね。あの子ね。(That's right. That boy...)

Jason: He was very young back then.

Yoko: そう。そう。ハンサムだったんだよね。若くてね。(That's right.

He was handsome and young.)

Adam: Yeah.

Yoko: 今はもうおじさんっぽくなってるけど。(He looks old now.)

Tessa: I learned the story of Romeo and Juliette of the song, "Love Song" by Taylor Swift.

Jason: By who?

Yoko continued to speak in Japanese to her family until the topic changed to Tessa's school work, when she shifted briefly to English while speaking to Tessa.

When a clearer explanation was needed, she spoke to her in English, moving between the languages as it appeared she thought appropriate: “でも、あとたぶん、もう four weeks はないと思うよ。(But, I don't think there are four weeks left)”.

The complete language shift occurred when Yoko had to explain Tessa's school work in detail; during her explanation, Japanese was not used. Following is a conversation between Yoko and Tessa during breakfast where Yoko uses Japanese throughout and Tessa English throughout:

Tessa: Mum!

Yoko: はい、何でしょう。(Yes, what is it?)

Tessa: Do you have juice?

Yoko: ジュースは、えー、昨日オレンジジュースがなくなってたから

(Juice...um... orange juice was finished yesterday.)

Tessa: Apple juice?

Yoko: アップルジュースもこの間ケイティと飲んじゃったでしょ？

(Apple juice, remember you drank it with Katie the other day?)

Tessa: Is there anything in the pantry?

Yoko: とりあえずさー、いいんじゃない。今は。牛乳で。ご飯もある

し、お味噌汁もあるし。(You don't need [to drink juice] now. Have

milk instead. You have rice and miso soup as well.)

Tessa continues to speak English despite Yoko responding in Japanese. Yoko may be employing (without realising it) a discourse strategy encouraging Tessa to use Japanese by using it herself, even if in this instance it was not picked up by Tessa

(Kasuya, 1998). Nevertheless, their conversation naturally flows between the two languages. Tessa fully comprehends the Japanese, taking the milk out of the refrigerator and not seeking any clarification of meaning. Yoko also completely understood Tessa's English, although there was nothing deeply personal or challenging in this short exchange. This indicates that both interlocutors consistently use one language without mixing the languages in a sentence, but it has a sense of translanguaging as both understand the other speaking in the different language. Tessa later revealed in the interview that she understands her mother's Japanese but finds it difficult to respond in Japanese, so she uses English instead.

An adult child of a Japanese–Australian intermarriage family, Sara, has been communicating with her mother in Japanese although she uses English when she finds it difficult to explain: “I would speak Japanese now and certain times I'd speak to her in English to explain things.” When Sara was struggling to learn Japanese at a younger age, she says she responded to her mother in English when Japanese was spoken to her. She communicates with her father in English and describes using a mixture of English and Japanese with her sister. As Sara's mother's English level is conversational and her father speaks only English, Sara translates to her mother from English to Japanese if she does not understand, and this conversation may mix the languages, in the sense of translanguaging.

As mentioned earlier, another adult child of a Japanese–Australian intermarriage family, Yamato, has been communicating in Japanese with his Japanese-origin mother since he was born. Using Japanese was an everyday, natural way of communicating with his mother, such that he finds it awkward to speak English to her. He reported that his two older brothers speak Japanese more fluently than he does, yet he still finds

Japanese to be a useful communication tool with his mother. When his father is present, he switches to English, and switches back to Japanese when he speaks to his mother.

There was significant use of code-switching indicated by and observed in some participants in my study (in particular, Yamato Burgess and Yoko Bradley) but not a lot of evidence of moving between the languages in one utterance, which would be understood as an example of translanguaging. It is difficult to know if more internal sentence or clause shifts occur in other situations, when not being observed. Yoko, for example, while being observed, may have wanted to demonstrate that she uses Japanese at all times to her children, so did this during the observation period. Three families, the Browns, Bernas, and Okudas, mix English and Japanese in their conversation, both within and beyond the sentence level. While that some scholars view this as signalling to the child that it is acceptable to use English, which they believe results in difficulties in maintaining the heritage language (Cunningham, 2020; Kasuya, 1998; Lanza, 2004), translanguaging scholars instead argue for the benefits of using both languages in such exchanges, due to the enhanced capacity for meaning-making (García, 2020; García & Otheguy, 2020; Liddicoat & Scarino, 2013; Rafi & Morgan, 2021; Vallejo & Dooly, 2020).

Fukie Brown uses Japanese for content that is easy for Darren and Max to understand, explaining that “if I speak easy words in Japanese first, and if his response is slow, then I will say it in English.” When Fukie was not understood, or simply could not be heard by Max, she translated the word into English, in seamless conversation and without a deliberate or signalled change between languages:

Fukie: ブレッド 3 個に切るから…

Max: Pardon?

Fukie: Bread, cut in three.

In this example, her response did not necessarily come from an indication of a reception difficulty, or a slow response; Fukie had decided to speak in English regardless, or simply as a natural extension of repeating the same information from a different angle (in this case language), as is common in parent–child or teacher–child interactions (Creese & Blackledge, 2010). Following is an illustration of a typical family exchange in the Brown family. This example confirms a statement made by Darren in his interview, when he stated that “even sort of in English sentences, we’ll have some Japanese words in it”. This mixing of languages is generally referred to as translinguaging, and, as García and Otheguy (2020), Baker and Wright (2017), and García and Wei (2014) confirm, this shifting across and between languages is a natural communication form for bilinguals in everyday activities, reflecting the semiotic or meaning-making resources available to each of the interlocutors. As I began the observation, I found that there was a great deal of mixing of English and Japanese in their conversation (that is, translinguaging between the two languages), including utterances in both languages within the one sentence or speech unit:

Max: Can I do the mushroom?

Fukie: 最初に peel した方がいい。Onion の方が簡単だから。

(You better peel it first. Onions are easier.)

Darren: Cut it in half.

Max: You want me to peel it up now?

Darren: Yep.

Max: はい、やった。(Yes, I’ve done it.)

Darren: はい、ちょっと。(Yes... Um... then...)

Max: Do I slice?

Darren: Just slice.

Fukie: ちがう。This way. 本当に slice thinly. (No. This way. Really, slice thinly.)

Max: Do you want me to slice?

Darren: Yes.

Fukie: Thinly ... 気を付けて。 (Be careful.)

As seen in this example, the conversation between the family members indicates that Max is familiar with single word or lexical item responses in Japanese, which he has been listening to since he was a baby. However, on many occasions, Max's responses in Japanese were limited, and he could not compose a full sentence in Japanese.

In the Berna family's case, the two older children in particular have been exposed to Japanese through attending a local school in Japan. Noticing their development in Japanese, Chie began using Japanese in the home. This was demonstrated in a short conversation between Chie and the second oldest son, Markus, during breakfast when all family members were present at the dining table, except Chie, who was in the kitchen:

Markus: ママー、パンある？ (Mum, is there any bread?)

Chie: うん。あるよ。食べたの？ (Yeah, there is. Have you finished eating?)

Markus: うん。 (Yeah.)

Chie: 何つけるの？ (What are you putting [on the bread]?)

Markus: バター。(Butter.)

Chie: マーガリン？バター？(Margarine? Butter?)

This example shows that Japanese was used between the mother and child without interference from other members of the family. This example shows a conversation between Chie and her youngest daughter, Trina:

Chie: リーナちゃん、ハムいるの？(Trina, do you want ham?)

Trina: うん、いる。(Yeah, I do).

Chie: バターだけ？(Just butter?)

Trina: うーん、バターとハム。(Um, butter and ham.)

Chie: Lots of butter?

Trina: Yes.

Chie: You want to taste it?

Trina: Yes.

Martin: You'll get ginormous hippopotamus!

Trina (To mum): I'll get a little bit of butter.

Martin: I wonder why?

This example shows Chie's sudden switch to English from Japanese. Martin, the Australian- (or other-) origin father, joined the conversation after they switched to English. Although both English and Japanese were used, it shows that they do not mix languages within a sentence, as we have also observed in Fukie's example. While it is more common for people to respond to English by also speaking English, and the same for Japanese When Martin is involved in the conversation, the entire family shifts to

English. This is also translanguaging in practice, as family members are accommodating the semiotic needs of others in their own utterances and are prepared to use either of the languages, and to mix them. Accordingly, the children were observed to occasionally use English to respond to their mother's questions even though she used Japanese. This may have occurred to maintain both the flow of English conversation they had with their father, and to include him.

In the Okuda family's case, Sharon, who can speak Japanese fluently, sometimes speaks Japanese to her husband Yasuhiro. In the home, Yasuhiro "naturally mixes English and Japanese" (as Sharon described it) to converse with their son, Hibiki. Even though Japanese is a familiar language in the home, Hibiki ignores his father when Japanese is spoken to him, and therefore, Yasuhiro feels compelled to switch to English. Such behaviour was observed for the duration of the observation. The following is an example of a typical conversation in the Okuda family:

Sharon: What would you like to make?

(Hibiki brings something)

Sharon: Ok. Let me see how to make it.

Yasuhiro: これ、何が入っとん？これ、何？(What's inside this? What's this?)

Hibiki: Crystal.

Yasuhiro: クリスタル？(Crystal?)

Sharon: He wants to make some crystals. [Inaudible] crystals.

(Sharon reads out the instructions)

Yasuhiro: ひびき、聞ってる？ひびき、聞ってる？(Are you listening,

Hibiki? Are you listening, Hibiki?)

Hibiki: N-n.

Yasuhiro: Mummy's reading so you should watch.

Yasuhiro's utterances to Hibiki were mostly in Japanese, but Hibiki responds in English. Although it was a one-word response ("crystal") from Hibiki, he seemed to understand what his father was saying in Japanese. Yasuhiro repeated the questions, "Are you listening?" in Japanese to receive Hibiki's attention; however, he eventually used English to gain more attention. Hibiki's hesitance to use Japanese words was also observed. When both parents insisted, Hibiki said "onegaishimasu (please do me a favour)" to ask his father to help him make the crystal. It took Hibiki more than a minute to say the word "onegai", which is the abbreviated form, and it took longer to say the full word. He knew that his father would not help him without this being said and eventually managed to say the Japanese word quickly. It was evident that Hibiki was embarrassed to use Japanese even if it was a short phrase, but it was clearly culturally important for his parents (as per Japanese conventions of politeness) to use this expression. It was noticeable in the observation that Yasuhiro has the tendency to use Japanese in his first utterances and after his attempt to repeat the same words, he switches to English if Hibiki does not respond. Yasuhiro has the desire to maintain Japanese; however, his gradual attitude of resignation was also noticeable.

The Kitajima family was the only family that used English predominantly in the home. As the observation was conducted in the late afternoon, the family conversation was difficult to capture as they were carrying out their housework. However, a short conversation between Riku and Lucy was captured in the kitchen after Lucy brought a bulky cotton ball to the kitchen floor:

Lucy: I'm just getting rid of these hangings.

Riku: What do you call it in English?

Lucy: Ha?

Riku: What do you call it in English?

Lucy: Ha?

Riku: What's this called in English?

Lucy: I dunno. Fluff?

Riku: Fluff.

Lucy: Fluff (inaudible – a word in English)

Riku (to himself): あー、どうしようかなー。(Well, what shall I do...)

Lucy: Do you need this?

Riku: Nn?

Lucy: Do you need this?

Riku: No, I don't.

Lucy: Why?

Riku: Because I don't.

This quote from Riku and Lucy shows that only English is used in their conversation, except when Riku was talking to himself. The Japanese sentence that was used by Riku was used when he was considering what ingredients to use for dinner. On several different occasions, Riku used very short Japanese words to initiate his own activity. There was no opportunity for Lucy to use Japanese, as no Japanese was directed to her, and there seemed to be no impetus from her to do so of her own accord.

Translanguaging (and code-switching) can occur when the speakers of the same language (but not the language spoken dominantly outside the home) do not want others to understand their conversation. In the Berna family's case, Martin says he uses Japanese to Lorenz when they do not want anybody to understand their conversation.

Lorenz uses very simple Japanese for Martin to understand. This is the same technique that Martin revealed his mother had used when he and his siblings lived in Switzerland. She had spoken English to her children when she wanted nobody around them to understand their conversation, and Martin now does the same with his children.

Similarly, the Bradley children, Adam and Tessa, sometimes use Japanese or short utterances in Japanese within otherwise English conversations when they do not want other people to understand. Adam noted that it's "not that I'm trying to say anything mean but, like, something private". Pauwel (2005) claims that "children seldom use their [heritage] language to communicate with their siblings and peers" (p. 126); however, such a way of using Japanese between siblings was discovered with the Bradley children, where they mentioned in the interview that they speak both English and Japanese to one another. In the Okuda family, Yasuhiro and Sharon use Japanese to maintain conversation flow with others. In all three cases, both the interlocutors need to have the ability to converse, or at least have enough vocabulary to make meaning out in Japanese to achieve this action, and clearly make conscious decisions to move between languages to suit circumstances and interlocutors.

5.6.2. *Motivation*

Motivation is another factor that may affect the decisions of both parents and children to use Japanese. Lack of motivation occurs when there are limited practical reasons to know their heritage language or when they are being discouraged by a proficient speaker of the language (Cho, 2015). However, if a learner has a satisfying experience learning their heritage language, they are more likely to feel motivated (Gardner, 1985). McCabe (2014) found that one of the motivating factors for her participants in considering whether to use their heritage language was related to opportunities for communicating with grandparents and relatives.

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In the Brown family's case, when Max was very young, he was able to respond to Fukie's mother in a timely manner using Japanese. She thought that Max understood her Japanese and encouraged him to continue using Japanese. Such encouragement motivated both Fukie and Max to visit Japan to extend his opportunities to speak Japanese. Similarly, Yoko Bradley's family in Japan had praised her son Adam's improvement in Japanese, which encouraged him and extended his confidence to speak Japanese. Adam's grandfather and aunt are good speakers of English; however, his grandmother cannot speak English so he has to speak Japanese to them.

In Tomoki's case, his oldest sister's insistence on speaking Japanese to his children motivated (or perhaps pressured) him to follow his sister's suggestion. He has observed his sister's child growing up bilingual, which prompted him to use Japanese. Some children watch Japanese anime (Japanese cartoons), read manga (Japanese comic books) or collect their favourite anime character products, which motivates their learning of Japanese, or at the very least, shows connections to the Japanese culture.

While encouragement from relatives or interest in Japanese popular culture can be a motivator to use more Japanese, the lack of an explicit purpose or goal can lead to an unsatisfactory outcome (Rafi & Morgan, 2021). The Kitajima family makes a deliberate effort to create a time to speak only in Japanese when Riku is at home, but when it doesn't have an explicit purpose, the strategy sometimes goes awry, as Josephine explains:

Sometimes we have, like, Japanese mornings, where we're like, "Okay, for an hour, everyone just speaks Japanese," but then it tends to be really quiet and nobody talks! So, it kinda—yeah, it doesn't work. But this morning, Riku and I were talking and he just spoke Japanese to us.

When their attempts to speak Japanese did not work, the Kitajima family changed to a flexible rule which allows them to reply in English. However, it did not last long. Josephine explained how “then habit—habitual life kicked back in and we’ve gone back to English”. In such a case, they could not motivate themselves although they understand the importance and necessity for Lucy to speak Japanese to allow her to communicate with her Japanese grandparents and cousins, as she adores her grandparents.

In a similar way to Lucy, children may have no choice but to learn to speak Japanese to communicate with their Japanese grandparents or relatives who cannot speak English. For some children, this can be a motivating factor. Chie’s family and extended family in Japan cannot speak English except for Chie’s sister, who speaks a little English. Their children have no choice but to use Japanese to communicate and connect with them. Because the Berna children can communicate in Japanese, this was not an issue for them. For others, it can be challenging. Max Brown, for example, finds it difficult to speak in Japanese to his grandmother and relatives in Japanese. He understands but cannot respond using Japanese. As for Tessa Bradley, she reportedly stays near her mother when she speaks to her grandparents so that her mother can assist her to rephrase sentences in Japanese. She understands the Japanese spoken to her; however, as she explained, constructing Japanese into a sentence and responding appropriately causes her some anxiety about speaking Japanese:

When I come, and I’m not the best at Japanese, and they talk Japanese to me and I don’t understand, I always panic a bit and like “Whoa, what do I do?” and normally if I... I don’t... if it’s a like a question, I don’t respond it like a full sentence and so I just say “yes” or “no” because, like, um I’m scared that if I... I say the wrong thing they’ll get confused.

A similar fear was expressed by Samantha, one of the adult children of Japanese–Australian intermarriage families, whose Japanese use had markedly declined after relocating to Australia from Japan. Samantha's Japanese-origin mother still speaks Japanese to her, but Samantha cannot communicate with her using Japanese:

I think that we [my older brother and I] both, um, suffer from this sort of strange stubbornness, where, like, we don't wanna be wrong. So, when we try to speak the language and we get it wrong—we're like, "Oh, that's embarrassing!"

Feelings of embarrassment and self-consciousness when speaking their heritage language were commonly observed in studies such as those by Cho (2015), Kagan (2012), Kurata (2015), and Motaghi-Tabari (2017). Nevertheless, Tessa feels a strong connection to Japan and Japanese culture and is proud to be Japanese. Her inability to respond in Japanese did not negatively impact her Japanese identity nor her motivation to retain connections to Japan, her Japanese family, and Japanese as a language.

5.6.3. The Perspectives of Partners and Extended Family on Japanese Use in the Home

All Australian- (or other-) origin partners are positive towards their Japanese-origin partner's use of Japanese in the home. Although Jason understands only routine words in Japanese, Yoko makes an effort to speak Japanese to their children in the presence of Jason. They speak English only if Jason is part of the conversation. Jason does not mind, and in fact encourages Yoko and their children to speak Japanese, so Yoko continues to speak Japanese to them:

彼がいる時、同席している時に、日本語で話しても、あまり気にしない人なので、私はなるべく、まあ、日本語で。だから、それはもちろん、彼が会話の一

部で、という時は英語だけでも、その彼がいる時に子供達と話す時なんかも、日本語を話すことが多いと思います。

When he is present, when he sits with us, when we speak in Japanese, he doesn't mind much so I try to speak in Japanese. So, of course, if he's part of the conversation, we speak in English but even when he's present and when I speak with kids, I think we speak in Japanese a lot.

Yoko's quote confirms that translanguaging is occurring in the family regardless of Jason's presence. Jason does not feel neglected if Yoko and their children speak Japanese. As he does not want to interfere with Yoko and children speaking Japanese, he sometimes leaves the situation when the conversation is taking place in Japanese. Jason has decided he will not accompany them on their next visit to Japan, so that they can be immersed in Japanese. Jason's understanding and cooperation allow Yoko to communicate using Japanese to their children without feeling guilty. Instead, Jason seems to feel the guilt of not being able to contribute to speaking Japanese with his family, reporting that:

Yoko gets frustrated. She—I think she wishes it was more Japanese and I think she probably wishes that I would've contributed more by learning to speak Japanese or putting more effort into—and I probably should've, but it's hard with work and everything.

Contrary to Jason's concern, Yoko in fact appreciates Jason's understanding of the importance of maintaining Japanese to their children. She was able to lead the conversation in a way that she liked. The objective of the language used for the Bradley family is for their children to become bilingual. If Japanese becomes a primary

language at home, Jason feels that their objective of becoming bilingual is more likely to be fulfilled, although he mentioned that he “can become increasingly isolated so the pressure’s on me basically”, declaring that he needs to improve his Japanese.

Nevertheless, Jason is satisfied with his children’s progress in Japanese and feels that he and Yoko “don’t think we could’ve done much more”.

Unlike Yoko’s case, Japanese-origin parents may feel pressure from their Australian- (or other-) origin partners. The two Japanese-origin fathers in my study felt some pressure regarding their Japanese use from their Australian- (or other-) origin partners. Josephine added that she is “an absolute control freak and when it’s not my language, I don’t have control”. Riku has a strong desire to maintain Japanese with his children; however, understanding Josephine’s frustration if she is not able to express herself in Japanese, he withholds his opinion to keep the family in harmony.

As for Tomoki, he often mentions to me that his partner Louisa did not agree with the decision about language used when their children were born:

二カ国語をしゃべると、その子達の成長が、んー、ちょっと遅いというか、って思っていたらしく、彼女が。（中略）学校の先生だったから、というのもあって。最初は反対していたみたいです。今はどうか分からないけど。

She thought that speaking two languages slows down kids’ development ... It’s because she was a school teacher that made her think that way. She was opposed to it at first. I’m not sure how she thinks about it now though.

Tomoki is unsure of whether Louisa still opposes his decision to speak Japanese at home. His comment that he is “not sure how she thinks about it now” indicates that it was difficult for him to ask what she thinks of his decision after all the

years that he has been determined to speak Japanese to their children. Nevertheless, Tomoki seems satisfied with this decision to speak Japanese to his children.

In fact, contrary to Tomoki's concern, Louisa's response to Tomoki's use of Japanese was positive. She initially thought Tomoki's use of Japanese may cause confusion for their children; later, she realised that their children were capable of developing both English and Japanese language skills. Louisa expressed her positivity towards speaking Japanese at home. However, she still faces some challenges in experiencing the use of two languages in the household:

It's good ... I guess at the start it was—it was diffi—it's, sometimes it—well, look, I guess it still is sometimes difficult when you're sitting around talking, and—and, um, the two languages, but, um, yeah, no, it's alright. It works.

Despite the challenges that she is feeling, she reassured me that “it is all right” and “it works”. Louisa may be concealing her actual feelings about the difficulties she regularly faces in having two languages spoken within the family. It is especially difficult for Louisa who cannot speak Japanese, nor join the conversation.

Two families reported that they felt pressure about their language use from their relatives. Josephine mentioned that Riku's Japanese-origin parents constantly say, “Speak Japanese! Speak Japanese!” to their family, which causes pressure on her as she cannot express herself using Japanese. In the case of the Brown family, Fukie's ex-sister-in-law (the German ex-wife of Darren's brother) insisted Fukie use more Japanese with Max:

家族の中にもう一人海外からのお嫁さんがいたんだ。ダレンのお兄さんが最初に結婚した人はドイツ人だったの。その人は家で子供とドイツ語で一貫して話してた。

There is another wife in the family who was from overseas. Darren's older brother was first married to a German woman. She spoke consistently in German at home with her child.

When Fukie heard that her ex-sister-in-law was speaking German to her child consistently, she thought this was too much. Then, her ex-sister-in-law insisted Fukie speak Japanese to Max:

その人がここに遊びに来た時に、「なんでふきえは、ふきえも日本語で話せばいいのに。」って言われた。でも私はそれでダレンを疎外するのは嫌だったからできなかった。

When she came here for a visit, she said, "Why Fukie, you should speak in Japanese." But I couldn't do it because I didn't want to exclude Darren.

Fukie felt criticised by her ex-sister-in-law's words, which may have led Fukie to defend herself against the criticism of not using enough Japanese with her son. Fukie also knew that Darren's brother could not speak German, which caused her to fear that she may exclude her husband in the same way as her ex-sister-in-law excluded her ex-husband. Fukie's concern demonstrates a negative perspective; however, Jason Bradley, who viewed himself as "becoming increasingly isolated", sees it as a positive factor as a result of their children fulfilling their goals of becoming bilinguals. Despite Fukie's

concern, her partner, Darren, did not mention exclusion, which may not support the arguments of Okita (2002), Sims and Ellis (2015), and Cunningham (2020) that the dominant language-speaking parents feel excluded if their partner introduces his or her heritage language to the home.

Australian- (or other-) origin parents' or relatives' perspectives seemed to have impacted on the Japanese-origin parents' way of using Japanese in the home, with the exception of Tomoki Uchimura, who committed to using Japanese regardless of what he perceived as his partner's opposing views and was satisfied with his decision about his language choice and use of Japanese.

5.6.4. Parents' Language Use in the Home and its Impact on Children

It became clear that all parents—including the Australian- (or other-) origin parents—are positive about maintaining Japanese with their children. At the time of the data collection, two Japanese-origin parents predominantly spoke Japanese to their children, three parents used a mixture of English and Japanese, and one spoke predominantly in English. Although some children said they felt positive about the Japanese used by their parents, others responded that they wished English was spoken to them when they did not understand what their parents were saying. Others responded that despite not understanding their parents' Japanese, they tried to guess the meaning from the context or ask their parents for clarification.

Here I examine further the perspectives of children whose parents spoke predominantly in Japanese. Lachlan, in the Uchimura family, found the experience positive, regardless of his Japanese being corrected by his father. He does not “find the downside of speaking Japanese” as he knows that he “can get my message across to him”. Lachlan felt that he is expected to speak Japanese proficiently by his Japanese relatives and feels “pressure to be good since they don't really know my level”. Yet, he

still views this pressure positively and wants his father to continue speaking Japanese to him. As also mentioned in 3.2.2.2., Kurata (2015), in her study examining ideal and ought-to selves of seven Japanese heritage background learners in Australia found that her participants' sense of Japanese expertise was viewed not only from their own perspective, but also on the basis of the expectations placed on them by the Japanese community (or Japanese relatives, for Lachlan), which was a feeling also revealed by Lachlan. His younger brother, Jasper, can also communicate with his father in Japanese. In fact, he can converse in Japanese more fluently than Lachlan. Jasper once wished that his father did not speak Japanese when he did not understand. Their youngest sister, Sienna, finds it "not easy" to speak to her father in Japanese and wishes that her father would not speak Japanese to her in the future. Her brothers believe that Sienna is the least fluent in Japanese of all three. Tomoki mentioned that this may be due to Sienna being more attached to her Australian- (or other-) origin mother. Neither Jasper nor Sienna seem to be negatively affected by their father speaking Japanese to them. Interestingly, in the questionnaire responses, Lachlan identified himself as Japanese–Australian and has a sense of connection to Japan; however, regardless of the difference in Japanese fluency between Jasper and Sienna, they both identified themselves as Australian and their sense of cultural connection to Japan was weak.

Like Lachlan, Adam Bradley, who attends the same secondary school as Lachlan, displayed confidence in speaking Japanese: "I can speak Japanese quite well. I can do the basics very well and I got some other skills I can use." Adam Bradley found it difficult at first to speak Japanese, although he gradually developed his Japanese speaking skills after learning basic Japanese phrases. Most of the time, Adam finds his mother's Japanese easy to understand, and is glad that his mother speaks Japanese to him:

It's good, otherwise um I would've just had no idea what Japanese language was like and when going to Japan for example, I would've had to ask the translation all the time whereas if I go to Japan, I can understand myself.

Adam's quote demonstrates the effort he makes to try to understand Japanese without relying on translation. Lachlan and Adam, who are the same age, demonstrated positive perspectives towards their Japanese-origin parents' language use; however, observations reveal that Lachlan responds to his father in Japanese whereas Adam responds to his mother in English. Adam's sister, Tessa, sometimes finds it difficult to understand her mother's Japanese. She indicated there were times when she wished her mother did not speak Japanese to her:

Miyako: Have you ever wished your mum didn't speak Japanese to you?

Tessa: Yeah, when I'm in like a problem, and I can't, and whenever she likes speaks Japanese that I don't understand, like "What are you saying?" so I always ask her to speak English if she saying words that she knows I don't know.

However, Tessa understands the benefits of being bilingual and wishes to continue speaking Japanese with her mother in the future.

In relation to parents' use of language in the home, I also considered the three families where the parents spoke both English and Japanese. As discussed previously, children of the Berna family, who spend two to five months in Japan in most years, were positive and content with how Japanese use in the home was maintaining their heritage language. In particular, the older two siblings Lorenz and Markus did not find any negative aspects to the use of Japanese, and found it easy to speak Japanese with their mother and with relatives in Japan. However, their youngest sister, Trina, revealed

that it is difficult for her to speak Japanese to their relatives, and she feels that she cannot speak Japanese as fluently as her brothers.

In the Brown family, Max's mother, Fukie, uses a mixture of English and Japanese. On many occasions, it was clear that Max understands his mother's Japanese through his actions and continuity of conversation, without seeking clarification of meaning through any form of language checking. Max responded that he cannot speak Japanese "that well", but "can speak a few common phrases". He indicated he did not wish that his mother did not speak Japanese to him, but similar to Tessa Bradley, he found it very difficult to speak Japanese with his mother. Nonetheless, he presented a strong Japanese cultural identity to me. This was evident where he mentioned that he was "very proud" of Japanese culture and how he excitedly tells me about experiences associated with Japan, both in Japan and in Australia.

In the Okuda family, Hibiki's father attempts to speak in Japanese but Hibiki ignores him and does not respond unless English is spoken. Hibiki finds it difficult to speak to his father in Japanese. He also does not find it a positive experience that his father continues to speak Japanese. When the family visits Japan, his extended family cannot speak English so they speak Japanese to Hibiki. However, Hibiki cannot respond using Japanese so he uses English instead. His refusal to respond to the Japanese spoken by his father and hesitation to utter Japanese phrases demonstrated that Hibiki is not only finding it difficult to speak Japanese, but is in some ways troubled by this family expectation to have a Japanese identity. Yet, Hibiki exhibits many positive influences and interests from Japanese culture, such as collecting Pokémon cards and taking karate lessons, and particularly enjoys these activities.

In contrast to the Berna, Brown, and Okuda families, where Japanese is spoken by both parents, is the Kitajima family, whose language shifted to English after

relocating to Australia. Lucy understands that her communication with her father had shifted from Japanese to English. She mentioned that she sometimes speaks Japanese to her 1-year-old brother to “make him learn Japanese because he is still a baby and needs to learn to speak Japanese too”. Her comment shows her understanding of the importance of speaking Japanese in the family, and that this is important to her personally as well. Lucy responded in the questionnaire that she wanted her father to speak more Japanese to her. Despite her father's language use becoming predominantly English, Lucy still maintains a strong connection to and interest in Japanese culture; for example, she understands and enjoys Girls' Day and Children's Day, which are celebrated in Japan.

From the parents' point of view, in the Uchimura family, Louisa (whom Tomoki believed was opposed to his use of Japanese with their children), felt that his use of Japanese is creating a positive influence on their children's maintenance of Japanese culture. She believes that if Tomoki had not tried to speak Japanese to their children, the communication in the household would be different and they would not have the understanding or interest in Japanese culture that they have now. Louisa explained:

I guess communication in the house would've been a lot different. I'm not sure. Don't know! I think that's really the only thing that would've been different. I guess the children learn a lot more—I don't know, speaking the language, you understand more about the culture ... culturally maybe it would've been different as well. They wouldn't have known so much about the Japanese culture as well.

The four adult children of Japanese–Australian intermarriage families also shared their experiences and their perspectives towards their Japanese-origin parents'

use of Japanese in the home. Yamato's views on speaking Japanese with his Japanese-origin mother are positive. His ability to speak Japanese allowed him to "think things differently when I think in Japanese" and he "definitely [feels] differences in the way I speak in English and the way I speak Japanese". Therefore, he appreciates his mother actively speaking to him in Japanese. As Yamato was raised using Japanese at home, he views himself as "half Australian and half Japanese", although somewhat "more aligned to Australia" as he developed Australian ways of thinking.

Sara, who was also raised predominantly in Japanese, developed a positive Japanese identity and a high standard of Japanese capability through her mother's determination to speak Japanese. Sara identifies herself as Japanese and to me her behaviour and appearance is that of a Japanese person rather than an Australian. Interestingly, she feels that she "has a Japanese heart" even though in appearance she thinks she looks more Australian when surrounded by her friends who have two Japanese-origin parents. She told me her friends also identify her as Japanese because of her strong Japanese personality.

Sonia was raised predominantly in English by her Japanese-origin mother. For recent arrivals of immigrant parents in Australia, shifts to English were more prominent before the 1980s than they were after this decade (Karidakis & Arunachalam, 2016). As most of Sonia's childhood was in the 1970s, it might have been common at that time for her mother to use English with her children. Although she grew up listening to her mother speak Japanese to her Japanese friends, Japanese was hardly used in their conversation at home or elsewhere. She frequently mentioned in the interview that she wished her mother had spoken Japanese to her more so that she could speak Japanese better now. As a result of the predominant use of English, Sonia's Japanese is very limited and she does not have the ability to converse in Japanese. She identifies herself

as Australian, as she was brought up in Australia, and has more exposure to Australian culture.

In Samantha's case, Japanese was used with her mother; however, after relocating to Australia, her Japanese use was heavily reduced, which resulted in her inability to converse in Japanese. Noticing her difficulty in conversing in Japanese, Samantha's mother gradually shifted to English. Samantha identifies herself as Japanese–Hungarian as she feels she is related more to her father's Hungarian heritage rather than being Australian. Yet, she feels she has a stronger connection to her Japanese heritage and wishes she could “fully understand” Japanese more. The strong relationships that she had developed with her Japanese grandparents have also been reflected in this identification with her Japanese heritage and identity.

The experiences shared by the intermarriage families involved significant challenges surrounding their heritage language use. The amount of Japanese used by Japanese-origin parents did not necessarily reflect the extent of their children's Japanese language abilities and cultural identities. Some children, whose parents predominantly used Japanese in the home, wished their parents did not speak Japanese as they could not understand nor reply in Japanese. In addition, the responses from children whose parents use English and Japanese indicated they preferred their Japanese-origin parents to speak English due to their own difficulty in responding in Japanese. Interestingly, the children who had a more negative disposition to Japanese identity were the younger siblings of the families. Children who identified themselves as Australian had experienced less exposure to Japanese.

5.7. Gaps Between Ideals and Reality

Maintaining Japanese with their children is identified as an ideal practice for many Japanese-origin parents, including those in my study. Nevertheless, the reality

they face may be very different from these ideals; they may find they cannot use Japanese as much as they wished and, contrary to their intentions, English becomes the main language in the homes. Four of the six families were aware of the gaps between the parents' Japanese language use and their children's language use, and identified this as a concern. This was more evident in the families where a mixture of English and Japanese, or mostly English, was used.

The Japanese-origin parents in the remaining two families showed satisfaction in their current use of Japanese with their children. The four other Japanese-origin parents revealed that they wanted to use more Japanese to communicate with their children; however, due to various circumstances, they could not retain this level of Japanese use. As a result, their children responded mostly in English, which was not what they had wished.

McCabe (2014), who investigated immigrant families in the United States, found that children's understanding of the heritage language and their sense of cultural identity did not match the parents' original expectation, which led them to give up their original goals and change their expectations. Such conflicted feelings can be frustrating for the heritage language speakers who want to retain their languages with their children (Cunningham, 2020).

Although most of my participant children did not show negativity towards their parents' use of Japanese, some parents felt the gaps between their ideal and the reality. The Kitajima family was the most prominent case, in which their language choice was to use the language in the home that is not spoken dominantly in the country they live; that is, to use Japanese in Australia. Riku reflected on the changes of the Japanese use that developed over time since they relocated to Australia:

最初のうちは、ま、向こうも子供だったので、ぼくが日本語を話しても、ルーシーが話している日本語も簡単だったので、大丈夫だったんですが、だんだん、やっぱり難しいことが、その英語の方で、どんどん、英語のコミュニケーション能力が発達してしまうと、同じことを日本語で言えないことにフラストレーションを覚えるので、それが、まあ、いやになって、ちょっと日本語が話せなくなってしまうというか。最近、だから、それで、日本語が減ってきているかなって思います。

At first, Lucy was still a young child, so the Japanese that I used and she used was easy so it was fine. But gradually, as for English, when her English communication level developed, she found it frustrating for not being able to say it in Japanese so then she lost the desire to speak Japanese. So, that's why recently, I think our use of Japanese has decreased.

A similar finding was reported in Nesteruk's (2010) study when children tried to share what happened at school and found they could not express this in their heritage language, so became frustrated. During Josephine's interview, in the Kitajima family, she asked Riku if he wanted to speak more Japanese, having previously indicated she understood Riku's position to use more Japanese in the home, but no response was captured from Riku. Josephine blamed herself for not being able to support the use of Japanese due to her limited Japanese ability. When Josephine mentioned that Japanese was not spoken much at home, Lucy yelled from beside her, "he's trying though!" to defend her father and indicate that he is making an effort to speak Japanese to her. Riku imagines that if he had spoken Japanese at all times, Japanese cultural elements would

be more visible in the household, and there would have been some Japanese rules employed in the home. Riku appeared to be experiencing emotional turmoil caused by the gap between his ideal and the reality of Japanese language maintenance with his child.

In the Brown family, Fukie shared her dissatisfaction about the limited use of Japanese in the household. She felt that her views towards language use were not clearly understood by Darren:

私は、ちょっと不満はある。ダレンはあまり深くは考えてなかったと思う。

(中略) 私はもうちょっと日本語で話したかった気持ちはあったけれども、それを一貫的にすることはできなかった。(中略) 一貫して日本語だけでしゃべるとか。

I feel a little dissatisfied. I think Darren hasn't thought about it much. ... I wanted to speak in Japanese but I couldn't keep consistent. ... To be consistent in speaking in Japanese only.

Fukie felt that if she consistently spoke Japanese in the house, she would be excluding Darren, which caused her to become hesitant to speak in Japanese. On the other hand, Fukie finds that Darren's approach to language use at home adds to her frustration, in that he would move to English too readily. She feels that the amount of Japanese spoken at home was not enough, and this meant that it ultimately limited the depth of their conversations that could be held in Japanese:

ダレンの協力がもう少し欲しい。例えば、日本語で話すっていう時も、ほんとにさわりぐらいで終わっちゃうから、いつも。

I want Darren to cooperate more. For example, when we speak in Japanese, the conversation ends very shallowly. Always.

Fukie specified that she wanted Darren to cooperate in speaking Japanese at home. In her view, Darren's Japanese had been reduced to less than Max's, which may have resulted in him being unmotivated to speak Japanese. However, she understands that Darren is interested in Japan and Japanese culture, as she witnessed him and Max enjoying watching Japanese television programs. Fukie's desire is to build more opportunities to speak Japanese in the household; she would like Darren's assistance with this. Fukie's emotional feelings of dissatisfaction and frustrations in relation to not receiving enough support from Darren were weighed by her against a potentially contradictory sense or fear of excluding Darren if she speaks Japanese with Max. From this example, we see the complexity of the effort to maintain Japanese in the home, when there are competing considerations. Fukie's case was rather the opposite to the Bradley's, described earlier, in which Jason was supportive of Yoko using Japanese with their children.

As for the Okuda family, Yasuhiro understands the importance of maintaining Japanese with Hibiki, as demonstrated through his use of Japanese and story reading in Japanese. Despite his efforts, Yasuhiro's desire to communicate with Hibiki and the reality of Hibiki's hesitation to use Japanese are hindering Yasuhiro's motivation to continue maintaining Japanese with Hibiki.

The experiences and emotions shared by the Japanese-origin parents show their concerns about their language use, especially for parents whose Japanese use has decreased. Parents who predominantly used Japanese were more satisfied with their language use and did not reveal the emotional turmoil that clearly some parents are

experiencing. The situations that caused the decreased use of Japanese were often unintended, or perhaps out of their control.

Additionally, all parents will attest to the fact that children may not share parents' views and will bring their own perspectives and make their own decisions. All the Japanese-origin parents in my study felt responsible for maintaining Japanese language and culture with their children. They were all concerned with exposure opportunities, making the right choices, and using the language, along with maintaining cultural aspects of Japanese life in their homes. Their conflicted feelings of "wanting to use Japanese" and "can't use Japanese" were generally more associated with their relationships with their Australian- (or other-) origin partners, and how this parent interacted with the children. The Japanese-origin parents struggled with wishing to maintain the heritage language while also resisting the language shift that inevitably happened for several families.

5.8. Conclusion

In this chapter, intermarriage families shared their emotional journey of the joys, challenges, and hardships of having two languages and cultures in the home, and wishing to ensure their children maintained the heritage language and culture in the context of a dominant Australian, English-speaking culture. Language proficiency in both Japanese and Australian- (or other-) origin parents caused some issues such as communication gaps between a parent and child, and the real or perceived lack of support from the Australian- (or other-) origin partners. Although all Australian- (or other-) origin parents were positive towards the use of Japanese in the home and were often not expected by their partners to contribute to the use of Japanese practically, some Japanese-origin parents felt the burden of responsibility, and did not feel they were using enough Japanese with their children.

An idealised view of high levels of Japanese use and exposure to Japanese culture often did not align with the reality of busy lives, children's or partners' perspectives, or the pervasiveness of English, even within the home. This reality genuinely caused emotional turmoil for the Japanese-origin parents. They discovered that communication could only be successfully maintained when both interlocutors understand each other. Where one feels they cannot convey their meaning effectively, it results in frustration for both.

In terms of my conceptual framework, I have considered in this chapter language and culture exposure, choice, and use within the homes, and between members of the families and as recalled by the adult children of Japanese–Australian intermarriage families. The following chapter extends the discussion of the same thematic organising concepts in the community, including in school life, for these families.

Chapter 6. Bilingual Families' Language Use in the Community

6.1. Introduction

In the previous chapter, the perspectives and language use in the homes of the five Japanese–Australian and one Japanese–Swiss intermarriage families, and the four adult children of Japanese–Australian intermarriage families were discussed through the lenses of the conceptual framework themes of language exposure, choice, and use. We saw that in the home, parents and grandparents (during visits to Japan) are primarily involved in constructing the social, cultural, and interactional context of the heritage language, consistent with findings from other scholars such as Cruickshank (2015). In this chapter, I examine the same conceptual framework themes (language exposure, choice, and use) with particular attention to the intermarriage families' language use in the community, as this domain also contributes to establishing heritage language maintenance and cultural identities.

The community includes the local schools in the regional Australian city, the Japanese community language school, my Japanese language centre, playgroup, and any other social network outside the home. The four adult children of Japanese–Australian intermarriage families also shared their language experiences in the community, with a particular focus on their childhood experiences.

In Chapter 5, both the languages used by Japanese-origin parents and children, and the parents' language proficiency was illustrated in Tables 5.1 and 5.2. Here, attention is given to examining the participants' perspectives on their use of Japanese in the community, derived from the interview and questionnaire data. Children's language development and siblings' use of Japanese are also examined in this chapter, as they are linked to language use both in the home and in the community. Finally, children's

perspectives on their language use and sense of cultural identity in relation to their connection to the community are explored.

6.2. Language Choice

Several of the families in my study chose to speak English outside the home in response to requests from their children to do so. Two children find it embarrassing that their parents speak their heritage language outside the home, particularly in front of their friends.

Lucy Kitajima wishes that her Japanese-origin father would speak more Japanese to her, but on the other hand, she wants “to learn more Japanese but I don’t want to be embarrassed in front of my friends” and prefers her Japanese-origin father to speak Japanese at home and English outside the home. Josephine, Lucy’s mother, has explained this as Lucy developing her identity through her peers who speak English, resulting in a decline in both her willingness to speak Japanese and actual use of her heritage language. Fillmore (1991) and Baker and Wright (2017) argue that a person may feel the need to use English in the community to gain a sense of belonging and acceptance when they are out and about in the English-speaking environment. Nevertheless, when the family visits Japan, Lucy uses Japanese outside of the home and picks it up again very quickly (according to her mother), communicating with her cousins and friends in Japanese. On returning to Australia, Josephine says Lucy shows renewed interest in her Japanese heritage, inspired to maintain her Japanese language skills and identification with Japanese culture.

For the Okuda family, Sharon noticed that Hibiki is increasingly refusing to respond in Japanese when Japanese is spoken to him, and even more so when in the community. She suggests that Hibiki became “quite embarrassed” about using Japanese, especially once he had entered primary school, which in turn influenced his

at-home use of Japanese as well. Sharon explains that Hibiki explicitly tells Yasuhiro not to speak Japanese to him in front of his friends: “if we have friends here and Yasuhiro does speak to them in Japanese he’ll be like, “speak English!”

The Bradley children also rejected their mother Yoko’s use of Japanese in the community. Her children asked her not to speak Japanese when she visits their school. After Yoko’s older sister, who had been living with them, returned to Japan, and Adam entered primary school, the family language gradually shifted to English following its increased use outside the home. Consequently, the amount of Japanese used by the family within the home also reduced significantly. Yoko realised the necessity of speaking Japanese to her children at home if the children were to maintain the language, so she started speaking Japanese to them at home as much as possible. However, the children began to refuse to use Japanese, both at home and especially outside the home during the early years of primary school, consistent with the findings of scholars such as Piller (2018), who argued that “the early primary years are a common point of linguistic rebellion” (para. 3). Due to her children resistance of Japanese, Yoko initially did not force them to use their heritage language. Once she noticed her children’s English abilities have developed at school and the visits to Japan have decreased, Yoko also realised that if she did not use Japanese, the children’s skills would decline, so she began to consciously re-introduce Japanese, at least in the home.

