

Multilingual Literacy Practices of Students Aged 6-14
at a Japanese School in Catalonia:

Language, Writing Systems and Technology

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Abstract

Recently, multiliteracy has received lots of attention. Due to increased migration, globalisation and intermarriage, as of 2017, there are 203 Hoshukos (Japanese school located outside of Japan) spread across 56 different countries, all of which are supported by the Ministry of Education in Japan.

This study analysed writing samples written by 11 Spanish-Japanese children who attend Hoshuko in Barcelona. Also, interviews with their mothers and teachers were conducted. The collected writing samples were written in Spanish, Catalan, English, French and Japanese, and were drawn from their literacy practices at school and at home.

As a result of my study, I discovered that keeping a diary (personal diary and/or academic diary), writing cards, letters and essays, etc. were typical literacy activities these children engaged in. From interviews with Japanese teachers, it was revealed that this Hoshuko does not encourage multilingual children to use other languages whilst in Japanese classes (translanguaging). Regarding the use of technology by children, most mothers regulate strictly the hours of usage and exhibit a negative perspective. The data also shows that in addition to the regular classes, the children spend lots of time after school in order to supplement their development of Japanese writing skills, which is supervised by mothers. The mothers develop various initiatives and suggestions (living in Japan, cramming school, leisure activities, games, etc.) to increase the exposure of their children to the Japanese language and to create authentic written communication situations in that language.

Resumen

Recientemente la multiliteracidad ha despertado mucho interés académico. Dada la creciente migración, la globalización y el incremento de matrimonios entre personas procedentes de diferentes culturas, en 2017 había 203 Hoshukos (o escuelas japonesas en

el extranjero) a lo largo de 56 países, todas apoyadas por el Ministerio de Educación de Japón.

Este estudio analiza las prácticas letradas plurialfabéticas de 11 niños que asisten a este tipo de centros educativos, en Barcelona, a partir del análisis de sus producciones escritas y de las entrevistas realizadas a sus progenitores y docentes. Los textos escritos utilizan castellano, catalán, inglés, francés y japonés y proceden de situaciones didácticas de aula o de actividades privadas realizadas en casa.

Entre los resultados obtenidos, descubrimos que escribir un diario (personal o de aprendizaje), felicitaciones de año nuevo y cumpleaños, cartas o redacciones son las prácticas de producción escrita más comunes. En cuanto a las entrevistas realizadas al profesorado, se descubrió que en este tipo de escuelas se limita el uso en clase de las lenguas que no sean el japonés, evitando los fenómenos de cambio de idioma o de uso de otro idioma para la producción textual (translanguaging). Por lo que respecta al uso que hacen los niños de las tecnologías de la información y la comunicación, las entrevistas muestran que está fuertemente regulada por sus progenitores y que la mayoría tiene actitudes negativas. Finalmente, los datos también muestran que la apropiación de la escritura japonesa que realizan los niños ocupa una parte importante del tiempo extraescolar, el cual está tutelado por las madres. Estas desarrollan varias iniciativas y propuestas (estancias en Japón, cursos de refuerzo, prácticas de ocio, juegos, etc.) para incrementar la exposición de sus hijos a la escritura japonesa y para crear situaciones auténticas de comunicación escrita en ese idioma.

Resum

Recientement la multiliteracitat ha despertat molt interès acadèmic. Tenint en compte la migració creixent, la globalització i l'increment de matrimonis entre persones procedents de cultures diverses, al 2017 hi havia 203 Hoshukos (o escoles japoneses a l'estranger) en 56 països, recolzades pel Ministeri d'Educació del Japó.

Aquest estudi analitza les pràctiques lletrades plurialfabètiques d'11 nens que assisteixen a aquest tipus de centre educatiu, a Barcelona, a partir de l'anàlisi de les seves produccions escrites i de les entrevistes realitzades als seus progenitors i docents. Els textos escrits utilitzen castellà, català, anglès, francès i japonès i provenen de situacions didàctiques de l'aula o d'activitats privades realitzades a casa.

Entre els resultats obtinguts, vam descobrir que escriure un diari (personal o d'aprenentatge), felicitacions de cap d'any i d'aniversari, cartes o redaccions són les pràctiques de producció escrita més habituals. Quant a les entrevistes realitzades al professorat, vam trobar que en aquesta mena d'escoles es limita l'ús a classe de les llengües que no siguin el japonès, evitant els fenòmens corrents de canvi d'idioma o d'aprofitament d'una altra llengua per a la producció textual (translanguaging). Pel que fa a l'ús que fan els nens de les tecnologies de la informació i la comunicació, les entrevistes mostren que està fortament regulada pels progenitors i que la majoria té actituds negatives. Finalment, les dades també mostren que l'apropiació de l'escriptura japonesa que fan els nois ocupa una part molt important del temps extraescolar, el qual està tutelada per les mares. Aquestes despleguen diverses iniciatives i propostes (estades al Japó, cursos de reforç, pràctiques d'oci, jocs, etc.) per incrementar l'exposició dels seus fills a l'escriptura japonesa i per crear situacions autèntiques de comunicació escrita en aquest idioma.

Preface

In today's globalised world, the number of immigrants and international marriages has grown prominently and the importance of multilingual education is addressed eminently. The growth in the global movement of people has led to an increase in the celebration of plurilingualism. Developing literacy skills in both the majority and the heritage languages is critically important for culturally and linguistically diverse students. Multilingual people are reported to have an advantage linguistically, culturally, cognitively and with literacy and they are better language learners compared to monolinguals. Concretely speaking, Bialystok (2001) has shown that bilinguals have a better working-memory as well as better decision-making capacity. Undoubtedly, there are lots of different academic advantages which are repeatedly pointed out. For example, bilingual children have better metalinguistic awareness when it comes to learning a new language, as Páez and Rinaldi (2006) suggest. What is more, many other researchers, for instance Nakajima (1988), highlight the economic advantages of being bilingual, given the fact there is increasing demand for bilinguals in business worldwide.

These culturally and linguistically diverse students occasionally encounter difficulties when acquiring literacy skills in their second language (L2) and/or heritage language (HL), which are often their weaker language(s). They are also less likely to receive support for their weaker language(s) within the home compared with the dominant societal language. Given that it is essential to acquire the ability to write in the dominant language of society, and a significant benefit to be able to do the same with a L2 and/or HL, a more targeted solution would be to establish educational practices that will help develop literacy skills across multiple languages and help in creating multilingual students. It has been brought up repeatedly how vital it is to have multilingual perspectives when researching literacy development (e.g., Butler, 2011; Reyes, 2012).

This thesis has been split into 11 chapters. The opening chapter introduces the topic of the research and provided a rationale for the study, as well as stating the research questions. It also includes my personal teaching experience.

The second chapter presents exhaustive theoretical frameworks focusing on three aspects which are literacy, multilingualism/bilingualism and the use of technology by multilingual/multicultural children. In literacy, I pay attention to the New Literacy Studies, literacy practices, both informal and formal writing. With regards to multilingualism, I look predominantly at heritage language, code-switching and translanguaging. Finally, I discuss the use of technology by multilingual children, their language development when using technology, as well as their parents' perspectives and decisions regarding its use.

The Chapter 3 is starting with a review of previous studies, reporting how literacy education has been discussed in the area of multilingual/bilingual education studies. This is followed by what research has found thus far in terms of heritage language education perspectives, with special attention paid to literacy practices of Japanese bilingual children. Kanji education and writing system in Japanese are introduced. Also, the use of technology among multilingual/bilingual children is considered. It focuses on the different types of technology which my participants use on a regular basis. Therefore, I describe digital literacy practices among children. More specifically, I reveal how technology was introduced and implemented in HL classrooms, how HL teachers and heritage language learners (HLLs) perceived this change in the teaching/learning environment, how bilingual families utilise digital tools at home, and what their parents' attitudes are.

Chapter 4 aims to provide background information on the school where I conducted this research and where my 11 participants attend. First, I discuss the Japanese people in Barcelona, the Japanese school system and the two types of Japanese schools outside of Japan (weekday Japanese school and Saturday Japanese school). Then, I narrow my focus to the Saturday Japanese school in Barcelona which is known as Hoshuko. The school is then described in detail including the school curriculum, school events and teaching staff, and characteristics of the participants. It ends with the topic of ethical issues from both macro and micro ethic points of view.

Chapter 5 describes the methodology I used in the current study. First of all, the overall research design is outlined. Following this, the procedures of data collection are provided, with a detailed justification of the five methods I implemented: 1) questionnaires, 2) interviews with students, parents and teachers, 3) students' writing samples, 4) screenshots of apps and websites, and 5) an ethnographic diary. I finish this chapter by summarising the corpus of data.

Chapter 6 is an analysis of a collection of seven different types of writing from the participants: 1) a collection of Japanese compositions at the Hoshuko, 2) essays about Sport Festival, 3) class notes, 4) multimodality, 5) informal letters, 6) New Year's cards, and 7) essays as a leisure activity. Also the skill of audience awareness was measured using a rubric. Moreover, I looked into the strategies they employ when translating words and concepts from one language into another when writing their essays.

In Chapter 7, from collected writing samples of my participants, I pay close attention to digital literacy, ICT education and diary entries. Since keeping a diary is treated differently in Spain and Japan, I introduce various types of diary in Japan and how teachers teach how to keep a diary in Japanese school showing some examples.

Chapter 8 and 9 are dedicated to case studies of two particular participants. Throughout the process of analysis of collecting writing samples from 11 participants, I realised that their literacy activities at home are varied and it is difficult to generalise. Therefore, I decided to carry out case studies in order to further understand the home environment, the mother's perspectives and attitudes, and their literacy development and support at home. Mika and Ken were chosen as case study participants because they actively involve literacy activities with four or five languages which was more than other participants. Also their mothers are very collaborative with my study. After carrying out follow-up interviews with the two mothers, the children's history, literacy practices at home and their mothers' perspectives are described with their writing samples.

The penultimate chapter, Chapter 10, is a conclusion of two case studies which compares and contrasts two students, Mika and Ken. The similarities as well as differences were

found throughout in-depth longitudinal case studies. Throughout this comparison study, two important factors are raised, which are social factors related to heritage language education and heritage language use at home.

The Chapter 11 presents the findings and my interpretation of them, supported by qualitative analysis based on interviews and the students' writing samples. Moreover, it discusses the significance of the research and the pedagogical implications that can be drawn from this study. Following this I layout my conclusions, detail the limitations of this study and make suggestions for further research.

Appendices contain a summary of interview transcripts with 10 mothers, collected students' writing samples, and screenshots of apps and websites. With regards to two students of which the case studies were centered, some extra relevant photos which were taken at their home are also included in appendices. When the original resources are in Japanese, English translation is provided.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

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1.5.3 Japanese Writing Systems

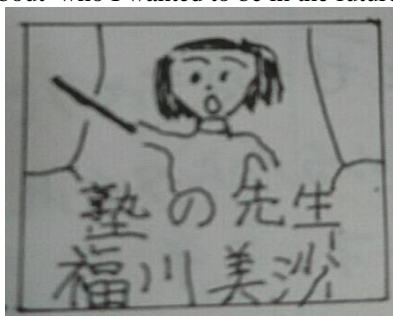
1.5.4 Information and Communication Technologies (ICT) in Education

In this chapter, I start by explaining my educational and professional journey up until the present time, and how I became interested in this field of my research. Next, I detail my research interests which lead to the formulation of this study's objectives. Then, I address the three main research questions this study seeks to address, each of which contain two to three sub-questions. In the section focusing on the significance of this study, I explain that previous empirical research did not investigate anything under the scope of my research and show the contributions of my research. Finally, before moving to Chapter 2, I clarify the three main topics of my study which are fundamental in order to understand my participants and their surrounding environments.

1.1 Personal Background and Motivation

My interest for education started early on in my life. When I was just six years old, this being the age when formal education starts in Japan where I was born and raised, I was intrigued by teaching and started to teach my younger sister what I had learned at school that day. This became a regular thing until I became a teenager. At the end of primary school when I was 12 years old, I wrote about what I wanted to do in my future in a yearbook as follows.

Figure 1. My drawing about who I wanted to be in the future when I was 12 years old



[Translation] A cram school teacher, Misa Fukukawa.

As I wrote in this yearbook, my dream since childhood had always been to become a teacher. I firmly made up my mind to have my first job in school because I knew that teaching children would be my true vocation. I love children and educating, therefore it is a perfect combination for me.

When I turned 18 years old, I officially became able to work and chose to work part-time jobs at several cramming schools where I had been teaching five major subjects (Japanese, Maths, English, science and social studies) to children whose ages ranged from six to 15 years old. At the same time, I started to take teacher-training courses at the university which later gave me a teaching licence. Throughout my practicum, I realised again that teaching is in my blood. Since that time I have been curious about language education and decided to go to Canada to do my master under Second Language Education of Department of Curriculum, Teaching and Learning at the University of Toronto, Canada. After I started working at a Japanese Saturday school in Toronto, Canada, I became more interested in Canadian-Japanese bilingual and bicultural children. Therefore, my colleagues and I conducted research at that school to investigate how they develop their writing skills both in English and Japanese. Around the same time, I began teaching Japanese to Canadian undergraduate students at the university and became increasingly curious about language acquisition, teaching methods, textbook development, assessment, etc.

Then I moved to Barcelona and started to work at the Japanese Saturday school there (Its actual name is *Hoshuko Barcelona Educación Japonesa*, but for the remainder of this thesis it will be referred to as Hoshuko for simplicity and readability). This school

happens to be a sister school of the one I used to work at in Canada. Throughout my time teaching Spanish-Japanese children in Barcelona, I was intrigued by their writing development in four languages and their literacy practices, especially digital literacy practices. Moreover, there are many teachers and parents who do not know the best way to teach Japanese as a heritage language (HL). For these reasons I became determined to conduct my research at this school in order to uncover how these children develop and acquire different languages simultaneously and to provide some insights into how technology could be used to enhance students' language learning in the future. I was fortunate because I had access to all of the data of my participants at this school and several teachers were collaborative. These two factors made it easier for me to carry out my research at this workplace. Furthermore, two of my Japanese friends and I founded a new Japanese school in Barcelona in February 2017. The children who come to this school learn Japanese as a mother tongue or a HL. Throughout establishing this school, I met a lot of Spanish-Japanese families as well as Japanese families who either have lived or intend to live outside of Japan for a long time. Most of these parents want to transmit their mother tongue which is Japanese to their children even though currently they live in Spain and some of them do not have any intention to return to Japan and live there. I felt there was a huge demand for Japanese as a HL in Spain and there had been very little research done in this area.

When a cross-linguistic couple have children, they often hope that their children will also be able to speak the language of each parent (Takeuchi, 2006). For example, a number of studies have been carried out with American-Japanese children (Kanno, 2003). Theoretically, these cross-linguistic families, by which I mean a family unit with at least two different languages, either in addition to or instead of the local language (De Houwer, 2003) can provide their children with the opportunity to become bilingual in their parents' languages (Yamamoto, 2001). The field of English-Japanese language acquisition among children is relatively straightforward compared with the case of European countries where more than three languages coexist. When a cross-linguistic couple attempts to transmit their HL in the home country of one partner, which is a society where two languages of different social status, that is to say, one being socially weaker and less international in status than the other, are in contact how they cope with this double-minority language

situation is an interesting question. An appropriate example of this would be Barcelona where Spanish and Catalan are social languages and moreover. Catalan is a regional language as opposed to international one in Spain. As the participants of this study are Spanish-Japanese children, they hear Catalan and Spanish on the street and use those languages at school, however once they return home, they use Japanese with their mothers. Generally speaking, these mothers think that it would be beneficial if their children can speak English and Japanese in addition to Catalan and Spanish. Therefore, the mothers encourage their children study these four languages from very young age.

Since I started working as a part-time teacher in Japan from the age of 18, I have been looking for the most effective teaching methods for language learning. In order to gain and expand my knowledge in this area I decided to go abroad and in my master's program in Canada I studied and conducted research regarding second language learning and acquisition. At the same time, whilst working at Hoshuko in Toronto, I encountered the terminology, "heritage language" (I will explain this further in detail in the next chapter) which has intrigued me from that day forward. This Japanese Saturday school has not been investigated for more than 25 years which is why I decided to carry out a collaborative project there. In 1982 Cummins and Nakajima conducted their qualitative research at this school to investigate how Canadian-Japanese children develop their English and Japanese which are typologically different languages. However, in 2010 our research looked into their biliteracy development by analysing compositions written under the same topic collected from 240 bilingual students. Through working at this school for over seven years I met a lot of students, parents and teachers who have been struggling with developing two languages. It was from these experiences that I conceived the two main objectives I wanted this thesis to achieve. Therefore, my first objective of this study is to show the most effective and efficient strategies of language learning and maintenance.

However, my Ph.D investigation involves more complex and abstract issues. The second objective of this study focuses on contribution that practical learning methods have with regard to Spanish-Japanese children who are learning four languages simultaneously,

which are two typologically different language systems (Latin alphabets vs. Japanese phonetic and ideographic characters). In order to accomplish this, I collected real practical data from the participants, all of whom have difficulties with these languages and with how they try to tackle these problems. I also documented the resources they use on a daily basis. They are dealing with various languages in different contexts, using technologies in several languages and searching for their own identities. At least in the Hoshuko in Barcelona, there are over 100 families who share similar problems and challenges, and this made me motivated to conduct this ethnographic research.

1.2 Objectives of the Study

In this study, I will empirically investigate multilingual children's literacy practices using five methods:

- 1) Questionnaires
- 2) Interviewing children, parents and teachers
- 3) Collecting writing samples
- 4) Collecting apps and websites
- 5) Ethnographic diary

The objectives of the study relate to discover and clarify the following points which no one has investigated so far.

- How these children utilise four different languages (Spanish, Catalan, English and Japanese) in everyday life.
- What they write in these languages at home.
- What kind of literacy activities are carried out by themselves and with their parents.
- How they use various types of technology (computers, tablets, mobile phones, etc.) at home.
- What kind of attitudes their parents have toward language learning and the influence of using technology for their children's writing skills.

1.3 Research Questions

The objectives of my dissertation are to answer the following three main questions:

- 1) What kind of literacy practices do Spanish-Japanese multilingual children engage in using their four or five surrounding languages?
- 2) How do Spanish-Japanese multilingual children attain four distinctive languages inside and outside of the school?
- 3) How do Spanish-Japanese children use technology (computers, tablets, mobile phones etc.) in academic and private contexts and what attitudes do their mothers and teachers have towards digital literacy?

The first objective is to collect various writing samples in order to find out their literacy activities both inside and outside of the school. I also conducted interviews with students, parents and teachers to understand each of the literacy activities from different angles. However, I realised that the students' responses were very short and similar to what their mothers said. Moreover, what I discovered from interviewing the teachers was not surprising, likely due to the fact that I worked at the same Hoshuko and as a result have a very similar knowledge of the activities. Therefore, I decided to focus on the Japanese mothers' interviews. The first research question includes the following areas:

- To document and describe what kind of writing opportunities they are given and what kind of homework they are assigned.
- To describe, analyse and discuss teaching methods at the Hoshuko, emphasising how teachers teach multilingual children writing skills including *kanji*, diary entries, essay writing, ICT education, etc.

The second objective is linked with the expectation that the learners and the teachers develop with these four or five languages inside and outside of the school, as they use different writing systems (Latin alphabet in Catalan, Spanish and English) and *kanji*, *hiragana* and *katakana* (in Japanese). Therefore, the second research question asks how Spanish-Japanese multilingual children attain distinctive languages inside and outside of

the school through both academic and vernacular literacy practices. In order to tackle this question, I take the following steps.

- To document, describe and analyse the appropriation of these different writing systems by two participants, Mika and Ken, from their first participation in a literacy activity (hiragana writing) to the most sophisticated variant (kanji writing).
- To research the linguistic and cultural strategies they employ when they translate words or concepts from one language to another.

The third objective is related to technology that they utilise outside of the school on an everyday basis with these four surrounding languages. Therefore, the final research question asks how Spanish-Japanese children use technology at home and develop writing practices using technology out of school. This question also covers the following three aspects.

- To document, describe and analyse when they started using internet and the resources that I can find there, how they started, who helped start it, for what purpose they utilise it, what kinds of software they use, etc.
- To document, describe and analyse their use of instant messages (WhatsApp, LINE, etc.) as well as video games and mobile apps.
- To document, describe and discuss how their mothers view the use of technology by multilingual children.

The thesis also describes how Japanese schools function in foreign countries especially in a Spanish context. Although this type of HL school is very common in North America, Australia and Asia, not much research about them was done in Europe. Especially, there is no formal research conducted on Japanese schools in Spain except for Fukuda's study with a sociolinguistic perspective (focusing more on attitudes than in language learning 2005, 2010, 2014, 2015, 2016a,b, 2017a,b, 2018). For that reason, it needs to be investigated how this school has developed in the particular bilingual context of Catalonia, with Catalan and Spanish as community languages, English as a second

language (L2) or foreign language, and Japanese as a HL. Furthermore, I personally have been intrigued by Spanish-Japanese children because my previous research dealt with Canadian-Japanese children and I want to compare these two groups to see what the similarities and differences are. Ultimately, I want to contribute to the Japanese community all over the world regarding HL acquisition/maintenance and multilingualism.

1.4 Significance of this Study

I consider this ethnographic research project to be crucial in order to better understand how multilingual children use various languages differently, and I believe this study is significant in three ways. Firstly, analysing the writing samples of multilingual children as well as screenshots of apps that they regularly use will help contribute to understanding what they are writing about outside of school and how they utilise various technologies at home. In my opinion, language use and language choice could be linked to participants wanting to display a range of identities. Moreover, analysing interviews with parents, their children and their teachers will reveal their attitudes and perspectives towards ICT education in Spain and Japan which is an emerging topic in the 21st century.

Secondly, this study is likely to generate interest amongst second/foreign/HL teachers as well as researchers because it describes language use outside of the classroom among bilingual or multilingual people. If we understand the links between language and society and stop analysing them independently, we researchers and teachers, would comprehend participants' concepts of identity boundaries better.

Finally, analysing language use could also help us to better comprehend the dynamics of mixed families, immigrants and second-generation individuals when trying to integrate into a new culture and the challenges they face. I have identified three key areas which I believe are most relevant when considering the issue of language as it relates to societal integration.

- The language(s) which are most used by participants and their families at home.
- Whether the choice of language has an impact on their choice of social activities.
- What problems are experienced when participants and parents differ on their preferred language.

It is my belief that by analysing language choice and usage from the perspective of societal integration, a greater understanding can be gained and potential improvements identified.

1.5 Three topics of this Study

In this chapter I introduce the three topics that are crucial in this work. They are:

- HL education, focusing on Japanese as a HL
- Japanese writing systems
- Information and communication technologies (ICT) in education

As the title of this dissertation indicates, these are the three main areas of my research. All three are connected closely to each other and surround my participants who are Spanish-Japanese children in Catalonia.

1.5.1 Heritage Language

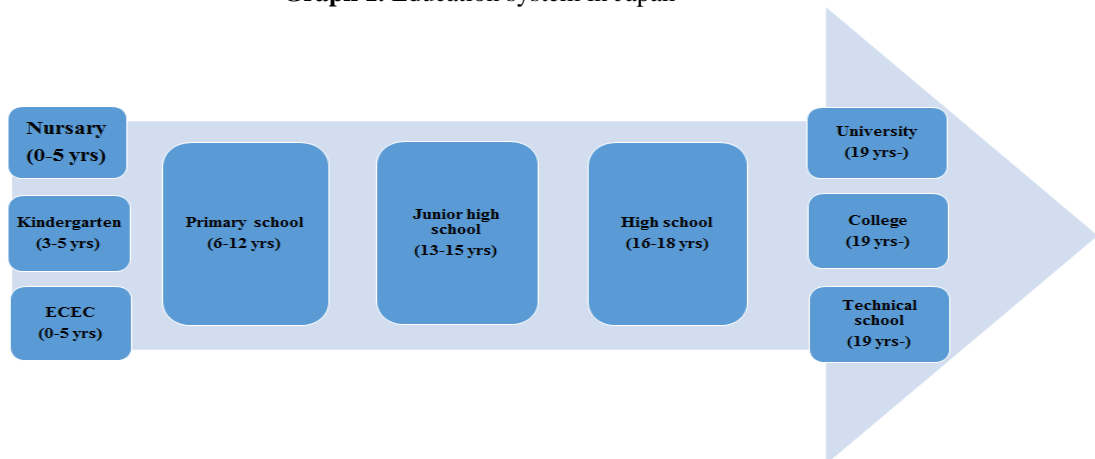
Increasing numbers of students now have some degree of bilingual proficiency in the non native language that they are studying. As a result, much recent attention has been given to the issue of HL instruction by both researchers in applied linguistics and practitioners in language pedagogy. According to Nakajima (1988), the mother tongue is the language of the first word that one acquires and speaks. For the majority of my participants who are Spanish-Japanese children, the mother tongue would be Japanese, Catalan, Spanish or English. When they became school-age, they started to be exposed to the school language or societal language for seven or eight hours a day at school. Then we can see

the shift of their strong language from Japanese to Catalan/Spanish. For these kinds of children who are raised in multilingual and multicultural situations, Japanese is not their mother tongue anymore. It is not a foreign language either, but rather it is called a HL. Therefore, a HL is the language that one inherits from one or both parents and it is a minority language in the society where one lives. Therefore, the term, “HL” is used to refer to the ancestral language of a speaker or community, that is not the societal language (Valdés, 2017). It includes a broad range of situations, from indigenous minoritised languages to the languages of immigrant communities, that are majority official languages in their country of origin. Its speakers’ proficiency can range from zero knowledge of the language, because of being raised in the societal language without any language exposure, to various degrees of fluency. Research on the topic also often distinguishes between degrees of “ancestral relatedness” to their relatives and the community of origin (e.g., learners who were born in the HL community and with the HL as the first language, learners whose parent(s) speak the HL but were raised in the majority language community, and learners whose parents do not speak the HL and are only connected to it through grandparents) (Kondo-Brown, 2005; Carreira & Kagan, 2011). My study focuses on HL as the language of first-generation immigrants, specifically young learners of Japanese as a HL in Barcelona.

1.5.2 Japanese Education System

Before introducing the Japanese writing systems, it is crucial to explain the education system in Japan. The basic school system in Japan is comprised of primary school (lasting six years), junior high school (three years), high school (three years), and university (four years).

Graph 1. Education system in Japan

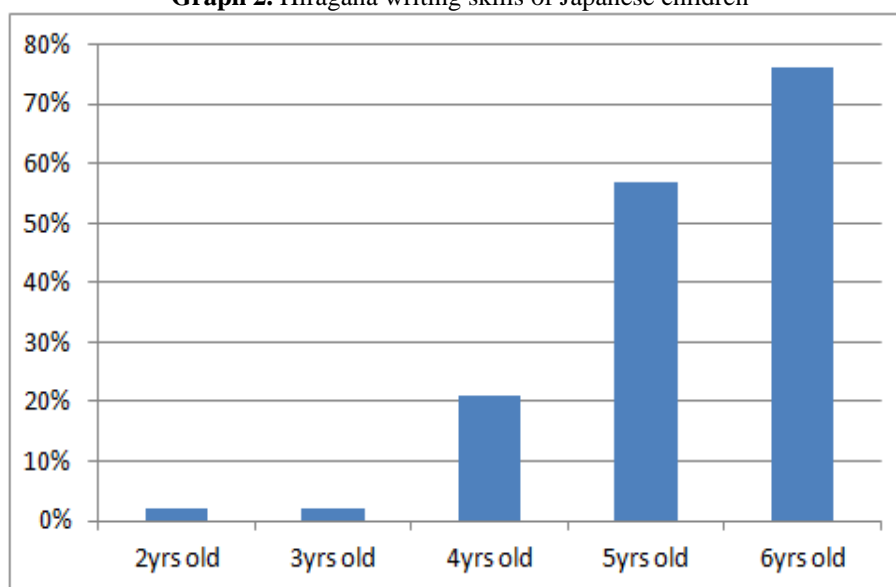


Education is compulsory only for the nine years of primary and junior high school, but 98% of students go on to high school (Ministry of Education). Students usually have to take exams in order to enter high schools and universities. Recently some junior high and high schools have joined together to form single, six-year schools.

Prior to entering primary school, 99% of children go to kindergarten which is not compulsory. There are three types of kindergartens in Japan each organised differently. They are called *Hoikuen* which is a nursery (zero to five years old), *Youchien* which is a kindergarten (three to five years old) and *Nintei kodomoen* which is Early Childhood Education and Care (ECEC). Hoikuen is administered by the Ministry of Health, Labour and Welfare, whereas the Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science and Technology exercises jurisdiction over Youchien. Nintei kodomoen is a relatively new unified system which has been authorized by the central government in 2006. Although the organisers are different, all centres prepare children for formal education which starts at the age of six. Some mothers believe that Youchien provides a better education when it comes to reading and writing. Whether Youchien is better than Hoikuen for children is always a controversial topic in Japan. However, many scholars agree that there is no significant difference with respect to the reading and writing ability of children going to either kindergarten when they begin compulsory education at the age of six because in Japan parents take the primary responsibility for teaching their children basic reading and writing, and this is most likely different in other countries.

In Japan, children normally learn Japanese characters for the first time from their parents, not from their teachers. According to the Ministry of Education in Japan, the kindergarten curriculum does not include writing, but creating an environment where children have easy access to Japanese characters in their lives. However, grade one teachers at primary school expect that children are able to read and write the 46 Japanese basic characters and start lessons using them. Therefore, Japanese parents are intent on teaching their children at least this much before they begin a formal education at the age of six. This stands in stark contrast to primary schools in Spain, where children are not assumed to have accumulated any language knowledge, and are taught the alphabet first of all. Most Japanese parents gradually start to teach their children basic hiragana and katakana as well as read books to them at home. Some eager parents give educational toys and/or workbooks as presents on their third birthday to practice basic Japanese characters, which is the age at which most children begin to become more interested in their environment and objects within it (Hart & Risley, 1992). A child's first introduction to Japanese written language is often conveyed to them via popular anime such as Doraemon, linking entertaining visuals with a learning experience. Although the kindergarten level curriculum as defined by the Ministry of Education in Japan does not include teaching writing, Benesse Corporation (2008), one of the biggest educational companies in Japan announced that 57% of five year old children are able to write hiragana and when they turned six year old, 76% of them are able to do that as follows.

Graph 2. Hiragana writing skills of Japanese children



Furthermore, in terms of reading proficiency which is considered to be slightly easier than writing to attain, they reported that 85% of five year old children and 90% of six year old children were able to reach a proficient level. As Japanese parents teach basic writing at home, there is a huge gap between children who are good at writing and ones who are not good at writing, due to the resources, time and attitudes of their parents. Those who are good at writing are able to write their name, their family member's names, short letters and memos before starting a formal education at primary school. On the other hand, those who are struggling with reading and writing normally do not have enough time to study with their parents at home due to their lack of time, according to Benesse Corporation's report.

Japanese children enter the first grade of primary school in the April following their sixth birthday. There are around 30 to 40 students in a typical primary school class. The subjects that they study include Japanese (the national language), Maths, science, social studies, music, arts and crafts, physical education, and home economics (in order to learn simple cooking and sewing skills). An increasing number of primary schools have also started teaching English, and using information technology to enhance the educational experience. Most primary schools have access to the internet. Moreover, traditional Japanese arts like *shodo* (calligraphy) are introduced in grades three and four. Shodo involves dipping a brush into ink and using it to write kanji (characters that are used in several East Asian countries and have their own meanings) and *kana* (phonetic characters derived from kanji) in an artistic style. In recent times, we do not really have many opportunities to use a brush to write text. Nowadays, even formal letters and thank-you letters are all printed using a computer. While modern technology is useful, handwritten letters are considered by many to be a more effective way to convey our true thoughts and feelings. Children in Japan always have a lot of homework during summer and winter vacations, particularly during winter break when they are given calligraphy homework. Traditionally this is in preparation for the writing of new year's resolutions; in January schools often have a calligraphy contest to choose who can write the most beautiful and neat Japanese characters with a brush.

With regard to the timetable of primary schools, they study from 8:30am to 3:30pm including six or seven classes, lunch time, cleaning time, club activities and so on. What is special about Japanese schools is that students are the ones that do the cleaning. In Japan, there is a long tradition of students cleaning their own schools and the school does not hire janitors to do that. To make cleaning easier, Japanese students put on slippers before entering the classroom to prevent dirt from being dragged into the room. Normally after lunch all of the students and teachers are responsible for cleaning the whole school for 20 minutes every day. The major purposes are: 1) acquiring organising and tidying skills, 2) using public space appropriately, and 3) learning collaborative work. Although throughout Japan there are national, public and private schools, the core education is the same. All public schools use official textbooks which are approved by the Ministry of Education and follow the national curriculum. Therefore, there is no significant difference in materials or the methodology used between schools and there will be no problem if a child has to transfer from one school to another during the academic year.

1.5.3 Japanese Writing Systems

The modern Japanese writing system is a combination of three character types: 1) ideographic kanji which are adopted Chinese characters, 2) syllabic hiragana, used for native or naturalized Japanese words and grammatical elements such as particles, and 3) katakana, used for foreign words and names, loanwords, onomatopoeia, scientific names, and sometimes for emphasis. Almost all Japanese sentences contain a mixture of kanji, hiragana and katakana. Because of this mixture of scripts, in addition to a large inventory of kanji characters (2,136 regular-use kanji called *Jouyou kanji*), the Japanese writing system is often considered to be the most complicated in use anywhere in the world. Children in Japan begin to learn the most basic character which is hiragana at home and kindergarten at the age of three or four and they are supposed to know all 46 hiragana letters before entering primary school (at the age of six). Some eager parents start to teach their children katakana before going to primary school, however primary school teachers teach 46 katakana letters in the first or second semester of grade one. Then at the same time they introduce four to five kanji every week (in the case of Japanese Saturday school

in Barcelona, students learn four kanji every Saturday) and by the end of the first grade, children (six years old) are supposed to read and write 80 kanji correctly. Here is the list of kanji distributed by year in primary school. As you can see, 1,026 kanji is learned over the six years of primary school. What might be surprising is that this number is still half of everyday kanji (Jouyou kanji). That is to say, they continue to learn Japanese letters in junior high and high school.

A recent proposal suggests adding twenty more kanji to the list of characters to be taught in primary school by 2020. These characters are the kanji for the names of Japan's prefectures which are not already on the list. The names of the prefectures are taught to children in the fourth year of primary school, but since not all of the kanji are taught, *furigana* is currently used. Furigana is small kana characters placed adjacent to kanji to indicate the pronunciation. These small characters are used most extensively in books for Japanese children, but they are also used to write difficult-to-read characters in adult books. In addition, they are used in textbooks for students of the Japanese language. On official forms such as applications, there is usually a space for the person's name in both kanji and furigana because kanji names may be hard to read or ambiguous.

Table 1. Number of kanji taught in primary school and examples

Grade	Number of kanji taught	Examples of kanji taught
1	80 kanji	山、火、石、名
2	160 kanji (total 240)	近、国、絵、顔
3	200 kanji (total 440)	苦、仕、階、湖 (Gradually, they learn kanji that has more strokes and is more complicated.)
4	202 kanji (total 642)	衣、徑、景、漁
5	193 kanji (total 835)	資、衛、講、術 (Kanji that has more abstract meanings is introduced.)
6	191 kanji (total 1,026)	誤、憲、劇、臟

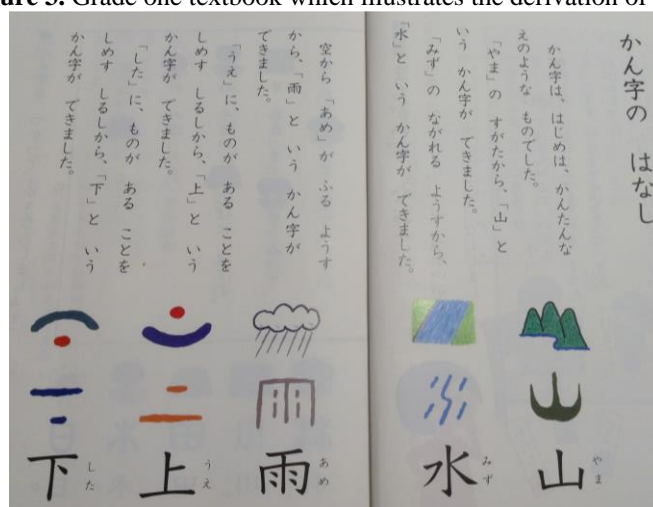
During their six years in primary school, Japanese children learn over 1,000 kanji. In this time, they greatly increase their reading sophistication, moving from picture books to short novels and simple biographies. Characters are all around them and often graded to their level, whether they are taking lessons in social studies or other subjects, practising calligraphy, or even reading manga and playing video games in their free time. When they actually sit down to formally study kanji in Japanese classes, there is more than just rote learning involved. As well as the basics of the meaning, stroke order, and different readings for each kanji, there are colourful pictures which are appealing to children and easy-to-understand practice sentences. There are also various tips and tricks for fixing the kanji in their memory. Often there is a short sentence or two highlighting different readings or words that use the kanji. At other times, the book may illustrate the derivation of the structure through the illustrations resemblance to real things. The following image, taken from a grade one kanji workbook used at the Hoshuko demonstrates the above mentioned features. The workbook called “Akaneko Kanji Skill” is designed as supplementary material for kanji introduced in the grade one textbook.

Figure 2. Grade one kanji workbook



The following image, taken from a grade one textbook which is also used at the Hoshuko shows the derivation of kanji through the illustrations. Mitsumura Tosho Shuppan is one of the Ministry of Education approved publishers of official textbooks for learning Japanese.

Figure 3. Grade one textbook which illustrates the derivation of kanji



When Japanese children first learn kanji at school, teachers usually show the derivation of kanji through illustrations, although not all kanji are derived from specific images (for more detail, see section 7.3.4.1). It is considered easier for children to memorise kanji using images. The Above figure explains how the kanji characters 下、上、雨、水 and 山 [translation: under, above, rain, water and mountain] have been derived based on their appearance.

In fact, learning kanji is a must for children for various reasons. The biggest reason is because all of the written documents not only use hiragana and katakana but also kanji. If one cannot read kanji, it means it is impossible to understand the meaning of the text. Secondly, as there are a lot of homonyms in Japanese, kanji (which is an ideographic text, with a meaning attached to each of symbol) distinguishes the word and allows readers to understand its distinct meaning. Moreover, in Japanese writing, there are no spaces between words. Hence, when no kanji is used, it is harder for readers to distinguish the beginning and end of a word. That is to say, kanji helps break words apart and makes the text easier to read. Thirdly, kanji helps a learner an incredibly fast reader in the long run. (Matsunaga, 1996). Once the meaning of each kanji is well understood, a reader may become capable of skimming, one kanji at a time, without reading all the phonetic hiragana, and still understanding the main meaning of the sentence. Some researchers (Matsunaga, 1996) consider the Japanese writing practical for reading.

With regards to how Japanese children learn kanji at school in Japan, many methods have been implemented which Latin alphabet learners have likely never imagined. For instance, one of the traditional methods focuses on the use of muscle memory, writing kanji over and over again no matter where it is, including writing in the air with a finger if nothing else is to hand. There is a debate about handwriting versus typing when it comes to all languages and some neuroscientists think that stopping handwriting will affect how future children learn to read. Longcamp, Zerbato-Poudou and Velay (2005) maintain that handwriting is preferable, by insisting that writing each letter by hand definitely strengthens subsequent recognition and memorisation. They add that when their subjects (three to five years old) used a pen/pencil, in contrast to a keyboard, motor memory worked more effectively and performed better letter recognition. They also point out one of the features of Japanese.

[R]epeated writing is an aid that is commonly used to help Japanese children memorize ideograms. In the same vein, Japanese adults often report that they write with their finger in the air to identify complex characters (p. 69).

Later on, they state that “writing movements may contribute to memorizing the shape and/or orientation of characters” (p. 70) which is more important when learning kanji as opposed to romanised characters due to the relative complexity of many kanji characters. Therefore, teachers and parents in Japan encourage children to practice kanji with a pen and paper until they fully memorise it. Although my participants do not use this traditional method when they learn Spanish, Catalan or English, they still use it when they learn Japanese in Barcelona. Longcamp et al. (2005) and my participants’ mothers believe that handwriting is a fundamental skill for children. Having said that, there are several studies which contradict Longcamp et al.’s (2005) findings. For instance, Naka (1998) discovered that handwriting training has a positive effect on free recall of graphic designs, but not on visual recognition. Yet, this emphasis on repeated handwriting is one of the traditional methods to teach kanji in Japan as well as the one which many Japanese teachers at the Hoshuko implement in their classes. Section 7.3.4.1 introduces several methods of teaching kanji at the Hoshuko, the research site of my study.

1.5.4 Information and Communication Technologies (ICT) in Education in Japan

Pelgrum (2001) describes how ICT has started and expanded globally as follows.

Many governments have, in the late 1990s, developed plans to intensify their investments regarding ICT in education. The quick rise of the Internet and worldwide web (WWW) have led to the adoption of objectives to equip all schools with access to these facilities in a relatively short period of time (p. 164).

Japan is known to be a technological powerhouse, being noted for its automobiles, consumer electronics, laptop computers, portable gaming devices, and more recently even pet themed robots to help provide psychological benefits to those people who are unable to take care of living animals. It may be natural for people outside Japan to assume that the use of ICT within Japan's educational institutions must be well advanced and innovative. In reality though, the application of technologies in Japan's schools, especially at the primary and junior high school levels, is far behind that of other developed countries. E-learning, which is supposed to revolutionise the way people learn due to its potential for allowing more student-centered learning, has not been realised in Japan, which still relies upon traditional teaching methods using a blackboard (Aoki, 2010). Japan, similar to some countries in Europe, also has several problems with regards to implementing ICT in education because there are still a number of experienced teachers who are conservative about introducing technology for use in schools, regardless of the subject area. From a financial point of view, not all of the schools are able to provide each student with a computer and hire IT teachers in Japan. There are three typical digitalisation models in use at schools, which are: 1) computer lab, 2) One Laptop Per Child (OLPC), and 3) Use Your Own Device (UYOD). Another concern of Japanese teachers is that using technology such as a keyboard or other digital input device might hamper the children's writing skills. This concern is similar to the one in Spain where some argue that a negative side effect of using such devices is beginning to take hold in our classrooms. Using shortcuts and alternative words is suspected of damaging students' writing acumen.

Pelgrum (2001) conducted a worldwide educational assessment covering 26 countries including Japan to reveal obstacles to the integration of ICT in education and found out that primary as well as lower secondary schools in Canada, Finland, Iceland, New Zealand, Norway and Singapore seem to be very well equipped in terms of quantity of hardware, but not in Japan. Another observation was that whereas some countries seem to emphasise the acquisition of ICT skills in primary education substantially (for instance, Canada, New Zealand, Singapore), this was much less the case in other countries (for instance, China Hong Kong, Iceland, Japan, Norway). In Japan, unlike in Spain or the USA, the family's income level does not play a significant role in whether or not they have access to the internet. In fact, as of 2015, 58% of children aged 11 in Japan have a mobile phone/computer/ipad according to the Ministry of Education in Japan. However, where they live might play a significant role in whether or not the children have their own mobile phone because 68.1% of children aged 11 in the capital city, Tokyo have one as opposed to those who live in less well developed areas such as Akita prefecture, where only 43.1% have one. Akita is approximately 450 km from Tokyo.

In addition, Japanese teachers are guided by an objectivist philosophy in preparing students for university entrance examinations, and as such, they encourage them to choose their career paths early because the university from which they graduate will significantly influence their social and financial success later in life. So we cannot necessarily blame teachers for suppressing creative thinking and the use of technology, as they are catering to the needs of their students and satisfying the demands of parents. Kusano, Frederiksen Jones and Kobayashi (2013) reported that even high schools in Japan had not implemented technology in their curricula. I discovered that there is a tendency that people from outside of Japan consider Japan to be a highly technologically advanced country where students utilise computers, tablets and mobile phones all the time, even inside school. However, the reality is very different. Aoki (2010) pointed out that there has been a big gap between the government vision and the actual implementation of ICT in education as well as between research and application. These gaps exist due to the lack of pedagogical innovation in educational institutions in Japan to take advantage of the technologies. According to the study of Kozma (2003), out of 26 countries Japan scored

the lowest in terms of school principals' positive attitudes toward ICT usage and the extent of the emerging pedagogical practices in their schools.

In Europe, those products which have Japanese brand names on are ubiquitous; automobiles, gaming devices, TVs, laptop computers, digital cameras, video cameras, etc. In the eyes of people in Europe, Japan appears to be a significant technological power with creative and innovative people. Though Japan as a whole has shown much economic success in the past, its education system has much to be improved.

CHAPTER 2

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

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This chapter focuses on the development of the principal concepts of this research. The ultimate goals of this dissertation can be summarised as follows. To discover and analyse literacy practices, literacy activities both inside and outside of school and to investigate the use of technology by Spanish-Japanese multilingual children who live in Barcelona. In order to achieve these goals, three different, but interconnected conceptual axes converged: 1) New Literacy Studies, 2) bilingualism and multiliteracy development, and 3) influence of technology.

2.1 New Literacy Studies

“New Literacy Studies” (NLS) (Gee, 1991; Street, 1995) represents a new orientation in considering the nature of literacy, focusing not so much on the acquisition of skills, as in dominant approaches, but rather on what it means to think of literacy as a social practice. As Barton (2004) mentions, like all human activity, literacy is essentially social, and it is

located in the interaction between people. This dissertation is a study of what people, in my case Spanish-Japanese multilingual and multicultural children, do with literacy: of the social activities, of the thoughts and meanings behind the activities, and of the texts utilised in such activities. It is about how this particular group of people use reading and writing in their day-to-day lives. This research explores contemporary uses and meanings of literacy in everyday life and the ways in which these are changing. It is based on the ethnographic tradition of research which documents in detail literacy practices at one point in time and space: the time is from 2015 to 2017, and the place is Barcelona. It is crucial to understand NLS for my research. NLS focuses not only on reading and writing activities, but its relation with sociocultural contexts as well (identities, interaction practices, written artifacts, habits, and roles, etc.). NLS denies that literacy is ever general or self-contained.

2.1.1 What Is Literacy?

Following Rowsell and Pahl (2015), “[l]iteracy studies is a field that permeates all aspects of life. Literacy exists in homes and with the varied ways that people like, speak and practice the everyday” (p. 1). This raises the question, from where did literacy emerge? According to Williams (1983), the term “literacy” was coined towards the end of the 19th century to express achievement and possession of what was increasingly seen as a necessary skill. Gurak (2001) reported that from the mid-20th century this concept was changed. It was considered that being literate constituted a higher level of cognitive ability, and scholars made judgements about the superiority of one culture over another. Gurak (2001) provides an example saying that those living in Western cultures surrounded by the printed word saw themselves as superior to other cultures that communicated their history and cultural knowledge orally. Lankshear and Knobel (2003) mention that this view of literacy is still popular nowadays with reading and writing print being valued more than other forms of communication such as oral communication. However, it was not until 1970s that the terminology “literacy” became prominent in educational discourse. Then three reasons are cited for this shift.

1. The first reason relates to the illiteracy issue. Behresn (1994) points out widespread illiteracy.

The 1990s began with the spotlight on the universal illiteracy problem. The United Nations General Assembly pro-claimed 1990 as “International Literacy Year” to mark the start of a ten-year effort to reduce illiteracy. As a result of the focus on illiteracy, the current meaning of literacy was explored (p. 318).

2. According to Tyner (1998), she believed that schools purposely perpetrated a constrained conception of literacy in order to maintain social inequalities. Furthermore, she stressed that the conceptions that are valued are those propagated by schooling and the literacy practices that students bring to the classroom have little value.
3. Finally, the third reason which I think plays a significant role for my research is that a socio-cultural perspective with studies of language gained in popularity in social science. In contrast with the traditional view that literacy had been largely psychological or cognitive, literacy was seen as more of a sociological concept and literacy and culture became an inseparable match. Given this fact, Gee (1991) conducted their research from a socio-cultural point of view.

Also, two important studies opened up a larger field of research into literacy. One of them is Ferreiro and Teberosky’s (1982) investigation into the plethora of literacy activities of young children. They went through streets, shopping centres and homes in order to analyse the children’s reading and writing practices. The other one is Kress’s (1997) study which investigated the language, literacy, thoughts and actions of young children who made meaning from various modes of expression. Kress (1997) also paid close attention to their artifacts such as drawings, cuttings-out, writings and collages in order to find out the relationships between reading and writing.

In this way, the concept of literacy has been changed. In the old days, literacy was understood only as a decoding activity, whereas nowadays reading and writing is generally considered a meaning-making activity. In order to analyse and understand

different texts, we need different backgrounds and skills. Lankshear and Knobel (2007) state that texts can be interpreted differently because there are various ways to read them depending on the culture and context of the text, as well as the author's experiences and his/her literacy practices. In other words, a sociocultural point of view is essential. This is a central concept of NLS. Further to this, New London Group (1996) criticises "mere literacy" by suggesting broader viewpoints towards literacy because "mere literacy" deals with only "mastering sound-letter correspondence" (p. 64) and literacy needs to be analysed from various aspects. This group insists "[a] pedagogy of multiliteracies, by contrast, focuses on modes of representation much broader than language alone" (p. 64). In section 2.1.5, I further discuss multiliteracies, which is central to the scope of my research.

2.1.2 What Is New Literacy Studies?

Gee (1991) states that individuals experience different literacies in relation to social practices, culture or subcultures. From the perspective of new literacies, Lankshear and Knobel (2003) have criticised NLS as referring only to new ways of looking at literacy rather than studies into new forms of literacy, and more recently, Gee (2008) has pointed out his use of "the term 'New Literacy Studies' is probably unfortunate, since anything that once was 'new' is soon 'old'" (p. 2). Street's (1984) theoretical framework has been the most influential in the field of NLS. Street's (1984) ideological model of literacy views literacy as a social practice that cannot be detached from its context which both creates and perpetuates it. This view is more acceptable to qualitative research methods in NLS. As Lonsdale and McCurry (2004) underline, literacy is viewed as a social responsibility; there is not just one literacy, but multiple learner-centred literacies that involve a diverse range of skills and understandings. For example, digital literacies and critical thinking skills are often paramount in this conception. According to Lonsdale and McCurry (2004), the extent of an individual's literacy can only be assessed by intensive observation. Also the social context of literacy practices is paramount and outcomes less vocational and more holistic, being related to empowerment and building communities. Lankshear and Knobel (2007) state that "reading and writing can only be understood in

the context of social, cultural, political, economic, historical practices which they are a part” (p. 1). Further to this point, Lankshear and Knobel (2003) continue to mention that any text cannot be separated from its associated “values and gestures, context and meaning, actions and objects, talk and interaction, tools and spaces” (p. 8). Specifically speaking, Street (2003) comments that literacy is regarded as a social practice, where some conceptions of literacy are greatly powerful and entail cultures or classes. In a similar vein, Lankshear, Gee, Knobel and Searle (1997) clearly mention that “[l]anguage is deeply and inescapably bound up with producing, reproducing and maintaining arrangements of power which are unequal” (p. 47).