The mix of languages used in the home and the community was different for all the families in my study, to varying degrees. The family which specifically indicated that English is always used outside the home is the Brown family. According to Max, his mother Fukie usually speaks Japanese at home; however, when they are out, she only speaks English to him. The reason was not mentioned in the interview so it is unknown whether it was Fukie’s choice to speak English to him or in response to Max’s

refusal to acknowledge her use of Japanese outside the home. It can be surmised, however, that Max's stated views on the use of English would suggest Fukie did not want to cause him embarrassment and had acquiesced to his wishes.

The decision about which language to use in the community was not much discussed with the families in my study, as they were more concerned with talking about what happens at home and the fact that even at home a deliberate choice may not have been made. The choice of language used in the community was clearly more often requested by the children, and it was something that began in the early years of primary school.

Children in my study are, however, exposed to their heritage language in various places in the Japanese community. The following section explores the families' engagement in the local Japanese community and the influence on their overall use of Japanese following this community exposure.

6.3. Language Exposure

Connecting with other Japanese families in the community enhances children's heritage language development, and provides opportunities for reassurance and affirmation of their Japanese self-identity. It also establishes a place of comfort for Japanese-origin parents, and provides a way to exchange valuable information with peers and demonstrate to their children the importance of Japanese language and culture. Immigrant parents and their children who have extensive social networks such as with family, friends, schools, and neighbours have a higher chance of maintaining the heritage language (Nesteruk, 2010). Nesteruk also found that by utilising community resources such as schools and language classes where the heritage language was used and the culture visible, can help families develop and maintain their heritage language. The Japanese community in the large regional city where my participating

families live includes a Japanese community language school, a Japanese playgroup, and my privately owned Japanese language centre, most of which my participants are associated with. Two adult children of Japanese–Australian intermarriage families were born and raised in the capital city, which is about 80 kilometres away from the large regional city where my other participants live, and also had opportunities for connecting with Japanese community resources. This section explores how my participant families are associated with the Japanese community in the local area, and how their language use and sense of cultural identity is affected by the community.

6.3.1. Japanese Families in the Community

Connecting with other Japanese-origin parents in the community, especially if they are married to Australian- (or other-) origin partners, benefits Japanese-origin parents in many ways. Yoko Bradley has wide connections with people in the Japanese community. She was inspired by some Japanese mothers, who are also married to Australian- (or other-) origin partners. One of the mothers took her children for a two-hour trip to the capital city every week to attend the Japanese community language school there. This community language school is one of 10 Japanese community language schools in that city, and has a large number of Japanese background students. Another mother consistently speaks Japanese to her children, and if they use English, she tells them that she does not understand English. This is the same technique that Tomoki Uchimura used with their children until his children (particularly his two older children, Lachlan and Jasper) respond in Japanese. After hearing about these episodes from other Japanese mothers and how Japanese maintenance has been successful for them, Yoko felt the need to also be consistent in speaking Japanese to her children. Okita's (2002) Japanese participant mothers also reported that the main source of

influence is other families of similar situations to them, whether or not they are speaking Japanese to their children.

Fukie, of the Brown family, displayed enthusiasm in trying to connect with the Japanese community and that she saw this as important for maintaining Japanese language with her son. She and Max participated in the Japanese playgroup so that he could enjoy being in an immersive environment, rather than her being solely responsible for teaching the Japanese language and culture. She also wanted to continue to be connected with her Japanese friends in the community, for her own benefit as well as for Max's. Fukie also organised a playdate once a week with a Japanese family that they had met at the playgroup and whose children went to the same primary school. This meant their companionship could continue in the school environment and could keep the children connected to their Japanese heritage.

The Okuda and the Kitajima families have known each other since the Kitajima family arrived from Japan and came to live in the same suburb as the Okuda family. Both families have connections with other Japanese–Australian families in the community, which they maintain through regular social activities. Lucy met other Japanese–Australian children in this way, and hence continues to connect with them. Hibiki has also met children of Japanese background through his parents' friends, or at school. These two families also remain connected with other families from Japanese backgrounds.

In contrast, the Uchimura family does not have many connections with the Japanese community. Tomoki has dedicated himself to speaking Japanese to his children from birth; however, he avoids being involved with the local Japanese community, despite his revelation that he wishes he had more opportunities to interact with Japanese people. The only connection that the family has with the Japanese

community in Australia is the weekly lessons at my Japanese language centre, which his two older sons Lachlan and Jasper attend. I later discovered from an informal conversation with Tomoki that he has been keeping distant from Japanese people living locally and was trying to avoid connecting with the Japanese community. He did this out of concern for his wife Louisa, who cannot speak Japanese, because he did not want her to feel excluded.

Tomoki mentioned that he wanted his children to have more opportunities to mingle with Japanese families, but rarely pursued such activities. Once I invited Tomoki's family to my home with other Japanese families for a social barbecue so that his children could interact with other children of Japanese background. He felt that this barbecue party was a good opportunity for his children to interact with children of a similar background, even if they did not speak Japanese to each other. I realised, however, that Louisa appeared to be excluded from the conversation as most of the guests spoke Japanese. Due to their limited exposure to the Japanese community, all three children said to me in the interview that they do not know many Japanese people, especially children of their age, living in the local area. Nevertheless, all three children indicated a positive attitude towards Japanese language and culture, in particular the two older sons Lachlan and Jasper, possibly because they had better facility with Japanese and felt more comfortable using it.

6.3.2. Japanese Community Institutions and Children's Language Development

There are several Japanese community institutions in the large regional city where Japanese is used for learning the language and about Japanese culture. Most of the families have connections with the Japanese community in the local area. Japanese community institutions include the Japanese playgroup, Japanese community language school, and my privately owned Japanese language centre, which are the three main

places that offer Japanese in this large regional city, and where Japanese heritage families meet. The Japanese community language school and my private Japanese language centre were both (coincidentally) established in 2013. I was not involved in establishing the community language school, and nor have I taught there. Other researchers (e.g., Shibata, 2000) argue that the Japanese community language school is one of the most effective ways for children to learn Japanese, because there are limitations on parents' efforts, patience, and resources to do this alone. Community language school is also a place where parents and children can share common interests or concerns (Oriyama, 2016), as they meet each other and often share responsibility for the school.

In the following section, participants' experiences from these community institutions, and how these have affected children's language development and the sense of cultural identities, are explored and compared.

6.3.2.1. Japanese Playgroup. The Japanese playgroup, designed for preschool-aged children, played an important role in connecting families in my study, including providing immersive opportunities for language use, and for enhancing cultural values. Fukie Brown and Yoko Bradley participated in the Japanese playgroup with their children, which was offered once a week, on a weekday morning. Yoko recalls that she also participated in the mothers' group for Japanese mothers in the community. She said that both of the groups provided the opportunity to use Japanese, and to model Japanese language and culture to the children. The mothers' group only works for some families in the community, as it is limited to those who are available on weekdays during work hours, and is also difficult for Japanese fathers who go out to work to join. Moreover, the maternally oriented name of the group means that it is unlikely that men will feel welcome to attend.

Fukie decided to join the playgroup with Max, which motivated her to extend the activities offered at the playgroup with the same families, even after Max entered primary school. At playgroup, they had met many Japanese families with similar backgrounds and intermarriage partnerships. In particular, Fukie became good friends with another Japanese-origin mother called Ayako. She has a Hungarian husband, whose first language is not English nor Japanese, and two daughters. Fukie and Ayako continued organising playdates for their children, which were initially once a week, but later reduced to once a month due to time constraints. After leaving the playgroup, Fukie found it difficult to motivate Max to learn Japanese without the formal support of the playgroup structure, as they often end up in an argument because Max dislikes being taught by his mother. Under these circumstances, Fukie felt it was easier to entrust the Japanese teaching to someone else rather than teaching it herself. With reduced attendance at playgroup and family playdates, it became more difficult for Fukie to maintain Japanese with Max.

6.3.2.2. Japanese Community Language School. The Japanese community that supports Japanese language maintenance in this large regional city is significantly smaller than that of the large state capital city. Yoko Bradley took part in establishing the Japanese community language school in 2013 and began teaching Japanese herself. It operates every Saturday afternoon for two hours during the school term. Yoko's children attend the Japanese community language school to learn Japanese every week. Adam was in Year 4 and Tessa was in Year 1 when the Japanese community language school was established. During early primary school, she reports her children were reluctant to attend the Japanese community language school and wondered why they had to learn Japanese. As they grew older, they became more positive, and began to try to use Japanese with Yoko's Japanese friends. Adam was particularly keen to do so.

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Yoko gradually noticed the change in their attitudes after attending the Japanese community language school for some years.

Adam and Tessa Bradley and Lucy Kitajima are the three child participants who attend the Japanese community language school. Tessa initially was not keen to attend the Japanese community language school; however, she now finds attending the Japanese community language school “good because when I go to my Japanese school, I can use the words that I remember her [my mother] speak, remember her saying to me”. Although she responds to her mother in English, she sees her mother's Japanese as an advantage, to use in the Japanese community language school. Adam shared his experiences of the structure and content of the class, reflecting on his connections with his classmates from the Japanese community language school outside the Japanese community language school: “I do have quite a lot of Japanese friends. Um, most of them go to Japanese community school.”

His experiences show his positive attitude towards attending Japanese community language school. Lucy Kitajima also attended the Japanese community language school and showed me her artwork that was created in class. All three children mentioned that their teachers encourage them to speak Japanese in the classroom, although in reality they speak English to their teachers when they cannot express themselves in Japanese, and when they speak to their classmates (Cruickshank, 2014). It was necessary for these children to use English in the classroom for the purpose of meaning-making.

A flexible bilingualism approach was used in the Japanese community language school to ensure children have the choice to communicate using the two languages (Creese & Blackledge, 2010; Cruickshank, 2014; García, 2008). Japanese community language school provided an increased opportunity for positive experiences for children

to use Japanese and to engage in cultural activities. It allowed them to make use of other languages (English) when they needed to, while retaining focus on the learning of Japanese.

Two of the four adult children of Japanese–Australian intermarriage families, Yamato and Sara, were born and raised in the state capital city and attended Japanese community language school there from early primary school. Both Yamato and Sara's Japanese-origin mothers taught Japanese at their Japanese community language school. Yamato attended the Japanese community language school from Kindergarten to Year 9. His Japanese classmates from the Japanese community language school speak Japanese better than he does, he says, as they were mostly from families with both parents of Japanese origin, and where Japanese was used by the whole family at home. This caused Yamato to feel inferior and so he disliked attending the Japanese community language school. As his mother was a Japanese teacher there, he had no choice and attended every week. Nonetheless, Yamato made Japanese friends at the Japanese community language school, but did not socialise with them outside the language school environment.

Sara has also attended Japanese community language school since Kindergarten. When Sara was in primary school, she felt that there was no point in speaking Japanese as she did not have the opportunity to speak Japanese outside the Japanese community language school. There were hardly any Japanese people living in her neighbourhood, despite being a culturally diverse area. In Year 5, she was encouraged by her friends from the Japanese community language school, who all loved Japan and who had formed a special bond to learn Japanese together. This is what changed her attitude. Before she developed an interest in learning Japanese, she felt ashamed of not being able to speak Japanese. After attending the Japanese community language school for

most of her life, her special relationship with her friends from the Japanese community language school motivated her to attend so that she could see them every week.

Nesteruk (2010) emphasises that interactions with friends of the same heritage can encourage maintaining their heritage language, and this was clearly the motivating factor for Sara.

The other two adult children of Japanese–Australian intermarriage families, Sonia and Samantha, were raised in the same large regional city where the participating families currently live. Sonia grew up in the 1970s and 1980s, and at that time there was no Japanese community language school in the local area. Videos gradually entered the market, which she knew about; however, Japanese videos could not be found anywhere in her city. Although she did not have the opportunity to learn Japanese as a child, she decided to study Japanese as a young adult in a two-month course on weekday evenings, and later, undertook a 12-week Japanese intensive course at a Japanese language institution in the capital city where she worked, which was offered on Saturday mornings. This adult access to a Saturday school shows there is a need for adults (and not just children) to be able to access such schools, so that communities can maintain their heritage languages.

Samantha, on the other hand, was born in Japan but relocated to Australia at the age of 4. Although she spent her school years in Australia in the late 1990s to early 2000s, there were no Japanese people nor any Japanese-related social events in the local area with which Samantha could connect. Samantha had undertaken a Japanese subject at university during her bachelor's degree. She recalls she did not find it difficult to study the subject, and, as the subject was counted towards her degree, it forced her to study diligently. She did not continue studying Japanese due to time restraints and the

demands of other subjects, but recalls this as a positive experience that provided a connection to her heritage.

Both Sonia and Samantha mentioned that it did not occur to them to consider attending Japanese community language schools when they were children, and, in fact, there were no local schools at the time. If such a school had existed, Samantha indicated that “it would’ve been interesting” to attend; however, she stated a preference for Japanese to be managed “within the family” and without the need to attend the Japanese community language school. There was not only a lack of local opportunities within their regional city, but also in the era in which these adult participants spent their childhood, there were perhaps fewer opportunities as well as less cultural support to learn heritage languages, which may have impacted their language learning activities and inclinations.

6.3.2.3. My Japanese Language Centre. I opened my private Japanese language centre in my home in 2013. When it first opened, not only students with a Japanese background, but also students without any Japanese background attended my Japanese language centre to learn Japanese. Four families from this study had previously attended my Japanese language centre. When I offered a trial lesson before opening my class, Fukie Brown (who I knew already) invited Tomoki Uchimura and his children to join the trial lesson. Tomoki’s two older children, Lachlan and Jasper, decided to enrol in my Japanese language centre with Fukie’s son, Max. Tomoki felt it was important for his children to learn Japanese from someone outside the family, so he has been accompanying his children to my Japanese language centre for five years to learn Japanese. His youngest daughter, Sienna, was too young to join the same class as her brothers. Classes are run for 45 minutes, and parents are permitted to stay and participate in the lesson. Tomoki encouraged his children to use only Japanese in class

and supported them by rephrasing some words when necessary. His own pleasure in being involved was evident, which was also noticed by his children. He adhered to his rule of using only Japanese with his children in the lessons, which I observed throughout. Interestingly, Tomoki told me he believed that his partner, Louisa, was against him taking Lachlan and Jasper to learn Japanese at my Japanese language centre:

この日本語のレッスンを別にやっているのに関して、あまり賛成的ではない、
というか。反対はしていなかったんですけど、やっぱりぼくが思っているぐら
いの協力というか、賛成はしてなかったみたいです。

She didn't seem to feel positive about this Japanese lesson. She wasn't opposed to it but she didn't cooperate as much as I wanted her to. She didn't seem to agree to it.

I recall that Tomoki mentioned to me that he tried to come to class whenever he could, as it was difficult to ask Louisa to take the children to my Japanese language centre because of his perception that she was opposed to these lessons. When he was not available due to work commitments, however, Louisa did in fact come with the children, and stayed in the room adjacent to the classroom for the duration of the class. Every time I saw her, she seemed to support the idea of their sons participating in the Japanese lessons.

Since attending my Japanese language centre, Tomoki says he has gradually noticed Lachlan's and Jasper's improvement in Japanese. He says they have begun to respond in Japanese more often, to read and write in Japanese, and are able to use more complex language structures. Tomoki was impressed to see this improvement.

Later, after Louisa realised that Lachlan excels in Japanese in his Japanese class at school (which will be further discussed later in this section) Tomoki feels that Louisa is now appreciating their Japanese learning after all. Tomoki also has finally begun to feel a change in Louisa in relation to his commitment to speak Japanese and to send their children to learn Japanese at my Japanese language centre. Louisa herself has also noticed some positive changes in all three children's Japanese ability since Tomoki had begun using Japanese to them and them attending my centre. Louisa's response allowed me to gather some insights into their children's Japanese and English development over time, and to understand the experience of the non-Japanese-speaking parent in an intermarriage:

Tomoki's always spoken to them in Japanese. Um, maybe the only change is that they used to use half Japanese, half English when they spoke to Tomoki ... But now, like, Jasper and Lachlan are using full Japanese, and Sienna does speak a little bit of the—she combines the Japanese and English, so I—I do see changes with her as well ... when she's not stubborn.

Louisa recognised that Lachlan and Jasper are now using full Japanese, whereas previously, they were using half English and half Japanese. She also noticed Sienna's improvement in Japanese. Louisa feels that her children are more accepting of the Japanese language and culture in a positive way, and she herself is pleased about this progress. Lachlan's Japanese learning experience at my Japanese language centre was positive as he said he was able to "learn all the characters and how to say it and what they mean". Jasper also feels the advantage of learning Japanese as, "I can write some stuff to my dad and talk to my dad." Both the parents and children feel there has been a positive development in communication as well as in reading and writing Japanese. It

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also seems to have been a uniting experience for the family, with all family members perceiving benefits.

Max Brown has also attended my Japanese language centre with Lachlan and Jasper since its establishment. At the time of the interview for this study, Max and Jasper were the only students in the same class and Japanese was spoken throughout. I encouraged Max and Jasper to speak Japanese to me as well as between themselves. Not only did they learn to speak Japanese at my Japanese language centre, but they were also introduced to reading and writing, which I taught. Max considers literacy skills (reading and writing) as important as well as oral skills, as these can lead to more job opportunities such as becoming a translator.

As there are few Japanese events held in this community, I implemented Japanese cultural activities in my Japanese lessons. Max had previously had the opportunity to learn about Japanese culture through playgroup, but most of the cultural activities were new to the Uchimura children. Fukie considered sending Max to a Japanese language centre in the capital city; however, she gave up as it was too far to commute and he enjoyed his time in my Japanese language centre.

I also offered a separate class designed for preschool-aged children at my Japanese language centre. The Kitajima and the Okuda families lived in the same suburb at the time and decided to send their children to my Japanese language centre to be exposed to Japanese. Lucy was three and Hibiki was two at the time they commenced, so each lesson was designed to run for 30 minutes. It was less than a year since the Kitajima family had arrived in Australia from Japan, and Riku was still eager to find opportunities for Lucy to keep in contact with Japanese language and culture. Both families continued at my Japanese language centre for six months, and later, Lucy joined the Saturday Japanese community language school that offered a two-hour

lesson. Hibiki, on the other hand, did not continue learning Japanese after leaving my Japanese language centre at age 2.

6.3.3. Local Schools in Japan

In Chapter 5, I explained that the majority of participating families visit Japan to see their families, friends, or for a travel experience. Children of three families have attended local schools in Japan during their visits to Japan. Max Brown and Adam Bradley talked to me about their experiences of attending school in Japan. Max attended for a few days and Adam attended the school for a week. Reflecting on this experience, Adam said “I hardly understood anything and I wasn’t really learning anything and I thought like ‘I’m on holiday. Why am I at school?’”

Both Max and Adam did not like the experience of attending the school because they did not understand their teachers’ nor classmates’ Japanese. On the other hand, the Berna family sends their children to school whenever they visit Japan, and they attend for the duration of their stay; that is, approximately two to five months. Only the two older siblings have attended the school in Japan as their youngest daughter was not at school age. For Chie, their mother, providing experiences in Japanese local schools is an important part of their visits to Japan. She explains:

（日本に行く時）学校に絶対入れるっていうの。あんまり旅行には行かないの、うち。学校に絶対に入れるっていう。

Then, we let them go to school. We don’t travel much. We definitely make them go to school.

This quote shows Chie's determination to send her children to school. The importance of their visits to Japan, as she sees them, is to not only to visit her family but also for her children to mingle with other Japanese children of similar age, and to experience school as other Japanese children do. She notes the important cultural difference that being in Japan provides:

[子供の社会に]入っていける。過ごすことができる。楽しむことができるというのは、うん。かなり大きい。日本の社会って特殊だから。国としても特殊だし。カナダ、アメリカ、オーストラリア、ニュージーランド、イギリスなんかだと結構似たような感じだけでも、やっぱり色んな意味で、うん。日本はかなり特殊だから。

They can mingle, spend time, and have fun [in the kids' world]. I think that is important. I think it's special. Japanese society is unique and the country itself is unique. Yeah. Canada, America, Australia, New Zealand, and England are somewhat similar but in all sorts of ways, Japan is quite unique.

Chie reported that her children gradually developed Japanese skills and became interested in Japan and Japanese culture. At school, they learned to write the Japanese *hiragana* characters and read Japanese textbooks. Chie only helps them when her children ask for help. Chie's partner Martin is impressed with how his children developed Japanese in such a short period in an immersion context. He believes that children may develop their Japanese abilities more by attending local schools in Japan rather than learning Japanese at English-speaking schools in Australia. He finds that "making friends and speaking the language with the Japanese children makes just the

whole enjoyment factor so much bigger”. Martin added that once Lorenz and Markus made friends and were accepted by the school, “that moment really helped them to develop some intrinsic motivation to study and keep going”. It additionally motivated them to study Japanese so that they can communicate with their friends.

Attending Japanese school fostered a positive experience for the two older sons of the Berna family. The oldest son, Lorenz, finds it easy to speak Japanese and the experience of attending the local school in Japan is “really cool”. Not only learning to speak Japanese, but also having the ability to read and write in Japanese is important for Lorenz. Markus, the second oldest son, also finds it “fun” to go to the school in Japan. They both like to read Japanese comics (manga), and can also use Japanese textbooks, which are provided by the Japanese government through the Consulate-General of Japan. Their younger sister Trina also regularly reads the textbooks provided by the Japanese government, preparing to attend the local school herself on her next visit to Japan.

We know that regular and independent reading contributes significantly to children's heritage language exposure to literacy (Tse, 2001a), and identification with the culture. McQuillan (1998) also emphasised the importance of self-selected and free reading to develop and maintain heritage language literacy, which is particularly important for children, such as in the Berna family, who are striving to catch up in the regular classes in Japan. Not all children find the local Japanese school a positive experience, but for the Berna family, children's Japanese school experience enhanced their motivation to learn Japanese in an immersed environment.

6.3.4. Japanese in Australian Schools

Several schools teach Japanese in the large regional city where the participants live. All my participant children attend government schools. Government primary

schools that offer a language course in this state are significantly fewer than government secondary schools (Cruickshank, 2021). Although many primary schools do not offer languages courses, let alone Japanese, they celebrate cultural differences by incorporating a range of cultural activities and events at schools, especially in smaller culturally diverse schools (Burridge & Chodkiewicz, 2008). In the everyday classroom, some students bring cultural items to show to their classmates, who may show interest and develop cultural awareness (Kinoshita-Thomson, 2020).

Fukie Brown explained that at Max's school, which does not offer Japanese, Max feels a sense of superiority to his friends when Japanese appears in the games they play, as he understands Japanese. Furthermore, when Max brings origami to class, his teacher and classmates surround him with interest, which he reports means they communicate with him more. Similar to Tse's (2001a) example of her participant showing a positive attitude towards helping his peers with homework using his heritage language, such experiences encouraged Max to develop pride in and strong connections to the Japanese culture that he had learned from his mother and playgroup (Oketani-Lobbezoo, 2007).

Choosing schools for bilingual children is an important decision for parents. Tomoki Uchimura did not consider sending his children to schools that teach Japanese nor the Japanese community language school in Australia, despite his commitment to speak Japanese with his children. He was satisfied for his children to attend local schools in Australia even if the Japanese language is not offered. Furthermore, he does not consider it necessary to send the children to a local school in Japan during their visits there, either. This shows that his focus is to communicate with his children in Japanese himself, rather than immerse them in Japanese schools or in schools that teach Japanese.

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Tomoki's partner, Louisa, on the other hand, expressed eagerness to send Jasper to a local secondary school where Japanese is taught. It is the school that Lachlan currently attends, and Louisa finds it "really good" for Lachlan to continue learning Japanese at school. Adam also attends the same secondary school as Lachlan and studies Japanese. Yoko, Adam's mother, realised his approach to learning Japanese has changed since learning Japanese at school, and it showed his increased interest in Japanese culture through engaging with Japanese anime.

Jason Bradley also noticed an improvement in his children's Japanese language, in particular for Adam through his Japanese subject learning at school. He sees Adam converse with his Japanese grandmother using Japanese now, which he didn't really do before. As Adam's grandmother is not well connected through technologies, speaking on the phone is the only option, which is more challenging than speaking face-to-face through a visual technology such as Zoom or Messenger. Jason recalls his experience in learning Spanish, comparing it with the experience of learning Japanese:

I can remember when my Spanish got to the point where I could speak over the telephone to somebody and it was really one of those clear moments where you realise you're just relying on your language skills, rather than anything else ancillary, so we've got to try and encourage that a lot more.

Adam developed his understanding of the content studied at school by relating it to his prior learning at home. Additionally, his school offers exchange programs with Japanese schools and he says it feels "cool" to be able to speak Japanese with the Japanese exchange students.

Some other families in my study showed interest in enrolling their children in a secondary school that teaches Japanese. Darren Brown thinks it would be ideal if the

school offered Japanese. He knows that languages offered at secondary schools occasionally change, for example, one year they may offer Japanese and the next year they may not, but nonetheless is selecting a secondary school based on the offering of Japanese. He is not keen, however, on his children studying the language all the way through secondary school and into Year 12, as he views it as a difficult subject requiring considerable study time. This needs to be understood in the context of his children being placed into the heritage cohort, with higher demands than beginners or continuers who have only learned Japanese as an additional language in secondary school. Darren explains:

I think we've had this discussion and we probably haven't come to the conclusion on it yet, but my feeling is that I don't want him studying Japanese for the HSC [the final year of schooling in Australia], simply because of how much time it takes to do the study.

Darren understands the amount of time and effort required to study languages and added that "it is not a valuable amount of time spending on one subject at the detriment of another" and believes that Max can start learning the language again after he enters university.

Martin Berna had a different view from Darren. He would consider a secondary school for his children on the basis of it providing the opportunity to learn a third language, such as German, French, or Spanish, rather than Japanese. He finds it valuable for his children to attend a local school in Japan to learn Japanese. Martin himself speaks Swiss German and has an understanding of French, so is more attuned to the idea of additional language learning.

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Some parents in my study with younger children felt that there were insufficient schools that offer Japanese in the large regional city. Riku Kitajima would like to send Lucy to a local school that teaches Japanese. The limited choice of schools that teach Japanese in the local area, however, caused him to realise this may not be possible:

日本語を教えている学校のチョイスが少ないので、実際どこがいい学校か、住める場所はどこかとのすり合わせで、なかなか、えー、実現できないというか。それが、現実ですね。

It's just that there is a limited choice in schools that teach Japanese when we consider which school is good or where we live, it's just difficult to make this happen. That's the reality.

In this large regional city, there are around ten secondary schools that teach Japanese, including government and independent schools. Parents with young children may not yet have had the opportunity to research the schools extensively, as it is still early to consider secondary schools for them.

Josephine Kitajima noticed Lucy's Japanese development and the inspiration that she gained during their visit to Japan, and would like to have the opportunity to consider a secondary school that teaches Japanese. Additionally, she wants to provide the opportunity for Lucy to do a homestay in Japan as it may help her develop her Japanese skills. However, considering the situation of radioactive contamination in Riku's hometown, she is reluctant to send her daughter to family in Japan.

Yasuhiro Okuda, on the other hand, did not appear to be enthusiastic (although his wife Sharon is), about selecting a secondary school for Hibiki that teaches Japanese. All the parents expressed to me the idea that studying Japanese in secondary school can

be the basis for creating more tertiary study and career options, including studying at a university in Japan.

Through the experiences of Lachlan Uchimura and Adam Bradley, we see that the study of the heritage language at school can make a real difference to developing language skills, cultural knowledge, and a sense of connection with the heritage language and culture. Not only did it influence their skills and attitudes, but it also impacted their parents, and increased the sense of belonging and identity for the whole family—including for the Australian-origin mother. Students who can select Japanese as a subject are generally interested in Japanese language and culture and can share their interests and knowledge in exchanges with their peers. The classroom environment offers various styles of learning the language such as through songs, videos, cooking, and cultural activities, as well as through engagement with the language and its structure and use. Sharing such positive experiences of learning Japanese at school can then be reflected back to the Japanese community.

6.3.5. Japanese Resources

Due to modern technology, many Japanese resources are more accessible today than even a decade ago. As mentioned in the previous chapter, many children have the opportunity to access Japanese anime, YouTube, movies, and music through various platforms. Japanese materials and resources are offered through various websites to a wide range of age groups, from young children to adults, including those from the Japan Foundation (<https://jpf.org.au>) and the Australian Government's Education Service Australia Language Learning Space (<https://www.ils.edu.au/home>). In addition, there are extensive online language resources provided as part of the Australian Curriculum and by the various state and territory education authorities.

The Consulate-General of Japan also distributes Japanese textbooks for free to families who apply for them. These textbooks are used in local Japanese schools in Japan, and are distributed to children who hold Japanese (or sometimes joint) citizenship and who are living in Australia or elsewhere outside of Japan. Several times at my Japanese language centre, I have used the Year 1 *kokugo* text, (national language, Japanese for Japanese people) textbook that is distributed by the Consulate-General of Japan for Max Brown, Lachlan Uchimura, and his brother Jasper to experience authentic stories in the same way they would if learning in Japan. Max had the textbook sent from the consulate, but Tomoki's children did not have it. The children seemed to enjoy reading the textbook that I provided for them.

Tomoki Uchimura once mentioned to me that it would be too overwhelming for the children to receive additional resources on top of what they were required to learn in Australia. Tomoki's father had also sent some Japanese books that Tomoki had used as a child to his grandchildren, although they have not been read by the children. Sienna Uchimura also mentioned that she does not read Japanese books, nor does she watch Japanese television shows or movies, which also adds to her limited exposure to the Japanese language and culture.

For the Berna family, the *kokugo* textbook from the consulate is used to ensure they keep up with the local Japanese schools in Japan and can join classes in Japan when they visit. In this case, the purpose for using the textbook is clear; however, if materials or resources are not suitable to the needs of children, parents may not consider applying for textbooks that are too difficult for their children.

It is important for learners to have access to literacy materials that are relevant and appropriate to their local environment; that is, are relevant to them in their domains of use and geographical as well as cultural location (Cruickshank, 2014; Scrimgeour,

2020; Tse, 2001a). Although my study focuses principally on communication ability in the heritage language, Tse (2001a) supports the importance of accessibility of resources, which are necessary for my participants to be exposed to Japanese, and that have relevance and meaning for them.

Increasingly, there is a plethora of engaging resources to learn Japanese widely available online. Japanese bookstores, fashion shops, and restaurants can be found in the state capital cities, and are conveniently accessible to Japanese families who live close by. However, unless they travel to the capital city, Japanese resources are limited for Japanese people (like my participants) who live in the regional cities. Sonia, an adult child of a Japanese–Australian intermarriage family, for example, talked about spending her childhood in the 1970s to 1980s with limited choices of materials. Now, many of these experiences can be explored online, and language teachers now use digital platforms to aid engagement with such authentic resources.

However, resources do not need to be concrete nor available online. Some participants in my study preferred personal contact as a valuable learning resource, and felt attached to the Japanese cultural events in the community. Lucy Kitajima recalls participating in a multicultural event organised by the large regional city. It featured Japanese cultural themes, such as people dressed in kimonos and an origami-folding workshop.

Sara, one of the participants who was an adult child of a Japanese–Australian intermarriage family, played an active role in organising annual Japanese festivals in the capital city. She feels that “the year won’t end unless I go to this specific festival with my friends”. In such cases, the community can help promote and motivate development of children’s language through participation in cultural events (Shibata, 2000). Samantha Alford, on the other hand, expressed the view that there were no

Japanese people nor Japanese-related social events in the large regional city, which is the same city as Lucy Kitajima's, indicating that one person's experience of opportunities in the community can be quite different from another's. Cultural events may not have been occurring at the time Samantha was a child.

All participating families discussed a range of connections and exposure to the Japanese community in the large regional city in which they live, and the benefits of this community engagement for them. It became clear from the interviews that the connections with the Japanese community are dependent on Japanese-origin parents' beliefs, opinions, and how they associate with the community. Connections with other Japanese-origin parents in the community not only benefited the Japanese-origin parents but also their children, with increased opportunities for socialising with other Japanese background children of similar age.

The lack of exposure to a local heritage community may negatively affect children's future heritage language use and proficiency, regardless of their parents' use of heritage language at home (Oriyama, 2016). Most of the participants attended Japanese community language school, my Japanese language centre, or the local school in Japan, which increased their exposure to Japanese language and culture, and usually their interest and identification. Nonetheless, the younger siblings tended to have less exposure to Japanese than their older siblings and were missing out on broader Japanese learning due to their young age. Adult participants' experiences explicitly showed the differences in the number of the Japanese community language school and Japanese events available in the capital city compared to the large regional city, and how this impacts on opportunities for engagement and connection.

6.4. Language Use

Using the heritage language in the community is an opportunity to interact with others from the same heritage language and culture outside the home, and to extend networks that may foster identity development and language and culture maintenance. Associating with the community provides additional exposure to the heritage language (and at the very least represents time dedicated to the language), and with different interlocutors who use language in different ways and registers for different purposes. As Fielding (2015) notes “languages that we speak form an important part of who we are” (p. 38).

Connecting with other Japanese families in the community can be a motivator to use Japanese. Where there is a purpose to conversations in the heritage language, especially if this purpose is social connection, there is incentive to retain the heritage language as it has a meaningful place in speakers' lives; it may, however, put pressure on parents and children if it is seen as a basis for comparison with others' language abilities, as some kind of contest about who can speak Japanese better, or promoting thinking that any one child is somehow behind where they should be. Some families and individuals may not want to be judged on their language capability, which may ironically cause them to reduce contact time with the Japanese-speaking community.

Parents may think they need to compensate for time spent engaged with the dominant language and culture, if they also want to maintain their heritage language. As children attend the local primary or secondary schools in Australia, their main community is their local school, where English is used as a medium of instruction. Parents may therefore feel it is crucial for them to provide as many opportunities as possible to engage with the Japanese community for their children to maintain Japanese.

6.4.1. Relationship With the Japanese Community and With Schools

As mentioned in Chapter 5, encouragement from parents and relatives in Japan can motivate the use of Japanese by children from Japanese–Australian intermarriage families. Encouragement from the community and the school can also foster motivation to use the language as well as developing positive cultural identities. Recent work with community language teachers has revealed that simple acknowledgement of cultural and language heritage in mainstream schools, and the provision of opportunities to use and display the heritage language and culture (even if it is not studied in the school), can make a real difference to children's lives and their acceptance of and comfort with their heritage (A. Morgan, personal communication, September 24, 2021). Max Brown's example of origami making with his classmates, and Yoko Bradley's example of receiving inspiration from other Japanese mothers being visible in the school, are some of the positive experiences shared earlier in this chapter.

My interviews revealed it was not only the positive experiences that motivated parents and children to use Japanese. Feeling (perhaps negative) pressure from the Japanese community was another key factor that I discovered. Fukie Brown, for example, felt pressure from the Uchimura family and from my family, she told me, as we use Japanese to communicate with our children. Despite Fukie's positive experience at the Japanese playgroup, she felt pressured because other Japanese-origin parents from playgroup speak Japanese at home, whereas there is little Japanese use in her home. She said this pressure caused her to feel the need to use more Japanese with Max, but she "couldn't keep consistency in speaking Japanese only". Fukie added that Max is sensitive towards other children who do things better than he does. Max finds that Jasper Uchimura, for example, who also learns Japanese at my Japanese language

centre, can “speak better” than him, and he is worried and frustrated by this comparison. Fukie notes:

あー、やっぱり自分よりもできる人に対しては敏感っていうか、やっぱり、
「ジャスパーはぼくよりも会話は上だ」とか。(中略)ぼくはワードとかは結構
ほら、日本に行っている回数が多いから食べ物とかは知ってるけど。(中略)で
もジャスパーの方が会話はできている、って。(中略)自覚してる。(中略)授業
を通して。

Ah, he is sensitive to people who do things better than him. He says, “Jasper can do better in conversation.” ... For Max, he knows more words. Well, it’s because he goes to Japan more often so he knows about Japanese food ... But he says that Jasper can do better in conversation ... He’s aware of it ... Through the Japanese class.

I recall from numerous occasions in class that Max is competitive and does not like to be beaten or bettered, especially in my Japanese language centre. When Max has finished his worksheet faster than Jasper, he calls out, “I win!” He is also sensitive towards making mistakes and he constantly apologises for mistakes, which clearly unsettle him. Another example was provided by Fukie about when Max had a playdate with Ayako’s (family friend) daughters:

ふきえ： あやこさんちの子達とか、ドラえもんをね、日本語でこうやって DVD を見ている時に(中略)あやこさんちの子達は日本語でも理解できんだけどマックスは分かんないことが多くて(中略)そ

ういう違いをそこではまた自覚してた。

みやこ： はい。そういう時って何か言うんですか。

ふきえ： あのね、分かんないからぶいって行っちゃうの(中略)分かんない、

って。(中略) あやこさんちの子達は全部見終われるのに

自分は分からないから途中でぶいって。

Fukie: Also, Ayako's children, when they watch a Doraemon [an animated Japanese character] DVD ... Ayako's children understand Japanese. There were lots that Max doesn't understand ... He was also aware of the difference there.

Miyako: Yes. When that happens, does he say anything?

Fukie: Well, because he doesn't understand, he just goes somewhere. He says he doesn't understand. Ayako's children can watch till the end ... In the middle of the program, he just goes somewhere.

Max's behaviour shows his frustration at not understanding the Japanese in the animation that he was watching whilst his friends are enjoying, causing him to walk away and lose the opportunity both for further Japanese exposure and to share in an activity with his friends. Cho and Krashen (1998), who investigated the language use in the family and community, and attitudes towards the heritage (Korean) language of Korean-American students at university and community language school, indicated that their loss of or lesser capability in the heritage language caused them to feel isolated and excluded in the heritage community. It is hard to know the depth of the feelings of inadequacy and disengagement for Max, but his behaviour indicated Max's sense of exclusion in such a situation, similar to Cho and Krashen's study participants. Fukie

seems to feel deeply herself the differences between Max's Japanese ability and that of the other children of a similar background in these types of social settings. None of the other families in my study spoke of this negative pressure and feelings of frustration and even shame that Fukie seemed to experience.

6.4.2. *Translanguaging in the Community*

Translanguaging was observed more frequently in the home environment, but it can also occur in the community. For example, if Australian– (or other–) origin parents cannot speak Japanese, children can help translate into English for them. During their visits to Japan, Darren noticed that his son, Max, showed improvement in Japanese, and a sense of self-worth when he was able to translate Japanese into English for him at a shop, either fully in English, or mixed with Japanese. Translation and translanguaging also occurred between the parents, as shown in an example from Sara Crowley in Chapter 5 where Sara “quickly translates” to English when her Japanese-origin mother has difficulty understanding English during the family conversation. Cho (2000), Fielding (2015), McQuillan & Tse (1995), and Tse (1997) have also found that the need to interpret or translate for others (known as *brokering*) creates positive experiences for all those involved, and has social benefits as well.

The Japanese capabilities of children who attend Japanese community language school vary, which means that both Japanese and English, as well as a mixture of the two are used in class. Community language schools assist families with their desire to pass the heritage language and culture on to subsequent generations, and therefore promote the use of heritage language. Many scholars have noted that it is not usual, even when it is a stated intention, to maintain Japanese only in these classes, because of the variable language capabilities (Cruickshank, 2014). The Japanese community language school teachers usually speak Japanese to their classes and encourage students

to speak Japanese. However, Tessa mentioned that children speak English to their classmates because they “don’t know how to put them [Japanese] in sentences”. Lucy mentioned that her teacher usually teaches in Japanese but sometimes uses English to explain. However, Lucy speaks English to her teacher and classmates. From these examples, it is clear that teachers and students are constantly translanguaging to ensure that they are understood, consistent with the finding of García and Wei (2014).

6.4.3. *Cultural Identity*

One important aspect of maintaining heritage language is that it influences children’s identity formation and assists in establishing or retaining a sense of belonging to the cultural group (Cho, 2000; Kawakami, 2011). In revisiting children’s sense of cultural identities in the home environment from Chapter 5, it can be seen that language use in the community may also have a significant impact on children’s cultural identities. Two families indicated that their children tend to become friends with children with a Japanese background. Darren Brown notices his son, Max, is proud to identify himself as half Australian and half Japanese. He finds that Max “automatically finds kinship with people who are Japanese or half Japanese” as a “shared identity”. Darren also realised that Max is always looking for and taking particular care of Japanese-influenced products such as popular Japanese toys and anime characters. If his partner, Fukie had not spoken Japanese to Max, Darren believes that Max’s Japanese identity would not have been as strong as it is now. Not only his language skills but also his cultural identity may have been impacted if Japanese was not spoken at home. In his neighbourhood, Max met a family whom he assumed was Japanese when he saw a popular children’s character on their pram. He became friends with them after the coincidental meeting. This indicates that Max interprets his world and has insights into what he sees as Japanese people and culture, which demonstrates

his connectedness to the Japanese side of his identity. It seems Max's interest in Japanese anime characters, and his mother's effort to continue to celebrate Japanese cultural events, have also helped him create a positive Japanese cultural identity—a view also held by his parents.

Similarly, Riku Kitajima suggests that his daughter, Lucy, tends to become friends with children of a similar background to herself; that is, a mixed Japanese- and Australian-origin background. She has a few Japanese friends both in Australia and in Japan who she has met through her parents. It shows that Lucy understands that she shares both Japanese and Australian elements in herself, which was also evident from the way she expressed her excitement about the activities of Japanese pop culture to me. Finding their roots and forming friendships can foster children's motivation to learn Japanese (Baker & Wright, 2017; Grosjean, 2010, Schambach, 2006).

The Berna family's two older children attend a local Japanese school during their visits to Japan. Given the significant improvement in their Japanese language development while in Japan, their cultural identities may also have benefited from the confidence they have developed in their use of Japanese. The oldest son, Lorenz identified himself as Japanese–Swiss and he feels a stronger sense of connection to Japanese culture than his younger siblings. Although the younger siblings, Markus and Trina, also showed a strong sense of cultural connection to Japan, they feel a “blend of both Japanese and Canadian” characteristics, whereas Lorenz viewed himself as “basically Japanese”.

According to the questionnaire responses, both Adam and Tessa Bradley identified themselves as Japanese–Australian. They feel a strong connection to Japan and Japanese culture and are proud of being Japanese. In the interview, both Adam and Tessa feel that they are more Australian than Japanese as they were born and lived in

Australia. While they still feel that they are Japanese, their Australian side is stronger. When they were asked where they were from, Adam replied that “a lot of people assume (that I’m from) China but then I would say, ‘Nah, I’m from Japan.’” Tessa had experienced various assumptions about her background:

I always feel that I am both because I can speak both languages, but most of the time I think I’m more English because I was born here and I, and I speak it most of the time because a lot of the people I know don’t understand it. But I do feel that I am both, just sometimes a little bit more English.

All three children of the Uchimura family responded in the interview that they are a mix of Australian and Japanese; however, in the questionnaire, Jasper identified himself as Australian. Interestingly, Lachlan prefers others to identify him as Japanese–Australian, whereas Jasper and Sienna, as Australian. A child’s identity awareness is a combination of how they identify themselves as well as how others perceive them (Fielding, 2015; Kawakami, 2018), so these insights from the children in my study provide very important findings about self and identity.

The overall responses from the interviews and questionnaires show that the response from the oldest son Lachlan, in the Uchimura family, indicates a stronger sense of connection to Japan compared to his younger siblings. Even though the second son, Jasper, can communicate in Japanese with his Japanese-origin father, his response shows that his sense of identity as Japanese is less than his siblings’, and he feels least connected to Japan. Although Cho (2000) asserts that children who develop and maintain their heritage language also have a strong cultural identity, limited exposure to other Japanese children and the limited resources or support from the Japanese community seem to impact the children’s responses as to where they position

themselves in a sense of belonging. Nevertheless, the determination of their father to speak Japanese to his children has created a positive influence on their views about Japanese language and culture.

Yasuhiro feels that nothing would change if he did not speak Japanese with Hibiki, as he lives “a life where Japanese is 100% unnecessary” and there is no impact on him if Japanese is not used. He feels that Hibiki's way of thinking is “100% Aussie”. In the interview, Hibiki responded that he feels “half Japanese” and is proud of Japanese popular culture such as his favourite Pokémon. His responses from the interview and questionnaire indicated that his parents' language use at home seems to have impacted Hibiki's Japanese cultural identity; however, his Japanese language ability is not well developed, despite his father's use of Japanese. Yasuhiro's feelings towards his own language use may have been unconsciously passed on to Hibiki. It would seem that Hibiki holds similar views to his father, and hence the importance of parental feelings in influencing children's perceptions is evident and may affect outcomes for children in intermarriage and intercultural families.