The following table compares the psychological-cognitive and socio-cultural approaches towards understanding literacy, in order to demonstrate upon which approach the NLS framework is based. This table was based on Lonsdale and McCurry’s (2004) common attributes of each perspective.

Table 2. Different approaches to understanding literacy

Psychological-cognitive approach	Socio-cultural approach
Autonomous model	Ideological model
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • It is perceived as related to an individual’s intellectual abilities and can be measured via psychological tests. • Literacy is viewed as a deficit in an individual’s ability for which they are largely responsible. • Literacy is perceived as independent of its context and primarily about print-based texts. • The underlying purpose of literacy education is political and about instilling acceptance of the dominant ideologies to enhance economic productivity. <p style="text-align: center;">↓</p> <p>This does not lead to New Literacy Studies.</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • It views literacy as a social responsibility. • There is not just one literacy, but multiple learner-centred literacies that involve a diverse range of skills and understandings, for example digital literacies. • Critical thinking skills are frequently paramount in this conception. • The extent of an individual’s literacy can only be assessed by intensive observation. • The social context of literacy practices is paramount; outcomes less vocational and more holistic, being related to empowerment and building communities. <p style="text-align: center;">↓</p> <p>New Literacy Studies</p>

However, some scholars have criticised NLS’s overemphasis on the local. For instance, Brandt and Clinton (2002) challenged the autonomous model by posting the significance of the role of power in local literacy practices. They disagree that literacy is a

decontextualised activity. Their viewpoint is that literacy is transcontextual because literacy practices can spread across several contexts.

Context became associated with ethnographically-visible settings (the here and now), and the technology of literacy was demoted in the relationship to the human agent who held power in assigning meaning to acts of literacy. But can we not recognize and theorize the transcontextual aspects of literacy without calling it decontextualized? Can we not approach literacy as a technology – and even as an agent – without falling back into the autonomous model? Can we not see the ways that literacy arises out of local, particular, situated human interactions while seeing how it also regularly arrives from other places – infiltrating, disjuncting, and displacing local life? (p.333).

Therefore, literacy studies should include the analysis of localising and globalising activity to find a means for exploring the role of power in local literacy practices. Based on this perspective, Brandt and Clinton (2002) proposed a new framework for sociocultural studies of literacy which is called the literacy-in-action model. According to them, this model views literacy from multiple perspectives, taking into account both what people are doing with literacy and what impact literacy has on their daily lives. Finally, they highlight the significance of the analysis of localising as well as globalising by taking an example of the travel spaces of literacy objects. These objects go back and forth between the macro and the micro or between the local and the global. By doing so, it shows how the global shapes the local and how the local pushes back on the global.

2.1.3 Literacy Events and Literacy Practices

According to Gee (2000), NLS denies that literacy involves anything as expansive and general as “English.” Rather, people create from the grammatical resources of a language like English and specific sublanguages, what he calls “social languages.” He claims that social languages are distinctive in that they are used to enact, recognise, and negotiate different socially situated identities and to carry out different socially situated activities. Furthermore, he argues:

This identity and activity work is never done by language alone. To enact a socially situated identity and activity, specific ways with words (social languages) are fully integrated with specific ways of thinking, believing, valuing, acting, interacting, and often, ways of coordinating and being coordinated by other semiotic systems, other people, various objects, tools, settings, and technologies (p. 413).

From a historical point of view, many researchers have dealt with literacy events and practices in their studies. For instance, Anderson, Teale and Estrada (1980) defined “literacy event” as an occasion during which a person “attempts to comprehend graphic signs” (p. 59-65). Two years later, Heath (1982) further characterised a “literacy event” as “any occasion in which a piece of writing is integral to the nature of the participants’ interactions and their interpretative processes” (p. 93). Moreover, according to Barton (1994), this term “literacy events” which is the centre of my study, was derived from the sociolinguistic idea of speech events. Therefore, when we look at literacy events, it is important to take into consideration a sociolinguistic view as well. On the other hand, according to Street’s (1984) notion, the phrase “literacy practices” is a means of focusing upon “social practices and conceptions of reading and writing” (p. 1). This is how researchers view literacy events. However, when it comes to literacy practices, Street (2001) suggests researchers to step in further to analyse “the events and patterns around literacy and to link them to something broader of a cultural and social kind” (p. 11). Then he addresses an ethnographic issue by using approaches such as talking to people, listening to them, identifying their experiences and analysing the meanings of these from a sociocultural perspective. When we deal with literacy practices, we cannot ignore religion, status and social relation within literacy projects themselves.

As Barton (2010) points out, writing research is vital in order to understand contemporary life and contemporary institutions. I need to examine written texts so as to understand how certain societies operate and are organised, how institutions communicate with teachers, students and parents, and how cultures are produced and inherited. Furthermore, Barton (2010) introduces four approaches to the study of literacy. One of the four approaches, educational perspective is appropriate for my study. Namely, I focus on writing as an activity or as something students do. What students do with written texts does certainly relate to the abilities they have, however the focus in this study is not on

measuring students' skills or levels, but I investigate writing in a great variety of social, cultural and home contexts beyond education. Barton (2010) highlights that primarily an anthropological perspective on writing means to examine writing as both cultural and social practice. Hence, I take this ethnographic and emic approach to discover what my multicultural and multilingual participants are doing at home and school with their five surrounding languages (Catalan, Spanish, English, French and Japanese). According to Street (2003), literacy is a social practice, not simply a technical and neutral skill; that it is always embedded in socially constructed epistemological principles. Later, he continues as follows.

It is about knowledge: the ways in which people address reading and writing are themselves rooted in conceptions of knowledge, identity, and being. It is also always embedded in social practices, such as those of a particular job market or a particular educational context and the effects of learning that particular literacy will be dependent on those particular contexts (p. 78).

In summary, literacy is contested, both its meanings and its practices and it comes loaded with ideological and policy presuppositions that make it hard to do ethnographic studies of the variety of literacies across contexts. In addition to that, I noted from Martin-Jones and Jones's study (2000) that we bring to literacy event concepts and social models regarding what the nature of the event is and make it work, and give it meaning. Street (2001) shows the clear differences between literacy activities and literacy practices and concludes that "[l]iteracy practices, then, refer to the broader cultural conception of particular ways of thinking about and doing reading and writing in cultural contexts" (p. 11). Haneda and Monobe (2009) recount the relationship between ethnographic studies and literacy.

[I]n recent years, ethnographic studies of literacy have documented how people, children and adults alike, use literacy as an integral part of their everyday lives, thereby expanding our understanding of what literacy is (p. 7).

According to Street (1995), a number of conclusions from research done in this field show that there are many different types of literacy practices in people's lives. Knobel (2001), Lam (2000) and Skilton-Sylvester (2002) have even highlighted a wide gap between school and out-of-school literacies, in that students' literate accomplishments outside

school frequently surpass their school-based performance. Although Haneda and Monobe (2009) conducted their qualitative research about the literacy practices of Japanese sojourner students in the USA, no research has been carried out about the ones of Spanish-Japanese children. Moreover, Haneda and Monobe's (2009) participants are bilingual, speaking English and Japanese, whereas my participants have access to at least four or five languages in their daily lives, which obviously creates a more complex linguistic situation. For my study, it is also important to analyse from sociocultural and ethnographic perspectives. As Cassany (2010) argues, sociocultural perspective pays attention to new forms of reading and writing that incorporate new modes of representation of knowledge. Later, Cassany (2010) demonstrates the schema of psycholinguistic focus and sociocultural focus to compare the concepts.

2.1.4 Vernacular and Academic Practices

Multilingual children differentiate in school formal academic writing and vernacular informal writing. In my study, I explore both inside of school, formal literacy practice and outside of school, private and personal literacy practice by collecting students' written samples. Cassany (2010) also addresses the important gap of vernacular and academic practices, that is, what students do at home or in the street as opposed to at school. In addition to that, he created a clear list to show some principal features of vernacular and academic practices, namely inside and outside of the school.

Table 3. Principal features of vernacular and academic practices

Vernáculo	Académico
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Autoreguladas -Elección personal, libre -Ámbito privado -Aprendidas informalmente -Socialmente despreciadas, criticadas -Vinculadas con la identidad, la afectividad -Ejemplos: <i>diario íntimo, diario de viaje, blogs, chats, cartas, fanfic, recetas de cocina</i> 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Reguladas por instituciones -Impuestas -Ámbito social -Aprendidas formalmente -Socialmente legitimadas, prestigiosas -Vinculadas con la institución, la informatividad -Ejemplos académicos: <i>apuntes, comentario de texto, exámenes, instancias, periodismo</i>

In terms of literacy learning, Cassany (2010) shows four steps to adapt the use of the learning device (artefacto letrado in Spanish) as follows. The first step is availability that means communities have to have writing devices such as books, mobile phones, computers, etc. The second step is access. Communities should create proper social conditions such as libraries so that the learner can access the learning device and practices. The third step is participation. The learner gets involved with a group that utilises the learning device in his normal interactions. The final step is appropriation. The learner uses learning device himself and integrates into communicative practices and gives his personal voice. Additionally, Cassany (2010) presented more concrete examples to clarify these four steps of learning device.

2.1.5 The Scope & Boundaries of Multiliteracy

NLS comes more from the work of Lankshear and Knobel, identifying ways in which “literacy” is now understood to mean something very different when viewed in today’s new communicative landscape, one in which modern technology, for example educational apps, play an ever more important role in how we are able to communicate with each other. NLS also draws on theories from other sources, particularly the New London Group (Kress, Cope and Kalantzis and others) that looked at ways of understand meaning making in relation to design and multimodality. New London Group (1996) developed what they called the “Multiliteracies Pedagogical Framework.” As described in their article, this group of 10 scholars come from different English-speaking countries. They got together to discuss the future of literacy learning and discuss what needs to be taught and how it can be taught effectively. The introduction of their book entitled “A pedagogy of multiliteracies: Designing social futures” describes as follows.

We attempt to broaden this understanding of literacy and literacy teaching and learning [restricted to formalized, monolingual, monocultural, and rule- governed forms of language] to include negotiating a multiplicity of discourses. We seek to highlight two principal aspects of this multiplicity. First, we want to extend the idea and scope of literacy pedagogy to account for the context of our culturally and linguistically diverse and increasingly globalized societies, for the multifarious cultures that interrelate and the plurality

of texts that circulate. Second, we argue that literacy pedagogy now must account for the burgeoning variety of text forms associated with information and multimedia technologies. This includes understanding and competent control of representational forms that are becoming increasingly significant in the overall communications environment, such as visual images and their relationship to the written word—for instance, visual design in desktop publishing or the interface of visual and linguistic meaning in multimedia (p. 9).

Their thoughts above illustrate the New London Group’s argument that current conditions in increasingly global, multicultural, multilingual Western centres require changes in our understanding of what constitutes literacy. The two aspects of multiliteracies pedagogy are: 1) an attention to linguistic and cultural diversity in literacy education, 2) the necessity for the inclusion of a range of modalities that are used in real life. More specifically, through its focus on multimodality, multiliteracies pedagogy acknowledges that “all of our everyday representational experience is intrinsically multimodal” and it stresses the need for language and literacy education to take these multimodal representations of meaning into account (Kalantzis & Cope, 2008, p. 21). Stein (2004) explains that the focus on multimodal learning is a paradigm shift in language pedagogy and continues as follows.

The focus on modes as the means through which representation occurs distinguishes this theory from mainstream language and literacy theories, which mark the linguistic as the central means through which representation occurs (p. 105).

Multimodality has recently received considerable attention in the field of literacy education. Various educational materials have been researched as multimodal texts in the past 15 years. For instance, Walsh (2010) examined the use of digital technologies as multimodal texts. Evans (2011) chose another type of teaching material, picture books, as multimodal texts and analysed them in a school context. Further to this, an analysis on how videos and films in the classroom are currently used and how they should be used as multimodal texts was conducted by Ajayi (2012). Last but not least, Pahl and Rowsell (2010) believe that educators could engage students with literacy beyond the traditional text format and suggest artifacts as multimodal texts. They looked at how artifacts (pictures, histories of family members, critical talk, etc.) create a richer environment of interaction, and how artifacts provide meaningful opportunities to develop literacy skills.

From the above mentioned studies, we understand that different educational materials can function as multimodal texts. These classroom materials play an important role in children's language development and contribute to literacy education. It shows that picture books, videos, films, pictures, etc. scaffold children who are learning languages. That is why researching students' writing samples as well as their app and website usage is very important in my field.

2.2 Biliteracy and Multiliteracy Development

In this globalised world, there are a great deal of culturally and linguistically diverse children and research scope of biliteracy and trilingual practices of heritage language learners (HLLs) have been receiving attention. In this section, I start with a discussion of bilingualism, followed by HL. Then, translanguaging and code-switching, two common features of multilingual children, are introduced.

2.2.1 Bilingualism

My study looks at childhood bilingualism and multilingualism. To characterise the type of bilingualism examined in this study, the term "bilingualism," since it is used in a variety of contexts all over the world, needs to be discussed. Bilingualism is no longer rare. Grosjean (2013) describes that it is possible to say that bilingualism is a worldwide phenomenon, because it can be found in any country and any age group. Although estimates vary, Baker (2006) estimates that between half and two thirds of the world's population is bilingual or multilingual. As it happens, it is very difficult to name a country which is purely monolingual. Bialystok (2001) asserts that the notion of "pure monolingual" means no exposure to words in other languages, with is practically impossible. Further to this, Cook (2002) insists that nowadays there are only "a handful of isolated pockets of 'pure' monolinguals, now hard to find even in the mountains of Papua New Guinea" (p. 23).

When we talk about “bilingualism,” we have to start with a definition of the concept. Although the term “bilingualism” is in widespread use, it is complex to define what it truly means to be bilingual, because different people have different ideas about what being bilingual means. Most people think is that a bilingual person would be someone who is able to speak two or more languages. However, this definition remains more questions for us. For instance, remained questions are as follows.

- How well should someone speak the two languages in order to be considered bilingual?
- Is equal competence in both languages required in order to be called bilingual?
- What is the definition of a balanced-bilingual?

Mackey (2000) suggests a framework that defines bilingualism, to be “a behavioral pattern of mutually modifying linguistic practices varying in degree, function, alternation, and interference” (p. 27). Based on this framework, Petrescu (2014) explains that bilingualism constitutes the following four points.

- Degree of usage (how bilingual a person is).
- Function (what a person uses his or her language for).
- Alternation (to what extent a person alternates the two languages and under what conditions he/she switches from one language to another).
- Language transfer (how one of the languages influences the use of the other).

Mackey’s (2000) definition and Petrescu’s (2014) explanation show that bilingualism is a relative concept because it depends on the circumstances in which a person uses two or more languages. It also depends on how much and how often he/she uses those languages and how these linguistic systems influence one another. In the same vein, Grosjean (2013) criticises a common misconception about bilingualism that many people have. People think that bilinguals master the two languages equally and fluently. However, the reality is that, as Petrescu (2014) and many other researchers stress, “the majority of bilingual people acquire and use the two languages to different degrees, for different purposes, in different contexts, with different people and to accomplish different goals” (p. 7).

The research area of child bilingualism covers a wide range of investigations within a variety of frameworks. According to Butler and Hakuta (2004), they consist of linguistic, cognitive, social, and developmental studies. Genessee, Paradis, and Crago (2004) point out that distinguishing between different types of childhood bilingualism dimensions is important. The first distinction is whether the children acquired the two or more languages simultaneously from birth or the children acquired them when one of the languages, mother tongue, was already established. Another important distinction that Genessee, Paradis, and Crago (2004) mentioned is whether or not the children are part of the majority ethnolinguistic community in the society. In the case of my participants, they are half Japanese, and Japanese is a minority ethnolinguistic community in Barcelona. These distinctions are crucial because they have influence over the development of language skills. They are also relevant for the children in my study who are sequential bilinguals and belong to a minority ethnolinguistic community. When teachers and educators witness that a large proportion of minority students fail to achieve the academic expectations at school, there is a tendency to seek the reason in the language mismatch between home and school. Even today, it is not unusual for a parent of a minority student to be advised to speak in the dominant language at home, in order to accelerate the acquisition of that language, which will, it is assumed, lead to the child attaining better results in that language at school. Cummins (1979) pointed out that such an argument, although intuitively persuasive, is seriously flawed. At the same time, he also reported the success of the French immersion program in Canada, in which the students were not only successful at attaining high proficiency in their L2 but also developed superior literacy abilities in their L1 when compared with their monolingual peers in higher grades. Thus, there was a case in which students succeeded in becoming bilinguals despite or rather, because of the home-school language mismatch. But on the one hand, there were instances where minority students were failing presumably because of the language mismatch on the other hand.

To explain these seemingly contradictory findings from the bilingual studies, Cummins (1979) put forward the “Threshold Hypothesis.” He argued that there may be two thresholds in the linguistic development of bilingual children. The lower threshold level is such that under this level bilingual children may not develop linguistically in either of

the languages. The higher threshold level on the other hand is such that above this level, learners will benefit from the positive influence of bilingualism on cognitive functioning. Thus, the children attending French immersion programs in Canada who were largely native speakers of English, which corresponds to the dominant language of the society, and many of whom were from middle or high socio-economic status background, were learning a second language with no threat of losing the first language and therefore were in most cases above the higher threshold level, the minority students were at risk of losing their first language and often remained below the lower threshold level.

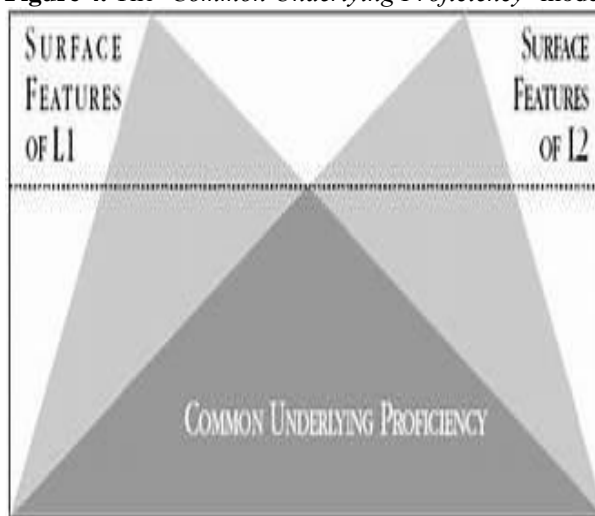
Furthermore, Cummins (1981a) formulated the “Linguistic Interdependence Hypothesis” in order to explain the relationship between L1 and L2, which is closely related to the idea expressed in the “Threshold Hypothesis.” It was expressed as follows:

To the extent that instruction in Lx is effective in promoting proficiency in Lx, transfer of the proficiency to Ly will occur, provided there is adequate exposure to Ly (either in the school or environment) and adequate motivation to learn Ly (p. 29).

Cummins (2001) illustrated this hypothesis using an image of dual-iceberg representation as follows, in which the different features of the two languages appear separately on the surface level while they are rooted on the same base termed “Common Underlying Proficiency.” He claims:

[T]he development of academic skills in English depends not just on exposure to English (as “time-on-task” advocates argue) but equally on the knowledge and concepts that children have inside their heads that help them make sense of English. A student who knows how to write sentences and paragraphs in Spanish does not have to learn what sentences and paragraphs are all over again in English (p. 175).

Figure 4. The ‘*Common Underlying Proficiency*’ model



This notion of “Common Underlying Proficiency” forms the foundation on which the argument of the advocates of bilingual education is built, and is the theoretical framework that will guide this study.

2.2.2 Heritage Language

The term “HL” is used to refer to the ancestral language of a speaker or community, that is not the societal language (Valdés, 2017). It includes a broad range of situations, from indigenous minoritized languages to the languages of immigrant communities, that are majority, state-language in their country of origin. Its “speakers” proficiency could potentially be zero knowledge of the language, due to being raised in the societal language to various degrees of fluency. Research on the topic also often distinguished between degrees of “ancestral relatedness” to their relatives and the community of origin, for example, learners who were born in the HL community and with the HL as an L1, learners whose parents speak the HL but were raised in the majority language community, and learners whose parents do not speak the HL and are only connected to it through grandparents. (Kondo-Brown, 2005; Comanaru & Noels, 2009; Carreira & Kagan, 2011).

Nakajima (1988) is the first person who translated a HL into *Keishogo* in Japanese and she clearly explains it in comparison to foreign language and mother tongue. She uses the example of a child living in Canada who has a Canadian father and a Japanese mother. The very first language contact for this child was Japanese, with the mother and child using it at home until starting kindergarten. Once the child starts attending a local school, he/she begins to be exposed daily to local languages in an academic setting. Yet Japanese is not a foreign language for him/her either. As this indicates, language use of children who live in multicultural environment is complicated. For them Japanese is not a mother tongue nor a foreign language. It is appropriate to call it as a HL because they do not live in Japan, but one of their parents is a native speaker of Japanese, and parents want to transmit it to their children as part of their heritage.

In educational environments, a HL is understood as “a language spoken in the home that is different from the main language spoken in society” (Bilash, 2011). According to Polinsky and Kagan (2007), while HL is rooted in the home, it is not learned deeply, since it is soon subject to language shift — that is, the first and second generation immigrants’ shift to the language of the mainstream society. As Cho, Shin and Krashen (2004) contend, HL can be defined as a language that is used by individuals who came to live in a new land at a young age or who were born in a country to which their parents immigrated. For Fishman (2000) and Wiley (2005), the languages of refugees and indigenous people, in addition to former colonial languages, could also fit under the HL category; these researchers also assert that a HL holds family significance whether or not it is used on a daily basis inside or outside the home. This diversity in the HLs terminology reflects an ongoing negotiation of societal, political and legal issues rather than a dispute among indecisive sociolinguists and educators who have, nevertheless, expressed a variety of opinions concerning who the HLLs are and what type of characteristics distinguish them from other categories of language learners (Kagan & Dillon, 2009). The above definitions are significant for this study, as they also apply to Japanese language learners in Barcelona.

2.2.3 Code-Switching and Translanguaging

Traditionally speaking, the studies of bilingualism/multilingualism have widely employed the notion of code-switching for their analysis. According to Bullock and Toribio (2009: xii), code-switching refers to “the alternating use of two languages/varieties in the same stretch of discourse by a bilingual speaker.” Thus, previous studies of code-switching have often paid attention to linguistic forms such as interlingual code-switching and intralingual code-switching. The main concern is with the ways different languages are switched on and off in the utterances.

On the other hand, García (2009) introduced the term translanguaging in order to differentiate a separate method of analysis to code-switching. She emphasised the importance of investigating not “language” itself as a fixed and completed system, but “language practices” that users create during their own meaning making processes. She explains translanguaging compared with code-switching as follows.

[T]ranslanguaging is multiple discursive practices in which bilinguals engage in order to make sense of their bilingual worlds. Translanguaging there goes beyond what has been termed code-switching, although it includes it, as well as other kinds of bilingual language use and bilingual contact (p. 45).

As the above statement describes, the analytical focus in the study of translanguaging is on the process of meaning making. Therefore, it pays close attention to the language user and context which both contribute to this meaning making process. Blackledge and Creese (2012) compare the different features in the two analytical approaches, code-switching and translanguaging, and summarise in the following table.

Table 4. Features of code-switching and translanguaging

Code-switching	Translanguaging
Emphasis on: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Language ▪ Code ▪ Linguistic practice ▪ Signification - form function relationships 	Emphasis on: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Speaker ▪ Voice ▪ Social practice ▪ Signification - meaning making ▪ Signs as socially and historically

<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Signs belonging to languages 	<p>embedded but as also creative and flexible</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Signs used by speakers
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Source: Taken from Blackledge and Creese (2012)

As can be seen from the above table, “language” and “code” are emphasised in analyses of code-switching whereas “speaker” and “voice” are focused on in translanguaging. According to Blommaert (2005), “voice” stands for “the way in which people manage to make themselves understood or fail to do so” (p. 4). Also while a code-switching perspective looks at “linguistic practice,” a translanguaging point of view pays attention to “social practice.” As Danjo (2015) sums up Blackledge and Creese’s (2012) comparison, code-switching generally refers to language users’ “borrowing” and “transferring” of codes, which are linguistic elements, between bounded language systems. On the other hand, translanguaging refers to the times when language users “create” and “intermingle” linguistic resources in their own ways and according to their own purposes. Yet, García (2009) describes that the notion of translanguaging is not necessarily denying the utility of code-switching. Rather, she moves the focus from “language code” to the “speaker’s perspectives.” Therefore, according to Wei (2010), translanguaging includes more complex aspects than code-switching, as follows.

It [translanguaging] includes the full range of linguistic performances of a multilingual language user for purposes that transcend the combination of structures, the alternation between systems, the transmission of information, the contextualization of the message, and the representation of values, identities, and relationships (p. 519).

In other words, translanguaging opens up new perspectives for researchers to capture language as created by users, at the same time they utilise their available linguistic resources. There are several previous studies which have employed the analytic gaze of translanguaging. For instance, Wei (2010) examines three Chinese young people in UK with the observational data of multilingual practices and meta-language commentaries. The findings concluded that “multilinguality does not mean to know all the languages fully and separately,” but rather, what they do is to “pick and mix amongst the languages they know at various levels” (p. 1228). Canagarajah (2011) also reviews a Saudi Arabian undergraduate student who wrote essays and discovers that she treated several languages as part of a single incorporated system, not separately. Canagarajah (2011) names this as

“codemeshing.” Although the aforementioned researcher gives it a different name, their core principles are similar. They all attempt to transcend the traditional concept of language as a solid systemic unit and to consider multilingualism as a complex phenomena used to conceptualise language as a resource. Finally, García and Wei (2014) state as follows.

[T]ranslanguaging is an approach to the use of language, bilingualism and the education of bilinguals that considers the language practices of bilinguals not as two autonomous language systems as has been traditionally the case, but as one linguistic repertoire with features that have been societally constructed as belonging to two separate languages (p.2).

Canagarajah (2011) explains that translanguaging is an important element of written discourse and rhetoric for multilingual individuals, although most translanguaging research has focused on oral language. In conclusion, translanguaging is a normative practice in multilingual families, and can have many different functions, from the enactment of one’s identity as a competent user of two or more languages to the expression of humor (Li, 2011) as created by one of my participants, Mika in section 8.6.

2.3 The Influence of Technology

The influence of technology on children’s lives has been debated in recent years. Being hooked on technology is generally associated with being a threat to children’s health and could well be a cause of cyberbullying, addiction, and problems with eyes and visual capacity, etc. (Livingstone & Bulger 2013; Livingstone, Haddon and Goerzig 2012; Porter et al. 2015; Tarapdar & Kellett 2013). Gill (2007) argues that one of the negative impacts of technology is children’s loss of creativity, critical thinking skills and face-to-face contact. Having said this, Ergler, Kearns, Witten and Porter (2016) say that “technologies also have positive impacts and are able to enrich children’s lives by overcoming physical, socio-economic or cultural barriers” (p. 130). For example, Freier and Kahn (2009) suggest how technologies can be used effectively in order to cultivate rather than hamper children’s development. Needless to say, technologies have enabled us to maintain relationships and connect easily with friends and family members who are

in different cities. As all of my participants have their extended family members and friends in Japan, they often take advantage of convenient devices (computers, mobiles, tablets, etc.) to communicate with those who live in the other part of the world. Technologies also allow children from different linguistic and cultural backgrounds to explore virtual landscapes (Ash & Gallacher, 2011) or to join digital communities of the same interests such as fandom, sports, music, etc. (Zhang & Cassany, 2019). Along the same line, the use of technology has led to a radical change in learning and communication experiences especially for children with disabilities (Kagohara et al., 2013).

2.3.1 Digital Technologies

I use the terminology “digital” in relation to literacy in order to reflect the way in which reading and writing practices are increasingly mediated by new technologies in the new media age. Digital technologies are part of children’s everyday life and increasingly feature within academics’ research practice. How technologies have changed children’s everyday lives and also modified researchers’ practices have tended to be presented as two separate strands of scholarly discussion, not only within geography but also across the social sciences. The emphasis placed on one strand or other varies between disciplines. In educational research, like language sciences, this debate is active, with the impact of technology in the acquisition of literacy and other skills developing alongside philosophical discussions on how technology influences the students’ language skills (Biesta, 2016). More and more young children are interested in technological products, but their opinions on education and careers in technology are not particularly positive (Johansson, 2009). Different studies (e.g., Volk & Yip, 1999; George, 2006; Salminen-Karlsson, 2007) have proven that students’ characteristics correlate with their attitudes towards technology.

Furthermore, the research of Ardies, De Maeyer and Gijbels (2013) in Belgium has shown there to be a decline in interest toward technology from the first to the second grade of

secondary education. This finding appears to be stronger for girls. Moreover, they investigated their parents attitudes towards children using technology and discovered that parents have an increasingly positive attitude toward the use of technology when mothers and/or fathers have a profession related to technology. In addition, the presence of technological toys at home provides another significantly positive characteristic. Many other researchers believe there is an influence of using technology on language learning (e.g., Sweeny, 2010; Yang & Akahori, 2013). From sociocultural perspective, Lee (2006) examines digital literacy practices, HLLs' linguistic development and maintenance through in-depth case studies of two Korean-American university students in the USA. The results showed that these digital literacy practices provide authentic opportunities to use the HL (Korean, in this case) and scaffold the development of a social network of Korean speakers. Furthermore, these authentic opportunities also generate greater socio-psychological attachment to the home country, the HL and culture. She also mentioned that "more importantly, such practices provided a means to connect with and to express their culture identity" (p. 109). Considering these two siblings were born in the USA, it is surprising that they utilise more Korean than English when it comes to a social network. She concluded opportunities to engage with other native speakers of Korean online provide an optimal language learning environment and two participants enjoyed getting involved. For that reason, online communication holds significant promise for assisting HL development and maintenance because it makes communication between people who live in other countries easier. Hashimoto and Lee (2011) stated the similar point as follows.

Although the parents possessed a focused commitment to achieve native-like HL literacy skills for their children, they were skeptical that their children would be able to reach this goal. The lack of external support, such as HL-speaking peers, HL schools, and accessible information about pedagogical strategies and resources, was perceived as a barrier to their efforts in helping their children sustain a high level of interest in HL-literacy practices (p. 161).

While critics express concerns that computer use by young children will inhibit language development and encourage social isolation (Cordes & Miller, 2000), research has shown otherwise. In their study on the effect of an adaptive program for improving children's vocabulary development, Segers and Verhoeven (2002) found that young children can

extend their vocabulary with the help of an adaptive and interactive software program. Similarly, studies have shown that technology use can positively affect both cognitive and affective learning outcomes for reading (Mioduser, Tur-Kaspa & Leitner, 2000) as well as spelling (Van Daal & Reitsma, 2000). Furthermore, according to Clements, Nastasi and Swaminathan (1993), young children working collaboratively on computers tend to engage in higher levels of dialogue and cooperation, such as turn-taking and peer collaboration. While the research mentioned above offers valuable insights in the potential of technology for literacy development, it does not provide much information about the way technology can be integrated into daily classroom activities. More specifically, Plowman, McPake and Stephen (2008) state that a pedagogical model is needed for appropriate integration of technology in early childhood education.

Speaking of the use of technology by children, it is crucial to discuss their parents' perspectives and decisions about whether to allow the usage of technology or not. This factor is also worthing to research. In fact, there are previous studies regarding parents' attitudes towards the use of technology with autistic children in Saudi Arabia (Athbah, 2015) and with children aged six to seven in Croatia (Preradovic, Lesin & Boras, 2016). However, there appear to be no studies focusing on Japanese children or indeed Spanish-Japanese bilingual children. Therefore, I determined to conduct my research on their literacy practices as well as their mothers' perspectives towards children using technology.

2.3.2 Digital Literacy Practices

Not only numerous researchers, but also plenty of parents and educators wonder what kind of apps and websites children use and if they are really effective or not for their language performance and development. Some studies have been carried out with regard to implementation of apps and websites in classrooms. For instance, Voogt and Mckenny (2008) investigate how technology in kindergarten could support the development of emerging reading and writing skills of the four to five years old children. They concluded

that regular and frequent use of technology can have a positive learning effect on literacy development, especially when under the supervision of their parents in the classroom. Van Scoter and Railsback (2001) believe that computers have the potential to enhance children's development. Moreover, they highlight "the opportunities for language use and social interaction that technology offers" (p. 11). Computers in education also increase the students' motivation and provide experiences that cannot take place in the real world. They, in particular, point out how computers influence positively on the development of younger children, up to eight years old. They think the phrase zero to eight years old is very important because children use all of their senses and their entire bodies to take in sensations and experience the world around them. Van Scoter and Railsback (2001) show a positive relationship between the use of computers and five essential developmental areas as follows.

- Social and emotional development
- Language development
- Physical well-being and motor development
- Cognitive and general knowledge
- Approaches toward learning

In their conclusion, they emphasise the potential power of technology in the classroom as follows.

Computers, or cameras or any other forms of technology, do not replace other tools but add to the array of tools available to children to explore, create, and communicate. When used appropriately by skilled teachers technology can support and extend learning in valuable ways and can increase educational opportunities for children. The key is finding the balance; knowing how to align the elements of a healthy childhood with the unique capabilities offered by technology (p. 27).

However, there are few ethnographic studies regarding the types of apps and website children, particularly bilingual or multilingual children use, how long they use them on a daily basis, for what purposes and in which language they are utilised. As Eyman (2006) outlines, "digital literacy captures the notion that the literacy practices referred to are enacted in digital spaces" (p. 185). Furthermore, Lankshear and Knobel (2011) mention that in this knowledge economy of the 21st century, it is important for children to acquire

writing skills not only with written texts but also with multimodal and multimedia texts. Marsh et al. (2015) report a study that explored digital literacy practices of four young children aged between two and four years in the home. Their finding is that the children have a variety of multimedia and multimodal practices and these practices often engage with other family members. These people work as scaffolding in order to develop their children's learning. Marsh et al. (2015) also suggest that the parents of young children could be good co-researchers and participate in the research during the data collection phase. Nedungadi, Mulki and Raman (2017) conducted their research in rural India in order to see if WhatsApp (mobile instant messaging application) improves the quality of education for rural children. The results of this study showed that the use of mobile technology in education could not only reduce absenteeism of teachers but also increase teachers' effectiveness and improve student performance. In addition, improvements in lessons and other planned educational activities were found. Although five of my participants out of 11 claimed that they use Whatsapp regularly or occasionally, the socio-economic background of my research subjects is quite different from Nedungadi et al's ones. As Nedungadi et al. (2017) describe it, their "model functions well in rural settings where there is poor internet connectivity and a lack of supporting infrastructure" (p. 2). Allagui (2014) carried out research to see if WhatsApp develops undergraduate students' EFL basic writing skills. The students reported their experiences through a survey after completion of the writing assignment. The results showed the use of WhatsApp in the classroom increases students' motivation to write and improved three aspects of writing: vocabulary, punctuation and spelling. Allagui (2014) concludes that this small-scale research project provides a better understanding of the role of mobile technology in higher education. Although there are studies which deal with the use of WhatsApp by EFL learners like Allagui's (2014) study, it has not been investigated as to the impact of using a transformational tool such as WhatsApp on multilingual/multicultural children.

CHAPTER 3

STATE OF THE ART

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- 3.1 Bilingualism/Multilingualism
 - 3.1.1 Literacy Practices in Various Hoshukos
 - 3.1.2 Biliteracy
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- 3.4 Technology for Learning
 - 3.4.1 Apps for Language Learning
 - 3.4.2 Technology for HL classrooms

This chapter reviews the theoretical and methodological debates in studies of bilingualism/multilingualism and technology for language learning. The chapter consists of three sections. In the first section, I review the literature on bilingualism/multilingualism, beginning with an overview of the changing attitudes towards bi/multilingualism, by highlighting biliteracy development. The second section is dedicated to a detailed account of the empirical studies, especially the ones conducted in Hoshuko (Japanese Saturday schools or complementary schools) and family contexts. More specifically, I look at Japanese as a HL in Europe focusing on the language use of bilingual families, how they transmit or maintain Japanese whilst living in Europe, and how the HL schools function. This is followed by a review of studies that have documented biliteracy and multiliteracy development of children of Japanese descent. The final section attempts to expose some research about language education using technology (apps and websites). The use of technology by multilingual children is a research area which has not been fully investigated, and therefore, will be explored in this thesis.

3.1 Bilingualism/Multilingualism

As “bilingualism” has a long enough history, I will explain it chronologically. The terminology “bilingualism/multilingualism” is used to refer to one individual who is able to use more than one language. However, according to Butler (2012), it is more complicated to define the term because a multidimensional aspect is required when we define the term bilingualism and multilingualism.

[B]ilingualism and multilingualism (however they are defined) are highly complex social, psychological, and linguistic phenomena and need to be understood from a multidimensional aspect (p. 110).

Historically speaking, a wide range of definitions for bilingual has been seen. For example, Bloomfield (1933) defined a bilingual as one individual who has “native-like control of two languages” (p. 56). Contrary to such a narrow definition, Haugen (1953) defined it differently by saying that bilingual means one individual who is fluent in one language but who “can produce complete meaningful utterances in the other language” (p. 7). Later, Cummins (1981a) describes what bilingualism is.

The term “bilingualism” is defined in a broad sense as “the production and/or comprehension of two languages by the same individual” in order to include within the scope of the handbook the large variety of proficiencies in two languages manifested by minority children (p. 8).

In recent years, a broader definition of bilingual has been employed. For instance, Grosjean (1989, p. 3) mentions “the bilingual is NOT the sum of two complete or incomplete monolinguals.” This is how the concept of bilingualism/monolingualism has expanded. In the context of Europe, due to the trends of economic globalisation and societal internationalization, it is inevitable to discuss plurilingualism. In 2001, the Council of Europe announced what plurilingualism is in comparison with multilingualism.

Plurilingualism differs from multilingualism, which is the knowledge of a number of languages, or the co-existence of different languages in a given society...[T]he plurilingual approach emphasises the fact that as an individual person’s experience of language in its cultural contexts

expands, from the language of the home to that of society at large and then to the languages of other peoples (whether learnt at school or college, or by direct experience), he or she does not keep these languages and cultures in strictly separated mental compartments, but rather builds up a communicative competence to which all knowledge and experience of language contributes and in which languages interrelate and interact (p. 13).

In addition, the Council of Europe (2001) developed the Common European Framework of Reference (CEFR) in order to assess the achievements of learners of foreign languages across Europe and other countries. Grosjean (2010) takes into consideration various degrees of language ability by saying that bilinguals are “those people who need and use two or more languages (or dialects) in their everyday lives” (p. 4). Furthermore, according to Nakajima (1988), it is almost impossible to acquire an equally competent level in two or more languages because languages are acquired through everyday living. Generally speaking, bilinguals have one stronger language or a preferred language and often choose one language over the other depending on the context. She even claims that although people normally imagine balanced-bilinguals when we talk about bilingualism/multilingualism, we rarely find them. Rather, she notes that unbalanced-bilinguals are more common. Therefore, we should not downplay unbalanced-bilinguals because being unbalanced could be improved depending on the environment and situation. It is also important to pay attention to the unique characteristics of bilinguals such as issues of identity, motivation, code-switching, translanguaging, transliteration, etc.

In an era of increased migration, discussion of multilingualism has gained momentum in the last few decades, not only in academies but also in public debates. According to Martin-Jones, Lackledge and Creese (2012), this phenomena is due to “the significant linguistic, cultural and demographic changes that have been ushered in by globalization, transnational population flows, the spread of new technology and the changing political and economic landscape of different regions of the world” (p. 1). Furthermore, Danjo (2015) concludes that it is evident that those changes have had an enormous impact on social behaviour towards multilingualism.

From around the 19th century to the Second World War, in order to maintain stable nations and make clear national boundaries, linguistic and cultural homogenisation were heavily promoted within the movements of colonisation and nationalism. According to Heller (2007) at that time, multilingualism was inevitably understood by policy makers as a danger that nations had to contend with in order to maintain or reproduce their boundaries. Negative attitudes towards multilingualism persisted throughout this period. For example, children's use of their mother tongue was encouraged by the parents only at the early ages of their development, however, when the children were older and had to attend school, they were subjected to the promotion of the official language in the educational system in order to consolidate the idea of the cultural nation. According to Lambert (1975), this phenomenon leads to the person becoming a "subtractive bilingual," in which the person's L1 is weakened and gradually/eventually replaced by the L2. In addition to that, until the mid 1960's, it was considered that being bilingual was a cause of poor academic achievement and emotional and psychological instability.

However, these negative attitudes towards multilingualism were challenged in the 1970s. During that time, movements supporting "linguistic minorities' right to sustain or gain back their mother language" were encouraged by researchers, educators and teachers. García (2009) states that around that time, minority language speakers were encouraged to learn their mother tongue, and this idea began to emerge in policies worldwide. This led to the creation of the term "additive bilingual." An "additive bilingual" is a person who acquires an L2 in addition to his/her L1, not a replacement. In contrast, a "subtractive bilingual" refers to a person who acquires an L2 while gradually losing their L1 proficiency. This phenomena appears frequently when the L1 is a minority language in a society where he/she lives. In addition to that, it is important to highlight Ruíz's (1984) three basic orientations towards language learning policy, which are: 1) language as a problem, 2) language as a right, and 3) language as a resource. It is noteworthy to point out the third orientation because my participants' parents and teachers also believe that language itself is a resource and a commodity that can be used at a global level. Around the same time in Canada, bilingual education, more specifically the French immersion programs, were successful, which led to increased attention being paid to bilingualism as well as to multilingualism. For example, Cummins's (1983) results showed that bilingual

children have more cognitive advantages and a higher degree of academic achievement compared to their monolingual peers. Gradually, research showing the positive effects of bilingual education with various language combinations all over the world was done and reported and this helped change perceptions from negative to positive.

Nowadays it is important to take into account globalisation which is characterised by complex transnational movements of people. Sociolinguistically speaking, according to Blommaert (2005), the world has become “a tremendously complex web of villages, towns, neighbourhoods, settlements connected by material and symbolic ties in often unpredictable ways” (p. 1). Furthermore, Blommaert (2005) also says that the concept of language needs to be reconsidered in this rapidly changing environment and proposes to go beyond traditional understandings of language as “a bounded, nameable and countable unit” (p. 4). This aspect of research has considered language diversity to be resource of nations. Moreover, researchers have begun to center their investigations of multilingualism not simply on language but on understanding from the sociocultural perspective an individual’s use of language in everyday life. In their opinion, multilingual speakers are social actors within specific communities, actively engaging in meaning making processes while interacting with others (Heller, 2007; Martin-Jones et al., 2012). These researchers have been striving to take into account the spatial-temporal context of the speakers, while considering the reasons why speakers specifically use languages in certain ways and in certain contexts. Given this, Heller (2007) contends what language practices are.

[L]anguage practices are socially and politically embedded. The aim is to move discussions of bilingualism away from a focus on the whole bounded units of code and community, and towards a more processual and materialist approach which privileges language as social practice, speakers as social actors and boundaries as products of social action (p. 1).

When we discuss multilingualism, a strict sociocultural perspective is not sufficient, as it is important to incorporate relevant linguistic and socio-economic characteristics of the learner and of the learning environment. The most efficient means of promoting additive bilingualism is ensuring that the home language is a majority language valued by the

community, and literacy in said language is encouraged in the home. However, this is not the case for my participants. Put differently, it is challenging for them to acquire and maintain Japanese as a HL, even though they attend HL school every week whilst they live far away from Japan.

3.1.1 Literacy Practices in Various Hoshukos

In this globalised world, learning a HL is no longer uncommon. In order to meet the HLLs' needs, HL schools, supplementary schools, complementary schools or community language schools were founded in various countries by the Japanese Ministry of Education. As Creese and Blackledge (2010) acknowledge, some parents actively support their children's language development by sending them to a HL school on weekends or weekdays after school. However, not all languages have HL schools, and some parents might not have sufficient social, cultural, and economic capital or educational knowledge to encourage/support their children. Kelleher (2010) summarises by describing that "[h]eritage language schools are often created out of a community's desire to pass on their language and culture from one generation to the next in order to maintain connections within families and communities" (p. 1). Kelleher (2010) presents some common characteristics of HL schools explicitly.

Community heritage language programs vary a great deal with regard to populations served, program structure and organization, focus of instruction, instructional methods, materials used, staff qualifications, articulation with school based programs, and funding sources. What they do have in common is that they are organized by community members—families, community leaders, churches, or civic organizations. Culture, traditions, and other content are often taught through the language, rather than focusing strictly on language as the object of instruction. Many schools incorporate community events and holiday celebrations into the curriculum and rely on the involvement of community members as staff volunteers, teachers, and school leaders (p. 1-2).

My research site, the Japanese HL school in Barcelona, also has these above described characteristics. Some studies conducted at HL schools or complementary schools (in the case of Japanese, it is called *Hoshukos*) look specifically at literacy practices. Hancock

(2011), for instance, examines a Chinese complementary school in central Scotland. By conducting observations of three classrooms, and interviews with eight teachers and one head teacher, as well as conversation with children, Hancock (2011) reveals that the practices occurring in the classrooms are not “traditional” literacy practices that those teachers have experienced through their own education in China, but a range of bilingual and biliterate resources are used. Such creative literacy practices, involving the use of multilingual resources, are also discovered by Solovova’s (2013) study which examines a complementary school for eastern European immigrants in central Portugal, as well as in the study conducted by Lytra, Martin, Baraç and Bhatt (2010), looking at Turkish and Gujarati complementary schools in UK. These studies show the intersection of languages, that is a “complex semiotic repertoire” (p. 29) according to Lytra et al. (2010), where participants in complementary schools can access in their literacy learning processes. The use of multilingual resources has also been observed in moment-to-moment interactions. Yamashita’s (2014) ethnographic study, for instance, examines multilingual interactions among Pakistani children at a local Mosque in Tokyo, Japan. Her study primary highlights four childrens’ (aged between seven and 13) creative and dynamic meaning-making processes and practices while using their multilingual resources which are Urdu, Japanese and English. She found that Urdu was used for constructing (dis)alignment with their peers, for negotiating with authoritative adults, and in reference to them.

Although the following research was not carried out in Hoshukos, it deals with young Japanese children’s literacy practices. Nomura and Caidi (2013) explored the home literacy practices of the Japanese children in Canada, with an emphasis on HL acquisition and maintenance. They cited Weigel, Martin and Bennette’s (2005) study by saying that early studies of home literacy environments tended to focus on shared book reading. This is exactly the same type of literacy activity the Hoshukos I know well both in Spain and Canada implement as a recommended home literacy practice. However, Grieshaber, Shield, Luke and Macdonald (2012) view home literacy environments as “complex and multifaceted” (p. 134). Nomura and Caidi (2013) conducted the interviews with 14 Japanese mothers in Canada and found out their children’s home literacy activities. It is important to note that the children were between zero to three years old at that time. The

following is the list of what each family was doing in order to foster their children's Japanese literacy development in Canada.

- Purchasing Japanese books online.
- Asking their families in Japan to mail them books in Japanese for their child.
- Subscribing to monthly Japanese early childhood education materials and/or picture books.
- Showing YouTube and/or DVDs.
- Watching television in Japanese.
- Using smartphone applications or tablet applications.
- Playing with educational toys.
- Showing a list of Japanese alphabets.
- Showing picture encyclopedia.
- Playing word or card games.

Apart from this list, Nomura and Caidi (2013) reported that there are some families who are trying to join Japanese playgroups so that their children are able to play with other Japanese children in Canada, when not at school. This community group actually functions as the best means of communicating with other Japanese families in the area. Furthermore, it was reported that their participants in this study often use Skype or FaceTime in order to communicate with their extended family in Japan. In conclusion, Nomura and Caidi (2013) discovered that home literacy practices among Canadian-Japanese families or Japanese families in Canada are very diverse. It is a hybrid environment because it comprises of human resources/more traditional method (e.g., reading books, joining playgroups of other Japanese families in Canada) and digital resources (e.g., using mobiles, tablets, computers and calling extended family members in Japan via Skype). Haneda and Monobe (2009) scrutinise an older group of Japanese sojourner students in the USA. They look into what kind of literacy practices these early teenagers engaged in outside school and what developing bilingual and biliterate competences meant to them as individuals. Similar to my participants, Haneda and Monobe's (2009) four participants attend Hoshuko while going to local American schools. Furthermore, similar to my data collection, they draw on multiple sources of data

for their analysis, consisting of interview transcripts, literacy artifacts and subjects' literacy logs that documented their reading and writing activities. With regard to their literacy activities at home, they are separated by language.

English

- Homework from their American school.
- Surfing the internet for schoolwork and for pleasure.
- Writing detective stories about fossil hunting.
- Reading popular adolescent novels.
- Writing their diary entries.
- Letter exchanges with their American friend from school.

Japanese

- Homework from Hoshuko.
- Surfing the internet for schoolwork and for pleasure.
- Reading a wide range of books from classics to contemporary fiction and non-fiction.
- E-mail correspondence with their friends in Japan.
- Letter exchanges with friends from Hoshuko.
- Writing their diary entries.
- Journal exchanges with friends from Hoshuko.

What Haneda and Monobe (2009) mean by “journal exchanges” is what I call a “pass diary” (see Chapter 7). This is a typical writing activity among Japanese teenagers. One person writes one page of diary entries in a notebook and passes it to another friend. This person reads it and also writes one page. Then, she passes it to another friend of the group or returns it to the original person if there are the only two peoples in the group. Haneda and Monobe's (2009) findings are twofold. First of all, all four participants spend lots of time completing their homework from both American school and Hoshuko. As shown above, they discovered the participants had active literate lives outside of school. Secondly, they also paid attention to gender differences among the participants (two boys and two girls) and discovered that there were differences among their literacy activities at home and their perceptions towards their competencies in English and Japanese. In

terms of home literacy practices, keeping a diary and participating in journal exchanges seem to be favoured almost exclusively by girls. Regarding their perceptions, they conclude that those boys assigned more value to Japanese studies and tend to consider to be a more important language for them than the girls do. On the other hand, these girls regard both English and Japanese to be of equal importance and engage in a greater number of activities using English than the boys.

3.1.2 Biliteracy

As linguists and educators started to shed light on bilingualism/multilingualism, more attention has also been given to biliteracy development. Hornberger (1990) describes biliteracy explicitly.

The term biliteracy refers to any and all instances in which communication occurs in two (or more) languages in or around writing. An individual, situation, and a society can all be biliterate: each one would be an instance of biliteracy (p. 3).

Hornberger (1990) proposed four themes for “good teaching for biliteracy” by introducing two teachers who were situated in contrasting communities, programs, and language contexts. One is a fourth/fifth grade teacher in a two-way maintenance bilingual program for Puerto Rican children and the other is a fourth grade teacher in a mainstream/English as a second language pull-out program for Cambodian children. Hornberger (1990) identifies four critical aspects of teaching biliteracy, which are motivation, purpose, text and interaction.

- *Motivation*: “Both teachers build motivation in their students by creating a classroom community in which membership is made desirable through affective/experiential bonds and simultaneously is dependent on the successful execution of literacy tasks” (p. 17).
- *Purpose*: “Both teachers build meaningful purpose in their students by keeping them focused on literacy tasks that are clearly defined and suited to the immediate situation” (p. 17).

- *Text*: A variety of texts were found in two classes. In a bilingual class, the teacher introduced both L1 and L2 texts whereas in a Cambodian class, the teacher dedicated more time to oral and written, receptive and productive interaction with a wide range of genres.
- *Interaction*: “Both teachers build students’ interaction with text by taking advantage of a variety of participant structures, drawing on students’ prior knowledge, and developing students’ strategies for signaling understanding of text, analyzing features of text, and reasoning about text” (p. 17-18).

Finally, Hornberger (1990) concludes that both teachers successfully helped the children’s biliteracy development. In another study, the learner’s L1 and L2 knowledge levels have been repeatedly pointed out. For example, Cumming (1989) attempted to reveal the relationship between learner’s writing expertise in their L1 and their L2 proficiency. His subjects were 23 young adult French speakers in Canada and they were learning English as a second language. He found out that there is a correlation between writing expertise and the following four areas (p. 81).

- 1) Qualities of discourse organisation and content in the compositions produced.
- 2) Attention to complex aspects of writing during decision making.
- 3) Problem-solving behaviors involving heuristic searches.
- 4) Well-differentiated control strategies.

On the other hand, second language proficiency is an additive factor, because it enhances the overall quality of writing. He compared and contrasted L2 proficiency and writing expertise as follows.

Unlike writing expertise, however, attaining greater second-language proficiency does not appear to entail qualitative changes in the thinking processes or decision-making behaviors used for composing (p. 121).

Cumming (1989) came to the conclusion that writing expertise and second-language proficiency contribute differently to the processes and products of writing in a second language. Further to this, according to him, “it would appear writing expertise and second-language proficiency are psychologically different” (p. 118). Likewise, Cummins

(1991) clarified the dimensions of language proficiency in order to elucidate the extent to which different aspects of L1 and L2 proficiency are related in the L2 acquisition process. Cummins (1991) also paid special attention to the immigrant children's length of residence (LOR) and their age of arrival (AOA). Before, it was believed that the younger their AOA is, the faster the immigrant children are able to acquire their L2. However, after Cummins (1981b) discovered "basic interpersonal communicative skills" (BICS) and "cognitive academic language proficiency" (CALP), it was proven that immigrant children who have a later AOA have better L2 acquisition and attainment in the L2 environment. BICS are the surface skills of listening and speaking which are typically acquired quickly by many students. CALP is the basis for a child's ability to cope with the academic demands placed upon his/herself in the various subjects. He states that many children develop native speaker fluency in BICS within two years of immersion in the target language whereas it takes between five to seven years for a child to be working on a level with native speakers as far as academic language is concerned.

With regard to writing development in bilingual children, Ikuta (2006) conducted her study in Japan about Portuguese speaking children's L2 writing abilities which are, more specifically, fluency, accuracy, lexical and syntactical complexity, and content and organisation skills. The results showed that these above mentioned skills improved as writers' length of residence (LOR) lengthened. Also she illustrates how writers' age of arrival (AOA) affects positively on their L1 writing. In this study, the participants who were learning to write in their L2 (Japanese) had very little instruction with regard to maintaining their L1 (Portuguese) literacy. Therefore, those who left their countries of origin aged nine or younger faced greater difficulty in developing writing skills in their L1, compared to their peers who arrived in Japan as older learners. Because it takes cognitive maturity to develop writing abilities, the age of arrival to an L2 environment is a critical factor in investigating the development of L1 literacy and its influence on biliteracy development. Sano, Nakajima, Ikuta, Nakano and Fukukawa (2014) stressed that what we should take into account when investigating bilingual writing development is student age. They explain more in detail.

Children in general write more abstract content using more sophisticated language as they grow older. Given that there are several degrees of interdependency across various aspects of writing skills as reviewed above, it is conceivable that very young children may not benefit so much from linguistic interdependency as their older peers as it takes time and cognitive maturity to develop such higher order writing skills (p. 66-67).

Indeed, Dressler and Kamil (2006) attribute the reason for not finding correlation between L1 and L2 vocabulary in the Davis, Carlisle and Beeman (1999) study to the participants being young and not cognitively mature enough to transfer their lexical knowledge in L1 to L2. That is why although my research site has younger children such as four-year-old, I decided not to include them. My participants are range from age six to 14. In addition, Kuo, Chen and Ko (2016) criticise a field which has not been fully investigated yet.

[T]he majority of the current research on bilingual cognition has been conducted in the North America regions and included bilinguals, typically immigrant children, and their monolingual English-speaking counterparts (p. 3).

Goswami (2008) points out that such comparison can be problematic as the bilinguals are usually compared to their monolingual counterparts on measures in the second language of the bilingual children. Furthermore, according to Yang (2008), it is vital to keep an eye on significant factors such as the social economic status and home literacy practices of monolingual and bilingual children, because these factors are strong predictors of literacy development.

3.1.3 Biliteracy Development of Japanese Children

Many culturally and linguistically diverse students face difficulties in acquiring literacy skills in their L2 or HL, which is often their weaker language. Also they tend to receive much less support within the home for developing their HL due to the limited exposure and time to that language. Based on this reality, Sano et al. (2014) address the significance of biliteracy development.

Given the importance of acquiring writing abilities in the dominant language of society together with an increasing demand for competent bilingual/biliteral individuals, it is of urgent need to establish educational practices that will lead to the development of literacy skills in both languages for bilingual students. This is both desired on the part of the learners as well as society which would benefit greatly from the linguistic resources these students bring (p. 61-62).

The research of Sano et al. (2014) was motivated to respond to the call for sound pedagogical practices to support biliteracy development and empirical studies to support such practices. They aimed to clarify the aspect of writing skills of English and Japanese that help biliteracy development across languages in order to efficiently support biliteracy development in culturally and linguistically diverse students rather than developing literacy skills in L1 and L2 separately. They concluded by saying that many of the aspects of writing skills do present interdependence across English and Japanese even though these languages are typologically and orthographically different. They describe explicitly that “[s]uch interdependence is stronger with higher-order skills and thus quite often there are instances where the bilingual students’ writing presents high levels of sophistication in qualitative aspects” (p. 84). On the other hand, the language-specific lower order skills, for instance, grammatical/lexical accuracy has not fully developed yet. According to them, what is important is as follows.

Therefore, it is important for teachers to foresee the development in the weaker language based on the development of the stronger language. For that purpose, it would be ideal for teachers of bilingual students to observe their writing abilities in both languages and see what transferable writing abilities the writer already possesses in the L1 or HL, and what writing skills he/she need support to develop especially in his/her L2 (p. 84).

Certainly the biliteracy development of culturally and linguistically diverse children has been researched in European countries as well. For example, Shibayama, Bialke-Toyama, Takahashi and Ikegami (2014) investigate processes by which a simultaneous bilingual boy (six years old) from a German-Japanese family developed emergent literacy behaviors in both German and Japanese. They carried out a qualitative analysis of data collected from two years’ of diary entries by the participant’s Japanese mother. In these diary entries, the researchers especially paid attention to two perspectives, “other-child collaboration” and “mediational means.” With this in mind, they reached the following three conclusions.

1. It seems that the participating child understands one of functions of letters before he tried to read and write using them. He also extended his understanding by peripherally participating in language activities such as his parents reading aloud from picture books in German and Japanese.
2. This participant's emergent literacy behaviours in both languages emerged under the guidance of others and his own active participation in language activities. For instance, his writing behaviors in German emerged from interactions with his older sister (five years older) and older children at the kindergarten. On the other hand, his reading behaviors in Japanese occurred from interactions with his Japanese mother, mediated primarily by them reading picture books together.
3. The emergent processes supporting his literary behavior appeared in parallel with the formation of his inner speech.

In conclusion, Shibayama et al. (2014) propose that emergent biliteracy developmental processes should be analysed with regards to learning each language skill as well as acquiring egocentric speech. Although this research is about multiple language learning of Japanese families in Europe, their participant is much younger than my participants. Therefore, it is important to note there are different factors among children which need to be taken into account, such as their language environment, their literacy practices at home and school, etc. When it comes to developing biliteracy in Japanese children, it is important to consider how teachers and parents perceive their students' mistakes when writing. For instance, some Japanese teachers and parents consider their children's errors (either grammatical, spelling or lexical) to be problems. They do not regard them to be opportunities to learn or signs of interlanguage development of children. In the field of second language acquisition (SLA), Butler (2012) recounts the learners' errors differently.

In the 1960s, employing contrastive analysis, it was believed that learners' errors reflected the structure of their L1. In the 1970s, however, researchers became increasingly aware that many of the errors made by learners could not be simply explained by L1 transfer. The errors were not solely predictable based on contrastive analysis. Learners' interlanguage (Selinker 1972) was considered to be a unique intermediate system that emerged during the process of L2 acquisition and that differed from their L1 (p. 126-127).

As seen above, HL education has been covering the wide range of scope from code-switching, translanguaging, “dynamic bilingualism” (García, 2009) to L2 acquisition and emergent biliteracy. However, multiliteracy development of Spanish-Japanese children and their use of technology have not been researched. My research is going to fill this gap and I would like to reveal their multiliteracy activities and contribute to the education of Japanese as a HL.

3.2 Spanish-Japanese Bicultural Families

In South America many studies have been conducted with regard to Japanese children living in Spanish-speaking countries and South American-Japanese families. I especially would like to point out Brazil where there are estimated to be 1.5 million Japanese Brazilians (*Nikkei Burajiru-jin* in Japanese) as of 2010, according to Instituto Brasileiro de Geografia e Estatística. Although they speak Portuguese, not Spanish, Brazil is the country with the most Japanese descendants. 1.5 million Japanese Brazilians mean approximately 7.86% of the total population of 190,732,694 in the country. More recently, a trend of interracial marriage has taken hold among Brazilians of Japanese descent, with the racial intermarriage rate approximating 50% and increasing.

It is worth mentioning that Peru also has a large Japanese population. In 1899, the group of 790 Japanese became the first of several waves of emigrants who made new lives for themselves in Peru, some nine years before emigration to Brazil began. According to the Peruvian Statistical Office INEI, as of 2017 there are 152,000 persons of Japanese descent out of 30,741,062 Peruvians. That is why some researchers and linguists have carried out their research in terms of ethnic identity on mixed heritage Japanese-Hispanic persons (Stephan & Stephan, 1989) as well as on the HL learning of returnee adolescents from Japan (Yamasaki, 2010).

According to the Annual Report of Statistics on Japanese Nationals Overseas as of 2010, in Europe, more Japanese people are living in England than in any other European country.

This is followed by Germany, France, Italy, Switzerland, and then Spain. Before discussing Spanish-Japanese families specifically, it is also important to know a little more about other Japanese families in Europe. In 2011, Bialke-Toyama (2011) conducted her research about the language choice of bilingual families at three HL schools in Germany (Japanese, Polish, and Russian respectively). She argued that the wider society's language has a significant influence over children's language use, and the use of the HL between parent and child might shift to the wider society's language. Moreover, she mentioned that those children who have developed a high proficiency in their HL tend to use that language at home. However, it does not mean that those who have high proficiency in German use more German at home, despite that being the official language of the country in which they are living. Also she pointed out two factors that cause reduced use of the HL at home. The first factor is the length of residence of the family in Germany combined with their high proficiency in German. The second factor is the fact that the children were born in Germany. Under either of these two conditions, the children use less of their HL at home, instead they use the local language. Finally, she concluded that if the ability to speak a HL is considered valuable, it is important for the parents to maintain the use of HL at home. This remains important even as the length of residency in Germany increases and the parent who is the speaker of the HL improves their fluency of the local language. She added that the key to the children's development and maintenance of their HL is dependant on the parents' choice of the language used at home. It is not necessarily difficult for international marriage couples to utilise a HL at home. The spouse's understanding and desire to support the parent who is the speaker of the HL helps the children to become bilingual. In conclusion, she highlighted that many parents of HL speaking children are very concerned about their children's HL proficiency and development. However, the spouse's perspectives on this also influence whether or not their children will become bilingual speakers or not in the future.

In the same context, Fukuda's (2017b) study focuses on participants with similar language backgrounds to those found in my study. Both our studies take place in Barcelona, Catalonia where Catalan is an official language and is strongly rooted to a local identity. At the same time, Spanish exists as a societal and an official language. Although children there receive their education instructed in Spanish and Catalan, English learning has also

received huge attention in recent years. What is more, Spanish-Japanese children are trying to acquire/maintain Japanese as a HL. My participants have this complex linguistic background and attend local schools on weekdays and the Hoshuko on Saturdays. Fukuda (2017b) explored the language use of Spanish/Catalan-Japanese families in Catalonia, with participants spanning three different Japanese schools. Indeed, it is possible that some of her participants also participated in my study because she was also looking for participants in a school where I conducted my research. In a community such as Catalonia wherein two languages of different status are in competition with each other within its own territory, families are trying to maintain a socially weaker language (in this case it is Catalan) and to transmit yet another language (in this case it is Japanese) that does not have an official status within the community.

According to the Survey on Language Use of Population in 2013, in metropolitan Catalonia, that is in Barcelona and nearby areas, Spanish is the dominant language because Spanish is considered to be the usual language for 60% of the population. On the other hand, less than 30% considered Catalan to be the usual one. Although Barcelona is considered to be a bilingual city, this unbalanced percentage appeared from the survey. There are two reasons why Spanish is recognised as the principal language in this area. Firstly, there are a number of immigrants from other parts of Spain where Catalan is not used. Secondly, recently there are more and more immigrants coming from outside of Spain, especially from Spanish speaking countries in Latin America. Therefore, this official data shows that there has been a decline in the percentage of the population that can speak Catalan and in its use due to immigration. In Fukuda's (2017b) study, a questionnaire given to 29 Spanish/Catalan-Japanese families revealed that the parents adopted a mostly monolingual use of Spanish, even if this practice does not seem to affect the families' Catalan and Japanese use. As Romaine (1995) suggested, one person-one language (hereafter called OPOL), the strategy whereby parents each speak their native language to a child, is one of the most referenced strategies in the literature and has often been recommended in guidebooks for bilingual families. In fact, in Fukuda's (2017b) study nine out of 13 single-child families apply an OPOL strategy in order to foster the children's bilingual/multilingual language acquisition.

In many examples of bilingual/multicultural research, attention has been given to the family language policy of bilingual/bicultural families. Li (1999) recounts that the language ideologies of the parents have a significant impact in determining their children's attitudes towards the home language, and she calls this the first decisive factor. In the same vein, De Houwer (2007) mentions that the parents' perceptions and practices influence upon their children's attitudes towards the use of the home language. That ultimately has an effect on their children's language skills, especially minority language and HL maintenance (Schwartz, 2008). In addition to that, Spolsky (2012) stresses that schools, especially mainstream teachers, are also crucial determinants of language management for bilingual/bicultural children. Last but not least, Curdt-Christiansen (2006) argues the role of extended family members in the language development of bilingual children. Moreover, Fukuda (2017b) also found that the existence of siblings can influence language-use patterns between parents and children, with monolingual practices tending to be used in single-child families. That is to say, if a family has only one child, controlling the language use of the child seems relatively easy, as the child forms a triad with his/her parents (Barron-Hauwaert, 2004). Fukuda (2017b) concluded that as far as her subject families are concerned, the "double minority" situation does not necessarily create an unfavourable condition for transmission/maintenance of Japanese. Rather it helps this language to survive the complex reality of Catalonia where a family's effort and a HL school's support coexist.

Fukuda's previous research (2014) is also important to discuss here because it is dealing with Japanese live in Catalonia. In her study, 34 Japanese (students, workers, families, etc.) were interviewed and later divided into three groups based on the language uses (Catalan, Spanish and Japanese). Then the features of each group were analysed. The results suggest that the first group who use Catalan on a daily basis, is more integrated into a local bilingual community (Catalan and Spanish). The people in this group are highly motivated to learn Catalan and intend to live in Catalonia for the rest of their lives. In fact, most of them have a Catalan or Spanish spouse and use Catalan on a daily basis. However, during the interviews some of them claimed and showed a little irritation by saying that even though they use Catalan in shops in Catalonia, they get responses in Spanish. The second group believes that Spanish is more useful than Catalan since it

would be useful when they travel to South America whereas Catalan is limited to Catalonia. Another factor is they will be in Catalonia temporarily and assume they should first learn Spanish. The final group could be referred to as those which are not integrated, because they use only Japanese even though they currently live in Catalonia. They normally get together with other Japanese and use Japanese frequently. Since they will be in Catalonia for a short period of time, they do not see the purpose of learning Catalan nor Spanish. Rather some of them believe that it would be useful and helpful if they learn English because it is used internationally. Some participants demonstrated to have a specific ideology which is “one nation, one language.” This linguistic ideology is completely opposite of Catalonia where two languages are considered to be an official language. This is due to the upbringing in Japan which is a homogeneous and monolingual country.

3.3 Japanese Writing Systems

A big difference between Japanese and alphabetic language writing systems is the orthography. As Hamada (2008) manifests it, orthography is a significant focus of Japanese language education. As discussed earlier, in Japanese there are three different writing systems which are hiragana, katakana and kanji. Each symbol of hiragana represents particular syllable which is either a vowel, for example, お [o], or a consonant followed by a vowel, for example, み [mi]. Hiragana and katakana consist of 46 symbols. Hiragana is used in those parts of a word for which there are no kanji including particles, and suffixes of verbs and adjectives (which are the conjugated part of those verbs and adjectives), whereas katakana is used for the transcription of words from a foreign language into Japanese such as ハンバーガー [hanbaagaa] (hamburger). On the other hand, kanji is the Chinese characters used in Japanese along with hiragana and katakana. They are used for content words such as nouns, adjectives, adverbs and verbs and have their own meaning. 1,006 kanji was taught in primary schools in Japan. As of 2018, the Ministry of Education modified the curriculum by adding 20 more kanji taught at primary school. 939 are introduced in junior high and high schools. However, the Ministry of

Education classifies 2,136 kanji for everyday use. In 2010, the Ministry also revised this kanji guidebook (Jouyou kanji) by adding 196 new kanji and eliminating five kanji from the official list. The previous revision was carried out in 1981. The table below explains a simple Japanese sentence structure.

Table 5. Japanese sentence structure

Japanese sentence written in Japanese.	私	は	レイチェル	です
Pronunciation	watashi	wa	Reicheru	desu
Translation in English	I	Particle ²	Racheal	am
Writing system	kanji	hiragana	katakana	hiragana

私 is written in kanji and it means “I.” In this example, “I” is written in kanji, however, those children who have not yet learned this kanji write it using hiragana. は and です are written in hiragana. は is a particle (subject marker) which indicates the previous word is the subject or topic of the sentence. です is a verb which means to be (is, am and are). Finally, レイチェル is written in katakana which means Racheal. Katakana has to be used because it is a foreign word. As described in Table 5, the Japanese sentence structure is SOV which is subject, object, and then a verb. Children in Japan are introduced to kanji gradually at school. Therefore, if they do not know how to write a certain word in kanji, they are allowed to use the hiragana equivalent. However, they do not usually write sentences in katakana because katakana is used only for certain words. Another important feature of hiragana is that it is also used either above or beneath kanji so that those who cannot read that kanji are able to read and understand the word with the assistance of hiragana. In this sense, hiragana works in the same way as *Pinyin* which is the official romanisation system for Chinese.

As Bialystok (2002) points out, in alphabetic languages, the writing system is made up of letters, the letters signify sounds, and those sounds are combined to reveal the words of

² In this instance, there is no English translation, so the grammatical function is given.

the text. Children's progress in reading these languages is widely attributable to their explicit knowledge of these phoneme-grapheme structures (Lieberman & Shankweiler, 1991). On the other hand, in non-alphabetic languages, different principles apply. My participants use a combination of alphabetic languages such as Catalan, Spanish, English and French as well as non-alphabetic language such as Japanese on a daily basis. Bialystok (2002) stresses as follows about Chinese writing system:

Chinese writing, for example, consists of characters that contain both semantic and (unreliable) phonetic elements. Most children learning to read Chinese (and many fluent adult readers), approach characters in terms of their constituent but meaningless strokes and their reasonably reliable semantic radicals (p. 177).

Although reading instruction normally entails holistic memorisation of characters, Chan and Nunes (1998) have shown that children in Hong Kong become accustomed to the rule-based structure of the semantic and phonological radicals that comprise the characters. Other languages, such as Japanese and Korean, exploit the syllabic structure of words and record those units through notations that signify consonant-vowel combinations (Akita & Hatano, 1999). In addition, Bialystok (2002) concludes as follows:

Children learning to read in any of these languages must learn both the general symbolic principle by which notational forms can be used conventionally to represent meanings and the specific correspondence principle by which the relation between form and meaning is expressed in that language or writing system. The correspondence principles children learn for one language may or may not prepare them to read in another (p. 177).

In a similar manner, according to Ziegler and Goswami (2006), while reading is a multi-faceted process that requires the coordination of multiple skills, each language relies more heavily on one set of skills than others, depending on the correspondences among the phonology, morphology, semantics and orthography of the language. Therefore, struggling readers of different languages may have deficits in different processing skills. Goswami (2008) gives an example saying that struggling readers of alphabetic languages typically exhibit a phonological disorder, while struggling readers of logographic languages, such as Chinese and Japanese, are more likely to have impaired visual

processing skills. Moreover, Sano et al. (2014) highlight the typological distance between alphabetic and non-alphabetic language as follows:

One other factor that appears to be crucial in investigating biliteracy development is the linguistic distance of the two languages in question. While the factors reviewed above differ by individuals, this factor differs by language and is important when synthesising the findings of various biliteracy studies (p. 67).

When Sano et al. (2014) refer to the typological distance between English and Japanese, they state that “on the one hand, the linguistic distance between two languages seems to have no influence on higher order skills in writing, in other words, higher order skills appear to be interdependent even with very different languages” (p. 67). In a similar vein, Francis (2000) and Ikuta (2002) show the existence of interdependency even across typologically different language sets (In the case of Francis, the language set is Spanish and Nahuatl in Mexico. In the case of Ikuta, the language set is Portuguese and Japanese). Francis (2000) and Ikuta’s (2002) results revealed that the influence of linguistic distance on lexical knowledge varies. Yet, Davis et al., (1999) did not find correlations even with very similar languages. Based on these findings, Sano et al. (2014) conclude that the linguistic distance between the two languages does not matter per se, the more important aspect being how similar the writer’s interpretations of two languages are, and if they are capable of taking advantage of the cognate relations in the vocabulary. Genesee et al. (2008) mention about this point explicitly.

[T]he existence of cognates in two languages may not be a sufficient condition for transfer of cognate knowledge to occur; a belief on the part of the learner that the two languages are similar may be necessary (but probably not sufficient) as well (p. 63).

Therefore, it is necessary to scrutinise the writing development of bilingual/multilingual children when the language systems they use are quite different typologically, such is the case with alphabetical languages and non-alphabetical languages. These language sets have markedly different writing systems and cognates scarcely exist. My 11 participants use precisely these languages on a daily basis and try to develop writing skills of all four languages.

3.3.1 Kanji Education at Hoshukos

When it comes to learning Japanese, acquiring kanji plays an important role because if one cannot read kanji, and supportive hiragana is not present, it would be impossible to read books in Japanese. Many researchers pointed out the difficulty of kanji instruction in HL settings. Okumura (2006) mentions that students at Hoshuko tend to proceed to the upper grades without acquiring enough kanji ability. Consequently, children struggle with writing and reading both newly learned kanji and kanji they previously learned. Okumura (2006) reports that many students at Hoshuko in Germany express their disdain for learning kanji during interviews. Additionally, Nakajima (2003) reveals several problems particular to kanji instruction for HLLs. Firstly, as HL education is provided only a few hours a week, it is extremely difficult for teachers to allocate enough time for kanji instruction. In fact, at the Hoshuko in Barcelona, teachers mention that due to the limited time they have on Saturdays, they do not have enough time to teach kanji and therefore they urge each family to study kanji at home. Secondly, the difference in the learning styles of Japanese students and Western students plays a significant role in successful kanji acquisition. While students in Japan are more accustomed to doing drill memorisation exercises for kanji. However, students in Western countries are not used to this learning style. Therefore, it is necessary to teach kanji differently based on students' learning styles. For instance, Nakajima (2003) suggests teaching techniques such as explaining the meaning of kanji, letting students experience kanji through authentic materials, and helping them notice the relationships among various kanji characters.

Various empirical studies announce that HL students' ability in reading and writing kanji is lower than that of Japanese L1 speakers or Japanese as a foreign language learner whose L1 includes kanji which is Chinese or Korean backgrounds. Matsunaga's (2003) study compares that the oral skills and reading performances among three learner groups at the university level: heritage group, non-heritage group with kanji in L1 and non-heritage group without kanji in L1. This study shows that the HL group scored low when they read passages with many kanji while they performed equally with the group of learners whose L1 includes kanji when they read passages that contain only a few kanji. From this result,

Matsunaga (2003) claims that it is necessary to provide enough kanji instruction with effective instructional methodologies for the HLLs to extend their restricted kanji knowledge. Moreover, Nakajima (1988) studied Japanese language proficiency of children at Hoshuko in Canada. As one of the components of her study, she looked at the kanji usage rate of children at that Hoshuko. The results showed that their ability of using kanji is similar to second graders in Japan and when it comes to the ability of reading kanji is approximately fourth grader's level. Furthermore, Kataoka, Koshiyama and Shibata's (2007) large-scale survey of 1,600 Hoshuko students indicates that students higher than fifth grade have trouble maintaining their expected grade level in terms of their kanji proficiency. By the time these students are in sixth grade, only about half of the students had kanji proficiency equal to their grade level. The percentage of students who performed at the level of their expected grade drastically drops to 25% after sixth grade.

Okita (1996) suggests three kanji learning strategies: rote learning strategy, contextual learning strategy, and mnemonic learning strategy. In rote learning strategy, teachers let students engage in drill exercises repeatedly during which students write kanji paying careful attention to stroke order. On the other hand, in context strategy, teachers use authentic texts and let students guess the meanings of kanji from the contexts provided. In this learning strategy, students sometimes read paragraphs aloud over and over. In mnemonic learning strategy, students link new kanji with pictures and/or with simple hiragana, katakana or kanji. The following table illustrates what the three Japanese writing systems (hiragana, katakana and kanji) look like. Kanji has more strokes and compared to hiragana and katakana, is more difficult to read and write.

Table 6. The three Japanese writing systems

Writing systems	Examples of characters
Hiragana	あいうえおかきくけこさしすせそたちつてとなにぬねの
Katakana	アイウエオカキクケコサシスセンタチツテトナニヌネノ
Kanji	安以宇衣於加幾久計己左之寸世曾太知川天止奈仁奴祢乃

Shimizu and Green (2002) discovered three kanji teaching strategies remarkably similar to Okita's (1996) ones which are "rote learning strategy," "context strategy," and "mnemonic strategy." The first two strategies parallel Okita's ones with the same/similar names. In mnemonic strategy, teachers try to connect new learning to students' knowledge of previously learned kanji by breaking down kanji into parts. The two scholars searched the relationships between these three instructional strategies and six attitudes towards teaching kanji of 251 Japanese as some second language teachers. They found out that despite the fact that teachers' attitudes are complex, teachers who believe kanji to be important and useful as well as value the cultural tradition of kanji, generally prefer to use context and mnemonic strategies. In addition to that, Shimizu and Green (2002) determined that Japanese language instructors in the USA are likely to utilise rote learning strategy most frequently. They indicated two reasons for this. First of all, instructors are influenced to use this strategy by recent studies that have reaffirmed the effectiveness of rote learning on long-term memory. Secondly, native Japanese teachers have tendency that they employ this strategy because their own kanji learning experiences as children included rote learning strategy.

3.4. Technology for Learning

Overtly, researchers and educators cannot ignore the use of digital technologies by children because they are part of their everyday lives both in school and outside school. In educational research, particularly language sciences, the impact of technology in the acquisition of literacy and other skills is a subject undergoing intense study (Biesta, 2016). More specifically, my broad and current interests are how bilingual/multilingual children use digital technologies at home, what their literacy practices are with technologies, and how digital technologies influence their language skills.

There is a significant and long-established research about young children's literacy practice in home contexts. For example, Taylor (1983) and Taylor and Dorsey-Gaines (1988) explored how literacy differed across homes in a variety of communities. Their

aim was to identify the wide range of language and literacy practices in which families engaged. According to Cairney (2003), numerous studies since the 1980s have sought to identify the nature of literacy in homes and communities in order to document evidence of the richness of literacy in out-of-school contexts. The findings are mainly three points.

- 1) Many children are immersed in literacy-rich environments from birth.
- 2) As a result of this engagement, they develop a range of skills, knowledge and understanding related to literacy.
- 3) This development is supported and scaffolded by family members in many ways.

However, research at that time has paid close attention to children's literacy practices with printed materials. Therefore, there was need to extend the scope of research in order to determine how children are engaged with multimodal, multimedia texts and practices outside of school. Therefore, Plowman et al. (2008) carried out a case studies in Scotland with 24 young children and discovered that children and parents were active users of technology. However, the patterns of interaction differed across families due to various factors, such as parents' attitudes towards and experiences of technology. Plowman et al. (2008) concluded that "parents scaffolded children's learning with technologies in three areas: 1) acquiring operational skills, 2) extending knowledge of the world, and 3) developing dispositions to learn" (p. 308). In essence, both parents and children intentionally or unintentionally utilise technology such as smartphones or computers, in order to support and develop the children's language acquisition and multilingual literacy in new ways. Gadsden (2000) claims that it is crucial to examine intergenerational literacy practices because literacy is not simply transmitted from older family members to children. By the same token, Gregory and Williams's (2000) research suggests that children influence the literacy behaviours of other family members and practices are co-constructed across generations.

3.4.1 Apps for Language Learning

It has been in a few decades since people started to use the internet for language learning and schools and organisations began to offer online or hybrid courses (face-to-face and online simultaneously) with this aim. Mobile learning is in itself not new, but new devices with enhanced capabilities have dramatically increased the interest level, including among language educators. Among the plethora of iPhone and Android apps, there are a good number related to language learning. Godwin-Jones (2011) mentioned that some researchers and teachers have listed apps for language learning and reviewed them for all languages, or for specific languages such as Japanese, French, and ESL. Many of these programs are of a similar kind to those which have been available for some time on phones, including flashcard programs, dual language dictionaries, and phrase books. The following table displays some examples of popular apps for language learning based on Godwin-Jones (2011).

Table 7. Language learning apps

App name	Key features
Lonely Planet	It has drag-and-drop trip planners, audio phrase books, and even augmented reality, which uses the device's camera to overlay local site information.
eStroke	Its primary purpose is to help in learning stroke order for writing Chinese characters, but it also includes an extensive dual-language dictionary, features excellent animations, and includes a personal library and quizzing functions.
Pleco	It starts out as a free app, but adds functionality through a large number of paid add-ons such as specialized dictionaries, enhanced handwriting recognition, and optical character recognition.
ChinesePod	It offers a variety of tools to work with lesson podcasts and their vocabulary/phrases. The app also automatically syncs the user's learning status on the app with that on the Web site and allows lesson content to be downloaded for off-line study, one of the benefits of most apps over the internet. Another nice feature new smartphones offer Chinese learners, and anyone else using a non-Latin writing system, is the ease with which one can switch the virtual keyboard's text input system, making it possible on the iPhone, for example, to enter Chinese characters by drawing them with one's finger or switching to pinyin text entry with then the corresponding character equivalents displayed for selection.
Anki	It is a spaced repetition vocabulary study program. The mobile version offers essentially the same powerful functionality as the desktop version, including deck and individual card editing, audio support, and customizable review options. It also syncs with the desktop and web versions.

A lot of Japanese apps have the same features as Chinese learning apps such as eStroke and Pleco. For Chinese and Japanese handwriting, the stroke order of each character is very important and when it comes to learning new ones, we all have to follow the structured order. Therefore, the emphasis on correct stroke order is very useful and practical for those learning Japanese and Chinese. With regards to apps which incorporate GPS location technology, Beaudin, Intille, Tapia, Rockinson and Morris (2007) note a similar process for vocabulary learning using objects in the home with stick-on sensors. Given this fact, Godwin-Jones (2011) speculates on the possibilities of using a mobile phone for language learning as follows.

It seems likely that we will see app development in the future take greater advantage of some of the hardware features of new smartphones beyond the GPS chip. The accelerometer, for example, used extensively in mobile game applications, could be used in language learning games as well (p. 5).

Godwin-Jones (2011) continues to claim as follows the relationship between human being and tablets.

The devices in and of themselves encourage a new kind of relationship between user and machine. The responsive touchscreen interface seems to create a more personal, even intimate connection, becoming part of one's personal identity. According to a recent report on creating mobile apps from Forrester Research, the emotional bond often created is something to keep in mind when developing mobile apps (p. 8).

In addition, Godwin-Jones (2011) addressed that it is essential for language teachers and educators to support the learner's autonomy which leads to the creation of formal and informal learning environments. A good example of this is Wong, Chin, Tan and Liu's (2010) study which involved students using iPhones to take photos in order to illustrate Chinese idioms being studied. The students shared their photos and comments with their classmates and teacher through a wiki. These students were motivated to take some photos based on their daily lives and using their immediate surroundings. This technique could be implemented in HL classes such as Hoshukos so that students are able to connect what they have learned in school to their daily lives outside of school. Godwin-Jones (2011) discovered that learning becomes more efficient, practical and permanent when tied to learners' lives outside of the classroom environment. Mobile devices can be a very effective way to achieve that goal.

3.4.2 Technology for HL classrooms

The use of technology in HL classrooms has received considerable research attention in recent years. Palladino and Guardado (2017) conducted a small-scale qualitative case study based on perceptions of experiences through brief interviews with two HLLs and two HL teachers. They discovered that digital tools, especially wikis and blogs, provoke engagement and motivation in a multimodal learning environment. It was found that digital tools also promote their students' autonomous learning. Despite the fact that those two participating students did not actually have real-life communication with native speakers of their HL, they were encouraged to learn through visual activities. They actively tested their HL knowledge and developed their own learning methodology. The two HL teachers interviewed also view these new tools as very practical, authentic and effective in class, in spite of being more time-consuming in terms of preparation compared with traditional methods. Whilst Palladino and Guardado (2017) carried out their research at HL schools, Little's study (2018) looked at the home environment. As Little (2018) highlights, although game-based technologies open up enjoyable engagement with the HL and literacy, the use of technology among HL families remains under-researched, especially with regard to how parents and children view the available apps for language learning. Her research involved 212 online questionnaires and 10 interviews to explore families' attitudes towards the use of games and apps for HL development, focusing on how these technologies correlate to their children's identity. She stated that "parental attitudes towards screen time and the ability to navigate app stores" are important factors for HL and literacy development (p. 10). The study concluded that HL families acknowledge the difference between "language learners" and "game players" and collaborative family practices may support developing cultural identity and improving HL skills. This study covered more than 40 different languages which were spoken among the 212 responding families, of which Japanese happened to be one. Since Spanish-Japanese families were not focused on in that research, it was not possible to gain insights on this specific ethnic group.

CHAPTER 4

SCHOOL AND PARTICIPANTS

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In this chapter, I describe the Japanese community in Barcelona, the city of Barcelona as a bilingual city, the Japanese schools, and the participants and their backgrounds. Also I document the detailed research plan and thoroughly report on the research site with regard to ethical considerations. This report includes details on Japanese schools in Barcelona, the linguistic situation in Barcelona and each participant's linguistic backgrounds.

4.1. Japanese People in Barcelona

With 688,463 foreign residents living in the area of Barcelona, transmitting the HL to the children, while ensuring their acquisition of the local languages, is an important concern for many immigrant parents (Institut d'Estadística de Catalunya, 2017). Numerous studies

(Bridges & Hoff, 2014; Nakajima, 2003) have highlighted that heritage speakers tend to become dominant in the societal language, often to the detriment of the HL. This is particularly visible after they begin attending local schools, the risk of not achieving fluency in the HL further increases when they have older siblings, and both parents are fluent in the majority language (De Hower, 2007). Japanese is in an advantageous position compared to other non-European HLs, as it is the national language of relatively high status internationally, and its government supports HLLs by funding schools and providing teachers and materials (Japan Overseas Educational Services official website, 2017). However, the literature has also stressed how relying solely on HL schools is often insufficient to achieve proficiency (Valdés, 2017). There are currently 2,337 Japanese residents in Catalonia, 94% of whom live in the province of Barcelona (Institut d'Estadística de Catalunya, 2018). According to the same institution, this number is quite small compared to Chinese residents, of which there are 60,266 in Catalonia.

According to Fukuda (2010), we can divide Japanese people who live in Barcelona into three groups depending on their attitudes and perspectives towards integrating into the society in Barcelona. The first group is the people who stay in a Japanese community in Barcelona and always use Japanese. There is a tendency that these Japanese parents work at Japanese companies in Barcelona and send their children to Nihonjin gakko where children learn all subjects in Japanese and feel like they were in Japan. People in this group feel comfortable and safe being in a Japanese community and do not have much interaction with people who are in other groups. The second group is people who try to integrate into a local community by learning Spanish. They are active and have several local friends. Normally they think that learning Spanish is important if they want to live here. Finally, the third group is people who are very open-minded and try to integrate the most. They are learning not only Spanish but also Catalan because they believe that being able to speak in Catalan is a very important factor if they want to stay here for a long time. My participants belong to the third group because they are eager to learn Catalan and assume that knowing Catalan is useful in many ways. Generally speaking, those in mixed couples have some receptive knowledge of Catalan, but they often started talking in Spanish (or English) when they first met and they keep this pattern out of habit. My participants are from mixed families or bilingual families. In terms of their religious

activities, eight out eleven students go to a secular school (*escuela laica* in Spanish) on weekdays and three go to a religious school.

4.1.1 Characteristics of the Participants

All of my participants are from mixed families, in other words they have a Catalan/Spanish/French father and a Japanese mother. This creates a complex linguistic background for their children. All the participants use Catalan and Spanish as their societal languages from day to day, when watching TV, talking with friends etc. However, eight of the 11 participants also speak Catalan or Spanish at their weekday schools, whereas the other three participants attend weekday schools where a language other than Catalan or Spanish is used. As a matter of fact, it was reported that all participants except Kandai use Catalan and/or Spanish when they talk with their father. Kandai uses French with his French father. None of them uses Japanese with their father. Four of my participants use English at weekday school because two of them, Kazuo and Nina attend an American school and two, Ken and Natsuki, attend *concertada* (state-assisted school which means half public half private) where they learn some subjects in English and others in Catalan/Spanish. The seven other participating students learn English as a subject at school or with a private English tutor at home. Finally, one student, Mika goes to a French speaking school on weekdays. In section 4.5.7, I created four groups depending on their school language. They all have a Japanese mother, use Japanese when they talk with their mother at home and learn Japanese as a HL. Therefore, they are always surrounded by Catalan, Spanish, English and Japanese. In the case of Mika, French is added. Comajoan (2010) stresses the complexity of immigrant children's sociolinguistic background explicitly.

El panorama sociolingüístico todavía es más complejo si tenemos en cuenta la presencia de alumnado de origen inmigrante, que habla una lengua materna diferente de las cooficiales (amazig, árabe y más recientemente lenguas asiáticas). Por lo tanto, una parte considerable del alumnado - que irá en aumento en las universidades - habla una lengua en casa, aprende las dos cooficiales en la escuela más una extranjera, e

incluso algunos de estos niños hablan más de una variedad en casa o con miembros de su cultura, por ejemplo, el amazig y el árabe (p. 124).

The families of my participants are middle or upper class families, well situated in Barcelona and have multiple computers and tablets at home. From the informal conversation with participants' parents, the vast majority of them have a university degree and currently work full-time in Catalonia. The occupations of fathers range from bankers and architects to computer programmers and interior designers. The mothers also work either full-time or part-time. Since four mothers work as teachers, they are especially interested in language acquisition and education. Three of them teach Japanese to Spanish adults and Japanese children, whereas the other one mother teaches Spanish to Japanese adults who have just arrived in Barcelona. Two out of 10 mothers are housewives. They are likely to be financially secure because seven of the 11 participants reported that they go back to Japan every year. The rest go back to Japan once every two years. What they typically do is bring their children to Japan in order to send them to a local Japanese school in summer. Most schools in Barcelona finish in the middle or at the end of June whereas in Japan summer vacation does not start until the end of July. Therefore, typical Spanish-Japanese families take advantage of this opportunity to learn Japanese as a HL in a local school in Japan for a month. There, they learn not only the Japanese language but also the school culture, traditions and customs through studying all their subjects in Japanese, and playing with new friends in a natural and authentic way. One advantage of going to the Hoshuko is that they are using the same official textbooks as children in Japan. Therefore, students at the Hoshuko are familiar with the content of the subjects, so theoretically they are able to keep up with other children who live in Japan when they are attending school there during summer. Moreover, eight out of 11 participants claimed that they have or had a private tutor for language education (either Japanese, Catalan or English). Receiving private tutoring at home is a common phenomenon in Japan, and these practices are continued by Japanese families living abroad. When parents are hired in Japan and then sent to work abroad, those parents are offered tutoring services for their children as part of their parents' job transfer. However, my eight participating parents have to pay for these services themselves. In fact, Ken's mother hired me as a private Japanese tutor and sitter during a summer break. However, it was only during the summer when his parents were both too busy to take care of their children. As Ken is a case study

participant, I needed to talk to his mother more than the other mothers, so I also offered Ken and his brother a free three hour lesson.

In terms of politics, the participants' parents are progressive and open-minded. From the informal conversations I had with my participants' mothers, I noticed that all of my participants have similar attitudes and perspectives towards going to the Hoshuko every Saturday. They tell people around them that their children go to another school on Saturdays to learn Japanese because their children are half Japanese. However, they do not think that sending their children to a HL school is a sign of high status, unlike some parents who think that sending their children to an international school is a token of high status. My participants' mothers consider that bringing their children to the Hoshuko is normal thing. Furthermore, some of them think it is mandatory to do this as a Japanese mother because receiving Japanese formal education helps their children to develop their Japanese identity while they are living outside of Japan.

The children have already noticed that there are differences between their weekday school and the Hoshuko. The biggest difference they pointed out is homework. Even though the Hoshuko is only once a week, the amount of homework is quite a lot which requires them to do it every day. This situation is understandable if we pay attention to the curriculum of the Hoshuko. They are trying to cover the same content with the same textbook as Japanese children in Japan, but with limited time. According to the official curriculum of compulsory education in Japan, there are eight hours allocated a week for Japanese lessons, whereas in the Hoshuko there are only three hours to do that. The material that could not be covered in class on Saturdays is instead done for homework which is why the children have a lot of homework from the Hoshuko. This is especially true for the summer holidays, when they receive a great deal of homework from the Hoshuko, but do not receive any from the weekday school.

4.2 Japanese School System

The Japanese pedagogical system was reformed after WWII. The old 6-5-3-3 system was changed to a 6-3-3-4 system that is six years of primary school, three years of junior high school, three years of high school and four years of university. In North America, primary to high school levels are represented by grades 1-13, whereas in Japan we call elementary grade 1-6, junior high grade 1-3 and high school grade 1-3. In this thesis, I use the participant's ages or the North American grade system for ease of understanding. The compulsory education in Japan is nine years in total, covering six in primary school and three in junior high school. Japan has one of the world's best-educated populations, with 100% enrollment in compulsory grades and zero illiteracy (Uma, Obidike & Ogwuru, 2013; Woods, 2000). While not compulsory, high school enrollment is over 98% nationwide and nearly 100% in the cities. The high school dropout rate is about 2% and has been increasing. About 46% of all high school graduates go on to university or junior college or technical school. The Ministry of Education closely supervises the curriculum, textbooks, and classes with the aim of attaining a uniform level of education throughout the country. As a result, a high standard of education can be expected in Japan, regardless of location or income.

Most schools operate on a three-term system with the academic calendar starting in April. The first semester is from April to July, the second is from September to December and the third is from January to March. The modern educational system started in 1872 and is modeled after the French school system, which begins in April. The fiscal year in Japan also begins in April and ends in March of the following year, which is more convenient in many aspects. April is the height of spring when cherry blossoms (the floral emblem of Japan) bloom and is seen by many as the most suitable time for a new start in Japan. This difference in the school-year system causes some inconvenience to students who wish to study abroad in the USA and Europe. A half year is wasted waiting to get in and often another year is wasted when coming back to the Japanese university system and having to repeat a year.

The average school day on weekdays is six one hour classes (approximately from 8:30 am to 3:30pm) including various recess, lunch break and cleaning time. This combined eight hours of classes makes it one of the longest school days in the world. Even when the school day ends, the children have drills and other homework to keep them busy. Vacations are six weeks in the summer from the end of July until the end of August and about two weeks each for winter and spring breaks. It is standard practice for lots of homework to be set for these vacations and many children struggle with this. During primary education, in most cases, one teacher teaches all the subjects in each class. As a result of the rapid population growth after World War II, the numbers of students in a typical primary or junior high school class once exceeded 50 students, but now it is kept under 40. A big difference between the Japanese school system and the European or American school systems is that Westerners respect individuality while the Japanese control the individual by observing group rules. This helps to explain the Japanese characteristic of group behaviour. The type of education most commonly chosen by Japanese parents for their children is a secular education. All public schools in Japan are secular, however there are several private schools whose educational principles are based on a religion, where priests, nuns etc. act as the teachers.

4.3 Japanese Schools Outside of Japan

In today's world where people are becoming more mobile and bilingualism is by no means exceptional any longer, an increasing number of school-aged children are faced with the daunting challenge of becoming literate in two languages, and often simultaneously. Considering the dramatic rise of immigration and international marriages in this globalised world, it is not strange that there are at least two to three Japanese schools in each country in Europe (Cummins, 1981a).

Before narrowing down the discussion to Japanese schools in Barcelona, I would like to give a historical overview of Japanese schools all over the world. First of all, there are two types of Japanese schools for children outside of Japan. These two schools are quite

different in many ways. One is called *Nihonjin gakko*, which is a full-day primary and junior high-level Japanese school where children study all subjects in Japanese, just like Japanese children in Japan do. Since this school is from Monday to Friday, they do not attend any local Catalan/Spanish school. According to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Japan, it is founded and managed by either a steering committee whose members are local Japanese residents or a Japanese residents' association in accordance with the educational statute of the home country. After WWII, the first full-day Japanese school was founded in Bangkok in 1956, and about 14,753 primary and 4,163 junior high school students are studying with the same textbooks used in their home country at 88 Japanese schools located in 51 countries and regions today. Other countries also have this type of school all over the world. *Nihonjin gakko* is the equivalent of the Lycée Français de Barcelona (French school) and the Deutsche Schule Barcelona (German school). All of these schools are very closely related to their government and Ministry of Education. The graph below displays the change of the number of *Nihonjin gakko* all over the world.

Graph 3. Number of *Nihonjin gakko* in the world

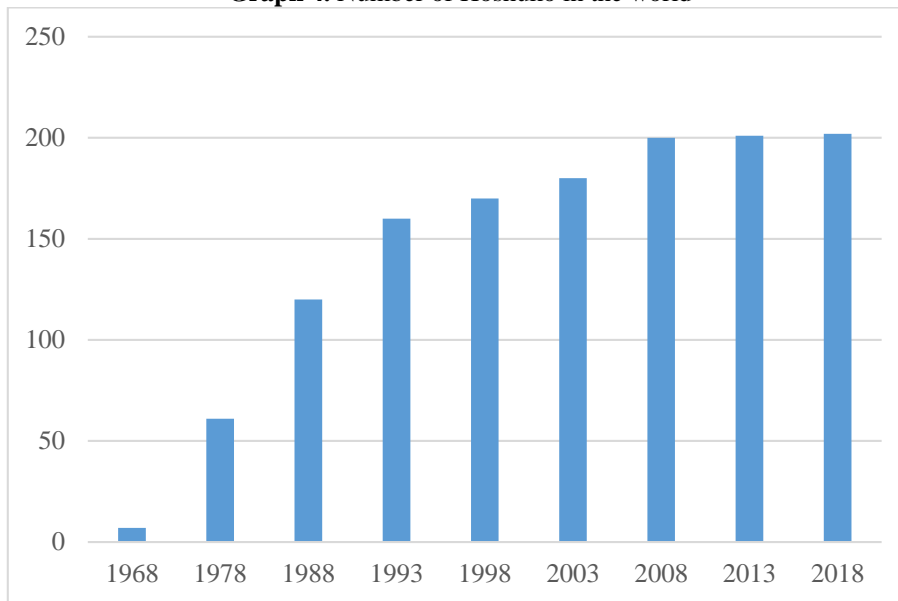


The other type of official Japanese school is called *Hoshuko* and is a Saturday school. The word “*Hoshuko*” literally means supplementary school in Japanese. In casual conversations with some teachers and parents, I noticed that they were annoyed and

somewhat surprised at the choice of this name in Japanese because they consider it essential rather than supplementary. As Hoshuko is not from Monday to Friday, those who go to this type of school also attend their main school during weekdays. At a Hoshuko, children usually only study one or two subjects (Japanese and Maths) on either Saturdays or weekdays after school using the Japanese language. A Hoshuko is founded and managed in the same way as the full-day school. It is opened on the weekend, mostly on Saturday; however, depending on the country, a Hoshuko can also be attended on weekdays after school. In some cities like Barcelona, there are both Nihonjin gakko and Hoshuko. In that case, they share the same building, classroom, library, and books. Students and teachers at both schools occasionally interact by organising the events.

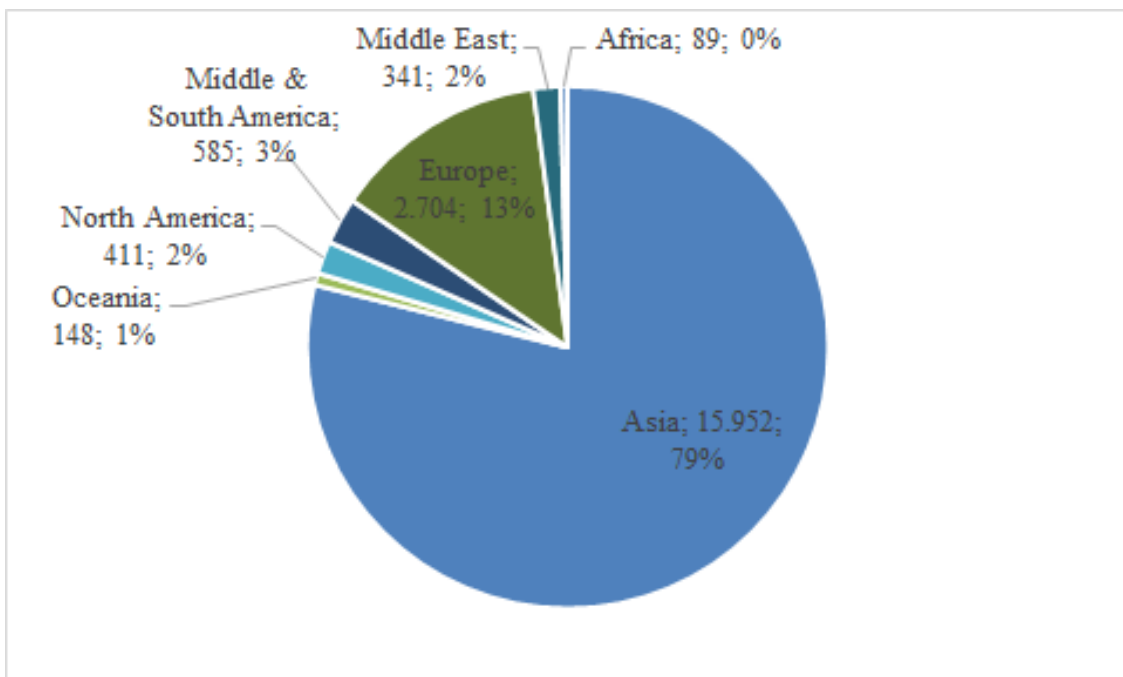
The primary objective of this type of Hoshuko is to maintain the Japanese children's ability to speak their mother tongue, but some of them also offer other major subject courses such as Maths, science and social studies. In some countries like Spain, Finland and France, etc. a Hoshuko teaches only one subject, Japanese. On the other hands, in other countries such as the USA, Canada, China, Taiwan, etc. these schools often teach two, three or four subjects in Japanese which results taking whole day Saturday. According to the Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science and Technology (MEXT), the first Hoshuko was founded in Washington, D.C. in 1958. At that time, the Ministry encouraged the opening of some Hoshukos to meet the demands of education for Japanese bilingual children while also promoting the development of Nihonjin gakko. This increased to 120 by 1987. As of 2018, there are 13,269 primary and 3,308 junior high school students studying at 203 Hoshukos in 56 countries. My participants are a part of them. In summary, there are government-supported Japanese schools in most of the big cities in the world and I can say that this kind of school is now quite common worldwide. When it comes to European countries, France, England and Germany have more than 10 Japanese schools each (including Nihonjin gakko and Hoshuko) to accommodate the needs and demands of Japanese parents. The following graph indicates the growth of Hoshukos all over the world from 1968 to 2018.