Through children's responses, the amount of exposure to Japanese language or Japanese culture is reflected in how children identify themselves. This fits with the view of Cruickshank (2015), who says “identities are situated and constructed in specific contexts through interaction and relationships” (p. 85). Children who perceive a strong sense of Japanese identity often have considerable exposure to Japanese language or Japanese culture. Amongst this group, Max and Lucy are more exposed to Japanese culture and have interactions with Japanese people rather than exposure to Japanese language. On the other hand, the Berna family has connections with the local Japanese school where children interact with other children of the same age and are immersed in the Japanese language and culture. Through Yoko, the Bradley family has strong

connections with other Japanese-origin parents in the community and Yoko's family in Japan. In contrast, Japanese is used by Tomoki in the Uchimura family, but with limited interaction with other Japanese people in the community, the children feel less attached to Japan. Although Japanese is constantly used for communication between parents in the Okuda family, Hibiki's resistance to using Japanese seems to affect his identity.

6.4.4. Siblings' Use of Japanese

Some studies, for example, Keller et al. (2015), and Shin (2002) argue that the oldest child is the most fluent speaker of their heritage language amongst their siblings. The Berna and the Uchimura families, with three children, allow us to consider this issue in my study.

In the Berna family, all three children speak English and Japanese to their mother, and English to their father. Trina, as the youngest, believes her own ability to speak Japanese is less than her brothers', and both brothers and her parents agree. Trina finds it difficult to speak Japanese to her relatives in Japan, whereas both brothers are able to do so. At the time of the interview, Trina had not attended a local school in Japan due to her young age. She is interested in attending the school as her older brothers do. As she reads Japanese textbooks at home, it is clear she is preparing to attend the Japanese school on her next visit to Japan and has an expectation of using Japanese in the classroom. She also has a very positive attitude about speaking Japanese with her mother, who continues to speak to her in Japanese.

Similar to the Berna family, also with three children, the youngest child of the Uchimura family, Sienna, is the least proficient in Japanese of the three siblings. Unlike her older brothers who had more exposure to Japanese as young children, Sienna has had fewer opportunities to connect with Japanese language or culture. The only real connection to Japanese is through her father's use of Japanese, and with her relatives in

Japan, where she is spoken to in Japanese, but responds in English. Nevertheless, she talked about her interest in attending a local school during family visits to Japan. Her mother Louisa had noted, as reported earlier, that she had seen improvements in Sienna's Japanese on their last visit to Japan: "I do see changes with her as well", indicating that Sienna's Japanese has improved since her older brothers had attended my Japanese language centre. This suggests that the Japanese use in the household is increasing and having an impact on Sienna as well. According to Tomoki, her father, Sienna had wanted to learn Japanese at my Japanese language centre; however, she was too young to join the same class as her older brothers. Her desire to attend my Japanese language centre explicitly indicates her interest to learn and maintain Japanese.

In the Bradley family, the father, Jason, says he has not paid much attention to Tessa's proficiency. He believes that once she begins to use Japanese, she "goes forward pretty fast". Tessa's older brother, Adam; however, thinks that his sister does not speak as well as him, but attributes this to her age. He did say that her Japanese is "getting better". Tessa also finds that Adam speaks Japanese "much better" than she does. For Tessa, the only Japanese connections outside the home are the Japanese community language school and her visits to her mother's family in Japan. She does not study Japanese as a subject at school as she is still in primary school, and her school does not offer an additional language.

Three of the four adult children of Japanese–Australian intermarriage families whose Japanese-origin parents used Japanese in the home shared their views on the differences between the language abilities of their siblings. Yamato has two older brothers who can speak Japanese better than he does. Although Yamato is a proficient speaker of Japanese, he still finds that his brothers have a higher proficiency. Given that all have reached adulthood, and there is not the situation with my families where the

youngest child is still perhaps too young to be compared with siblings, this would suggest there is an impact on younger siblings—effectively a reduced capability in the heritage language. Sara has a younger sister aged fourteen, who does not speak Japanese as fluently as her older sister, according to Sara. Additionally, Sara notes that she had a higher level of Japanese language skills at her sister's age. Yet, her sister can speak Japanese and has started to show interest in Japanese culture, so may well improve her ability. Sara feels that she has had more opportunities to visit Japan than her sister, and felt this had contributed to the difference. Samantha's mother continued to use Japanese after re-joining her family upon her arrival from Japan. Although Samantha and her older brother's Japanese had declined rapidly, she feels that she can speak a little better than her older brother: "I'd say his Japanese is worse than mine! Yeah. I speak—I speak more Japanese with mum than my brother does."

What these findings indicate is that exposure to the language is critical for maintenance, and that visits to Japan also impact capability. However, it is important to realise that sometimes more exposure later can allow for catching up to occur, and that this is mostly related to interest and identification with the language and culture as something desirable.

Fillmore (1991), Hinton (1999), and Shin (2002) all found that older siblings bring home English from school to communicate with their younger siblings, which causes them to lose the heritage language. However, none of my participating families mentioned that English brought home from school affected younger siblings' proficiency in Japanese. Interviews with my participants show that the amount of Japanese exposure that the children are receiving is impacting the Japanese abilities of children regardless of age. Yet, the majority of the older siblings have more

opportunities to be exposed to the Japanese language and culture, such as attending Japanese learning institutions.

6.5. Conclusion

Language use in the community plays an important role in maintaining heritage language in a country where another language (in this case English) is used as a dominant language. Heritage language cannot be maintained only by the parents' effort but instead "it takes a village to raise a child" (Piller, 2018, para. 21). Interviews from the participants confirmed that the amount of exposure to Japanese that children receive impacted their Japanese abilities and affected their cultural identities.

Most of the participant children have learned Japanese in at least one of the Japanese institutions: Japanese community language school, my Japanese language centre, or the local school in Japan. Some of the youngest siblings of the family did not have the opportunity to attend any of those institutions due to their young age, and therefore, at this stage their Japanese was less developed than their older siblings'. However, in the case of Samantha Alford's family, the older sibling had had less exposure to Japanese than his younger sibling and was less fluent in Japanese.

The amount of exposure to Japanese, as well as the number of interactions the children had with the Japanese people in the community, had a significant impact on the children's Japanese abilities and cultural identity. Even when the Japanese-origin parents consistently spoke Japanese in the home, limited exposure to the Japanese community had the potential to weaken their Japanese cultural identities and opportunities to use Japanese with a variety of interlocutors and for different purposes. In other words, if children have more exposure to Japanese, whether they learn it from an institution or interact with the other Japanese people in the community, there is a

higher chance they will enhance their Japanese abilities and establish positive Japanese cultural identities.

The age differences in the participant children showed differences in how they perceive themselves in relation to the Japanese community and their language capabilities, consistent with other studies. Children in the early primary school years showed hesitancy towards their Japanese-origin parents' use of Japanese in the community, especially in front of their friends. Self-consciousness generally becomes more apparent at the age of 7, when children begin to perceive themselves in part by considering themselves through other people's eyes (Kondratiuk, 2020). Thus, children's behaviour and wishes have an impact on parents' use of Japanese in the community in the early primary school years. Providing exposure to Japanese, both in the home and in the community, increases children's development in Japanese and enhances their Japanese cultural identities.

Chapter 7. Discussion of Findings and Conclusion

7.1. Introduction

Drawing on my own experiences of growing up using Japanese and English both in Japan and in Australia, the challenges of raising my sons using Japanese in Australia, and my interest in understanding the perspectives of parents of different language backgrounds, I sought to investigate heritage language maintenance in Japanese–Australian intermarriage families in Australia. The topics of intermarriage families and the experiences of Japanese–Australian families are not well researched, and it is important to identify the needs of such families in order to assist and support language education, especially as the number of Japanese–Australian intermarriage families is increasing. The perspectives of the members of six Japanese-origin and Australian- (or other-) origin intermarriage families on their use of language in the home and the community in Australia were explored in this study. In addition, four adults, also raised by Japanese–Australian intermarriage parents, shared their experiences of their childhood language use in the home and community, and their perspectives on that language use and what it now means to them as adults.

Adopting a phenomenological approach to case study, in which in-depth perspectives of participants' experiences of the languages used at home and in the community were deeply examined, enabled me to capture the actual voices of the individual participants and understand the phenomenon through their descriptions of their lived experience (Johnson & Christensen, 2019; Patton, 2015; Savin-Baden & Major, 2013).

Literature related to heritage language maintenance, identity, and family ecology was examined, from which a research gap and core areas to investigate were

located. The gap I discovered was that Japanese-origin parents' desire to maintain Japanese with their children did not align with the reality of their language use, which shows the complexities and challenges parents face in maintaining Japanese in intermarriage families. It became clear that domains of language use and cultural identification were at the centre of the phenomenon of the language and culture experiences for these families. Three central themes—language choice, language exposure, and language use—emerged from the literature and participants' observations, interviews, and questionnaires, and formed the basis of my conceptual framework, allowing me to examine these themes in the domains of use: the home, and the community (including schools).

This chapter summarises the findings from my study, addressing the key research questions and suggesting ways forward to extend research on intermarriage families and the ever-present impetus for them to consider whether and how to maintain their language and cultural heritage in countries where another language and culture is dominant. Intermarriage families, straddling the languages and cultures of their different backgrounds, are faced with the doubly complicated situation of working with two or more sets of heritage languages and cultures, and needing to decide what to do within their own families as they consider the choices they have and what they want for themselves and their children.

7.2. Research Question 1

Research Question 1 is “What are the perspectives of Japanese-origin parents of intermarriage families in Australia towards (Japanese) heritage language and culture maintenance for their children?” From the analysis of Japanese-origin parents' responses, reported in Chapters 5 and 6, five key findings emerged:

1. Connecting with Japanese communities supports heritage language and culture maintenance.
2. Support from Australian- (or other-) origin partners is important.
3. External pressures impact language use.
4. High English language proficiency in Japanese-origin parents reduces communication gaps.
5. Reality does not always align with parents' ideals of Japanese language use in the home.

7.2.1. Key Finding 1: Connecting With Japanese Communities Supports Heritage Language and Culture Maintenance

The first key finding of this study is that connecting with Japanese families in Japan and local Japanese communities is important to the Japanese-origin parents and their desire to maintain their heritage language and culture.

All parents in this study expressed the view that it is not only important, but critical to connect with Japanese grandparents and relatives in Japan, and with the local Japanese community, if the heritage language is to be maintained. Most of the families visit Japan every two years for two to four weeks, except for the Berna family, who stay for two to five months each time they visit. The purpose of the families' visits was in all cases to maintain bonds with their grandparents and extended families (Lanza, 2021), and to experience Japanese culture through visiting places that are important to them and which they thought would be of interest to their children. For the Berna family, the importance of their visits was also for their children to attend local schools in Japan and to socialise with Japanese children of a similar age.

Further, visits to Australia by Japanese family members were another important way to connect with Japanese people and culture, as they can bring not only language

use, but cultural aspects such as Japanese cultural etiquette, behaviour, and cultural objects to the household (Lanza, 2021). Yoko Bradley's older sister, who lived with Yoko's family until Yoko's son, Adam, was 4 years old, contributed significantly to the use of Japanese and the affirmation of Japanese culture within the family.

The most prominent finding in relation to the participating families was their strong connection with other Japanese people, whether they are the families of the Japanese-origin parents or the local Japanese community in Australia. This was particularly the case in the families of Yoko Bradley and Fukie Brown. As the families live in a large regional city, the numbers of Japanese people and Japanese language institutions were minimal when compared with the state capital. Regardless, the results reported in the previous chapters indicate that if the Japanese-origin parents have a strong social network, their children's opportunities to mix with other Japanese families and their children of similar age increases (Denman, 2009). Moreover, Japanese-origin parents gain personal benefits from interacting with other Japanese people, and in particular receive advice on learning resources related to bilingual childrearing or bilingual children's education.

Three families (the Brown, Kitajima, and Okuda families) reported that they have connections with other Japanese-origin parents and their children of intermarriage families in the community. Organising playdates for children also promotes parents' interactions with the other children's Japanese-origin parents. Hence, children who are connected to Japanese people in the community developed an interest in the Japanese language or culture, which impacted their sense of Japanese identity. In contrast, Tomoki Uchimura wanted to connect with other Japanese families in the community; however, his concern that Louisa may feel isolated if he did so prompted him to remain distant from the local Japanese community. While children who had connections with

other Japanese families developed a strong sense of Japanese cultural identity, the two younger children of the Uchimura family appeared not to develop strong Japanese cultural identities, which may have been related to their somewhat reduced interactions with the Japanese community compared with the other families.

In summary, all Japanese-origin parents found it important to connect with their families in Japan, and with other Japanese families in the local community in Australia. Although the Bradley and the Uchimura families' cases were two distinct examples, interacting with the Japanese people was an opportunity for children to recognise their connection to cultural heritage (Cho, 2014; Tse, 2001b). Those connections were for the parents' personal benefit as well as for their children to socialise with other Japanese background children of similar age. If the Japanese-origin parents provided an extensive social network where the Japanese language is used, their children's opportunities to use Japanese in the home and in the community were enriched (Nesteruk, 2010). Additionally, all Japanese-origin parents provided opportunities for their children to attend Japanese community language school, my Japanese language centre, or a local school in Japan, illustrating their determination to maintain Japanese language learning and use for their children. Although there are limitations to opportunities for personal interaction with other Japanese people in the community for those living in regional cities and rural towns, access to digital media and social media in today's world can contribute to language and culture maintenance. Thus, there is a need to provide a space where Japanese immigrant parents and families can easily access and interact with Japanese community members in the area where they live.

7.2.2. Key Finding 2: Support From Australian- (or Other-) Origin Partners is Important

The second key finding to emerge from this study is that the English-speaking partner's understanding and support of their Japanese-origin partner is crucial to heritage language and culture maintenance in their children.

All Australian- (or other-) origin parents were positive about their Japanese partners' use of Japanese in the home and about their children becoming bilingual. Some Japanese-origin parents who felt a need for more support or cooperation from their English-speaking partner were hesitant to use much Japanese with their children; this hesitancy resulted in an increase in their use of English. They seemed to conceal their actual feelings from their partners. Nevertheless, Tomoki Uchimura, who believed that his partner was against his use of Japanese, continued to use Japanese in line with his decisions about his choice of language to use at home. His commitment to this decision left him with no doubts about using Japanese. On the other hand, in the Berna, Bradley, and Okuda families the Japanese-origin parents who felt supported by their Australian- (or other-) origin partners used as much Japanese as they wished.

There were two cases where Japanese-origin parents expressed misgivings or frustrations surrounding their beliefs about Japanese use and their partners' actions. In the Kitajima family's case, various factors such as the frustration resulting from their child's and English-speaking partner's inability to express themselves in Japanese caused Riku to use predominantly English with the family. In the Brown family's case, Fukie wants Darren to co-operate more in using Japanese at home, although Darren showed his support by learning Japanese so he could participate in conversations with Fukie and Max. Despite his effort, Fukie is not satisfied that enough Japanese is used at home. Both Lucy and Max's pride in the Japanese language and culture suggests this

did not have a negative effect, in part because their Australian- (or other-) origin parents interact with their children by using very simple Japanese phrases or engage in Japan-related activities together.

The challenges for each family varied according to their different experiences and opportunities. The Australian- (or other-) origin parents' understanding and help with providing opportunities for Japanese-origin parents to use Japanese with their children were crucial factors in maintaining heritage language in the home.

7.2.3. Key Finding 3: External Pressures Impact Language Use

The third key finding in this study is that pressure from relatives in Japan and Australia, and from Japanese families in the local community in Australia, is felt by the Japanese-origin parent and impacts language use in the home.

Three of the six Japanese-origin parents felt pressure from their relatives or from other Japanese families in the local Japanese community in Australia to maintain Japanese language use in the home. Fukie was pressured by her German ex-sister-in-law who insisted Fukie use more Japanese with Max. She felt that her ex-relative was too determined to retain German with her son and she felt criticised. Besides the lack of support from Darren, this experience also added to Fukie defending herself against the criticism of not using enough Japanese with Max. Fukie also experienced pressure from some of the Japanese families in the local Japanese community who reported that they communicate consistently in Japanese with their children and spend time teaching their children Japanese.

Josephine Kitajima has felt pressured by her Japanese-origin parents-in-law (Riku's parents) who constantly tell the family, "Speak Japanese! Speak Japanese!" Josephine is aware that Japanese use in the home has decreased, and it adds to her frustration over her inability to express herself in Japanese.

Tomoki Uchimura was not so much pressured but inspired by his older sister, who insisted he raise his children bilingually. His sister was raising her child as an English and Japanese bilingual in Japan and understands the importance and benefits of bilingualism. Influenced by his older sister, Tomoki decided to use Japanese with his children and was committed to his use of Japanese.

In Tomoki's case this was not necessarily experienced as negative pressure but instead, he used his sister's advice positively. However, in the case of both Fukie and Josephine, they felt criticised or pressured when hearing from their relatives or other Japanese families in the community about their use of Japanese with their children. In Fukie's case, she compared her own language practice with others, which caused her to feel a need to justify her beliefs in relation to her language use with Max. These examples highlight that linguistic and cultural pressure from the English-speaking community makes it more challenging to maintain a heritage language in an English-speaking country (Abdelhadi, 2017) where a monolingual mindset is still prevalent (Clyne, 2004; Hajek & Slaughter, 2015; Lo Bianco & Slaughter, 2009).

7.2.4. Key Finding 4: High English Language Proficiency in Japanese-Origin Parents Reduces Communication Gaps

Key Finding 4 in this study was that when English is the dominant language in the community, communication gaps between Japanese-origin parents and their children can emerge if the parents' English language proficiency is not strong.

The Japanese-origin parent's English abilities and the child's Japanese abilities appeared to have impacted communication between the members of the Brown family. All Japanese-origin parents have experienced miscommunication with their English-speaking partners due to difficulties with communicating in English, especially in the early stage of the relationship. In particular, Fukie Brown revealed that she cannot

communicate with her son and feels emotionally distant from him due to her limited English ability and her son's limited Japanese ability. Consequently, in keeping with the literature, Fukie's everyday communication is disrupted and her parent-child relationship is affected due to the communication gaps (Fillmore, 1991; Oh & Fuligni, 2010).

The other Japanese-origin parents did not talk about communication gaps with their children as they were able to communicate in English, or in the case of the Okuda family, the Australian- (or other-) origin partner was a proficient speaker of Japanese who could bridge the communication gap between the Japanese parent and their child.

Although it was only one family who disclosed parent-child communication gaps, some children with limited Japanese proficiency experience difficulties in communicating in Japanese, which provides the Japanese parent with no option but to use their second language regardless of their English proficiency. Although Mouw and Xie (1999) claim that the heritage language is used for practical purposes by parents with limited dominant language proficiency; this demonstrates that it is important for children to be able to communicate in the heritage language to minimise communication gaps and establish a positive relationship with both parents. This finding supports De Houwer's (2019) view that children who do not speak the same language as their parents feel emotionally distant from them when compared with those who speak the same language.

7.2.5. Key Finding 5: Reality Does Not Always Align With Parents' Ideals of Language Use In The Home

The fifth key finding of this research is that gaps emerge between the parents' ideal use of Japanese in the home and the reality of trying to maintain Japanese

language use in the home when living in a country where not only is another language dominant, but their partner is also of that culture and uses the dominant language.

The participating Japanese-origin parents' struggle between the ideal and the reality of language use in the home was the most prominent finding to emerge from the Japanese-origin parents' perspectives. Apart from the parents who are using Japanese or have increased their use of Japanese (i.e., the Uchimura, Berna, and Bradley families), all parents felt that they want to use more Japanese with their children. The Uchimura and Berna families were satisfied with their use of Japanese with their children as well as with their children's proficiency in Japanese. The Bradley family was satisfied with their use of Japanese; however, Yoko Bradley wished that her children would speak more Japanese. The decreased use of Japanese in Yoko Bradley's case prompted her to use more Japanese when her older child was in the upper years of primary school. Although her children developed strong Japanese cultural identities, their development in Japanese language proficiency was slow. Other parents, who did not contribute to the decision about language use, felt the gaps between the ideal of using a sufficient amount of Japanese, and the reality of not being able to use as much Japanese as they wish or of children not using Japanese to respond as they expected.

Due to the limited Japanese proficiency of most Australian- (or other-) origin parents and children, all six Japanese-origin parents reported that they use English with their partners and children to convey meaning if they consider the content to be difficult for them to understand. This aligns with the findings by Cunningham (2020) that Japanese-origin parents simply avoided using Japanese and, instead, used English to communicate. Although most Japanese-origin parents did not particularly mention their disappointment over using English in such cases, in his interview Riku Kitajima clearly shared his emotions about his daughter and partner's frustration at not being able to

express themselves in Japanese in the same way as they could in English, which led him to decrease his use of Japanese.

The Australian- (or other-) origin parents' lack of support and understanding, as mentioned earlier in the Kitajima and the Brown families' examples, added to the Japanese-origin parents' frustrations at not being able to use Japanese as they desired. Although their Australian- (or other-) origin partners showed their enthusiasm towards raising their children bilingually, their actions did not seem to support this view. What appears to be common to these families is that the Japanese-origin parents' assumptions about their partners feelings, for example, "I don't want my partner to feel ..." are preventing them from using Japanese. Tomoki Uchimura's situation was similar to that of the Kitajima and the Brown families, in that Tomoki believed that his partner was against his use of Japanese. However, regardless of how his partner felt, he continued to stay committed to his decision to use Japanese with his children, and so did not suffer from the emotional turmoil of the gap between the ideal and reality.

In summary, all Japanese- and Australian- (or other-) origin parents expressed a desire to maintain Japanese language use with their children and wished to raise them as bilinguals. They all understand the benefits of being bilingual, including career, cognitive, and academic benefits, as supported by the literature (Brown, 2011; Cho, 2000; Costa et al., 2008; García, 2008; Nesteruk, 2010). However, in reality they could not use as much Japanese as they wished. The complexities of raising children in a Japanese–Australian family indeed caused emotional burdens that led to anxiety, guilt, confusion, and frustration for Japanese-origin parents (Guardado, 2017). In fact, parents who made a language choice from the time of their child's birth or committed to using (or have increased their use of) Japanese experienced fewer of these emotional burdens. In response to Research Question 1, the importance of connecting with their Japanese

families in Japan and establishing social networks in the local Japanese community were the two prominent findings. Providing children with access to a Japanese community language school was one of the most effective ways for children to learn Japanese, as there are limitations to parents' efforts, patience, and resources when teaching children themselves (Shibata, 2000). Nonetheless, the complexity and challenges of Japanese language maintenance in the intermarriage families emerged from these findings. The Japanese-origin parents' physical absence due to work commitments, and the emotional turmoil they experience due to their limited English language proficiency or as a result of their Australian- (or other-) origin partners' lack of understanding, caused some Japanese-origin parents to experience a gap between their ideals and the reality of their Japanese language use with their children. Parents who used mostly Japanese or a mixture of English and Japanese, resulting in their children's ability to communicate in Japanese, felt satisfaction towards their own as well as their children's Japanese use, and did not experience this difference between their ideal and reality in the way the other families did.

7.3. Research Question 2

Research Question 2 is "What are the perspectives of second-generation children in Japanese intermarriage families in Australia on (Japanese) heritage language and culture maintenance?"

The perspectives of child participants of Japanese–Australian intermarriage families towards their parents' use of Japanese in the home and their connections to the community are revealed. As all Japanese- and Australian- (or other-) origin parents revealed their desire to raise their children as bilingual, it seemed important to examine how these children responded to the fluid language environment, as some factors affected children both physically and psychologically. Four key findings emerged:

1. Embarrassment and an inability to understand the language caused children to resist their parents' use of Japanese
2. Children expressed a desire for their Japanese-origin parents to increase their use of Japanese with them to aid their learning.
3. Some children experience an inability to adequately express themselves using Japanese.
4. Children identified several sources of motivation that encouraged their heritage language development.

7.3.1. Key Finding 1: Embarrassment and an Inability to Understand the Language Caused Children to Resist Their Parents' Use of Japanese

Some children in this study resisted their Japanese-origin parents' use of Japanese outside the home. Two child participants, Lucy Kitajima and Hibiki Okuda, found their Japanese-origin parents' use of Japanese outside the home embarrassing. At the time of the data collection, Lucy was 7 and Hibiki was 6 years old. Lucy did not want her father to speak Japanese as she does "not want to be embarrassed in front of [her] friends". On the other hand, Hibiki began to show resistance to using Japanese once he entered primary school, as reported by his mother. When his father, Yasuhiro, speaks Japanese to their family friends, Hibiki asks him to speak English, which shows his embarrassment at Japanese being spoken outside the home. Additionally, Yoko Bradley reported her children's resistance towards her use of Japanese outside the home during their early primary school years. This phenomenon was rather common, as children around the age of 7 begin to perceive themselves through other people's eyes (Kondratiuk, 2020). Yet, none of the older children (who were in upper primary or early secondary school) reported embarrassment or refusal to speak Japanese, unlike Cummins' (1981) and Nesteruk's (2010) findings that a heritage language was more

difficult to maintain in adolescents compared to preschoolers. Although my participants were embarrassed about their parents' use of Japanese outside the home, the findings of this study did not reveal they were themselves embarrassed to speak Japanese, in contrast to the findings of Cummins (1981), Kaveh (2018), and Motaghi-Tabari (2017).

One of the four adult children of Japanese–Australian intermarriage families, Yamato, who communicated in Japanese with his Japanese mother, revealed his embarrassment about speaking English with his mother rather than speaking Japanese in front of his friends. This example shows a clear difference with the current child participants, as Yamato was raised using Japanese with his mother as the usual language in the home. No other adult participants mentioned their experience of embarrassment, as they may merely recall it as a childhood experience.

Two of the eleven children (Sienna Uchimura and Hibiki Okuda) found it difficult to understand their Japanese parent when they spoke in Japanese. It was also evident from observations that they were refusing to respond to Japanese when used by their parent. Four children (Sienna and Jasper Uchimura, Tessa Bradley, and Hibiki Okuda) wished their Japanese parent did not speak Japanese to them; two of these children (Jasper and Tessa) wished this only when they did not understand but were otherwise happy for their parent to speak to them in Japanese. The other two (Sienna and Hibiki) did not want their Japanese parent to speak Japanese to them at all.

Two main findings emerged from the analysis in relation to children resisting their parents' use of Japanese. One was that children felt embarrassed when their parents used Japanese outside the home. It was noticeable that children were developing self-consciousness in the early years of primary school. The second reason was due to the children's lack of understanding of their Japanese-origin parents' use of Japanese. This showed the importance of the ability to maintain communication with parents,

which has the potential to disrupt ordinary communication and affect the parent-child relationship (Fillmore, 1991; Oh & Fuligni, 2010), as revealed earlier in relation to communication gaps between parent and child. None of my participants encountered being criticised or laughed at due to their lack of proficiency in Japanese by other Japanese heritage speakers who can speak more fluently (Hinton, 1999). In the case of one adult child of a Japanese–Australian intermarriage family, Yamato, the ongoing use of Japanese with the Japanese parent (even into adulthood) meant that neither of these two emerging reasons for resistance to using the Japanese language was observed.

7.3.2. Key Finding 2: Children Expressed a Desire for Their Japanese-Origin Parents to Increase Their Use of Japanese With Them to Aid Their Learning

Some children showed resistance towards their Japanese-origin parents using Japanese outside the home; yet, the same two children (Lucy Kitajima and Hibiki Okuda) wished to be spoken to more in Japanese by their Japanese-origin parents—presumably within the home environment. Although this sounds contradictory, interestingly, Lucy responded in the questionnaire that she wanted her father to speak more Japanese to her and that she wanted to learn more Japanese even though she does not want him to speak Japanese in front of her friends. Similarly, Hibiki reported in the questionnaire that he wants to learn Japanese despite his refusal to respond to his father's use of Japanese.

Table 7.1 presents an overview of the perspectives of the adult children of Japanese–Australian intermarriage families on Japanese use and identity. The focus here is to examine the relationship between the language used with their Japanese parent and their feelings towards the Japanese parent's use of Japanese. In particular, Sonia and Samantha wished they could speak Japanese more fluently.

Table 7.1

Perspectives on Japanese Use and Identities of Participating Adult Children of Japanese–Australian Intermarriage Families

Adult children (age)	Language used with Japanese parent	Japanese proficiency	Feelings about Japanese use by Japanese-origin parents	Cultural identity
Yamato (23)	Japanese	Very good	Glad	Japanese–Australian
Sonia (47)	English	Very limited	Wishes she could speak	Australian
Sara (18)	Mostly Japanese	Very good	Glad	Japanese
Samantha (25)	Mother to Samantha: Japanese and English Samantha to Mother: mostly English	Limited	Wishes she could speak	Japanese–Hungarian

The language used by Japanese-origin parents and the Japanese proficiency of the participants who were adult children of Japanese–Australian intermarriage families both appear to be related to how they feel about their Japanese parent's use of Japanese. Sonia and Samantha's Japanese-origin parents used English or a mixture of English and Japanese respectively, which resulted in their Japanese proficiency being "very limited" or "limited". Therefore, they both wished they could speak Japanese. Sonia constantly mentioned that she wanted to speak Japanese and was saddened by her limited Japanese abilities. Samantha's mother continues to use Japanese with Samantha; however, she cannot respond using Japanese. She also regrets not being able to use Japanese despite the efforts of her mother to use Japanese.

In summary, two child participants (Lucy and Hibiki) and an adult child of Japanese–Australian intermarriage family (Sonia) wished their Japanese-origin parents

spoke more Japanese to them, as they feel that Japanese is not used enough by their Japanese parent. Samantha (an adult child participant of Japanese–Australian intermarriage family) on the other hand, wished she could speak more Japanese despite her mother's efforts to use Japanese. However, participants in this study who have limited proficiency in their heritage language did not report feeling isolated from their cultural communities, in contrast to findings by Cho and Krashen (1998), Hinton (1999), and Imbens-Bailey (1996). What appears to be a common factor for these four participants was that the amount of Japanese used by their parents was insufficient, which resulted in their own Japanese abilities being limited.

7.3.3. Key Finding 3: Some Children Experience an Inability to Adequately Express Themselves Using Japanese

While some children had difficulty understanding their Japanese parent's use of Japanese, other children (Max Brown and Trina Berna) reported in the interview that they found it difficult to *speak* Japanese with their Japanese-origin parents, yet they felt glad that their Japanese-origin parents spoke Japanese to them. In particular, two children (Max Brown and Tessa Bradley) mentioned that they understand the Japanese used by their Japanese-origin parents, but could not express themselves well using Japanese as appropriate to different contexts. They understand the Japanese that their parent uses; however, they have difficulty in expressing themselves in Japanese, which results in them responding in English. It was also evident from observation that Tessa's brother, Adam, and Hibiki Okuda were also responding in English, although they seemed to understand the Japanese that their parents use, as their English responses reflected their Japanese-origin parents' utterances appropriately. Sara, an adult child of Japanese–Australian intermarriage family, who now communicates with her Japanese mother in Japanese, revealed that she used English when she struggled to learn Japanese

during her primary school years. Sienna Uchimura's responses to her father's Japanese were difficult to observe, as very little of their conversation was captured during the observation. I did not ask Lucy Kitajima about her feelings towards her Japanese parent's use of Japanese, as her father's language had shifted from Japanese to English.

One participant, Tessa Bradley, told me how she developed anxiety when she could not express herself using Japanese when speaking to her relatives in Japan. For this reason, she had her mother nearby to help her communicate in Japanese. If she encounters Japanese words that she does not know, she panics and becomes fearful of making mistakes. Similarly, one adult child of a Japanese–Australian intermarriage family (Samantha) revealed that she feels embarrassed when she makes mistakes. Some studies (Cho, 2015; Kagan, 2012; Kurata, 2015; and Motaghi-Tabari, 2017) showed that it is common to feel embarrassed and self-conscious when speaking a heritage language.

It was noticeable that these child participants were developing receptive skills, which is commonly observed in children who are exposed to their heritage language (Hinton, 1999; Pauwels, 2005). While shifting from heritage language to the dominant language appears to be common for immigrant children (Cho, 2015; Clyne & Kipp, 1997; Ellis et al, 2018; Nesteruk, 2010; Okita, 2002), a shift from receptive skills to productive skills was achieved in Sara's case. Similarly, a gradual improvement in Japanese occurred for the Bradley children after their mother began to use predominantly Japanese in the home, comparable with the findings of Hurtado and Vega (2004) and Kondo (1998).

The findings show that some children understand the Japanese that their parents use; however, they cannot find suitable Japanese expressions to reply to their parents or relatives due to a lack of precise vocabulary or language structures (Baker & Wright,

2017). Tessa Bradley in particular was fearful of making mistakes. Sara's experience supports the child participants' use of English as she also did not know how to express herself in Japanese as a child. This illustrates that the inability to express themselves in the heritage language is one of the many reasons that promotes a shift to English. Nevertheless, those children maintained positive perspectives on the Japanese used by their parent and developed strong Japanese cultural identities.

7.3.4. Key Finding 4: Children Identified Several Sources of Motivation That Encouraged Their Heritage Language Development

Visiting their grandparents in Japan increases their motivation to use Japanese for some child participants. It forces them to use Japanese as the majority of grandparents and relatives cannot speak English, which provides an opportunity for them to develop their own Japanese skills (Pauwels, 2005). Using Japanese was an important communication tool for children and their grandparents (Kondo, 1998; Kurata, 2015). Regardless of their Japanese proficiency, nine of the eleven children used Japanese to speak to their grandparents or relatives in Japan, and two children (Sienna Uchimura and Hibiki Okuda) used English. Seven of the nine children who used Japanese to communicate with their grandparents (all Berna children, Max Brown, Lachlan Uchimura, Adam Bradley, and Lucy Kitajima) find that speaking Japanese with them is a source of motivation to develop their Japanese skills. Lucy's mother Josephine recalls that after seeing her grandparents and friends in Japan, Lucy returns to Australia inspired to speak Japanese.

Tessa, who also uses Japanese with her grandparents, felt rather pressured to use Japanese. On the other hand, Lachlan, who is the oldest child of the Uchimura family, reacts positively to the pressure he receives from relatives for his use of Japanese. Lachlan knows how much he can speak Japanese but is also aware of how he is

perceived by his Japanese relatives (Kurata, 2015). This increased Lachlan's motivation to engage in the conversation with his Japanese relatives and compelled him to speak Japanese (Cho, 2015). Encouragement and praise from grandparents were also a motivator for Max and Adam to increase their confidence in speaking Japanese. While for some children speaking with grandparents and relatives caused a certain amount of pressure, for others this increased their motivation to speak Japanese.

Japanese institutions, including the Japanese community language school, my private Japanese language centre, and secondary schools that offer Japanese studies, played a vital role in increasing motivation for children to speak Japanese. Adam and Lachlan attend the same secondary school and were studying Japanese as an elective subject. Learning Japanese at secondary school increased Adam's interest in Japanese pop culture, whereas Lachlan developed confidence from his prior Japanese knowledge. Attending the Japanese community language school encouraged Adam, Tessa, and Lucy to use Japanese and connect with other children of Japanese backgrounds. In particular, for Sara (one of the adult children of Japanese–Australian intermarriage families) a Japanese community language school had a huge impact on her development in Japanese; interacting with friends from the same heritage background motivated Sara to maintain her Japanese (Nesteruk, 2010). Conversely, another adult participant, Yamato, was not motivated to learn Japanese at a Japanese community language school as he felt inferior to his peers, most of whom were primarily raised in Japanese by two Japanese-origin parents. Whether attending the Japanese language community school becomes a motivator or not appears to depend on how children perceive themselves in relation to their peers in the class.

Lachlan and Jasper Uchimura, and Max Brown, who attended my Japanese language centre, showed significant improvement in all four Japanese skills: listening,

speaking, reading, and writing. Although not many responses were captured from the three children, Lachlan mentioned that while attending my Japanese language centre, he learned all the Japanese characters as well as how to express himself in Japanese. Similarly, Jasper reported the importance of writing and speaking in Japanese, developed at my Japanese language centre, in communicating with his father. For these children, noticing their own improvement enhanced their motivation to learn Japanese.

The two older children in the Berna family, Lorenz and Markus, attend a local school in Japan during their visits. According to their father, Martin, their acceptance by friends and the school motivated them to study Japanese. Furthermore, attending a local school motivated his children to socialise using Japanese with their peers, and to catch up on their studies for their next visit to Japan. While the Berna children enjoy their productive time at school, Adam and Max attended a local school during their visit but did not enjoy it as they could not understand their teachers' or peers' Japanese. Differences in the purpose of the visits for the Berna family and other families therefore created quite distinct experiences.

The interest of his peers in Japanese cultural themes at school enhanced motivation for one child participant, Max. A similar finding was reported by Tse (2001a) whose study participant was able to help his classmates as he was proficient in Spanish. This supports Kinoshita-Thomson's (2020) theory that culturally themed items can attract peers, and therefore, such experience gave Max a sense of pride in Japanese culture and developed in him a strong sense of Japanese cultural identity.

While two of the adult children of Japanese–Australian intermarriage families, Yamato and Sara, had opportunities to attend the Japanese community language school in the capital city, Sonia and Samantha lived in the same large regional city as the participating families but did not have access to a Japanese community language school

during their childhood years. In particular, Sonia—who was a child in the 70s and 80s, before language instruction videos started to enter the market—had much less access to Japanese resources. Nowadays, various digital resources and social media are easily accessible wherever children are located; these can contribute to Japanese language and culture maintenance (Abendroth-Timmer & Hennig, 2014; Hsieh et al., 2020; Kim, 2020; Pauwels, 2014), although these resources were not available for the adult participants during their upbringing. Nevertheless, social interaction with Japanese community members is an important contributor to children's language and culture maintenance (Park & Sarkar, 2007; Phinney et al, 2001).

In conclusion, the children revealed complex feelings about the use of Japanese by their Japanese-origin parent and their own ability to use Japanese. Children who felt embarrassed about their parent's use of Japanese in public revealed that they do want to be spoken to in Japanese by their Japanese parent more, but not in front of others. This confirms their enthusiasm and pride towards the Japanese language. Most children felt positive towards their Japanese parent's use of Japanese and have a sense of pride in Japanese language and culture. While some children find Japanese difficult to understand, some understood Japanese but could not respond using Japanese, which resulted in them using English to respond. There were two distinct perspectives from the children who found their Japanese-origin parents' use of Japanese difficult. The first perspective is that of the children who avoid speaking Japanese to their parents unless English is also spoken (Sienna Uchimura and Hibiki Okuda). The second perspective is that of the children who at times wished that their parents did not speak Japanese when they could not understand, but still wish to be spoken to in Japanese (Jasper and Tessa). Visiting Japan to see grandparents and relatives, as well as various experiences in the community, enhanced children's motivation to use Japanese. Communicating with

grandparents became a rather compelling reason to use Japanese when compared with their use of Japanese in the community. Japanese institutions contributed to children's development in Japanese skills and enhanced interest in Japanese culture. Positive attitudes towards the Japanese language motivate children to learn it with the expectation of achieving high proficiency (Zhang & Slaughter-Defoe, 2009). The use of flexible bilingualism allows children to use their language fluidly, moving across their language skillset. The Japanese parent's use of Japanese and the amount of exposure to the Japanese language and culture appear to impact children's Japanese language abilities and sense of cultural identity.

7.4. Research Question 3

Research Question 3 was “How does intermarriage parents' involvement in Japanese language maintenance impact on their children's language ability, for Japanese, English, and hybrid language use; and on their identities?”

The answer to Research Question 3 is derived from the findings used to answer both Research Question 1 and Research Question 2. In answering this question, I found it useful to understand the perspectives on Japanese use in the home and in the community from Japanese-origin parents, Australian- (or other-) origin parents, and children, as well as the adult children of Japanese–Australian intermarriage families. The three main domains where heritage language maintenance occurs are in the home, community, and school, as illustrated in the conceptual framework ([Figure 3.1](#)). Parents, as well as the community and the school are involved in the following three themes of the network loop, revisited in [Figure 3.2](#): parents' and children's exposure to Japanese, the language choice made by parents, children, and others in their network, and the impact of the use of language by parents and the community on children's

Japanese language maintenance and identity formation. Parents' involvement is crucial for heritage language maintenance, and three key findings emerged:

1. Parents' language choices and their commitment to enact their decisions are both important.
2. Exposure to Japanese use in the home, community, and school affects children's Japanese and English language abilities.
3. A family's Japanese connections impact the development of their children's cultural identities.

7.4.1. Key Finding 1: Parents' Language Choices and Their Commitment to Enact Their Decisions are Both Important

Parental involvement in Japanese language maintenance begins before their children are born, and parents remain a constant influence throughout childhood as they continue to decide which language to use as their children grow. Tsushima and Guardado (2019) suggest that the decision on language choice needs to be considered carefully as it may affect the rest of the children's lives, such as their relationships with their parents and grandparents. If the Japanese-origin parents wanted to use Japanese but had little support from their Australian- (or other-) origin partner, maintaining Japanese became difficult unless the Japanese-origin parents were fully committed to using Japanese, as in the case of Tomoki. Therefore, when both the Japanese- and Australian- (or other-) origin parents agree on the decision about the languages to use with their children, and especially if they wish to retain Japanese, it is easier to enact this decision. Otherwise, it can lead to the Japanese-origin parent being dissatisfied with their use of Japanese as well as feeling frustrated with their partner.

Half of the Japanese-origin parents (Tomoki Uchimura, Chie Berna, and Riku Kitajima) were part of the initial decision about what language to use for their children.

PARENTAL INVOLVEMENT IN CHILDREN'S JAPANESE MAINTENANCE

In Tomoki Uchimura's case, he made the decision to use Japanese and committed to using Japanese even though he thought Louisa was opposed to his use of Japanese.

Tsushima and Guardado (2019) claimed that parents' commitment to using the heritage language arises from both parents' conscious discussions about language choice; however, this was not the case for Tomoki. Chie Berna initially made the decision to use English, as she believed English was her children's first language. However, after her two older sons attended a local school in Japan during their visits to Japan, she began to increase her use of Japanese. Yoko Bradley initially did not make a decision about the use of Japanese; however, after a noticeable decline in Japanese use between her and her children, she increased her use of the language. The Kitajima family decided to use Japanese after residing in Australia. They spoke English in Japan and anticipated using Japanese in Australia; however, they did not ultimately commit to this decision, which led Riku to shift to English.

Other families (the Browns and Okudas) either did not consciously decide what language to use for their children, or allowed language use to emerge naturally as they raised their children (Guardado, 2017), using a mixture of English and Japanese. Instead of choosing which language to use, they enabled flexible language choice, as did the participants in the study by Okita (2002). This supports Yamamoto's (2001) findings that parents not making explicit language choice decisions may result in children becoming passive bilinguals or monolinguals.

Chie Berna and Yasuhiro Okuda indicated that their children could choose which language they wanted to use. Chie began using Japanese after her children developed their Japanese at their school in Japan, whereas Yasuhiro seemed rather less determined in his commitment to using Japanese. This indicates that these parents leave language options open so that their children can choose which language to use. Children

choose which language to use in childhood with their families, but it is important for them to understand why their parents want to maintain their heritage language, and that parents are responsible for providing the appropriate environment for children to use the language (Shibata, 2000). In my study, child participants were provided with the opportunity to respond in the questionnaire about why they think their Japanese-origin parents want them to maintain their use of Japanese. These children demonstrated a clear understanding of the reasons behind their parents' decisions.

In the Uchimura family's case, Tomoki was committed to following through with his decision to use Japanese, and this strong commitment prevented the language shift that was experienced by other families (Medvedeva, 2012). However, it was noticeable in other families that changes in circumstances and the surrounding environment affected the use of their language as the children grew up. While some parents in my study reported a decline in their Japanese use, as happened with Sakamoto's (2000) participants, some have actually increased their use of Japanese, as in Okita's (2002) study. Parents' consistent use of the heritage language promotes successful maintenance of the language for their children (Cho, 2015; Pauwels, 2005; Zhang & Slaughter-Defoe, 2009). Decision-making about language choice is complex; yet it is important for both parents to be involved in the discussion to help establish the desired language experience for their children.

7.4.2. Key Finding 2: Exposure to Japanese use in the Home, Community, and School Affects Children's Japanese and English Language Abilities

The most immediate environment for heritage language maintenance that parents can provide for their children is through their own use of Japanese in the home and with grandparents or relatives in Japan (Cruickshank, 2015; Kasuya, 1998). As there is a limit to the influence of parents' use of Japanese on their children, the local

Japanese community also helps facilitate heritage language maintenance (McCabe, 2014; Pauwels, 2005). This study found that parents' use of Japanese and the exposure to Japanese that children receive from the Japanese community impacted children's Japanese and English abilities. In answering the question about how children's Japanese and English abilities are impacted by the Japanese exposure they receive from their parents' use of Japanese and Japanese use in the community, children's language use in the community and school are the focus of this section; cultural identities will be examined in the following section.

Three prominent types of exposure were discovered that impacted children's language abilities:

- Type 1: Parents' consistent use of Japanese after the initial decision about language choice.
- Type 2: The types of language exposure that children receive from the community.
- Type 3: The extent of (amount of) the types of the exposure that children receive in the community. See Appendix C for detail about the exposure individual participants receive.

Each of these exposure types is examined in relation to children's Japanese and English language.

7.4.2.1. Children's Japanese Abilities. The only family with Type 1 exposure was the Uchimura family, who consistently used Japanese once Tomoki decided to use Japanese with his children. Tomoki decided to send his two older children, Lachlan and Jasper, to my Japanese language centre (Type 2), providing additional exposure to Japanese for his children, as I only used Japanese to communicate with them. As Tomoki had very limited connections with the Japanese community so that his partner,

Louisa, would not feel isolated, his use of Japanese in the home and in class at my Japanese language centre were the only Japanese exposure types that his children received. Their number of visits to Japan were also limited for the same reason. Therefore, Type 3 exposure was not available for the Uchimura family. Despite this, Tomoki's consistent use of Japanese with his children contributed to his two older sons communicating in Japanese (Cho, 2015; Pauwels, 2005; Zhang & Slaughter-Defoe, 2009). On the other hand, their youngest daughter Sienna's exposure to Japanese is limited to her father's use of Japanese. Tomoki believes that he does not spend as much time with her as with his older sons. Sienna is more attached to her mother, which means that the language that her mother speaks, English, is passed on to her (Guardado, 2017). Sienna was too young to join my Japanese language centre with her brothers, and therefore, she has limited Japanese speaking abilities.

All other families did not achieve Type 1 exposure; however, the Berna and Bradley families increased their use of Japanese as the children grew older. Both families began using Japanese after their children entered primary school. There were noticeable differences in the children's language proficiency in these two families. The Berna children have a higher proficiency in Japanese compared with the Bradley children. This was due to the Type 2 exposure they received. Chie Berna initially used English with her children; however, after sending her two older children, Lorenz and Markus, to a local school in Japan for a period of two to five months, she found that the children picked up Japanese. The family's lengthy visits to Japan enhanced their Japanese use (Schwartz, 2010). Chie used this opportunity to use Japanese with her children; she now uses both English and Japanese to communicate with them. Type 3 exposure was rather weak for the Berna family when compared with the Bradley family. Chie has some connections with other Japanese families in the community;

however, they are not as strong as Yoko Bradley's connections. Attending and being immersed in an authentic Japanese environment at a local Japanese school for up to five months had greatly contributed to Chie's children's development in Japanese. Their youngest daughter, Trina did not have the opportunity to attend the local school in Japan with her brothers as she was too young. Yet, the length of stay in Japan and the opportunities to be exposed to authentic Japanese were advantageous for Trina. Trina developed a basic conversation level due to her higher levels of exposure to Japanese as compared to Sienna Uchimura.

For the Bradley family, Yoko's sister, who lived with the Bradley family in Australia, contributed to Adam's Japanese exposure during his preschool years. This supports Pauwels' (2005) argument that relatives' presence in the home contributes to heritage language maintenance. However, after she left Australia and Adam entered primary school, his use of Japanese decreased. Yoko decided to increase her use of Japanese when her children were in the middle to upper years of primary school. Type 3 exposure was very strong for Yoko and her children, as they have extensive connections with the Japanese community. The children were exposed to the Japanese language from various sources in the community, including Japanese traditions implemented at mealtimes. As the children's Japanese gradually developed over time, it shows that Type 2 exposure also contributed to the children's Japanese proficiency. Adam developed stronger Japanese fluency than Tessa, as he had more exposure to Japanese, including spending time with Yoko's sister and studying Japanese at secondary school. In fact, Type 3 exposure has a powerful impact on Japanese language development, as Tessa at least understands the Japanese spoken to her. Unlike the Berna family, the Bradley family offered their children both Type 2 and Type 3 exposure; however, the influence from Type 2 exposure (the local Japanese school) was stronger in the Berna

family, resulting in a higher level of Japanese language proficiency in the Berna children.

The Brown and Okuda families did not make any initial decisions on language use when their children were born. In both cases, the Japanese parent used a mixture of English and Japanese, including within the same sentence. While it is difficult to compare the children of these families due to their age differences, it was noticeable that both Max Brown and Hibiki Okuda understand their parent's Japanese, but cannot respond in Japanese. Type 3 exposure was relatively high in the Brown family, where a playgroup helped connect the children with other Japanese families. Type 2 exposure contributed to the overall amount of exposure to Japanese that Max received; this exposure included speaking Japanese at my Japanese language centre, regular playdates with friends from a Japanese background from the playgroup, Fukie's efforts to read Japanese books with Max, and celebrating Japanese cultural events. In the Okuda family, Type 3 exposure was not as strong as in the Brown family. Hibiki only attended my Japanese language centre for six months at the age of 2. The family has some connections with other Japanese families in the community; Yasuhiro especially has many Japanese clients at work. Type 2 exposure, however, was weak for the Okuda family, although the family implements elements of Japanese culture into everyday life, including learning karate and fostering an interest in Pokémon characters. Because Hibiki was at the stage where he resisted speaking Japanese, it was difficult for Yasuhiro to speak Japanese to Hibiki, because Hibiki would ignore him. Lack of Type 1 exposure may have impacted Max and Hibiki's Japanese proficiency, reaffirming the importance of parental use of Japanese.

The Kitajima family initially decided to use Japanese after relocating to Australia. However, the habit of using English that they established in Japan continued

even after moving to Australia. Despite the effort he made to use Japanese when Lucy was younger, Riku's Japanese gradually shifted to English because of various social factors, as explained in Section 7.2. Therefore, the Kitajima family did not achieve Type 1 exposure as Riku was unable to commit to using Japanese. Yet, the visits to Japan and speaking Japanese with grandparents and relatives helped improve Lucy's Japanese abilities. The Kitajima family has achieved Type 3 exposure as they provide Lucy with a sufficient amount of Japanese exposure within the community. Type 2 exposure is achieved by attending my Japanese language centre and the Japanese community language school; however, as in Hibiki's case, Lucy only attended my Japanese language centre for six months. Attending Japanese community language school contributes to Japanese exposure, yet it offers much less exposure to Japanese when compared to attending a local school in Japan. Additionally, socialising with children from Japanese backgrounds provides opportunities for Lucy to listen to Japanese in her surrounding environment. For the Kitajima family, the decrease in Type 1 exposure (as the use of Japanese by the Japanese parent has reduced) has resulted in Lucy shifting to English.

Yamato and Sara, two of the four participating adult children of Japanese–Australian intermarriage families who communicate with their Japanese-origin parents in Japanese, experienced all three types of exposure in their childhoods. In each case, the Japanese parent's consistent use of Japanese, attending the Japanese community language school from kindergarten to secondary school, and frequent visits to Japan, appeared to have had a strong impact that promoted high levels of Japanese language proficiency. In contrast, Sonia did not fulfil any of the three types of exposure, and as a result, she cannot use Japanese to communicate. Samantha partially achieved Type 1 exposure; however, after residing in Australia, she could not achieve Type 2 and 3

exposure, and therefore she primarily uses English to respond if Japanese is spoken to her. Both Sonia and Samantha had studied Japanese at an institution, yet this exposure to Japanese was still not sufficient to establish fluency.

Exposure to Japanese in the home and in the community had a great impact on the children's Japanese language abilities. This demonstrates the importance of a commitment to using of Japanese both in the home and in the community (DeCapua & Wintergerst, 2009). Participants who were connected to Japanese families, friends, and schools in the community had a high chance of maintaining Japanese language use (Nesteruk, 2010). However, as these participants live in Australia where English is the dominant language used, in their large regional city it is exceptionally challenging to find opportunities where children can interact using Japanese. Kasuya (1998) emphasised the importance of heritage language exposure and that children who are not speaking enough heritage language cannot be assumed to be failing to learn the language.

The previous discussion of Type 1 exposure demonstrates the importance of parents' commitment to using Japanese, as achieving Type 1 exposure (or not) is reflected in children's Japanese language development. The impact of Type 3 exposure illustrates that the more connections the families have with the Japanese-speaking community, the more exposure to Japanese the children receive. In fact, Type 2 exposure (which is the *type* of exposure children receive) seems to have a stronger impact on children's Japanese abilities (e.g., attending a local Japanese school) when compared with Type 3 (the *number* of Japanese opportunities they receive). Hence, the two older children of the Uchimura family, who received consistent Japanese exposure from their Japanese parent, as well as all the children in the Berna family are able to communicate in Japanese with their parents. In the case of the Berna children, this may

be a result of their immersion in Japanese language during their lengthy visits to Japan where the older two children also attended the local school.

7.4.2.2. Children's English Abilities. Four of the six families (the Berna, Bradley, Uchimura, and Okuda families) perceived a weakness in their children's English skills when they began primary school. Either one or both parents were notified by their teachers that their children's English use was different from other children who had only been exposed to English. Teachers and parents—in particular Australian- (or other-) origin parents—were aware of the literature on language use by bilinguals, which helped explain these differences, and to understand that any perceived weakness would soon be overcome. Louisa Uchimura indicated she understood that bilinguals experience schooling in the non-home language differently to their monolingual peers; however, she admitted that she was concerned about whether Tomoki's use of Japanese might hinder her children's English language development. Adam was initially supported in the English as a Second Language (ESL) class at his mainstream school, while Hibiki attends an additional literacy class outside school. While Hibiki was still at the stage of receiving literacy support, other children in the study demonstrated that they had developed high literacy skills over time, an outcome consistent with national testing in Australia that reveals by Year 3, and certainly by Year 5, bilingual children outperform monolingual children in literacy testing (Australian Curriculum, Assessment and Reporting Authority, 2019). Teachers today have a better understanding of the language learning patterns of multilingual speakers, which reflects the increase in the numbers of immigrant families of different language backgrounds in schools. Participants in this study did not receive the non-specialist and well-meaning but misguided advice to encourage their children to speak only English at home (Baetens-Beardsmore, 2003; Ellis, et al., 2018; Kawamura & Goza, 2013; Shibata,

2000). Following this advice will lead children to shift to English, as I did during my earlier years in an Australian school in the 1980s.

The Brown and Kitajima families did not perceive much difference in their children's English language development. Darren Brown believed that Max began reading English books at a very early age, whereas Josephine Kitajima confirmed that Lucy always talked a lot, which may have prevented any difference in English learning.

Most children experienced English language development differently from monolingual children as a result of being exposed to both Japanese and English in the home and in the community, particularly in the early years of primary school. The understanding and support the children received from the school and their parents helped them to improve their literacy skills as they grew older—as is the case for all children in schools, since children learn at different rates regardless of language background. In fact, for the children in this study, not only their reading skills but also their overall academic achievement were quickly recognised. Participants' experiences show that using the heritage language created differences in English learning rates in the early years, but resulted in cognitive and academic benefits later on.

7.4.3. Key Finding 3: A Family's Japanese Connections Impact the Development of Their Children's Cultural Identities

Parents' use of Japanese and their connections with their Japanese families and the local Japanese community in Australia appears to have shaped the children's cultural identities. As suggested previously (see Parents' Involvement 2), children whose families have strong ties with Japan and the Japanese local community in Australia developed a strong sense of Japanese cultural identity (see Appendix D for children's perceptions of themselves). Children who have not developed Japanese proficiency but have close connections with Japanese heritage and culture still

identified themselves as Japanese or Japanese–Australian (or Japanese–Swiss for Lorenz Berna).

The Uchimura family had the least exposure to the Japanese community in Australia; Jasper responded that he identifies himself as “Australian” in the questionnaire. While Jasper attended my Japanese language centre and is able to communicate in Japanese, other social factors such as limited exposure to Japanese culture and Japanese people seemed to have affected his sense of Japanese cultural identity. On the other hand, his older brother, Lachlan, not only attended my Japanese language centre but also undertook a Japanese course at secondary school, which may have successfully maintained his Japanese identity more than was possible for Jasper.

The two younger children of the Berna family (Markus and Trina), who were born and partially raised in Canada, identified themselves as Canadian in the questionnaire even though they spend a long time in Japan during their visits. Interestingly, Markus wishes to be identified as Japanese even though he identified himself as Canadian. This may be due to his positive experience in attending a local Japanese school where he felt accepted by his Japanese teachers and peers. Trina wishes to be identified as Canadian, even though she has now been living in Australia longer than she lived in Canada. Jasper and Sienna Uchimura want to be identified as Australian. Even though they are proud of Japanese culture, a possibly insufficient amount of exposure to Japanese language and culture in the community seemed to have impacted their cultural identities, at least at this stage in their lives. This could change, as we saw from the examples of the adult children.

Specifically, the Japanese language proficiency of five of the child participants (Max Brown, Adam and Tessa Bradley, Lucy Kitajima, and Hibiki Okuda) is not as strong as for the Berna children and the two older children of the Uchimura family.

However, all have developed strong Japanese cultural identities because they have received immersive exposure to Japanese language and culture at home, in Japan, and in the community (see Appendix C). This indicates the importance of parents providing opportunities for children to experience Japanese culture, including celebrating Japanese cultural events, reading Japanese books, and watching anime. Furthermore, connecting and socialising with other Japanese families and friends from the community, as well as finding an institution where children can learn Japanese, contributed to the development of their Japanese cultural identities.

Additionally, Max and Lucy have a tendency to become friends with people of Japanese background. Finding roots and establishing friendship in the Japanese community motivated them to learn Japanese, but also enhanced positive Japanese cultural identities (Baker & Wright, 2017; Grosjean, 2010; Schambach, 2006).

As outlined in Table 7.1, the language use by two of the adult children of Japanese–Australian intermarriage families with their Japanese-origin parents, and the amount of exposure to Japanese language and culture, appear to be reflected in their perceptions of their cultural identities. Sara, who communicates in Japanese with her mother, identified herself as Japanese, as she believes that she thinks and acts in the way Japanese people do. The Japanese community language school helped construct her sense of belonging and established positive cultural identities through interactions with her friends at the school (Cruickshank, 2015). On the other hand, Sonia, who communicates in English with her mother, identifies as Australian, as she does not feel that she is sufficiently connected to Japanese culture. Her limited exposure and opportunity to use the Japanese language due to being raised in the 1970s and 1980s may have impacted her capacity to maintain Japanese language skills and a Japanese cultural identity.

The analysis of the data indicates that cultural identities are affected by children's heritage language proficiency, culture maintenance by parents, and social interactions with friends from the same ethnic background (Phinney et al., 2001). In fact, similar to Oriyama's (2010) findings, child participants in this study who have limited Japanese proficiency still developed Japanese cultural identities because they were exposed to a sufficient amount of Japanese language and culture in the community. As languages are strongly connected to cultures (Guessabi, 2017; Jiang, 2000), access to Japanese cultural resources was crucial in developing children's Japanese cultural identities. Parents' interaction in the community impacted children's opportunities to socialise through their heritage language (Velázquez, 2013), as found in Tomoki Uchimura's reluctant choice to distance himself from the Japanese community. This study demonstrated that cultural identities cannot develop merely through the Japanese-origin parents' efforts to use Japanese, but also that sufficient exposure to Japanese culture and community was crucial. It indeed supported Creese and Blackledge's (2015) view that language use does not necessarily equal identity.

7.5. Parental Gender and Siblings' Language Proficiency

Two other areas of interest arising from my study but not directly related to the research questions are the impact of the gender of the Japanese-origin parent, and siblings' language proficiency. These findings will be discussed separately in this section.

7.5.1. Parental Gender

Discovering whether it makes a difference in children's heritage language development if the heritage speaker was a father or a mother was one of my interests during this study. Three Japanese fathers participated in the study: Tomoki Uchimura,

Riku Kitajima, and Yasuhiro Okuda. In the questionnaire, Tomoki and Riku revealed that they believe Japanese mothers spend more time with children than Japanese fathers, and therefore, the Japanese level of children who have Japanese mothers can be higher. Five of the six Australian- (or other-) origin parents also believe that Japanese-origin mothers can maintain Japanese more than Japanese-origin fathers. Yasuhiro, on the other hand, believes that gender does not matter as long as the Japanese-origin parents are constantly using Japanese. This belief is reflected in his interview response that heritage language maintenance is dependent on parents' efforts.

All three participating Japanese fathers work full-time outside the home. Tomoki spends time with his children on weekday evenings and on weekends. He made the decision to use Japanese and is committed to using Japanese whenever he is with his children. As a result, his two older sons can communicate in Japanese at a basic conversational level. On the other hand, Riku stays in the capital city for work three days each week, and Yasuhiro occasionally returns home late due to work commitments. For various other reasons, Riku has limited time to spend with his children, which is one of the possible reasons for the decline in his Japanese use with his children. When Yasuhiro is away for work, his partner, Sharon, speaks English to their child, Hibiki, although she can speak Japanese fluently. In both cases, during their Japanese-origin parents' absence, children hardly have any exposure to Japanese as English is usually spoken to them by English-speaking partners.

The impact of the amount of time Japanese-origin fathers spent in the home, and the extent to which they use Japanese in the home, were the two themes that emerged from the findings. The analysis of the data presented in Chapter 5 suggests that Japanese fathers can also maintain Japanese language use with their children, as long as they spend time at home and are committed to using Japanese. In contrast, Kawamura

and Goza (2013) and Cunningham-Andersson and Andersson (1999) have argued that mothers are more likely to maintain Japanese because they spend more time with their children, partially supporting the idea that gender makes a difference. Their argument emphasises the importance of the amount of time spent with children, and my finding shows that fathers who spend sufficient time with children are also likely to maintain their heritage language. Further, the fathers' decisions on the language choice can lead to successful heritage language maintenance, as in Tomoki's case, as opposed to some of the claims in the literature (Kondo, 1998; Okita, 2002; Yamamoto, 2001) where the importance of mothers' language choice for their children is emphasised. As Baker (2000) suggested, fathers can have an important role if they interact with their children in a child-centred way, in this way allowing them to contribute to heritage language development. Nevertheless, this result is drawn from a small number of cases and is based solely on the language the parents used with their children. Other factors, such as emotional and social challenges in the home and community, can impact parents' use of Japanese.

7.5.2. Siblings' Language Proficiency

Three of the six families (the Berna, Bradley, and Uchimura families) had more than one child who participated in the study. The analysis of the data in Chapters 5 and 6 shows that the oldest or older sibling tends to be more fluent in Japanese than younger siblings. Two of the four adult children of Japanese–Australian intermarriage families whose mothers spoke Japanese (Yamato and Sara) also revealed that their oldest sibling was more proficient in Japanese. However, another participant who was an adult child of Japanese–Australian intermarriage family, Samantha, finds that she can speak a little more fluently than her older brother. Table 7.2 shows the order of siblings' Japanese fluency (from “1” being the most fluent sibling to “3” indicating the least fluent) of the

child participants in the three families as well as the adult children of Japanese–Australian intermarriage families, and the types of exposure that may have had an impact on their Japanese fluency. The first three entries are participating families, and the latter three are adult children of Japanese–Australian intermarriage families. Participants listed in Table 7.2 are those who have siblings as well as a Japanese-origin parent who used at least some Japanese in raising their children in the home, regardless of the amount of Japanese they used. The names of the siblings are listed in birth order.

Table 7.2*Siblings' Japanese Fluency*

Participant	Siblings (order of fluency)	Types of exposure
Berna family	Lorenz (1) Markus (2) Trina (3)	Local school in Japan (Lorenz & Markus)
Bradley family	Adam (1) Tessa (2)	Mother's sister's homestay (Adam); JCLS ^a ; Japanese study at secondary school (Adam)
Uchimura family	Lachlan (2) Jasper (1) Sienna (3)	JLC ^b (Lachlan & Jasper); Japanese study at secondary school (Lachlan)
Burgess family (Yamato)	Oldest brother (1) Second oldest brother (2) Yamato (3)	JCLS; Mother's use of Japanese
Crowley family (Sara)	Sara (1) Younger sister (2)	JCLS; more visits in total to Japan than her sister, including a visit alone
Alford family (Samantha)	Older brother (2) Samantha (1)	More communication frequency with mother

^aJCLS – Japanese community language school.

^bJLC – Japanese language centre.

Apart from the Uchimura and Alford families, the oldest siblings have a higher fluency than their younger siblings. In one particular case, Jasper Uchimura, who was the second of three siblings, was able to use Japanese better than his older brother, Lachlan. His Japanese expression and the word choices in his conversation were more

advanced than his brother's. It is worth noting that his Japanese proficiency was assessed based on my subjective views from the weekly lessons, and no quantitative data were collected. Jasper has a closer connection with his Japanese-origin father, Tomoki, and spends more time with him. Their youngest sibling, Sienna, was the least proficient in Japanese. Sienna did not attend my Japanese language centre because she was too young, limiting her exposure to Japanese.

Samantha Alford's mother continued to speak Japanese to Samantha and her brother; however, her two-year absence from her children resulted in their Japanese language use shifting rapidly to English. Regardless, when she rejoined them, her mother continued to speak Japanese, while her use of English also increased so that her children could understand. Although Samantha was the younger sibling of the two, she spent more time with her mother than her brother, so she had more exposure to Japanese.

Shin (2002) found that the first-born child spends their first few years immersed in the parents' heritage language, the easier language for parent communication. The Burgess family's case appears to match Shin's findings. All siblings can speak Japanese fluently; however, Yamato finds that his older brothers speak more fluently than he does.

The two older children of the Berna family (Lorenz and Markus) gained more exposure to Japanese than the youngest child (Trina) by attending a local school in Japan. Similarly, the Bradley family also revealed that the older sibling, Adam, had more opportunities to be exposed to Japanese than his younger sister, Tessa. Yoko's sister's presence in their home and a secondary school Japanese course had advantaged Adam. This study did not capture the extent to which older siblings bring English

back home from school to pass on to younger siblings influenced language use in the home, as reported by Hinton (1999), Shin (2002), and Fillmore (1991).

Overall, among the three family groups and three adult children of Japanese–Australian intermarriage families, the older siblings, or in the cases of the Uchimura and Alford family, the second child, had more exposure to the Japanese language when compared with the younger (or other) siblings, through their parents' or relatives' use of Japanese or through exposure to Japanese in the community. Parada (2013) argues that the maternal input of the heritage language varies according to the birth order and that immigrant parents' use of English with younger siblings increases in response to their preferences and needs. The amount of exposure to heritage language emerged as the key factor that determines the language abilities of children.

7.6. Practical Recommendations for Heritage Language Maintenance Within Intermarriage Families in Australia

The research findings provide multiple contributions to recommendations that inform immigrant communities, language maintenance policies, education policies, and languages studies in Australia. As mentioned earlier, the data collected for this study is limited to a small number of participants from one large regional city (and the state capital city for two of the adult children of Japanese–Australian intermarriage families) and may not be generalizable. However, the small sample size allowed me to collect rich data in order to understand each participant's perspectives towards maintaining Japanese in the home and in the community. Arising from the discussions in this chapter, the following recommendations are made:

1. All levels of government and immigrant communities should collaborate and provide practical opportunities for parents of intermarriage families in the community, for example, through organising events and activities and

informational workshops to offer practical guidance to Australian- (or other-) origin parents about how they can contribute to heritage language maintenance. Some Japanese-origin parents would like to receive more support from their Australian- (or other-) origin partners. Workshops would enable participants to receive advice from linguistic experts, government representatives, and other intermarriage couples.

2. Local councils should provide social spaces in community centres (e.g., Local Community Services Association) for immigrant parents (both mothers and fathers), their Australian- (or other-) origin partners, and their children to exchange information, socialise, and network within the surrounding community. This is particularly important for families living in regional and remote areas. If accessibility is an issue, an online space may be an option. These social spaces would also ensure that Australian- (or other-) origin parents can also socialise with other Australian- (or other-) origin parents to avoid feeling excluded from the heritage language community group, as observed in the Uchimura family.
3. Local councils should provide a mobile language library (e.g., a van filled with non-English books, puzzles, and games) for children to access, particularly for families who live in regional or remote areas. A mobile library could also offer story time and games for children using heritage languages.
4. State and territory, and Australian government and language policy makers should consider implementing a requirement for current and pre-service teachers in Australia to undertake professional learning to raise awareness about the importance of valuing the heritage language backgrounds of their students. This would support social inclusivity, understanding, and appreciation of the

linguistic and cultural diversity of Australia (see National Languages Plan and Strategy, 2021).

5. Local Australian schools should be involved in celebrating cultural festivals, and should allow heritage-language children to lead the events. This would raise their sense of cultural belonging and allow them to increase their knowledge of their cultural history.
6. The Australian government should increase the teaching of languages in Australian primary and secondary schools. This would provide opportunities for all students in Australian schools to appreciate other languages and cultures, and would establish a culture where the different language backgrounds within each school community are valued. As Australia is known as a multicultural and multilingual nation, yet still remains monolingual (Shirrefs, 2013), we therefore need to increase the teaching of languages.
7. The Australian government should provide increased access to institutions such as The Japan Foundation (funded by the Japanese government and located in major cities around the world) to support immigrant parents and their children to enhance their connections with their heritage languages and cultures. The Japan Foundation offers resources such as a library with Japanese books, digital reading resources, Japanese story time for children, Japanese language courses for adults, and centre visits for schools.
8. Education bodies and language education professionals should create accessible and interactive digital resources so that immigrants and their families can connect remotely and interact in real time with similar-age children from the same heritage language background, in order to provide children with authentic exposure to their heritage language.

7.7. Conclusion

This study examined the parents' and children's perspectives on Japanese language and culture maintenance and its impact on children's language ability and identity in six Japanese–Australian intermarriage families living in Australia.

Maintaining immigrant parents' heritage language is challenging enough, let alone in a country where English is used as a dominant language (see Oriyama, 2010, 2011, 2016; Pauwels, 2014; Schwartz, 2010; Sims & Ellis, 2015). I began by recalling my own experiences as a young child living in a rural town in Australia using Japanese in the home with my parents and English outside the home, as well as raising my own children in Japanese after moving to Australia in 2011. My childhood experience shows how easily language use can shift from the heritage language (Japanese) to English, especially being immersed in an environment where English is used as a dominant language. Today I still speak in Japanese to my children, but I noticed how rapidly they acquired English and it became their stronger language. Through these experiences, I understand how difficult and challenging it is for immigrant parents to maintain heritage languages and cultures with their children, particularly in intermarriage families where both parents have different language backgrounds. As there is an increasing population of intermarriage families in Australia, this study can contribute to supporting heritage language maintenance for intermarriage families through understanding the perspectives of both Japanese-origin parents, Australian- (or other-) origin parents, and their children.

This research revealed each Japanese parent's emotional and social conflicts regarding the use of the Japanese language with their children. Although my study focused on Japanese–Australian (with one Japanese–Swiss) intermarriage families in

the Australian context, the findings from my data may also be useful for families who use other languages or who are located in different countries.

This study confirms that parents of both genders can contribute to the heritage language maintenance. Selecting three Japanese fathers as participants shows that provided the heritage language parents are committed to using their heritage language, children can develop fluency in the heritage language. My study, along with other studies of all sizes, adds to the growing literature on both the experiences and ways forward to support immigrant families and especially intermarriage families, in Australia and elsewhere.

Parents' positive attitudes reflected children's language use and developing cultural identities (DeCapua & Wintergerst, 2009; Li, 1999; Zhang & Slaughter-Defoe, 2009), but in reality, the children's use of Japanese was far less than what some parents had anticipated. Japanese-origin parents want to pass on Japanese to their children; however, they face many challenges, with the result that often, unwillingly, they reduce the use of Japanese until, gradually, they shift into English. Heritage language maintenance is not possible without understanding and support from partners, relatives, and the community (Zhang & Slaughter-Defoe, 2009). As suggested, the federal government, state education bodies, language policy makers, local councils, and immigrant communities can provide support by offering practical guidance for intermarriage families, especially that allows the Australian- (or other-) origin parents to network, socialise, and increase their awareness of how heritage languages are maintained in Australia. While immigrant parents have more opportunities to socialise with other heritage language speakers of the same language, Australian- (or other-) origin partners have fewer interactions with other partners of heritage language immigrants. Providing a space for Australian- (or other-) origin parents can reduce the

stress on heritage language parents. Through professional learning requirements, the government can support teachers in mainstream schools to increase their awareness of and to value the heritage languages and cultures in their school communities. It is also important to involve mainstream schools in celebrating heritage cultures of students, given Australia is a multicultural nation.

Parents providing sufficient exposure to the Japanese language and culture was crucial for enhancing children's Japanese language and cultural identities (Pauwels, 2005). This study has shown that the amount of Japanese used by Japanese-origin parents was reflected in their children's Japanese proficiency but not necessarily reflected in children's cultural identities. Children who developed positive Japanese cultural identities were substantially exposed to Japanese culture in the home, community, and school. For example, they visited Japan regularly, and took part in child-centred Japanese activities (Baker, 2000; Döpke, 1992; Kheirkhah & Cekaite, 2018; Lanza, 2007). Connecting with the community and creating social networks with other families from a Japanese background and with children of similar age can help increase exposure to Japanese language and culture. The experiences of adult children of Japanese–Australian intermarriage families also contributed to this study to allow us to understand how Japanese-origin parents' language choice is reflected in their Japanese language abilities and identities.

7.7.1. Limitations

As mentioned in Chapter 1, I acknowledge that I am aware of the limitations of this study. As this is a qualitative study, the phenomena of the cases are explored through the analysis of subjective experiences, ideas, and feelings of participants. I employed qualitative validity and reliability measures for trustworthiness to justify the interpretation and analysis of the data (Schwandt et al., 2007). The validity of the study

rests on recruiting participants with similar backgrounds, and the reliability of the study depends on collecting several kinds of data from each participant. Although small sampling and in-depth analysis may not be seen as generalisable as other (especially quantitative) approaches, the findings nonetheless offer generalisability through providing detailed explanation of circumstances similar to many other individuals and families. Hence, the study offers value for intermarriage families more broadly.

Families in the study were also sampled from only one region of Australia: a large regional city adjacent to the state capital. Further studies in other locations, and from families from different cultural or linguistic backgrounds, would be useful to help extend the pool of knowledge in the field and would have a wider impact and influence. Such research is particularly needed in Australia to counter the still-prevalent monolingual mindset (Clyne, 2004; Hajek & Slaughter, 2015; Lo Bianco & Slaughter, 2009), and to provide case examples that differ from intermarriage families' experiences in other locations.

Further, participants chosen in the study are limited to families or individuals with a Japanese-origin parent and an Australian- (or other-) origin parent, and where these parents' children were born in Australia (or another English-speaking country) or came to Australia before the age of 4. By limiting the study to this particular context, the unique language interactions of families with similar backgrounds could be examined. Further studies with different family dynamics, also focused on questions of language use and identity, would add to the field.

Young participants (the youngest being 6 years of age) were involved in this study. Some interview questions were difficult for them to answer (although I endeavoured to keep the language of questions simple) and some questions were supported by parent explanations. Most of the time, parents interpreted or gave some

examples to follow for their children to answer; however, this approach may limit the children's actual voices being fully heard. Nevertheless, it would not have been ethical to isolate the children from their parents for the study, and the tone of family discussions and views was more evident in interviews with children when conducted in this way. Additionally, as I am a speaker of both Japanese and English, I could understand the interpretations offered by parents and was able to identify any deviations from the original intent of questions.

Finally, the answers that the participating families provided in the interviews may not represent their true feelings, but rather be what the families thought I wanted to hear (Richards, 2009). Ethnographic, phenomenological studies of this kind carry such a risk (Crocker, 2009), which is compensated for by the relaxed atmosphere of data collection, and by offering the opportunity to respond via questionnaire as well as a face-to-face interview. This approach is also consistent with the methodological paradigm of phenomenological case studies, where the cases provide their own perspectives, whatever they may be, ameliorated by the choice of the participant in relation to their own context and family relationships, and not the researcher's. Although it may have been desirable in some cases to remove the participant and myself from other family members during the interview in order to obtain unfiltered feelings of participants, it was difficult to do this due to the structure of the home, and the ethical requirement to allow parents to be in the children's interviews. Therefore, the data obtained in the interviews represents a reasonable level of reliability given the contextual circumstances (Kervin et al., 2006).

7.7.2. Recommendations for Future Research

There are several ways to build on this study. This research investigated the Japanese language use of child participants of various ages. Children of similar age

groups could be selected to ensure that the responses are more consistent and represent their actual voice; that is, the children's own words. As raised in the limitations section in 7.7.1., some questions were difficult for younger child participants to answer.

Therefore, the actual voice of the child participants may not be fully captured, as it may be replaced by their parents' voice to some degree. This study can also be extended to explore heritage language maintenance of other languages, with other age groups, and even in single parent families.

Japanese–Australian intermarriage families living in similar styles of cities (whether they are capital cities, large regional cities, or remote areas) across all states and territories of Australia can be investigated to discover any challenges that are distinct for each region, state or territory (e.g., available language resources, Japanese–Australian intermarriage population). Any useful discoveries that arise from such a study can contribute to the language policies of other states and territories.

This study investigated second-generation children of Japanese–Australian intermarriage parents. In future research, Japanese language use and identities of third-generation children (i.e., the children of the second-generation Japanese–Australian children) can be explored to discover how their parents (the second-generation children) decide on the language choice based on their own experiences. This would allow us to identify how strongly heritage language was maintained by the first-generation immigrant parents.

In examining the data in this study, it became apparent that parental gender was an issue, especially for the three Japanese fathers. Gender as an issue in intermarriage heritage language families could be further explored in subsequent studies, with deliberate attempts to recruit more Japanese father participants. This would allow deeper consideration of their language maintenance experiences in contrast to the

experiences of Japanese mothers in an Australian (or similar) setting. Finally, studies of this kind could continue to be investigated as longitudinal studies. As these families are currently in the middle of raising children in a bilingual environment, the process of how Japanese is maintained (or not) might be worth investigating, alongside observations of the various stages of children's language development and possible changes and shifts in parents' perspectives, goals, and practices over time. Similarly, adult children of Japanese-Australian intermarriage families can be investigated in relation to semi-longitudinal and cross-sectional aspects in future studies. Furthermore, the advantages and disadvantages of the Australian Curriculum: Languages programs and HSC languages course for child participants of heritage background might be a focus for further exploration in future studies (see the languages section of the Australian Curriculum <https://www.australiancurriculum.edu.au/>). Participants in the study were appreciative of the availability of Japanese curricula, which were also used to supplement studies in Japanese through Japan's education system. It was not an area that received much comment from the families involved, even the adult children. Community-based activities were of greater concern in relation to maintaining heritage languages.

This study uncovered various challenges and some emotional turmoil experienced by Japanese-origin parents striving to maintain Japanese language and culture for their children. All the children are proud of Japanese culture, reflecting their Japanese parent's efforts to retain their heritage language for their children. Their experiences of difficulties in speaking Japanese, and eventually resisting the learning of Japanese, reminded me of myself as a child. Understanding the benefits of using Japanese and finding opportunities to use Japanese can help children increase their motivation to learn Japanese. For this reason, the willingness of families to

communicate in heritage language contexts could be investigated in future research. I anticipate that this study will encourage the immigrant parents of intermarriage families living in Australia (and elsewhere) to be proud of their heritage languages and to establish positive cultural identities for their children.

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Appendix A

Interview and Questionnaire Design

Interview Questions for Japanese-Origin Parent (Japanese Version 日本語版)

Background

生い立ちを教えてください。

- どこで生まれましたか。
- 日本での職業は何でしたか。今のお仕事は？ (optional)
- 日本の学校に行きましたか。
- 学歴は？ (optional)
- いつオーストラリアに来ましたか。どういう理由で来ましたか。
- ご主人（奥さま）といつ結婚しましたか。
- どこでご主人(奥さま)に出会いましたか。
- 今までご主人（奥さま）とどこに住んでいますか。
- お子様は皆オーストラリアで生まれましたか。
- お子様は皆英語を中心として使っている現地校に通っていますか。

Language use （言語の使用状況）

1. あなたとご主人（奥さま）がお子様と何語を使って話すか決められた経緯を教えてください。理由は？
2. ご家族の皆さんそれぞれとの言語の関わり方を教えてください。
3. （E.g., あなたとお子様、あなたとご主人（奥さま）、そしてご主人（奥さま）とお子様）

4. お子様全員同じくらいの度合いで日本語を話しますか。
5. (E.g. 年上のお子様の方が年下のお子様より日本語を話せる)
6. ご主人(奥さま)は英語以外の言語を話しますか。
7. あなたは英語をどのくらい話せますか。
8. ご主人(奥さま)はどのくらい日本語が話せますか。
9. ご夫婦お二人ともいらっしゃる時、ご家族みんなは何語で話しますか。
10. ご主人(奥さま)とコミュニケーションをとる時、言語の壁にぶつかったり、文化の違いによる誤解で困ることはありますか。
11. ご夫婦ともにご家族で話す言語についてお互いの意見が一致していましたか。
12. ご家族の言語をどうするかについてご主人(奥さま)以外の方のご意見が判断に影響を及ぼした人はいますか。
13. ご家族間の言語をどうするか決めるにあたって何が一番大切だと思いますか。
14. 追加 必要であれば
 - ご主人(奥さま)とのコミュニケーションについて
 - 意見の不一致、まわりからのプレッシャー、まわりからの(言語に関する)励まし、ご主人(奥さま)の(言語に関する)考え方

Q3. 2つ以上の言語を話したり、家庭内で2つ以上の言語を使ったりすることは良いことだと言われています。あなたはどのように思いますか。

3.1 なぜそれが良いこと/悪いこと（思わしくない）ことだと思
いますか。

3.2 お子様が日本語を知ることは大切だと思いますか。なぜ？

3.3. ご主人（奥さま）はどう思われていますか。

Q4. あなたのご家庭内で初めてお子様に日本語を話し始めた時期から今日
（こんにち）まで日本語の使用状況が変わってきたと感じますか。どういっ
た変化ですか。何かきっかけはありましたか。

4.1 (言語使用状況の変化のきっかけが)誰かからアドバイスやご
意見をもらいましたか。または、誰かにアドバイスやご意見を
頼みましたか。

4.2 日本語学校に通ったり、日本のコミュニティからのサポート
や日本に行ったりするなど、日本語を実用的に学び始めました
か。

4.3 ご主人（奥さま）の（言語に対する）考え方が変わりました
か。

4.4 お子様たちの(言語に対する)気持ちの変化がありましたか。

4.5 お子様が発達するに伴って他の日本人とのかかわり方が変わ
ってきましたか。

4.6 バイリンガルとして育てて行くと言語の発達が遅くなると言
う人もいます。あなたのお子様の日本語と英語の発達状況はど
う思いますか。

4.7 学校やコミュニティからのプレッシャーを感じたことがありますか。

4.8 学校を選ぶに当たって、日本語を教えている学校だったり、英語力の維持・向上、宿題、学校行事への関わりなど、教育に関して考慮していますか。

Q5. 日本に時々行くことは日本語を維持するには良い機会だと言われていますが、あなたの場合はどうですか。

5.1 最近いつ日本に帰りましたか。どれくらいの期間ですか。

5.2 あなたとご家族にとって日本に行くことの重要性は？（どういうことに重要性を感じているか）

5.3 どれくらいの頻度で日本に帰りたいですか。実際にはどうですか。予定を立てるのは(計画するのは)難しいですか。

Q6. もし、お子様に日本語を話していたら（話していなかったら）どう違っていたと思いますか。（お子様との関係、ご夫婦との関係、ご家族全体との関係）

6.1 もし、ご主人(奥さま)が英語のみ（日本語のみ）しか話さなかった場合

6.2 お子様を育てる際にどの言語を話すかという取り決めが違っていたら、あなたは今と違う接し方をしていたと思いますか。

Q7. オーストラリアに住んでいてどうですか。何か難しかったり、困ったりすることはありますか（家族のこと、仕事、親戚付き合いなど）

7.1 あなた自身はどれくらい日本人っぽい、オージーっぽいと思いますか。どういったことが？

7.2 誰か知っている人で、自分よりも日本人っぽかったり、オージーっぽかったりする人はいますか。どういったことが？

Q8. 将来どうしたいですか。どこに住みたいです。なぜ？お子様の将来への希望は？

Interview Questions for Japanese-Origin Parent (English Version)

Background

Q1. Could you please tell me briefly about your background?

- Birthplace
- What occupation in Japan? What occupation now? (optional)
- Did you go to school in Japan?
- Educational background? (Year 12, University, TAFE etc.) (optional)
- When did you come to Australia? Why?
- When did you get married with your partner?
- Where did you meet her/him?
- Where have you lived with your partner?
- Were all your children born in Australia?
- Do they all attend local schools where English is used for instructions?

Language use

Q2.

1. Can you explain how your family decided what language(s) you and your partner would speak to your children, and the main reasons?
2. Would you like to elaborate on the language use/interactions with your family members, including you and your children, you and your partner, and your partner and children?
3. Do all of your children speak the language in the same intensity? (e.g. Your oldest
4. child speaks more Japanese than the younger child)

PARENTAL INVOLVEMENT IN CHILDREN'S JAPANESE MAINTENANCE

5. Does your partner speak any other language(s) besides English?
6. How well can you speak English?
7. How well can your partner speak Japanese?
8. When both of you are present, what language do you all speak in?
9. Do you find difficulties in communicating with your partner in terms of language or come across cultural misunderstandings?
10. Did you and your partner both agree to the decision about the language use within the family?
11. Did someone else besides your partner influenced the decision?
12. What is the most important reason for the language choice in your family?
13. Additional things if necessary
 - communication with partner
 - conflicts, pressures, encouragement, your partner's view etc.

Q3. Some people think it's a good idea to be able to speak more than one language and to use more than one language around the house. What do you think?

3.1 In what way; why good/bad?

3.2 Important for children to know Japanese?

3.3 What does/did your partner think?

Q4. Could you please tell me whether or not the language use in your home has changed over time (since the first day you started using Japanese), and how it happened, and any memorable incidents related to the change?

4.1 Advice/comment from someone? Or asked for it?

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4.2 'Practical conditions' related to learning Japanese, Japanese school, support from Japanese community, Japan

4.3 Partner's feeling about the change

4.4 Change in children's attitudes

4.5 Change as child/ren grows older in relationships and interaction with other Japanese people (e.g. Friends – and your own, say before and after they started school)

4.6 Some people talk about bilingualism resulting language delay. How about the language development of Japanese/English for your child and how you felt about it?

4.7 Pressures from school or society in large and responses?

4.8 'School' choice of school; teaching Japanese and other educational considerations, responsibility for English language development; homework; involvement in school activities

Q5. Some people say that going back to Japan every now and then is good for language maintenance. How about in your case?

5.1 When was your last trip to Japan? For how long?

5.2 The importance of trips for the family and you yourself

5.3 How often would you like to go back? In reality, how often? Difficult to plan?

Q6. If you had/hadn't tried to speak Japanese to your children, in what ways would things have been different? (in relations with children, partner, and family as a whole)

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6.1 If your partner had spoken only English/Japanese?

6.2 Effects of language arrangements on how children are being raised; would you behave differently?

Q7. How has it been to live in Australia for you? What kind of things do you find difficult? (family, work, relationships with relatives, and in general)

7.1 How Japanese/Aussie would you say you are? In what ways?

7.2 Do you know anyone who is more Japanese/Aussie than you? In what ways?

Q8. Could you tell me something about your hopes for the future, where would you like to live and why, and your children's future?

Debriefing – thanking, confidentiality

Interview Questions for Australian- (or Other-) Origin Parent

Background

Q1. Could you please tell me briefly about your background?