Graph 4. Number of Hoshuko in the world

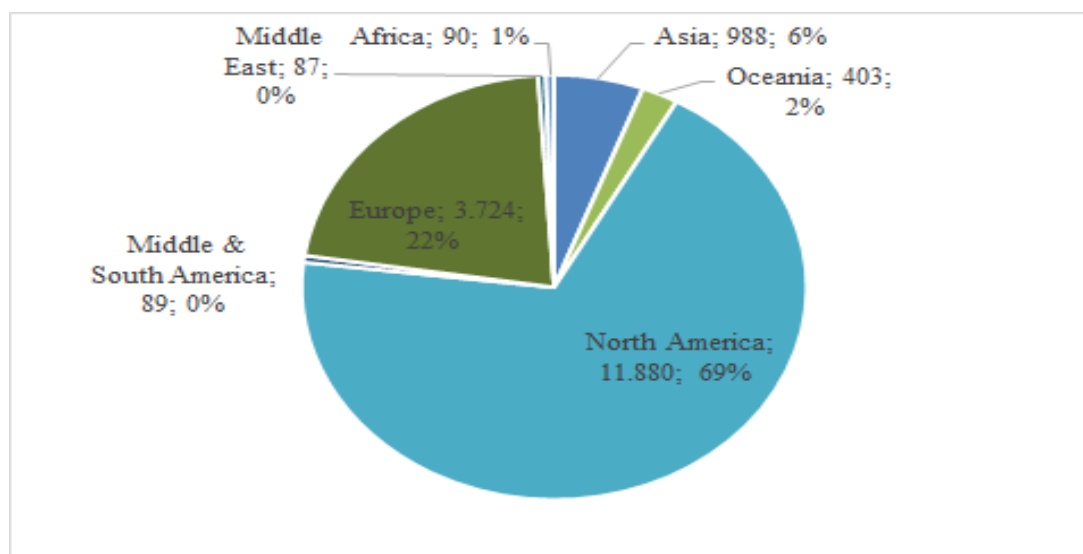


Comparing Graph 3 and 4, the number of Nihonjin gakko has not changed drastically in the past 30 years, whereas the number of Hoshukos have gradually increased until stabilising in 2008. More and more multilingual and multicultural children have started to go to Hoshuko in order to acquire Japanese as a HL. Not only the number of Hoshukos but also the number of students at each Hoshuko have increased. The below graphs indicate the number of students at Nihonjin gakko and Hoshuko by area.

Graph 5. Number of students at Nihonjin gakko by area



Graph 6. Number of students at Hoshuko by area



As seen above, in Asia, children of Japanese descent tend to go to Nihonjin gakko whereas the vast majority of those children in North America go to Hoshuko. In Europe, more Japanese children go to Hoshuko rather than Nihonjin gakko. In Spain there is a Nihonjin gakko and Hoshuko in both Madrid and Barcelona, two for each. Normally, those who have both a Japanese father and mother go to Nihonjin gakko whereas those who have only one Japanese parent (either father or mother) go to Hoshuko as well. This second group goes to a local Catalan/Spanish school on weekdays in addition to attending a Hoshuko on Saturdays. However, there are a few children who go to an English school instead of a Catalan/Spanish school. Furthermore, four children at the Hoshuko in Barcelona go to a French school rather than a Catalan/Spanish school due to the wishes of their parents.

4.4 Differences and Similarities between Nihonjin Gakko and Hoshuko

Although I introduced some differences between Nihonjin gakkos and Hoshukos in the previous section, there is more to be covered. In this section I would like to highlight two major differences and one similarity between them. The following points (1) and (2) are considered the major differences and (3) as a similarity.

- (1) The quality of teaching can vary, with the presence of a principal being a significant factor.
- (2) Students' profiles and backgrounds are different.
- (3) Both types of school have the same educational policies and purposes.

Regarding (1), Mizuno (2013) states that there are two ways to supply teachers to overseas schools. The first way is that the MEXT dispatches certified teachers to Nihonjin gakkos and or Hoshuko. This system started with the dispatch of a national primary school teacher to Bangkok in 1962. Mizuno (2013) continues to explain the process of hiring system as follows.

In 1966, the ministry introduced a public application system to public school teachers, and eligible applicants are chosen annually with a recommendation from a national or public school, which they work for by passing the ministry's document screening and interview process. The selected applicants are dispatched to the overseas educational institutions at their request after pre-departure orientations. The dispatch period is two years in principle but can be extended up to four years (p. 46).

A few years later, in 2007, the MEXT introduced the senior dispatch system and started to dispatch the teachers, who are, generally speaking, less than 65 years old and have previous experience in being dispatched overseas. Although all of the Nihonjin gakkos have a dispatched principal and vice-principal, it does not mean that all of the Hoshuko have them as well. Certainly, most schools which have them tend to be huge schools which have 300 or 400 students as they definitely need someone who leads this kind of gigantic school. In fact, only 48 Hoshukos from a total of 203 have a dispatched principal. The vast majority, 77%, manage and organise everything without official teachers from Japan. In summary, the MEXT sends principals and vice-principals to all of the Nihonjin gakkos, but when it comes to Hoshukos, there are those which have them and those which do not. This depends on how many students the school has. Also a representative of the school has to apply for a principal if they would like to have one. And yet, financial issues and other technical problems often arise, so it is not so easy to have a principal dispatched from Japan. During my interview with the secretary of the Hoshuko in Barcelona, she shared with me some fascinating insights into getting a principal dispatched from MEXT

which the website itself does not mention at all. As she has been working as a secretary for more than 20 years, which is almost as long as the school has been in operation, she knows administrative issues well. During the interview, she commented as follows.

[Citation 4-1] もう毎年毎年、学校が大きくなってきているから運営委員と一緒に、校長先生を申請しようか、なんて話していたりはするんですよ。もちろん校長先生みたいな人がいて、重要な決断を下したり、教員育成もしたり、学校の行事も運営したりとかやってもらったほうがいいなとは思いますが、でも問題もあるんですよ。もし日本から校長先生を私達が受け入れた場合、ここでの住居も提供しないとイケないし、校長室も学校にないといけないし、そういう問題はちょっとできないんですよ。もちろんその援助はもらえるとは思いますが、でも全額ではないです。だから今のところ、文科省には校長先生を申請依頼は出していませんよ。

Steering committee members and I were thinking of asking for a principal due to the fact that our school is becoming bigger and bigger every year. We also have inexperienced teachers as well. We thought it would be great if there is someone like a principal who can make important decisions for school, teaching methods, school events, etc. In fact, we have more than enough students here to apply for that. We, however, have some problems. If we invite a principal from Japan, we have to provide a place to live, a principal's room at the school, etc. which we cannot handle. Of course, we can get some subsidy, but it does not cover everything. Therefore, so far we have not asked the Ministry to send us a principal.

Many teachers and committee members at this school consider schools with a principal and schools without a principal to be hugely different. Think of a sailing ship with a captain compared to a ship without one. A principal is necessary in order for teachers, parents and children to go in the right direction. This is one of the major differences between these two types of schools. The second way to attain teachers in overseas schools is by relying on locally employed teaching staff, especially in the case that the dispatch system cannot satisfy their needs. The option of local employment is more commonly practiced by Hoshukos than Nihonjin gakko. Most of the teaching staff at the Nihonjin gakko has so far been supplied by the MEXT, while the maximum number of the dispatched teachers to any one Hoshuko is three. Even if they say that the maximum number is three, the reality is that there are some Hoshukos to which zero teachers have been dispatched, and also suffer from finding qualified teachers in their region. Since a principal and vice-principal's duty assigned by the MEXT is, furthermore, not teaching

but management as a principal or a vice principal, locally-employed teachers remain the indispensable source of teachers for Hoshuko. The same secretary of the Hoshuko in Barcelona mentioned as follows in her interview.

[Citation 4-2] 毎年、ちゃんとした先生を探すっていうのは本当に簡単なことじゃないんですよ。そもそも、バルセロナにはそんなに日本人がいないわけじゃないし。いたとしても、その人が必ずしも、土曜の朝、教える仕事に興味があるっていうわけでもないですよ。それにこの仕事っていうのはコミットしないとイケない仕事だから大変ですよ。例えば、一度教え始めたら土曜は絶対に休めないし。課題とか宿題とか授業準備も大変だし、宿題のチェックとか、通知表とか、職員会議もあるでしょ。それに父兄の方とも話さないといけないし。給料のわりには、先生の仕事量とか責任が重過ぎるんじゃないかな。

It is not easy at all to find decent teachers for this school every year. Firstly, there are not so many Japanese people in Barcelona. Even if there are some, it does not mean that they are interested in teaching on Saturday mornings. Secondly, this position requires a lot of commitment, for example, once you start teaching, you cannot miss any Saturdays. You have to prepare all of the classroom materials and homework, correct students' work, evaluate them, attend teachers' meetings and talk to each parent individually, etc. Ultimately, the salary is not well-paid considering the amount of work teachers are responsible for.

It shows how difficult it is to find locally-employed teaching staff. Based on my collected data regarding teachers' backgrounds at this school, only about 10.5 percent of them, which is two out of 19, have a teaching certificate from Japan and only 15.7 percent which is three out of 19 have previous teaching experience. Apparently, this situation is not ideal for them, however it cannot be helped. As long as they are native Japanese speakers, they hire them as a Japanese teacher. Moreover, this secretary pointed out the other serious problem which is high turnover. She detailed her thoughts explicitly.

[Citation 4-3] それに先生達がすぐ辞めちゃうっていうのもまた毎年ある問題なんですよ。大体、半分の先生が3年から5年のうちに辞めちゃうんじゃないかな。辞めた先生は日本に帰ったり、他の国に行くことになったり。それから妊娠して、もうここでは働けないから辞めていく先生もいますよね。まあ辞める理由というのはそれぞれですけどね。でも見ていてわかる通り、先生は結構頻繁に入れ代わっていますよ。だから学生ビザの先生も雇わざるを得なくてね。そうじゃないと本当に先生がいなくなっちゃいますからね。子供の数が増えれば増えるほど、当然だけど先生も必要になってくるし。先生が雇えなか

ったら、親たちに頼ったりしなくちゃいけなくなるし。だから時々親たちには聞いているんですけどね。子供たちが土曜勉強している間に他の子たちに教えることに興味ある保護者いませんかって。でもあんまりそれをやりたい親はいないみたい。だから私達は常に、来学期とか来年度働きたい先生いないか探していますよ。

High turnover of locally employed teaching staff is another serious problem we encounter every year. Approximately half of them quit this position within three to five years. Some of them decided to go back to Japan or go to other countries and others got pregnant and cannot keep working at this school. The reason of quitting varies, but as you can see, teaching staff are constantly changing. Furthermore, we are in the situation that we have to hire Japanese teachers who only have a student visa. If we do not, we would have no teachers. The more children we have at school, the more teachers we need in order to cover all classes. If we cannot recruit more Japanese teachers, we have to rely on the parents of the students. From time to time we ask parents to see if anyone is interested in teaching at this school while his/her child is studying at the same school on Saturdays. However, not many people have shown an interest so far. We should keep asking in order to have enough teachers for the next semester or next academic year.

Liu and You (2014) point out the problem of teaching style for some teachers. They mention that many HL teachers are merely available and sometimes they are lacking teaching experience and training. Furthermore, they may draw on their own old-fashioned, educational experiences and ideologies for teaching, which may have a negative impact. Regarding (2), the students' backgrounds at both schools are quite distinctive. Generally speaking, the parents who believe that Japanese is the most important language for their children send them to a Nihonjin gakko. This theory makes sense because students at a Nihonjin gakko learn all subjects in Japanese and have more exposure to Japanese even though they are far away from Japan. This type of school is exactly the same as normal public schools in Japan. They follow the Japanese academic calendar, curriculum, materials, textbooks, events, activities, etc. Once you enter this school, you feel like you are no longer in Barcelona but in Japan, because all of the signs and posters you see are written in Japanese and all of the teachers are Japanese which means all you hear is Japanese. Typical characteristics of students at this school are as follows.

- One has a Japanese mother and Japanese father.
- One was born in Japan.
- One was raised in Japan before coming to Barcelona.

- One moved to Barcelona due to his/her father's place of work.
- One stays in Barcelona temporarily. (usually two to three years)
- One is planning to go to Japan and continue his/her education there.

Due to these characteristics, their parents chose a Nihonjin gakko rather than the alternatives, which are a Catalan/Spanish school, an international (English) school, a French school, a German school, etc. Moreover, the school policies and objectives are also matched with their parents' needs. On the other hand, the following four characteristics are very common among students at Hoshukos.

- One of the parents is Japanese.
- One was born in Spain or another country (including Japan).
- One has been raised in Spain.
- One is planning to stay in Spain in the future.

Due to the above characteristics, the most important language for them is normally the local language. In the case of the Hoshuko in Barcelona, it is either Catalan or Spanish. In the case of the USA and Canada, the most important language for students at a Japanese Saturday (supplementary) school would be English. Therefore, for them Japanese is a supplementary or additional language. In conclusion, the students' background and purposes of studying Japanese are quite different. Please note that the above-mentioned characteristics are only the more common ones and certainly there are exceptions. At the same time, there are some similarities such as those I mentioned at the beginning of this section between these two types of schools. I, however, would like to point out one significant similarity they both share. This being their educational policies and purposes of learning Japanese. Although students' backgrounds, purposes of learning Japanese, and the quality of teaching all vary, interestingly both types of school were established with the same educational policies and the same purposes and goals for students. The keyword here is "adaptability" when students go back to Japan. In fact, if you take a look at some of the websites of Nihonjin gakkos and Hoshukos, they emphasise this notion by saying that they teach not only all of the subjects using the Japanese language but also teach Japanese culture, traditions, customs, rules, manners, behaviours, etc. in order for

students to be able to more easily adapt to schools in Japan when they return Japan after spending a few years overseas. Hence, in the case of a Nihonjin gakko, children learn all subjects as if they were in Japan so that they will not have any problem in terms of adaptability when they go back to their home country. As both types of school have this policy and philosophy, they use the same textbooks as children in Japan use with the licensed curriculums. In both schools, teachers and parents always try to create the same school environment as the one in Japan so that children are able to learn Japanese in a natural way. Moreover, it is worth stressing another important similarity between these two types of school. They are both financially supported by the MEXT and both use the Japanese academic calendar and official textbooks which the Ministry of Education approved. These differences and similarities, particularly, can be applied to the situation in Barcelona. In this city we have both a Nihonjin gakko and Hoshuko. In the following sections, I will describe in more detail how these schools have developed in the bilingual city of Barcelona, how the schools function, and what the relationship between these two schools is, etc.

4.5 Research Context

4.5.1 School History

Hoshuko Barcelona Educación Japonesa is located at Camí de Can Graells 61 Polígon Can Graells (08174), in Sant Cugat del Valles. This school is held every Saturday (38 days in a year). It is organised by five committee members who are selected from parents annually. It is also supported by the Ministry of Education and by Japan Overseas Educational Services. It was founded in 1981 when many Japanese companies, predominantly electronic or car industry, were established in Spain. It was started with three teachers and 32 students. As of 2018, there are 161 students from junior kindergarten to grade nine (from age of four to 15). The following table shows the detail. On the other hand, in 1986 *Colegio Japonés de Barcelona (Nihonjin gakko)* was founded and most of these 32 students of Hoshuko transferred to this Japanese school where they learn all subjects in Japanese from Monday to Friday. Since then, those who stay in

Barcelona temporarily (usually two to four years) go to the Nihonjin gakko and those who are born here and do not have a plan to go back to Japan go to the Hoshuko.

Table 8. Number of students at the Hoshuko as of April, 2018

Junior kindergarten	Senior kindergarten	Grade 1	Grade 2	Grade 3	Grade 4
15	20	18	24	15	19
Grade 5	Grade 6	Grade 7	Grade 8	Grade 9	Total
14	14	6	9	7	161

Differences between North American and Japanese education stages.

- At this Hoshuko “Junior kindergarten” is referred to as “Class of 4 year olds”
- At this Hoshuko “Senior kindergarten” is referred to as “Class of 5 year olds”
- At this Hoshuko “Grade 7” is referred to as “Junior high grade 1”
- At this Hoshuko “Grade 8” is referred to as “Junior high grade 2”
- At this Hoshuko “Grade 9” is referred to as “Junior high grade 3”

As can be seen from Table 8, from junior kindergarten through to grade six, there are at least 14 students in a class. On the contrary, from grade seven which is the beginning of junior high school, some students stop attending the school for various reasons. What is also interesting is that if you look at higher grades, most of the students are girls, not boys. Many parents encourage their children to go to the Hoshuko until grade six which is the last grade of primary school. It is quite challenging to complete until junior high school which is Japanese compulsory education, outside of Japan. It is worth noting that although this school from time to time receives new students who are already 10 or 11 years olds, the vast majority of the students start learning Japanese from four years old. That is to say, 92% of the students in the last two grades (grade eight and nine) attended this school since they were four years old. Therefore, these students have been studying together for about 10 years every Saturday. With regards to entrance requirements of this school, the website explains as follows.

入学資格。幼稚部は4月2日時点で該当年齢に達している児童で、日本語が理解できことが条件になります。小学、中学部は日本語義務教育年齢相当の児童で、入学希望する学年の授業内容を理解する能力を有すると認められること。保護者の方々は積極的に補習授業校運営に参加できること。

Requirements / For the kindergarten, the child has to be four years old and has to understand Japanese. For primary and junior high school, the child has to have Japanese proficiency to understand the content of classes which one wants to join. For parents, they have to participate the management of school enthusiastically.

Hoshuko in Madrid set the entrance requirements in the website as follows.

両親または片親が日本人であり、日本語での日常会話がある程度理解できる子供を対象とする。尚、日々の家庭での学習と家族の協力が必要とされる。

Both parents or one parent have to be Japanese. The child has to understand daily conversation in Japanese. Please note daily practice in Japanese at home and family support are needed.

These entrance requirements for the Hoshuko in Barcelona and Madrid are not as strict as the other Hoshukos in Europe. For example, the following excerpts show more concrete and demanding requirements for prospective students.

Hoshuko in London

小中高等部希望者は（１）帰国後の学校生活への適応を目的としている者および（２）帰国は未定であるが、国語学習への意欲があり一定の日本語力と学年相応の国語力があると認められる者（３）必要に応じて、面談その他の審査を行う場合あり。

Applicants enrolling at the primary and junior high school level at this will be (1) those who aim to adapt to school life after their return to Japan or (2) those who are not yet determined to return to Japan but are motivated to study Japanese language, and have school-year-appropriate competence of Japanese language; (3) if needed, interviews and - or other probation may be conducted.

Hoshuko in Manchester clearly describes the meaning of the Hoshuko.

マンチェスター補習校は日本語学校ではありません。補習校の運営目的をご理解ください。補習校は「日本の文部科学省のカリキュラムに沿った授業」を行います。日本語で学習しますので、先生の話される日本語が理解できない児童は、授業を理解することに非常に困難です。

Hoshuko in Manchester is not a Japanese language school. Please understand the purposes of management of the school. Hoshuko conducts the classes according to the curriculum issued by MEXT in Japan. The classes are carried out in Japanese, so it will be very difficult to understand the classes for children who do not understand what teachers say in Japanese (emphasis in original).

This same Hoshuko even tries to dictate the family language policy.

日本語で生活する環境を整える、日本語で話すことが特別なことに感じている児童が見受けられます。何を問いかけても、第一声が「できない、わからない」になる児童がいます。→家庭内での会話は日本語を基本としてください。

There are some students who think that the Japanese living environment and speaking Japanese is something unusual. There are some students who always answer that “I cannot do. I do not know” in their opening words when answering. → We ask the parents to standardise the conversation with children in Japanese in the family home.

The school uses the expression “please understand” when addressing the parents of children whose Japanese competence is below Hoshuko standards. Moreover, the statements clearly authorise their position by emphasising that they are following the MEXT issued curriculum and have implemented a Japanese medium of instruction. This message on the website may also be aimed at discouraging parents from enrolling their children in the Hoshuko if they lack the required language proficiency. In conclusion, depending on each Hoshuko, the entrance requirements are slightly different. In terms of tuition costs, this Hoshuko in Barcelona is not free because it is considered a private school. However, as can be seen in the following table, the prices charged by this Hoshuko are reasonable when compared with other HL schools for children in Barcelona.

Table 9. Summary of HL schools in Barcelona

	Tuition per month	Class hours	Target age
The Hoshuko	50 Euros	Three hours/week	four to 15 years old
School A	75 Euros	Two hours/week	One to 13 years old
School B	70 Euros	Two and 50 minutes/week	Zero to 10 years old

Furthermore, this Hoshuko gives discounts when the third sibling enrolls, which other HL schools normally do not. As it is common that two siblings go to Hoshuko, there is no

discount in this scenario. However, starting from the third child, the family can get 50% discount and the fourth one is able to get 75% discount. As of 2018, there are three families who let their four children attend Hoshuko on Saturdays. Considering the fact that there is a substantial discount for the third child, it is not expensive to learn Japanese as a minority or HL in Barcelona. As a reference, one of the Chinese HL schools in Barcelona called *Centro de Idioma Chino de Shuanglong* provides even more reasonable classes. As of 2018, it is 185 Euros for the course from September to January, every Saturday from 12 to 4 p.m. This cost includes the materials and the school lunch is just one Euro.

4.5.2 Curriculum

In the Hoshuko in Barcelona, Japanese is taught for three hours (10:10 a.m. to 12:55 p.m.) every Saturday. All children from four to 15 years old follow the timetable shown below. It shows what people related to this school do. This is a typical Saturday at the school.

Table 10. Timetable of the Hoshuko

	Students	Teachers	Parents
Before class (9:30-10:10)	Coming to school	Preparing materials and classroom. Having teachers meeting every Saturday.	Some parents take turns picking up teachers from the station and bringing them the short distance to school. Other parents help cleaning classrooms, setting up tables and chairs.
The first class (10:10-10:55)	Studying. (All classes except kindergarten have a kanji test every week.)	Kanji test for 15-20 minutes. Teaching	Some volunteer parents help photocopy homework. Once every semester there is a parents meeting in the library.
Recess (10:55-11:05)	Meeting their parents. Playing with their friends in the grounds.	Marking kanji test of the first class. Collecting last week's homework and handing out this week's homework.	Meeting their children.
The second	Studying	Teaching	Waiting in the library.

class (11:05-11:50)			
Recess (11:50-12:10)	Having a snack in their cars or parking lot.	Checking and marking homework and returning it to the students. If necessary, talking to the parents regarding the child's behaviour, problems and achievements, etc.	Meeting their children.
The third class (12:10-12:55)	Studying	Teaching	Waiting in the library.
After school (12:55-13:30)	Borrowing and returning books in the library. Playing with their friends in the grounds.	Tidying up materials and cleaning the classroom. Preparing materials and homework for next week.	Some volunteer parents send teachers to the station by their cars. Other parents check the whole school before leaving.

As can be seen by looking at what parents do at the school, they have many responsibilities and involve themselves in many volunteer activities at the Hoshuko on Saturdays. In fact, only those parents who agreed to this condition are able to enrol their children in this school. The parents take turns to volunteer every Saturday so that the school functions without any problems. Another thing I have to point out here is that the parents are not allowed to leave the school grounds, whilst students are in class. The reason is that this school does not have any additional teachers nor medical staff. It means that when a child feels sick or has some problems, there is no one else who is able to take care of him/her. Therefore, it is mandatory for everyone, but especially for parents of younger children such as four to six year old to stay at school on Saturdays. They are not allowed to leave their children at school on Saturday morning and go back home. As a result, they normally stay in the library to read books, talk with other parents, etc. Some parents even bring their computers to work, so they can get some work done while they are waiting for their child to finish studying for the day. Some parents whose children are in the older grades sometimes go out to have coffee, but they usually come back before break time so that they talk to their children. The fact that classes last only three hours, coupled with the fact that this school is located in a fairly isolated area, means that

parents' options are limited as to where they can go, so often they remain within the school grounds until closing time.

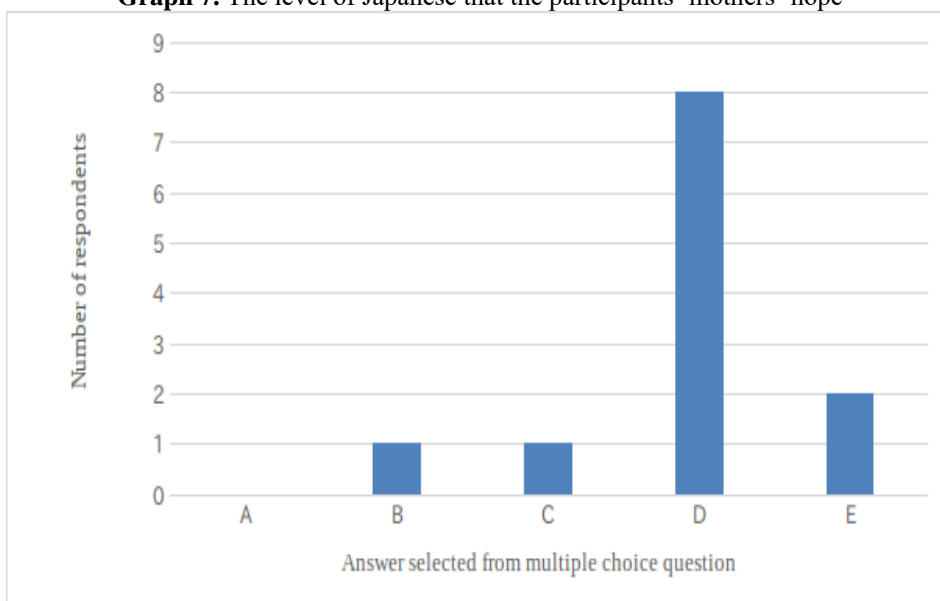
Furuie (2005) conducted a survey of 61 Nihonjin gakkos and 105 Hoshukos all over the world. According to this survey, 36% of Hoshuko students have at least one non-Japanese parent, and 41% do not plan on receiving education in Japan. Although this research was carried out more than 10 years ago, considering the fact that international marriages and globalisation have accelerated rapidly, these percentages are considered to have increased. Given this diversified student population, it is not surprising that the majority of Hoshukos around the world, except in Latin America, report that the issue of how best to deal with the learning needs of students from such heterogeneous linguistic backgrounds was one of their major concerns. For instance, 62% of the Hoshukos in North America, which has the highest number of Hoshukos out of all regions, specifically noted this issue as a problem. Needless to say, many Hoshukos in European countries encounter the same serious problem. Hoshukos in Europe have more children that were born, raised and have lived in Europe for years and plan to live permanently there than they used to (Bialke-Toyama, 2011). Thus, the curriculum in these Hoshukos need to be reconstructed for both children that plan to return to Japan and those that plan to live in that country, similar to the case of the USA (Kataoka, Koshiyama & Shibata, 2005; Kishimoto, 2007). They are still using the curriculum designed for children who are planning to go back to Japan within a couple of years. My questionnaire also asked the participating parents about the level of Japanese they want their children to acquire at Hoshuko in Barcelona.

Which level of his or her Japanese do you aim for?

- A. The level required to reach take official entrance exam in Japan.
- B. The level sufficient to go to school in Japan.
- C. The level sufficient to go to Nihonjin gakko in Barcelona.
- D. The level sufficient to understand textbooks in Japanese.
- E. Others.

The following graph illustrates the answers of participant's mothers for that question. The values on the x-axis of the graph correspond to the answer to this question.

Graph 7. The level of Japanese that the participants' mothers' hope



Answer A for this question is more demanding and difficult to achieve whereas Answer D is less challenging. From the graph above, 67% of the participants' Japanese mothers expect their children to reach the level sufficient to understand textbooks in Japanese. Only one of 10 mothers responded that she expects her child to obtain the level sufficient to go to school in Japan. Two mothers selected Answer E and wrote their needs more concretely regarding their children's Japanese maintenance and development. One of them recounted to me that she does not have clear set goal for her son, however she hopes him to keep interested in Japan, Japanese culture and learning the language. Another mother commented that she is hoping her child will reach a sufficient level of conversational, reading and writing skills so that her child can communicate with his extended family members in Japan. As a result, it is not necessarily that these mothers have excessively high expectations for their children's Japanese learning. This needs analysis implies that although teachers at the Hoshuko use the same official textbooks as children in Japan, there is no obligation to follow the same curriculum as schools in Japan implement. It would be impossible to teach the content of eight classes within three classes, and the above graph illustrates that a vast majority of the participating mothers understand this. This tightly enforced use of curriculum causes pressure to not only teachers, but also to students and parents who support their children's learning at home.

4.5.3 Administration

Those who have Japanese citizenship can receive textbooks from Japanese embassy/consulate in Spain for free of charge in order to pursue its duty to provide free compulsory education for Japanese children between six and 15 years of age, as claimed in the article 26 of the Japanese Constitution. In this school, Japanese is taught under the curriculum created particularly for Japanese schools in foreign countries by the Ministry of Education in Japan. Hoshuko utilises the facility of Nihonjin gakko every Saturday. There are 11 classrooms, a library, a huge playground and a gym. Many parents' volunteers support and organise this school for children. Some of their tasks are photocopying materials for teachers, cleaning up in classrooms and in a library, organising cultural events, giving a ride for teachers, checking attendance of students, creating anthologies at the end of year, etc. Therefore, parents' support is very important to run this school. It is not just administrative support but also educational support that is important for their children's Japanese language learning. Considering that parental support has a significant influence on the students' HL development (Shibata, 2000; Fishman, 1991), it is fundamental to involve parents in the education of the HL students. Li's case study (2006) found that students who learned HLs only at home or at the community school failed to maintain their literacy in their HL. Given this result, she suggests parents' active participation in schools. Indeed, at this Hoshuko all teachers invite the parents to their classes to observe their children three times a year. Also, the teachers hold three parent-teacher conferences a year to report on the progress of their children, their behaviour, upcoming school events, educational advice, etc. They deem that this practice helps the parents find out how their children are doing or behaving at school on Saturdays and make them aware that they need to provide support at home.

4.5.4 School Events

This Hoshuko has classes on 38 Saturdays from April to March. This number varies depending on countries, for example, my former Hoshuko in Canada held classes on 40

Saturdays and one more Saturday for preparation before starting a new academic year. At this Hoshuko in Barcelona, there are three big events apart from the entrance and graduation ceremonies. These ceremonies are important in Japanese school culture and also important for the students at this Hoshuko because local schools do not have this tradition. Other four major events are Sports Festival, Culture Day, Bazaar, and Year-End-Presentation. Sports Festival was a joint event with the Nihonjin gakko of Barcelona. Teachers and parents at both schools organise and prepare for two months to make this school event a success. Unfortunately, it was abolished in 2018 at the Hoshuko, despite this event being one of the most popular events with the students. Hoshuko and Nihonjin gakko decided to hold this event separately.

Culture Day is another interesting event that volunteer Japanese parents at the Hoshuko organise every November. Each year, they come up with different activities for children so that children get a chance to know Japanese culture better. For example, in the past, some volunteer parents introduced Japanese tea ceremony, Japanese flower arrangement, Japanese traditional calligraphy, Japanese cooking and Japanese traditional toys, etc. If there is no expert in this field among the parents, they sometimes invite some experts from outside of school. Some years ago, they invited a Japanese Consul's wife because she has a certificate of tea ceremony. She came to the Hoshuko wearing a *Kimono* (Japanese traditional costume) and taught the children the importance of knowing Japanese culture as a Japanese citizen through showing them a traditional tea ceremony. On the other hand, for younger children, the parents have organised an *Origami* class, have taught how to write New Year's cards in Japanese, and have presented some Japanese traditional toys of New Year's days. The children look forward to this event because it is more fun than regular Saturdays when they have a kanji test and have to learn Japanese for three hours.

Bazaar is the other event that the students are looking forward to. Most schools in Japan also set one or two days in a year for this event. What they do is that each family brings stuff that they no longer use at home such as clothes, books, toys, dishes, etc. In Bazaar, they sell these second-hand stuff for a reasonable price. People at the Hoshuko take

advantage of this event to exchange Japanese learning materials, Japanese toys and Japanese books because these are very difficult to obtain when they live in Barcelona. Many Japanese at this school also think that they prefer to give away these Japanese materials to a community of other Japanese families instead of throwing them away. Therefore, they keep them at home until the Bazaar. Another thing that all children are looking forward to is food at the Bazaar. Volunteer parents prepare Japanese food for this event at home and sell it at for a reasonable price. For instance, *Yakisoba* (Japanese fried noodle), *Okonomiyaki* (Japanese pancakes), *Yakitori* (chicken skewers), *Udon* (Japanese noodle soup), curry, Japanese sweets, among others. These are typical street food in festivals in Japan. Apart from the food, children can enjoy other activities at stalls such as a shooting game, yoyo scooping game, or ring toss. The money that volunteer parents earned at this event goes to the secretary of the school and the school uses this in order to buy teaching materials, books, stationery and so on. Year-End-Presentation is the time where all students show what they have learned this year. In each class, the teacher and students decide the topic to present in front of parents and friends. The following table describes some examples of the topics chosen.

Table 11. Assigned topics for year-end-presentation

Grades	Topics
1	Presentation about animals
3	Quiz show about Japanese food
6	Play of <i>Kakiyamabushi</i> (Japanese classics)

As can be seen above, depending on the grade, they choose different style of presentations. Some of them are regular presentation which is reading out their texts or essays in public. Others are more entertainment such as a play or a quiz show which involves the audience by asking some quizzes. Each class prepares for this presentation for two to three months to present in public in March. Certainly all of the presentations are carried out in Japanese. However, not only Japanese parents but also non-Japanese parents would come and see the children's performance. It is supposed to show their achievement of the year. This is not an event, but it is worth mentioning here because it has an educational role. This school has two big promotion examinations. One is in

October and the other one is February. All students from grade one to junior high school grade three have to write these examinations in order to go to next grade level. Each grade is set different evaluation to pass, however generally speaking the students have to get 70 to 80% in order to pass it. Certainly, these two big examinations are not only the evaluation that the teachers assess. The following points are also taken into account.

- Kanji test every week
- Attendance of school
- Homework
- Performance in class

The teachers consider these points holistically and decide who is capable to go up to the next level. Those who cannot pass this promotion examination have to repeat the same grade one more time next year with students one year younger. Therefore, all families take it seriously and children study hard in order not to fail it because they do want to continue studying Japanese with the same classmates who are the same age. Depending on Hoshuko all over the world, they set their own assessment for promotion.

4.5.5 Teaching Staff

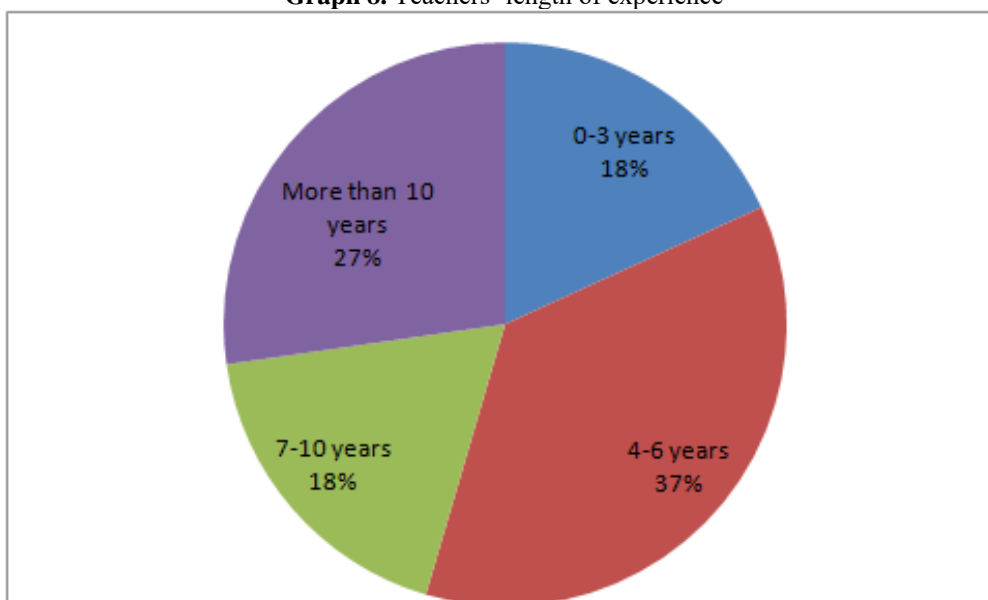
There are 11 teachers and eight assistant teachers at this school, all of whom are Japanese native speakers. Among these 19 teachers, four let their children go to this school while they are teaching on Saturdays. In addition, two of these 19 teachers used to send their children to this school seven to nine years ago. However, it is designed for these parents who are also teachers not to teach their own children. The school consists of 161 students from junior kindergarten (four years old) to junior high grade three (15 years old) with 11 teachers and eight assistant teachers who are all Japanese native speakers. In terms of recruitment of new teachers, one of the unique characteristics is that they are actively looking for assistant teachers who are alumni, in other words, graduated from this school. Currently in 2018 there are two young assistant teachers (19 and 20 years olds) who had studied Japanese at this school for 12 years. They also have a Spanish father and a

Japanese mother like other children. Recruiting staff believe that these kinds of young teachers could be good models for current students. In fact, once a year or two years these young teachers give a short speech to grade four to six children talking about their childhoods, their learning experiences, the way of studying different languages and time management, etc. Parents and teachers consider that it is useful and helpful for children to listen to these kinds of stories from someone who is in similar circumstances. Therefore, they are constantly seeking for former students who are eager to work at this school.

One of the biggest problems not only at this school but also at other Japanese schools outside of Japan is hiring teachers. As teachers have to give instructions, teach everything in Japanese and also explain the Japanese cultures and customs, they have to be Japanese native speakers. This does not mean only someone who has developed to a native level of Japanese. One day the committee members had a job interview with a candidate who speaks Japanese perfectly. He is a Catalan person who lived in Japan from the age of seven to 20. Needless to say, his Japanese is completely perfect and he is familiar with the Japanese educational system and school culture because he was raised there. However, he was not accepted as a teacher at this school due to his nationality and his native language. It was unfortunate because he could have been a great model of a multilingual speaker. Consequently, having a native level of Japanese does not mean being able to work at this school as a teacher. He mentioned something else that was disappointing. He has five children with a Catalan wife and wanted them to learn Japanese because he had learned it in Japan when he was eight years old. Therefore, he talked to committee members in order to let their children go to this Hoshuko. However, committee members did not allow his children to come to school for two reasons. The first reason is that his children do not have a Japanese passport. As this school is supported by the Japanese government and the ministry of education, the students at the Hoshuko receive official textbooks for free for nine years during their compulsory education. Even though students at the Hoshuko live outside of Japan, they have the same right to receive formal education as Japanese children in Japan because they also have a Japanese passport. However, these Catalan children do not have one. Therefore, the committee members were reluctant to accept them. The second reason is that their mother tongue is Catalan.

The committee members including many Japanese parents think that if children whose first language is Catalan come to school, other children would start to use Catalan or Spanish easily which has a negative effect when it comes to learning and maintaining Japanese. For that reason, not only was he not accepted as a teacher, but also his children were not accepted to go to school. Also it is not easy to find Japanese native speakers even in a relatively big city like Barcelona. Due to this difficulty, past teaching experience and having a teaching certificate are not required when it comes to applying for this position. It would however be advantageous. Graph 8 below indicates teachers' length of experience at this school. Please note that only 11 classroom teachers are reflected here, not assistant teachers.

Graph 8. Teachers' length of experience



As can be seen from this graph, three teachers have more than 10 years of teaching experience at this school. Also, four teachers have four to six years of working at this school, yet it is worth noting that these four teachers have several years more teaching experience in different countries (Canada, Japan, Guatemala, etc.) and as such they are considered to be experienced teachers. The committee members in particular, prefer teachers who used to teach in Japan because they must know how to teach Japanese very effectively with the official textbooks.

4.5.6 Teacher Training

Fujimori, Kashiwazaki, Nakamura and Ito (2006) carried out a questionnaire survey with 166 Hoshukos around the world and discovered that teachers in Hoshukos generally wish to deepen their knowledge of kanji teaching methods through teachers training. In Fujimori et al.'s (2006) study, this issue was the second most popular item following by the desire to learn methods for teaching students of different Japanese proficiency. The teachers at the Hoshuko in Barcelona also made similar comments. I made notes in my ethnographic diary as follows:

補習校で土曜教えるのは本当に大変で、プレッシャーを感じたり、時にストレスになっている先生もいるけど、皆教師として成長したり、向上して意欲があるようだ。例えば、「子供達にレベルの差があるようなクラスの指導法を知りたい」とか「1時間で効果的に漢字指導できる方法を知りたい」とか「いい作文指導の方法を知りたい」とか言っている声を聞いた。

Even though the teachers feel pressure and even sometimes stressful when they are working at school on Saturdays, they still want to develop and improve as Japanese teachers. They mentioned that they want to know methods for teaching students of different Japanese levels in the same class, the effective methods to teach kanji in one hour and the best way to teach essay writing skills (citation from ethnographic diary).

These concerns are universal and teachers at different Hoshukos also have similar worries. Probably, other HL teachers as well share the same concerns when it comes to HL development of children. Wu, Palmer and Field (2011) also argue that teachers at HL schools do not have sufficient chances to learn from each other and improve significantly as language teachers. Therefore, teacher training needs to be provided periodically so that the school provides teachers not only with more information, techniques and teaching skills necessary, but also a space where teachers can share their concerns and experiences. Throughout my 11 years working at two Hoshukos, I realised that the amount of teacher training per year is quite different. At the Hoshuko in Toronto, Canada, 35 to 40 hours per year were dedicated to teacher training, whereas at the Hoshuko in Barcelona only five to six hours were used. Another big difference between these two Hoshukos is the presence of a principal and vice-principal who are in charge of teacher training. As described in Chapter 4, there is no head teacher at the Hoshuko in Barcelona, although

some teachers are experienced teachers who have been working there more than 15 years. On the other hand, at the Hoshuko in Toronto, there has always been a dispatched principal and vice-principal who make important decisions for the school. They used to work as qualified teachers for a long time in public schools in Japan. Thus, they are very familiar with the Japanese educational system, curriculum, school events, teaching methods and teacher training. Therefore, they are able to provide effective and beneficial teacher training. Fortunately, although the Hoshuko in Barcelona does not have a principal, there is a Nihonjin gakko in Barcelona where all teachers are certified teachers. Therefore, once a year, they come to the Hoshuko in Barcelona on Saturday to observe classes and give some feedback to the teachers in order to improve teaching skills. However, obviously, once a year is not enough for teachers to learn teaching techniques. Consequently, more teacher education is suggested in order to teach multilingual/multicultural children effectively. During the interviews with teachers, the most frequent utterances of the teachers were “limited time on Saturdays,” “not enough time in classes” and “constraint of time.” It is true that they do not have enough time to cover what they want to do on Saturdays. They are using the same curriculum and textbooks as children of equivalent age do in Japan. To take Japanese class of grade two as an example, according to MEXT, children in Japan have eight hours of Japanese class every week, whereas children at the Hoshuko have only three hours to cover the same contents with the same textbooks. Therefore, it is physically impossible for teachers to teach the same amount of content to their students within the limited time of Saturdays. This time constraint causes not only pressure to the students, but can also lead to unpleasant relationship between teachers. According to Cavazos and The Members of WEST (2001) argue that it is crucial to have a place where teachers feel comfortable and can receive enough support from other teachers in order to share their own knowledge, ask questions and verify their teaching methods. Apparently, teachers at the Hoshuko have neither the time nor space to achieve this environment. My ethnographic diary has some notes regarding this, they read as follows.

先生たちは自分のクラスの子達を見るのと授業準備だけで、精一杯みたい。だから全然他の先生と関わる時間がないらしい。2回休み時間はあるけど、トイレに行く以外は、ほとんどの先生が自分のクラスから出ない。クラスで何をのしているのかというと、宿題チェックや漢字テストの採点。先生たちが多少交

流しているなと思う様子を見たのは、電車の中であらう。電車で学校まで通う先生もいるようだ。面白いことに、この電車はバルセロナのメトロと違って、向かい合いの席があるから、そこが結構居心地よく話しやすいみたいで学校よりもその行き帰りの車内で話すこともであるようだ。

It seems that teachers are so busy with their own students and preparation for classes and they do not have enough time to interact with each other. Even during two breaks, almost no teacher leaves their own classroom except for going to the washroom. They stay in their classroom to check the students' homework and mark kanji tests. The only time I saw them communicating with each other was in a train which some teachers use to go to and from school. In an interesting manner, this train is designed with box seats which is different from other typical metro seats in Barcelona. The atmosphere of these box seats creates a cozy space where Japanese teachers talk more than at school (citation from the ethnographic diary).

As a matter of fact, one teacher commented about the time and space in a train as follows.

[Citation 4-4] 実は、電車の中での会話っていうのは、結構大切だと思うんですよ。私達、教師にとって。だって私達本当に時間ないですもん。日本人って電車とか、まあ公共の場でそんな大声で話したりとかってしないじゃないですか。でも私達、この電車でこの時ばかりはするんですよ。だってこの時間って意外と貴重ですからね。それにこの電車って車両数がそんな多いわけじゃないから、日本人見つけやすいんですよ。あ、それに土曜の朝にあの電車に日本人が乗っていたら、それは多分補習校に行く人ですけどね。まあ、それで電車に乗っているのなんてせいぜい20、30分だと思うけど、その時間が結構貴重で行事のこと話したりとか、クラスの状況を聞きあったりとか、何か質問とかもできるし、なんか役立つこととかシェアしたりね。でも、大切なことを話し合わないといけない時とかは、誰かが「じゃ、来週の土曜は、みんな車両の1両目に乗って、学校着く前に電車の中で、この打ち合わせしましょう。」とかになるんですよ。みんなの先生が電車で来ているわけじゃないから、全員が集まれないのは残念だけど。みんなの先生がいるわけじゃないから、そこで何か大切なこと、最終決定とかはできないけど、話し合いだけね。でもね、個人的にはその話し合いとか、まあ電車の中だから、ちょっとあれだけど、それ結構大切だと思いますけどね。

The conversation in a train is actually very important for us teachers because we have no time at school. You know, normally Japanese people do not talk much in public space like in a train, but we do because that time has its value. Plus, there are not so many train cars, so it is easy to find Japanese people in the train. Oh, also if there is a Japanese person in that train on a Saturday morning, most likely he/she is going to the Hoshuko. Anyway, I think it is approximately a 20 to 30 minute ride, however it is an important time for us to discuss some upcoming event at school, exchange information about our classes, ask questions, share

knowledge, etc. As it happens, when we have certain topics that we have to discuss, we normally call other teachers by saying “next Saturday, let’s get together in the first train car so that we are able to talk about it before arriving at school.” Unfortunately, not all teachers commute by train. Therefore, we cannot make an important decision or something like that. Having said so, these informal meetings in a train play an important role, I personally think.

Cavazos and The Members of WEST (2001) add that the teachers’ room, common room and classrooms are not necessarily safe space for teachers because someone could overhear the conversation and misunderstand it. On the other hand, the above teacher who mentioned citation 4-4, considers the inside of a train as a haven that allows her to have conversations with other teachers. these teachers should become knowledgeable about their students’ backgrounds as well as their languages and literacies. As Moll, Amanti, Neff and Gonzalez (1992) suggest, teachers should treat these as valuable resources instead of as hindrances to the learning of societal language. As Tigert (2017) suggests in her research about Finnish HLLs in the USA, “HLLs can be allowed to choose the texts, topics, and modalities used in HL instruction” (p. 176). That is to say, teachers have to be more flexible when they give a writing task to students in HL classrooms, so that students are given enough motivation and freedom to express their ideas freely and stimulate their creativity, similar to Kazuo and Mika’s writing samples in Appendix 8.2.2 and 4.2.3 respectively. To conclude, it is necessary for teachers to learn more about this unique group of HLLs in order to discover the best ways of supporting the academic and socio-emotional development of their students. According to Homberger and Wang (2008), it is important “to understand who HLLs are in various contexts and how they see, perceive, interpret, present and represent themselves in those contexts” (p, 6). It is essential to have cooperation between parents and teachers. The teaching strategy has to follow the pedagogical principles of social justice and training in order to break away from the previous monolingual approach in school and to promote learning in all subjects.

4.5.7 Participants of this Study

In my research, I decided to focus on multilingual families, especially mothers and their children, as opposed to language teachers because I wanted to explore what these children

read and write at home, how each family tries to improve their children's understanding of their HL and what perspectives Japanese mothers have toward raising multilingual children and language education in general. With that in mind, I approached the Hoshuko in order to request approval to conduct my research.

Once I obtained the approval and the completed consent forms (Appendix 12) from the chair of the committee members, I was given a chance to present my study at this Hoshuko in Barcelona. At the same time, I was allowed to contribute my knowledge to this school and pass useful information to parents. Therefore, I gave a presentation in October 2014 with the title was "Bilingualism/multilingualism and HL education" in front of approximately 140 to 170 parents. The 30 minute presentation was carried out in Japanese even though some parents are Spanish or Catalan. At the end of my presentation, I explained my research including the purposes of the study, what kind of participants I am looking for, what participants are required to do during the study, etc. Then 21 volunteer mothers raised their hands to participate in my study. However, 10 of them have younger children who are still four or five years olds. I decided to eliminate these children from the study because the focus of this study is the period of formal instruction in Japanese. Therefore, these 10 children are not appropriate for this study. The rest of the 11 children comprise one six-year-old, four seven-year olds, one eight-year-old, three nine-year-olds, one eleven-year-old and one fourteen-year-old. They all have different ages and backgrounds (age of arrival in Spain, length of residence, the amount of Japanese learning taking place, the school they go to on weekdays, etc.). As Tigert (2017) depicts, in my research, "[t]he length, onset, and type of children's exposure to different languages vary, as do families' socioeconomic, linguistic, ethnic, and cultural backgrounds" (p. 62). I intentionally did not collect participants who have the same age, sex, nor backgrounds because the purpose of my study is to explore diversity and all levels of the school. I have focused on students with varied backgrounds and experiences because this allows for the possibility of uncovering the complex nature of how multilingual/multicultural students utilise various languages in a bilingual society, and develop their proficiency.