- Birthplace
- What occupation? (optional)
- Educational background? (Year 12, University, TAFE etc.) (optional)
- When did you get married with your partner?
- Where did you meet her/him?
- Where have you lived with your partner?
- Were all your children born in Australia?
- Do they attend local schools where English is used for instructions?

Language use

Q2 Can you explain how your family decided what language(s) you and your partner would speak to your children, and the main reasons?

2.1 Would you like to elaborate on the language use/interactions with your family members, including you and your children, you and your partner, and your partner and children?

2.2 How well can you speak Japanese?

2.3 Do you speak any other language(s) besides English?

2.4 How well can your partner speak English?

2.5 When both of you are present, what language do you all speak in?

2.6 Do you find difficulties in communicating with your partner in terms of language or come across cultural misunderstandings?

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2.7 Did you and your partner both agree to the decision about the language use within the family?

2.8 Did someone else besides your partner influenced the decision?

2.9 What is the most important reason for the language choice in your family?

2.10 Additional things if necessary

- communication with partner
- conflicts, pressures, encouragement, your partner's view etc.

Q3. Some people think it's a good idea to be able to speak more than one language and to use more than one language around the house. What do you think?

3.1 In what way; why good/bad?

3.2 important for children to know Japanese?

3.3 What does/did your partner think?

Q4. Could you please tell me whether or not the language use in your home has changed over time (since the first day your partner started using Japanese), and how it happened, and any memorable incidents related to the change?

4.1 Advice/comment from someone? Or asked for it?

4.2 'Practical conditions' related to learning Japanese, Japanese school, support from Japanese community, Japan

4.3 Your feeling about the change

4.4 Change in children's attitudes

4.5 Change as child/ren grows older in relationships and interaction with other Japanese people (e.g. Friends – and your own, say before and after they started school)

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4.6 Some people talk about bilingualism resulting language delay. How about the language development of Japanese/English for your child and how you felt about it?

4.7 Pressures from school or society in large and responses?

4.8 'school' choice of school; teaching Japanese and other educational considerations, responsibility for English language development; homework; involvement in school activities

Q5. Some people say that going to Japan every now and then is good for language maintenance. How about in your case?

5.1 When was your last trip to Japan? For how long?

5.2 The importance of trips for the family and you yourself

5.3 How often would you like to go back? In reality, how often? Difficult to plan?

Q6. If your partner had/hadn't tried to speak Japanese to your children, in what ways would things have been different? (in relations with children, yourself, and family as a whole)

Q7. Could you tell me something about your hopes for the future, where would you like to live and why, and your children's future?

Debriefing – thanking, confidentiality

Interview Questions for Primary (or Early Secondary) School-Aged Children

1. Background (personal/school)

1. Have you lived in Australia since you were born? (If Japan or other country, when did you come to Australia?)
2. What language do the teachers use at school?
3. Have you been in the same school since kindergarten?

2. Background (family)

1. What country did your mum and dad come from?
2. Do you spend a lot of time with your mum and dad?
3. Do you have any brothers or sisters? How many?
4. What do you normally do with your family on weekdays? (How do you spend time with your family on weekdays?)
5. On the weekends?

3. Background (community)

1. Are there many Japanese people in the area you live in?
2. Do you spend time with them?
3. Do you go to any Japanese festivals or Japanese cultural events?

If YES, what kinds of events? What do you like about them?

4. Language use

1. What language does your dad speak to you? Since when? Always?
2. What language do you speak to your dad?
3. What language does your mum speak to you? Since when? Always?

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4. What language do you speak to your mum?
5. What language do your parents speak to each other?
6. Can your mum/dad (English-speaking parent) speak Japanese?

If YES, how well can she/he speak?

7. How well can your mum/dad (Japanese parent) speak English?

Very well / Well / So so / A little / Not at all

8. What language do you speak to your brothers/sisters?
9. When you have a conversation with the whole family (for example, at dinner time), what language do you all speak in?

If a Japanese parent speaks Japanese to the child

- 1) How well do you think you can speak Japanese?
- 2) Is speaking Japanese with your mum/dad (Japanese parent) easy?
- 3) Do you think it was good that your mum/dad (Japanese parent) kept speaking Japanese to you?
- 4) Have you ever wished your mum/dad (Japanese parent) didn't speak Japanese to you? If yes, when?
- 5) What do you think are the benefits of (good things about) being able to speak both English and Japanese?
- 6) Do you want your mum/dad to continue speaking Japanese to you in the future?
- 7) Do your brothers or sisters speak as well as you do?

If a Japanese parent does not speak Japanese to the child

- 1) Do you think it was good that your mum/dad (Japanese parent) did not speak Japanese to you?

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- 2) Have you ever wished your mum/dad (Japanese parent) spoke Japanese to you?
- 3) Do you think there are benefits of (good things about) being able to speak both English and Japanese? Why do you think so?
- 4) Do you want your mum/dad (Japanese parent) to speak Japanese to you even from now on? Why do you think so?

If a Japanese parent used to speak Japanese to the child but not now

- 1) Since when did your Japanese parent stopped using Japanese to you?
- 2) Why do you think your Japanese parent had stopped using Japanese to you?

10. With your brothers and/or sisters, have you ever thought about using Japanese (if they speak in English)?

11. Have you ever visited Japan?

If YES

- What do you do there?
- Did you go to a school in Japan? If yes, how was it? If no, do you want to go to school in Japan?

If NO

- Is there a reason you haven't visited Japan?
- Do you want to visit? If yes, what do you want to do there?

12. Do you have grandparents, relatives (uncle, aunty, cousins etc) in Japan?

If YES

- What language do you speak to them?

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- What language do they speak to you?
- Did you find it difficult to talk to them in Japanese?
- Have you ever talked on the phone or skype with them? If so, in what language?

13. Do you go to a Japanese community school (Saturday school)?

If YES

- How many kids in your class?
- What language does the teacher use?
- What language do you use to speak to your teacher?
- What language do you use with your classmates?

If NO

- Is there a reason you don't go?
- Have you ever been to any Japanese community school?
- Do you want to go?

14. Do you want to add anything about your reading experience in Japanese?

15. Do you watch any Japanese TV programs, DVDs, internet such as YouTube or movie?

- Do you watch with English subtitles (translation)?
- What do you do if you come up with words you don't understand in Japanese?

16. Do you think it is important to be able to read and write in Japanese? Why?

5. Ethnic identity

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1. Do you have any Japanese friends? (they can be from a family of a Japanese parent)

If YES

- How did you meet?
- Where do they live?
- How long have you known them for?

If NO

- Do you wish you had Japanese friends? Why?

2. Has anyone asked you, "Where are you from?"

If YES

- How did you answer?

If NO

- How would you answer?

3. Do you feel that you are Japanese or Australian? Or both?

4. Are you proud of Japanese culture?

5. What do you like about Japan and Japanese culture?

6. What don't you like about Japan and Japanese culture?

7. What do you like about Australia and Australian culture?

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8. What don't you like about Australia and Australian culture?
9. Do you think Japanese and Australians are different? If yes, in what ways?
10. Do you have friends from different cultural background?

If YES

- Have they shared any of their cultures to you? Such as food, language, games etc.

Thanking, debriefing, confidentiality

Interview Questions for Adult Children of Japanese–Australian Intermarriage Families

1. Background (personal/school)

1. Have you lived in Australia since you were born?
2. Did you go to a school in Australia?
3. What language did the teachers use at school?
4. Have you ever attended a school in Japan?

If YES, when, where, for how long? How was the schooling experience in Japan?

2. Background (family)

1. What country did your mum and dad come from?
2. Did you spend a lot of time with your mum and dad when you were a child?
3. When you were a child, was your mother working? (part-time, work at home)
4. Was she staying at home? How about now?
5. Do you have any brothers or sisters? How old are they?
6. What did you normally do with your family on weekdays? (How did you spend time with your family on weekdays?)
7. On the weekends?
8. Do you live with your parents now?
9. What do you do now?

3. Background (community)

1. Were there many Japanese people in the area you lived in with your family in childhood?
2. Did you spend time with those Japanese people?

3. Did you go to any Japanese festivals or Japanese cultural events?

If YES, what kind of events? What do you like about them? Do you go now?

4. Language use

1. What language did your dad speak to you? Since when? Always? Now?
2. What language did you speak to your dad? Now?
3. What language did your mum speak to you? Since when? Always? Now?
4. What language did you speak to your mum? Now?
5. What language did your parents speak to each other?
6. How well can your mum/dad (English-speaking parent) speak Japanese?

Very well / Well / So so / A little / Not at all

7. How well can your mum/dad (Japanese parent) speak English?

Very well / Well / So so / A little / Not at all

8. What language did you speak to your brothers/sisters?
9. When you had a conversation with the whole family (for example, during dinner time), what language did you all speak in?

5. If a Japanese parent speaks Japanese to the child

1. How well do you think you can speak Japanese?
2. Is speaking Japanese with your mum/dad (Japanese parent) easy?
3. Are you glad that you can speak Japanese? Why?
4. Why do you think you become able to speak Japanese? What could have influenced your ability?
5. Have you ever wished your mum/dad (Japanese parent) didn't speak Japanese to you? If yes, when?

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6. When you were a child, what did you think about speaking Japanese and studying Japanese?
7. When you were a child, were you ashamed of speaking Japanese in front of friends and strangers? If yes, why?
8. What do you think are the benefits of (good things about) being able to speak both English and Japanese?
9. Do you want your mum/dad to continue speaking Japanese to you in the future?
10. Do your brothers or sisters speak as fluent as you do?

If a Japanese parent did not speak Japanese to the child

- 1) How well do you think you can speak Japanese?
- 2) Do you think it was good that your mum/dad (Japanese parent) did not speak Japanese to you?
- 3) Have you ever wished your mum/dad (Japanese parent) spoke Japanese to you? Why?
- 4) Do you think there are benefits of (good things about) being able to speak both English and Japanese? Why do you think so?
- 5) Do you want your mum/dad (Japanese parent) to speak Japanese to you even from now on? Why do you think so?
- 6) Do your brothers or sisters speak Japanese? How well?

If a Japanese parent used to speak Japanese to the child but not now

- 1) Since when did your mum/dad (Japanese parent) stopped using Japanese to you?
- 2) Why do you think your mum/dad (Japanese parent) had stopped using Japanese to you?

- 3) Do you wish they continued speaking Japanese to you?
- 4) Do you think there are benefits of (good things about) being able to speak both English and Japanese? Why do you think so?
- 5) Do you want your mum/dad (Japanese parent) to speak Japanese to you even from now on? Why do you think so?
- 6) Do your brothers or sisters speak Japanese? How well?

6. Can you tell me about any visits to Japan?

7. Tell me about a Japanese community school (Saturday school) and at schools (primary and high schools) if you have studied Japanese in those places.

- Did you like going to the community school?
- What did you like (dislike) about?
- How many kids were in your class?
- What language did the teacher use?
- What language did you use with your classmates?
- Do you still meet up with your friends from the community school?

If you didn't go

- Was there a reason you didn't go?
- Did you want to go?
- If you have studied Japanese at primary/high school
- Why did you study Japanese?
- How was studying Japanese?
- Was it difficult? What would you like to improve?
- Are you studying Japanese now?

8. Did you read any Japanese books and/or watch any Japanese programs? (With subtitles?)

9. Tell me about your experiences and thoughts on how you would identify yourself as being a child of a Japanese parent and an English-speaking (Australian) parent.

- 1) Has anyone asked you, "Where are you from?" or something like that?
- 2) Have you ever been told something or bullied at school because you are Japanese / 'half'?
- 3) How would you identify yourself as?
- 4) Do you understand the ways of thinking/behaviour of both Japanese and Australians? Which are closer to you?

10. Tell me about your future plans, including the languages you want to use with your own children.

Thanking, debriefing, confidentiality

Background Information and Language Use Questionnaire for Japanese-Origin Parent

Please answer all applicable questions if possible. Thank you for your cooperation.

1. Name: _____

2. What year did you come to Australia? (e.g., 1985) _____

3. What is the reason you came to Australia? Please circle.

Work / Study / Working holiday / Marriage / Other _____

4. What language do you speak to your eldest child?

1. Japanese only 2. Mostly Japanese 3. English only 4. Mostly English

5. Japanese and English to the same degree

6. Other _____

5. How well can your eldest child speak Japanese?

1. Native-speaker-like 2. A reasonable competence 3. Basic conversation

4. Greetings and routine phrases 5. None

6. What language do you speak to your second child? (if applicable)

1. Japanese only 2. Mostly Japanese 3. English only 4. Mostly English

5. Japanese and English to the same degree 6. Other _____

7. How well can your second child speak Japanese? (if applicable)

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1. Native-speaker-like 2. A reasonable competence 3. Basic conversation
4. Greetings and routine phrases 5. None

8. What language do you speak to your third and subsequent child? (if applicable)

1. Japanese only 2. Mostly Japanese 3. English only 4. Mostly English
5. Japanese and English to the same degree 6. Other _____

9. How well can your third and subsequent child speak Japanese? (if applicable)

1. Native-speaker-like 2. A reasonable competence 3. Basic conversation
4. Greetings and routine phrases 5. None

10. If you had different languages for Q4,6,8, why may this have been so?

11. Do all of your children speak that language at the same intensity? YES / NO

12. If NO in Q11, why is that?

13. How fluent are you in speaking English?

1. Native-speaker-like 2. A reasonable competence 3. Basic conversation
4. Greetings and routine phrases

14. What language do you speak when you are with the whole family?

1. Japanese only 2. Mostly Japanese 3. English only 4. Mostly English

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5. Japanese and English to the same degree 6. Other _____

15. "I spend _____ with my children on weekdays."

Which of the following best describes your situation? Please circle.

1. 4-5 days a week 2. 2-3 days a week 3. Once a week 4. None

16. Do you spend a lot of time with your children on weekends?

1. Every weekend 2. One day of the weekend 3. 3 weekends per month

4. 2 weekends per month 5. 1 weekend per month 6. Other

Please place an X in one of the spaces below that best describes how you feel about the language use. Please refer below as an indicator.

(Strongly agree: Agree: Somewhat agree: Somewhat disagree: Disagree: Strongly disagree)

17. I think it is important to be able to speak more than one language.

Strongly disagree ____:____:____:____:____:____Strongly agree

18. I want my children to speak more than one language.

Strongly disagree ____:____:____:____:____:____Strongly agree

19. I think it is important to speak Japanese at home with my children.

Strongly disagree ____:____:____:____:____:____Strongly agree

20. I feel that speaking more than one language can cause confusion to my children.

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Strongly disagree ____:____:____:____:____:____Strongly agree

21. I feel that speaking more than one language can slow down both (all) language development.

Strongly disagree ____:____:____:____:____:____Strongly agree

22. My partner and I agreed and came to the same conclusion about what language(s) to use at home.

Strongly disagree ____:____:____:____:____:____Strongly agree

23. Someone other than my partner has influenced our decisions on what language(s) to use at home.

Strongly disagree ____:____:____:____:____:____Strongly agree

24. I felt some pressures from school and communities about what language(s) to speak at home.

Strongly disagree ____:____:____:____:____:____Strongly agree

25. My partner and I are happy with the decisions we made to what language(s) to use with our children.

Strongly disagree ____:____:____:____:____:____Strongly agree

26. I constantly talk and discuss about our children's languages with my partner.

Strongly disagree ____:____:____:____:____:____Strongly agree

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27. I think that being able to speak Japanese will develop positive cultural identities for my children.

Strongly disagree ____:____:____:____:____:____Strongly agree

28. I think that being able to speak Japanese will increase the job opportunities for my children.

Strongly disagree ____:____:____:____:____:____Strongly agree

29. I have many Japanese friends that I socialise with.

Strongly disagree ____:____:____:____:____:____Strongly agree

30. I try to get involved with the Japanese communities or participate in Japanese cultural events with my children.

Strongly disagree ____:____:____:____:____:____Strongly agree

31. I think that going to Japanese language school (Saturday school) is a good way of developing Japanese language and socialising with Japanese friends.

For parents who use (mainly) Japanese to children, please answer Questions 32-38.

For parents who use (mainly) English to children, please answer Questions 39-46.

Strongly disagree ____:____:____:____:____:____Strongly agree

For parents who use only/mainly Japanese to children

(Please circle ONE appropriate item and write your answers.)

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32. How long have you been using Japanese with your children?

1. Since she/he was born
2. After she/he had started talking
3. Around pre-school age
4. After starting primary school
5. Other (please specify) _____

33. How do you feel about the language/s choice/s you have made at the moment?

1. I think I made a correct choice
2. I wish I did not make that choice
3. It was against my will but I had no choice
4. Other _____

34. Why did you choose the above response? Please explain.

35. How happy are you with your children's fluency in Japanese?

1. She/He speaks fluently and it is more than I had expected.
2. She/He is speaking as I had expected.
3. She/He does not seem to be speaking as much as I had expected.
4. I wish she/he could speak more fluently.
5. Other (please specify)

36. If your children speak English to you, what do you do?

1. Ignore until they speak in Japanese
2. Respond in English
3. Tell them to speak Japanese
4. Other (please specify)

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37. Have your children told you not to speak Japanese in front of their friends or in public?

YES / NO

If YES

1. How did you respond?

2. What might be the reason for your children to say that?

3. Will you continue to speak in Japanese regardless of your children's wishes?

YES / NO

If NO, please give a reason.

38. Will you be happy if your children identify themselves as Japanese?

YES / NO

For parents who use only/mainly English to children

(Please circle ONE appropriate item and write your answers.)

39. How do you feel about the language choice you have made at present?

1. I think I made a correct choice 2. I wish I did not make that choice

3. It was against my will but I had no choice

4. Other _____

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40. Why did you choose the above response? Please write.

41. Did both you and your partner agree on not using Japanese to your children?

YES / NO

If YES

Did someone other than your partner influence your decision? YES / NO

If NO

Did you want to use Japanese with your children? YES / NO

Did your partner want you to use Japanese with your children? YES/ NO

Did your partner disagree with you using Japanese with your children? YES/NO

42. Have you ever tried speaking Japanese to your children? YES / NO

43. What may have caused you not to / give up on raising your child(ren) in Japanese?

(Please circle applicable items)

1. I thought mixing languages might cause confusion to my child.
2. My partner did not agree with me speaking Japanese to our child.
3. Someone other than my partner did not agree with me speaking Japanese to my child.
4. I spoke in Japanese until my child went to pre-school.
5. I spoke in Japanese until my child went to primary school.
6. I spoke in Japanese until my child told me not to.
7. My child was speaking in English, so I decided to speak in English.

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8. I wanted my child to concentrate in English because all his/her schooling will be/is in English.

9. Other (please specify)

Please elaborate on your above response.

44. Have your children ever asked why you did not speak Japanese to them? YES / NO

If YES, how did you respond?

If NO, what would you say if they ask you?

45. Do you think your children are glad that you did not use Japanese to them?

YES / NO / Not sure

46. What will you do if your children ask you to speak in Japanese to them from now on?

1. I think it will be too late for them to learn Japanese so I won't speak Japanese to them.

2. I will try from basic conversation.

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3. I don't think my partner will be pleased, so I will not dare to try speaking in Japanese.

4. Other (please specify) _____

For all parents

(Please circle ONE appropriate item and write your answers.)

47. Do you think there can be differences in Japanese language skill levels in children if a parent is a Japanese father or a Japanese mother? YES / NO

48. Why do you think so?

1. I think Japanese mothers spend more time with children than Japanese fathers, so the Japanese level of the children with Japanese mothers can be higher.

2. I don't think the gender matters as long as the Japanese parent is constantly speaking Japanese to his/her child.

3. Other (please specify) _____

49. What do you think are the benefits for your children's future if they can speak both English and Japanese? _____

50. Do your children have the opportunities to listen and watch Japanese conversations such as you speaking with your Japanese friends or family? YES / NO

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51. Do your children go to Japanese community school (Saturday school)? YES / NO

If YES

Who made the decision to go to the Japanese community school?

1. Myself 2. My partner 3. Both my partner and myself 4. My parents
5. Other (please specify) _____

How often does your child attend the community school?

1. Once a week 2. Twice a week 3. Once a fortnight (every 2 weeks)
4. Once a month 5. Other _____

How long has your child been studying at the community school? (please circle)

Less than 1 year / 1 ~ 2 years / 2 ~ 3 years / 3 ~ 4 years / 4 years or more

Why is your child attending the community school? (Please circle any applicable items)

1. To socialise with Japanese friends 2. To keep my child's Japanese identity 3.
To get immersed in Japanese language and culture 4. To learn about Japan and
its culture 5. Because their friends go 6. Because my friend recommended to go
7. Other (please specify)

If NO

Has your child ever attended community school before? YES / NO

If YES: (please circle)

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For how long? Less than 1 year / 1 ~ 2 years / 2 ~ 3 years /

4 years or more

Why did your child stop attending?

1. The school didn't suit my child 2. It was too easy

3. It was too difficult 4. It was expensive 5. My child didn't get on well
with other children 6. It was too far to travel 7. The time didn't suit us

8. Other (please specify) _____

What is the reason for not sending your child to the Japanese community
school?

1. There is no community school nearby 2. It is too expensive

3. My child didn't want to go 4. My partner didn't want our child to go

5. I don't think it was necessary to go

6. Other (please specify) _____

52. Do you like Japanese food? YES / NO

If YES

What kinds of Japanese food do you like? _____

How often do you eat Japanese food? (Please circle)

Every day / 3-4 days a week / 1-2 days a week / Once a month / Once every 2
months / Once a year / Other (please specify)

Do you cook them? YES / NO

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If NO, who cooks them? (Please circle)

My partner / go to a restaurant / my Japanese friend(s) / my non-
Japanese friend(s) / My family from Japan / Other

53. Do your children like Japanese food? YES / NO

If YES:

What kinds of Japanese foods do they like?

54. Do your children watch Japanese programs such as movies, drama, DVDs, anime,
news on TV/internet or play online / video games? YES / NO

55. Are your children interested in products made in Japan including characters such as
Pokémon, Yu-Gi-Oh, Yokai Watch? YES / NO

56. Do they like to collect those products? YES / NO

57. Do your children read Japanese books, magazines, comics or internet articles?

YES / NO

58. Do you mix English and Japanese in conversation with your child(ren)?

YES / NO

59. If YES, why do you do so? Please circle ONE.

PARENTAL INVOLVEMENT IN CHILDREN'S JAPANESE MAINTENANCE

- a. Because I cannot find the right word in the one language.
 - b. Because it is just simply easier for me to use both languages in our conversations.
 - c. Because I am worried that my child(ren) might not understand the words in Japanese.
 - d. I think my child(ren) can be immersed in both languages at once.
 - e. I have never thought that I have been mixing the languages.
 - f. Other (please specify)
-

60. In response to above, what is your child(ren)'s Japanese ability?

- 1. It does not affect my child(ren) who can speak Japanese fluently.
 - 2. It might be affecting them. My child(ren) can understand Japanese but cannot speak fluently.
 - 3. It might be affecting them. My child(ren) cannot understand or speak Japanese.
 - 4. Other (please specify)
-

61. Do you think languages influence your children's cultural identities? YES / NO

62. Do you want your children to study Japanese at high school? YES / NO

63. Do you want your children to take HSC in Japanese? YES / NO

64. Do you want your children to study Japanese at the university? YES / NO

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65. Do you want your children to work in Japan or a job related to Japan? YES / NO

66. How would you like your child(ren) to grow up with families of two or more languages? Please circle ONE.

a. I would like my child to be both (all) languages fluent to the same degree.

b. I would like my child to be fluent in Japanese rather than English.

c. I would like my child to be fluent in English rather than Japanese.

d. I would like my child to concentrate on one language.

e. I would not want any other languages besides English in my house.

f. Other (please specify) _____

Thank you very much for your cooperation!

Background Information and Language Use Questionnaire for Australian- (or Other-) Origin Parent

Please answer all applicable questions if possible. Thank you for your cooperation.

1. What is your name? _____

2. Were you born in Australia? YES / NO

If NO: please write the country of birth. _____

3. Is your first language English? YES / NO

If NO; please write your first language. _____

4. Do you speak any other languages besides English? YES / NO

If YES: please write the language(s). _____

5. Did you go to school (primary and secondary) in Australia? YES / NO

If NO: where were you educated? _____

6. What is your highest level of education? (Optional)

1. Post-graduate university degree 2. University degree 3. TAFE / Junior
College

4. Secondary / High School 5. Other _____

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7. What is your occupation? Please circle and write the job title if applicable. (Optional)

1. Paid work (Full-time / Part-time) Job title

2. Retired / Disabled 3. Homemaker 4. Student 5. Temporary unemployed

6. Other _____

8. How many children do you have? _____

9. How many primary-aged children do you have? _____

10. In what language do you speak to your child(ren)?

1. Japanese only 2. Mostly Japanese 3. English only 4. Mostly English

5. Japanese and English to the same degree 6. Other _____

11. In what language do your child(ren) speak to you?

1. Japanese only 2. Mostly Japanese 3. English only 4. Mostly English

5. Japanese and English to the same degree 6. Other _____

12. In what language do you speak to your partner?

1. Japanese and English to the same degree 6. Other _____

13. In what language do your child(ren) speak to your partner?

1. Japanese only 2. Mostly Japanese 3. English only 4. Mostly English

5. Japanese and English to the same degree 6. Other _____

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14. How fluent are you in Japanese?

- 1. Native-speaker-like 2. A reasonable competence 3. Basic conversation
- 4. Greetings and routine phrases 5. None

15. How fluent is your Japanese partner in English?

- 1. Native-speaker-like 2. A reasonable competence 3. Basic conversation
- 4. Greetings and routine phrases 5. None

16. "I spend _____ with my children on weekdays."

Which of the following best describes your situation? Please circle.

- 1. 4-5 days a week 2. 2-3 days a week 3. Once a week 4. None

17. Do you spend a lot of time with your children on weekends?

- 1. Every weekend 2. One day of the weekend 3. 3 weekends per month
- 4. 2 weekends per month 5. 1 weekend per month 6. Other _____

18. Do you visit Japan with your family? How often?

- 1. Once a year 2. Twice a year 3. Three or more times a year
- 4. Once in two years 5. Once in three years 6. Other _____

19. How many times have you visited Japan with your family?

- 1. Once 2. Twice 3. Three times 4. Four times 5. More than five times

20. Do you like Japanese food? YES / NO

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If YES:

(1) What kinds of Japanese food do you like?

(2) How often do you eat them? (Please circle)

Every day / 3-4 days a week / 1-2 days a week / Once a month / Once every 2 months / Once a year / Other (please specify) _____

(3) Do you cook them? YES / NO

If NO, who cooks them? (Please circle)

My partner / go to a restaurant / my Japanese friend(s) / my non-Japanese friend(s) / My partner's family from Japan / Other (please specify)

Please place an X in one of the spaces below that best describes how you feel about the language use. Please refer below as an indicator.

(Strongly agree: Agree: Somewhat agree: Somewhat disagree: Disagree: Strongly disagree)

21. I think it is important to be able to speak more than one language

Strongly disagree ____:____:____:____:____:____Strongly agree

22. I want my children to speak more than one language.

Strongly disagree ____:____:____:____:____:____Strongly agree

23. I am glad that I can speak more than one language (if applicable).

Strongly disagree ____:____:____:____:____:____Strongly agree

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24. I wish I could speak more than one language (if applicable).

Strongly disagree ____:____:____:____:____:____Strongly agree

25. I think it is important that my partner speaks Japanese at home with our children.

Strongly disagree ____:____:____:____:____:____Strongly agree

26. I feel that speaking more than one language can cause confusion to my children.

Strongly disagree ____:____:____:____:____:____Strongly agree

27. I feel that speaking more than one language can slow down both (all) language development.

Strongly disagree ____:____:____:____:____:____Strongly agree

28. I am glad that my partner has been speaking Japanese to our children (if applicable).

Strongly disagree ____:____:____:____:____:____Strongly agree

29. I am glad that my partner did not speak Japanese to our children (if applicable).

Strongly disagree ____:____:____:____:____:____Strongly agree

30. My partner and I discussed a lot about what language(s) to use at home before our children were born.

Strongly disagree ____:____:____:____:____:____Strongly agree

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31. My partner and I agreed and came to the same conclusion about what language(s) to use at home.

Strongly disagree ____:____:____:____:____:____Strongly agree

32. Someone other than my partner has influenced our decisions on what language(s) to use at home.

Strongly disagree ____:____:____:____:____:____Strongly agree

33. I felt some pressures from school and communities about what language(s) to speak at home.

Strongly disagree ____:____:____:____:____:____Strongly agree

34. My partner and I are happy with the decisions we made to what language(s) to use with our children.

Strongly disagree ____:____:____:____:____:____Strongly agree

35. I constantly talk and discuss about our children's languages with my partner.

Strongly disagree ____:____:____:____:____:____Strongly agree

36. I think that being able to speak Japanese will develop positive cultural identities for my children.

Strongly disagree ____:____:____:____:____:____Strongly agree

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37. I think that being able to speak Japanese will increase the job opportunities for my children.

Strongly disagree ____:____:____:____:____:____Strongly agree

38. I have many Japanese friends that I socialise with.

Strongly disagree ____:____:____:____:____:____Strongly agree

39. I try to get involved with the Japanese communities or participate in Japanese cultural events with my children.

Strongly disagree ____:____:____:____:____:____Strongly agree

40. I am interested in Japanese language and culture.

Strongly disagree ____:____:____:____:____:____Strongly agree

41. I think that going to Japanese community school (Saturday school) is a good way of developing Japanese language and socialising with Japanese friends.

Strongly disagree ____:____:____:____:____:____Strongly agree

If your partner uses (mainly) Japanese to children, please answer Q42–50.

If your partner uses (mainly) English to children, please answer Q51–57

For parents whose partner uses only/mainly Japanese to children

(Please circle applicable item and write your answers)

42. Are you happy that your partner has been speaking Japanese to your children?

YES / NO

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If NO, why is that? _____

43. Did you want your partner to speak Japanese from the beginning? YES / NO

If NO, why is that? _____

What changed your mind? _____

44. Are you proud that your children can speak Japanese? YES / NO

If NO, why is that? _____

45. Did you have any concerns about your partner using Japanese with them?

YES / NO

If YES, what was the concern?

46. Were there any situations that you appreciate that your children can speak Japanese, such as your child translated in Japanese for you at a shop? YES / NO

If YES, please write the situation.

47. Have you ever wished that your partner did not use Japanese with your children?

YES / NO

If YES, why is that? _____

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48. Do you feel that your children are struggling with speaking English and Japanese?

YES / NO

If YES, what made you feel so? _____

49. Do you think that your children being able to speak Japanese will influence on positive cultural identity? YES / NO

50. Will you be happy if your children identify themselves as Japanese? YES / NO

For parents whose partner uses (mostly) English to children

(Please circle applicable item and write your answers)

51. Are you happy that your partner is using only English with your children?

YES / NO

If NO, why is that? _____

52. Who made the decision of using only English at home? (Please circle ONE)

1. Myself 2. My partner 3. Both my partner and I agreed 4. My parents

5. Other (please specify) _____

53. What was the main reason for using only English at home?

54. Have you ever wished your partner had spoken Japanese with your children?

YES / NO

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If YES, why is that? _____

55. Were there any situations where you wished your children spoke Japanese such as helping you translate the conversation with your in-laws? YES / NO

If YES, please write the situation. _____

56. Has your partner ever tried speaking Japanese to your children? YES / NO

57. What may have caused your partner not to / give up on raising your child(ren) in Japanese? (Please circle applicable items)

1. We thought mixing languages can cause confusion to my child.
2. I did not agree with my partner speaking Japanese to our child.
3. Someone other than me did not agree with my partner speaking Japanese to my child.
4. My partner spoke in Japanese until our child went to pre-school.
5. My partner spoke in Japanese until our child went to primary school.
6. My partner spoke in Japanese until our child told him/her not to.
7. Our child was speaking in English, so my partner decided to speak in English.
8. We wanted our child to concentrate in English because all his/her schooling will be in English.
9. Other (please specify) _____

Please write a detail of your above response.

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For all parents

(Please circle applicable item)

58. Do you think there can be differences in Japanese language skill level if a parent is a Japanese father or a Japanese mother? YES / NO

59. Why do you think so?

1. I think Japanese mothers spend more time with children than Japanese fathers, so the Japanese level of the children with Japanese mothers can be higher.

2. I don't think the gender matters as long as the Japanese parent is constantly speaking Japanese to his/her child.

3. Other (please specify) _____

60. Do your children go to Japanese community school (Saturday school)? YES / NO

61. Who made the decision to go to the Japanese community school? (Please circle)

1. Myself 2. My partner 3. Both my partner and myself 4. My partner's parents

5. Other (please specify) _____

62. Do you think languages influence your children's cultural identities? YES / NO

63. Do you want your children to study Japanese at high school? YES / NO

64. Do you want your children to take HSC in Japanese? YES / NO

PARENTAL INVOLVEMENT IN CHILDREN'S JAPANESE MAINTENANCE

65. Do you want your children to study Japanese at the university? YES / NO

66. Do you want your children to work in Japan or a job related to Japan? YES / NO

67. How would you like your child(ren) to grow up with families of two or more languages? Please circle ONE.

- a. I would like my child to be a bilingual/multilingual. Both (All) fluent to the same degree.
- b. I would like my child to be fluent in Japanese than English.
- c. I would like my child to be fluent in English than Japanese.
- d. I would like my child to concentrate on one language.
- e. I would not want any other languages besides English in my house.
- f. Other (please specify) _____

Thank you very much for your cooperation!

Background Information and Language Use Questionnaire for Primary (or Early Secondary) School-Aged Children

Please answer all applicable questions. Thank you for your cooperation.

1. Name: _____

2. I am _____ years old

3. Grade /year level at your school: Year _____

4. Were you born in Australia? YES / NO

5. If NO: Where were you born, and when did you come to Australia?

6. Do you have brothers or sisters? YES / NO

If YES

(1) Are you... first born / second born / third born (please circle)

(2) Brothers' and sisters' ages (please write the age)

Older brother (___) Younger brother (___) Older sister (___) Younger sister (___)

Please circle one.

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7. What language does your Japanese parent use to talk to you?

- 1. Japanese only 2. Mostly Japanese 3. English only 4. Mostly English
- 5. About the same amount of Japanese and English
- 6. Other _____

8. In what language do you talk to your father?

- 1. Japanese only 2. Mostly Japanese 3. English only 4. Mostly English
- 5. About the same amount of Japanese and English
- 6. Other _____

9. In what language do you talk to your mother?

- 1. Japanese only 2. Mostly Japanese 3. English only 4. Mostly English
- 5. About the same amount of Japanese and English
- 6. Other _____

10. What language do your parents use to talk to each other?

- 1. Japanese only 2. Mostly Japanese 3. English only 4. Mostly English
- 5. About the same amount of Japanese and English
- 6. Other _____

11. What language do you use to speak to your brothers and sisters?

- 1. Japanese only 2. Mostly Japanese 3. English only 4. Mostly English
- 5. About the same amount of Japanese and English
- 6. Other _____

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12. If you have grandparents, where do they live?

Your father's parents: a. Japan b. Australia c. Other _____

Your mother's parents: a. Japan b. Australia c. Other _____

13. If you have grandparents, in what language do you speak to them?

Your father's parents: a. Japanese b. English c. Other _____

Your mother's parents: a. Japanese b. English c. Other _____

14. How many times have you visited Japan?

1. Once 2. Twice 3. Three times 4. More than four times 5. Never

15. If you visit Japan, how often do you visit?

1. Once a year 2. Twice a year 3. Three or more times a year

4. Once in two years 5. Never 6. Other _____

16. Are you a member of a Japanese-culture related club? (e.g. Kendo, karate.)

YES / NO

17. Do you read Japanese books, magazines, comics or online articles? YES / NO

If YES

(1) Please give an example (e.g. Title of the book):

(2) How often do you read those Japanese books, magazines or comics?

Please circle.

1. Everyday 2. About every 2 days 3. About 2 or 3 times per week

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4. Once a week 5. Once a month 6. Other _____

18. Does your Japanese parent read Japanese books to you? YES / NO

If YES

(1) How often does he/she read to you? (Please circle)

1. Every day 2. About every 2 days 3. About 2 or 3 times per week

4. Once a week 5. Once a month 6. Other _____

(2) What kind of books does he/she read to you?

(Please circle any appropriate items)

1. Picture books 2. Japanese folk tales 3. Western folk tales (Japanese translation) 4. Novels 5. Biography of famous people

6. Other _____

19. Do you watch TV programs (including DVD/videos) or play online / video games in Japanese? YES / NO

If YES

(1) What do you watch/play? Please give an example: _____

(2) How often do you watch/play those programs in Japanese?

1. Everyday 2. About every 2 days 3. About 2 or 3 times per week

4. Once a week 5. Once a month 6. Other _____

20. Do you like Japanese products including characters such as Pokémon, Yu-Gi-Oh, Yokai Watch? YES / NO

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If YES

(1) What kinds of products/characters do you like? _____

(2) Do you collect them? YES / NO

21. Do you like Japanese food? YES / NO

If YES

(1) What kinds of Japanese food do you like? _____

(2) Who cooks them? (Please circle)

1. My mum 2. My dad 3. My Japanese relative(s) 4. Japanese friend(s)

5. We eat at a restaurant 6. Other _____

(3) How often do you eat those foods? (Please circle)

1. Every day 2. About 2-3 times a week 3. About once a week

4. Every 2 weeks 5. Once a month 6. Once a year

7. Other _____

22. Do you attend Japanese community school? YES / NO

If YES

(1) How often do you attend the community school? (Please circle)

1. Once a week 2. Twice a week 3. Every 2 weeks 4. Once a month 5.

Other _____

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(2) How long have you been studying at the community school? (Please circle)

Less than 1 year / 1 ~ 2 years / 2 ~ 3 years / 3 ~ 4 years / 4 years or more

(3) What language do you speak at the community school? (Please circle)

1. Japanese only 2. Mostly Japanese 3. English only 4. Mostly English

5. About the same amount of Japanese and English

If NO

(1) Have you ever attended community school before? YES / NO

If YES, for how long? Less than 1 year / 1 ~ 2 years / 2 ~ 3 years / 4 years or more

(2) I do not attend community school because (Please circle)

1. There is no community school nearby

2. I don't want to mix with other Japanese people

3. My parents don't think it is necessary to go

4. I didn't know that it existed

5. Other (please specify)_____

23. Where do you live? Please write the name of the suburb.

Thank you very much for your cooperation.

Cultural Identity Questionnaire for Primary (or Early Secondary) School-Aged Children

The following questions ask you about your cultural background and how you feel about it.

Please circle ONE.

My father is Japanese / Australian / Other _____

My mother is Japanese / Australian / Other _____

I think I am Japanese / Australian / Japanese–Australian / Other _____

Questions below are to be completed by children if age-appropriate.

Please place an X in one of the spaces below that best describes how you feel.

E.g.,) I have many Japanese friends.

Don't agree at all ____: ____: X ____: ____ Agree very much

[I somewhat agree that I have many Japanese friends.]

***ethnic group** – a group of people from different cultures other than Western culture

1. I have spent time finding out about Japanese history, tradition, and customs.

Don't agree at all ____: ____: ____: ____ Agree very much

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2. I understand that I am Japanese and what it means to me.

Don't agree at all ____:____:____:____ Agree very much

3. I like meeting and getting to know people from ethnic groups other than Japanese.

Don't agree at all ____:____:____:____ Agree very much

4. I often spend time with people from ethnic groups other than Japanese.

Don't agree at all ____:____:____:____ Agree very much

5. I strongly feel that I belong to the Japanese ethnic group.

Don't agree at all ____:____:____:____ Agree very much

6. I try to learn about my Japanese background by talking to other Japanese about the Japanese ethnic group.

Don't agree at all ____:____:____:____ Agree very much

7. I am proud of being a Japanese.

Don't agree at all ____:____:____:____ Agree very much

8. I do not try to become friends with people from other ethnic groups.

Don't agree at all ____:____:____:____ Agree very much

9. I participate in Japanese cultural practices, such as special food, music, or customs.

Don't agree at all ____:____:____:____ Agree very much

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10. I am involved in activities with people from other ethnic groups.

Don't agree at all ____:____:____:____ Agree very much

11. I enjoy being around people from ethnic groups other than Japanese.

Don't agree at all ____:____:____:____ Agree very much

12. I feel good about the Japanese cultural or Japanese ethnic background.

Don't agree at all ____:____:____:____ Agree very much

13. There are many different ways in which people think of themselves. Which ONE of the following best describes how you view yourself? Please circle ONE.

- a. I consider myself basically a Japanese person. Even though I live in Australia, I still view myself as a Japanese person.
- b. I consider myself basically as an Australian. Even though I have a Japanese background and characteristics, I still view myself as an Australian.
- c. I consider myself a Japanese–Australian, although deep down I always know I am Japanese.
- d. I consider myself a Japanese–Australian, although deep down I view myself as an Australian first.
- e. I consider myself a Japanese–Australian. I have both Japanese and Australian characteristics and I view myself as a blend of both.

14. I would like other people to regard me as (please circle ONE):

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1) Japanese 2) Australian 3) Japanese–Australian

4) Other _____

15. My Japanese parent speaks Japanese to me. YES / NO

If YES

1) How often did the Japanese parent speak Japanese to you? Please circle ONE.

a. All the time, whether at home or outside.

b. Japanese at home, and English outside home.

c. Japanese at home, and same amount of Japanese and English outside home.

d. Other (please specify) _____

2) How do you feel about your Japanese parent's choice of speaking Japanese to you? Please circle ONE.

a. I am glad that my Japanese parent spoke Japanese to me.

b. I wish my Japanese parent did not speak Japanese to me.

c. I wish my Japanese parent used more English than Japanese.

d. I wish my Japanese parent did not speak Japanese to me in front of my friends or in public.

e. Other (please specify) _____

3) Why did you choose the answer in 2)? Please write below.

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4) Why do you think your Japanese parent chose to speak Japanese to you?

Please circle applicable items.

- a. Because his/her English was not good enough to speak to me.
- b. Because he/she wanted me to keep the Japanese language and pride of being Japanese.
- c. Because he/she wanted me to be able to speak Japanese with my grandparents and relatives.
- d. Because there was a pressure from my Japanese parent's relatives.
- e. Because he/she wanted me to live or study in Japan in the future.
- f. Because being able to speak more than two languages is good for me.
- g. Because it will be an advantage to get a job if I can speak both English and Japanese.
- h. Other (please specify) _____

If NO

1) Why do you think your Japanese parent did not choose to speak Japanese to you? Please circle ONE.

- a. Because my Japanese parent did not bother speaking Japanese to me.
- b. Because my Japanese parent thought that it would be confusing to have two languages at home.
- c. Because my Japanese parent did not come up with the idea of speaking Japanese to me.
- d. Because my English-speaking parent did not want my Japanese parent to speak Japanese to me.
- e. Someone other than my English-speaking parent did not agree that my Japanese parent speak Japanese to me.

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f. Other (please specify) _____

2) Has your Japanese parent ever spoken Japanese to you? Please circle ONE.

- a. Never, has he/she spoken Japanese to me since I was born.
- b. Yes, when I was born but not after I started pre-school.
- c. Yes, when I was born but not after I started primary school.
- d. Sometimes, with a few simple words in Japanese in the conversation.
- e. He/she tried after I started going to primary school.
- f. Only in front of other Japanese people or when we visit Japan.
- g. Other (please specify) _____

3) How do you feel about your Japanese parent's choice of not speaking Japanese to you? Please circle ONE.

- a. I am glad that my Japanese parent did not speak Japanese to me.
- b. I wish my Japanese parent spoke Japanese to me both at home and outside home.
- c. I wish my Japanese parent spoke Japanese at home, and English outside home.
- d. Other (please specify) _____

4) Why did you choose the answer in 2)? Please write below.

Thank you very much for your cooperation.

Background Information and Language Use Questionnaire for Adult Children of Japanese–Australian Intermarriage Families

1. Name: _____

2. Age: _____ years old

3. Were you born in Japan? YES / NO

4. If YES: How old were you when you came to Australia? _____ years old. If NO: Where were you born? _____

5. Did you go to local schools (both primary and secondary) in Australia (where English is used)? YES / NO

If NO: Which school did you go to and what language was used?

School: _____ Language: _____

6. Do you have brothers or sisters? YES / NO

If YES

(1) Are you... first born / second born / third born / other (please identify which position in the family _____) (Please circle, add information)

(2) Please write the numbers of siblings you have.