Hence the only characteristic that they have in common is that they all have a Japanese mother and all go to the same Hoshuko. During weekdays they all go to different types of school. In terms of their school, I can divide them into four groups. Six of them go to a local public Catalan school. Two go to an American school which is called an international school and another two go to a trilingual school where they learn Spanish, Catalan and English. And one child goes to a French school. As can be seen here, they all go to distinctive schools on weekdays, however they all go to the Japanese school on Saturdays in order to learn Japanese as a HL.

Table 12. Profile of the participants

Name	Sex	Age (years)	School year ³	Father	Mother	School type	School language	Birth place	Residence in Spain (years)	Attendance at the Hoshuko (years)
Hitoe	F	6	1	Spanish	Japanese	Public	Catalan	Spain	6	2.5
Kandai	F	7	1	French	Japanese	Public	Catalan	Australia	4	3
Ken	M	7	1	Spanish	Japanese	State-assisted	English, Catalan and Spanish	Spain	7	3
Mika	F	7	1	Spanish	Japanese	Private	French	Spain	6	3
Naoto	M	7	2	Spanish	Japanese	Public	Catalan	Spain	7	4
Naoya	M	8	2	Spanish	Japanese	Public	Catalan	Spain	8	5
Aki	M	9	2	Spanish	Japanese	Public	Catalan	Spain	9	5
Kazuo	M	9	3	Spanish	Japanese	Private	English	US	5	5
Nina	F	9	4	Spanish	Japanese	Private	English	China	4	4
Natsuki	F	11	5	Spanish	Japanese	State-assisted	English, Catalan and Spanish	Spain	11	7
Asuka	F	14	9	Spanish	Japanese	State-assisted	Catalan	Spain	14	8

³ School years of the Hoshuko's.

According to the questionnaires completed by all mothers whose children attend the Hoshuko in 2014, including non participants of the study, 92% of respondents said their family as a whole use Catalan/Spanish and Japanese at home, 6% use English and Japanese, whereas 2% use only Japanese. 92% of the students go to a Catalan weekday school and the rest go to an international school where English is used to teach all subjects or French school. However, there are some Catalan and Spanish classes every week, depending on the grade. The questionnaire inquired as to the mother's opinion of their child's proficiencies in Japanese reading, writing, listening and speaking compared with Japanese children of the same age in Japan. Regarding reading skills, 69% said their children are at a lower level when compared with Japanese children in Japan, and 31% said they are at the same level. In terms of writing skills, 80% answered that their children's level is lower than those in Japan whereas 20% answered they are at an appropriate level considering their age. For listening and speaking proficiency, 65% said that their children have more or less the same level as Japanese children in Japan, whereas 35% said they are at a lower level compared with children in Japan. As Maxwell (2005) says "purposeful sampling" (p. 88), it is required to choose cases that deliver necessary information to answer the proposed research questions. During the process of my data collection and analysis, I selected two focal participants for case studies as Sunstein and Chiseri-Strater (2007) recite that "through the individual, we come to understand the culture, and through the culture, we come to understand the individual" (p. 286). The following section contains a profile of each of the participants detailing their background, daily language interactions and other related information, as well as a table showing a breakdown of the languages used in conversation. This information was gathered using the questionnaires covered in section 5.2.

● Hitoe

Hitoe is a six year old girl and her older brother, Aki, also attends the same school. They are the only siblings who took part in this study. During the interviews with her mother, she disclosed that she was divorced with her Spanish husband and the children still have a lot of contact with their Spanish grandparents. Every morning either their grandfather or grandmother come to their home to bring them to school. They also make an effort to find a little time in the morning and read some Spanish books before going to school.

Recently they read Don Quixote in Spanish which is written with simple Spanish for children. Despite her school language being Catalan, she uses more Spanish with her grandparents. Her mother thinks that her Spanish is better than her Catalan. She reads more Spanish books, plays games in Spanish and sometimes talks with her brother in Spanish. She loves drawing and copying picture books. At the Hoshuko grade one class, she is physically the smallest and also youngest kid.

Table 13. Hitoe's background

Conversation with his/her father	Conversation with his/her mother	Conversation with his/her siblings	Conversation with others (grandparents, etc.)
Spanish	Japanese	Spanish and Japanese	Spanish
30%	30%	20%	20%
Japanese study at home	Length of residence in Japan	Length of residence in other countries	Experience of going to school in Japan
Everyday	Three weeks every summer	N/A	No, but planning

● **Kandai**

Kandai is a seven year old boy, but at the Hoshuko he is in the same class as Hitoe. His unique characteristic is that he has a French father whose mother tongue is French. Being from a very multilingual family, he is curious about languages. At his weekday school, he is immersed in both Catalan and Spanish. At home he uses Japanese with his mother and two little brothers, French with his father and also hears English conversation from his parents. His parents met in Australia and he was born there as well. Therefore, they have spoken in English ever since they met. His mother wants him to learn French someday, but he has yet to begin studying this language. Having said so, his parents bought and prepared several French books for him and put them in the big bookshelf so that he will be able to access them easily anytime. His mother explained that currently Japanese is his strong language, but he likes writing in any language. Nowadays he keeps a diary in Japanese and often shows his teacher at the Hoshuko. As the teacher praises him and encourages him, he keeps writing longer and longer diary entries and enjoys it.

His mother is very keen about the children’s education, particularly language education and acquisition. Every summer she brings three children to Japan and enrolls them in a local Japanese kindergarten and primary school. In this way, they are able to learn not only authentic Japanese but also Japanese customs, culture, food, traditions, school system, etc. Normally they stay in Japan for one and half months and go to school for three weeks. The school they attend is actually the very same school that their mother attended when she was a child. However, for next year she has decided to let him stay longer so that he will be able to go to Japanese school for a longer period of time. By doing that, he will have to miss the last couple of weeks of his Spanish school term. Despite this, his mother thinks it would be a great experience for him. This indicates how the mother is particularly enthusiastic about the children’s language education, especially HL education.

Table 14. Kandai’s background

Conversation with his/her father	Conversation with his/her mother	Conversation with his/her siblings	Conversation with others (grandparents, etc.)
French	Japanese	French	French and Japanese
30%	25%	30%	15%
Japanese study at home	Length of residence in Japan	Length of residence in other countries	Experience of going to school in Japan
Only homework	Age 0 - 2.5 year old and three months every summer	0.5 years in France	Four times (four weeks each)

● Ken

Ken is seven years old and is also in the same class as the two students above. He has a younger brother, four years old who has just started going to the Hoshuko. At his weekday school, three languages are taught. It is said that this state-assisted school (*concertado* in Catalan which means half private and half public) offers classes in Catalan, Spanish and English, 33% each. Depending on the subjects or teachers, the use of language in the classroom would change. He has been going to this school since he was three years old. In addition to that, he has a private English teacher at home. He also likes to play games in English and watch YouTube in English. Therefore, his English level is quite good for

his age. His mother has a keen interest in Japanese studies, so she brings two children to Japan every summer and let them join summer camp there, go to local Japanese school or cramming school where private/group lessons are held. She thinks that this experience is important for them even if it is only for a short period of the time each year.

In Chapter 9, I further discuss Ken's case study, focusing on the literacy practices he engages in at home, what his mother's perspectives are, and how he uses technology at home. The reason why Ken was selected as a participant for the case study was because his linguistic and sociocultural profile is one of the most commons into the Spanish-Japanese families in Barcelona, and also because he and his family were particularly interested in my research and so they gave me access to all the information I needed.

Certainly, the children at the Hoshuko are very diverse and it is unwise to generalise. However, throughout 21 conducted interviews with 10 mothers (seven mothers were interviewed twice, two mothers were interviewed three times and one mother was interviewed once) and knowing lots of HLLs from my personal working experience at different Hoshukos, three of the mothers stood out very clearly from the others (the first mother is particularly anti-technology and strongly believes that critical thinking skills and creativity are more important for language development. The second mother is very keen about language education and paid special attention to help her daughter to improve her writing ability. Thanks to this encouragement, her daughter was able to publish her first novel at the age of eight. The third mother, who happens to be a teacher at Hoshuko, is very ambitious and strict about her son's language education). However, Ken's mother was not one of them. Since in Chapter 8, I discuss a very unique participant, Mika, it is important to focus on other children at the research site who do not exhibit such exceptional behaviour.

Table 15. Ken's background

Conversation with his/her father	Conversation with his/her mother	Conversation with his/her siblings	Conversation with others (grandparents, etc.)
Catalan	Japanese	Catalan, Spanish and Japanese	Catalan, Spanish and Japanese
30%	30%	30%	10%
Japanese study at home	Length of residence in Japan	Length of residence in other countries	Experience of going to school in Japan
Everyday	One month every summer	N/A	No, but planning

● **Mika**

Mika is seven year old girl and is also in grade one class at the Hoshuko. I would like to highlight this participant because she is unique in many ways. First of all, she goes to French school on weekdays despite not being from a French family. When her other was choosing a school, she thought what the best choice was for her child's future. As they live in Barcelona, it is easy to learn Catalan and Spanish. In terms of English, the parents can teach her at home. Therefore, the only options they felt they had were either French school or German school. So, at first they decided to send her to a German school, but then discovered that it was difficult for her to keep up with other students since they do not speak the language at home. If it is French, the mother is able to teach it to Mika a little bit because she also has experience learning it. Consequently, the parents chose a French school for her to attend, where she can also learn English, Catalan and Spanish.

Secondly, Mika's mother is very interested in languages. From my point of view, this makes this Japanese mother stand out as different from most other mothers. Her experience of living outside of Japan for 30 years makes her more open-minded and inquisitive when it comes to diverse cultures. She left Japan for New York City when she was 16 years old and started to learn French and Italian in addition to English and Spanish. She has been keeping a diary ever since she was six years old. She even showed me some of her previous diary entries she wrote in Japanese. During her interview, she even explained to me that writing in her diary is an important activity and if she does not write

anything, she feels uncomfortable. Of course, there are days that she is too busy to write anything. In that case, she writes something the following day, thinking back to what she did yesterday. Certainly, she wants her daughter to do the same thing, but does not force her to do that. Thus, she is waiting patiently until her daughter starts to keep her own diary one day.

Finally, this family is unique because this Japanese mother confessed that the parents are very anti-technology. They do not allow their child to use technology such as tablets, computers, mobile phones, etc. because they believe them to be harmful to the development of children. Moreover, they do not have a TV at home. This mother believes that reading books, drawing, playing the musical instruments, or just talking with parents are more important for her daughter than watching TV. She commented that even if they had a TV at home, Mika does not have time to watch it because she is very busy with different after school activities such as dancing, playing the piano, drawing, doing her homework, preparing for exams, etc. Having said so, the mother also recognises her daughter sometimes finds the parents' mobile phone and watches some YouTube and even sends LINE (an instant chat application) messages to her grandparents in Japan. The mother was surprised she knows how to use this mobile phone, type in Japanese and be able to send the messages.

Chapter 8 is a case study focusing on Mika, one of the participating students. Among 11 participating multilingual/multicultural children, I chose Mika in order to investigate how she approaches learning five different languages simultaneously. As a matter of fact, among 10 Japanese mothers of participating children in this study, Mika's mother talked the most during the interviews. According to Kvale (2007, 2016), one of the metrics used to assess the quality of semi-structured interviews focuses on how the interviewees take part in the interviews. It is said that the more concise the interviewer's questions are, the better, and the longer the interviewee's answers are, the better. The recording time of her interview is the longest and the transcription of her interviews has more words than any other. There are two reasons why I chose her as a case study participant. First of all, she has a great deal of exposure to literacy practices during her daily life and moreover, the

variety of languages that she uses on daily basis is numerous. She is constantly surrounded by five languages: 1) French, the school language is the one with which she has the most contact, 2) Spanish and Catalan are languages which are her societal languages, also, she uses these languages when she talks with her father because both these are his mother tongue, 3) Japanese is the important language when it comes to communicating with her mother and her extended family in Japan; furthermore, she and her mother claimed that her strongest language is Japanese. 4) Finally, English is the language that her parents consider very important. In fact, they sometimes use and teach it to her at home. With her age (seven year olds), she is able to manage multiple languages at the same time.

Secondly, because her mother is very unique in many ways compared to other Japanese mothers, I chose this child for a special case study. Among other keen Japanese mothers, she is one of the keenest mothers who always thinks what the best way is to develop her daughter's language skills and puts herself into the position of learning new things together with her. This mother is very open-minded, friendly, active and collaborative with my study and she helped me to conduct my research easily. She told me that she enjoyed having interviews with me because my questions made her think more about the most effective way of raising a child.

Table 16. Mika's background

Conversation with his/her father	Conversation with his/her mother	Conversation with his/her siblings	Conversation with others (grandparents, etc.)
Spanish and English	Japanese, English and French	N/A	Spanish
30%	70%	N/A	N/A
Japanese study at home	Length of residence in Japan	Length of residence in other countries	Experience of going to school in Japan
Everyday	1.5 months every summer	1.5 years in the USA	No, but planning

● Naoto

Naoto is seven years old and belongs to a grade two class in the Hoshuko. His mother is very interested in early childhood education and in fact, she has been teaching four year old children at this Hoshuko for six years. At home she spends hours and hours with her son, helping him to study Japanese because her goal is bringing Naoto's Japanese proficiency to the Japanese native childrens' level, despite him being born, raised and living in Spain. During the interview with this mother, she told me that as she is not working like other Japanese mothers, she has plenty of time to spend with her son and help him with his learning. Compared to the other participants, who do their homework only at home, he studies more outside of school. He reads a lot of books in Japanese, works on a lot of Japanese workbooks, practices kanji, writes cards, diary entries and essays and so on. The mother is very strict, for example when he makes mistakes in Japanese, she always forces him to correct it on the spot. She is interested in not only Japanese education but also English education. She believes English is a very important language in this globalised world. She even mentioned that Spanish and Catalan are almost useless if you leave Spain whereas English is useful in almost any country in the world. With her belief, she always forces him to listen to English educational CDs while they are having meals. Another relevant point is that they commute to the Hoshuko for about two hours by car. They live in a small Catalan village outside of Barcelona where almost no foreigner lives. They never miss the class at the Hoshuko because the mother is a teacher and cannot miss it. Moreover, they are the first family who arrive at school every Saturday morning. It shows that how keen they are to learn Japanese as a HL. Unfortunately, Naoto's mother decided to drop out of this study after the first interview due to the conflict of time. However, she gave me her permission to use the data from the first interview and submitted writing samples of Naoto. As she is a teacher at Hoshuko, she is too busy to have another interview with me on Saturdays.

Table 17. Naoto's background

Conversation with his/her father	Conversation with his/her mother	Conversation with his/her siblings	Conversation with others (grandparents, etc.)
Catalan	Japanese	N/A	Catalan

45%	54%	N/A	1%
Japanese study at home	Length of residence in Japan	Length of residence in other countries	Experience of going to school in Japan
Everyday	Two months every summer	N/A	Three time (four weeks each)

● Naoya

Naoya is an eight year old boy who has two little brothers. He likes reading and writing in any language. In fact, his Japanese teacher told me that he is the best student in his class in terms of exams, his homeworks and his behaviour in class. His Japanese is impressive, however surprisingly he does not speak Japanese at home. His mother claims that even if she asks or tells him instructions in Japanese, his response is in Catalan or Spanish. During the interview with this mother, she repeatedly mentioned that she does not want to force him to do something, for example speaking Japanese at home, read Japanese books, watch TV in Japanese and so on. Rather what she does is let him to choose what he likes. Moreover, she explained to me that at first he did not want to do his Japanese homework, but as she explained to him why homework is important. Then she told me that he decided to do his homework by himself without her forcing or urging him. In doing so, she is trying to give him a lot of opportunities to think for himself. In other words, she believes critical thinking skills are the most important. Finally, she added that so far her son has been enjoying learning Japanese and is willing to go to the Hoshuko every Saturday morning which is positive.

What is unique about this student is that he enjoys watching someone play video games rather than him playing himself. In the interview with him, he explained to me how interesting he finds watching gameplays in YouTube (videos of someone who shows how he or she is playing and explaining the way to play a video game). He finds it more interesting to know the strategies that the players use and understanding the scenes of the games.

Table 18. Naoya's background

Conversation with his/her father	Conversation with his/her mother	Conversation with his/her siblings	Conversation with others (grandparents, etc.)
Catalan	Japanese	Catalan and Japanese	Catalan and Spanish
20%	35%	35%	10%
Japanese study at home	Length of residence in Japan	Length of residence in other countries	Experience of going to school in Japan
Five days a week	Four months	N/A	No

● Aki

Aki is a very energetic nine year old boy who is an older brother of Hitoe. According to the information I got from some Japanese teachers, he likes to get attention from others in a class and often interrupts classes, even bothers others. In fact, he was diagnosed with ADHD (Attention Deficit Hyperactivity Disorder) a couple of years back. Due to the lack of Japanese proficiency, he joins a third grade class at the Hoshuko even if based on his biological age, he is supposed to be in fourth grade. However, he studies Japanese patiently with new classmates. Although he easily loses concentration during classes, he tries to do his homework and prepares kanji tests every week and his current teachers including former teachers acknowledge his effort. Still he loses his temper from time to time. In terms of his linguistic background, even though he goes to a local Catalan school, he often uses Spanish when he communicates with his family. Therefore, his mother assumes that his Spanish is better than his Catalan and Japanese. However, when it comes to leisure time he often watches YouTube in Japanese and chats with other video players in Japanese. I asked him more details during the interview and he responded that there are more Japanese players than Spanish ones who play his favourite games and he found it more convenient if he uses Japanese. He even mentioned that he is happy being Japanese because thanks to his Japanese knowledge, he is able to enjoy video games more.

Table 19. Aki's background

Conversation with his/her father	Conversation with his/her mother	Conversation with his/her siblings	Conversation with others (grandparents, etc.)
Catalan	Japanese	Catalan and Japanese	Catalan and Spanish

20%	35%	35%	10%
Japanese study at home	Length of residence in Japan	Length of residence in other countries	Experience of going to school in Japan
Everyday	Three weeks every summer	N/A	Twice (three weeks each)

● Kazuo

Kazuo is another interesting nine year old boy who has a linguistically and culturally diverse background. He was born in Florida, USA and went to day care there from age two to three. At the age of three, he came to Barcelona and started going to an international school there. However, when he was six years old, again he had to move back to Florida due to his father’s work. Therefore, he started at the local school where he was recognised as a gifted child. In fact, his mother demonstrated to me that his IQ at that time was 134. While they were in Florida he went to a Hoshuko in his district for two years and maintained his Japanese. After living there for two years, they moved back to Barcelona and he resumed going to the Hoshuko. Another point is that his mother volunteered for two years as a committee member to organising the Hoshuko. This shows that she is very enthusiastic toward language education. Despite the fact that this school is once a week, as it is organised by them, their workload is quite a lot. In fact, many parents do not want to volunteer there even though their children study there every Saturday. As she was nominated by many other Japanese mothers, she decided to dedicate her time to work voluntarily at the school. Moreover, she worked as a chair of committee member for a year which is technically the role of a principal of that school. She was the authority who decides on all matters such as policy, events, rules, etc. for the school.

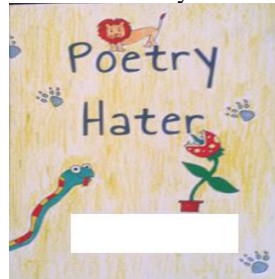
Table 20. Kazuo’s background

Conversation with his/her father	Conversation with his/her mother	Conversation with his/her siblings	Conversation with others (grandparents, etc.)
Spanish and English	Japanese	N/A	N/A
30%	70%	N/A	N/A
Japanese study at home	Length of residence in Japan	Length of residence in other countries	Experience of going to school in Japan
Everyday	Two months every summer	Four years in the USA	12 weeks (three times each)

- Nina

Nina, nine years old, is a very active girl. She has a brother at the Hoshuko who is just one year older than her. She likes reading and writing in any language, but especially in English which is her strongest language. During the interview with her mother in December 2015, she mentioned that Nina is making up stories with her friend and the following year surprisingly Nina and her friend published their first fiction novel in English. It has 14 chapters and 227 pages in total. Her private international school organises “Talent Development Programs” and those who are motivated to participate are welcome to join. Some show their fantastic dancing and others show impressive singing. In her case, she decided to assemble all of her writings that she has created so far and publish them with her best friend as a book. The following figure is the front page of this book. Nina and her friend also designed the cover page.

Figure 5. A book written by Nina and her friend



As can be guessed by the title, these two authors do not like poetry. In fact, in the self-introduction section that is the beginning of this piece of fiction, they confessed that they have been hated poetry since they were in grade two. In this novel, three main characters and five sub-characters appear and the setting of the scene is either at school or home. This is a paper-based book, not a digital version. Certainly, this is neither an official nor professional publication. The mother explained to me that these two authors sell books to other students at school, however with the money going to charity, not into their pockets. The action that she took shows that she loves writing very much and enjoys spending time doing that.

Her mother also worked as a committee member of the Hoshuko for four years and the last two years worked as a chair of committee member. Again, she is very keen on

language education. In fact, I decided to conduct this research when she was a chair of committee member. Therefore, I needed her approval to begin this research. After explaining to her what I have done so far as a Master and Ph.D student, she expressed her interests concerning my research and kindly permitted me to carry out this ethnographic research at this Hoshuko.

Table 21. Nina’s background

Conversation with his/her father	Conversation with his/her mother	Conversation with his/her siblings	Conversation with others (grandparents, etc.)
Spanish	Japanese	Japanese and English	N/A
30%	35%	35%	N/A
Japanese study at home	Length of residence in Japan	Length of residence in other countries	Experience of going to school in Japan
Four hours a week	Three weeks every summer	Six years in China	Four times (three weeks each)

● Natsuki

Natsuki is an only child and an 11 year old girl. She also likes writing and tries really hard to memorise kanji. She often takes an official kanji exam at the Hoshuko even if she lives in Barcelona and does not have special plans to live in Japan in the future. This official kanji exam called *Kanji nouryoku kentei* (Kanji Aptitude Test in English) is very different from the weekly kanji test taken during class. This kanji nouryoku kentei is designed for native speakers of Japanese and is not mandatory for the students at the Hoshuko, whereas all students have to complete a weekly kanji test during class, which is created by teachers. This official exam is organised by the Ministry of Education and there are 12 levels. The test examines not only one’s ability to read and write kanji, but also one’s ability to understand their meanings, to use them correctly in sentences, and to identify their correct stroke order. Natsuki’s mother believes that this exam is good motivation to learn kanji every day in Natsuki’s life. Therefore, she has taken this special exam almost every year since she was grade one. It is not compulsory, however she studies hard and prepares for it well.

Her weekday school is *concertada* with CLIL (Content and Language Integrated Learning) and they put more effort into teaching different subjects in English. Because of this school environment she has been exposed to English since she was four years old. Now she is able to write essays in English and enjoys writing. Her mother purposefully chose this school because she thought this method (CLIL) would be beneficial for Natsuki. Pérez Vidal (2013) mentions that CLIL has shown some success and the approach has become an attractive prospect in Europe not only for policy makers, but also for teachers and families. She continues by saying, “parents seem to have realized that CLIL has the potential to motivate students to learn” (p. 64).

When I conducted the first interview with her mother, Natsuki did not have her mobile phone. However, two years later during the third interview with her mother, she claimed that finally she had given her daughter a new iPhone and she was the last student in her class (weekday school) who had a mobile phone. In other words, all of her classmates received their own phones earlier than her. Another interesting after school activity she does is learning piano from a Japanese piano teacher. Her mother commented Natsuki’s learning experience of piano and Japanese explicitly.

[Citation 4-5] うちの子は、バルセロナでピアノを日本人の先生から習っているんですよ。だからソルフェージュとか書く時は日本語なんです。それから使っているピアノの教科書も日本語だし。もちろんレッスンの時も先生はずっと日本語で指導するから、そうやって日本語にも触れてほしいなと思ってもちろんスペイン人のピアノの先生はたくさんいるけど、あえて日本人の先生を選んだんです。

She (Natsuki) learns piano from a Japanese teacher in Barcelona. So, she writes solfeggio in Japanese and the piano textbooks are in Japanese too. Of course, during lessons, this teacher uses Japanese to teach piano. I wanted my daughter to be exposed to Japanese using this method. Therefore, although there are tons of Spanish piano teachers, I intentionally chose a Japanese piano teacher for my daughter.

Most of the students at the Hoshuko do not have after school activities which are carried out in Japanese. However, as Natsuki’s piano teacher is a Japanese, she has the chance to be exposed to more Japanese, other than when she talks with her mother in Japanese every day. I can say that her mother is also keen on HL education because she is a delegate in

grade five at the Hoshuko. At this school at least one parent has to be a delegate of the class and communicate with teachers and other parents. Voluntarily she chose this position which indicates that she is willing to get involved with the Hoshuko’s activities. Moreover, she often helps cultural events at school and teaches Japanese culture to children, for example, Japanese tea ceremony, Japanese flower arrangement, Japanese traditional calligraphy, etc.

Table 22. Natsuki’s background

Conversation with his/her father	Conversation with his/her mother	Conversation with his/her siblings	Conversation with others (grandparents, etc.)
Catalan	Japanese	N/A	N/A
20%	80%	N/A	N/A
Japanese study at home	Length of residence in Japan	Length of residence in other countries	Experience of going to school in Japan
Three days a week	One month every year	N/A	Three months

● Asuka

Asuka is the oldest of the 11 participants at 14 years old. She has an older brother who used to go to the same Hoshuko. However, he decided to stop attending the school as he goes to football practice on Saturdays. Asuka likes reading and writing in Spanish. She loves taking care of young children and I often saw her playing with girls aged four or five in the library or in the school grounds. When I conducted the first interviews with each student, she was the only one who owned a mobile phone, the rest of the participants were too young. Therefore, she submitted digital writing samples, such as instant messages (IMs). During my interview with her mother, she mentioned an interesting habit her daughter has. When her daughter receives a present from one of her friends, she keeps the wrapping paper and writes a message in Spanish (when, from who, what she got and so on).

Her mother has worked as a secretary as well as a coordinator at the Hoshuko for about 20 years and as a result, she knows the history of it very well. Her primary responsibilities

include contract sheets for teachers, collecting tuition fees from parents, welcoming new students, updating the school website, receiving official textbooks from the Japanese Consulate General in Barcelona, ensuring the teachers get paid, administering the income and outgoings of the school. There is no other secretary at this school, so she plays a very important role.

Table 23. Asuka's background

Conversation with his/her father	Conversation with his/her mother	Conversation with his/her siblings	Conversation with others (grandparents, etc.)
Spanish	Japanese	Spanish	N/A
40%	40%	20%	N/A
Japanese study at home	Length of residence in Japan	Length of residence in other countries	Experience of going to school in Japan
Only homework	Three months	N/A	No

4.6 Researcher's positionality

I approached this research as an insider in some ways. This Hoshuko was very familiar to me as a research setting because I used to work at this school for four years. In fact, six out of 11 of the participants were my former students, therefore I know both them and their parents well. During data collection I held a dual role as a teacher and a researcher. These experiences afforded me both access to and insider knowledge of the school. A common language and culture (Japanese) with the participants is an important factor in how I approached and interpreted collected data. As Ganga and Scott (2006) highlight, this factor is beneficial in order to increase depth of understanding qualitative data. However, Srivastava (2006) considers the notion of a researcher being either an insider or an outsider to be overly simplistic, as a researcher's identity and position can shift depending on their ongoing relationship with the participants. In addition to interviews, there were some unexpected opportunities to extend my fieldwork. Those opportunities consisted mostly of invitations to private family events. For instance, I was asked to join family dinners, give private lessons and also do some child minding, which included not

only looking after the children whilst they were at home, but also picking them up from school. Those were unplanned opportunities for me to converse with parents, to spend more time with children and foremost, to develop a stronger relationship with my research participants. I always carried my small notebook with me which was an ethnographic diary (see section 5.6) and made notes when I got some relevant information. I made notes in Japanese with a pen, but after I got home, I translated some useful parts and put this information into my computer, which meant converting it to digital format to store it.

According to Creswell and Miller (2000), the findings of all research are always the interpretations of the researcher and co-constructed to some extent by the participants. Although I ceased working as a teacher at this school halfway through the study, I continued my work there as a researcher on behalf of the school, which may bring an element of subjectivity to this study. However, given that I know most of my participants well, the research site allowed me to utilise my deep understanding of the current situation at the Hoshuko, as well as my knowledge of the students. According to Spielmann and Radnofsky (2001), this is information that an outsider would have had to spend a long time trying to accumulate. If I borrow the expression that Bogdan and Biklen (2006) used, my long history of working at Hoshukos as a teacher (seven years in Toronto and four years in Barcelona) helped me “blend into the woodwork” (p. 39).

4.7 Ethical Considerations

Ethical considerations are often discussed with respect to the early stages of a research project, and in form the perspective of overall documentation and preparation for data collection. However, Dórnyei (2007) and Kubanyiova (2008) point out that such traditional ethical standards are not fully appropriate or exhaustive, and call for more contextualized ethical considerations, especially for situate research. For instance, Kubanyiova (2008) differentiates between traditional ethical considerations, what she calls “macroethics” and contextualised ethical considerations meaning “microethics.”

Following her insights, in this section I consider ethical issues related to my project from the perspective of both macroethics and microethics.

4.7.1 Macroethics

After working as a teacher at the Hoshukos, I was given the opportunity to begin my research at the Hoshuko in Barcelona. First of all, my approach was to talk with all five committee members about my research after school. They all showed interest in my research and asked me to explain my teaching experience at different Hoshuko. I shared everything that I obtained at the Hoshuko in Canada such as teaching materials, school events, teachers education, management of the school, etc. After that, they asked me to give a presentation about HL education and multilingual education to the parents at the Hoshuko in Barcelona. I accepted this invitation and we decided when I would do that in a parents' meeting. A few months later, I was allowed to skip my class in order to give the presentation and introduce my research at the parents' meeting. For this meeting, I prepared 24 PowerPoint slides to talk about the multilingualism of Japanese children. Also I prepared a research project information sheet, and informed consent forms (Appendix 12). After explaining my research aims, ethical considerations, and the way in which I wanted to conduct my research at the Hoshuko, I gave my prospective participants the opportunity to ask questions regarding this study. I emphasised that participation in the study was not compulsory, and that they could withdraw from participation in the project at any stage if they so wished. At the end of the meeting, I gained the approval of all the parents of children in this school, and some of the parents also allowed me to engage with their other children, for example siblings of the children at the same school.

4.7.2 Microethics

The children who participated in my study were ranged in age from six to 14 years old and therefore I had to secure permission from their parents to conduct this research. I

explained the objectives and goals of my study more thoroughly to each participant's mother and these mothers explained in their own words to their children. My data collection at this school focused mostly on collecting writing samples and some screenshots of apps and websites they are using outside of the Hoshuko. It was not asking them to do specific task or extra tasks, rather it was allowing them to choose whatever they wished. Also I asked them to provide me with one recess (approximately 20 minutes) to conduct interviews with each child. If I would have asked them to dedicate more recesses, they would not have accepted my request because the recess is the time that they are looking forward to the most at the Hoshuko every Saturday. I assumed that I should not take up their favourite time.

For parents, I decided to conduct interviews with Japanese mothers as opposed to non-Japanese speaking fathers because Japanese mothers usually bring their children to the Hoshuko every Saturday morning. I thought that as they have to stay and wait for their children at school, that I have time to conduct interviews with these mothers during the break. Therefore, I asked them to give me time in order to carry out three interviews during the break or after school. After the first interview, I also asked them to provide me with some writing samples as well as some screenshots of apps and websites that their children use on a daily basis. Overall, most parents seemed to enjoy having a conversation about their children and these educational topics, as they sometimes that enquired enthusiastically about our next interview. This of course increased the parents' willingness to allow me to have a deeper conversation with them for the purposes of my study.

CHAPTER 5

METHODOLOGY

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In this chapter I will look at the ethnographic analytical procedure. I conducted fieldwork at Hoshuko in Barcelona between October 2015 and March 2017, for eighteen months. In terms of methodology, I use several ethnographic techniques and tools, with an ecological and emic approach, focusing on the different points of view of the subjects of our field (students, their families and teachers).

5.1 Ethnographic Data Collection Procedure

The methodology consists of five parts: 1) questionnaires about students' linguistic background, 2) interviews, 3) writing samples of participants, 4) some screenshots of the apps/websites, and 5) ethnographic diary. The data collection schedule is shown in Table 24. Although most of the data collection was conducted during this eighteen-month period, I kept in touch with the participants' Japanese mothers occasionally via WhatsApp and emails: therefore, some of the data I used in this thesis were collected outside the intensive fieldwork period.

Table 24. Data collection schedule

	Oct-Dec, 2015	Jan-Mar, 2016	Apr-Jun, 2016	Jul-Sep, 2016	Oct-Dec, 2016	Jan-Mar, 2017
Questionnaire	✓					
First round of interviews	✓	✓				
Second round of interviews		✓	✓			
Interviews for case studies						✓
Collecting writings			✓	✓	✓	✓
Collecting screenshots					✓	✓
Ethnographic diary	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓

The process of collecting and analysing writing samples and screenshots of apps and websites from 11 participants was not easy, because the collected data samples vary greatly in terms of their format and content type. These samples were written in five languages by children of different ages and different language abilities. For these reasons, I decided to choose two particular students to be the focus of in-depth case studies. Merriam (1998) states the importance of case studies by explaining that qualitative research can focus on the individual phenomena in which the results are embedded with the individuals' experiences. Therefore, I took a case study approach in order to research the children's literacy practices at home in detail, from their birth until now, their way of using technology, how the whole family tries to support their HL development, etc. As Gaskell and Bauer (2000) and Richards (2009) manifest the importance of triangulation in order to ensure validity of the study in qualitative research. Triangulation is thus traditionally recognised as one effective way to reduce chances of biased results by confirming equivalent results from different methods and data resources. Paradoxically, Dörnyei (2007) mentions that the concept of triangulation through cross data collection might cause cases in which corresponding results show disagreements. In addition, Danjo (2015) stresses as follow.

[I]t is important to clarify that the purpose of employing multiple methods in this thesis was not only for confirming the validity of data through *triangulation*, but also for taking such disagreements into consideration (p. 65)

In my case, data from different sources including participants' interviews, analysis of writing samples, apps and websites as well as my ethnographic diary helped me to triangulate the data and strengthen the validity of my interpretations. My prolonged engagement with the two subjects of the case study in particular, allowed me to strengthen the credibility of my study.

5.2 Questionnaires

The first method I implemented for my study is using questionnaires to gather initial information, which is common in sociocultural studies. At the very beginning of this study I distributed a two page questionnaire (see Appendix 13 for a complete questionnaire of the original Japanese version) to 11 participants' parents attached with a consent form (Appendix 12). This questionnaire was based on two different sources. The first of which is the questionnaire used by Sano et al. (2014). Their study also looked into the bilingual writing practices of mixed Japanese children, more specifically, Canadian-Japanese children in the Hoshuko in Toronto who are in the same age range as my participants. The other source actually comes from my research site, the Hoshuko in Barcelona. At the beginning of the new academic year in April, the committee members hand out the questionnaire concerning students' linguistic backgrounds to the parents, once completed they submit them to each classroom teacher. Moreover, during the course of my research I asked the parents to evaluate their child's language proficiencies. As this was self-assessed, I had to be careful to bear this in mind when evaluating the accuracy of the answers. The original school questionnaire mentioned above was enquiring only about the child's Japanese proficiency. However, due to my study's focus on multilingualism, it was essential for me to redesign it in order to get the information I would need to better understand each child's linguistic skill set in all the languages they use. Therefore, I modified the questionnaire by removing irrelevant questions, clarifying or otherwise paraphrasing certain questions, but most importantly by adding a few more questions of

my own in order to get more detailed background information on my participants. Consequently, this questionnaire was designed to give me some background information about the family's literacy practices and language use prior to the interviews I conducted with both the parents and their children, in order to help me focus my interview questions. This questionnaire also served as another data point for triangulating my findings by helping me see whether the responses matched the subsequent interview data. The following illustrates all questions that I asked in this two page questionnaire sheets. Since this is self-reported, the response could be very subjective.

[Translation of the questionnaire]

Please answer the following questions about your child.

1. The language of weekday school (Catalan/Spanish/English/Others)

Language use at home

2. Conversation between your child and his/her father (Japanese/Catalan/Spanish/English/Others)

3. Father's mother tongue _____

4. Conversation between your child and his/her mother (Japanese/Catalan/Spanish/English/Others)

5. Mother's mother tongue _____

6. Conversation between your child and his/her siblings (Japanese/Catalan/Spanish/English/Others/No siblings)

The percentage of the conversation at home

7. With father ___%

8. With mother ___%

9. With siblings ___%

10. With other family members ___%

11. Japanese proficiency (Please write your child's Japanese proficiency from parents' perspective. For example, it is average level for this age, or he/she lack of vocabulary, etc.)

Speaking _____ Listening _____

Reading _____ Writing _____

12. Other language proficiency (Please choose two strong languages for a child and compare this with his/her Japanese proficiency)

The language _____

Speaking _____ Listening _____

Reading _____ Writing _____

13. The language _____

Speaking _____ Listening _____

Reading _____ Writing _____

14. How often does your child study Japanese at home?

(Everyday/____days a week/Only doing homework/Almost nothing/ ____ hours in a week)

15. How long has your child lived in Japan?

(In total ____ years/Never/He or she goes to Japan regularly/How often_____/How long _____)

16. Has your child lived in ANY foreign country except Spain?

(Country _____/How long _____)

17. Has your child been to school in Japan?

(____ times/How long _____/Never/We are planning)

18. Has your child been to Nihonjin gakko (Japanese weekday school) in Barcelona?

(____ times/ How long _____/Never/We are planning)

Expectations and needs

19. How much homework of the Hoshuko would you like your child to do?

(The amount that requires him/her to do homework everyday/The amount that requires three or four days/The amount that requires one day/As little as possible)

20. In which aspects do you want your child to improve?

(Reading comprehension/Writing essays/Kanji/Conversation/Calligraphy/Others)

21. Which level of his or her Japanese do you aim for?

(The level required to reach take official entrance exam in Japan/The level sufficient to go to school in Japan/The level sufficient to go to Nihonjin gakko in Barcelona/The level sufficient to understand textbooks in Japanese)

22. If you would like to let your teacher know something about your child, please write below.

The questionnaire was written in Japanese while the consent form was written in Catalan. Some Japanese mothers understand Catalan, however I explained verbally in Japanese what it is written on the form. Since one of the school policies is “Japanese only at school” all of the materials and announcements are normally written in Japanese and I followed this rule. Also all of the participants’ mothers happened to be Japanese, thus I thought it would be easier for them to express and provide me more detailed information about their children if they are permitted to use Japanese. The return rate was 100% and I asked 22 questions in order to understand the language use at home, literacy practices inside and outside of school, proficiency of each language, their needs and requests to the school, their future plan, etc. There is 10 open-ended question, seven multiple choice questions, and five multiple choice questions with the possibility of adding additional info for certain options. I asked further to participants if their answers were not clear. This questionnaire developed by Sano et al. (2014) has been already validated and used in other research projects in HL schools.

5.3 Interviews: Ethnographic and Semi-Structured Interviews

One of the most important methods for ethnographic case studies is an interview. This is the second method I utilised in my research. I conducted interviews with 11 students, six teachers and 10 Japanese mothers. The reason why their mothers were interviewed as opposed to their fathers is because Kondo (1998) describes that HLLs' parents, particularly mothers, play a key role in literacy for young children. The secondary reason is that I have had more opportunities to speak with Japanese mothers at the Hoshuko than to Spanish/Catalan/French fathers and it was easier for these Japanese mothers to find the time to take part in the interviews after school on Saturdays. The following table shows some key interview statistics.

Table 25. Interviews with students, mothers and teachers

Interviewee type	Number of interviewees	Number of interviews	Total interview time
Student	11	One interview with each participant	9 hours 17 minutes
Mother	8	Two interviews with each participant	8 hours 28 minutes
	2 for case studies	Three interviews with each participant	7 hours 31 minutes
Teacher	3 from the Hoshuko	Two interviews with each participant	3 hours 9 minutes
	3 from other Japanese and Spanish schools	One interview with each participant	2 hours 45 minutes

These semi-structured interviews help to have intensive conversations with participants, while allowing the researcher to direct topics of conversation towards prepared themes (Ayres, 2008). For semi-structured interviews, I arranged interview dates with parents and teachers in advance. The first in-depth multi-situated interview with parents was explorative and diagnostic in nature. Its purpose was to gather information about the student's profile, their historical information about language learning and their literacy practices, whilst the second interview's purpose was to determine their literacy activities and attitudes with a particular focus on their digital literacy practices and collected writing samples and screenshots of the apps/websites that the participants regularly use.

The first semi-structured interviews with parents lasted between 45 and 64 minutes and constituted of between 4,000 and 7,000 translated words each. The second series of interviews lasted between 50 and 61 minutes and constituted between 5,000 and 8,400 words each in English. Although Gaskell and Bauer (2000) argue that interviewing should minimise the interviewer's influence, I regard interviewing as a "knowledge producing activity" (p. 2) as Kvale and Brinkmann (2009) describe. Furthermore, Kvale (2007) states that "knowledge is produced through the interaction between an interviewer and an interviewee" (xv). Namely, as Danjo (2015) mentions, "the role of the interviewer was not to elicit the interviewee's existing knowledge" (p. 69), but rather as Arksey and Knight (1999) describe, the role is "to make explicit things that have hitherto been implicit – to articulate their tacit perceptions, feelings and understandings" (p. 32). In this respect, all of the information I gathered from 21 interviews with mothers was used to contextualise the interactions as well as relationship between informants and researcher. The following are the lists of the questions that I asked to parents.

<The first interview with parents>

1. Could you explain what you are doing at home/weekday school in order to improve students' writing in Spanish, Catalan and Japanese? What are the strategies, methods or techniques you are using?
2. Please make me a narration of the last two activities you did at home with your kids.
3. How often do they practice writing at home/weekday school?
4. How often do your students have authentic situations, audiences (responses) and purposes that they write in and outside of school?
5. What do you think about a difference between children that have them and not?
6. What kind of novels, tales, etc. do they read? In which language?
7. How do they use technology? Do they learn Japanese writing with pencil and paper or with screens and keyboards or both? Which kind of texts, genre are they doing? (social networks, blogging, chatting, IMs, WhatsApp, Line...).
8. If they use apps or websites to improve their Japanese, could you tell me which ones?
9. What kinds of videogames are they playing? In which language?
10. Which language do you think is the most important for them to write in? And why?
11. In terms of writing, which aspects do you want them to improve? (e.g., orthography, spelling, use of conjunction, paragraph structures, etc.)
12. How do you think technology affects children's writing? Do you think your children's writing is enhanced or hampered by using technology?

<The second interview with parents>

1. How many computers and tablets are there at home? Does your child play games and watch YouTube using your mobile phone? How many hours does he/she play? Is there any time limit?

2. In which language does your child play games and watch YouTube? From your point of view, do you want him/her to watch it in Japanese?
3. Does he/she use Japanese games or applications to improve Japanese?
4. Japan is often considered to be a superior country in the field of technology among all other nations. What do you think?
5. What do you think the difference is between Japanese games/applications and Spanish/English ones?
6. Does your child have his/her own email address? Or does he/she use your email address to send emails? In which language does he/she write emails?
7. Does your child write a diary? Does he/she enjoy writing or feel obligated to write due to homework?
8. Does his/her weekday school assign a homework task of keeping a diary?
9. In Japan, keeping a diary is typical writing activity that all teachers assign. Especially, during summer break many teachers ask children to maintain a diary entry as homework. On the other hand, in Spain a diary is considered personal and they do not show it to anybody. Regarding a diary, do you feel there are any other differences between Spain and Japan?

Most of the mothers sent me their children's writing samples and screenshots of apps via email or WhatsApp. I took advantage of that online exchange to ask them additional questions. Some examples are shown below.

<Further questions to parents>

1. (While looking at collected writing samples) What does your child write about?
2. Was it his/her homework or assignment or class note? Or did they write it for fun?
3. As a parent, how did you help him/her write this?
4. In which language does your child like to write? And why?
5. (While looking at collected screenshots of apps/websites) Please explain about them.
6. How often does your child use them?
7. For what purpose, does he/she use them?
8. How did he/she find them?
9. Does he/she use alone or with other people? (e.g., siblings, friends, teachers, other players, etc.)

Although seven teachers showed interest in participating in this study, I could carry out interviews only with three teachers at the Hoshuko due to restricted schedule. With two teachers, the interviews were conducted at the Hoshuko after class on Saturdays whereas with one teacher, the interviews were carried out at a coffee shop during weekdays. All of the teachers were female and have had experience working with multilingual children at the Hoshuko. Furthermore, one of them has had experience teaching at primary school level, and another at junior high school in Japan. All three teachers enthusiastically took

part in the study, provided me with classroom materials and homework and shared their ideas as well as their opinions. The experience level of teachers at this Hoshuko ranges from one to 11 years, with an average of 5.6 years. At the time of the interviews, one teacher was teaching grade one, one teaching grade two and another, grade five.

As secondary informants, I recruited two Japanese female teachers in Japan and one male Catalan teacher in Barcelona. They were asked specific questions on the subjects of diary education in Japan/Catalonia, teaching writing to multilingual children and so on. Regarding the two Japanese teachers, one was from a private school in Japan and the other one was from a public high school in Japan. These two teachers in Japan both have more than 20 years of experience in working with Japanese children who used to live outside of Japan. I chose the two teachers from these schools primarily because their schools accept Japanese students who have lived abroad in the past, are multilingual and are likely to have an inferior command of the Japanese languages when compared to Japanese students of the same age who were raised in Japan. I used Skype to speak with teachers who are currently in Japan. In terms of the Catalan teacher, he has been teaching English at public primary schools in Barcelona for approximately seven years. As he was born and raised in Barcelona, he was able to speak about the Catalonian educational system as well as his own childhood experiences. I exchanged several emails with him, in addition to an informal interview at a coffee shop. These email exchanges and interview were carried out both in Spanish and English.

The first semi-structured interviews with teachers at the Hoshuko lasted between 30 and 44 minutes and constituted between 4,000 and 6,700 translated words each. The second series of interviews took between 30 and 41 minutes and constituted between 5,000 and 6,400 words each in English. The interview questions asked to the teachers follow.

<The first interview with teachers>

1. Please tell me with detail a normal class you do with your students to improve students' writing. What are the strategies, methods or techniques you are using?
2. How often do they practice writing in your class?
3. How often do your students have authentic situations, audiences (responses) and purposes that they write in your class?

4. What do you think about a difference between children that have them and not?
5. Which language do you think is the most important for them to write in?
6. In terms of writing, which aspects do you want them to improve? (e.g., orthography, spelling, usage of conjunction, paragraph structures, etc.)
7. How different between your students who are learning Japanese with other mother tongues and Japanese monolingual children? What do you think about their learning curve?
8. What kind of homework do you provide to your students?
9. How do you evaluate homework?
10. How do you correct and teach Japanese writing through homework?
11. When you give assignments or homework, do you take into consideration students' linguistic previous knowledge?

<The second interview with teachers>

1. What are the difficulties for you to teach culturally and linguistically diverse students?
2. If you use certain apps or websites to improve their Japanese, could you tell me?
3. Have you introduced some websites to parents as supplement studies?
4. How do you think technology affects children's writing? Do you think your children's writing is enhanced or hampered using technology?
5. Please explain the materials that you often use in your class.
6. (While looking at Japanese writing samples) How did you teach this?
7. Why did you decide to give this assignment/task?
8. What were objectives of this assignment/task?

The interviews were also conducted with children during recess in the Hoshuko. So, it would not have been methodologically useful to conduct question-answer interview sessions with children at such a young age; though these interviews proved very efficient, as I could undertake them at times when the children were willing to talk about different episodes taking place at home or at school. Originally, I planned to conduct two interviews with them, but I ended up carrying out only one with each student because it was quite challenging to engage them during recess which is play time for them. The semi-structured interviews with students lasted between 15 and 22 minutes and constituted between 1,700 and 2,500 translated words each. The questions asked are as follows.

<The interview with students>

1. Why do you want to study Japanese?
2. What do you like and dislike about the Hoshuko?
3. What literacy activities have you engaged in recently, and using what language?
4. Do you celebrate Japanese/Spanish/Catalan holidays in your family?
5. Do you like reading/writing/speaking/listening in any language? And why?
6. Can you read Japanese books for your age? Which book did you read recently?

7. How and how often do you communicate with your extended family in Japan?
8. Do you like to use technology such as computers, tablets, mobile phones, etc? What do you do with them?
9. Who did you teach how to use these devices?
10. How often/with whom/where and when do you use these devices?

After conducting 19 interviews with 10 Japanese mothers and 11 students, I noticed that their background, their literacy practices at home and their mothers' perceptions all varied, and as a result it was difficult to generalise. Therefore, I decided to conduct two in-depth case studies focusing on two participants. Incorporating case studies allowed me the opportunity to investigate the situations of two students to a deeper level than would otherwise be possible, and grants the ability to investigate the dynamics of the group and how they work together. As Denscombe (2016) notes, the case study contributes to the possibility of getting a deep and wide insight of the research object but has not contributed to a generalisability of the study. However, Denscombe (2016, p. 104) contends that defining the limits of a case study can be hard.

All of the interviews were audio recorded, transcribed, translated into English as accurately as possible and later analysed. The recordings were transcribed according to the transcription conventions given in the appendix of this thesis. However, in the interests of conciseness and relevance, I did not include all of the conversational turns between participants and a researcher. Instead, I summarised their answers for the transcription. The interview questionnaires were designed with open-ended questions so that participants were able to answer freely. However, I did not transcribe backchannels in Japanese, such as “etto” (um in English) and “nanka” (like in English). The language spoken during the interviews was Japanese because I interviewed Japanese parents and Japanese teachers and their mother tongue is Japanese. In order to get as much useful information as possible, I decided to use the language in which the interviewees would be most proficient. When I had interviews with students, I gave them the option to choose the language to be used in the interview and everyone chose Japanese even if from time to time they used some Spanish words and phrases during the interviews. Unsurprisingly, the context of Hoshuko is the place where children and parents are sensitive of their language use, the topics related to language often appeared in their daily conversations, and I was not always the one to bring up those topics for the purposes of research.

Gillham (2005) argues that “significant themes can only be elicited by allowing the individual to give their account in their own way, without the fragmentation of structured questioning which may lose the thread of the narrative” (p. 45). Thus, my study extensively employs ethnographic open-interviews. These interviews maximised the opportunity for participants to engage with their daily conversations and narratives by minimising researchers’ control over topics. Principally, I joined parents’ and/or children’s conversations in the Hoshuko and minimised my interference through asking prepared questions. When I came across specific events which I wanted to explore in more depth, I asked participants for further details. In addition, the longitudinal ethnographic interviewing also allows researchers to consider revisions and contradictions which participants express. Kanno (2003) explains narrative inquiry as follows.