Older brother () Younger brother () Older sister () Younger sister ()

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7. Do you live with your family now? YES / NO

8. Are you a university student? YES / NO

9. What is your occupation? (if applicable) _____

For the questions below, please circle ONE response, and add information if necessary.

10. What language did your Japanese parent use to talk to you?

1. Japanese only 2. Mostly Japanese 3. English only 4. Mostly English

5. About the same amount of Japanese and English

6. Other _____

If your Japanese parent spoke (mostly) Japanese to you, please answer 1)–4).

If your Japanese parent spoke (mostly) English to you, please answer 5)–8).

Parent who chose to speak in Japanese to you

1) How often did the Japanese parent speak Japanese to you? Please circle ONE.

a. All the time, whether at home or outside.

b. Japanese at home, and English outside home.

c. Japanese at home, and same amount of Japanese and English outside home.

d. Other (please specify)

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2) How do you feel about your Japanese parent's choice of speaking Japanese to you?

Please circle ONE.

- a. I am glad that my Japanese parent spoke Japanese to me.
- b. I wish my Japanese parent did not speak Japanese to me.
- c. I wish my Japanese parent used more English than Japanese.
- d. I wish my Japanese parent did not speak Japanese to me in front of my friends or in public.
- e. Other (please specify)

3) Why did you choose the answer in 2)? Please write below.

4) If your Japanese parent spoke to you in Japanese, why do you think he/she chose to do so? Please circle applicable items.

- a. Because his/her English was not good enough to speak to me.
- b. Because he/she wanted me to keep the Japanese language and identity.
- c. Because he/she wanted me to be able to speak Japanese with my grandparents and relatives.
- d. Because there was a pressure from my Japanese parent's relatives.
- e. Because he/she wanted me to live or study in Japan in the future.
- f. Because being able to speak more than two languages benefits me both psychologically and socially.
- g. Because it benefits me with getting a job if I can speak both English and Japanese.

h. Other (please specify)

Parent who chose not to speak in Japanese to you

5) If your Japanese parent did not speak Japanese to you, why do you think he/she chose to do so? Please circle ONE.

- a. Because my Japanese parent did not bother speaking Japanese to me.
- b. Because my Japanese parent thought that it would be complicated to have two languages at home.
- c. Because my Japanese parent did not come up with the idea of speaking Japanese to me.
- d. Because my English-speaking parent did not want my Japanese parent to speak Japanese to me.
- e. Someone other than my English-speaking parent did not agree that my Japanese parent speak Japanese to me.
- f. Other (please specify) _____

6) Has your Japanese parent ever spoken Japanese to you? Please circle ONE.

- a. Never, has he/she spoken Japanese to me since I was born.
- b. Yes, when I was born but not after I started pre-school.
- c. Yes, when I was born but not after I started primary school.
- d. Sometimes, with a few simple words in Japanese in the conversation.
- e. He/she tried after I started going to primary school.
- f. Only in front of other Japanese people or when we visit Japan.
- g. Other (please specify) _____

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7) How do you feel about your Japanese parent's choice of not speaking Japanese to you? Please circle ONE.

- a. I am glad that my Japanese parent did not speak Japanese to me.
- b. I wish my Japanese parent spoke Japanese to me both at home and outside home.
- c. I wish my Japanese parent spoke Japanese at home, and English outside home.
- d. Other (please specify) _____

8) Why did you choose the answer in 7)? Please write below.

11. Do you think your English-speaking parent has influenced your Japanese parent's choice of Japanese language maintenance? Please circle ONE.

- a. Yes, I think my English-speaking parent had influenced greatly.
- b. Yes, I think my English-speaking parent had somewhat influenced.
- c. No, I think my Japanese parent had made his/her own choice.
- d. No, I think someone other than my parents had influenced my parent's choice.
- e. Neither. I think both my parents have talked about it and agreed to the choice.
- f. Other (please specify) _____

12. In what language did you talk to your father?

1. Japanese only 2. Mostly Japanese 3. English only 4. Mostly English

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5. About the same amount of Japanese and English

6. Other _____

13. In what language did you talk to your mother?

1. Japanese only 2. Mostly Japanese 3. English only 4. Mostly English

5. About the same amount of Japanese and English

6. Other _____

14. What language did (do) your parent use to talk to each other?

1. Japanese only 2. Mostly Japanese 3. English only 4. Mostly English

5. About the same amount of Japanese and English

6. Other _____

15. What language did (do) you use to speak to your brothers and sisters?

1. Japanese only 2. Mostly Japanese 3. English only 4. Mostly English

5. About the same amount of Japanese and English

6. Other _____

16. If you have (had) grandparents, where do (did) they live?

Your father's parents: a. Japan b. Australia c. Other _____

Your mother's parents: a. Japan b. Australia c. Other _____

17. If you have (had) grandparents, in what language do (did) you speak to them?

Your father's parents: a. Japanese b. English c. Other _____

Your mother's parents: a. Japanese b. English c. Other _____

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18. How many times have you visited Japan?

1. Once 2. Twice 3. Three times 4. More than four times 5. Never

19. How often did you visit Japan when you were a child?

1. Once a year 2. Twice a year 3. Three or more times a year

4. Once in two years 5. Never 6. Other _____

20. Are you a member of a Japanese-culture related club? (e.g. Kendo, karate.)

YES/ NO

If YES, what club were you in? _____

Why did you become a member of the club? _____

21. When you were a child, did you read Japanese books, magazines, comics or online articles? YES / NO

If YES

(1) Please give an example (e.g. Title of the book):

(2) How often did you read them?

1. Every day 2. About every 2 days 3. About 2 or 3 times per week

4. Once a week 5. Once a month 6. Other _____

22. When you were a child, did your Japanese parent read Japanese books to you?

YES / NO

If YES

(1) How often did he/she read to you?

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1. Every day 2. About every 2 days 3. About 2 or 3 times per week

4. Once a week 5. Once a month 6. Other _____

(2) What kind of books did he/she read to you? (Please circle any applicable items)

1. picture books 2. Japanese folk tales 3. Western folk tales (Japanese translation) 4. Novels 5. Biography of famous people

6. Other _____

23. When you were a child, did you watch TV programs (including DVD/videos) or play online / video games in Japanese? YES / NO

If YES

(1) What did you watch/play? Please give an example: _____

(2) How often did you watch/play those programs in Japanese?

1. Every day 2. About every 2 days 3. About 2 or 3 times per week

4. Once a week 5. Once a month 6. Other _____

24. Do (Did) you like Japanese products including characters such as Pokémon, Yu-Gi-Oh, Yokai Watch? YES / NO

If YES

(1) What kinds of products/characters do you like? _____

(2) Do you collect them? YES / NO

If YES, which ones? _____

25. Do you like Japanese food? YES / NO

If YES

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(1) What kinds of Japanese food do you like? _____

(2) Who cooks them?

1. My mum 2. My dad 3. My Japanese relative(s) 4. Japanese friend(s)

5. We eat at a restaurant 6. Other _____

(3) How often do you eat those foods?

1. Every day 2. About 2-3 times a week 3. About once a week

4. Every 2 weeks 5. Once a month 6. Once a year

7. Other _____

26. Did you attend Japanese community school? YES / NO

If YES

(1) How often did you attend the community school?

1. Once a week 2. Twice a week 3. Once a fortnight (every 2 weeks)

4. Once a month 5. Other _____

(2) How long had you been studying at the community school?

Less than 1 year / 1 ~ 2 years / 2 ~ 3 years / 3 ~ 4 years / 4 years or more

(3) What language did you speak at the community school?

1. Japanese only 2. Mostly Japanese 3. English only 4. Mostly English

5. About the same amount of Japanese and English

If NO:

(1) Have you ever attended community school before? YES / NO

If YES, for how long? Less than 1 year / 1 ~ 2 years / 2 ~ 3 years / 4 years or more

(2) I did not attend community school because

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1. There was no community school nearby
2. I didn't want to mix with other Japanese people
3. My parents didn't think it was necessary to go
4. I didn't know that it existed
5. OTHER (please specify) _____

27. What were the positive aspects in developing your Japanese? If you have, please circle any applicable items.

- a. I have more opportunities to speak with a wider range of people.
- b. I can also learn the history and culture through Japanese language.
- c. I can meet someone with similar interests and hobbies (e.g. anime, games etc.)
- d. It broadens my ways of thinking.
- e. I can understand and accept where my Japanese parent's thoughts and actions are coming from.
- f. I gain stronger connections with my Japanese parent and relatives in Japan.
- g. I can switch between English and Japanese depending on the circumstances.
- h. Travelling can be easier in Japan if I speak Japanese.
- i. It gives me wider job opportunities.
- j. Other (please specify) _____

28. Have you faced any challenges in developing your Japanese? If you have, please circle any applicable items.

- a. People respond in English even when speaking to him/her in Japanese.

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- b. Your family members' (other than you & your Japanese parent) Japanese proficiency are low or nil.
 - c. Conversations at home are mostly in English.
 - d. Vocabulary limited to home and immediate environment
 - e. Compared to speaking skills, reading and writing skills are weaker
 - f. Reading and writing academic essays
 - g. Reading and writing kanji
 - h. Not interested in Japanese books
 - i. There were no Japanese books that are age appropriate and fun as a child
 - j. As a child, I had no friend with whom I can play in Japanese
 - k. Limited opportunities to socialise with families where both or one of the parents are Japanese
 - l. There were (almost) no Japanese neighbour
 - m. Limited opportunities to use Japanese outside home and Japanese classes
 - n. No satellite/cable TV/internet to watch Japanese programs
 - o. Unable to go back to Japan often (only _____ times in _____ year(s))
 - p. Other (please specify)
-

29. Do you think studying Japanese is important to you? YES / NO

If YES, why do you think so?

- 1. I can communicate better in Japanese than in English with my Japanese parent and other Japanese family members.

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2. To understand Japanese people and culture, and to inherit this knowledge to my children in the future.

3. I would like to better understand my Japanese parent and what she/he has learned in Japanese.

4. Japanese proficiency is an advantage for employment in the future.

5. Japanese proficiency will open the door to many opportunities and increase options in the future.

6. Other (please explain) _____

If NO, why do you think so? Please explain below.

30. Is developing and maintaining your reading and writing skills in Japanese important to you? Why do you think so?

31. Is there anything else you would like to add about you and Japanese (language, culture, people etc.)?

32. Where do you live? Please write your postcode.

Thank you very much for your cooperation.

Cultural Identity Questionnaire for Adult Children of Japanese–Australian

Intermarriage Families

The following questions ask you about your ethnicity or your ethnic group and how you feel about it.

Please circle one.

My father is Japanese / Australian / Other _____

My mother is Japanese / Australian / Other _____

I identify myself as Japanese / Australian / Japanese–Australian / Other _____

Please place an X in one of the spaces below that best describes how you feel.

E.g., I have many Japanese friends.

Strongly disagree ____:____: X____:____:____ Strongly agree

[I somewhat agree that I have many Japanese friends.]

*ethnic group – a social group that shares a common and distinctive culture, religion, language, or the like.

1. I have spent time trying to find out more about the Japanese ethnic group, such as its history, tradition, and customs.

Strongly disagree ____:____:____:____:____:____ Strongly agree

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2. I am a member of organisations or social groups whose members are mostly Japanese.

Strongly disagree ____:____:____:____:____:____ Strongly agree

3. I have a clear sense of being Japanese and what it means to me.

Strongly disagree ____:____:____:____:____:____ Strongly agree

4. I like meeting and getting to know people from ethnic groups other than Japanese.

Strongly disagree ____:____:____:____:____:____ Strongly agree

5. I think a lot about how my life will be affected by being Japanese.

Strongly disagree ____:____:____:____:____:____ Strongly agree

6. I am happy that I am a member of the Japanese ethnic group.

Strongly disagree ____:____:____:____:____:____ Strongly agree

7. I sometimes feel it would be better if different ethnic groups did not try to mix together.

Strongly disagree ____:____:____:____:____:____ Strongly agree

8. I often spend time with people from ethnic groups other than Japanese.

Strongly disagree ____:____:____:____:____:____ Strongly agree

9. I have a strong sense of belonging to the Japanese ethnic group.

Strongly disagree ____:____:____:____:____:____ Strongly agree

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10. I understand pretty well what being Japanese means to me in terms of how I relate to Japanese and non-Japanese people.

Strongly disagree ____:____:____:____:____:____ Strongly agree

11. In order to learn more about my Japanese background, I have often talked to other Japanese about the Japanese ethnic group.

Strongly disagree ____:____:____:____:____:____ Strongly agree

12. I have a lot of pride in Japanese ethnic group and its accomplishments.

Strongly disagree ____:____:____:____:____:____ Strongly agree

13. I do not try to become friends with people from other ethnic groups.

Strongly disagree ____:____:____:____:____:____ Strongly agree

14. I participate in Japanese cultural practices, such as special food, music, or customs.

Strongly disagree ____:____:____:____:____:____ Strongly agree

15. I am involved in activities with people from other ethnic groups.

Strongly disagree ____:____:____:____:____:____ Strongly agree

16. I feel a strong attachment towards the Japanese ethnic group.

Strongly disagree ____:____:____:____:____:____ Strongly agree

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17. I enjoy being around people from ethnic groups other than Japanese.

Strongly disagree ____:____:____:____:____:____ Strongly agree

18. I feel good about the Japanese cultural or Japanese ethnic background.

Strongly disagree ____:____:____:____:____:____ Strongly agree

19. There are many different ways in which people think of themselves. Which ONE of the following best describes how you view yourself? Please circle ONE.

- a. I consider myself basically a Japanese person. Even though I live in Australia, I still view myself as a Japanese person.
- b. I consider myself basically as an Australian. Even though I have a Japanese background and characteristics, I still view myself as an Australian.
- c. I consider myself a Japanese–Australian, although deep down I always know I am Japanese.
- d. I consider myself a Japanese–Australian, although deep down I view myself as an Australian first.
- e. I consider myself a Japanese–Australian. I have both Japanese and Australian characteristics and I view myself as a blend of both.

20. I would like other people to regard me as (Please circle ONE):

- 1) Japanese 2) Australian 3) Japanese–Australian
- 4) Other _____

Thank you very much for your cooperation.

Appendix B

Ethics Approval

This administrative form
has been removed

Appendix C

Summary of Participating Families' Language Use and Cultural Identities

Family participant	Parent: Yes/no decision to use language. If yes, in what language (reason)	Language used by Japanese-origin parents and children English (E), Japanese (J)	Children's Japanese proficiency	Exposure in the community or school	Children's age and cultural identification
Brown family	Fukie: No (happened naturally) Darren: No (obliged to follow if decision was made)	Mother (Fukie) → Max (E & J) Max → Mother (Mostly E)	Max: greetings and routine words	Playgroup, Japanese language centre, local Japanese families, culture in the home	Max (10), Japanese–Australian
Berna family	Chie: Yes, English (it is their native language) Martin: No (obliged to follow if decision was made)	Mother (Chie) ↔ Lorenz (E & J) Mother ↔ Marcus (E & J) Mother ↔ Trina (E & J)	Lorenz: converse freely Markus: converse freely Trina: basic conversation	Local school in Japan (Lorenz & Markus), local Japanese families	Lorenz (11), Japanese–Swiss Markus (7), Canadian Trina (6), Canadian
Bradley family	Yoko: No, but later yes, Japanese (when more Japanese needs to be spoken) Jason: Yes, Japanese	Mother (Yoko) → Adam (Mostly J) Adam → Mother (Mostly E) Mother → Tessa (Mostly J) Tessa → Mother (E)	Adam: basic conversation Tessa: greetings and routine words	Playgroup, Mothers' group, Japanese community language school, local Japanese families, Japanese study at secondary school (Adam), culture in the home	Adam (13), Japanese–Australian Tessa (10), Japanese–Australian
Uchimura family	Tomoki: Yes, Japanese (to raise children bilingually) Louisa: Not sure (happened naturally)	Father (Tomoki) ↔ Lachlan (Mostly J) Father ↔ Jasper (Mostly J) Father → Sienna (Mostly J) Sienna → Father (E)	Lachlan: basic conversation Jasper: basic conversation Sienna: greetings and routine words	Japanese language centre (Lachlan & Jasper), Japanese study at secondary school (Lachlan)	Lachlan (13), Japanese–Australian Jasper (10), Australian Sienna (7), Japanese–Australian
Kitajima family	Riku & Josephine: Yes (speak the “other” language that is spoken outside home, i.e., Japanese in Australia, English in Japan)	Father (Riku) ↔ Lucy (Mostly E)	Lucy: greetings and routine words	Japanese language centre, Japanese community language school 1, local Japanese families, favourite pop culture	Lucy (7), Japanese–Australian
Okuda family	Yasuhiro: No (happened naturally) Sharon: No	Father (Yasuhiro) → Hibiki (E & J) Hibiki → Father (E)	Hibiki: greetings and routine words	Japanese language centre, local Japanese families, Japanese pop culture, karate	Hibiki (6), Japanese–Australian

Appendix D

Overview of Children's Perceptions of Themselves From The Questionnaire

Questions (adapted from questionnaire data)	Child Participants ^a										
	Max	Lorenz	Markus	Trina	Adam	Tessa	Lachlan	Jasper	Sienna	Lucy	Hibiki
I think I am Japanese (J) / Australian (A) / Japanese–Australian (JA) / Other: Japanese–Swiss (JS) / Canadian (C)	JA	JS	C	C	JA	JA	JA	A	JA	JA	JA
I would like other people to regard me as Japanese (J) / Australian (A) / Japanese–Australian (JA) / Other Canadian (C)	JA	JS	J	C	Don't mind	JA	JA	A	A	JA	JA
I understand that I am Japanese and what it means to me ^b	4	4	3	2	4	4	3	1	2	3	3
I strongly feel that I belong to the Japanese ethnic group ^b	4	3	3	3	3	3	2	1	2/3	3	4
I am proud of being Japanese ^b	4	4	4	4	4	4	3	1	4	4	4
I feel good about the Japanese cultural or Japanese ethnic background ^b	4	4	4	4	4	4	3	1	1	4	3
Which of the five options ^c best describes how you view yourself?	e	a	e JC ^d	e	d	e	d	b	b	e	e

^a Participants' first names and surnames are: Max Brown, Lorenz, Markus & Trina Berna, Adam & Tessa Bradley, Lachlan, Jasper & Sienna Uchimura, Lucy Kitajima, and Hibiki Okuda.

^b Participants responded to questions using a four-point Likert scale, anchored by 1=Don't agree at all, and 4=Agree very much.

^c These five options include:

- I consider myself basically Japanese. Even though I live in Australia, I still view myself as a Japanese person.
- I consider myself basically Australian. Even though I have a Japanese background and characteristics, I still view myself as Australian.
- I consider myself Japanese–Australian, although deep down I always know I am Japanese.
- I consider myself Japanese–Australian, although deep down I view myself as Australian first.
- I consider myself Japanese–Australian. I have both Japanese and Australian characteristics and I view myself as a blend of both.

^d JC – Japanese–Canadian.

Appendix E

Interview Transcript Exemplar (Brown Family)

Fukie Brown Interview

Interview Date: 10th April, 2017

Interviewer: Miyako

Miyako: Where were you born?

Fukie: Chiba-city in Chiba Prefecture.

Miyako: What was your occupation in Japan?

Fukie: Nurse.

Miyako: What is your current occupation?

Fukie: My current occupation is a translator.

Miyako: Did you go to a school in Japan?

Fukie: Yes.

Miyako: The schools in Japan you went were primary, secondary and university?

Fukie: Junior college.

Miyako: Junior college. This question is optional, but what is your educational background?

Fukie: My educational background is the Masters degree in Australia.

Miyako: When did you come to Australia?

Fukie: In 1997.

Miyako: What was the reason for you to come?

Fukie: For holidays.

Miyako: When did you marry your husband?

Fukie: In 2002.

Miyako: Where did you meet your husband?

Fukie: In [the regional city].

Miyako: Until now, where have you lived with your husband?

Fukie: At first, we lived in my unit for a little while. Before we get married.

Miyako: In [the regional city]?

Fukie: [name of the suburb].

Miyako: [name of the suburb]. Well, [the regional city] will do.

So, you were living in a flat and after you got married, you live here?

Fukie: After the wedding. In December 2002, we moved here.

Miyako: Was your child born in Australia?

Fukie: Yes.

Miyako: Does your child go to a local school where English is used mainly?

Fukie: Yes.

Miyako: Next is about the language use. Please explain how your family decided what language you and your partner would speak to your child and the main reason.

Fukie: We really haven't decided but when Max started talking, I started using Japanese words in our everyday life when he was 2 or 3 years old.

Miyako: So, you haven't really decided but was it your idea?

Fukie: Well, sorry. I think I spoke to him in Japanese when he was born.

Miyako: When he was born?

Fukie: Yes. Before he even spoke.

Miyako: Was it your idea?

Fukie: Subconsciously.

Miyako: You felt you want to talk.

Fukie: Like "that's dirty" or "it's yummy".

Miyako: So that was in your everyday conversation.

Fukie: Yes.

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Miyako: Please elaborate on the language use and language interaction. For example, with you and your child, you and your husband, your husband and your child.

Fukie: Max and Darren speak English. Sometimes, Darren speaks Japanese when he feels like it. That is occasionally, when he feels like it. I speak easy words in Japanese first, and if his response is slow, then I will say in English.

Miyako: That is you and Max. So, first you speak in Japanese but if the response is slow, you change to English.

Fukie: And also, if it is complicated, then I speak in English.

Miyako: Difficult... Complicated...

Fukie: If I think that he wouldn't understand at the first place.

Miyako: So, from the beginning, in English.

Fukie: Yes. When I speak to Darren about something easy or if I know that he understands, then I use Japanese.

Miyako: So, the easy things, in Japanese.

Fukie: Yes.

Miyako: So, basically, from Darren to Max...

Fukie: I would just use Japanese to Darren even when it is challenging but if he doesn't respond much, then I change to English.

Miyako: Ok. So, from Darren to you?

Fukie: Darren uses English.

Miyako: Ok. English.

Fukie: Oh, I didn't say about how Max responds.

Miyako: Oh sorry. When Max responds to you...

Fukie: Even when I say it in Japanese, he responds to me most of the time in English. But...there are times when he uses Japanese when he feels like it.

Miyako: So, with the easy Japanese words, he uses Japanese.

Fukie: "I'm hungry." Things like that.

Miyako: Oh, I see. So, how about from Max to Darren?

Fukie: In English. Both of them.

Miyako: Ok, I see.

Miyako: Does your husband speak other language besides English?

Fukie: A bit of Japanese.

Miyako: A bit of Japanese.

Fukie: He took a course twice.

Miyako: A Japanese course?

Fukie: Yes. After he met me. First at TAFE and then with the same teacher privately.

Miyako: TAFE and private.

Fukie: Yes.

Miyako: Is that a while ago? What about now?

Fukie: A while ago.

Miyako: A while ago...

Fukie: Yes.

Miyako: So, he doesn't learn anymore?

Fukie: Not any more.

Miyako: Yes.

Miyako: So, how much English do you speak?

Fukie: An everyday conversation and also I use English for my job.

Miyako: Everyday conversation and for work. So, you mean, English for job is not the conversation?

Fukie: Ah, it is the translation job so...

Miyako: Writing?

Fukie: Reading and writing.

Miyako: Reading and writing. Ok.

Miyako: I might be repeating myself but how well can your husband speak Japanese?

Fukie: Well, what was it... Um, I think he said a high school level.

Miyako: Japanese high school level?

Fukie: No, no. The level of the high school students who learn Japanese here.

Miyako: The local high school students. The local, I mean, is in Australia. The Australian high school Japanese level.

Fukie: Yes.

Miyako: When both of you are present, what language do you speak with your family?

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Fukie: A bit of a mixture.

Miyako: Yes.

Fukie: I sometimes speak in Japanese but they respond to me in English. When I speak in Japanese, I tend to speak an easy topic in Japanese. But, during dinner time, I consciously try to speak in Japanese.

Miyako: So, you speak in Japanese consciously.

Fukie: Usually, it's during the eating time and Darren eats fast so it happens within 10 minutes.

Miyako: Within 10 minutes.

Fukie: Or in the car.

Miyako: During the meal time, in the car. Ok.

Miyako: Have you ever encountered difficulties in communicating with your husband in terms of language, in terms of language or come across cultural misunderstandings?

Fukie: Not really.

Miyako: Ok.

Fukie: There might be with the language difficulties.

Miyako: Ok. What do you do when you encountered difficulty with the language?

Fukie: If it is an important matter, I put an effort to get it across.

Miyako: Will that be in English?

Fukie: In English.

Miyako: In English. Ok.

Fukie: Well, if it is a complicated topic, it'll be in English.

Miyako: For example, have you experienced when you did not understand the English that your husband used?

Fukie: In that case, if it is an important matter, I try to understand by asking him to repeat.

Miyako: Ask him to repeat. Ok.

Fukie: He rephrase it too.

Miyako: Have you experienced misunderstanding due to the cultural differences?

Fukie: Not really.

Miyako: Ok.

Fukie: But, well, there was time when I thought "Oh really?" Like, the way they take it is different, I thought.

Miyako: Not that you felt inconvenient about?

Fukie: I just feel, that is what it is.

Miyako: Ok.

Fukie: But if it's going to cause an issue, we'll communicate and try to confirm that we are misunderstanding each other.

Miyako: Yes, I see.

Miyako: Both of you as parents, did your opinions match about what languages you speak at home amongst you and your husband?

Fukie: I feel a little dissatisfied. I think Darren hasn't thought about it much.

Miyako: Are you talking about when Max was born?

Fukie: What language to speak at home.

Miyako: Yes.

Fukie: Well... I wanted to speak in Japanese but I couldn't keep consistent.

Miyako: So to be consistent...?

Fukie: To be consistent in speaking in Japanese only. There are people around me who do that. I realised that when we went to the play group, the Japanese play group, they speak in Japanese at home the whole time as well. When I think about myself, if I do such a thing, I felt that I am excluding Darren and made me feel hesitant (to speak in Japanese).

Miyako: Because you hesitated, did the parts that were hesitated, was said in English?

Fukie: Yes.

Miyako: I see.

Fukie: The reason why it became so was that considering Max's environment, English is the main language and he goes to the local school and didn't want to put too much burden on the Japanese studies. I think to be able to do the school work is the priority.

Miyako: I see. Did Darren have any opinions about this? The languages spoken at home?

Fukie: I've never heard from Darren. I think he is satisfied with the current situation.

Miyako: The current situation?

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Fukie: Yes. Oh, and one more thing. There is another wife in the family who was from overseas. The older brother. Darren's older brother was first married to a German woman. That person spoke consistently in German at home with her child.

Miyako: Did his brother too?

Fukie: His brother didn't understand much.

Miyako: The wife?

Fukie: Yes. The wife spoke to her child in German all the time.

Miyako: Oh, so is that why you didn't want to...

Fukie: I thought her way and my way is different. But I didn't want to do that far.

Miyako: You mean to speak in Japanese all the time?

Fukie: Yes. When she came here for a visit, she said, "Why Fukie, you should speak in Japanese."

Miyako: So...

Fukie: I couldn't do it because I didn't want to exclude Darren.

Miyako: Oh you couldn't. Ok, I see. It was a precious opinion.

Miyako: When deciding what languages to speak within the family, did anyone other than your husband influenced your decision?

Fukie: Not a big influence but both Darren's parents were supportive. About learning the second language.

Miyako: Oh ok.

Fukie: And, they are proud of Max's improvement in Japanese.

Miyako: In speaking Japanese?

Fukie: Yes.

Miyako: Ok.

Fukie: That give me and Max encouragement.

Miyako: Yes. Is there an opposite version of that? To stop you from speaking Japanese? Just now, you mentioned about the supportiveness but was there any unsupportive experience you had?

Fukie: No. My mother in Japan thought that Max understood what she was saying when Max responded to her appropriately in good timing when we went back to Japan when he was still small.

Miyako: That would have encouraged him and made him happy too.

Fukie: Yes, yes.

Miyako: That's important...

Fukie: We both feel the sense of security.

Miyako: Yes.

Miyako: What do you think the most important thing when making decisions on what languages to speak within your family?

Fukie: The purpose, I mean, myself, where I want my child to go in the future.

Miyako: So what you mean by going is actually you physically go overseas?

Fukie: How we position the Japanese and how we can take an advantage. In what level.

Miyako: Yes, Japanese. What level. Yes.

Fukie: Parents can't force that, so child...so...

Miyako: So we respect his wishes.

Fukie: Yes.

Miyako: Yes.

Miyako: You may have just said it, I think you said it, do you have anything else to add in regards to any disagreement with the decisions with your husband, any encouragement, you have just told me about the encouragement though, and about your husband's thought on languages?

Fukie: Something to add, perhaps I should say that I want Darren to cooperate more. For example, when we speak in Japanese, the conversation ends very shallow. Always.

Miyako: Do you mean in regards to the language?

Fukie: In regards to the language. In Japan, no, when we try to speak in Japanese at home within our family, his Japanese level got lowered than Max's so... But for me, if three of us speak in Japanese, I feel that we can continue the conversation but I find that Darren's motivation is not quite there so we can't do it. Rather motivation, I think because he can't speak anymore and that Max's got better, it could have not really dissatisfied but is not encouraged to do so. He can't really continue even a small conversation.

Miyako: I see. So with those reasons, you want more cooperation from Darren and the opportunity to speak Japanese...

Fukie: Yes, I want that.

Miyako: Ok, I see. Anything else?

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Fukie: Well, what I find pressure is, Miyako's and Uchimura family speak Japanese more at home.

Miyako: Mine were born in Japan.

Fukie: Yes. But, well, at Ayako's, their conversation really lasts too.

Miyako: Compared with other families?

Fukie: I feel the pressure compared with other families. What I feel these days is that I feel sad that Max and I are not understanding each other like it is with Darren and Max.

Miyako: In regards to the languages?

Fukie: In regards to the languages.

Miyako: The conversation with Max.

Fukie: The depth.

Miyako: You mean the depth is becoming shallow.

Fukie: Yes. Darren and Max are native speakers so they can talk as if they understand each other so easily. I feel the difference there with myself.

Miyako: That is your feeling, isn't it? I see. Ok, let's move on.

Fukie: Yes.

Miyako: Thank you. Um, it is said that speaking in two or more languages or using two or more languages within the family is good. What do you think? For example, do you think this is a good thing or um, not a good thing. So your opinion, two... what do you think of speaking two or more languages within the family?

Fukie: I think they are privileged.

Miyako: Yes.

Fukie: Oh what? I think Max is lucky to have that. It's a good thing.

Miyako: Yes. Do you think it is important that Max knows Japanese? Why do you think so?

Fukie: If you know it, it will broaden one's vision. The other is Japanese people. He can communicate with them so he is experiencing what others can't.

Miyako: What others can't do. Yes. What does your husband think about this?

Fukie: He agrees.

Miyako: Agrees.

Fukie: Yes.

Miyako: So, using two or more languages is good. Ok.

Fukie: Yes.

Miyako: When you started using Japanese for the first time within your family up until now, do you feel any changes in the situations where you use Japanese? The changes. What kinds of changes are there? Or is there a cause to it? From when you were born up to now? During those time. The process. Well, the changes in the use of Japanese.

Fukie: The changes... Well, the milestone or perhaps I should say, at first, so, when we started going to the play group, I tried to take in more consciously.

Miyako: So, that would be around pre-school, right? Before school.

Fukie: Yes, before school.

Miyako: Yes, before school.

Fukie: When he was 3 or 4.

Miyako: Yes.

Fukie: They were doing craft activities and story readings.

Miyako: Yes.

Fukie: So I tried to take those in at home.

Miyako: Yes. So they are all Japanese related, aren't they?

Fukie: Yes.

Miyako: Play group. Ok.

Fukie: And also, music, they let the kids listen to the Japanese nursery songs.

Miyako: Yes.

Fukie: And DVD.

Miyako: Yes.

Fukie: They showed them.

Miyako: Yes. Um, so the language use situation, the change, the cause, for example, did you receive any advice or opinions from someone? Um, have you asked anyone for advice or opinions?

Fukie: I have heard that there was a Japanese play group.

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Miyako: Yes.

Fukie: From a friend who goes there.

Miyako: Yes.

Fukie: So, I've decided to go.

Miyako: So you have decided to go. Ok. What made you decided to go?

Fukie: Rather than doing it myself, he can enjoy being in that kind of environment.

Miyako: Um, has he start learning Japanese more practically such as going to a Japanese school or receive a community support from Japan or go to Japan? Since when he was born up to now?

Fukie: When he was born, we have been going back every two years.

Miyako: Yes.

Fukie: Every time we go back to Japan, he is encouraged to use Japanese.

Miyako: Yes. Up to now, does he go to a Japanese school or receive any support from Japan? For example...

Fukie: Yes. Not really these days from the community. When we stopped going to the play school, not much.

Miyako: Yes.

Fukie: With a Japanese friend and her children.

Miyako: ... is gone but the Japanese... Yes. Friend, to be in contact with.

Fukie: Yes. So, Ayako's children go to the same school and she is Japanese.

Miyako: Yes. in the same school.

Fukie: Japanese. We got along well so we had a play day once a week.

Miyako: Yes.

Fukie: Now, we go to different schools but we still continue to have a play day once a month.

Miyako: Oh, ok. You continue to have a play day. Yes.

Fukie: Oh, and one more thing...

Miyako: Yes.

Fukie: There is a game that Max has which is in Japanese.

Miyako: Yes.

Fukie: Even when his school friends play the same game, Max understands it.

Miyako: Yes.

Fukie: He feels the sense of superiority.

Miyako: Yes. He understands Japanese...

Fukie: The Japanese games...

Miyako: The Japanese games...

Fukie: Yes.

Miyako: Because it is in Japanese, he understands Japanese.

Fukie: Yes.

Miyako: Yes.

Fukie: Oh, and he recently takes origami to school.

Miyako: Oh yes.

Fukie: He does it at school and everyone surrounds him and have interest in it.

Miyako: Yes.

Fukie: And they ask Max to teach them.

Miyako: Oh yes. So he teaches his friends.

Fukie: And not just the friends but also the teacher is interested.

Miyako: Yes.

Fukie: And that becomes the start of their communication.

Miyako: Yes. The teacher is interested. Yes. That becomes the starting point. Yes. Can have communication. Yes. Um... Also, when did he start the Japanese class?

Fukie: When?

Miyako: When.

Fukie: I think it was when he was in Year 1?

Miyako: When was it? Was he in Year 1?

Fukie: Yes, I think it was. I don't think it was when he was in kindy.

Miyako: He wasn't in kindy, was he? Is that how long it was? Um... 2013... Before coming to the Japanese class, was it the play group?

Fukie: The play group's finished...

Miyako: Finished, and then after that...?

Fukie: I was going to teach him a,i,u,e,o...

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Miyako: Oh when?

Fukie: Myself.

Miyako: Oh you were going to teach yourself. Yes.

Fukie: Yes but his interest... Um, interest, has no motivation, um, but he did a,i,u,e,o at play group.

Miyako: Oh is that so?

Fukie: When I try to do it at home, both our motivation is...

Miyako: Well, because there is no starting point.

Fukie: I think it's not fun.

Miyako: If it was a parent and child, that would make it harder.

Fukie: Yes. Because it's like studying.

Miyako: I understand. Rather letting someone else do it.

Fukie: Yes.

Miyako: Rather that...

Fukie: Yes.

Miyako: There are other kids too.

Fukie: Yes.

Miyako: It will give encouragement.

Fukie: Yes.

Miyako: Rather, as a parent and child, it eventually becomes an argument.

Fukie: Yes.

Miyako: I understand. Um, where were we? Oh yes. Um, to continue with the motives of the change in the use of language situation, were there any changes with your husband's thoughts on languages from your child's birth up to now? Any changes for Darren?

Fukie: Darren, a while ago, it was before marriage. He went to do a course and was able to speak a bit but after that, we hasn't done any.

Miyako: Yes.

Fukie: I think he wants to improve.

Miyako: Yes.

Fukie: And he gets tired from work and

Miyako: Yes.

Fukie: And also where he can learn...

Miyako: Yes.

Fukie: But same as Max, when in our everyday life, there's time when he understands Japanese and he watches anime so he asks me, "What does that mean?"

Miyako: Yes.

Fukie: I think he is interested more than others.

Miyako: Oh yes. He has more interest in Japanese than others.

Fukie: Japanese language and Japanese culture.

Miyako: Japanese language and Japanese culture. Yes.

Fukie: Yes, he has interest in it.

Miyako: He has interest. Yes.

Fukie: So, the things about Japan... he liked anime originally, so he watched some Japanese things, and then married with me, so he considers Japan as special.

Miyako: Oh yes. So that hasn't changed from the past?

Fukie: I think so. His interest is increasing.

Miyako: Increasing. Yes.

Fukie: Yes.

Miyako: Rather now.

Fukie: Yes. We go to Japan and travel around.

Miyako: Yes.

Fukie: Look at other part of Japan that he doesn't know. And he understands more as we go.

Miyako: Yes.

Fukie: For the language level, it hasn't changed but his understanding, the understanding of Japan is little by little...

Miyako: Increasing? The interest? Yes.

Fukie: The other day, the tv program, Darren was watching tv with Max, about Japan, what was said? Japan... There was a program that was introducing Japanese eating habits.

Miyako: Yes.

Fukie: He was having so much fun watching it with Max.

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Miyako: Watching... Yes.

Fukie: Yes.

Miyako: Oh, it's the Japanese culture, isn't it?

Fukie: Yes.

Miyako: I see.

Miyako: Your child, Max's feeling, was there any changes in his feeling towards the languages? From his birth up to now?

Fukie: Ah, he is sensitive to people who do things better than him. He says, "Jasper can do better in conversation."

Miyako: Oh yes.

Fukie: For Max, he knows more words. Well, it's because he goes to Japan more often so he knows about Japanese food.

Miyako: Yes, his knowledge.

Fukie: Yes. But he says that Jasper can do better in conversation than him.

Miyako: There can be about others... Well, is he conscious about it?

Fukie: He's aware of it.

Miyako: He's aware of it.

Fukie: Through the Japanese class.

Miyako: Yes, yes.

Fukie: Also, Ayako's children, when they watch Doraemon DVD...

Miyako: Yes.

Fukie: Ayako's children understands Japanese.

Miyako: Yes.

Fukie: There were lots that Max doesn't understand.

Miyako: Yes.

Fukie: What was it? He was also aware of the difference there.

Miyako: Yes. When that happens, does he say anything? Or he doesn't say anything? Well, when he realised the differences.

Fukie: Well, because he doesn't understand,

Miyako: Yes.

Fukie: he just goes somewhere.

Miyako: Oh yes.

Fukie: He says he doesn't understand.

Miyako: Oh, because he doesn't understand, yes, he leaves...

Fukie: Ayako's children can watch all till the end...

Miyako: Yes.

Fukie: Because he doesn't understand

Miyako: Yes.

Fukie: In the middles of the program, he just goes somewhere.

Miyako: Yes.

Fukie: Even still, there was a Japanese folk tale on YouTube and there is no English and likes to watch it with me. But sometimes, he asks me, what happened now? Asking me...

Miyako: He watches and asks you.

Fukie: Yes.

Miyako: Yes.

Miyako: Um, as your child grows, and if you are being asked if there were any changes in the involvement with other Japanese, will that be the case? The involvement with Japanese friends?

Fukie: Yes.

Miyako: Are there any changes in the way he involves with other Japanese? As Max grows?

Fukie: Well, um, becomes good friends, with the Japanese people who think about Max and become his friends

Miyako: Yes.

Fukie: I want to maintain the friendship with them.

Miyako: Oh yes.

Fukie: For Max's sake.

Miyako: Yes.

Fukie: Well, not just that.

Miyako: So, when you said that you want to maintain with the Japanese people

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Fukie: Well um...

Miyako: Is that what you think? Well, um, sorry... What do you mean by that?

Fukie: Can you say the question again?

Miyako: Um, sorry. Um, you child, I mean, Max, as he grows

Fukie: Yes.

Miyako: Whether if there were any changes in involvement between the Japanese people.

Fukie: About me? Myself?

Miyako: Yes. Um, yes, it's about you, isn't it?

Fukie: Yes, yes.

Miyako: So the involvement with the Japanese people. About you, yes.

Fukie: Rather than involvement, we have old friends and we hang out together when the kids were small but those kids are old now.

Miyako: Yes, yes.

Fukie: Well, but we still hung out with people that the kids could play together.

Miyako: Yes. So you mean, you still want to maintain with the Japanese people?

Fukie: Well...

Miyako: Yes.

Fukie: Only if we can. The parents can together, the parents are friends and kids can play.

Miyako: Yes.

Fukie: I want to cherish that.

Miyako: Yes.

Fukie: I think it is ideal.

Miyako: Yes. Um, some people say that if you raise children bilingually, their language development slows down. So what do you think about your child, I mean, Max, about the development of Japanese and English?

Fukie: Um, I was worried

Miyako: Yes.

Fukie: that I couldn't put emphasis on Japanese.

Miyako: Oh, yes.

Fukie: Well, Max will be living in Australia so...

Miyako: Yes.

Fukie: Even from now on. I want to prevent him from not keeping up with the school work just because of putting too much emphasis on Japanese.

Miyako: Yes.

Fukie: That's what I believe.

Miyako: Yes. Do you still believe so now?

Fukie: Yes.

Miyako: Yes.

Fukie: So, how can I say... I can't really put too much Japanese...

Miyako: Yes, so...

Fukie: For example, you said before that in the morning, you let your children study with Japanese textbook in the morning.

Miyako: Ah, I don't have much time lately in the morning but we used to.

Fukie: And I think Ayako make time to do that at home with her children too but for me, the school work is the priority.

Miyako: School is the priority. Yes.

Fukie: And, he is really lazy... It is just enough to get him to do school work.

Miyako: Yes, yes.

Fukie: So that's why I can't really actively do that at home.

Miyako: Yes. You don't want to neglect the school work.

Fukie: Yes.

Miyako: Yes.

Fukie: But he can continue slightly and once he enters university, if he wants, he can learn Japanese or whatever.

Miyako: Yes.

Fukie: Also, if we have the chance, I am thinking about an exchange.

Miyako: Oh yes. I see.

Miyako: Um, have you ever felt pressured from school or the community?

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Fukie: From school?

Miyako: Or community. Well, community.

Fukie: Australian community?

Miyako: Yes. Community in this area.

Fukie: About the Japanese language?

Miyako: Yes, um... about the situation when you use the language.

Fukie: Ah, no. But, I feel that they take it positive about being able to speak.

Miyako: Yes.

Fukie: It's not been seen as a bad thing.

Miyako: Oh yes. Um...

Fukie: I think that is the strength.

Miyako: The strength. Yes.

Fukie: Yes.

Miyako: When choosing a school, um, any thoughts on education, such as whether the school teaches Japanese, or maintaining or improving English, or about homework, or involvement in the school events?

Fukie: What? Can you say that again?

Miyako: Yes. When you choose a school, for example, from now on, primary school or even high school, from now on, um, when you choose school, about the education, um, including everything such as school events and various things, do you have any thoughts on the school education?

Fukie: Um, so... If we were living in [the capital city], I wanted him to go to the Japanese school.

Miyako: Oh yes.

Fukie: But just the Japanese school. Um, what's it called? The ones that does it on the weekends.

Miyako: Oh, the Saturday school or Japanese...

Fukie: Going to the local school on normal days

Miyako: Oh the weekends.

Fukie: just the weekends. If that was possible, he would have gone.

Miyako: Oh, he would have gone.

Fukie: I think. But physically, it was far, so that wasn't possible.

Miyako: Yes, yes.

Fukie: And um, Japanese is not taught at primary school but they teach Japanese at [name of high school] so that's good.

Miyako: Yes, yes. Well, hope...

Fukie: (inaudible) not that he goes for that.

Miyako: Not that he goes just because there is Japanese.

Fukie: It's good that the school that happens to teach Japanese is where he is aiming.

Miyako: Yes, yes. Well, for example, if the school in your local area doesn't offer Japanese...

Fukie: If there is an option of which to school, we would choose the one that offers Japanese.

Miyako: Where there is Japanese. Yes.

Miyako: Um, it is said that going to Japan from time to time is a good opportunity to maintain Japanese, what is your thought on that?

Fukie: Yes, I agree.

Miyako: You agree. Yes. That it is good. When is the last time you went back to Japan?

Fukie: September last year.

Miyako: Ok. Um, September last year. Um, for how long?

Fukie: For one month.

Miyako: For one month. Yes. Um, what is the importance for your family to go to Japan?

Fukie: Holiday.

Miyako: Holiday.

Fukie: Plus brushing up the Japanese.

Miyako: Yes. Brushing up Japanese. For Max.

Fukie: For Max.

Miyako: Yes. Um, How often you want to go back to Japan? Your wish.

Fukie: Ah, now we go back every two years. But in reality...

Miyako: Oh, once in two years. And in reality?

Fukie: If we were rich and have a lot of money, we want to go every year.

Miyako: So the wish is to go back every year. You want to go back to Japan every year but in reality, every two years.

Fukie: Yes.

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Miyako: Is it because it is hard to plan or schedule? Being every two years?

Fukie: Financially.

Miyako: Oh financially. Ok.

Miyako: Um, when speaking in Japanese with your child, if you haven't spoken Japanese at all,

Fukie: Yes.

Miyako: Um, what do you think would be different to the current situation? For example, the relationship with your child, relationship with your husband, a family as a whole, would that be different?

Fukie: Yes, I think so.

Miyako: You think so.

Fukie: Yes.

Miyako: For example in what ways?

Fukie: I would hold back myself.

Miyako: You mean, yourself?

Fukie: Yes. My Japanese part.

Miyako: Your Japanese part.

Fukie: Yes.

Miyako: Your Japanese part. Yes. You would hold back. And, do you think the relationship between your family as a whole would be different too? Personal relationship within your family? As partners, as parent and child relationship? As a whole family...

Fukie: I think it would be different. But, um, there is a friend who only speaks in English.

Miyako: Who is Japanese?

Fukie: Yes.

Miyako: So, did you feel anything when seeing that?

Fukie: She was doing it well. That person.

Miyako: Yes. So, if that was you?

Fukie: Yes.

Miyako: For example...

Fukie: I think we would be communicating well.

Miyako: Yes.

Fukie: Yes.

Miyako: Do you think your personal relationship wouldn't be as different as now?

Fukie: I don't think it would change.

Miyako: Yes.

Fukie: I think, it replaces, replaces well, and our relationship would be good.

Miyako: I see.

Miyako: Um, if the decision of what languages to speak when raising your child was different, um, do you think the way you deal with Max would be different?

Fukie: Ah, well, if he understands better, I think the way of dealing with him would be different.

Miyako: In regards to Japanese?

Fukie: So if the husband was Japanese and the Japanese was spoken 100%, there would be more understanding...

Miyako: Yes, yes.

Fukie: He would understand more.

Miyako: Oh ok. Um, and... how is it living in Australia? For example, is there anything you find difficulty or have trouble with? About your family or work or relationships with relatives.

Fukie: Ah, I think I rely too much on Darren.

Miyako: Yes.

Fukie: If we were in Japan, there were more I could have done it myself...

Miyako: Yes. Well, Australia...

Fukie: If there's something complex, I will just shove work onto Darren.

Miyako: Yes yes. The systems are difficult, is that the reason?

Fukie: Yes. Things that are troublesome to deal with...

Miyako: Yes. Um, was there anything else that you find difficulty when you were in Australia or something you find a problem?

Fukie: (I wonder if I had any...) I let Darren handle all the business matters

Miyako: Yes yes.

Fukie: like communication with the school

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Miyako: Yes yes. That's hard. It is hard with the language, the system...

Fukie: Yes, I guess. The understanding of English... Ah, I don't have enough communication ability

Miyako: Yes.

Fukie: Those things, I let Darren do them.

Miyako: Ok, I see. Um...

Miyako: So, about yourself, do you find yourself more Japanese or more Aussie?

Fukie: Ah, when I go back to Japan

Miyako: Yes.

Fukie: Well, I think I am becoming Aussie.

Miyako: Yes. How...

Fukie: For example, when I see my friends, they get surprised.

Miyako: Becoming Aussie... in what parts make you like an Aussie?

Fukie: I think the rough and ready part.

Miyako: Yes.

Fukie: I think I relaxed too much.

Miyako: The part that you are relaxed Ok.

Fukie: Yes, and also, I make my husband do the housework and other things.

Miyako: Oh yes.

Fukie: These days, I'm awake, before I wasn't awake. In the morning. How can I say... I didn't dedicate myself to do something. But, this, I... this is something exceptional in Australia too, so I wonder...

Miyako: If it was in Japan, it would be different life style?

Fukie: For example, Max's lunch.

Miyako: Yes.

Fukie: Darren's in charge.

Miyako: Oh yes.

Fukie: And, recently, Darren told me to...

Miyako: Yes.

Fukie: So I wake up and start making Max's lunch.

Miyako: Oh ok.

Fukie: But this, it's really recent.

Miyako: Oh yes.

Fukie: But um... I didn't get out my bed in the morning and I say "see you later" from my bed.

Miyako: Oh ok.

Fukie: When I tell people this, they are all surprised.

Miyako: Oh, so you told that to your friends when you went back to Japan?

Fukie: Yes yes.

Miyako: So that is...

Fukie: But it seems that there was someone like me. Ah, my friend said, "There was this person who does the same."

Miyako: So that person is in overseas?

Fukie: In Australia.

Miyako: Oh, in Australia. Oh really...

Fukie: Yes.

Miyako: So, is that where you find yourself Aussie-like?

Fukie: Well, how can I say? Um... being unconventional

Miyako: Yes.

Fukie: I can have more freedom

Miyako: Yes yes.

Fukie: And what else. The husbands are involved with the family more.

Miyako: Yes.

Fukie: In Japan, it's like mothers act like single mums.

Miyako: Yes. They (husbands) don't come home early.

Fukie: Yes. Here, three of us always hang out together.

Miyako: Yes. Do you, on the other hand, feel that you are like (typical) Japanese?

Fukie: Well, I guess. This can be my personality. Everything has to be perfect.

Miyako: Yes yes. So, the final question. Um, is there anyone you know who are more Japanese or Aussie than you?

Fukie: Yes yes.

Miyako: For example?

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Fukie: For example... Oh yes, there is! For example, for example...

Miyako: Yes yes.

Fukie: In what ways they are Aussie, is that what you mean?

Miyako: Yes.

Fukie: There is someone who does things that are not really acceptable in Japan when socialising.

Miyako: Yes.

Fukie: But it doesn't really bother me as I am here.

Miyako: Yes.

Fukie: What can I do...

Miyako: ... they don't do.

Fukie: So they don't have much common sense.

Miyako: Yes.

Fukie: There are people like that. After living here, it doesn't bother me anymore.

Miyako: So, one last thing. What do you want to do in the future? For example, where you want to live, your child's future dreams?

Fukie: About the future...

Miyako: Yes.

Fukie: I think I will be here forever.

Miyako: In Australia?

Fukie: It's because my family's here.

Miyako: Yes. What about Max? Any wishes? I know he has his own life to live but for example

Fukie: Yes.

Miyako: So, the future...

Fukie: Max said that he wants to be close to his parents.

Miyako: Oh really?

Fukie: But if he wants to look around, then it is "Spare the rod and spoil the child" (The child you love should be made to experience (the dangers of) traveling), so I want him to look around.

Miyako: Yes. Want him to travel... Thank you very much. Sorry it took long.

Fukie: I wonder if it was ok.

Darren Brown Interview

Interview Date: 19th March, 2017

Interviewer: Miyako

Miyako: Ok, so could you please tell me briefly about your background, such as birth place, occupation, ah, occupation, that's optional.

Darren: Yeah.

Miyako: Um, educational background, and all that kind of your background.

Darren: Yep, yep. So, I am a inth (?) generation of Australia.

Miyako: Eighth generation...

Darren: "Inth", inth, it's like, I don't know how many it is, but it is.

Miyako: Uh, yep.

Darren: A lot.

Miyako: A lot.

Darren: Um... I have European heritage. More essentially British.

Miyako: Yep.

Darren: in some United Kingdom heritage.

Miyako: Yep.

Darren: Um, I was born in [the regional city]. And I work in IT.

Miyako: Yep.

Darren: And I have a Bachelor's degree.

Miyako: Yep, so is that the Bachelor of IT?

Darren: Ah, it's actually a Bachelor of Computer Science.

Miyako: Ah, yep... yep.

Miyako: And um, when did you get married with your partner?

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Darren: In 2002.

Miyako: Yep, and where did you meet her?

Darren: I met her in [the regional city].

Miyako: Ok, and um, where have you lived with your partner?

Darren: Just in [the regional city].

Miyako: Just in [the regional city]. Yep.

Miyako: Ok... um... so is your child born in Australia?

Darren: Yes.

Miyako: Yep. And um, does he attend local school

Darren: Yes.

Miyako: where English is used for instructions?

Darren: Yes.

Miyako: Yep. Ok, right so.

Miyako: The second question it's going to be your language use.

Darren: Yes.

Miyako: (um, background, yep, and language...) all right so, um... so, can you please explain how your family decided what language or languages you and your partner would speak to your child and the main reason?

Darren: I don't think we actually decided

Miyako: Ah ok.

Darren: there was no, there was no decision that we are going to do it.

Miyako: Yep.

Darren: So um, I guess I speak English to him and my wife speaks Japanese.

Miyako: Yep. Oh ok, yep.

Darren: Cause she speaks more, more Japanese to him than I would.

Miyako: Oh ok, yep, yep.

Darren: So she does speak to him in English

Miyako: yep.

Darren: and Japanese as well.

Miyako: Yep. Ok, and um... the next question is, would you like to elaborate on language use and language interaction

Darren: yep

Miyako: with your family members, including yourself,

Darren: yes.

Miyako: your child, you and your partner

Darren: yep.

Miyako: and your partner and your child.

Darren: Yes. So, it's a mix.

Miyako: Yep.

Darren: I mean, in Japanese and English to varying degrees

Miyako: Yep.

Darren: between all of us.

Miyako: Yep.

Darren: So, even, even sort of in English sentences, we'll have some Japanese words in it.

Miyako: Yep.

Darren: or, she'll speak in Japanese and I'll respond in English and

Miyako: Yep.

Darren: all those sorts of things.

Miyako: So your partner speaks in Japanese and respond in English

Darren: Yes.

Miyako: Yep. Yep, right. Um, so how well can you speak Japanese?

Darren: A bit.

Miyako: A bit. Yep, so,

Darren: I've done two years of study.

Miyako: Ok, yep. Two years of Japanese study.

Darren: Yes.

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Miyako: Ah, where's that?

Darren: Um, a through... to start with, the WEA.

Miyako: Yep, WEA. Yep, yep.

Darren: And then just a I guess a privately through a teacher.

Miyako: Ah, yep, a private...

Darren: teacher, a group, it's the same one as WEA, and she went through, switched to privately, so

Miyako: Oh ok. So, private teacher as a group

Darren: Yeah, so was in a group

Miyako: Oh, in a group, so yep. So, was he or she... was the teacher Japanese or...

Darren: No, she was um, she was an Australian

Miyako: An Australian

Darren: but lived in Japan, and um I think she's gone on an exchange and she continued learning but she was also a flight attendant so...

Miyako: Ah, a flight attendant

Darren: and had the, you know the Japanese badge on her thing so...

Miyako: Oh yeah. Oh ok.

Darren: Yeah.

Miyako: Yep, ok. Good. Um...Oh, so when you said a bit like how a bit like in a sentence or just the words that you know or...

Darren: Some sentences, some words I know um

Miyako: Yep.

Darren: people say understand contexts very well so...

Miyako: Yep.

Darren: pick up although I'm not fully grasp the meaning of the sentence I know what's being spoken about.

Miyako: Yep. Understand contexts...

Darren: Yep.

Miyako: Yep. Ok. All right. Um, and, how well can your partner speak English?

Darren: Well. She's fluent.

Miyako: Ok. (Two, four...) Yep. So, um, fluent in... that's partner. Yep. Ok. When both of you are present, so you and your partner

Darren: Yep.

Miyako: are present, what language do, do you all speak in?

Darren: It'll be a mix of Japanese and English.

Miyako: Yep. Yep. So, that's sort of like a same question.

Darren: Yep.

Miyako: So, mix. Um... Mix, yep, mixture. Ok. So, do you find difficulties in communicating with your partner in terms of language, in terms of language or come across cultural misunderstandings?

Darren: Yes.

Miyako: Yes. Yep. So, in what way?

Darren: Um, first of all, sarcasm.

Miyako: Sarcasm?

Darren: Yeah. Sarcasm... It's not a Japanese really thing so it's difficult to um, yeah, I use sarcasm a lot so it doesn't work very well.

Miyako: Oh, ok. Um, what er, what do you exactly mean by sarcasm?

Darren: So, sarcasm. So, when you say something but you don't actually mean it. The intonation and the reflection of your voices don't mean it.

Miyako: Oh, ok. So, is it like joke?

Darren: Yeah. It's sort of like a joke.

Miyako: Oh. Joke that are... you, you think it's a joke

Darren: Yes.

Miyako: she wouldn't understand that it's a joke.

Darren: No. No.

Miyako: She take it seriously.

Darren: Yes.

Miyako: Oh, ok.

Darren: Particularly, early in the, early when we were together.

Miyako: Oh, yes. Yes.

Darren: Yeah. So that... She gets it now. And just sort of... yeah, she understands that now.

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Miyako: Oh, ok. So it's more like a language, like cultural things

Darren: It is. The cultural things. That's it. Um, and sometimes when we're talking very complicated things

Miyako: Yep.

Darren: sometimes there's, there's trouble there.

Miyako: Oh, ok. Ah, yep. So, like, so, complicated things... Is that In English?

Darren: Ah, well. That's the only way I can talk about

Miyako: (cross talk) yeah, yeah.

Darren: complicated things. She's much better at um, communicating in English

Miyako: Yep.

Darren: to me than I am communicating in Japanese.

Miyako: Oh, ok.

Darren: So, so. But when we were talking about very complicated things

Miyako: Yep. Complicated matters. Contexts.

Darren: Yep. It's very

Miyako: (cross talk) contexts. Ah, contents. Ok.

Darren: Yep. And and and, um, sometimes with, um, the Japanese pronunciation of English words, we can have a hard time. Sometimes picking up...

Miyako: Pronunciation. Yep.

Darren: It's not so much pronuci, pronunciation and that. It's the Japanese say it completely different. So that's the way she would say. Like I remember um, "genre".

Miyako: Yep.

Darren: Said very differently. I couldn't figure out what she was saying

Miyako: Coz we say "janru".

Darren: Yeah.

Miyako: Yes! Yep, yep.

Darren: And I had no idea

Miyako: Yeah.

Darren: what it was.

Miyako: Yep.

Darren: and she had to say you know, "comedy" de, de, de... You know, that's

Miyako: (cross talk) oh, she has to explain...

Darren: had to explain that.

Miyako: Oh ok! Coz we say "janru". Yep. Oh, ok yep, yep. Pronunciation. Complicated matter and sarcasm. That's a...

Darren: cultural

Miyako: Joke. So, cultural, cultural... Cultural misunderstanding.

Darren: Yes.

Miyako: Yep. Ok. All right. So, um, ok. Um, ah, it might be the same question that I've asked.

Darren: Yep.

Miyako: Um, did you and your partner both agreed to the decision about the language use within the family?

Darren: There was no real. I don't think we really had a discussion about it.

Miyako: Ok.

Darren: I guess that the thing was she would talk Japanese to Max

Miyako: Yep.

Darren: and um I would speak English but you know...

Miyako: It just happens naturally.

Darren: Happened naturally. Yeah.

Miyako: Yeah. Ok. (Happens naturally.) Yep, ok. Um, did someone else besides your partner influenced the the the decision?

Darren: No.

Miyako: No.

Darren: Ah, I mean, my parents always said it's good to learn multiple languages. That'll be the only the real influence.

Miyako: Oh ok. Yep. So the um... (D's parents, yep. It's... yep.) Yep. Right. And, ah, what is the most important reason for the language choice in your family?

Darren: Ah, it's it's what it's natural to us I guess.

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Miyako: Yep.

Darren: You know. Hasn't been anything na... I think when we try to make the decision of what we're going to speak or how we're going to speak, it doesn't last long.

Miyako: Yep.

Darren: It's just not. It's not comfortable!

Miyako: Yep. You just don't make decision. It just goes as it goes.

Darren: Yep.

Miyako: Yep, yep. All right.

Darren: Often notice that my wife will often speak in Japanese to my son and then say it in English.

Miyako: It to... ah...

Darren: To say it and she'll say it in English.

Miyako: Oh, ok. So, like translating to, into er... English

Darren: Yes.

Miyako: to your son. So...

Darren: Yes.

Miyako: So, first she speaks in Japanese

Darren: (cross talk) Japanese

Miyako: and then translate that sentence in English.

Darren: Though he started learning Japanese

Miyako: Yep.

Darren: so that second translation has been dropped.

Miyako: Dropped. Ok. That's good! Ok, um, um... Ok. Were there any conflicts or pressures, encouragement, your partner's view, and such and such that came across in terms of

Darren: No, not really. I mean, I guess we want to give Max the opportunity

Miyako: Yep.

D; to choose, you know

Miyako: Yep.

Darren: between being an Australian or being a Japanese when he has the, when he has to make that choice.

Miyako: Oh yep. Yep. Choice of becoming... so that's more of like identity.

Darren: No, not so much identity. I don't think you can force the identity.

Miyako: Mm...

Darren: I think he will be

Miyako: (cross talk) whatever he is...

Darren: half Australian and half Japanese.

Miyako: Yep.

Darren: But he'll have to choose what citizenship he takes.

Miyako: Ah, more of a document things.

Darren: Yep.

Miyako: Yep, yep.

Darren: He can only hold one passport.

Miyako: Yep.

Darren: Eventually.

Miyako: Yep.

Darren: So, if he can, has a, the ability to make that choice, and take language or make language a lesser choice, so that he's prepared

Miyako: Ok.

Darren: it'll make him his choice easier.

Miyako: Oh ok. So giving more opportunity to have the two languages

Darren: Yes.

Miyako: it'll be, it'll give him the opportunity to choose... So, more – more choices?

Darren: Yeah.

Miyako: Yep. "Choices." Yep. Okay. So, um, so some people think it's a good idea to be able to speak more than one language-

Darren: Yes.

Miyako: And to use more than one language around the house. What do you think? So, in what way and why is it a – why is it a good, or why is a bad-?

Darren: I – I – I – I don't think you can go wrong having more languages.

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Miyako: Yep.

Darren: I think it makes, um, it just – it's always an advantage.

Miyako: Yep.

Darren: And it's not something that is easier – easy to pick up later.

Miyako: Yep. "It's not – not," yeah, "easy to pick up later," yep.

Darren: Yeah. So, if you can learn now and put the effort in now-

Miyako: Yep.

Darren: It'll make your life much easier, or-

Miyako: Yep.

Darren: Or, it's a – it's another – it's another skill-

Miyako: Yep.

Darren: It's another skill which you have, um-

Miyako: Oh, yep. Yep.

Darren: Particularly – particularly with, I think, um, with Japanese, where, even though the – a lot of them a lot of Japanese people learn English, I don't think many become fluent.

Miyako: Yep.

Darren: Unlike in, like, Europe and places like that, where English is the default language. It's the – it's the – the – the – the nexus language.

Miyako: Yep.

Darren: That everybody can – they have their own language, but then everybody falls back to English.

Miyako: Mm.

Darren: I think, ah, Japan being a very homogeneous, um, society, being able to speak Japanese from a cultural level too, um, can open a lot of doors. I think it's – it's – it's different from many other countries and many other Asian countries in that English, though important, I think the Japanese language is part of, um, Japan's identity and people tend to actually use it over other languages.

Miyako: Yep.

Darren: Um, yeah. Particularly when you move away from the big centres. English is not as common.

Miyako: Okay. Yep. All right. Okay. Oh, thank you. That was very – very precious things to write!

Okay, and, ah, what was the question? Um, it's probably – I'm asking the same question-

Darren: Yeah, [crosstalk] that's okay.

Miyako: Do you think it's important for your child to know Japanese?

Darren: Yes.

Miyako: Yep.

Darren: I guess it's one of the things we say he doesn't have a choice in.

Miyako: Yes, yep. "Doesn't have a-" being, like, having a family as, like, a parent as [crosstalk] Japanese-

Darren: Oh, I don't know. I think that as a – as a – as a child I was learning piano.

Miyako: Oh yes, yep.

Darren: And as – with my bro and my sister, and we hated it and we didn't want to do it and, um, regret the decision now of not continuing.

Miyako: Yes.

Darren: So, having that, you know, writ- equating it to that, saying, "Well, it's something that he's going to find really useful in the future," so he doesn't have a choice, and he can complain and he can not wanna do it and do everything like that, but he has to do it.

Miyako: Oh, okay. Yep. "No choice." Yep. All right. Okay. All right. Um, and, ah, what does your partner think about the choice – I mean, like, the – of, ah, using more languages in the house?

Darren: I think she – she likes it.

Miyako: Yep.

Darren: Um, um, I think she wants him to be fluent in Japanese.

Miyako: Yep.

Darren: But, ah, she's realistic that he lives and goes to school-

Miyako: Yep.

Darren: In a English-speaking community.

Miyako: Yep.

Darren: And that's always gonna be, sort of, you know, his main language, at least for now.

Miyako: Yep, okay. Okay. Now. Could you please tell me whether or not the language in your home has changed over time, um, so since the first day, so since the first day your partner started using Japanese,

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and how it happened, if that's applicable, and any memorable incidents related to the change? Er, were there any change over time?

Darren: Yeah. I – I – I think, um, to start with, she was talking to Max as a – as a baby-

Miyako: Yep.

Darren: Predominantly in Japanese.

Miyako: Okay.

Darren: When he was a new-born baby.

Miyako: Yep.

Darren: But then I think that she felt that, because he was going to, um, be in a English-speaking community-

Miyako: Yep.

Darren: She needed to speak more to him in English-

Miyako: Yep.

Darren: To assist his language development.

Miyako: Oh okay, yep. So, she – [crosstalk] oh yep?

Darren: Because she – yeah, she always has spoken to him in – in Japanese.

Miyako: Oh, okay, so she gradually started to change, like, started to use more English-

Darren: English-

Miyako: Um, than she used to?

Darren: Yeah. But that's a – that's my memory of it.

Miyako: Oh, okay.

Darren: It's been a while, yeah? [crosstalk]

Miyako: That's all right! Yeah!

Darren: That's – that's-

Miyako: No, that's all right, yep. Ah, yep. Okay. And I-

Darren: Any memorable moments? Oh, I think, um, since he started learning Japanese, and I guess the last time the memorable thing was, um, in the last time we went to Japan: he was able to translate for me while we were there, so it was the-

Miyako: Oh, okay, so how many years ago was that?

Darren: That was last year.

Miyako: Oh, okay! "Memorable time." Yes. Um, "able to translate?"

Darren: Yes.

Miyako: Yep. Yep. "Translate for dad in Japanese."

Darren: Yes.

Miyako: In Japanese to English?

Darren: Yes.

Miyako: So, when you went to – when you went to Japan? Oh, okay! So, that's a big improvement.

Darren: Yeah, well, er – you don't get to see it particularly often-

Miyako: Yep.

Darren: Because we don't – we only go every two years and I think he was only – the previous time he was only just starting to learn.

Miyako: Yep.

Darren: Um, but now he's-

Miyako: He's starting to, yeah-

Darren: Yeah.

Miyako: Understand more-?

Darren: Yes.

Miyako: [inaudible] Okay. Um, did you get, ah, any advice or comments from someone about the language use, or did you ask-

Darren: No.

Miyako: Ask for it, or-?

Darren: Not really. No.

Miyako: No, not really? Yeah.

Darren: No, I mean, his – his grandparents, his, um, Australian grandparents-

Miyako: Yep.

Darren: Have always been very, um, supportive-

Miyako: Yep.

Darren: Of him learning Japanese.

Miyako: Okay, yep. So, "support – supportive." Yep. "Aussie grandparents," yep.

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Darren: Yeah.

Miyako: "Using Japanese." [inaudible] Yep. Okay. Um, so is there any practical conditions related to learning Japanese, or like Japanese school, support from Japanese community or Japan?

Darren: Um, right, I know – well, I mean, he – he's – the only thing is, I guess, making time for him to go to Japanese class and then sort of fitting in Japanese homework.

Miyako: Oh, okay.

Darren: But in – in that-

Miyako: Yep.

Darren: I know that we've got some – there was some textbook-

Miyako: Yep.

Darren: Um, support from the Japanese government-

Miyako: Yep.

Darren: But that's about as far as I know.

Miyako: Okay. Japanese government, yep. What about from your, like, um, his grandparents from [crosstalk] Japan, or-?

Darren: Oh, grandparents? Yeah, like, his – his grandmother, ah, sends things to him and, um, will send him emails in Japanese.

Miyako: Okay.

Darren: And-

Miyako: Yep.

Darren: And, um, yeah.

Miyako: "Presents, sends," yep.

Darren: And – and – and things like that, and sends sort of, you know, sometimes send manga in – in – in – Japanese manga-

Miyako: Oh, yep?

Darren: And things like that.

Miyako: "And manga and email in Japanese." Okay. So. "Japanese grandma." Yep. Okay. Do you have any, um, feelings – "feelings about the change," what change? Okay, um, do you think there's any changes in your child's attitudes to [crosstalk] – like, yeah?

Darren: I think – I think he sees himself as, um, sort of half-Australian, half-Japanese, and I think he takes a lot of pride in being-

Miyako: Yep.

Darren: You know, half-Australian, half-Japanese.

Miyako: Oh, okay, yep? "Being half-Jap-" yep. [crosstalk] Half-Japanese.

Darren: I think it's part of his identity.

Miyako: Yep. Yep. So.

Darren: I don't know if he fully understands the-

Miyako: Yep.

Darren: Um, the ramifications of being, um, half a – in Japan, I don't think he quite understands-

Miyako: Understands the-

Darren: What that will mean.

Miyako: Yep.

Darren: Being in Japan.

Miyako: Oh, okay.

Darren: Um, particularly if he decides to go there. Um-

Miyako: Yep.

Darren: I think he'll have to understand that I think in Australia it doesn't matter. [crosstalk]

Miyako: Oh, okay.

Darren: No, I don't think anybody particularly cares.

Miyako: Oh, okay. Yep.

Darren: Or – the community at large compa-

Miyako: Yep.

Darren: Cares that he's half-half.

Miyako: Oh, okay. Yeah. 'Cause there's so many [crosstalk] – so many!

Darren: There's so many of and they're so mixed, and – ha!

Miyako: True. Yep. Um, so, do you find any change as your child grows older in relationships and interactions with other Japanese people, so, like, friends and-?

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Darren: Yeah.

Miyako: To your own, or-

Darren: Oh-

Miyako: Say before and after they started sch- ah, he started school.

Darren: I think he almost – he automatically finds a sort of kinships with people who are Japanese or half-Japanese.

Miyako: Yep.

Darren: I think it's a shared identity.

Miyako: Yep. Yep, um, with [crosstalk] Japanese? Yep.

Darren: And he's always-

Miyako: Yep.

Darren: And he's always looking for the – the Japanese influence in things.

Miyako: Yep. "Japanese influence."

Darren: "Yeah, that's Japanese, that's Japanese, yeah, [inaudible] that," – so-

Miyako: Oh, okay, so – yep.

Darren: Yep. Yep.

Miyako: So, when he finds something that is Japanese, and therefore-

Darren: Yeah, he'll – he'll – he'll – he'll sort of let you know, or – or have a look at it, or look more closely at it than he normally would.

Miyako: Oh, yep.

Darren: Yeah.

Miyako: Okay. "When he sees-" yep. "[inaudible] Japanese [inaudible]." Okay. Um, all right. Okay, so some people talk about bilingualism resulting language delay. Um, how about language development of Japanese English for your child and how you feel about it?

Darren: My son has never been, um, language-delayed, particularly in English.

Miyako: Okay.

Darren: Um, he-

Miyako: "In English" – yep.

Darren: He spoke and read at a very early age.

Miyako: Yep.

Darren: He was speaking and speaking in, sort of, very fluently-

Miyako: Yep.

Darren: From very early age.

Miyako: Yep.

Darren: And, um, he was reading, um, before he started school, so-

Miyako: Okay. So. "Before." So, you think, um – "Started school." So, you think that, um, having the Japanese and English at the same time wouldn't-

Darren: No. No.

Miyako: Cause any-

Darren: No.

Miyako: Language delay, yep?

Darren: No, I don't think so, and I think – and I think children, ah, young – particularly young children's brains are, um, designed to pick up language and I think-

Miyako: Yep.

Darren: That, ah, no, I think if people say it causes the delay, I think there must be something else that's below that delay, other than being bilingual.

Miyako: Okay. Okay. So, um, is there any, ah, are there any pressures from school or society or in large, any responses, like any-?

Darren: I don't – I don't think so. I think, particularly in Australia, I don't think people particularly – I – I think people are only, you know, only see it as a positive.

Miyako: Yep.

Darren: I don't think there's any negative or pressures-

Miyako: Yep.

Darren: To do it. I mean, we want him to learn Japanese.

Miyako: Yep.

Darren: And we want him to, um, have the opportunities. I think, um, some of the schooling decisions around, um, second languages or continuing, um, study – students with continuing study are not particularly fair. Um, so I think that – that – that – that's, um, a drawback to learning a second language.

Miyako: Yep.

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Darren: Um, but that's about it. I think.

Miyako: Oh, okay. So, when you say about – when you were saying about, like, the language – continuing language [crosstalk]?

Darren: Yeah, so if he goes to high school-

Miyako: Yep.

Darren: And tries to do a Japanese subject-

Miyako: Yeah, yep, yep.

Darren: He can't just go and do the one that everybody else would do. He has to do the more advanced-

Miyako: Oh, yes. Yep.

Darren: One. Which, if, say, your parents are mathematicians and all you've been learning at home is maths, you don't have to do the top mathematics level, you don't have to do the advanced one.

Miyako: Yep.

Darren: You can go and do the bottom one, if you want to.

Miyako: Oh, yep.

Darren: Whereas-

Miyako: So, it's-

Darren: It's not the same for things, and I think that what they learn in that advanced course is sometimes not – not geared to the aim of learning, ah, the language, it's about learning the mechanics of the language, and I think they're two different things.

Miyako: Oh, okay. So, you – you wish your child to have that – like, not – not – not going through that when he goes to high school, which is to speak [crosstalk]

Darren: I'm wanting him to have the choice.

Miyako: Choice? Ah, okay. Yep.

Darren: If he wants to go and do that-

Miyako: Yep.

Darren: Fine.

Miyako: Yep.

Darren: He wants to do it. But, you can – you can learn conversational – a conversational language, or you can learn the mechanics-

Miyako: Yep.

Darren: Of the language. Which are two different things, and I think high school's not the place to learn the mechanics of the language-

Miyako: Mm.

Darren: Or – or of your – the language you're learning. Um, I mean, even – I think, um, when you study English in, um, high school, I don't think you go into the mechanics. You maybe go into its uses and its more cultural uses, but you don't learn as much about the mechanics of it.

Miyako: More of the – like, a grammatical – like a gra- [crosstalk]

Darren: Well, grammatical thing – that's part of learning the – the – the thing, but I think there's – there's more, from what I've seen, there's more, um, mechanics of the language that you go into in some of these, um, some of these courses, which aren't as – aren't as useful. I mean, I spoke to, um, a person who had actually studied Japan – Japanese in a Japanese university.

Miyako: Yep.

Darren: And he was, ah, um, ah, he was fluent and he probably spoke Japanese better than most Japanese.

Miyako: Okay.

Darren: Because he spoke – he'd learnt the mechanics, the actual – broke it down into all its nuances and learnt that, and then learnt up from there, and I think in the same way that my wife probably understands the grammatical constructs of English better than I do from a theoretical point of view-

Miyako: Mm.

Darren: Than – than do it. But, if you spoke to me in a particular way, I could tell you it was right or wrong, not why it's right or wrong.

Miyako: Yep.

Darren: And I think sometimes understanding why it's right and wrong isn't as important as being able to speak the language fluently.

Miyako: Oh, okay, yep.

Darren: So, I – I – I sort of – I want him to have the choice. That's – that's the main thing.

Miyako: Okay.

Darren: If he wants to study Japanese-

Miyako: Yep. Yep.

Darren: Maybe university's a better place than high school-

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Miyako: Okay.

Darren: To do that sort of stuff.

Miyako: Yep. "Wants him to have the choice." Yep. Okay. All right. Okay. Um, this is more or less what – what you've just told me-?

Darren: Yep.

Miyako: Um, I will say it anyway.

Darren: Yep.

Miyako: I will ask it anyway.

Darren: Yep.

Miyako: Um, but, um, only if you want to-

Darren: Yep.

Miyako: Elaborate on these things. So, it's – it's about the school-

Darren: Yep.

Miyako: That you've just mentioned about. Um, so the school – the school choice, of school, so, like, teaching Japanese and other educational considerations-

Darren: Yep.

Miyako: Responsibility for English language development-

Darren: Yep.

Miyako: Not the Japanese – the English one.

Darren: Yep.

Miyako: Um, homework, involvement in school activities. Was there anything that you think that-

Darren: Yep.

Miyako: You'd like to elaborate on [crosstalk] that?

Darren: Oh, I just – I just think that, um, when we can, we try to integrate his Japanese into his school.

Miyako: Yep.

Darren: Um, schooling.

Miyako: Yep, integrate Japanese-

Darren: Um-

Miyako: Into his schooling.

Darren: I think if he can, um – if his high school has Japanese – that he goes to, has Japanese, that's great-

Miyako: Yep.

Darren: But I don't think that will be the deciding factor.

Miyako: Oh, okay.

Darren: Really.

Miyako: Right.

Darren: That he can do it. 'Cause I don't think – you know, school's change language courses all the time-

Miyako: Yeah.

Darren: So, if we choose a school based on that it does Japanese, the next year it may not be teaching Japanese.

Miyako: Could be.

Darren: It all just depends on things to do, so I think it's a bit, um, yeah. It's a bit tra- transitory that you make that sort of decision, 'cause it'll – may backfire on you!

Miyako: Oh, yes. Yep.

Darren: Yeah.

Miyako: Oh, okay. So, school. So, you're – you're saying that, ah, having a Japanese at high school, you're – you – that's not one of the factors that you're gonna consider?

Darren: Or it's not gonna be one of the primary factors-

Miyako: Yep.

Darren: Mainly because you may not have that choice.

Miyako: Yeah.

Darren: And it's from year to year, and, you know, if he does it in year seven, then it may not be available for year eight.

Miyako: Okay.

Darren: Or year nine-

Miyako: Yep.

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Darren: And year ten. And I think we've had this discussion and we probably haven't come to the, ah, conclusion on it yet, but my feelings is that I don't want him studying Japanese for the HSC, simply because of how much time it takes to do the study.

Miyako: Mm.

Darren: And where it's only two units in the scheme of things, but if you have to devote more than, you know, a sixth of your time to a subject, it's not giving it, um, a good weight.

Miyako: Okay.

Darren: It's not – it's not a – it's not a valuable amount of time to be spending on it. So, if you've gotta obsessively, um, spend time on one subject at the detriment of another – um, because at the end of the day, when you get your mark from the HSC, they don't really look at what subjects you studied.

Miyako: Yep.

Darren: It's – it's a mark, at the end.

Miyako: Yes.

Darren: And-

Miyako: Yep.

Darren: And, ah, I don't even think if you went to study Japanese at a Australian university, they'd even have, um, "You had to have done Japanese." I think you can start out fresh. There might be something there, but-

Miyako: Yep.

Darren: I don't think they say, "Because you didn't study Japanese, you don't get to go to this course that you wanna do."

Miyako: Yep.

Darren: So.

Miyako: Okay. Right. Thank you. Okay. Now. Um, so, some people say that going to Japan every now and then is good for language maintenance. How about in your case?

Darren: Yes.

Miyako: Yes, yep. So, um, okay. When was your last trip to Japan? For how long?

Darren: Ah, we went for a month and it was in the – the – the – the – the spring school holidays last year.

Miyako: Yep. "Spring school holiday." Yep.

Darren: I'm guessing that was end of September.

Miyako: "Holiday last year." Yep. So, that's-

Darren: Middle of September.

Miyako: Yep. Mid- [crosstalk]

Darren: [inaudible] Mid-September. Yep.

Miyako: Mid-September. Yep. Okay. And, um, the importance of trips for your family and yourself?

Darren: I think it gives Mich-well, it gets to – it gets him to connect-

Miyako: Yep.

Darren: With Japanese culture.

Miyako: Yep, ah, so, "Child?" Yeah.

Darren: Yeah.

Miyako: "Connects to the Japanese culture?" Yep.

Darren: Yep. And he gets to, ah – and connects with his family-

Miyako: Yep.

Darren: Um, but he gets to see the Japanese language in context.

Miyako: Yep.

Darren: How it's r- used, and – and-

Miyako: "[inaudible] in context," yep.

Darren: And many different uses of it.

Miyako: Yep.

Darren: I mean, there's the Japanese you use at home, and there's the Japanese you use in class, but then, you know, then there's the – the Japanese you use in a shop. The Japanese you use amongst friends. The Japanese you use at, you know, the – the – you know, the – the media, the, you know, the announcements over the train, um, for the trains. The – the signs. The – how they use it, or I think that's the important thing. You get to see it in use.

Miyako: Yep, okay. In a actual – the real-

Darren: The real world.

Miyako: In the real world.

Darren: Yeah.

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Miyako: Yep. Okay. Um, how often would you like to go back?

Darren: Every two years.

Miyako: Every two years? Yep.

Darren: Well, well, we'd like – we'd like to go every year, but it's not gonna happen.

Miyako: Oh, okay, so you would like to go back every year-

Darren: Yeah.

Miyako: But in reality-

Darren: Yeah.

Miyako: Yeah. In reality, every two years.

Darren: Yep.

Miyako: Yep. Is it difficult to plan?

Darren: It's difficult to plan, and it's – [inaudible] um, it is difficult to plan, and it's gonna become harder to plan-

Miyako: Yep.

Darren: When Max starts high school.

Miyako: Yep. "Harder to plan when started high school." Yep. Yep. Okay. Ah, okay. Ah, if your partner h- hadn't tried to speak Japanese to your child, in what ways would you – would things have been different, so in relations with your child, yourself and the family as a whole?

Darren: Um, I don't – I don't really know. I think – I think Max's sort of Japanese identity probably wouldn't have been as strong.

Miyako: Oh, the Japanese identity wouldn't be as strong?

Darren: As strong.

Miyako: Oh, yep.

Darren: Um, but yeah, I – I don't really know. I think-

Miyako: "Strong."

Darren: Haven't even really tried to stop and think about.

Miyako: Yeah, so, "Japanese identity wouldn't been – be as strong"-

Darren: As strong-

Miyako: "If," um-

Darren: [inaudible]

Miyako: "Your partner" – yep.

Darren: Ha- hadn't.

Miyako: Yep, "If she hadn't," yep. "She hadn't tried" – yep. "To speak." Yep.

Darren: But I think it's more than the language. I think it's everything that comes along with, you know, speaking Japanese, and – and – and, you know, bringing that side of the culture to the – to the household.

Miyako: Oh, okay. Yep. So, that would be, like, totally – would – would – would-

Darren: Could be different.

Miyako: Could be different? Yep.

Darren: Very different, yeah.

Miyako: Yep. Okay. Um, okay, one last question.

Darren: Okay.

Miyako: Yep. And, ah, could you please tell me something about your hopes for the future, where would you like to live and why, and your child's future?

Darren: I – I would like my – as I said before, I would like Max to have the choice.

Miyako: Yep.

Darren: Where he lives.

Miyako: Yep.

Darren: And – and – I would like him to be, um, comfortable with Japanese language.

Miyako: Yep.

Darren: I don't know if he could become truly fluent in the language here in Australia. But I think you could give him the, um, the basis which he could become fluent quite easily.

Miyako: Yep.

Darren: I think it's, um, I think probably more so than in English, I think, um, the way he learns Japanese, um, is, ah, a particular way but he doesn't speak to enough people in the right setting-

Miyako: Mm.

Darren: To be fluent. I mean, he doesn't speak to, you know, enough to boys his own age. He – Japanese, he doesn't speak to-

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Miyako: Yep.

Darren: Adults, he doesn't – you know, in the workplace, in the – in the full school setting-

Miyako: Mm.

Darren: And things like that. I think that's fluency.

Miyako: Yep.

Darren: He may know the language, but how to, um, construct his sentences based on the – the social – social setting-

Miyako: Yes.

Darren: He won't get that until he lives in Japan.

Miyako: Okay, yes. I understand – yeah. Right. Um, and what about yourself as – do you consider, like, one day in the future you want to live in Japan as a – as your family, or-?

Darren: It's – it's – it's a – it's something we've talked about. Something we've thought about. Um, I'm not sure how Max would go in a Japanese school full-time, but, um, it's something we've talked about. Um, and if the right opportunity came up, we might do it.

Miyako: Yep, okay. Great. Thank you so much-

Darren: No problem!

Miyako: For your time!

Darren: No problem!

Max Brown Interview

Interview Date: 19th April, 2017

Interviewer: Miyako

Miyako: Have you lived in Australia since you were born?

Max: Yes.

Miyako: Yes. Um, what language do the teachers use at school?

Max: Um, English.

Miyako: English. Have you been in the same school since kindergarten?

Max: Ah, no coz I moved to a new school.

Miyako: Ok. Ah, what country did your mum and dad come from?

Max: Um, my mum came from Japan and my dad came from Australia.

Miyako: Ok. Do you spend a lot of time with your mum and dad?

Max: Yeah.

Miyako: Yes? Do you have any brothers or sisters?

Max: No, unless you count cats.

Miyako: Ok. What do you normally do with your family on weekdays?

Max: On weekdays, we usually just eat dinner together.

Miyako: Ok.

Max: Because we usually have a lot of work and homework.

Miyako: Oh, during the weekdays.

Max: Yes.

Miyako: (cross talk) Yep. How do you spend time with your family on weekends?

Max: We usually go shopping and sometimes we do activities. And holidays, we have a lot of fun. By doing family activities. Sometimes we do board games or sometimes we may go to our whole family's house and go and spend a lot of time together.

Miyako: Ok. Great. Are there many Japanese people in the area you live in?

Max: Ah yeah. Yes.

Miyako: Yes? Do you spend time with them?

Max: Sometimes.

Miyako: Sometimes. Ah, how often?

Max: I think, it used to be about like once a week. But now it's usually maybe um, once every three or four weeks.

Miyako: Ok, yep. Um, do you go to any Japanese festivals of Japanese cultural events?

Max: Um, we make our own. So, on boys' day, we have our... we make boys' day food and then we do a lot of celebrations on Japanese days.

Miyako: Yep. Ok so, basically you don't go out but you do things at home.

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- Max:** Yeah we do things at home.
- Miyako:** Yep, ok.
- Max:** There usually aren't any that much of Japanese events around here.
- Miyako:** Ah, all right. Um, what language does your dad speak to you?
- Max:** English and sometimes Japanese.
- Miyako:** Japanese. How much Japanese?
- Max:** Um, a few phrases that he knows.
- Miyako:** Oh ok. What language do you speak to your dad?
- Max:** Um, I... we said that before.
- Miyako:** No. The first one was, dad speak to you and the next one is you speak to dad.
- Max:** Oh. Oh, sometimes I speak in Japanese and mainly in English.
- Miyako:** Mainly in English. Ok. Ah, what language does your mum speak to you?
- Max:** Um, usually Japanese.
- Miyako:** Usually Japanese.
- Max:** But out, but outside, out of the, sometimes outside the, usually speak in English.
- Miyako:** Ok. What language do you speak to your mum?
- Max:** Oh. Sometimes Japanese but mostly English.
- Miyako:** Mostly English. What language do your parents talk to each other?
- Max:** Usually English but a bit of Japanese.
- Miyako:** Ok. Um, can your dad speak Japanese?
- Max:** A little bit. Only the phrases he knows.
- Miyako:** Ok. How well can your mum speak English?
- Max:** She can speak pretty good. But she can't pronounce some of the um... letters and sounds.
- Miyako:** Ok. Um, what language can you speak to... oh sorry... When you have a conversation with your whole family, what language do you all speak in?
- Max:** Sometimes Japanese, sometimes English. But mostly English.
- Miyako:** Mostly English. Ok. Um, how well do you think you can speak Japanese?
- Max:** Um, not that well. But I can speak a few common phrases.
- Miyako:** Ok. Um, speaking Japanese with your mum easy?
- Max:** No. Very very hard. Because sometimes I don't know what to say.
- Miyako:** Oh ok. But do you understand what your mum's saying?
- Max:** I understand but I can't really say it. Sometimes I don't understand but usually I understand but I can't use in my own context.
- Miyako:** Oh. To reply back to her.
- Max:** Yeah.
- Miyako:** Is that... Yep. Ok. Um, do you think it was good that your mum kept speaking Japanese to you?
- Max:** Mm... yeah. I like learning Japanese.
- Miyako:** Ok. Um, have you ever wished your mum didn't speak Japanese to you?
- Max:** Nooo.
- Miyako:** No?
- Max:** I like hearing what she has to say and sometimes if I don't know the word I ask her what it is and then I learn a new word.
- Miyako:** Ok. Um, what do you think are the good things about being able to speak both English and Japanese?
- Max:** Well, if you want to, you can get a job in Japan but if you can't find a good job in Japan, you can just go back to Australia. And you can speak different languages. So you can work as a good translator, which would be a good job. And you can use your um, English and Japanese as a good way of um, speaking to other people from um, continents.
- Miyako:** Ok, good. Um, do you want your mum to continue speaking Japanese to you in the future?
- Max:** Yes.
- Miyako:** Yes. Um, ok. Er... have you ever visited Japan?
- Max:** Many times.
- Miyako:** Many times. Ok, um... how often?
- Max:** Um, once every two years.
- Miyako:** And once you go, how long do you stay there?
- Max:** Um, sometimes we stay designated amount but if I remember I usually think that we stay about six weeks.
- Miyako:** Ok. Um, what do you do there?