In narrative inquiry, such revisions and contradictions are not aberrant factors to be resolved, but are viewed as narrative adjustments that reflect the teller’s changing perspectives” (p. 10).

In terms of the two case study subjects, my primary interest was to observe how they have adjusted their perceptions in realtime, as well as to identify contradictions between their beliefs and their actual practices. The ethnographic interview was essential to this part of the study, as it enabled me to understand how their perceptions have changed over a three year period, in addition to what they believe as “good” in general. Data analysis was structured around qualitative, iterative and inductive interpretation of audio data supported by interview transcripts, ethnographic diary and analysis of inclusion indicators. The Computer Aided Qualitative Data Analysis Software package Atlas.ti was used to identify patterns in the data, to select key episodes for more in-depth analysis and to enhance the semantic, rigorous scrutiny of the complex multimedia data set. In order to analyse the interview transcripts systematically, after transcribing in Japanese and translating into English, I implemented the grounded theory approach (Charmaz, 2003), consisting of the following four steps.

Step 1. Coding each meaningful utterance.

Step 2. Identifying main categories and subcategories.

Step 3. Choosing the most frequent and relevant codes.

Step 4. Documenting the most frequent and relevant categories.

When interview data was transcribed and translated, I made one separate space besides such data so as to make notes various things. For instance, sometimes contextual information and non-verbal information were written down in order to take those into account during the analysis. Also my intuitive thoughts when I transcribed or wrote down the data were kept as records. Since Darlington and Scott (2002) and Yin (2011) suggest, the transcribing process itself stimulates researchers' comments, conjectures and interpretations of the data. Having said that, such notes are based on the researchers' intuition which is considered subjective, rather than on systematic analysis which is more objective. However, as Danjo (2015) also says, this kind of notes are very useful when I classify and code data throughout the process of analysis.

Broad categories of emerging themes were identified across the data sets. The interview data was then further coded according to; literacy practice type; activity type; language use; genre type; and whether using technology or not. On the other hand, I spent a great deal of time reading the Atlas.ti user guide, searching sample data sets, watching YouTube tutorials, and participating in an online workshop in order to utilise it correctly and effectively. As Hwang (2010) stresses, using this software can be time saving and more effective in terms of project management. Learning from Herbert Simon "human (expertise)+computer (data processing)" can yield a better performance (Klahr & Kotovsky, 1989).

5.4 Writing Samples

The third method is collecting writing samples that my participants produce. The parents gave permission for their children's material to be used (Denscombe, 2016). These participants were requested to submit some writing samples they created in order to reveal what kind of literacy practices they exhibit whilst inside and outside of school. In terms

of genre of texts (Table 26), two types of texts were collected from informants. One of them is students' hand-written texts and the other one is digital texts.

Table 26. Genre of writing

Means of writing	In school writing	Out-of-school writing
With handwriting	Essays Class notes	Diary entries Seasonal cards Leisure writings Letters Kanji cards Game cards Stories Novels
With a keyboard (digital texts)	Essays	IMs

I listed essays and class notes under in school writing because they were either written at school or were assignments from school. I listed cards, letters, stories, leisure essays and novels under out-of-school writing because they were not meant for teachers (except for one card which was written for a retired teacher). Diary entries can be controversial in terms of classification, because they are normally considered a personal activity, however all of collected diary entries were submitted to either the Catalan or Japanese teachers at schools in the form of homework. They could, therefore, also be considered academic writings. For the digital texts, I thought that it would interesting to see both formal and informal texts in four or five working languages. For example, formal texts are a report to submit in school, a written production that students do in school and so on. Apparently, they involve much more academic vocabulary whereas informal texts are more casual and with unconventional formats that adolescents use frequently among themselves. These informal texts were taken from WhatsApp, casual letters and cards to their family members. Some of them are academic and formal writings and others are not. Moreover, some of them are in Spanish and others are in Japanese, English, Catalan or even French. Graph 9 illustrates the types of writing and Table 27 shows the language they used for this writing activity.

Graph 9. Types of writing

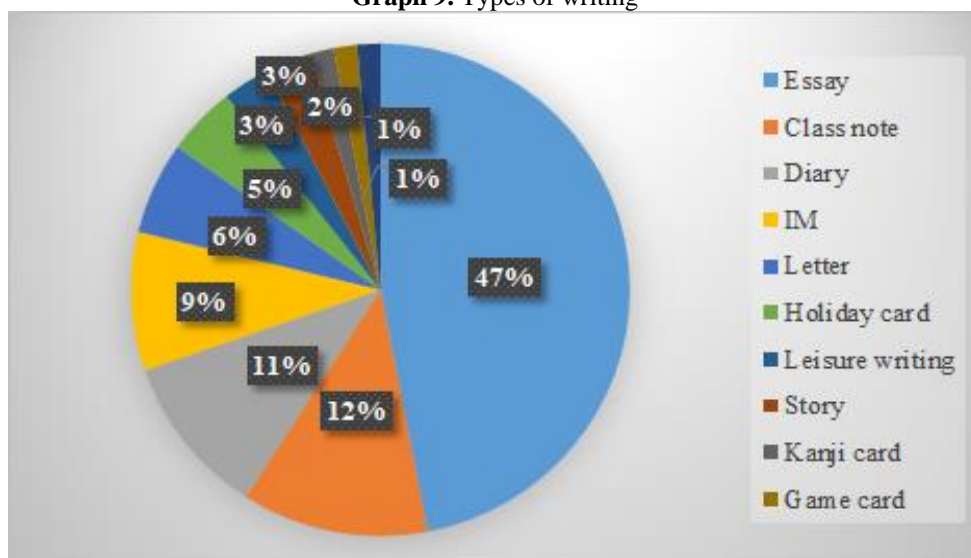


Table 27. Language selected for various genres of writing

Name	Catalan	Spanish	English	Japanese	French
Hitoe	*	*	*	2 x E 2 x Mobile game	*
Kandai	1 x E 1 x D	*	*	1 x E 1 x D 1 x Card	*
Ken	4 x C	2 x PS4 game	*	6 x E 1 x D 3 x Nintendo 2DS game	*
Mika	*	1 x L	*	3 x E 1 x L 1 x Card 2 x Leisure writing	1 x D
Naoto	1 x L	*	*	1 x E 1 x L 1 x Kanji card	*
Naoya	*	1 x Story	*	2 x E 2 x D 1 x Card 1 x Game card 1 x Story	*
Aki	*	3 x Mobile game	*	2 x E	*

Kazuo	*	*	4 x C 2 x Educational website	1 x E 1 x D 1 x Leisure writing	*
Nina	2 x E	1 x E	1 x E 1 x Educational website 1 x Novel	1 x E	*
Natsuki	2 x E	*	1 x E	1 x E	*
Asuka	*	2 x E 1 x IM	5 x IM	1 x E	*

*=No sample submitted. E=Essay. C=Class note. L=Letter. D=Diary entry. IM=Instant messages.

In terms of how best to count the writing samples, initially, it was not quite clear. Therefore, I established a rule. If a writing sample consists of multiple pages, for example a three page essay, it will still be counted only as one writing sample. Please note that Kandai's game cards and Naoto's kanji cards were counted as one writing sample because they are all part of the same task. All of the collected writing samples can be found in the appendices, organised by participant name. Although there are 66 writing samples in total, some of them were not chosen to be analysed because they were not directly relevant to my research questions. Some examples of these are paintings, Japanese materials for three years old, pencil sketch, kanji cards etc.

5.4.1 Total Number of Words Used

In Kim, Harton and Bradlow's (2011) study, variation in children's language skills (vocabulary, grammatical knowledge, and sentence imitation) was positively related to children's written production (total number of words, ideas, and sentences) controlling for spelling and transcription fluency. Therefore, the first stage of my comparison study was to analyse my participants' writing samples in order to see if there is a correlation between children's language skills and their written production.

Following the methods of Ikuta (2002), the number of words in alphabetical languages were counted while the number of *Bunsetsu* was chosen as the measure of Japanese writing. *Bunsetsu* refers to the smallest meaningful unit of words with its accompanying functional elements such as verb endings, particles or auxiliary verbs. For example, *Watashi wa gakkou ni iki masu* has six morphemes but three *Bunsetsu*. Writing in Japanese requires making use of three different writing systems, the most difficult being kanji, but the other two, hiragana and katakana can also be very challenging, each consisting of 46 characters which involve many more strokes to write when compared with Roman alphabets. When it comes to analysing Japanese children's writing samples, it is important to count not words nor letters such as is done when dealing with alphabetical languages, but to count chunks of words. There are two reasons for this. Firstly, take the word ちゅうしゃじょう (“parking” in English) would be counted as eight letters or one word. However, Japanese adults who usually know kanji never write this word using hiragana. Instead, they would write it using kanji, 駐車場 which is considered more sophisticated and demonstrates a deeper understanding of the language. As can be seen, if this word is written in kanji, it would be counted as only three letters. Primary school children are in the process of learning lots of new kanji, so they might write this word, “parking” as ちゅう車じょう because the second kanji is the simplest character of the three, and the children may know how to write this kanji, whereas they may still need to learn the other two more advanced characters. Therefore, it can be determined that a higher number of Japanese characters does not indicate a higher degree of fluency.

I asked a Japanese teacher to help me count the number of *Bunsetsu* in the Japanese writing samples and act as a second evaluator using the rubric I developed (see Chapter 6). She is an expert of Japanese language education and holds a Master of Education in Australia. After both of us counted them individually, we brought everything together to see if they were identical. The inter-rater agreements for *Bunsetsu* counting and evaluation were over 98% in all aspects of the evaluation. As for evaluating the qualitative aspects of writing, we discussed and revised these several times until we agreed.

5.5 Apps and Websites

The fourth method is collecting screenshots of the apps and websites that my participants use. In January, 2016, my participants were requested to submit some screenshots of the apps they use in order to reveal what kind of digital literacy practices they exhibit whilst outside of school. In fact, my participants allowed their parents to take some screenshots while they were playing or studying and then their parents sent them to me via email or WhatsApp. Some of the apps/websites are in Spanish and others are in Japanese or English. I did not ask them to send me only Japanese apps and website screenshots even though some of them thought that I can understand only Japanese. I wanted to analyse screenshots from all kinds of apps and websites the participants use, regardless of the language.

With the exception of one family who claim to be somewhat anti-technology, all of the participants told me the names of apps they regularly use and/or sent me screenshots. In total, 13 different screenshots were collected over four months. 10 of the screenshots relate to leisure activities such as PC games, console games, and handheld games. The remaining three screenshots are educational in nature, relating to practicing English, memorising kanji, learning new words, etc. The main purpose of this collection method is to help uncover what they actually read and write with those devices, how they use them, and which language they use. The following table details apps and websites that the participants were using for both educational and leisure purposes, based on the interviews conducted with the participants and their mothers.

Table 28. Names of apps and websites used by participants

Name	Apps/websites for leisure	Educational apps/websites
Hitoe	Nekoatsume	Japanese-hiragana
Kandai	Minecraft	Doragana
Ken	Minecraft Clash Royale DragonCity	N/A
Mika	N/A	YouTube educational channels

Naoto	N/A	YouTube educational channels
Naoya	Minecraft Clash Royale	N/A
Aki	Minecraft DragonCity Stampede Castle Crush Brick Drone PaZ Heroes	N/A
Kazuo	Minecraft Clash Royale War Wings	Japanese-hiragana Khan Academy Reading log
Nina	Nekoatsume	Shogakusei Kanji Ninja Khan Academy
Natsuki	Pigment Coloring art Touch art Snapchat Color switch	N/A
Asuka	WhatsApp	N/A

It can be observed from the above table that some of the same apps and games are used by different participants. In other words, there are some widely popular ones which attract many youngsters. During the interviews I asked them why they play certain games, and a common response was that they began playing a specific game because their friends were playing it and it also appealed to them, so they began playing it as well.

5.6 Ethnographic Diary

Newbury (2001) explains the importance of ethnographic diary when it comes to qualitative research explicitly.

In ethnographic research the diary notes should reflect not only the way the researcher sees things, but also an attempt to understand how the research subjects organise their experiences, including their perceptions of the researcher (p. 6).

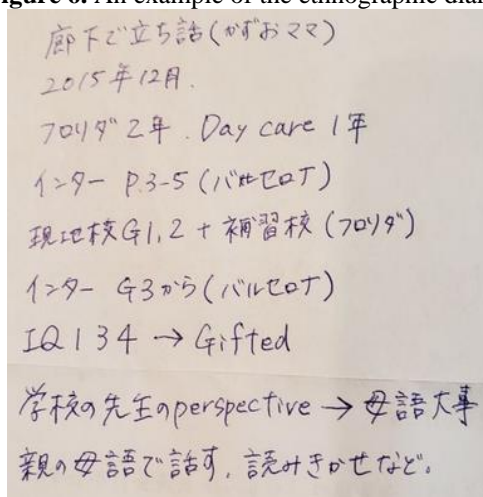
Furthermore, Weber and Cheng (2013) show the effective way of using this ethnographic diary as follows.

If collected prior to on-site visits, diaries can establish patterns of behavior and provide a wealth of information about your participants' proclivities, habits, and opinions that will help shape individual interview scripts and maximize takeaways. Diaries are also valuable supplements to ethnography because environment and context often changes over time and I may not be able to capture something unique or out of the ordinary in a diary versus what occurs during a single ethnographic interview (Article No :1066).

Since the first interview was conducted in October 2015, I have been carrying a small notebook as an ethnographic diary. Every single time when something, related to my research comes to mind, I try to make notes. When I make notes, I usually use Japanese which is my mother tongue. However, I occasionally used Spanish or English for some specific words where acceptable equivalent did not exist in Japanese. The Spanish word, *Semana Santa* (Easter in English) is also never translated into Japanese even though technically there is a term, *Fukkatsusai* in Japanese. When Japanese mothers talk about *Semana Santa* during the interviews, they used this Spanish word without translating into Japanese. Many Japanese mothers I interviewed acknowledged that they feel more comfortable using this kind of Spanish words (usually nouns as opposed to adjectives, adverbs, and verbs) in the middle of Japanese conversations with other Japanese. Therefore, I also made notes directly in Spanish. Another example for an English word is "pick up." Four out of 10 Japanese mothers mentioned the word "pick up" when they talked about picking up children at school. Even though the whole conversation was carried out in Japanese, I sometimes encountered the code-switching of the interviewed mothers. In that case, I also made notes in Spanish and English.

After making notes in the small notebook, I transferred collected information into the Microsoft Word document sorted by the name of participants. Each student has their own name file. I also created one file which includes miscellaneous things. In this file, I put general information about the school, after school activities, relatives in Japan, Japanese summer school, homework from weekday school, etc. I have been keeping on my computer so that I have easy access at all time necessary. The following screenshot is an example of the small notebook I have been using as an ethnographic diary for this study.

Figure 6. An example of the ethnographic diary ⁴



廊下で立ち話(お母さん)
2015年12月.
フロリダ2年. Day care 1年
1→2- P3-5 (バルセロナ)
現地校G1,2 +補習校(フロリダ)
1→2- G3から(バルセロナ)
IQ134 → Gifted
学校の先生のperspective → 母語大事
親の母語で話す, 読みかせなど。

[Translation] Florida for 2 years. (daycare for 1 year) / Going to local school from grade 1 to 2 in Florida. / Meanwhile going to Hoshuko on Saturdays. / In grade 3, coming back to Barcelona and started to go to international school. / IQ 134→gifted. / The perspective of teachers→Speak to children in the mother tongue of the mother. / Reading to child

The ethnographic diary was taken for documenting additional information. Below are four typical examples of situations in which I made notes.

- Informal conversations with participants after recorded interviews.
- Conversations that I overheard in a hallway at the Hoshuko.
- Informal conversations with non-participating students and their parents in a car.
- Utterances of non-participating teachers in teachers' meetings at the Hoshuko.

5.7 The Corpus of Data

As mentioned above from 5.2 to 5.7, I implemented five different tools for this small scale case study. These are: 1) questionnaires, 2) interviews, 3) collected writing samples, 4) collected screenshots of apps and websites, and 5) ethnographic notes. The following table is the detailed summary of each tool.

⁴ Please note that there are grammatical errors due to the casual notes.

Table 29. Summary of the five data collection methods used

Data collection method	Key variables	Resulting data
Questionnaires	The number of questions	22
	Rate of collection	100% (from 11 participants' mothers).
Interviews with students	The number of subjects	11
	Audio recording length	3 hours 34 minutes
	Total number of words in English	21,845
	The number of questions that I asked	10
Interviews with parents	The number of subjects	10
	Audio recording length	24 hours 42 minutes
	Total number of words in English	165,309
	The number of questions that I asked (excluding case studies)	30
Interviews with teachers	The number of subjects	3
	Audio recording length	3 hours 58 minutes
	Total number of words in English	49,547
	The number of questions that I asked	20
Writing samples	The number of samples	66
	The number of languages	5 types
Apps and websites	The number of screenshots of apps	10
	The number of screenshots of websites	3
	The number of languages	3 types
Ethnographic diary	The number of files	12
	Total number of Bunsetsu	7,497 (see section 5.4.1 for Bunsetsu).

CHAPTER 6

MULTILITERACY PRACTICES

Index

- 6.1 Description of the Writing Samples
- 6.2 Type of Content Chosen
 - 6.2.1 A Collection of Japanese Compositions
 - 6.2.2 Sports Festival
 - 6.2.3 Class Notes
 - 6.2.4 Multimodality
 - 6.2.5 Informal Letters
 - 6.2.6 New Year's Cards
 - 6.2.7 Leisure Writings
- 6.3 Audience Awareness
- 6.4 Examples of Writing Samples in Four Different Languages
- 6.5 Appropriation of Different Writing Systems
- 6.6 Teachers' Feedback

In this section of my dissertation, I examine collected students' writing samples. Firstly, the overall description of them such as features of the genre, recipient, context (academic/personal) are outlined. Secondly, I will show seven major types of writing samples. Next, I pay attention to the students' audience awareness skills. Moreover, I will show an example of one balanced-multilingual student's writing samples in four languages. Additionally, I will present several writing samples where students used specific strategies when attempting to appropriate different writing systems. Last but not least, feedback from the teachers is analysed after being dividing into three types.

6.1 Description of the Writing Samples

I collected 66 writing samples from 11 participants, comprising of 46 academic writings and 20 informal writings in five languages (Catalan, Spanish, English, Japanese and French). I asked participants' Japanese mothers to provide me with some writing samples in any language. It did not matter whether they wrote it at school or at home, whether they used dictionaries or not, whether someone (e.g., the teacher, parents or siblings)

helped or not, etc. Some of them were corrected by their parents/teachers after writing whereas others displayed a higher level of writing proficiency and required few if any corrections. When I requested these writing samples, I mentioned that any language samples would be acceptable. However, as they probably saw me as a Japanese teacher/researcher, they submitted more writings in Japanese than in other languages. The following table displays the genre and the total number of each writing sample type collected.

Table 30. Number of writing samples collected

Formal or academic writing	Informal or non-academic writing
31 Essays 8 Class notes 7 Diary entries	6 IMs 4 Letters 3 Holiday cards 2 Leisure writings 2 Stories 1 Game card 1 Kanji card 1 Novel

As can be seen from the table above, that 69.6% of the collected writing samples are formal academic writing. Apparently, my participants write more at school than at home. In fact, during the interviews, three mothers revealed that their children do not practice reading and writing at home other than when doing their homework. One mother commented as follows.

[Citation 6-1] うちの子は宿題以外に特に書くっていう練習は別にしていません。他の子はどうなんだろう。家で書く練習っていうのをやっているのかな。もちろん子供の宿題チェックをしたり、宿題を一緒にしたりっていうのはあるけど。でも宿題のあとでもう疲れきっちゃって、他の読み書き練習なんてできないんですよ。

My child does not have any particular literacy activity at home other than her homework. I wonder if other children regularly practice reading and writing at home. Of course, I check her Japanese homework and we sometimes do it together. But she does not have energy left to do other literacy practices after her homework.

As Table 30 describes, all collected writing samples were divided into two groups, academic writing and non-academic writing samples. I could say “in-school-writing and out-of-school-writing” or “official literacy activity and unofficial literacy activity.”

However, literacy practices are more complex, heterogeneous and hybrid as some researchers argue (e.g., Mahiri, 2003; Maybin, 2007; Thomas, 2007; Williams, 2009). Moreover, Aliagas (2015) mentions the value in analysing the gap between these two groups explicitly.

Looking at the “in-and-out of school gap” through the lenses of hybridity has pushed the research to focus on the dynamic and hybrid interplay where school and vernacular literacies, discourses and practices merge, cooperate and, as a result, unchain meaningful learning and ways of knowing (p. 4-5).

As Table 30 illustrates, there are nine types of writings samples. Let’s look at each one more closely. First of all, 46.9% of the collected writing samples come from essays. It would be safe to say that academic writing is the most common literacy practice among my participants. Within these 31 essays, two English essays, three Spanish essays, five Catalan and 21 Japanese essays are gathered. The shortest written production of Romance languages (Catalan, Spanish, English and French) has 31 words of Catalan essay that is written by Kandai. On the other hand, the longest one has 779 words of English essay that is written by Nina. With regards to Japanese essays, the shortest one is Aki’s essay that has 21 bunsetsu (see the section 5.4.1 on how to count words in Japanese). The longest one was written by Asuka and has 155 bunsetsu.

Secondly, class notes were submitted by Kazuo and Ken. Due to time restrictions, I decided to analyse only Kazuo’s notes as they contained more written words, whereas Ken’s included many drawings. I have obtained four pages of this notebook.

Thirdly, diary entries in Japanese, French and Catalan were collected. Normally, the diary is considered a private writing activity. However, those who submitted these wrote diary entries did them as their homework. That is to say, they knew that they were going to show them to their teachers after writing. That is why I categorise these diary entries as academic writing, although I acknowledge that this practice is often regarded as an informal and often private activity outside of Japan. For more detail, I explain this in Chapter 7 together with Japanese educational use of diary entries.

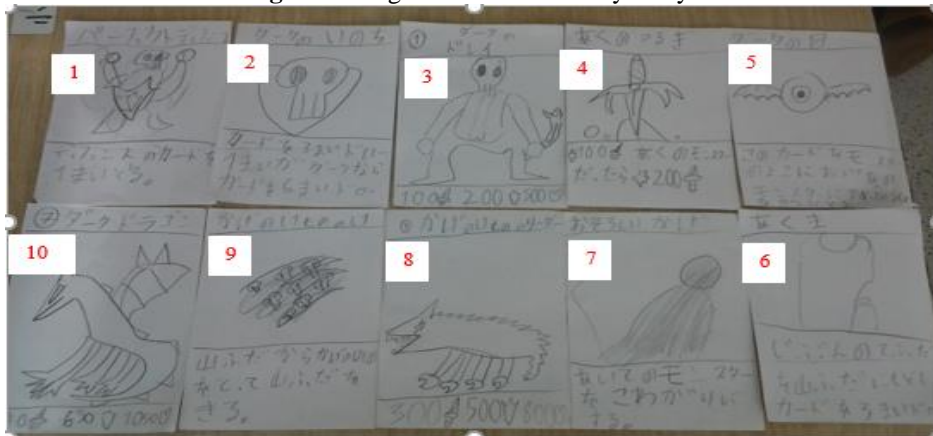
Fourthly, three holiday cards (three in Japanese and one in Spanish) were also collected. As I happened to collect writing samples from November to December, I was fortunate to be able to obtain some holiday cards such as Christmas cards and New Year's cards. Japanese cards have between 1 to 16 bunsetsu. Spanish card that was written for Reyes (Santa Claus in Spain) have 10 words.

Fifthly, three letters (one in Catalan and two in Japanese) were submitted by Naoto and Mika. One Catalan letter was sent to his teacher. As the reader of this letter was Naoto's teacher, this writing sample could be considered as academic writing. However, this letter was not his homework, rather he decided to express his own appreciation to a retired teacher. Therefore, I consider these writing samples to be leisure and vernacular practice. This Catalan letter has 110 words and the Japanese letter has 85 bunsetsu. This Japanese letter was sent to his Japanese grandmother at the end of the year to wish her a Happy New Year. I discuss further these writing samples in section 6.2.5. Interestingly, Mika wrote a letter to her teacher's mother.

Sixthly, Asuka, the oldest girl among participants submitted the screenshots of IMs in Spanish as well as in English. My participants are younger children. Their ages range from six to 14 years old. When I conducted this research, Asuka was the only child who had a mobile phone. Other children might have written IMs or something online with tablets or computers. However, I was not able to gain other digital writing samples. In the section 7.1 below, I pay close attention to digital literacy.

The game cards given to me by Naoya presented an interesting writing sample. One participant's mother submitted her son's leisure writing activity which is creating his own cards, imitating other card games. The cards he makes are quite small (approximately eight by five cm). First of all, he draws some pictures of monsters or imaginable characters in the middle of this blank card. Then, above the picture he writes the name of the monster. He sometimes creates his own name for that monster. Below the picture he writes the power level of the monster as if they were part of a real card game.

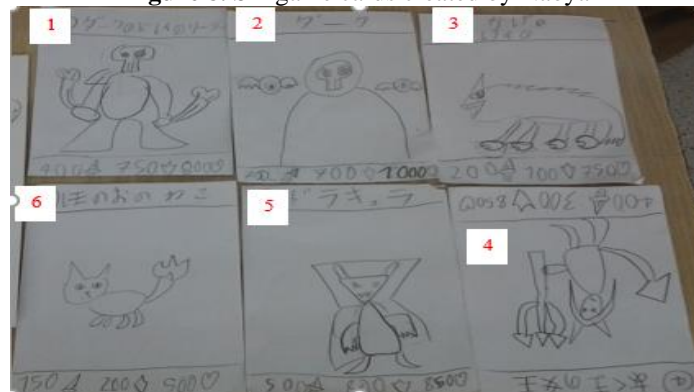
Figure 7. 10 game cards created by Naoya



[Transcription] 1.パーフェクトディフェンス・・・ディフェンスカードを1まいとる。2.ダークのいのち・・・カードを3まいドロウ1まいがダークならカードを6まいドロウ 3.ダークのドレイ 4.あくのつるぎ 5.ダークの目・・・このカードをモンスターのよこにおいてあのモンスターにかかっているものをぜんぶとる。6.あくま・・・じぶんのでふだを山ふだにもどしてカードを3まいとる。7.おそろしいかげ・・・あいてのモンスターをこわがりにする。8.かげのけものリーダー 9.かげのけものけ・・・山ふだからかげのけものをとって山ふだをきる 10.ダークドラゴン

[Translation] 1. Perfect defense...Take one defense card. 2. Life of “Dark”... Draw three cards. If one of them is Dark, draw six cards. 3. Slave of Dark. 4. Evil’s sword. 5. Eyes of Dark... Put this card next to a monster and take all cards which cover a monster (lexical error). 6. Evil... Put your cards in a stock and draw three cards. 7. Scary shadow... It causes other monsters to be scared (grammatical error). 8. Leader of beast’s shadow (lexical error). 9. Hair of beast’s shadow (lexical error). Pick beast’s shadow card from the deck and shuffle the deck. 10. Dark dragon.

Figure 8. Six game cards created by Naoya



[Transcription] 1. ダークのドレイのリーダー 2. ダーク 3. かげのけもの 4. あくまの女王 5. ドラキュラ 6. ほのおのねこ

[Translation] 1. Leader of Dark’s slave. 2. Dark. 3. Beast’s shadow. 4. Evil princess (This card is shown upside down.) 5. Dracula. 6. Fire cat.

During the interview with Naoya, an eight-year-old boy, he mentioned that he likes writing and drawing. He has a unique literacy activity at home. As he does not have a lot of game cards, he decided to create his own cards by copying their design. Because he carries these cards with him all the time, he can clearly remember the names of the

monsters. This practice presents a multimodality, which I will further discuss in the section 6.2.4.

Finally, Kazuo and Mika provided me with his Japanese essay as a leisure writing activity. Although other students might have practiced academic writing outside of school, they were the only ones who submitted an essay as vernacular practice at home. In the section 6.2.7, I further elaborate on this creative Japanese writing style.

6.2 Type of Content Chosen

Here I describe the types of content chosen for writing samples. For formal writing samples, since these samples were taken from writing done as part of classroom activities, the students could not choose exactly what they wanted to write about. The following table lists the topics found within the collected writing samples.

Table 31. Topics of the collected writing samples

Formal writing topics	Informal writing topics
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Summer vacation -Winter vacation -Weekend activities -Best friend -Japanese ice skater -My family -Sports Festival -Catalan politics -Tsunamis -Compass -My biggest achievement this year 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Seasonal greetings for extended family -Thank you message for a retired teacher -Christmas message for Santa Clause -Exam -Group project -Monsters -Treasure island

6.2.1 A Collection of Japanese Compositions

There is a widely held tradition amongst most of, if not all Hoshukos, which is the creation of a *Bunshu* (文集 in Japanese, the direct translation of which is “a collection of Japanese compositions”). It is considered to be the most comprehensive of the years assignments, which is reflected in the many stages required to complete from its conception to its

submission, which occurs at the end of Japanese academic year. This project, the creation of a Bunshu, is similar to what Cassany (2007) calls a *portafolio* in many ways. Although Bunshu does not necessarily match all of the characteristics that Cassany (2007) defines, some of them are indistinguishable. For example, the following eight points are common to both a *portafolio* and this Bunshu.

- Es una colección de trabajos: el conjunto tiene sentido y una finalidad nuevas, diferente a sus componentes.
- Es una selección de trabajos, hecha a partir de archivos previos. Se excluyen trabajos malos, no representativos o especiales.
- Muestra el progreso y el aprendizaje realizados, aunque no se incluyan todos los documentos o pruebas de los mismos, realizadas a lo largo del periodo considerado.
- Documenta la diversidad, tanto de contenido como de forma, mostrando que cada aprendiz es irreplicable.
- Toma al aprendiz como protagonista o centro de la actividad.
- Se orienta hacia los procesos, porque tiene una perspectiva longitudinal.
- Es interdisciplinario.
- Fomenta la autonomía del aprendiz (p.6-7).

Consequently, Bunshu could be called a *portafolio* of all the students' essays (161 students aged four to 15). The table below lists the steps that teachers, students and parents take to complete the creation of the Bunshu.

Table 32. Timetable of Bunshu creation

Timeline	Teachers	Students	Parents
November	Choose the topic for essay. Brainstorm the topic with students if necessary. Hand out the instruction sheet for <i>Genkouyoushi</i> (squared manuscript paper).	Receive essay assignment for a collection of Japanese compositions.	
During winter break (from the end of December to the beginning of January)		Discuss the topic with parents if necessary. Write an essay under the assigned topic. Correct errors that parents noticed.	Help children to organise the content of the essay and complete it. After children have finished writing it, check for all types of errors.
January	Collect essays and check them.	Submit the essay. Start to modify the essay.	Improve the essay with children based on

	Start to discuss with each student how to improve their essay.		teacher's advice.
February	Make initial revisions of the essay with the student	Polish the essay after discussing it with the teacher.	Check for errors in the revised essay.
March	Continue to modify the essay with student Distribute 162 copies of the completed Bunshu to students.	Improve the essay. Complete the modified essay.	After collecting the revised essays, collect money for printing. Order 162 copies of the revised Bunshu (30 hard copies and 132 CD-ROMs).

As Cassany's (2007) article's title "del portafolio al e-PEL (portafolio europeo de las lenguas)" suggests, Hoshuko provides each family with two types of Bunshu at the end of March every year, a paper-based version and a digital version. The following figure is a picture of the paper-based and digital versions of the Bunshu.

Figure 9. Paper-based and digital versions of the Bunshu



Cassany (2016) describes the importance of extensive writing especially in the context of high school. Cassany (2016) introduces idea of the extensive written tasks to promote the following five objectives.

- Bringing writing closer to the learner's personal life.
- Practicing epistemic and communicative language functions.
- Giving the learner full responsibility for the creative act.
- Facilitating the development of cognitive processes.
- Developing habits of written production in a variety of situations.

What the teachers at the Hoshuko are trying to carry out with children from November to March is a kind of the extensive writing practice in these terms. However, after the

interviews with teachers, I discovered that this school is missing several educational tools that Cassany (2016) refers to. In terms of portfolios, the teachers keep children’s first drafts, corrections, and final versions. However, these are not digital versions which make it difficult for both teachers and children to work on and organise their essays. Moreover, with regard to the format of essays, he suggests to use *diarios*, *protocolos*, *apuntes* and *bitacora*. However, the teachers at this school do not implement these educational tools due to the restricted time they have on Saturdays. Finally, Cassany (2016) emphasises the importance of *la diversidad de temas tratados*, *el grado de la originalidad*, *reflexión y personalización*. However, these points are not paid that much attention to by these Japanese teachers. Instead, they still focus on spelling, the use of kanji, expression and grammar. The following table lists the topics that each teacher assigned in 2016.

Table 33. Topics selected for Bunshu

Grades	Available topics
1	Memories of winter break Important things
2	If I were... Additional Task - “play on words” ⁵
3	My memories of this year
4	Braille’s system
5	My hero
6	My treasure
7	My best friend
8	Places that I want to visit in Japan
9	What I learned at the Hoshuko

Regarding grade one class, the teacher gave students two options to choose from. Therefore, some students wrote an essay under the topic of “memories of winter break” and others chose “important things” as their topic for the essay. The teacher in question made the below comment regarding making a choice of topic available.

⁵ Excluded from analysis (unsuitable match with criteria).

[Citation 6-2] 私のクラスの子たちにとっては、原稿用紙で書くってのはここで初めてのことなんですよ。だから、その原稿用紙の使い方をクラスで指導しています。それから冬休み前には、その原稿用紙の使い方の説明を書いたプリントを配って、親と子供両方が見れるようにしています。それで冬休み、作文を書く時、ルールとかを見てもらっています。残念ですけど、クラスでその原稿用紙を使って練習するっていう時間はなかなかありませんね。それから作文のテーマについてはクラスでちょっと時間をとって説明しています。二つのテーマをあげているんです。というのもまあ二つテーマがあったら、子供は選べるし、その方が子供達も書きやすいと思うので。

For my students, it is their first time writing a formal essay using *Genkouyoushi* (squared manuscript paper). So, I teach them how to use this paper in a class. Also, I hand out a sheet which explains how to use it before winter break so that both children and parents are able to check the rules when they are writing an essay at home in winter. Unfortunately, we do not have time to use this paper during class. I also spend some time in the class to explain the assigned topics. I decided to give two options for students to choose from because I believe that the more options I give, the more easily children can write an essay.

Although the grade two teacher assigned one more small task for student, it was removed from this analysis because it is not an essay, and as a result could not be judged using the same criteria. The additional task took the form of a “play on words” style game using the syllables in the student’s name. To give you an example using my name (Misa Fukukawa), in Japanese the first syllable MI is represented by one Japanese character. First, I would need to think of a phrase or a sentence which starts with MI in Japanese. Next, I do the same for the remaining characters found in my first name, SA. The same process is then repeated for the second name, in my case FU, KU, KA and WA. This task requires thinking skills and creativity. One day, I happened to have a casual conversation with a grade four teacher in a hallway of the school. I asked her how teachers normally end up choosing topics in general for a Bunshu. Here is a citation from my ethnographic diary.

今年教科書で何を勉強したかを踏まえて、作文のテーマを決めている様子。4年生の場合だと、2学期に教科書で、目の見えない人が点字を使って生活していることについて学習した。子供たちは、興味深そうにこの単元を学習した。だから担任はこれをテーマにして、もっと深く掘り下げて、作文を書くという課題を出すことにした。教科書では基本的なことを広く浅くしかタッチしていなかったので、それぞれ自分が興味あることを調べ、作文にまとめるように指示を出した。冬休みの宿題とし

て、親のサポートを得ながら、作文を完成させる。新人の先生は何をトピックにしたらいいかわからないこともある。そういう場合、前年度の担任と同じテーマでも構わない。去年の1年生と今年の1年生は同じテーマについて書くことになるが、子供は学年が上がっていくので、毎年違うテーマで作文を書くことになるので、問題ない。

I found out that teachers usually choose the topic based on what students have learned with an official textbook this year. In the case of grade four, they have been given an overview of how the braille writing system works in Japanese during the second semester. It is a system of raised dots that can be read with the fingers by people who are blind or who have low vision. Many students showed their interest about this system. Therefore, the teacher decided to ask them to research it further since the textbook touches on only the basic information. As winter break homework, each student searched for information about it with his/her parents and wrote about it. As far as new teachers who do not know what to choose for the topic go, they can use the same topics from the previous year. That means grade one students this year and next year might write essays with the same topic. However, this should not be a big problem, because each grade level has a different set of topics. (citation from ethnographic diary)

This Bunshu includes not only all of the students' essays, but also some class pictures and pictures of school events such as Sports Festival and Bazaar. Since the Bunshu also functions as a comprehensive album, all families keep a copy of the Bunshu as a memory of the school for a long time. All participants handed in at least one Japanese essay which they wrote for the Bunshu, however Ken also submitted other years' Japanese essays for the Bunshu. All essays from the 2015 Bunshu are shown in the appendices. Concerning the translation from Japanese to English, whenever a mistake in the Japanese writing appears (lexical, syntactic or conventional errors), I mention them in the English translation. However, my focus is not paying attention to their mistakes, as Ferreiro and Teberosky (1991) describes children's errors as follows.

“Leer no es descifrar. Escribir no es copiar.”

“No es un pecado capital cometer un error de ortografía.”

“Tratando de evitar que los niños hagan errores, el maestro evita que el niño piense.”

“La escritura tiene que ser significativa, con propósito.”

“...dejémoslo escribir, aunque sea un sistema diferente al sistema alfabético; dejémoslo escribir, no para que se invente su propio sistema idiosincrático, sino para que pueda descubrir que su propio sistema no es el nuestro y para que encuentre razones válidas para sustituir sus propias hipótesis por las nuestras.” (p. 11).

In like manner, Comajoan (2003) points out the importance of error analysis in L2 education, referring to Corder (1967).

Aquest autor va destacar la importància d'estudiar els errors dels aprenents de segones llengües no per tal d'intentar predir el que era fàcil i el que era difícil (com es feia en l'anàlisi contrastiva de la dècada anterior) sinó pel fet que l'error era considerat com a part del sistema en desenvolupament dels aprenents de segones llengües i que, per això, no sempre calia buscar l'origen dels errors en la interferència de la primera llengua (p. 23-24).

Appendices contain a total of 15 writing samples for Bunshu, providing a clear illustration of how writing skills develop in complexity from grade one to nine. Similar to the result of Sano et al.'s (2014) study, organisation, cohesion, audience awareness and rhetoric skills are gradually acquired as the students get older. Knowing that Japanese is not the strongest language for them and is a language that is mainly used only between the participants and their mother, they all wrote fabulous essays over four month period. As both parents and teachers checked all of the errors that children made, the final version of compositions had no mistakes. There is an interesting comment about Japanese mentality in my ethnographic diary.

文集について、とある運営委員と先生が話しているのを耳にした。文集には絶対、間違いを入れるべきではないという。その理由は、これは学年末に全員に配られるからだという。みんなこの文集を補習校の思い出として永久に保存するから、子供が将来、これを見て、何か間違いが残っていたら恥ずかしいし、かわいそう。だからそれを防ぐために、先生と親は文集を印刷する前に、間違いを必ずチェックしたほうがいいという。

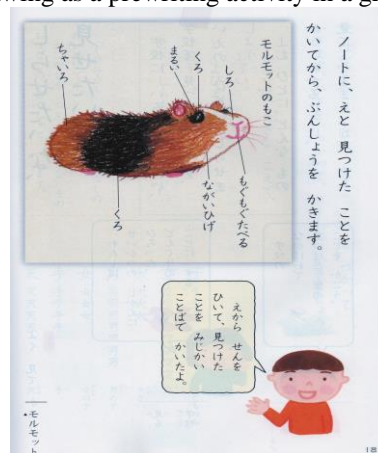
A committee member and a teacher had a brief conversation about a collection of compositions. They were saying that this collection should not include any writing mistakes because it would be distributed to the whole school at the end. Everyone keeps this as a memory of the Hoshuko. When they see this in the future, if there are writing mistakes, that child might feel ashamed. So, we have to avoid that situation. We should check all mistakes before printing. (citation from ethnographic diary).

Consequently, the whole school, especially teachers and parents, is trying to create a perfect collection of compositions at the end of each year and is supposed to be achievement of the year.

6.2.2 Sports Festival

One of the biggest events at this school was the Sports Festival held in May. In fact, all of the Japanese kindergarten, primary, junior high and high schools (sometimes even universities) hold this Sports Festival once a year and it is an important part of the Japanese school curriculum. Children at the Hoshuko were also looking forward to this; one of the reasons is that they do not need to study Japanese that Saturday. Another reason is that some students are not good at Japanese, but excel at Sports such as running, playing with a ball and dancing, etc. After this large annual event has come to an end, teachers ask their students to write an essay about it, and the teachers at the Hoshuko are no exception. Five participants (three in grade two and two in grade three) submitted their Japanese essays about this topic. In terms of the content of these five writing samples, all of them expressed their feeling whether they were happy because their team won or they were sad because their team lost. It shows that what is important for them is winning or losing in the Sports Festival. It was not quite complex enough to express their feeling in Japanese. Among these five participants, Ken is the participant who described the most clearly what he felt. With regard to drawing the Sports Festival, Mika drew very creatively with details. She tried to draw as much detail as possible what she observed during the Sports Festival. It is not strange that she is very artistic because she goes to art class after school. I further explain her detailed background in the section 7.1 as a case study. In terms of the total number of the words of this essay, she was the one who wrote the most. The total number of bunsetsu for this written texts was between 18 and 51 and that is an equivalent of between 34 and 121 English words. The grade two teacher used the essay format together with space for drawing. On the other hand, the grade three teacher did not allow their students to draw something. Instead, she just asked them to write an essay about the Sports Festival. Especially in Japan, grade one and two teachers often let their students draw something before writing, unlike teachers of higher grades. The supposed benefit is that it allows children to develop attention, finger and hand skills with pencils, and helps to inspire ideas, prior to the writing activity. As a matter of fact, drawing as a prewriting strategy is introduced at various times in textbooks of different grades. For instance, Figure 10 is taken from a grade one textbook which introduces this strategy for the very first time.

Figure 10. Drawing as a prewriting activity in a grade one textbook



[Translation] Let's draw and write keywords you found on your notebook. / This guinea pig is called Moko. 1. White. 2. Black. 3. Round. 4. Brown. 5. Black. 6. Long whiskers. 7. Munching the food. 8. I wrote short words after drawing lines from a drawing.

As this textbook presents, grade one teachers instruct their students using this method in class. Therefore, the students practice drawing before starting to write essays. When they write essays, they are encouraged to use the keywords they wrote beside a drawing. However, my participants did not write any keywords in a drawing. They drew about Sports Festival and started to write short essays.

6.2.3 Class Notes

Kazuo, the same participant who submitted the vernacular writing sample (see the section 6.2.7) also provided me with class notes from his English weekday school. He goes to American school on weekdays and he and his mother claim that his strongest language is English. The following four pages were written in his notebook: 1) summary about Tsunamis, 2) venn diagram, 3) book review, and 4) text analysis. The below figures are his writing samples.

Figure 11. Class note about Tsunamis written by Kazuo

Tsunamis

I think the author of "Tsunamis" purpose is to hook the reader by terrifying them and it really hooks the readers. She also builded a mood becaus it kind of scared me and made me want to read more.

Excellent!

Figure 12. Venn diagram about Tsunamis drawn by Kazuo

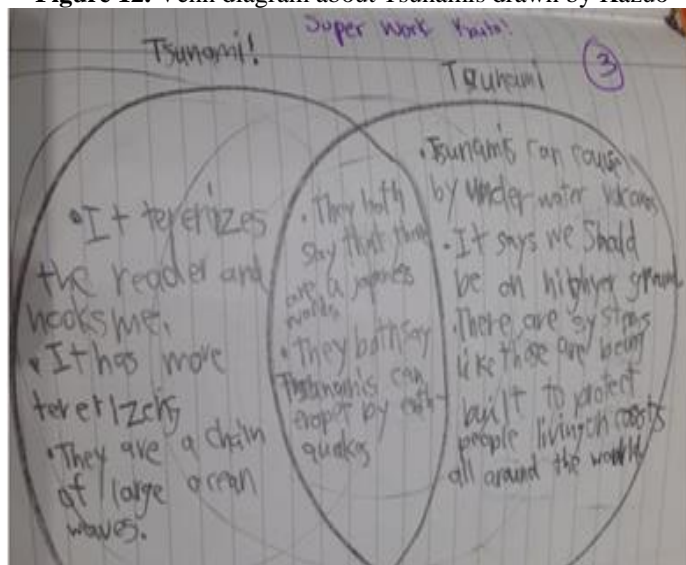


Figure 13. Class note about book review written by Kazuo

Growing ideas about my research.

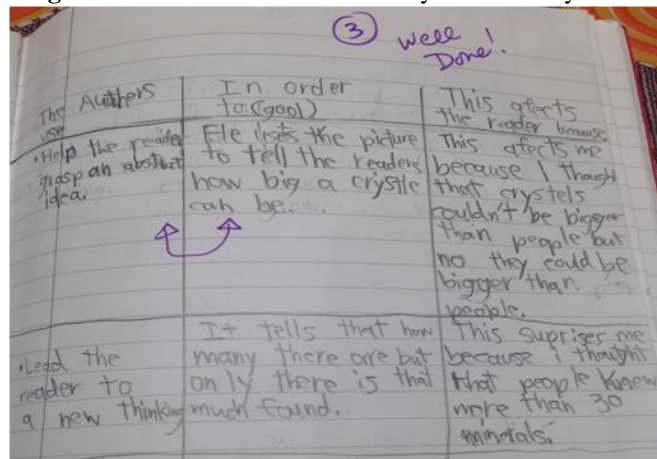
old In the book "100 things you should know about Rocks + minerals" by Sean Gallery he says that "we need rocks to stay healthy." Minerals appitite makes bones and teeth. This made me realized that minerals and rocks are very special to me because they help us survive and not break a part or collapse.

2.5

New I the book "100 things you should know about rocks and minerals" Sean Gallery says that "we need rocks to stay healthy." He also says that "Minerals appitite makes bones and teeth." This impressed me because I didn't know

Keep going!

Figure 14. Class note about text analysis written by Kazuo



As can be seen from his English notebook, he practices various systematic skills such as summarising, reviewing and analysing from Monday to Friday. His school language is English and he has more exposure to English compared with other languages. They are interesting writing samples because except Kazuo and Ken, no one submitted their class notes from their weekday school. Currently, most Japanese teachers in the Hoshuko can only gauge the language fluency of their students by a limited number of formal writing samples, such as essays, class notes and homework. However, it is vital to acknowledge students' writing samples in different languages, and not just one language proficiency in order to understand the development of language acquisition.

6.2.4 Multimodality

Regarding multimodality, recent government initiatives seem determined to focus on the concept of literacy in its most restricted sense, while outside of the school young people are “reading” and “writing” across a new terrain, redefining what literacy might mean. (Raney, 1998, p. 37). Jewitt (2003) describes as follows:

While the visual and the linguistic can be treated as distinct versions of literacy to be attended to, that is visual literacy and written literacy, I want to argue that a re-thinking of the whole complex of representation is required. Kress (2000) argues for the need to have a concept of literacy as a multimodal process in which all modes are critically interpreted, and their interactions considered. This leads to shift from a conception of competence in literacy to one of literacy as multimodal “design” (p. 84).

Within the writing samples I collected, there are several which feature drawings. A teacher of younger children commented during my interviews about why teachers ask younger children to write sentences as well as include drawings as follows.

[Citation 6-3] 絵日記の課題を出すのは2つの理由があってやっています。まず1つ目は本当に時々絵がすごく上手でそれを描いて大人、つまり親とか先生に見せたいっていう子がいるんですよ。だから時々絵日記で絵を取り入れるようにしています。それから文章を書く前に、絵を描くことによってイメージを掻き立てて、いい文章につながったりすると思うんですよ。時々子供の中で、何を書いたらいいか、何を書けばいいかわからない子っていうのがいるんですよ。そういう場合は、頭の中に思い描いているのを絵に描かせます。それから、その絵を見て文章を書き始めるように促すんです。そうすることでなかなか文章を書き出せなかった子もスムーズに進んだりするんです。だから絵を描くっていうことは文章を書くことの手助けになっているんじゃないかな。特に小さい子の場合はね。

There are two reasons why I sometimes give an assignment of *enikki* (絵日記 in Japanese, the direct translation of which is “diary entry with drawing”). One of them is that some children really enjoy drawing and want to show it to adults, especially their parents and teachers. Therefore, I sometimes use *enikki* to encourage them. The second reason is that drawing before writing enlivens their imagination regarding whatever subject they are going to write about. From time to time, children do not know what they are going to write or what they should write. In these instances, I let them draw what they have in their minds. Then, I motivate them to start to write sentences looking at the drawing that they just created. In this way, struggling children are able to begin to write relatively smoothly. Therefore, I believe drawing definitely helps them to write, especially in the case of younger children.

Another teacher made a similar comment during one of our interviews, shown below.

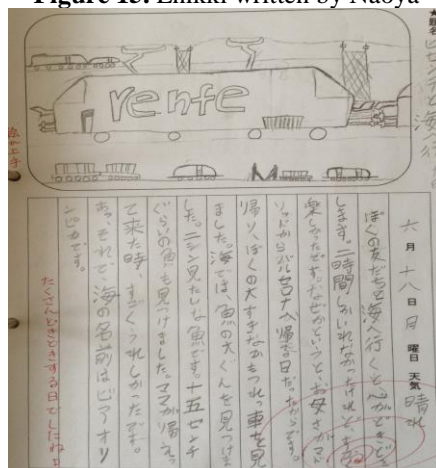
[Citation 6-4] 日記や作文書くのってつまらなくないですか。特にそれが弱い言語で書かなければいけなかったら、もっと辛いですよね。でも小さい子っていうのは絵を描くのが好きだったり、色塗りが好きだったりするんですよ。だから普通に日記を書かせるのではなく、絵日記にしているんです。特に夏休みにこの宿題を出すのは、私は好きですよ。だって、夏休みはきっと色々な思い出があるだろうし、だからなにかしら絵を描くことも、文章を書くこともあるんじゃないかなと思います。

Writing diary entries or essays can be boring, right? Especially with a weak language it is more tough. However, young children like drawing and colouring. So, instead of asking them to submit regular essays, I occasionally implement *enikki*. I especially like to set this kind of

homework before summer vacation because there are several memorable events in summer and I am sure they have something to draw and write about.

Moreover, Kenner's (2004) ethnographic case studies show how young bilingual learners of Spanish, Chinese and Arabic use directionality, spatiality, and graphic marks to realise meaning and express identities. The following section illustrates some examples of enikki along with a translation.

Figure 15. Enikki written by Naoya



[Translation] June 18, Sunny / “The day I went to the beach with Victor” / When I went to the beach with my friend, I was excited. We could stay there only for two hours, but it was fun because it was the day that my mother comes back from Madrid to Barcelona. On the way back to home, I saw my favorite cargo trains. In the sea, I found a large group of fish. It was like herring. I also found a fish which is about 15 centimeters. When my mom came back, I was so happy. Oops, the name of the sea is Via Olimpica.