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Max: Um, we do fun things. We go do things we usually can't. Um we see the family, we see my mother's friends. We eat food. Lots and lots of tasty food. And we go to hotels and we see scenery and I talk to my cousins and that's mostly it.

Miyako: Ok. Um, did you go to a school in Japan?

Max: Um, once but then I decided that I didn't want to do it because it was a bit too hard because I couldn't communicate with anybody.

Miyako: Ok. Um, do you have grandparents or relatives such as uncles, aunties, cousins in Japan?

Max: Yes, many.

Miyako: Ok. Um, what language do you speak to them?

Max: Um, Japanese because I can't speak to them in English.

Miyako: Ok. Um, what... oh ok. So, and what language do they speak to you?

Max: Japanese.

Miyako: Japanese. Did you find it difficult to talk to them in Japanese?

Max: Yes.

Miyako: Yes. Have you ever talked on the phone or skyped with them?

Max: Yes.

Miyako: Yes.

Max: But I haven't skyped. I phoned.

Miyako: Phoned? In what lang... what language?

Max: Um, Japanese.

Miyako: Japanese. Ok. Um, do you go to a Japanese community school?

Max: Um...

Miyako: Like a Japanese language school?

Max: Yes.

Miyako: Ok. How many kids in your class?

Max: Um, one. Two. Two.

Miyako: What language does the teacher use?

Max: Um, Japanese.

Miyako: What language do you use to speak to your teacher?

Max: Japanese.

Miyako: What language do you use with your classmate?

Max: Um, sometimes in English but mainly in Japanese.

Miyako: Do you want to add any reading experiences in Japanese?

Max: Mm?

Miyako: Like what you read? Do, do you read Japanese books?

Max: Yes. Sometimes with my mum. Sometimes we watch some Japanese videos.

Miyako: Ok. So at first, in terms of reading, what types of books do you read?

Max: Um, younger children's books because I can't read the bigger ones.

Miyako: Ok. And, do you read it yourself?

Max: No, usually my mum and I read together.

Miyako: Ok. And do you watch any Japanese TV programs, DVDs, internet such as YouTube or movies?

Max: Sometimes I watch anime. Sometimes I watch Japanese, um Japanese series called "Yokai Watch".

Miyako: Yep.

Max: And um, sometimes, I watch Japanese "mukashi", which is basically like fairy tales.

Miyako: Yep. Ok, do you um, do you watch in Japanese or subtitles or dubbed?

Max: Usually I watch in Japanese.

Miyako: Yep.

Max: Sometimes, I have subtitles. If I'm watching "mukashi" with my mum, I don't understand something, she pauses and we have a discussion about it.

Miyako: Ok. Um, what do you do if you come up with a word you don't understand in Japanese?

Max: I ask my mum.

Miyako: Ok. Do you think it is important to be able to read and write in Japanese?

Max: Yes. As I explained before, it would be good for a job and translation.

Miyako: Ok. Do you have any Japanese friends?

Max: Ah, yes.

Miyako: Ah, how did you meet?

Max: Um, well, one of them, my mum had already met before but we met again coz um, their mother was walking down the school with a pram and I looked on the pram and there was Japanese um, toy

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called "Anpanman" in there and I saw and said, "Do you know... are you Japanese?" and they said, "Yes."

Miyako: Ok.

Max: And I became friends with their um, child.

Miyako: Ok. Do you keep in touch with them?

Max: Ah, yes. We're good friends.

Miyako: Ok.

Max: I met them recently down at the park behind my house.

Miyako: Oh ok! So, do they live nearby?

Max: Yeah, they live nearby. If I... was um, a little bike path down near the trees

Miyako: (crosstalk) Ok.

Max: down there. And if you go down that bike path, if... and you go across the road and then you go in the even bigger bike path and you take a turn left when you go to the road. One of the houses

Miyako: Ok.

Max: has a long stairway and that's near my friend's... that's my friend's house.

Miyako: Oh ok. Um, did you say you met them recently?

Max: I met them recently.

Miyako: Ok. Um...

Max: (crosstalk) I mean...

Miyako: (crosstalk) how long ago?

Max: If you mean like when we first became friends?

Miyako: Um, when you met them?

Max: Oh met? It was um, I think three years ago?

Miyako: Oh, three years ago but then you...

Max: Then I saw them recently.

Miyako: Oh ok.

Max: Um, three years ago was um, coz roughly that's what I think I remember because um, currently they're in Year 3 and I'm in Year 5 so that's two years. So then, go back and then when I remember I met them. I think that I was in Year 2 and they didn't start so Year 3 and I was they're were in... no, I think I met them when I was in Year 3.

Miyako: Ok. So then, you... have you met during that time? Like, so...

Max: I don't...

Miyako: (crosstalk) so three years ago and now?

Max: I keep forgetting when I met them.

Miyako: That's ok.

Max: But it's roughly I think three years ago.

Miyako: That's all right. So, have you met with that person constantly?

Max: I don't always meet with them but they're good friends.

Miyako: Ok.

Max: I usually meet with them.

Miyako: All right.

Max: I used to see them all the time until I went to my new school.

Miyako: Right. Ok. Um, has anyone asked you, "Where are you from?"

Max: Um, yes. And some people just say, "Ah, he's from Asia".

Miyako: Oh ok. So but when somebody asked you "Where are you from?" How did you answer?

Max: I say, I'm from, I'm from... my mum... I'm half Japanese. My mum's Japanese my father's Australian.

Miyako: Ok. Do you feel that you are Japanese or Australian or both?

Max: I feel like I'm a mix.

Miyako: Mix. Ok.

Max: Like if you get a chocolate cake and vanilla cake and you mix it together, you don't have parts like um, you don't have little parts that are white and you don't have little parts that are um, just um, brown.

Miyako: Yep.

Max: But you mix it together and makes it a light brownish colour.

Miyako: Oh ok. So that's...

Max: Yeah.

Miyako: Yeah. Ok.

Max: Like a smoothie. You blend it all together and

Miyako: Yep.

Max: and makes one colour.

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Miyako: Yes. Ok. Um, are you proud of Japanese culture?

Max: Yes. Very proud.

Miyako: Ok. What do you like about Ja... Japan and Japanese culture?

Max: Um, food, the nice people, the shows everything's that's usually... just everything.

Miyako: Everything. Good. Ok. What don't you like about Japan and Japanese culture?

Max: Not much. The thing that I dislike is... I don't like eggplant and I don't exactly like oden, which is like Japanese soup type dish. And I don't exactly like having horse sashimi.

Miyako: Oh all right. What do you like about Australia and Australian culture?

Max: Um, I like food, I like um, vast lands. I like the beaches. The food again. Um even though Japanese food is way better. Um, yeah. I just like it naturally.

Miyako: Oh ok. What don't you like about Australia and Australian culture?

Max: I don't like all the insects. And I don't like the lack of Japanese food. And I don't like how there is um, stuff in our beaches, like the... stuff in our ocean and I need to say that I like everybody to stop pollution.

Miyako: Ok. Um, do you think Japanese and Australian, Australians are different?

Max: Um, different. But in a way that we're all the same. People are all the same. We shouldn't be discriminated by your race. We all have blood inside us.

Miyako: Ok. Like as in cultural difference? How they behave.

Max: Oh oh um... yeah. Cultural differences and not really how they behave but what our daily um schedules are and our behaviour. I sort of think that Japanese people behave better then um how people act these days.

Miyako: Like politeness. Are you talking about

Max: Um politeness. How people are nicer in Japan to me.

Miyako: Ok.

Max: I feel that.

Miyako: Yep. All right.

Max: But also I need to make a note that I really like the cat cafes in Japan.

Miyako: Oh ok (laugh).

Max: Because you're covered in cats and there're cats everywhere and you can pat them.

Miyako: Oh really? Ok.

Max: Because I'm the... feel very passionate about cats.

Miyako: I, I can see that.

Max: (to the cat) Gani chan!

Miyako: Um, all right. Do you have friends from different cultural background?

Max: Um, yes. I, I have a friend who is Ara... who is Arabic and he is... well, I don't know, not Arabic. He comes from Egypt

Miyako: Yep.

Max: And he can speak Arabic.

Miyako: Ok. And...

Max: And also I used to have a friend who I think know his mum is Philippine and I th... and... mm... how I put this... I think that I know somebody who is Chinese.

Miyako: Ok. So, have they shared any of their cultures to you? Such as food, language, games and etc?

Max: Um, somebody brought food to we are... um... the Egyptian person um, brought food of um two of banquet that we were having at school. And everybody had it except for me because I had cake.

Miyako: Ok.

Max: And I...

Miyako: Is that the Egyptian cake or is that...?

Max: No because I had um different cake. They um, he made like a pasta type thing. I don't exactly know what it is.

Miyako: Mm...

Max: It was like pasta.

Miyako: Ok.

Max: I was eating my Japanese sashimi and my salmon sushi. And I had quite a bit of soy sauce on it.

Miyako: Oh ok. So um, but they do share

Max: Yeah.

Miyako: like

Max: They share

Miyako: (inaudible) a few things of their cultural food.

Max: But I don't exactly. I haven't exactly had um some of my friends' um cultural foods because I don't exactly know but I don't think people sometimes make it because a bit of hassle.

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Miyako: Mm...

Max: to make it. But, recently we've got an air fry. So we can make a new Japanese fried foods like um tempura.

Miyako: Yes.

Max: Maybe. And kara-age.

Miyako: Mm...

Max: And other Japanese food.

Miyako: That you would probably be able to share with others?

Max: Yes.

Miyako: Yep.

Max: Especially like ebi-fry. Which is tasty.

Miyako: (crosstalk) Oh yum. It is.

Max: Ebi tempura is probably better.

Miyako: Yep.

Max: And sushi is good too. Nice sushi.

Miyako: I can see. Well, thank you so much!

Max: Oh is it already finished?

Appendix F

Interview Transcript Exemplar (Sara Crowley)

Interview Date: 18th April, 2017

Interviewer: Miyako

Miyako: Okay. Please tell me about your own background, such as the place you were brought up and about the schools you attended.

Sara: Well, my name is Sara Crowley. I was raised in Australia, [capital city], and I've been attending a Japanese Saturday school – community language school – since the age of four. So, pre-school and I'm still continuing to, um, go to that school even till now as a year twelve student.

Miyako: Okay. So, um, do you attend a local school normally?

Sara: Yes, I do.

Miyako: Yes, yes. So – oh, okay. And, um, have you ever attended a school in Japan?

Sara: Yes, I have. Like, as, like, a, um, transfer – well, not really like a transfer student, but like, um, like a time, but like a short-span time student. [inaudible]

Miyako: Oh.

Sara: Yeah.

Miyako: Yeah.

Sara: I don't know how to say that in English, but I was like one of those, but if I was to go when I was in primary school which was, like, every two years, I'd go for a week or a whole entire month if I had the chance to, but as I grew older and since I've entered high school, I've only been able to go to the junior high school. I repeated year seven twice, but I was only able to go, like, three days or two days and the last time I went was two years ago when I was still in, like, year nine, and that was, like, the last – where I could go, because they wouldn't accept me as a high school student. So, yeah. I wish I could attend high school this time 'round when I go again this year.

Miyako: Okay, so when you said two or three times, is that two or three times a week?

Sara: Oh, no, it's only two or three-

Miyako: Two or three times-

Sara: Days.

Miyako: Oh, okay. Yep.

Sara: Yeah.

Miyako: What – when you visited?

Sara: Yeah.

Miyako: Oh, okay. All right. Um, so. So, the school that you're attending in Australia, your local school, ah, what language, um, does the teachers use as school normally?

Sara: Oh, we teach in English, but if it's a specific subject, half of the class would be – for example, French would be in French and then the other half would be in English. For Japanese, mostly – it was more the pronunciation that the class worked on. So, I [inaudible] three quarters of a lesson would be mostly Japanese.

Miyako: Okay.

Sara: Yeah.

Miyako: So, is that at school?

Sara: Ah, this is at school. So-

Miyako: At school.

Sara: That's only for language, um, subjects.

Miyako: Yes. Yep.

Sara: Um, and then the rest is – everything is in English.

Miyako: Yep. Okay. Right. So, um, please tell me about your family, so what country did your mum and dad come from?

Sara: My dad is originally from Australia, but my mother is from Japan, and she moved here twenty-five years ago. And ever since then, she's been living here in Australia, and she'll just go back to Japan, like, every once in a while, and – yeah. I don't learn much about my father's history. Like, apparently, I've heard that we're Spanish, Italian, Irish, but I feel like we've – we have a more stronger connection to the Irish culture, I believe. And yeah, that's about it, I guess.

Miyako: All right, so, um, did you spend a lot of time with your mum and dad when you were a child?

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Sara: Yes, I did. I had, like, I have more memories of my dad and mum together as a child than I do now, 'cause, yeah, they're separated now, but, like, that doesn't really change the fact that they're my parents. So yeah, I've got really good memories of them together, and I'd still hear stories from both parents about the time when they were still together and it was just us three and then my sister included. And yeah, I still hear stories about that. So, I feel like I have a strong connection to them, even still, even till now.

Miyako: Okay.

Sara: Yep.

Miyako: All right. Um, when you were a child, was your mother working?

Sara: No, she wasn't. She was at our home – a homestay, um, mother-type of person. Like, a housewife.

Miyako: Yep.

Sara: While my dad was more working in [suburb], like, in business with a business?

Miyako: Yep.

Sara: Yep.

Miyako: Um, and how about now?

Sara: My mum does work now. She, um – not only does she help out in my Japanese school, she helps out at JB – she works at JB Hi-Fi during the week. And then any spare day she has, she does eyelash extensions. Yeah. That's what she does mostly.

Miyako: Eyelash?

Sara: Extensions, so like-

Miyako: Oh, extensions! Yeah, yep.

Sara: Yeah, so she puts it on one-by-one.

Miyako: Oh, okay!

Sara: Yeah.

Miyako: So, is that a part-time work, or-?

Sara: Um, she makes the eyelash more of a business purpose, and then, like, her JB Hi-Fi one as a part-time kind of thing.

Miyako: Oh, okay.

Sara: Yeah.

Miyako: Right. So, do you have any brothers or sisters?

Sara: I've got one younger sister who's fourteen currently.

Miyako: Oh, fourteen years old?

Sara: Yeah. Fourteen-years old, yep.

Miyako: Oh, okay.

Sara: Yeah.

Miyako: Um, what did you normally do with your family on weekdays?

Sara: On weekdays, it – normally it would be me going to school I guess, and, like, studying, and then we'd have dinner. And that's about it during the weekdays. And my weekends, con- constantly consisted of me studying at Saturday school and then after that, probably hanging out with my Japanese friends from there. And then Sundays would be like just a day where we just relax, like, I assume. Yeah.

Miyako: Okay.

Sara: It's just constantly that.

Miyako: All right.

Sara: Yeah.

Miyako: Um, so do you p – do you live with your parents now?

Sara: I live with my mother.

Miyako: Okay.

Sara: Yeah.

Miyako: Ah, and what do you do now?

Sara: Pardon? [crosstalk]

Miyako: What do you do now?

Sara: What do you mean, as a student?

Miyako: Ah, yeah, so like-

Sara: Or-?

Miyako: A occupation, or-? Yep.

Sara: Oh, yeah, I'm – I'm basically a student, currently. Yeah.

Miyako: All right. So, um, please tell me about the Japanese community in the area that you lived with your family, so, um, were there many Japanese people in the area you lived in with your family in childhood?

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Sara: No, I don't think so. It was more – I – I live in [suburb] so it's very multi-cultural in a way. So, I got to hang out with, like, my Korean neighbours, my Indian neighbours, my Lebanese neighbours but, like, never Japanese. So, it'd be very rare to have a Japanese family living around me. But they – but, like, due to the fact that I've been going to a Japanese pre-school, like, um, like a fun day sort of thing, and a Japanese Saturday school, I believe I developed a Japanese community around me. So, yeah. I'm really thankful about that. Yeah.

Miyako: Okay. Did you go to any Japanese festivals or Japanese cultural events?

Sara: Yes, I have. Every December, there'd be a Japanese festival in, um, December, and last year and the year before that – oh, not last year. Oh yeah, last year. For one festival, I – ah, I was an MC and the, like, previous year before that I hosted two festivals as well. So, yeah. I – I feel like the year won't end unless I go to this specific festival with my friends. So, yeah.

Miyako: Okay, so how long, or since how long have you been in the – that – have you been to the Japanese festivals or Japanese cultural events? So, how long have you been-?

Sara: Ah, [inaudible] last one? Or-?

Miyako: Oh, like-

Sara: Like, since the very beginning?

Miyako: Yep.

Sara: I don't know. I – from what I remember, I've been going to one since the age of one, I assume. Oh, not the age of one. Um, year one.

Miyako: Year one? Yep.

Sara: So, age six. So, yeah. I remember it happening in February, so yeah.

Miyako: Right. Okay, so, um, please tell me the languages you spoke with each of your family member, including your relatives whether or not living in Japan. So, what language did your dad speak to you?

Sara: Yeah, I'd speak English, but then since he knows a couple of words in Japanese, like, [inaudible], it's, like, stuff like that would be Japanese, like simple terms that he would know, but other than that it would be everything English.

Miyako: Yep. And what language did you speak to your dad?

Sara: I spoke to him in, um, English mostly. And then if I was to teach him Japanese certain words, then I teach him Japanese, but yeah. Other than that ...

Miyako: Right. So, what language did your mum speak to you?

Sara: She would speak in Japanese to me, but at one stage, since I was really struggling to learn my Japanese language, I spoke to her back in English, but nowadays it would be full Japanese, hardly ever English, [inaudible] yeah. [inaudible]

Miyako: And, what language, um, do you speak to your mum?

Sara: I would speak Japanese now and certain times I'd speak to her in English to explain things. And that's about it.

Miyako: Ah, what language did your parents speak to each other?

Sara: English.

Miyako: English?

Sara: Yeah, unless – but there was sometimes Japanese that both would understand simply. And that's about it.

Miyako: Okay.

Sara: Yeah.

Miyako: Um, so how well can your – I already asked this question.

Sara: Oh, okay.

Miyako: How well can your mum speak English?

Sara: Ah, it's conversational, but it, like, as a teaching job, definitely no. I – I reckon. But, yeah. It's – yeah, it's conversational.

Miyako: Conversational? Yep. Ah, so what language, um do you speak to your sister?

Sara: Ah, this – half and half. Both Japanese and English, but lately, since she likes to learn Korean, from Korean dramas, I'd help her with her pronunciation sometimes. So, we'd have mini, like – like, jokes are going around, like, "[inaudible]" and stuff like that, that would be Korean. So, yeah. I feel like we speak all three languages.

Miyako: Okay.

Sara: Yeah.

Miyako: Um, so when you have conversation with the whole family-

Sara: Oh.

Miyako: What language did you all speak in?

Sara: That would definitely be English.

Miyako: In English?

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Sara: That's – it – because my father's Australian, so only understands English, I feel like we had to change that.

Miyako: Yep.

Sara: Yeah, if my mum – mum didn't understand, we'd, like, translate it quickly to her. But other than that, [inaudible]

Miyako: Okay. So, please tell me about your experience-

Sara: Pardon?

Miyako: [inaudible]

Sara: [crosstalk] Okay, yeah.

Miyako: Um, please tell me about your experience and thoughts on speaking Japanese with your Japanese parent, so-

Sara: Oh, okay.

Miyako: Um, how well do you think you can speak Japanese?

Sara: I feel it is – I can speak very well, ah, for my, for my kind of, um, background, like, since I'm brought up in an Aus- ah, an English-speaking country, I feel like I haven't lost my connection to Japan at all with my conversation skills. But if it comes to reading and writing, I feel like there can be areas I can improve on. Yeah.

Miyako: Um, is speaking Japanese with your mum easy?

Sara: Yes, it is. Like, if there are certain words I don't understand, she'll explain it, and there are times when I'd say certain words that I've learnt through, like, social media and stuff, she'd be very surprised, because she – she never expects me to say those kind of things. So yeah, there are times when I surprise my mum with that kind of [inaudible] conversation.

Miyako: Okay. Um, are you glad that you can speak Japanese?

Sara: Yes, absolutely I do, 'cause my fa- family in Japan only speaks Japanese so it's really hard – it was really hard for when I was a young – at a young age to speak to them in English and have them understand what I'm trying to say. So, by – by me learning Japanese and being able to, like, speak it fluently with my grandparents, every time I go back they are surprised at how well I do each year, apparently, but I feel like – I feel like it's a special thing that I get to speak Japanese in their language with them, because it's something that I'd never do here in Australia. So, yeah.

Miyako: Um, why do you think you become able to speak Japanese?

Sara: By going to the Japanese school since a very young age, I feel like I developed a strong understanding towards the subject, so even though I stopped studying it, like, I lost interest like half way, I feel like I grew back because my friends all love Japan. Like, they all love it now, so I feel like my, like – well, rather than a competition with them knowing Japanese, I feel like it's more of a mutual understanding how we go through this process together, so I didn't feel alone in the process of learning Japanese. So yeah, I feel very – I feel like it's a very special thing because I created a special bond with other students. And yeah.

Miyako: Um, have you ever wished your mum didn't speak Japanese to you?

Sara: I've never thought that, 'cause there are some kids who haven't learnt Japanese at all, and their Japanese – and they've got a Japanese mother. And I feel sort of sad when I try to start a conversation with them. Ah, I feel like I have to force myself to speak English and I didn't really like that. So, yeah. I feel – I feel like a total difference with those kind of girls and boys. But yeah, like, it feels a bit upsetting to me.

Miyako: Mm. Okay. Um, when you were a child, what did you think about speaking Japanese and studying Japanese?

Sara: I felt there was no use for it to be honest, because I'd only go back to Japan once every two years and, like, there was no such thing as, um, skype or anything like that. It was everything phone-based, so, like, I feel – I didn't have this strong connection to my family at all. So, I felt like there was no point in it, and, like, I didn't enjoy it, because I – because I go to a school that speaks only English and learnt Indonesian as a language, which I wasn't interested in as well, so, yeah. I didn't really like it. But yeah. But in year five, I re- I feel like I developed a strong connection to the language through my friends and that's what encouraged me to study a bit more, I reckon.

Miyako: Um, when you were a child, were you ashamed of speaking Japanese in front of friends and strangers?

Sara: No I wasn't, because everyone around me was at basically at the same level as me. But I did feel a bit ashamed in year five and six, because that's when my interest was the language grew really big, but some students around me were, like, really so – were working hard on the language for all those years that I didn't find interest in the subject. I feel like – yeah, I did feel a little ashamed, because I didn't know how to speak it as well. But now that I, like, now that they've stopped continuing the subject, ah,

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the language, I feel like I have the upper hand now! So yeah. But yeah, so I'm not ashamed of it now, but I used to be, yeah.

Miyako: Ah, what do you think are the benefits of being able to speak both English and Japanese?

Sara: Being able to communicate with family and helping others. There are cases in Japan where I had to at least help an, um, English-speaking person at least once in Japan and help them to, like, translate that. It happens a lot here in Australia, so I feel like that's a good benefit for me. [inaudible]

Miyako: Cool. Okay. Um, do you want your mum to continue speaking Japanese to you in the future?

Sara: Definitely, yeah. I – I want it to be the same with my children as well. And how they go to a Japanese-speaking school since a very young age.

Miyako: Yep.

Sara: So, I hope that my mum would keep up her role as a Japanese speaker to my life and keep speaking Japanese to me. Yeah.

Miyako: Um, does your sister speak as fluent as you do?

Sara: No, she doesn't! Like, I – I feel like I ha- I was on a much higher level than her at – when I was her age. Like, she recently started liking Japanese cultural-based stuff, but like, there's still a part in – like, her conversation's a bit – sorry – it's a bit lacking, I assume – like, I assume, yeah. So, I feel like I was better – I hope she does get better than me, but, like, at this stage, no, she's not that good.

Miyako: Okay.

Sara: But she can speak. Yep.

Miyako: She can speak? Yep.

Sara: Yep. Better than [inaudible]

Miyako: Right. So, is she, like, a, um, more of a, um, like a basic Japanese, would you say, or-?

Sara: It's conversational now, but it used to be very basic.

Miyako: Yep.

Sara: Like, she'd understand what we're saying, but then she'd, like, reply back in English 'cause she's not bothered to translate it.

Miyako: Yep.

Sara: So yeah, I feel like her mind's still centred around English even now. So, it's hard for her to communicate as fluently. It's just my mind: it's easy to switch to English, to Japanese. I feel like that – that's what got – gets me going. But yeah, at this stage, I feel like she needs to develop a much more – a much more bigger understanding for Japanese; then she'd be more fluent, I guess.

Miyako: Okay. Yep. Ah, can you please tell me about your – about any visits to Japan?

Sara: Um, well, most – um, in year – when I was at the age of twelve, I went to Japan myself and I spent an entire month with my aunt and her two kids and I – I – I went to school for the first time, like a junior high school, for a week and that was a really precious experience for me, because I – it was linked to my primary school that I used to go to, so I had friends there. But due to the fact that there were other linked, um, junior high schools to that school, I developed more friends, and, like, till now I keep in contact with them, so I feel like it was a special, like, um, connection and it was also my first time going to Japan, so I feel like that was a bigger step for me as well.

Miyako: Yep. Oh, okay.

Sara: Yeah.

Miyako: Um-

Sara: And that's where my Japanese grew as well, because I wasn't in a English-speaking area, or the fact that no one spoke English around me – it forced me to speak only Japanese, unless – if my aunt asked me if I could go, like, teach my cousins a bit of English, then I'd speak English, but other than that, there was a rare chance of me speaking in English. And, yeah.

Miyako: So, um, how – how often, since then, how often do you go to Japan?

Sara: Um, I've been going since a very young age apparently, like, like, from what I heard from my father, I went after a few months I was born, when it was legal for me to go, and ever since then, I'd go back very frequently, more than my sister apparently. And now – now, I go back every year.

Miyako: Oh, every year?

Sara: Every [inaudible] for me it's been the same [inaudible] since year six. And then I'd go back every single year. And this year as well, I might be staying for an entire three months, apparently. Like, that's what my mum's planning while she comes back in a month, my sister comes back after a week, after she goes back to Australia, yeah. Just before uni starts I'll be staying a bit longer.

Miyako: Oh wow, so once you go-

Sara: Yeah.

Miyako: Do you stay – how long do you stay for?

Sara: Ah, I'd be staying for two months. Yeah, I-

Miyako: Two months?

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Sara: No, one month.

Miyako: One month?

Sara: Yeah. And then there are times when I'd go in the middle of September and then until the end of October sometimes, a bit before the middle of October I'd stay around there as well, so a month or two. Yeah.

Miyako: Right. So, um, so please tell me about a Japanese community school which is a Saturday school.

Sara: Mm.

Miyako: And at schools, if you have studied Japanese in those places, so, um, did you like going to the community school?

Sara: No, I didn't! Um, due to the fact that my mum was the principal, like, the, um, like voluntary principal and stuff like that, I – had to wake up very early to go to Saturday school and – and the fact that I had to wake up so early to go to school was a bit tiring for me, because I've been – I've just been to a week of school, and I have to wake up even earlier than I normally do, just to go to a school in the city. I just didn't really like going to school, but I've enjoyed going to – like, being at the school, but I don't like the traveling part! Yeah.

Miyako: Um, so, is that the – well, the next question is: what did you like or dislike about, so that's basically-

Sara: Even now?

Miyako: Even now, like-

Sara: Oh, okay.

Miyako: Yeah.

Sara: Yeah. What I like now is that I have a stronger connection to my classmates than I – I've ever had in my life, like I feel like my Japanese school – I feel like they're family more than I – like, I spend a week with my friends at school, like, normal school, but I don't feel that strong connection as I would with my Japanese friends. That's what makes Ja- Saturday school special, like, I look forward to it every single week. Like, the fact that three members of the class last year dropped out because of, um, two went to Japan to study, one is in uni now – uni now, so like – but I feel really upset, so yeah. Like, 'cause – yeah, but even now, I feel like the connection I have with my classmates is still strong, so that's what I like about it, like, I like having friends at the school. What I dislike about it is the homework, I guess.

Miyako: How much homework do you – did you?

Sara: It's not much, but the fact that I'm doing high school – so HSC preliminary and stuff like that, I feel like it's hard to handle the timeframe, so I'd – I'd be awake – like, this has been going on for, like, years now, but – um, I'd be awake until late every Friday and do all my homework then I – it's not much, like, [inaudible] like a diary or a news article that I find on the internet and write that in Japanese. Two worksheets, two Kanji test sheets that we'll be assessed on on Saturday and now there's a reading task where we have to read and, like, we test ourselves if we can read it, and then that would be another test for the day. So, it's not much, but I – it's so hard to find time to do it.

Miyako: It sounds a lot to me!

Sara: Yeah! It's not much. After what I've been through-

Miyako: Yeah.

Sara: Yeah. It's not much.

Miyako: Oh, okay. Um, so, how many kids were in your class?

Sara: There was, I'd say, thirty students? Well, twenty to thirty students when I first started, but as years went by, people kept dropping out, and a large majority of my classmates dropped out in year eight which was also a sad thing. The only people that remained were three of my friends. One dropped out the following year, but I never had a strong relationship with him, so it was all right for me. But um, there was this one student, I developed a really big – like, for two – for about two years, I guess? The second year of being with the new classmates and the current classmates now – the second year we all got really – we started – this was three years ago – but we all got along really, really well, like on Facebook every single night during the holidays, we'd stay up till, like, 4am and we'd still be communicating online, or, like, we'd be skyping each other and we'd still be awake, and, we were like, "We need to go to sleep but we can't, 'cause we wanted to keep talking to each other." And one of the – oh, one of my classmates I've been with since year five, he's in – he's in a Japanese university now. He dropped out 'cause of – 'cause of uni reasons, so we still have a strong relationship, but I feel like that – that was the most saddest part of my life, like, someone that I had this strong relationship with suddenly dropped out and – yeah. Like, yeah, and from that it dropped to, um, now it is 'round ten or eleven students, I guess? So, there are lots of students that dropped by – dropped in the last few years, but yeah. The most saddest part was last year. Yeah. 'Cause it-

Miyako: So many people dropped out?

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Sara: Yeah, yeah, one student is a high school student now in Japan. She doesn't like it! But apparently, there's a really good-looking, um, Sensei at her school, so she's enjoying it! And then my Japanese, ah, friend, that, ah, uni friend, um, he also is friends with some exile like, juniors, apparently, in his same uni, so he's enjoying himself, and then my other friend goes to [name of the university] Uni, so there – and he's – he can come back every so often, but it's going to be very slim, the chances of him learning with us. So that's why I really hated it, the fact that I can't study with these group of friends again, like, another time as well, 'cause they've got their own lives now. That's what sad about it, yeah.

Miyako: So, do you – do you speak Japanese to them?

Sara: Only Japanese.

Miyako: Only Japanese?

Sara: If it's English, we'll joke around in English, if there's like a Australian, like for example, [inaudible] that would be in English, like, as much as I hate it, like, [inaudible] because those sort of jokes, or, like, some English jokes that are going around, like, we, like, Kylie Jenner, whatever, but then those kind of things would be in English. But, other than that, nothing is in English. Yep. It's – it's, like, I've got four [speak] communication groups with – with all those friends in it. Everything is basically Japanese. I've never seen English in my life.

Miyako: Oh, wow! So even, like, at, ah, so the-

Sara: Even, like-

Miyako: Teacher was-

Sara: There was – even this much of a line-

Miyako: Yep.

Sara: Wouldn't be in a conversation. Every – all of this, maybe even, like, this much, is all Japanese.

Miyako: Oh, wow.

Sara: Yeah.

Miyako: Oh, so basically everything's Japanese-

Sara: Yeah.

Miyako: So, including your teacher, like at your language school?

Sara: Oh, like –yeah. My teacher as well-

Miyako: Yep.

Sara: Speaks only Japanese as well.

Miyako: Japanese, yep.

Sara: But there are times when she has to explain things in English. 'Cause if it's an English-related situation, we'd speak about it, like, briefly in English just so one can understand.

Miyako: Yep, yep.

Sara: Yeah.

Miyako: Oh, okay.

Sara: Yeah.

Miyako: Um, probably got – coming back to the very basic.

Sara: Oh, yeah.

Miyako: Why did you study Japanese?

Sara: Um, I still remember this now, but, like, I was in the kitchen, and my mum was like, "Do you wanna study Japanese?" and I was like, "No!" At first I was like, "No!" but then I found out that my really long-time best friend now – I've been best friends with this girl since the age of three – she dropped out now, but she was gonna study at the same school that my mum was applying me to. So, I felt like – 'cause my friends was doing it, I should do it as well, so that's why I joined. But yeah. But that was my starting off reasons, but now it's more like, to see my friends.

Miyako: Yep.

Sara: Yeah, that's probably the reason why.

Miyako: Okay. And so, um, it can be how it was or how it is because you're still in the process-

Sara: Yeah.

Miyako: Um, studying Japanese?

Sara: At first I found it hard, like, I remember my first lesson very clearly: at the very last five minutes, I was asked to write my name in Japanese. But since no one knew how to do it, we all wrote our names in English. Like, like I knew how to spell my name then, but I don't how to write it in Japanese. So, I remember like clearly being like a very hard process, and then I was able to communicate in Japanese really well, but then when I started [inaudible] the language itself, I feel like the English – the base stuff was more stronger, and the fact that I had to do a Kanji test every single week with my current teacher, who I've had a connection with for ten years now, um, she made us do Kanji tests every single week, but I didn't like studying for anything, so I'd, like, cheat through my – cheat my way through it, or something like that. Like, she knew it was happening, but I still got everything right, so she'd give me, like,

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[inaudible] or something like that, but, like, now I enjoy it as a subject, so I feel like, yeah, like she's seen me progress and she's – she talked to me the other day as well. She was like, "I think it would be very weird for you not to be in the class anymore, because I feel like you're starting to enjoy the subject more," and I was like, "Yeah, it'd probably be weird." Yeah.

Miyako: Okay.

Sara: Yeah.

Miyako: So, um-

Sara: From [inaudible] from [inaudible] it's very easy now.

Miyako: Easy now, yep.

Sara: That's-

Miyako: So, when you started, you said it was difficult-

Sara: Yeah.

Miyako: But now, like, you find it easier?

Sara: Yeah. But there are, like, certain Kanji's I can't read, but that's, like, the barrier, I guess, but other than that, I feel like everything's at a normal level. Yep.

Miyako: So, that's in- that's including your speaking, listening, reading and writing?

Sara: Yeah. Listening and speaking, I feel like I'm really [inaudible]. Like, it's more to me – ah, it's more writing and reading I need to work on.

Miyako: Yep.

Sara: That is [inaudible] at a so-so level.

Miyako: And – right. So, um, did you read any Japanese books or – and/or watch any Japanese programs?

Sara: Um-

Miyako: Including the subtitles?

Sara: Oh, I don't have subtitles for my, um, animations, but I'd read Japanese manga more. And like, small, um, picture books that are Japanese, I'd reckon, at a young age.

Miyako: Did you say picture – picture books?

Sara: Picture books.

Miyako: Yeah, yep.

Sara: Um, and this was all because my mum wanted us to be surrounded by Japanese cultural background, so from a very young age, I'd be watching [inaudible] um, so stuff like that, like, everything would be Japanese, like even Harry Potter, the film itself was in Japanese dubbed, and I'm, like, I remember never watching it though. Like, and so everything was Japanese in my house. Like, and – so yeah. And we'd ask for animations sent, like, we'd have snacks and everything sent every month by our grandparents and my aunt, who'd, like, pre-record everything, like, all these animations like [inaudible] and then dramas for my mum to watch, and because there was no such thing as internet where you can watch Japanese stuff online. So yeah. I – I was surrounded by a very cultural way [inaudible] which every single person in my area, like, my Japanese community, whenever they'd come to my house, we'd be watching [Doraemon] or something when – when they'd never be able to, so, like, even till now, they still are like, "Oh Sara, remember that time when we went to your house and we all [inaudible] and we'd be laughing our heads off?"

Miyako: Yeah.

Sara: Because I'd only have the DVDs, so they'd binge-watch it in my house. But, they wouldn't be able to do it at their own house. But I'd lend them some DVDs that I'd watched, and [inaudible] were like, "Oh, I don't need this anymore. I've watched it too many times. You can borrow it." Yeah. Stuff like that.

Miyako: Okay. Oh, great! So, you were basically surrounded by, like-

Sara: Yeah.

Miyako: The Japanese [crosstalk]-

Sara: Even my toys and stuff. Like, I went through these toys the other day and I found my, um, my sister's [inaudible] puppet. I kept playing around with it-

Miyako: Oh, that's so cute!

Sara: My friend's dog was there and I was like "this" at it and it was so frightened though! 'Cause I was, like, [inaudible]. So, it was very afraid.

Miyako: Oh, that's cute!

Sara: Yeah.

Miyako: Okay. And, um, please tell me about your experience and thoughts on how you would identify yourself as being a child of a Japanese parent and an English-speaking parent. So, has anyone asked you, "Where are you from?" or something like that?

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Sara: Yeah, I've been asked what cultural background I was from. I, like, if I was asked where I'm from, I'd probably go, "[suburb]." But if they'd ask, "What ethnic – ah, what cultural background are you?" then I'd answer, "Half-Japanese and quarter-British, quarter-Australian," to them. Like, I'd – I'd say that. Yeah. I – I'd identify myself as Japanese [inaudible] I guess, here in Australia, then Japan I'd – I'd recognise myself as an Australian. Just to make things easier for them to understand where I'm from.

Miyako: Okay.

Sara: Yeah.

Miyako: Um, have you ever been told something or bullied at school because you're Japanese-half?

Sara: Not because of that, but they – not bullied, but people has have taken a certain interest in my things, 'cause everything was cute and, like, I was the idealistic Asian child, apparently. All throughout my primary year, even now, like, um, but there is an identity crisis in that, because I'd taken a [Bento] like and sometimes [inaudible] something like that. [Onigiri] and stuff like that, and people just take interest in what I have, 'cause they'd have, like, normal sandwiches and it's all plain for them. So, something – seeing something so colourful was something so different for them apparently. Like even last year, my teacher was like, "Sara Costello is a Irish-Italian-Spanish name, so you'd expect an Irish kid with orange hair in the classroom with freckles all over her face, and then you see this Asian chick at the back of the classroom," and then I – I was orange – I had orange hair at one stage 'cause I dyed my hair very often-

Miyako: Mm.

Sara: And I was, like, "Well, you're not wrong about the orange hair, but I'm not Irish sir, so don't worry!" And, like, we'd talk – we'd joke around about it, but I've never considered it as bullying.

Miyako: Okay.

Sara: But people around me are like, Afghan, Lebanese and stuff like that. They are – also understand what I go through. So, it's never a case of bullying.

Miyako: Oh, okay.

Sara: Yeah.

Miyako: Right, so, um, how would you identify yourself as?

Sara: I did- I didn't – I'd like to identify myself as Japanese. Only because I act like one, apparently, like, I don't act Australian at all in any way. Like, I act more cute and, like – yeah. But if I'm with my Japanese-surrounding friends, I'd be more Australian looking, but I still have an Asian heart, but, like, a Japanese heart. Yeah. Other than that, like – we were talking about this last night as well! Like, they were like-

Miyako: So, what was-? Mm.

Sara: We were talking about this last night as well. 'Cause I was chatting with, like, two of my friends. They're both at uni now, but they're like, "Sara, like, out of everyone – you're a [inaudible] like, you – you're the one that, like, comes up to us and asks for anything and I was like, "Well, yeah. But that's because that's me," and then the – and then my friend who was – that lived in Japan was like, "That's a typical Japanese move," apparently, to him. So, I was like, "Yeah, apparently, I've got a very strong, um, Japanese personality compared to my Australian one," like only recently that I started liking things that my Australian friends would like, like TV shows like Vampire Diaries, like, stuff like that. Like – like, people have a strong interest towards American things, and I'm starting to develop that, but I feel like my Japanese side is still stronger, so I ca- I'd reckon I'd call myself Japanese. But no-one can call me Australian at my school. They'd disagree to it straight away.

Miyako: Okay.

Sara: Like, I'd be like, "But I'm Australian!" to my friends, but they'd be like, "No, you're not. You're Japanese!"

Miyako: Oh, so your friends will identify yourself as-

Sara: As Japanese as well.

Miyako: Japanese?

Sara: Like, even-

Miyako: Yep.

Sara: If my friend was, um, growing up eleven years Australian, but they act Australian, they'd be like, "Oh, you're Lebanese, but you're more Australian." And, yeah.

Miyako: Oh, but you can see that?

Sara: Yeah.

Miyako: Yeah, you yourself or your friends-?

Sara: Yeah.

Miyako: Yeah.

Sara: I guess someone says it then I believe that as well. Like, I don't have this full-on switch where I fully believe things easily.

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Miyako: Oh, okay.

Sara: So yeah, if I was to be told something, I'd believe it straightaway and be like, "Are you sure?" and – and I'd doubt it at first, but then I start to gradually understand what they're thinking. So, that was the same for me with my Japanese culture as well.

Miyako: Oh, okay.

Sara: Yeah.

Miyako: All right. Um, you already answered this question, so last question:

Sara: Okay.

Miyako: Um, please tell me about your future plans, including the languages you want to use with your own children.

Sara: Okay. So, I definitely wanna – I don't know. I don't know who I want to marry and things but I'd like to marry a multi-cultural person as well. So, they'd understand what I'm going through. So, I – so I have to – so my children can be able to learn more languages. So, even if I was to be raised in, like, a non- a non-English-speaking country, but for example, I was to be – well, our – like, I'd marry a Korean guy and I'd live in Korea, I'd still wanna teach my child Japanese and English, I reckon, so, like, stuff like that. I don't wanna lose a connection with them. And I – I wanna further continue my studies with languages, so that's why I'm searching for it as a uni course as well currently. Like, I wanna study Japanese with a minor, um, course in Korean. Or any other language if possible. I just wanna build a better understanding of languages, I reckon. So, yeah. That's – that's my current goal, but yeah. I have – I haven't thought of anything else in future, what I wanna be.

Miyako: So, like, even, um, studying in Japan in the future or-

Sara: I – I'd-

Miyako: Living in Japan?

Sara: Yeah, my first goal was actually to become a – an international student, exchange student.

Miyako: Okay.

Sara: In Japan. And that's what I was searching for in uni courses. And then I found out I can study languages and still be able to do exchange student, so that's why I – I focused – like, first it was international studies as a subject, but then now my – my focus is more towards Japanese as, um, Bachelor of Arts, I reckon. So, yeah. I wanna do something with languages in future. And that's my-

Miyako: In Japan?

Sara: In Japan as well.

Miyako: Okay.

Sara: Yeah, like even around the world, like, I'm still debating whether to become an English teacher or not, so I can be able to travel around the world to be able to teach English. 'Cause teaching is, like, something you can do around the world. So, I don't know. Maybe that would be my job goal, maybe, but I'd like to major in languages like [inaudible]

Miyako: Great!

Sara: Yeah. So-

Miyako: Thank you so much!

Sara: No worries, thank you! I hope everything is clear.