[Teacher's feedback] The teacher drew the Japanese symbol for “good job” in red ink on the bottom right corner. (see section 7.2.4.3). On the left side of this paper, she wrote a comment by saying “It was an exciting day!”

The first thing we can clearly observe in Figure 15 is that differences in directionality across languages. In a drawing, Naoya wrote Renfe in Spanish from left to right in a line. However, in his essay, he wrote Japanese sentences from top to bottom in a column, starting from the right side of the paper and continuing left. With regards to the difference in directionality of the text, one teacher noted the following explicitly during the interview.

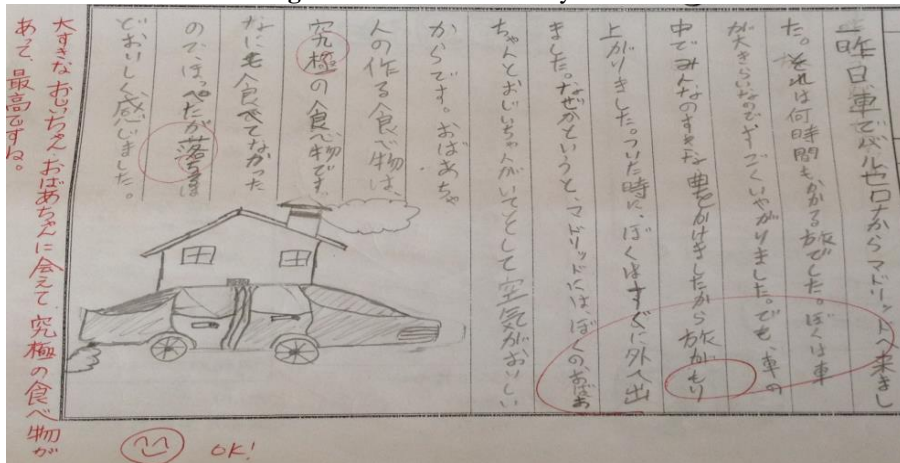
[Citation 6-5] 確かにヨーロッパの言語と日本語では、書く時の向きが違うってのはありますよね。でも私達、大人が心配しているほど、大人っていうか欧米人って言ったほうがいいかな、まあ、その人たちが心配しているほど、大きいこと、たいしたことじゃないと思いますよ。子供にとってはね。だって日本語だって横書きもするじゃないですか。確かに補習校の子達は訓

練されているから、日本語での縦書き、スムーズだけどね、補習校に行っていない子に比べて。私、家庭教師で補習校に行っていない子達も数人見ているんですよ。その子たちは、書く方向を知らないっていうか、わからないっていうか、左から右に書いたりするんですよ。縦書きの場合ね。もちろん、縦書きはよくできるんですけど、それからどっちに向かうかって問題ですよ。まあ、でも慣れちゃえば全然難しいことじゃないし欧米人がすごいって思うほどのことは、ないと思いますけど。そんな特別なスキルじゃないし。

It is true that there is a difference in directionality of text between European languages and Japanese. But I think it is not a big deal for these children even though it can be for some adults, or probably many Westerners. You know in Japanese we also write horizontally, right? It is true that these children who attend the Hoshuko are well trained compared with those who do not attend. So, the students at Hoshuko are able to write vertically very well. In my private Japanese lessons, I teach some children who do not attend Hoshuko and I found out that they do not know the correct directionality of the text and are confused sometimes. They occasionally end up writing left to right in a column. Of course, they can write Japanese vertically, but the problem is after that, which direction they go. It is a question of what they are accustomed to. If you get familiar with it, it is not difficult at all. In my opinion, it does not require special skills nor a mastery of a difficult technique.

As citation 6-5 indicates, these multilingual/multicultural children are well-disciplined to write with correct directionality in various languages. They know that Japanese functions differently compared with the other languages they are learning. Among the 66 collected writing samples, there were no errors in terms of directionality. They get used to it and manage different orientational writing styles appropriately. The following is another example of a diary along with a drawing.

Figure 16. Enikki written by Kazuo



[Translation] Two days ago, we went to Madrid from Barcelona by car. It was a long trip. But we put on our favorite music in a car, so we had a good time. Immediately after we got there, I went out from the car because my grandfather and grandmother are there and the air is very clear in Madrid. My grandmother's cooking is sublime. As I had not eaten anything for a long time, I felt that her cuisine was so wonderful and scrumptious.

[Teacher's feedback] The teacher drew the Japanese symbol for "good job" in red ink on the bottom right corner (see section 7.2.4.3). She also drew the same two symbols next to two specific words (the second and fourth lines from left). The first word that the teacher wanted to praise the use of was "sublime." The second was the phrase "scrumptious." As these two words/expressions are well written, she put extra symbols to praise the student.

On the left side of this paper, she wrote a comment saying "It is great that you could see your favorite grandpa and grandma and have a wonderful meal."

According to Luke (1996), it is very important to have an ability to read text and comprehend images correctly as they are a central element in communication. Commins and Schecter (2003) —and other researchers— mention that teachers' and learners' attitudes towards languages and learning are crucial for language acquisition. In this pedagogical practice, positive attitudes towards language learning encouraged the students. Those participants who submitted enikki said in the conducted interview that they prefer enikki rather than a regular diary because drawing is more fun. During the interviews with those participants who wrote diary entries which featured drawings, they all mentioned that they drew the images first, then proceeded to write their sentences. It shows that drawing might help them to imagine and plan in their learner minds what they will write. This strategy seems to be particularly effective when utilised by younger children. In Sano et al's (2014) study, they implemented this strategy for grade one and two children as a pre-writing activity. Before they asked English-Japanese bilingual participants to write an essay, they let them use a pre-writing strategy sheet such as Figure 17 and 18, so the children were able to draw something before starting to write their essay. This study concluded that drawing as a pre-writing strategy worked well and helped children construct better essays both in English and Japanese. Moreover, the results showed that the prewriting strategy was transferred from one language to another, independently of the writing system. On the contrary, Wolfersberger (2003) reported that Japanese ESL (English as a L2) learners aged from 26 to 28 struggled in utilising all possible strategies that could help their writing process in the L2. The results showed that a prewriting strategy was not transferred between English and Japanese.

Figure 17. Pre-writing sheet for grade one and two participants in Sano et al.’s study

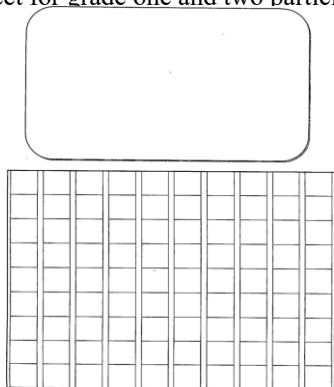
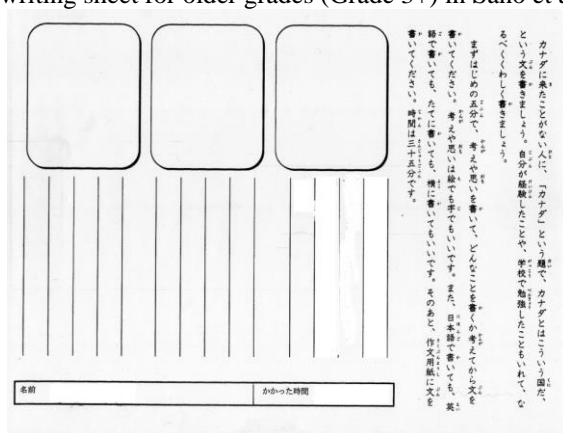


Figure 18. Pre-writing sheet for older grades (Grade 3+) in Sano et al. (2014)’s study

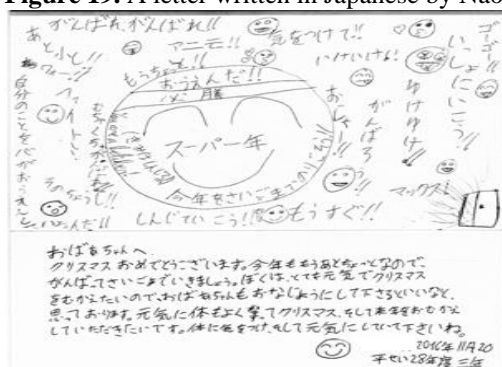


Sano et al. (2014) concluded that there was correlation between the effective use of a pre-writing sheet and balanced bilingual children. Although no teachers at the Hoshuko mentioned this correlation, they implement multimodality effectively when they give tasks to the students or give homework.

6.2.5 Informal Letters

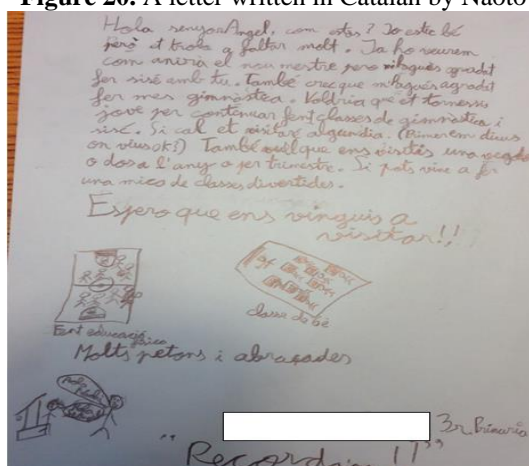
It is also interesting to see the same child writing letters in different languages with drawing. Naoto, a seven-year-old boy, provided me with two informal letters as a writing sample. One of them is written in Japanese and that is for his Japanese grandmother. The other sample is written in Catalan and it is for a retired teacher at his weekday school. The following figures are Naoto’s informal letters and translation.

Figure 19. A letter written in Japanese by Naoto



[Translation] Animo (in Spanish) / Fight, fight! Go, go! / Let's go! / Max! / Let's do our best. / Let's go together! / Be careful! / Let's do our best the rest of this year! Believe in yourself! / Cheer up! / Go for it! / Way to go! / You win. / The heart cheers you up! / You will get there soon! // Dear grandma, / Happy Christmas. Let's do our best because we have a few days left this year. I am very well and want to celebrate Christmas. I hope you do the same. I hope you get better soon and spend good time during Christmas and New Year days. Please take care and stay healthy. / Naoto / November 20th, 2016 / Heisei 28 year (on the Japanese calendar) / Grade 3

Figure 20. A letter written in Catalan by Naoto



[Transcription] Hola senyor Angel, com estas? Jo estic bé però et trobo a faltar molt. Ja ho veurem com anirà el nou mestre pero m'haguès agradat fer sié amb tu. També crec que m'hagués agradat fer mes gimnàstica. Voldria que et tornessis jove per continuar fent classes de gimnàstica i sisé. Si cal et visitaré algun dia. (Primer em dius on vius ok?) També vull que ens visitis una vegada o dos a l'any per per trimestre. Si pots vine a fer una mica de classes divertides. // Espero que ens vinguis a visitar!! // Fent educació física. // Classe de 6è // Molts petons i abraçades // XX 3r Primària / "Recorda'm!!"

From a quantitative perspective, this Japanese letter has 85 bunsetsu and the English translation has 115 words whereas the Catalan letter has 110 words. Both of them were written as a leisure activity and, in fact, his mother explained his writing habits during the interviews as follows.

[Citation 6-6] 私の息子は書くのが大好きなんです。どの言語でも書くっていうのが好きで。いつも何かしら伝えたいっていうのがあってからなんです。よく話す子だし、誰とでも何

語でも話しますよ。このオープンな性格が書くのが好きっていうのをさらに進めているのかもしれないですね。もう退職した先生に、ありがとうっていう感謝の手紙を書くのは、強制だったわけじゃないんですけど、でも自分で書くって決めたんですよ。最後に先生に言いたいことがあるから書くって。おばあちゃんへの日本語の手紙は、まあ多少私が促したっていうのもあるかもしれませんが。私が「クリスマスカードをおばあちゃんに書いたらどう？」って聞いてみて、そうしたらそれはいいね、ってすぐ答えて、書き始めたんです。それで、頭の中にあるものをどんどん書き始めていったみたいですよ。

My son likes writing a lot. No matter which language, he enjoys writing because he always has something to say. He is also talkative and likes talking to anybody in any language. I think his extroverted character helps him to write more. Writing a thank-you letter for a retired teacher was not mandatory. He just decided to write a final letter to his teacher because he felt like doing it. With regards to a Japanese letter to his grandmother, I might have induced it a little by saying “why don't you write a Christmas letter to your grandmother?” But then he said that it is a good idea and immediately after this, he started to write what he had in his mind.

From the interview with this mother, I noticed that his literacy activity at home is very active. During the interviews with 10 Japanese mothers, eight of them answered that their children do not have special literacy activities at home other than doing their homework. However, Naoto's mother constantly looks for opportunities for his son to write something in any language, especially in Japanese. Due to the fact that she is a teacher at the Hoshuko for four-year-old, she is very keen on HL education. She is a mother of a seven-year-old boy, however at the same time she is a teacher who educates other Japanese mothers in order to develop multilingual children in this global world. She knows how important keeping Japanese as a mother tongue and having a Japanese identity living in Catalonia and how difficult it is to do that. Naoto is a good model for her students in her four-year-old class.

6.2.6 New Year's Cards

Another collected informal letter type is the New Year's card. Two students, Mika and Naoya provided me with one Japanese New Year's card each. In Japan, sending New Year's cards is more common than Christmas cards, although nowadays more and more people use computers or mobile devices to make them rather than writing them by hand.

As mentioned in section 4.5.3, this school organises the annual event known as Culture Day. The topics of Culture Day are changed depending from year to year, however normally children in grade one and two learn how to write New Year's cards in Japanese. This card is slightly different from Western New Year's cards (Fukukawa & Cassany, 2018). Therefore, it is important to know the differences if you are Japanese. As volunteer parents started this event many years ago, Japanese parents, not teachers teach the students how to write it on Culture Day. While this class is carried out, some teachers meet elsewhere to discuss school business, whereas others observe how volunteer Japanese parents teach children and how the children behave in the class. In Japan, a Western calendar is used unlike in China. However, each year represents one animal which is similar to a Chinese calendar. 2016 was the year of the monkey. For that reason, all of the children were taught to draw a monkey on a standard Japanese New Year's card. The following figures are examples of some of their work.

Figure 21. Japanese New Year's cards



When it comes to Japanese New Year's cards, there are five unique features which other countries do not follow:

- The first one is “social duty.” In fact, the business of this card plays an important role in Japan because not only do you send it to your family and friends, classmates and coworkers, but you also send it to business partners. Usually companies send them to all of their customers and private schools to their students and vice versa. For example, if a child is taking a piano lesson, he/she has to send it to their piano teacher. Japan has various customs similar to this in which someone has the responsibility to give something to somebody due to the fact that it is your “social duty.” Not to mention, nowadays many Japanese people send New Year's messages online as opposed to

physical cards thanks to technology. However, older people tend to still follow the traditional method.

- The second feature is the design of the cards. The most common design is the zodiac of the upcoming year. For instance, for 2018 it is a dog, in 2017 it was a rooster and in 2016 it was a monkey. During the classes on Culture Day, Japanese parents explain this concept to the children and they are taught that they are supposed to draw the animal of the zodiac. Mika's and Naoya's cards were made during a class in 2015. Therefore, they both drew a monkey for the upcoming year's zodiac at school. In Japan, it is also common to have photos of your kids, yourself, your wedding or a recent trip, etc. on Japanese New Year's cards. However, this is not a part of the lesson at the Hoshuko. Some children actually make their own design using stamps, stickers or drawing something wonderful on it.
- The third feature is set phrases. There are several set phrases for Japanese New Year's cards. It depends a lot on the recipient of the card which phrase is chosen. The children have to use different phrases and politeness forms for friends, family members, coworkers, bosses etc. It should be noted that whilst there is no obligation to use these common phrases, the children learn them because it is considered to be a part of Japanese culture and custom.
- The next feature which might be considered less important is the lottery aspect. Japanese New Year's cards have not only the purpose to wish a "Happy New Year," but also enable the people who receive them to take part in a lottery using the numbers that are printed on the back of each and every card. Usually they publish the winning numbers in mid-late January and prizes range from free domestic trips to postal stamps. However, as the students do not use this special type of card, as they are not available to buy in Barcelona.
- The last feature of Japanese New Year's cards is restrictions. In Japan it is a tradition that if somebody in the family has died, Japanese people are not supposed to send new year cards out. Instead, they send out normal postcards early on, called *Mochu hagaki* (喪中はがき in Japanese, the direct translation of which is "mourning postcards") in order to let everybody know that they will neither send New Year cards or expect to receive any, expressing their respect for the deceased. This Japanese mentality is

also introduced during Culture Day at the school to the children who have the rare occasion to connect with this Japanese custom.

These five features are taught in classes on Culture Day by Japanese parents. Especially, knowing this year's zodiac is important in Japanese society. This is not usually a problem though, since most Japanese people keep in mind the zodiac sign from the year they were born. However, what constitutes common knowledge for families in Japan is not the same for the Japanese community in Barcelona. In this class, children learn not only fixed expressions for New Year's card, but also how to write addresses in Japanese, how a postal code works in Japan and how to write Japanese vertically. Since they use official New Year's cards, they are able to send them to Japan. In summary, the school tries to teach not only the Japanese language itself, but also Japanese customs, traditions, culture and so on because teachers and parents consider that it is very important for the development of the Spanish-Japanese multilingual children. The practice of New Year's card writing is a very good example of how this school sees writing as a social and authentic activity that involves linguistic competence as well as sociocultural knowledge.

6.2.7 Leisure Writings

Another passionate Japanese parent is Kazuo's mother because she volunteered as a chief of committee members at the school for three years. The committee members at the Hoshuko have a lot of tasks. Therefore, if a mother is not interested in education, she cannot be a volunteer to work for this school. Although Kazuo is often busy with his homework from his English weekday school, when he has time he writes something in Japanese. During the interviews, his mother mentioned how Kazuo spends time at home as follows.

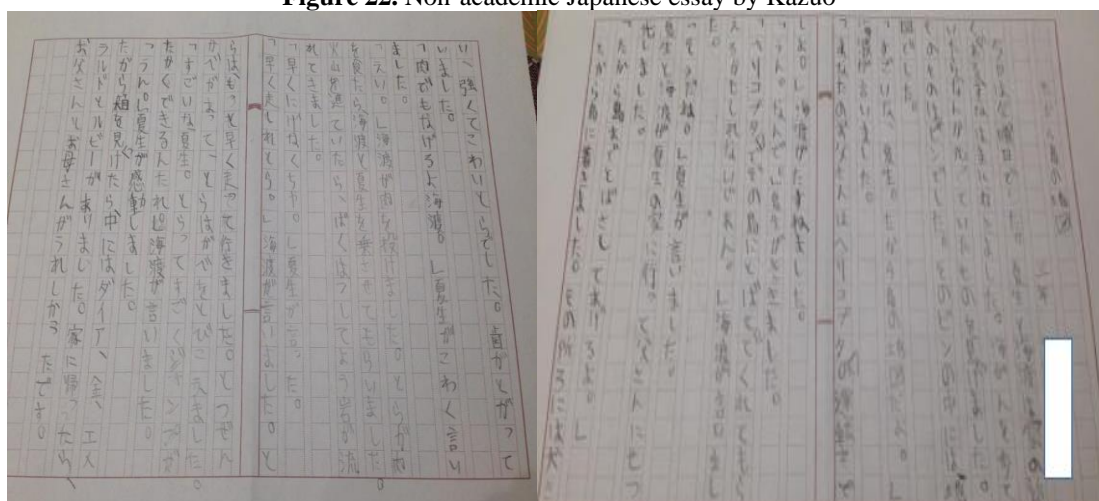
[Citation 6-7] 私達はバルセロナに住んでいるので、ここでの日本語習得って大変ですよ。だから子供にはいつも日本語で話しかけるようにしていて、また彼も日本語で答えています。だからスピーキングについては心配していないんですが、読み書きはやっぱ心配ですね。もう息子は9歳にもなりますけどまだ一緒に本を読んでいますよ。つまり、読み聞かせてってことで一緒に読んで、あの子が話を追えるようにしています。私も息子

に声に出させて読ませているんですけど、よく間違えるんですよ。それに読むスピードがすごく遅くて途中で飽きちゃうんですよ。なので結局日本語でもう本読みたくないってなっちゃうんです。だから私が一緒に読むようにしているんですけどね。私のやっていることが何か意味があって、彼も学習になっているといいんだけど。それから時間がある時は、日本で何か短い作文なり書かせています。理想としては自分で何か書きたいって思って自分から書くことなんですけどね。そんなことはまあないですね。だから時々こちらからやらせないといけないんです。この宝島の作文みたいに、何か書きたいってことがあれば自分から喜んで書くんですけどね。

Because we are living in Barcelona, acquiring Japanese skills is very hard, isn't it? I always talk to my son in Japanese and he replies me in Japanese as well. I am not worried about his speaking skills, but I am more concerned about his reading and writing skills. Although he is already nine years old, I still read Japanese books with him. I mean I read aloud so that he is able to hear it and follow the story. I sometimes ask him to read out loud, but he often makes mistakes and his reading speed is so slow that he gets bored with doing that. As a result, he often loses his motivation to read books in Japanese. Therefore, I decided to try to read books with him. I hope what I am doing is meaningful and he learns something by doing this. I also let or force him to write short essays in Japanese when he has spare time. Ideally, he initiates writing something in Japanese by himself. However, that usually does not happen. Therefore, I occasionally have to force him to do so. When he has some ideas like this essay about a treasure land, he is willing to write something.

The following essay is written by Kazuo as a leisure activity.

Figure 22. Non-academic Japanese essay by Kazuo



[Translation] It was Friday today. Kazuo and Natsuki went to a sandy beach near my place. When we walked (conventional error) on the seashore, we saw something shining (grammatical error). It was a bin (lexical error) and inside the bin, there was a map (lexical error). / “Oh, that is great. It is a map of treasure land” Kazuo said. / “Your father (lexical error) is a helicopter pilot, isn't he?” Kazuo asked. / “Yes, but

why?” Natsu replied. / “He might take us to the land by his helicopter (lexical error), right?” Kazuo said. / “Yes, that is right.” Natsu said. Then we went to Natsu’s place and explained (conventional error) to his father. / “I can take you guys to the treasure land.” (lexical error) Then we arrived at the treasure land (conventional error). Over there, there was a strong and scary tiger (grammatical error). His teeth were very sharp. / “Kazuo, throw something like meat.” Natsu said, sounding scared (lexical error). / “Ei (onomatopoeia of throwing something with all his might)” Kazuo threw it at the tiger. After the tiger eating it (conventional error), they got on the tiger (lexical error). When they were passing near the volcano (conventional error), it exploded and lava started to go off. / “We have to escape quickly.” Natsu said. / “Tiger, run fast. (conventional error)” Kazuo said. Then the tiger started to run fast (conventional error). Suddenly, a wall appeared and we jumped across it. / “Wow! Tiger is awesome. He can jump across so high (conventional error).” Kazuo said. / “Yes.” Natsu was so moved. Then we found a treasure box (conventional error). Inside there were diamonds, gold, jewels and emeralds. When I got home and showed them to my father and mother, they were happy.

As can be seen, although there are several grammatical, lexical and conventional errors, there is no problem of following the plot of the story. Moreover, it is a very vivid, creative and imaginative essay because there is a lot of conversation between the main character, Kazuo and his friend, Natsu. It shows that depending on the chosen topic, students’ eagerness to initiate writing can be positively changed through increased motivation. During the interview with Kazuo, he was actually asked how he felt when he was writing this essay. He said that he enjoyed writing it because he likes creating an imaginative story. He was one of the main characters of this fantasy. He was not obligated to do this as homework from the Hoshuko, he wrote it for fun. When he started to write it, he had only a rough idea about what the story would be. However, as he continued to write it, more and more interesting ideas came to his mind. As his mother had presented him with two pages in which to write, Kazuo initially thought it would take a long time to finish, but since so many ideas were coming to his mind he finished the story quite quickly, something he expressed surprise about. Considering the fact that Kazuo never lived in Japan and has not received formal education in Japan, his Japanese proficiency, kanji skills, organisation skills and creativity are phenomenal. Although he does not live in Japan, he never stops learning Japanese. When he lived in the USA, he used to go to the Hoshuko there to maintain Japanese as a HL, similar to what he does here in Barcelona. His mother is very keen about Kazuo’s language development. She always tries to get involved with the Hoshuko’s management and currently she works as an assistant teacher as well. She encourages not only her son at home, but also students in the classroom to write something at home, not counting their Japanese homework. In the case of Kazuo, his continuous efforts and his mother’s support help him develop and improve his Japanese writing skills.

6.3 Audience Awareness

As Sano et al.'s (2014) qualitative analysis about bilingual students' writing samples also looked into audience awareness, my research takes into consideration the reader of the writing samples. For example, it is easy to identify who is the reader of IMs and emails. Undoubtedly, my participants put the name of the reader when they wrote holiday cards and letters but when it comes to formal and academic writing, the reader is the teacher. Sano et al. (2014) used the following rubric in order to evaluate the students' audience awareness. It was designed to be used for English and Japanese formal writing from grades one to nine (the participants ages ranging from six to 15 years old). Although they analysed only English and Japanese essays, the same criteria is useful here in helping to analyse audience awareness in my own participants.

Table 34. Rubric for audience awareness

Scores	Description
3	It is clear that the writer is aware that some of the information he/she mentions may not be known to the readers, and thus he/she provides adequate supportive information and/or definitions of the words. The composition as a whole presents enough amount of information.
2	It is somewhat evident that the writer is aware that some of the information he/she mentions may not be known to the readers, and thus he/she sometimes provides explanations but not to the satisfactory extent.
1	The writer does not show concern for the readers' knowledge and present his/her personal experiences with no or very few explanations that are necessary.

I implemented this rubric to aid me in assessing my participants' writing samples. The following table indicates the score of each writing samples. The scale is from 1 to 3, with 3 being the highest. In order to assess the various writing samples for audience awareness, I asked two English, Catalan, Spanish, French and Japanese native speakers respectively to analyse them. Their academic expertise covered Japanese (as a L1, L2 and HL), English as a second/foreign language, Spanish as a foreign language, bilingual education and French literature. Please note that these Spanish native speakers are bilingual in both Catalan and Spanish. However, during the assessment process, some of the native speakers I had asked to carry out the assessment informed me all of the holiday cards were unsuitable for analysis using this rubric, due to them not having enough words for

an accurate analysis. Therefore, I decided to remove all the holiday card writing samples from the assessment so as not to adversely affect the results.

Table 35. Scores of audience awareness

Name	Type of writing samples	Score of audience awareness
Hitoe	Japanese essay for Bunshu	1
	Japanese essay for Sports Festival	1
Kandai	Catalan diary entry	2
	Catalan essay	2
	Japanese diary entry	2
	Japanese essay for Bunshu	3
Ken	Japanese diary entry	2
	Japanese essay for Sports Festival	2
	Japanese essay for Bunshu (grade one)	2
Mika	Spanish letter	3
	Japanese letter	2
	Japanese essay for Bunshu	2
	Japanese essay for Sports Festival	3
	Japanese creative essay	3
	French diary entry	2
Naoto	Catalan letter	3
	Japanese letter	3
	Japanese essay for Bunshu	3
Naoya	Japanese diary entry 1	3
	Japanese diary entry 2	3
	Japanese essay for Bunshu	3
	Japanese essay for Sports Festival	1
	Japanese story	2
	Spanish story	2

Aki	Japanese essay for Bunshu	2
	Japanese essay for Sports Festival	2
Kazuo	Japanese diary entry	2
	Japanese essay for Bunshu	3
	Japanese non-academic essay	2
Nina	Spanish essay	3
	Catalan essay 1	3
	Catalan essay 2	3
	English essay	3
	Japanese essay for Bunshu	3
Natsuki	Catalan essay 1	3
	Catalan essay 2	3
	English essay	3
	Japanese essay for Bunshu	3
Asuka	Spanish essay 1	3
	Spanish essay 2	3
	Japanese essay for Bunshu	3

Needless to say they use several languages depending on the situation and context. For example, some choose to write in Spanish when they send cards to Spanish grandparents, relatives and friends. Others choose to use English when they do their English homework. Sano et al. (2014) concluded that their participants who belong to the well-balanced bilingual group tend to have a high score of audience awareness both in English and Japanese. Their participants wrote two essays (one in English and the other in Japanese) under the same topic which is about Canada. The balanced bilingual group's audience awareness was high because when they write an essay in Japanese, they keep in mind that the audience are Japanese people. On the other hand, when they write an essay in English, their target audience was Canadian. The balanced bilingual group did not translate from Japanese to English or vice versa, rather they changed their point of view depending on the use of language. Compared with Sano et al.'s (2014) results, a similar phenomena was found in my results. Those who are balanced bilingual participants tend to obtain a higher

score. Especially, Nina, Natsuki and Asuka received the highest scores for all of their writing samples no matter which language they used. This indicates the older the students get, the more audience awareness they are able to achieve.

6.4 Examples of Writing Samples in Four Different Languages

The collected writing samples show sophisticated quality for the age of the kids. Appendices 9.2.1 to 9.2.5 are good examples of showing multiliteracy skills by Nina. She provided me with four types of writing samples in English, Catalan, Spanish and Japanese. In her weekday school which is American school, she learns all subjects in English, however in addition to that, she also has a couple of hours of Catalan and Spanish classes every week. Despite this short amount of time, she uses both Catalan and Spanish skilfully. It was not strange that my participants can express themselves much better when using their school languages which are Catalan, Spanish, English or French as opposed to Japanese which is a HL, because they have more exposure to their school language. Having said this, they maintain and develop Japanese skills even though they go to the Hoshuko only once a week. Appendices 9.2.1 to 9.2.5 are essays written by Nina, a Spanish-Japanese multilingual child. In order to measure the qualitative aspects of writing (organisation, rhetoric and cohesion skills), the modified rubrics created by Sano et al. (2014) were used. The following tables illustrate each score and description.

Table 36. Rubric for organisation

Scores	Description
4	The organisation of the paragraphs can be logically understood by the effective use of conjunctions.
3	Each paragraph has clear topic sentences or the purpose of each paragraph is clear but the paragraphs are not organised in a manner that can be logically understood.
2	The writer has divided his/her essay into paragraphs but the purposes of each paragraph are not clear. Or, each paragraph is not elaborated and consists of one or very few sentences. Also paragraphs that are conceptually redundant and paragraphs with irrelevant sentences fall into this category.
1	There are no paragraphs.

Table 37. Rubric for rhetoric

Scores	Description
4	The writer is effective in description and expression through uses of a variety of effective rhetoric, such as use of figures of speech, effective introduction, use of dialogues, and also no uses of inappropriate language for writing.
3	Some attempts to use rhetorical skills are observed but only in some parts of the essay. Or the essay does not have any specifically unique expressions but descriptions are in detail and satisfactory. There may be some but not many pragmatic errors.
2	The essay does include some descriptions and/or explanations and is clearly more than just a list of facts, but the description would improve with more elaboration.
1	The writer presents a list of facts only and has no elaboration in description and/or explanation. Or there are too many pragmatic errors to the extent it disturbs reader's understanding.

Table 38. Rubric for cohesion

Scores	Description
4	The connections between each sentence are made clear through the use of effective cohesive ties such as conjunctions and pronouns, and the readers can follow the sentences with ease.
3	Although without effective use of cohesive ties, the way sentences are connected are logical and the readers can follow the sentences with ease.
2	It is evident that the writer has paid attention to make it easy for the reader to follow but it is sometimes not easy as the cohesive ties are missing or misleading.
1	It is not easy for the reader to follow each sentence to the next as the cohesive ties are mostly absent and the writer skips one sentence to the next.

Using this rubric, native speakers of each language including myself assessed Nina's five writing samples. The table below shows the result.

Table 39. Evaluation of Nina's writing samples

	Appendix 9.2.1	Appendix 9.2.2	Appendix 9.2.3	Appendix 9.2.4	Appendix 9.2.5
Language	Japanese	Catalan	Catalan	Spanish	English
Number of words	107 bunsetsu	81 words	112 words	218 words	779 words
Organisation	3	4	3	4	4
Rhetoric	2	4	3	3	4
Cohesion	3	4	3	2	4

As Grosjean (1989) insists, “the bilingual is NOT the sum of two complete or incomplete monolinguals” (p. 3) and this also applies to multiliterate writers. Sano et al. (2014) maintain that “it would be misleading to judge the writing ability of culturally linguistically diverse students by looking only at their writing in one language” (p. 62). For this reason, my research does not focus on the comparison between these multilingual children and monolingual children in Japan or Spain. Generally speaking, all of her writing samples are at a higher level than her current grade-level. Not only is her English writing eye-catching, but her Spanish, Catalan and Japanese writings are satisfactory as well, although she could improve rhetoric skills in Japanese and cohesion skills in Spanish in the future. It is especially worth paying attention to her English essay (see Appendix 9.2.5). She wrote a four page essay about her best friend. Nina’s vocabulary level, the total number of words used, quality of expressions, sentence structure and organisation are prominent. Especially, she used a good technique for the opening sentence by asking a question to the audience and the readers. She started this essay by asking “do you know that having a friend that you like and is very important for you is very important during your life?” This strategy she used shows that she has what Sano et al. (2014) call “audience awareness” (p. 71). Throughout her English essay, she cared about the audience and paid attention to it by asking them some questions. This is certainly the attitude of a good writer. Another useful technique she employed was a survey which asked if having a good friend is important. She did not explain the detail of this survey she conducted in her essay, but she showed the evidence which supports her ideas. Nina’s mother told me that she had helped her daughter with her Japanese essay. Despite not having lived in Japan or receiving any formal schooling in Japan, Nina’s Japanese skills are phenomenal. As many other Spanish-Japanese children do, Nina also goes to Japan every summer for about one and half to two months in order to attend Japanese school in the city where her Japanese grandparents live. Nina’s mother added that she loves writing in all four languages to the extent that she and her friend got a English novel published in 2017 with the assistance of her school’s “Talent Development Program.” As section 4.6.9 describes, Nina often writes something at home. When I conducted the first interview with Nina’s mother, she mentioned that Nina is making up stories with her friend for fun. That was in reference to the novel that they published in 2017 when they were 11 years old. Appendix 9.2.6 shows this collaborative work of Nina and her best friend. According to Nina, her

strongest language is English, followed by Spanish, Japanese and Catalan. This order is evident in her level of writing proficiency presented above.

6.5 Appropriation of Different Writing Systems

The Japanese language is typologically quite different from Catalan, Spanish and English, the languages that my participants are learning at their weekday schools. Since they live in Barcelona, they occasionally have to write about Catalan culture, tradition or food in Japanese classes. On the contrary, they also have opportunities to write about Japan, Japanese culture, their experiences in Japan or Japanese family in Catalan, Spanish and English. Here, I chose four writing samples from four students in order to see how they cope with translating words or concepts from one language to another. The aim of this analysis is to reveal the linguistic and cultural strategies they employ.

1. Natsuki wrote about her vacation in Japan and explained Japanese culture, food, costume, weather, school life, sightseeing spots, etc. in English.
2. Kandai wrote a short diary in Catalan about Japan. He is just seven years old and cannot write many things; so he drew some pictures on the top of his diary. In his 20 word text, he expressed in Catalan how exciting it was to go to Japan that summer. As a result, there is no correlation between the chosen language and the content of the text. When they write essays or diaries at the Hoshuko in Japanese, they have freedom to choose their topic which does not need to be in relation to Japan.
3. Ken wrote a short Japanese essay about *Reyes Magos*, a Spanish Christmas tradition. Since this religious holiday does not exist in Japan, he asked his mother how to say this in Japanese.
4. Naoya handed in a diary entry about his experience in Japan. He played soccer with his new Japanese friend in Japan. This friend noticed that Naoya is from Spain and started to use English words he knew.

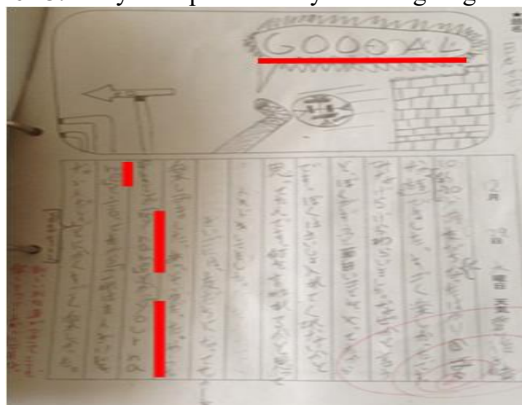
As Spain and Japan are quite different in terms of culture and writing systems, it is normal that some Spanish-Japanese children have difficulties expressing their opinions and

explaining about Japan in other languages and vice versa. Throughout the content analysis of these five writing samples I identified a few sentences which explain some Japanese concepts or Spanish traditions. Later I analysed the strategies my participants employed when they had difficulties translating from Japanese to other languages or vice versa or expressing their thoughts. In terms of strategies they employed, I divided into three groups.

1. Multi-language strategy

The first and probably the easiest strategy is to insert English or Spanish words directly into the Japanese writing. Naoya used this strategy when he wrote a Japanese diary (Figure 23).

Figure 23. Naoya's Japanese diary featuring English words

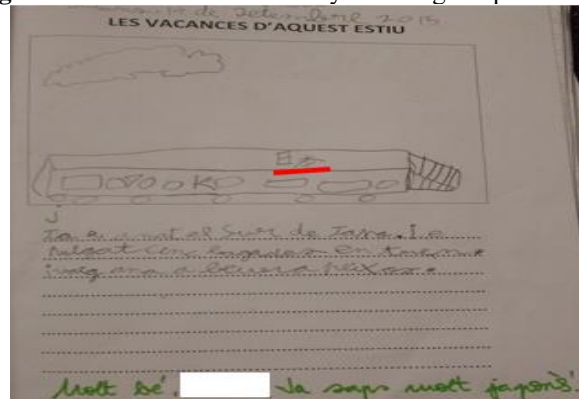


[Translation] December 19th, Thursday, Cloudy followed by sunny. / “Soccer in Japan” / I played with friends with whom I became acquainted with 10 to 20 minutes ago. It was really fun. Everyone laughed a lot because I had been doing funny things all the time. At first, I thought they do not accept me. I was nervous because I was not sure what they were saying about me. / In the end, we became friends and enjoyed playing soccer. Opps Yuta (my friend) was saying to me “my name” and “your name,” etc. Then I said “this is not a joke.” Anyway it was really fun.

As can be seen in Naoya's diary entry, he decided to use English phrases “your name” and “my name” without translating them even if he knew that he was writing a Japanese diary. In this case, his strategy worked well because he wanted to express the fun time he had with his new friends. Another example of this strategy was found in Kaidai's Catalan diary. Although he knew that this assignment was in Catalan, he drew a train which has Japanese characters on it. Certainly, he knew how to say Japan in Catalan, however for

some reason, he wrote a Japanese word in kanji as can be seen highlighted in red in Figure 24.

Figure 24. Kandai’s Catalan diary featuring a Japanese word



2. Transliteration strategy

The second strategy is something Ken used when writing his Japanese essay. He used katakana characters when he wanted to write a Spanish word, *Reyes Magos* in Japanese. As he did not know how to say this, he asked his mother. She explained to him that there is no Spanish tradition like this in Japan and advised him to write it in katakana because katakana is used for borrowed words.

Figure 25. Ken’s Japanese essay featuring a katakana word



[Translation] “Memory of winter” / On January 5th, my younger brother and I put a snack, water and our own socks outside to Reyes Magos. / On January 6th, when I got up, there was a present. It was a book of Geronimo Stilton. It was a big and beautiful book. I was so happy. It is my treasure.

As highlighted with red, he chose to use katakana in order to write *Reyes Magos*. When these Spanish-Japanese multilingual students cannot find the equivalent words in Japanese, the wise strategy is to write the word using katakana as it sounds. Afterwards, he used other katakana characters in order to write the name of the Spanish book

“Geronimo Stilton.” Although he could have written those Spanish words in Spanish on a Japanese essay, he took one step forward which is writing in katakana so that Japanese people who do not understand Spanish such as his Japanese grandparents are still able to read his essay. The strategy that Ken employed is called “transliteration.” Furuno (2005) recounts the history of transliteration in Japan.

Another way of importing foreign words into Japanese is transliteration, or the replacement of the foreign sounds with the nearest Japanese phonetic equivalent using the katakana syllabary. This practice started with borrowing from Portuguese in the 16th century and from Dutch during the 17th and 18th centuries (p. 150).

In recent years, transliteration has become increasingly popular in Japan due to the increased cultural exchange due to travel, technology and other factors. Furuno (2005) notes the use of katakana in Japan after the Meiji period (1868-1912).

Beginning in the Meiji period, and especially after World War II, however, the proportion of loan words from English increased rapidly, and English is now estimated to represent 80–90% of all loan words in Japanese (imidas 1993). Of all 65,000 listings in a popular standard Japanese dictionary (Sanseidō kokugo jiten 1989), there are 7,100 (almost 11%) loan words. Transliteration does not require any effort to be made to convey the meaning of the original, but simply replaces the foreign sounds with Japanese sounds (p. 150).

According to Furuno (2005), in 1989 approximately 11% of total Japanese words were loan words. It is likely that this percentage has increased dramatically since then due to globalisation. I contacted Sanseido Kokugo Jiten, a publisher of Japanese dictionaries to find out what percentage of current Japanese words are loan words, but they were unwilling to provide me with this information.

3. Quotation with explanation strategy

The third strategy I found is the use of Japanese words in an English essay with quotation marks. This is seen in Natsuki’s English essay which talks about Japanese customs. She used the quotation effectively in order to introduce a Japanese word to readers as follows (see Appendix 10.2.2).

I began to play an instrument of Japan very knowed for the people. It's name is "Taiko," They are a type of drums very difficult, but there were very interesting.

After introducing the word, "Taiko," she explained what it is in English. Although she could have translated by saying "Japanese drums," she chose not to do that. Instead, she used the Japanese word with quotation marks and continued to explain about it. This strategy is more complex compared with the two other strategies discussed earlier. Unsurprisingly, Natsuki is older than the other students who used the first two strategies. It would take some time for multilingual children to acquire this strategy. Table 40 contains some excerpts from their original writing samples. Under the strategy column, the number refers to the three categories I identified above. Please note that there are spelling mistakes in Table 40 because it displays exactly what they wrote.

Table 40. Strategy chosen to express thoughts

Name	Fragment of writing samples	Strategy
Naoya (Appendix 6.2.5)	GOOOAL. Your name. My name.	Multi-language strategy
Kandai (Appendix 2.2.4)	日本 [Translation] Japan.	Multi-language strategy
Ken (Appendix 3.2.1)	一月五日、レジエス・マゴスのために、ぼくとおとうとはおかしとみずとじぶんのたちのくつをそとにおいておきました。 [Translation] On January 5th, my younger brother and I put a snack, water and our own socks outside to <i>Reyes Magos</i> .	Transliteration strategy
Natsuki (Appendix 10.2.2)	When we arrived to the hotel I was very surprised. I would a lot the rooms because they were made with "TATAMI" is a typical flor of Japan that is made of bamboo.	Quotation with explanation strategy
	I began to play an instrument of Japan very knowed for the people. It's name is "Taiko," They are a type of drums very difficult, but there were very interesting.	Quotation with explanation strategy

6.6 Teachers' Feedback

Among the 66 collected writing samples, it was discovered that teachers had commented upon 11 number of samples. The table below is a summary of teachers' comments along with scores if they were given.

Table 41. Summary of teachers' feedback

Name	Type of writing samples	Content summary	Teachers' feedback
Kazuo	Class note	Summary about Tsunamis	③ Excellent!
	Class note	Book review	2.5 Keep going:)
	Class note	Text analysis	Well Done!
	Class note	Venn diagram about Tsunamis	Super work!
Kazuo	Diary entry	Trip to Madrid	大すきなおじいちゃん、おばあちゃんに会えて究極の食べ物あって最高ですね。:) OK! It is great that you could see your favorite grandpa and grandma and have a wonderful meal. :) OK!
Naoya	Diary entry	The day I went to the beach with Victor	たくさんどきどきする日でしたね! It was an exciting day!
	Diary entry	Soccer in Japan	新しいお友達ができてとても楽しそうでしたですね。 It was great that you made new friends. It seems fun.
Kandai	Two line diary entry	Various topics	どんなふね? おおきい? What kind of ship (did you make)? Is that big? / たのしそうね。 Sounds fun. / あらら。 ざんねん。 Ohh, that was unfortunate. / 空手かっこいいね。 どうぎも きたの? Karate is cool! Did you also wear a Karate uniform?
	Diary entry	Trip to Japan	Molt bé! Ja saps molt japonès!
	Diary entry	Soccer	Molt bé!

Natsuki	Eassy	Japan Holiday	Well written! Good use of past. Some spelling mistakes. ⑨
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From Table 42, it was found that there are three types of teachers' feedback. One of them is positive comments. For instance, typical positive comments are "well done," "keep going" and "molt bé." Instead of these positive comments, some Japanese teachers wrote further questions to the students such as "what kind of ship (did you make)?" and "did you also wear a Karate uniform? etc." On the other hand, other Japanese teachers tend to make comments about the content of writing. For example, "it was an exciting day!" and "It was great that you made new friends. It seems fun." These teachers did not mention about the writing skills, but rather commented on the actual contents which the students wrote. The following table is a summary of teachers' feedback divided into three groups.

Table 42. Teachers' feedback divided into three categories

Feedback category	Teachers' feedback
Positive comments about writing skills	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Keep going ● Molt bé. ● Well written! Good use of past. ● Excellent. ● Well Done. ● Super work! ● Molt bé! Ja saps molt japonès!
Further questions	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● What kind of ship (did you make)? Is that big? ● Did you also wear a Karate uniform?
Comments about the contents	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● It is great that you could see your favorite grandpa and grandma and have a wonderful meal. ● It was great that you made new friends. It seems fun. ● It was an exciting day! ● Sounds fun. ● Karate is cool!

From the collected writing samples in this study, it was revealed that there are mainly three types of teachers' comments. I observed that from all 11 writing samples, there were no negative teacher comments to be found.

[Citation 6-8] そりゃ、コメント書くときは、子供のできなかったところ、だめなところばかり指摘して書くんじゃないかって、なるべく褒めるようにしていますよね。いいところ見つけて。これで書くの嫌いになってもらっちゃ、困るから、励ますっていう

か、やる気をへしまげるようなことは書かないですよ、きっとどんな先生も。だから皆さん、ポジティブなこと書いて子供を持ち上げるっていうか、そういう感じなんじゃないかな。でも正直言って、私のコメントを親は読んでいるかもしれないけど子供がちゃんと読んでくれているかどうかは謎ですけどね。

Of course, when I give feedback, I try to look at students' strong points and praise them instead of finding their mistakes and criticising what they could not do well. I do not want them to be discouraged with the feedback I give. Therefore, I am trying to encourage them to write more in Japanese. I think that all other teachers do the same thing. I mean, they all intend to give positive feedback to their students in order to motivate them. But frankly speaking, I am not sure if my students actually read my feedback, although their parents probably read it.

This observation combined with the attitude of this teacher support the notion that these teachers see encouraging the students with positive comments to be of great value, and do not see the use of negative comments as useful. One of teachers at the Hoshuko commented about feedback.

[Citation 6-9] 作文じゃなくて特に日記の課題の場合ですけど私は文法とか漢字とか表記上のミスは、あまり直さないですね。気づいても。それより日記とかは先生と生徒のコミュニケーションとして使っているっていう感じですかね。だからもちろん「良く書けているね」とか「楽しかったのが伝わってくるよ」とか書き方についてのコメントもするけど、それよりももっと内容に関してのコメントが多いかもしれません。でもそれも生徒によっても、多少変えているかもしれないですね。例えばなんとかしてようやく書き上げてきたような子には、「よく書いてきたね」って褒めて、あまり間違いは指摘しないけどいつもよくできるような子がちょっと小さい間違いなんかを日記とか作文の中でしていたら直すかも。だからその子のレベルに合わせてって感じです。

For a diary entry assignment, as opposed to essays, I do not normally correct students' grammatical and kanji errors which are superficial issues. I do not correct them even if I notice them. Rather, I use diary entry assignments as a communication tool between teachers (me) and students. So, of course, I give feedback about the way of their writing such as "well done" or "you conveyed well how fun it was," etc. However, I would rather give more comments about the actual contents than criticising spelling or grammar mistakes. Moreover, I also change the way of giving feedback depending on each student. For example, I tend not to correct nor point out the mistakes of children who are not good at writing, but managed to complete an assignment of essays or a diary entry. I simply praise them for what they have completed. Whereas when those who are skillful at writing make minor mistakes, I correct them. Therefore, depending on the students' level, I change the way I give feedback.

From the interviews with teachers at Hoshuko, it was discovered that when they give feedback on diaries and essays, they pay more attention to the actual content than the forms which include grammar, spelling, structure, etc. Table 42 illustrates that the teachers who gave positive comments about writing skills are not Japanese teachers, they are teachers at the weekday schools the children attend. When Japanese teachers give feedback, they write further questions about the content or positive comments about the content. It would have been more comprehensive if interviews with their Catalan, Spanish and English teachers had been conducted to find out their methods when they give feedback on diaries and essays. As a result, I have added this as a future study point and address it in further detail in Chapter 10.

CHAPTER 7

DIGITAL LITERACY AND DIARY ENTRY

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In the previous chapter, general literacy practices are shown via the collected writing samples and were then analysed using rubrics. In this chapter, I narrowed down to three themes the literacy practices exhibited by those students' in order to analyse them further. These are: 1) digital literacy practices, 2) homework from Hoshuko, and 3) diary entries. I will present what I discovered from interviews with students, mothers and teachers.

7.1 Digital Literacy

According to Nakajima and Sano (2016), there is an increase of the importance of writing skills in this modern society where depends on IT. Not only conversational skills but also

online communicational skills and logical writing skills to persuade is critically important for this globalised world. Moreover, writing skills enhance critical thinking skills.

7.1.1 Asuka's Writing Samples

All of the collected writing samples were handwritten except for the oldest student, Asuka, who submitted WhatsApp messages and essays written using a computer. When I conducted this project, it was only Asuka who had a mobile phone. Although the families of all the participants owned several computers and tablets, all the other students submitted only handwritten samples. Asuka told me about how she started using her mobile phone and how her usage of it has changed in our interview, a section of which is below.

[Citation 7-1] 11歳から携帯持っているよ。初めはなんか緊急の時だけ使うだったの。ほら、危ないこともあるかもしれないでしょ。でもだんだん少しづつ友達にメッセージ送るようになって。その時話す言葉はもちろん話す人によって変えるよ。でもよく使うのはスペイン語と英語かな。

Since I was 11 years old, I have had a mobile phone. Initially, I used it in emergencies. But gradually I started to use them to communicate with my friends. Nowadays every day, I send messages by mobile phone, tablet, and computer. Depending on people I talk with, I change languages. I normally use Spanish and English, though.

The following figure shows some examples of Asuka's WhatsApp messages with her friend. The text highlighted in yellow indicates what Asuka typed. More examples of Asuka's messages can be found in Appendix 11.

Figure 26. Asuka's WhatsApp messages in English with her friend

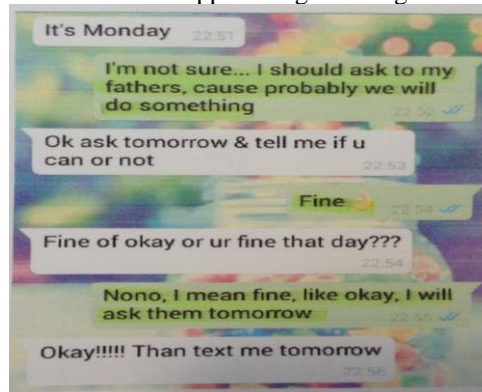
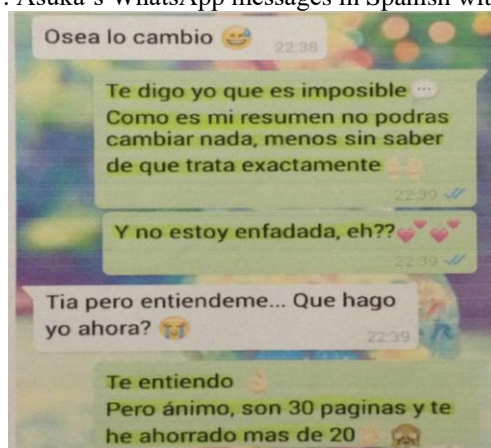


Figure 27. Asuka's WhatsApp messages in Spanish with her friend



Asuka goes to a local Spanish junior high school (*Educació Secundària Obligatòria*) and certainly communicates with her friends via WhatsApp in Spanish. However, for some reason, five out of six of the IMs she showed me were written in English. Considering the fact that she has never lived in English speaking countries and all of her English knowledge comes from her school or personal private activities, her English proficiency is excellent. Although she makes grammatical, lexical and conventional mistakes, she is still able to express in English what she wanted to convey. Moreover, the reader, her friend is able to understand what Asuka wants to say and they have no problem communicating with each other in a foreign language. She acknowledged that Spanish is her strongest language, followed by Catalan, Japanese and English. Asuka's mother showed her concerns about Asuka's writing using WhatsApp messages as follows.

[Citation 7-2] 子供がテクノロジーを使うことで起こりうる問題ってというのは、スペイン語を書く時の省略の仕方とかかな。うちの娘は携帯とかタブレットでスペイン語を書く時、略語を使ったり、アクセントをつけなかったりして、正しくスペイン語を書いていないんですよ。もう知っていると思いますけど、スペイン語はアクセントがあるかないかだけで全然意味が違ってくる単語もあるから、やっぱり大切かなって思いますよね。そういうようなことは手紙を書くっていう時にはなかった問題だと思うんですね。だからこのままうちの娘が携帯とかタブレットで書き続けたらって考えると、その点が心配ですね。

The negative effect of children using technology would be using abbreviations in Spanish. My daughter is not writing Spanish appropriately by using abbreviations on her mobile phone and tablet such as accentuation. You know in Spanish depending on the accent, the meaning can be completely different. Therefore, using the accent correctly is important. I do not think people use abbreviations when they write letters. So, I am worried about the incorrect usage of accent in

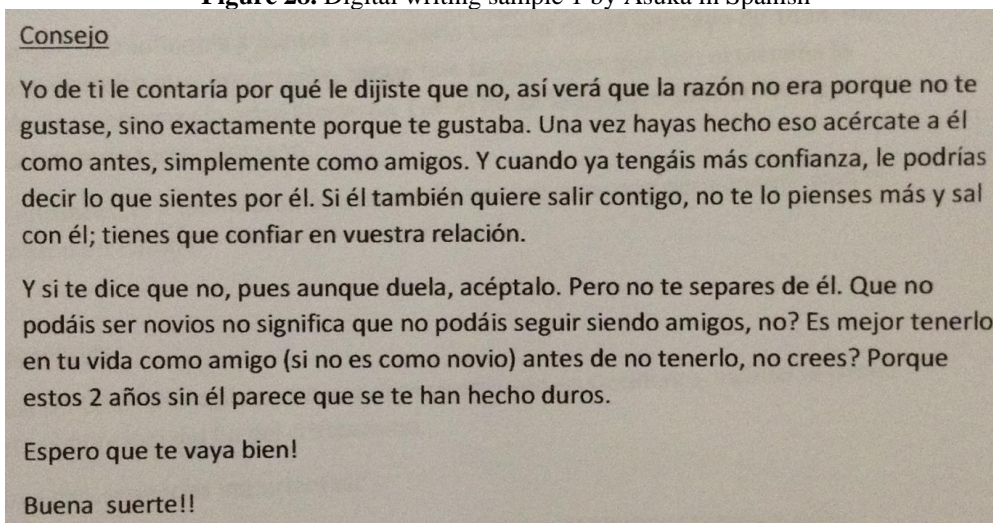
Spanish if she keeps on using her mobile phone and tablet and does not pay attention to the accentuation.

As Asuka's mother was worried about the development of Asuka's Spanish writing skills when using technology, for example Asuka did not put the accents when she was supposed to use them. However, the Spanish writing sample above did not include these kind of errors. The following section 7.1.2 demonstrates Asuka's Spanish writing samples which she wrote using a computer. These samples do not have any mistakes related to abbreviation and accentuation that her mother is worried about. Although she knows how and when Spanish accentuation should be used, she does not use it appropriately when she sends text messages.

7.1.2 Essays Written with the Assistance of Technology

Asuka also gave me some additional digital writing samples in Spanish. She reported that since she was in grade four or five, she was gradually introduced to using technology at school and when at home she was always seeing her older brother using his laptop, tablet and mobile phone near her. Therefore, her interest toward technology was raised and the initial learning period went smoothly as a result. Since grade five or six, she started to have some assignments which required her to complete them digitally. Now she is in the second grade at junior high school and does most of her homework using a computer. The following two essays are her Spanish writing samples.

Figure 28. Digital writing sample 1 by Asuka in Spanish



Consejo

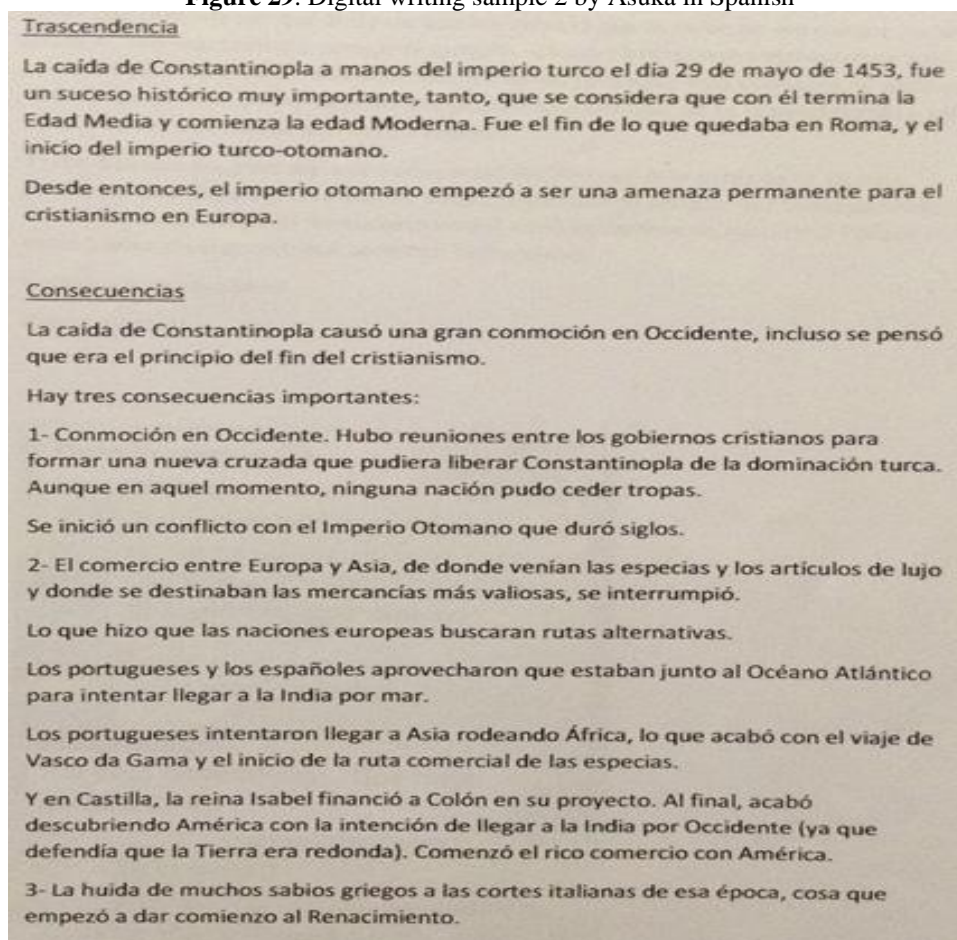
Yo de ti le contaría por qué le dijiste que no, así verá que la razón no era porque no te gustase, sino exactamente porque te gustaba. Una vez hayas hecho eso acércate a él como antes, simplemente como amigos. Y cuando ya tengáis más confianza, le podrías decir lo que sientes por él. Si él también quiere salir contigo, no te lo pienses más y sal con él; tienes que confiar en vuestra relación.

Y si te dice que no, pues aunque duela, acéptalo. Pero no te separes de él. Que no podáis ser novios no significa que no podáis seguir siendo amigos, no? Es mejor tenerlo en tu vida como amigo (si no es como novio) antes de no tenerlo, no crees? Porque estos 2 años sin él parece que se te han hecho duros.

Espero que te vaya bien!

Buena suerte!!

Figure 29. Digital writing sample 2 by Asuka in Spanish



During the interview with Asuka's mother, she was constantly worried about her daughter's Spanish orthography, especially accentuation. The mother knows that even though her daughter knows correct orthography in Spanish, when she sends messages via WhatsApp, she does not pay attention to that point. Since this Japanese mother is a Spanish teacher to Japanese mothers in Barcelona, she knows the importance of accentuation because depending on that, the meaning can change drastically in some cases. In short, the mother is worried about her daughter losing her orthography skills due to her use of technology. In contrast to her concern, the two Spanish essays above do not contain any spelling mistakes. One of the Spanish raters even demonstrated his surprise at her advanced Spanish level. Clearly, when she writes formal essays in Spanish, she does pay attention to orthography whereas when she texts something with her mobile phone or tablet, she tends to lose attention to it. However, she acknowledges all of Spanish grammar rules and the use of accent correctly.

7.1.3 Apps and Websites

Some apps and websites that my participants use on a daily basis are for educational purposes and for leisure. The first non-educational app is called *Nekoatsume* in Japanese, *Kitty collector* in English. It is a free-to-play mobile game which is often used by younger girls and involves them looking after virtual cats. The player can choose to play in either English or Japanese. As you can see in the left below picture, there is only one sleeping cat right now, but as the app's name suggests, the goal is to collect as many cats as possible. So, how would you collect cats? Needless to say, cats are attracted by food and toys. You have to buy them using in game currency. Also you have to read some simple instructions in the language you chose to play the game in, however there are always visual aids, so high-level language proficiency is not needed. After buying some treats, you put them in the yard and wait a few minutes. If you are lucky, you will see some new cats appear, as can be seen in the right below picture. One key feature of this app is that you can post photos of your virtual cats on Facebook, Twitter and Instagram as if you were the real owner of the cats. Thus, children can form more of an emotional attachment to them, despite not being able to physically touch them. With its links to social media this app allows for greater interaction with others.

Figure 30. *Nekoatsume*

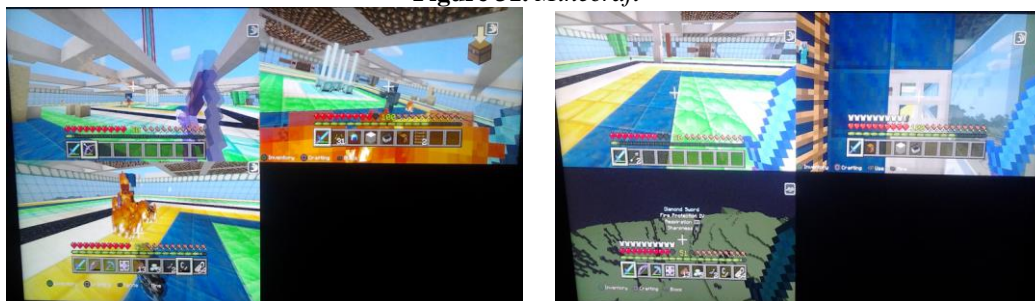


“Shougakusei Kanji Ninja” is an educational flash game which can be accessed for free via a website and is used to learn Japanese characters. However unfortunately, there are only two difficulty levels, novice and expert. From a Japanese language teacher’s perspective, this is a very rough division considering that there are more than 2,000 characters of varying complexity to learn. So, it is always challenging for my students to

find a resource (game, toy, website, etc.) which is at an appropriate level for their needs. However, Japanese children seem attracted to learning kanji using the Ninja themed game, so they use this kind of website to memorise characters in a more enjoyable way compared with a textbook. This educational game is also available as a mobile game on Android and iOS. It would be interesting to investigate whether or not the mobile version of the game, which has the benefit of touch controls, provides a better learning experience for students, given the importance of stroke order when writing Japanese characters.

Considering its widespread popularity, you are probably already familiar with the next game: *Minecraft*. It is not a free to play game, the price varies based on platform (mobile, PC, console etc.). According to Wikipedia, the creative and building aspects of *Minecraft* enable players to build constructions out of textured cubes in a 3D generated world. Other activities in the game include exploration, resource gathering, crafting, combat, and socialising with other players. Five male participants answered that they play it, but only one submitted the following screenshots of a multiplayer gaming session they he played recently. He chose to play the game in English and claimed that he have no problem understanding English in order to enjoy playing the game. In fact, a high proficiency in language is not required because what he chooses to do in the game focuses on attacking other players with the weapons he has acquired. Although there are other ways to play this game, he chose the combat mode and I asked him why. He answered that he found this mode to be the most fun and also the easiest.

Figure 31. *Minecraft*

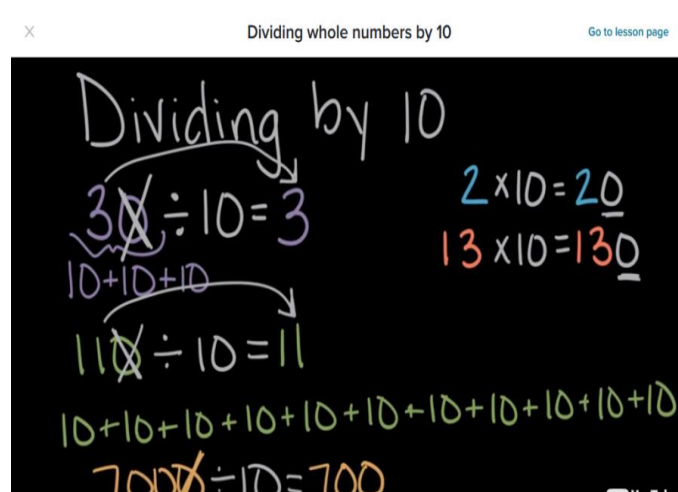


83.3% of my male participants regularly enjoy playing this game with their friends and/or siblings after school as well as on the weekend. However, there was one student (Naoya) who does not play this particular game, but does enjoy watching others play it. He said

he often watches YouTube videos (gameplays) where the player will commentate whilst playing the game, *Minecraft*. The mother of this participant told me that he probably enjoys listening to other players' comments or strategies which he never came across. She also added that depending on the games he watches, the languages would be vary from English, Catalan, Spanish and Japanese. Throughout the interviews I noticed the growing trend of watching other people play games on YouTube, instead of actually playing them. Further investigation is necessary to determine what impact this could have on language learning and how this learning can be connected to formal contexts of school.

One of the websites two participants (Kazuo and Nina) use for educational purposes is called *Khan Academy*. It is a free non-profit educational organisation created in 2006 with a goal of creating an accessible place for people to be educated. This organisation produces short lectures in the form of YouTube. The lectures and other content range from Maths, Science and Computing to Arts and Humanities. This website also includes supplementary exercises and tools for educators. The website is available in English, as well as many other languages, comprising of Spanish, Portuguese, Turkish, French, Bangla and Hindi. The followings are screenshots submitted by two nine-year-old students. They were studying grade three and four Maths using *Khan Academy*. Their routine work is first watching videos to understand the concept and later doing some exercises which are associated with what they have just watched. As this is an interactive method, they enjoy doing their homework.

Figure 32. *Khan academy*



Comparing multi-digit numbers Go to lesson page

Compare.

$98,989 > 98,899$

$90,000 + 8000 + 900 + 80 + 9$
 $90,000 + 8000 + 800$

Quiz 1

This square shaded in purple is 1 whole:

Which choices show $\frac{6}{4}$ of one square shaded in purple?

Choose all answers that apply:

A

B

C

D

2 of 5 Check

Both participants said they use this website for their homework every day and their teacher can then check the progress of the students' online. What they do is so-called "blended learning" (Reay, 2001; Rooney, 2003) which combines online digital media with traditional classroom methods. It requires the physical presence of both teacher and student, with some element of student control over time, place, and speed. The conducted interviews revealed that one student uses this website regularly both at school and home and the other student uses this only at school. The common thing among these two students is that both of them go to international school, not local Spanish school. That is to say, this website might be popular only in certain schools in Barcelona. These participants were observed to be involved in a variety of digital literacy events and practices, and their contributions were celebrated as making valuable contributions in

one-to-one, small group and whole group activities. This suggests that inclusive literacy pedagogy requires a clear understanding of literacy as social practice rather than as a narrow set of technical sub-skills required for reading and writing.

7.1.4 Mothers' Perspectives towards Technology in Education

I determined the different perspectives of Japanese mothers regarding the use of technology inside and outside of the school. I asked Japanese mothers the following question, “How do you think technology affects children’s writing in general? Do you think your children’s writing is enhanced or hampered by using technology?” The following table contains six noteworthy responses given by the mothers to the questions posed.

Table 43. Mothers’ comments and responses (negative to neutral)

Mother’s perspectives	Detailed interview comments
Negative	<p>個人的にはテクノロジーから何か効果があるなんて全然期待していません。私の考えでは、本を読んだり書いたりというアクティブラーニングが大切だと思っています。それはテレビを見たり、タブレットを使ったりする受身のラーニングよりずっといいと思うわ。アクティブラーニングはその子をクリエイティブにしてくれたり、思考力創造力を使わせると思うから。それでもっと書くのも上手になるんじゃないかなと思いますね。だから娘にはあまりテクノロジーに頼ってほしくないです。そうではなくて、アクティブラーニングのほうをもっと積極的に実行していってくれたらなと思っています。</p> <p>Personally, I have very few expectations from technology and do not want to rely on it. In my opinion, active learning such as reading books or writing is more important than passive learning like watching TV and using tablets. That stimulates creativity and critical thinking. Also it leads to advanced and sophisticated writing skills. Therefore, I do not want my daughter to rely on technology too much, instead I want her to carry out more active learning.</p>
	<p>テクノロジーを使いすぎると子供の書く力は下がると思います。だから子供をたちにあまりそれを使わせたくないのが正直なところ。今まで通りの方法で書いてほしいと思っています。</p> <p>I think it hampers children’s writing. I do not want them to use technology much and want them to use traditional methods.</p>

<p>Relatively negative</p>	<p>書く力は下がると思います。特に9歳以下小さい子たちにはそうじゃないかな。だから本当に小さい子にはペンと紙で練習して、体が覚えてしまうまで練習するっていうのは本当に大切だと思います。もうちょっと10歳以上の中学年、高学年になったらテクノロジーとか使うのも、まあ役立つんじゃないかな。テクノロジーを使って勉強したこと、知識とかも生かせると思うから、それはそれでいいかなと。</p> <p>I think it hampers Japanese writing especially for young children (under nine years old). It is very important to use pen and paper and “muscle memory” in order to memorise letters for young children. Technology could be useful for older children, older than 10 years old, because they can utilise knowledge they have already acquired when they use technology.</p> <hr/> <p>たぶん悪影響があるんじゃないかなと思います。特に日本語はたくさん書いて覚えなないといけないから手で何度も練習することは大切だと思います。やっぱりそれをしないと漢字なんてすぐ忘れちゃいますよね。</p> <p>It might be making his writing skills worse. For Japanese especially, you have to write a lot to memorise the characters. Repetition by hand is important. If you do not do that, you will forget kanji easily.</p> <hr/> <p>個人的にはやっぱりテクノロジーは書く力に悪影響があると思います。やっぱり私でさえ漢字をしばらく使っていなかったら忘れてたりしますからね。だから私が思うに、手を使って紙と鉛筆で書くのってすごく大事ななあ。</p> <p>Personally, I think technology hampers writing skills because I myself forget kanji if I do not use it for a long time. So, in my opinion, writing by hand is crucial.</p>
<p>Neutral</p>	<p>私の経験から話すとテクノロジーを使うことで漢字を書くっていうことに関しては悪影響があるんじゃないかなと思います。仕事でいつもパソコンばかり使うんですが、やっぱり漢字はちょっと忘れちゃいますね。大体こんなだったなっていうのは覚えているんですけど。パソコンは漢字の変換をしてくれたり、直してくれたりするから、それをずっと使っていたらやっぱり力は落ちていくと思いますね。だから息子もタブレットばかり使ってあまり書く機会がなかったら、書く力っていうのは下がると思います。でも最近はずっともっと多くの学校でタブレットを取り入れた教育とか聞くからそれを考えるとどれだけ将来、ペンと紙で書き続けるのかなって思ったりもします。たぶん今の子達って手で書くっていうのは減っていて、漢字を読めても書けないっていう子も多いんじゃないかなと思いますね。この中でどれ、とか 選択肢を与えられたら選べるんだろうけど、たぶん自分では書けないでしょうね。だから将来的に紙とペンっていうのをあまり使わなくなると考えると、今手で書くっていう教育はどれだけ大切のかなって。正直自分でも何がベストなのかわからないんです。</p> <p>From my experience, I think technology has hampered kanji writing. I use computers in my work and often forget to write kanji even if I have a rough image in my mind. If I use computers which correct kanji automatically, I think my writing skills will diminish. So, my son uses tablets and does not have the opportunity to write and that might cause reduced writing skills. However, I know more and more schools use tablets in education and I wonder how long we will continue to use pen and paper in the future. Probably these children will have fewer opportunities to write by hand. I assume there is a tendency that even if they can read kanji, they cannot write them. Maybe they can choose the correct kanji from options provided, but cannot write it themselves. When I think about a future with fewer opportunities to use pen and paper, I wonder how important handwriting education is. I do not know what the best thing will be.</p>

Surprisingly, all Japanese mothers except two answered negatively. Namely, they assume that technology might hamper their children’s writing if they continue using it in the future. The degree of negativity, however, varies. Some of them only questioned if technology might affect their students’ writing negatively, whereas others had clearly

made up their mind, and responded emphatically saying that technology only has a negative influence on writing and they are afraid that their children will lose their writing skills as a result. They think that children have to write kanji with their hands over and over until they fully memorise it because this is the way they themselves learned when they were children.

On the other hand, there are two parents who have hopes for technology within the educational system. They believe that children can still learn something by using technology, for example summarising skills. They also added that when it comes to short messages, I have to put in short sentences what we want to say, so we must summarise the things that we want to convey. They emphasised using IMs and Twitter requires good summarising skills. The following table consists of quotations taken from the conducted interviews showing the positive attitude some of the mothers have toward children using technology.

Table 44. Mothers' positive comments and responses (positive)

Mother's perspectives	Detailed interview comments
Positive	<p>書く力に関してはいい影響があるんじゃないかな。だって昔は電話以外のコミュニケーションの方法って手紙だったわけですよね。でも今はこのテクノロジーの発達のおかげでいつでも世界中の誰にも気軽にメッセージできるようになったから、書くっていう機会を考えたら、昔に比べて最近のほうももっと書いているんじゃないかな。もちろん漢字は使わなかったら忘れちゃいますよね。でもキーボードとかで漢字変換の時、漢字は見ているわけですからいいんじゃないですか。だから漢字力に関しても私は落ちるとか別に心配はしていません。たぶん力が落ちると言ったらスペイン語の省略語とかじゃないですか。娘は携帯とかタブレットで書く時スペイン語をちゃんと正しく書いていないんですよ。でも手紙を書く時ってというのはそんなに省略語は使わないですよ。</p> <p>I think there are positive effects. In the old days, the only communication tool apart from a telephone was the letter. On the other hand, nowadays we can casually send messages to communicate with anybody in the world thanks to technology. When I think about the amount of writing, we write a lot nowadays compared to the old days. Of course, if we do not use kanji, we forget them easily, but keyboards give us multiple choices of kanji and we see them all the time. So, I am not really worried about the negative impact of technology towards kanji skills. The negative effect would be using abbreviations in Spanish. My daughter is not writing Spanish appropriately, shown by her use of abbreviations on her mobile phone and tablet. I do not think people use abbreviations when they write letters.</p>

この質問を聞いて、テクノロジーが娘の教育にとっていいのか考えさせられました。でも一概にテクノロジーが悪いとは言えないかな。彼女を見ていると、特に漢字のアプリとか使って次のレベルにいくのを楽しんでいたりするし、とにかく携帯とかタブレットを使うのを楽しんでいる感じなんですよ。WhatsApp を使うっていうのは長所も短所もあると思います。短所は簡単にメッセージが送れちゃうからあまり深いことを考えないで、文の複雑な構造とか考えないですぐ送っちゃうっていうことかな。でも短い文章で的確に相手に伝えないといけないから、そういう面では要約する力っていうのはついていていいのかと感じます。たぶん多くの人は漢字力が落ちるって考えていると思うんですけど私はそれは心配していません。日本の叔母とかメールもらったりするとそこにまだ習っていない漢字が混ざっていたりはするんですけど、そういう時は私に読み方を聞いていて、それで勉強になっていると思うんです。だから分からない漢字があっても読みたいって気持ちのほうが強いんじゃないですかね。

This question makes me think whether technology is good for her (my daughter's) education or not. But I do not think technology is bad because she enjoys using it and practices kanji a lot in order to go to the next level of a Japanese kanji writing app. Using WhatsApp has pros and cons. One of the cons is that she can send messages easily without thinking too much about complex sentence structures. But as she has to write short sentences, she tends to summarise what she wants to convey. By doing this, she has probably improved her summarising skills. I am not worried about her losing kanji skills like many other people think. When she gets some messages from her Japanese aunts, sometimes kanji she has not learned appears. In that case, she asks me to pronounce them and then she learns them. It seems she is eager to read messages even if there are some unknown kanji.

The two mothers who answered positively to this question are mothers of children aged 11 to 14 years old whereas six mothers who have younger children aged seven to 10 years old answered negatively. As this study has only 11 participants, it would be ill-advised to draw any definitive conclusions. However, there appears to be a tendency for mothers who have older children to be more favorable with regards to their children using technology and have a more positive attitude towards it. It was of note that these participants' parents all remarked on the nature of their children's competence in using multimodal communication practices, which they felt was distinct from their own history of experiences with technology. In conclusion, even though my participants are 11 families who have relatively similar bicultural backgrounds, it was discovered that they had differing attitudes towards their children using technology at home. One of these families does not allow their daughter to use tablets, computers and mobile phones although parents use them regularly because this Japanese mother strongly believes that technology has a negative influence on children. On the other hand, the other family has very generous and unconventional attitudes which permits their son to utilise technology at home by doing his homework, playing with friends in Japan, sending messages internationally, etc. This family, Kazuo's family, even bought an extra second hand tablet

for his friends to use. So, Kazuo can invite his friends back to his home to play games together. In summary, depending on the policy each family has regarding technology in the home, combined with their attitudes toward technology being used for educational purposes, the presence of a computer or tablet in the home is not in and of itself, a clear indicator of what those devices are used for on a regular basis.

7.1.5 Attitudes of current teachers in Japan towards ICT

Japanese mothers' perspectives towards ICT education comparing Spain and Japan were discussed above in the section 7.1.4. When I asked Japanese mothers during the interviews about the use of technology in Japan, all of them answered that Japan is behind other countries, not to mention behind Spain when it comes to educational technology at school. Japan is well known for its electronics industry throughout the world particularly in the fields of scientific research, technology and machinery. However, in terms of ICT in education, many schools and teachers do not use it in order to provide better education to children. Moreover, some teachers in Japan believe that technology has only a bad influence on students and try not to utilise it at school. I am not quite sure why many schools in Japan do not put it to practical use, but it is more than likely there are financial and/or political reasons for this. Furthermore, Kliewer (1998) points out that many teachers working with students with complex learning needs have been found either to exclude students from literacy activities due to their lack of cognitive ability. Based on this claim, Flewitt, Nind and Payler (2009) conclude that teachers are relying on conventional literacy teaching approaches. Another factor which must be considered is the preconception some Japanese teachers and parents may have regarding ICT only being suitable for business or entertainment. If we take a look at the current situation in schools in Japan, we will notice how far from the use of technology at actual school and what outsiders are thinking towards ICT in education in Japan. From the conducted interview with a current high school teacher in Japan, I heard that Japanese teachers are so occupied with preparing students for university entrance examinations that they have little time to use innovative teaching tools. Education technologists and multimedia development experts agree that preparation requires a considerable amount of time and technical support. Current high school teacher mentioned as follows.

[Citation 7-3]今の日本の学校の先生は受験のための授業ばかりしているんですよ。だっていい大学に行くことがその後の人生で経済的にも社会的にも大切なことっていうことになっているでしょ。だから高校の先生もそれを応援しないとイケない感じなの。だからそういうのを求めている親とか生徒のことを考えてこっちもやらないとイケないから、テクノロジーとかもっとクリティカルシンキングを育てる教育とかもいいのは教師としてはわかっているけど実際問題、それをやるのは難しいんだよね。必ずしもそれをやっていない先生が悪いとは言えないと思うけど。

Japanese teachers are guided by an objectivist philosophy in preparing students for university entrance examinations and encourage them to choose their career paths early because the university from which they graduate will significantly influence their social and financial success later in life. So we cannot necessarily blame teachers for suppressing creative thinking and the use of technology, as they are catering to the needs of their students and satisfying the demands of parents.

This comment would suggest that technology classes are seen as a low priority compared to other subjects. In fact, one of Japanese mothers whom I interviewed mentioned that it seems that the way teachers teach students at school has not changed compared with 30 years ago. She went on to say as follows.

[Citation 7-4] ICTに関して言えば日本は進んでいるとは言えないと思います。私と息子は毎年体験入学のために夏休み日本に1ヶ月帰るんですが、あっちの学校では全然テクノロジーとか使っていないですよ。やっていることとか、私が子供だった時となんら変わらないですもの。こっちのスペインの方が日本より全然進んでいますよ。息子の学校なんてロボティクスとかプログラミングのクラブとかあるんですよ。

In terms of ICT and educational technology, I disagree that Japan is advanced. My son and I have a chance to go back to Japan every summer and my son goes to school there for a month, but they don't implement ICT at the school. The way they teach is the same as when I was a child. ICT here in Spain is more advanced than in Japan. His school here even offers robotics and programming activities.

I discovered that there is a tendency that people from outside of Japan consider that Japan is a highly technologically advanced country where students utilise computers, tablets and mobile phones all the time even inside school. However, the reality is completely the opposite. All of my participants mentioned that their weekday schools utilise more technology in their homework and classroom activities than the Hoshuko. In fact, two

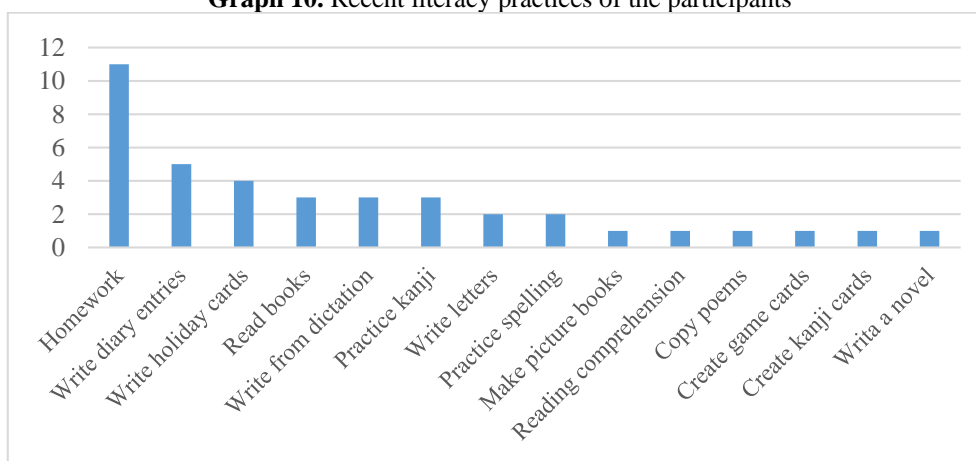
teachers whom I interviewed at this school complained about the lack of technological facilities available and this serious situation has not been changed in the last 15 years.

7.2 Homework

7.2.1 Teachers' Attitudes towards Homework

Homes are spaces for abundant literacy practices, however as these are typically guided by the family's heritage and its norms, the genres, orientations, interests, and functions of home literacy may differ greatly from those of the dominant school, as well as monolingual families (Dixon & Wu, 2014). Tse (2001) conducted her research on Cantonese, Japanese and Spanish speaking young adults and discovered many types of multilingual literacy activities throughout the day in their homes and communities. For example, reading newspapers, translating documents from school, reading religious texts, and watching TV with closed captioning in their HL. On the other hand, the top two common literacy practices done at home by my participants are homework and diary entries. During the interviews I asked the mothers to tell me what the two most recent literacy activities their children engaged in were, however they responded by giving all the literacy practices they engaged in recently. I had assumed that most of the literacy practices done would consist of only a few different types of activity, and was not expecting to discover that such a variety of literacy practices were being performed. However, after discovering this diversity of practices, I decided to include all that were mentioned. Therefore, the graph below shows all the recent literacy practices of my participants.

Graph 10. Recent literacy practices of the participants



As can be seen from above Graph 10, the most typical literacy practice at home is doing their homework which is also priority for them. Despite their demanding out-of-school academic work, some students manage to find the time to engage in active literacy activities at home, for example, making picture books, creating kanji cards, writing a novel, etc. They read a variety of books for pleasure, mostly in the language of their weekday schools (either in Catalan, Spanish or English). Also my participants engaged in several writing activities using five languages between them. They used writing for a variety of purposes: to express their feelings; to reflect on their experiences; to transmit their imagination and ideas and; to maintain and develop social relationships with friends and extended families. According to Martínez-Ortega (2017), “cuando un sujeto comienza a participar en una práctica letrada, la interpreta y moldea de acuerdo a sus circunstancias, necesidades y objetivos particulares” (p. 27). That is to say, when one individual participates in a literacy practice, he/she interprets it, shapes it according to circumstances, necessities and particular objectives. This could lead to subjectivity. Also, the interview analysis discovered that parents engaged their children in varied literacy practice in Japanese, including reading aloud books from their own childhood or from popular series. However, total time spent on literacy practices was often consumed by tasks mandated by the Hoshuko. Homework completion was a frequently observed literacy practices that took place in the homes. The following table indicates a typical week’s homework of Hoshuko, by grade.

Table 45. Examples of homework from Hoshuko

Grade	Description of homework
1 - 2	Practicing hiragana, katakana and simple kanji Writing a diary entry Reading aloud from a textbook
3 - 4	Practicing kanji writing Reading aloud from a textbook Writing an imaginative story Looking up new words using a dictionary
5 - 6	Practicing kanji writing Reading aloud from a textbook Writing a short essay Reading comprehension exercises

7 - 9	Practicing kanji reading Reading aloud from a textbook Writing an essay Reading comprehension exercises Searching for extra information on the internet
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Homework from the Hoshuko does not require the students to use a computer, tablet or mobile phone. Everything is paper-based. It is true that some teachers occasionally assign a homework task that includes watching some video clips online, however no teacher asks their students to submit homework online. One teacher explained their approach to balancing the focus of students' homework.

[Citation 7-5] 宿題には「読む、書く、聞く、話す」のバランスを考えて入れているつもりですが、どうしてもやっぱり漢字の練習プリントとは多くなっちゃいますね。だから漢字の練習問題は結構入っていますね。少しでも記憶に残してほしいという思いからですかね。あと書くことに関して言えば、2週間に1回は作文の宿題を出しています。テーマはなるべく子供が進んで書きやすいようなもの、面白いものを選ぶようにはしています。読みに関しては今年から短い読みのプリントを宿題に入れるようにしています。その文章の中でわからない言葉があったら、辞書で調べて意味を後ろに書いてくることになっているんですけど、これはやってこない子も時々いますね。まあいいですけど。

聞くことに関しては、時々NHKのサイトからビデオを見るような宿題を出しています。それを見て、その内容について簡単な問題に答えるというような宿題です。このサイトすごいんですよ。本当によくデザインされてて、構成もいいし、説明もわかりやすいし、すごく使えるんですよ。テーマも色々あるから本当に便利だし。私も日本の中学で教えていた時も結構使っていたんですよ。

When I give my students homework, I try to think about the balance of “reading, writing, listening and speaking,” but I often end up including more materials about kanji. So, there is always kanji writing practice. By doing this repetitive exercise, I hope that they will be able to better remember kanji. Also regarding writing assignments, I give essays as homework once every two weeks. I try to give interesting topics or topics which the students feel are easy to write on. For reading, starting from this year, I include a short reading exercise in the homework. If there are some words that the students do not know, they are supposed to look up those words in a dictionary and write a definition on the back of the sheet. Unfortunately, some students do not do that part, but that is ok.

For listening as homework, I sometimes ask the students to watch short video clips from the NHK website (Japan's national public broadcasting organisation). So, the students watch it and answer simple questions

about what they have watched. This website is amazing. It is well-designed, organised and explains things clearly. It has a variety of themes and is very useful. I also used this website when I was working in a junior high school in Japan.

I asked teachers how they decided what kind of homework to set. The following citations are from two teachers.

[Citation 7-6] 補習校では毎年年度の初めに、日本人の親にアンケートをやるんですよ。それでその中の質問に、宿題の量はどれくらいがいいかって項目があるんですね。今は、そのアンケートが手元にないからどんな質問だったか正確には覚えてないけど。そんな感じ。確か、選択する質問で、宿題の量は毎日やるくらいの量がいいとか、週3くらいで終わる量がいいとか、週1で終わる量がいいとか、そんなのがあったと思います。だからその回答とか要望を見て、私は宿題の量を多少変えたりしていますね。

宿題の内容に関しては4つの技能を入れるようにしています。話す、聞く、読む、書くですね。まあ宿題に話すの部分を入れるのは難しいかもしれないけど、他の3つの技能は入れるように意識しています。まあ音読ってというのが話すの練習だと考えれば、私の宿題には全部の技能を盛り込んでいるってことになるかな。もっと具体的に言うと、書くの部分では短い手紙とか作文を書かせる宿題を出していますね。もちろん漢字の練習もあるでしょ。それから読解問題なんかも出していますよ。あの教科書の単元にある読解ね。あ、でも聞くって部分の宿題は難しいですね。でも時々ネットである動画とか見てもらってそれが理解できているとかかチェックしたりしています。他の先生も同じようなこと、やっているんじゃないかな。

At the beginning of every academic year, a survey is sent to all Japanese parents whose children attend school. One of the questions asks about the how often the children should be assigned homework. I do not remember exactly because I do not have survey sheets with me right now. But if I remember correctly, the options for that multiple choice question were everyday, three days a week or one day a week, something like that. Based on their answers and needs, I adjust the amount of homework that is given out on Saturday.

With regards to the contents of homework, I try to include exercises of the four important language skills, which are speaking, listening, reading and writing. Maybe it is difficult to include a speaking task in homework, but I always including the other three aspects. Well, if you can consider reading textbook passages aloud to be a speaking exercise, then my assigned homework has all four aspects. More concretely, writing a short letter or essay is typical writing homework and the kanji workbook is another type of writing homework. I also include reading comprehension exercises based on the stories of the textbook that we are using in our class. Oh, listening exercises are a little bit challenging

to include in their homework. However, occasionally I ask my students to watch online educational channels to practice listening comprehension. I think it is a typical homework at Hoshuko and other teachers assign similar things

[Citation 7-7] 宿題準備って結構大変なんですよ。特に、子供が楽しんでできそうな面白い教材をなるべく探したりするのでそれで結構時間がかかってしまって。日本と同じカリキュラム使って、それを週1の土曜だけでこなして、ついていこうとするから、どうしても家庭学習でやってくださいって部分が増えちゃうんですよ。ちょっと子供たちのことを思うと、かわいそうかなって思うんですけどね。宿題多すぎて。でも仕方ないんですよ。補習校に来るって決めたら、それくらいしてもらわないと、それが補習校のやり方っていうかルールですから。そうは言っても、私なんかは、現地校の宿題のこととかも加味するようにはしてますけどね。たとえば、みんなが Colonias とかに行く時期ってあるじゃないですか。その時、3、4泊してきますよね。そんな時はいつものように補習校の宿題ができないと思うので、量を減らしたりしています。

宿題の内容に関して言えば、ちょこちょこ色々なテーマのものを万遍なく入れるようにはしていますね。漢字、音読、読解問題、意味調べ、短文作りとかですかね。あと時々、なぜなぞってというか、クイズみたいなものを入れたり。

Preparing homework every week is a lot of work for me. It also takes time because I look for interesting materials for my students so that they are more willing to do their homework. We all follow the curriculum which is used in Japan and we have classes only on Saturdays, so inevitably set a lot of tasks to be done at home. I sometimes feel sorry for them because we are demanding too much from them. But it cannot be helped. If they decided to join this Hoshuko, they have to follow our rules.

Having said so, I try to take into consideration their workload at the weekday school. For example, there is a month that many school children go on a school trip for three or four nights. In that week, it is normal that children cannot do their Japanese homework as much as they can other weeks. So, I try to give less homework at that time.

In terms of contents of homework, I am including a little bit of everything. I mean kanji, reading aloud, reading comprehension, looking up unfamiliar words, making up short sentences, and sometimes quizzes or riddles.

7.2.2 Parents' Responsibilities

Homework plays an important role to HLLs because going to a Hoshuko only once a week is not sufficient to acquire Japanese proficiency, especially when referring to writing skills (Nakajima, 1988). Also, in my study, seven mothers revealed that their

children normally do not study at home other than completing their homework. This means that their main literacy activity is only homework. Therefore, homework is considered to be an important literacy activity for them and teachers have to prepare practical and efficient homework for their students. Furthermore, all participating Japanese mothers except for Asuka's mother commented that they check their children's homework from the Hoshuko. When a new student enters this school, committee members always explain that checking their children's homework is the responsibility of the parents. Furthermore, committee members also try to explain the importance of parents' other commitments at home, such as reading books aloud to their children, listening, correcting and evaluating their children's pronunciation, and helping them prepare for kanji tests, etc. One teacher mentioned the importance of this parent's task explicitly during the interview.

[Citation 7-8] 補習校では親が宿題をチェックするっていうのはすごく大切なことなんです。特に小さい子にとってはね。その間違いをその場で直してあげるっていうのがすごく大切だと私達思っているんですよ。だから親に宿題チェックしてもらって直しまでしてから出すっていうことになっているんですよ。まあね、働いている親もいるし、忙しいのはわかるんですけどね。それくらいは、子供のね、日本語のためにやってもらわないと。できるだけね。それに、まあ丸付けにそんな時間はかからないでしょ。むしろ低学年の子供は親と一緒に宿題している場合が多いしね。だから丸付けくらい簡単にできるでしょ。10分、20分くらいのもんですから。

Parents checking homework is essential at Hoshuko, especially for younger children. We (teachers) believe correcting the children's mistakes on the spot is very important. Therefore, we ask Japanese parents to check and correct their children's homework before they hand it in on Saturdays at school. Some parents are working and I know that they are busy on weekdays. However, it is understood that Japanese parents have to support their children's Japanese development as much as possible. Checking Japanese homework does not take such a long time. Rather, most of younger children do their homework with their Japanese parent. Therefore, it is easy for the parent to check it with them. Anyone can spend 10 to 20 minutes to help their children, right?

Other studies which have focused on Hoshukos also reveal that checking their children's Japanese homework is seen as the parent's responsibility, as Hamada (2008) argues checking their children's homework as a strategy to maintain Japanese as a HL. As a

matter of fact, it is not only at the Hoshuko in Barcelona, but also at the Hoshukos in Toronto, Canada and Helsinki, Finland where I have connections, the parents are in charge of correcting homework at home.

7.3 Diary Entry

Here, I implement a triangulation method consisting of the following three aspects in order to examine diary entries correctly and to increase the credibility of the overall study (Guba & Lincoln, 1989): 1) written production (diary entries), 2) mothers' perspectives and children's attitudes from the interviews, and 3) teachers' perspectives from the interviews.

7.3.1 Analysis of Diary Entries

Among my participants, one of the typical Japanese literacy practices at school as well as at home is keeping a diary. In Japan, keeping a diary during childhood is seen as an important activity to encourage the development of a good routine and habitual lifestyle. Keeping a diary also forms a key part of many school curriculums in Japan, often in the form of homework. Although during the interviews nine out of 11 participants mentioned that they regularly practice Japanese writing skills through diary entries, I only received seven diary entries from five participants. These are not private diaries that they write as a leisure activity, but rather something they write as homework from the Hoshuko. Depending on the Japanese teacher, the way of using diary entries in class can be slightly different. Some teachers do not give a specific topic when they assign this type of homework, whereas other teachers give a concrete topic for students so that they can follow the given structure. For the measure of fluency in Japanese, I modified Sano et al.'s (2014) rubric and implemented it for this analysis.

Table 46. Rubric for cohesion

Scores	Description
4	The connections between each sentence are made clear through the use of effective cohesive ties such as conjunctions and pronouns, and the readers can follow the sentences with ease.

3	Although without effective use of cohesive ties, the way sentences are connected are logical and the readers can follow the sentences with ease.
2	It is evident that the writer has paid attention to make it easy for the reader to follow but its is sometimes not easy as the cohesive ties are missing or misleading.
1	It is not easy for the reader to follow each sentence to the next as the cohesive ties are mostly absent and the writer skips one sentence to the next.

Native speakers evaluated and scored the diary entries using the rubric shown above.

The following table shows the results.

Table 47. Analysis of diary entries

Name	Appendix ref	Language used	Total number of words	Score for fluency
Kandai	2.2.3	Japanese	12 bunsetsu	2
	2.2.4	Catalan	20 words	3
Ken	3.2.3	Japanese	12 bunsetsu	4
Mika	4.2.7	French	81 words	3
Naoya	6.2.4	Japanese	42 bunsetsu	4
	6.2.5	Japanese	30 bunsetsu	3
Kazuo	8.2.3	Japanese	48 bunsetsu	4

Those who submitted diary entries are from a younger sub sample of my participants. It shows that young children keep a diary more frequently than the older group. Also from the interviews with teachers at the Hoshuko, it is true that grade one to three teachers assign this homework every week so that children are able to practice Japanese writing during weekdays with their Japanese parents. Teachers from grade four and upper tend to assign essays from time to time with specific topics.

[Citation 7-9] よく宿題として日記を書かせたりしています。私のクラスの子達ってというのは日本語で書くっていうのを始めたばかりなので、あんまり多くのことをさせることはできないんですけど。でも例えそれが2、3行であっても日本語で何か書くっていうのは本当に大切なことだと思います。だから二行日記っていうのから始めてみたんです。でも毎日ですよ！それが大切なことなんです。少しでもいいから毎日続けるっていう習慣が。この宿題を4、5週間やらせたあと、今度はもうちょっと

と長くするんです。四行日記といって前より2倍の長さになるんですが、今度はそれをやり始めます。その時点でもう子供たちは毎日書くってことにはある程度慣れているはずだから二行から四行ってというのは、まあまあスムーズですよ。それでまたこの四行日記っていうのを数ヶ月続けるんです。こんな感じで少しずつ書く量を増やしていくって感じで日記学習をやっています。

I often assign the creation of a diary entry as a homework task. My children just started to form the habit of writing in Japanese, so I cannot ask a lot of them. But I believe it is important to write something, even if its only two or three sentences in Japanese. Therefore, I start with "two columns diary entry". But every day, eh! That is the key because I want them to get into the habit of writing. After assigning this kind of homework for four to five weeks, I start to ask a little more from them. The next assignment is "four columns diary entry" which is double the previous assignment. As children have gotten used to writing something every day by then, they can shift easily from two to four sentences. Then, with this new type of assignment they practice writing in Japanese at home for a couple of months. They are able to write longer little by little with this method.

(grade one teacher)

Appendix 3.2.3 shows an example of "two line diary entry" that the grade one teacher at the Hoshuko uses in the first semester for those who have just started a formal education. Appendix 2.2.3 is an example of "four columns diary entry" that the same grade one teacher uses after children have been practicing the "two columns diary entry" activity for a couple of months. As these two appendices show, there are either two or four columns for younger students to write diary entries. Gradually they can extend the length of their writing in Japanese. The teachers explain not only to children but also to parents that it is important to keep a diary everyday even if it is just two or four columns. The key is using Japanese (especially kanji) and writing something in Japanese everyday as a habit. This routine is particularly important for those who are learning Japanese as a HL.

7.3.2 Diary Entry as a Concept in Japan

With regards to writing education in the context of the Japanese pedagogical system, the diary entry is very important for both teachers and students. Nine out of 11 participants answered that they keep/used to keep a diary in Japanese on a regular basis because Japanese mothers believe it to be important interactive writing practice at home. In the interviews, I have got a response from Ken's mother as follows.

[Citation 7-10] 私は息子に毎日なにかしら日本語で書かせています。たとえ短くてもね。あとは日本語の簡単な読解問題をやらせています。短い文章かなんかを読んで、そのあといくつか文章を書かせたりして練習しています。

I make my son to write something every day like diary in Japanese even if it's short. Also he sometimes does workbooks in Japanese to comprehend short texts. After reading short texts, he is asked to write a few sentences in Japanese.

Furthermore, another mother, Naoto's mother commented explicitly.

[Citation 7-11] 宿題としてですけど、うちの息子は毎日なにかしら書いていますよ。短い日記とか手紙ですけどね。それが補習校の宿題で、私が読んで返事を書かないといけないんです。息子の書く力をアップさせるのに週末時間をとって何か一緒に書くようにはしています。それから毎日、漢字を練習して、その漢字を使って文を作らせています。そんなことしていると気づかぬうちに短い作文になっていたりして、だからそんなふうにして書く力の練習をしているかな。うちは。

As homework, my son has to write short diaries or letters every day. After his writing, I have to reply to him which is part of homework at the Hoshuko. In order to improve essay writing skills, I try to take time on the weekend to write something together. Also he practices kanji and writes example sentences using new kanji every day. That often develops and expands to short essays and I think that he ends up practicing writing.

It is true that keeping a diary is a part of the Japanese educational system and from childhood, everyone learns how to write a diary at school. However, there seems to be differing points of view regarding the keeping of a diary between cultures in Catalan and Japanese. In Catalan schools, a diary is considered personal and they normally do not show the contents to anybody. It is a private activity, they write it for themselves and not for others. In order to clarify how a diary is treated in Catalan schools, I interviewed a former primary school teacher inviting her to answer multiple questions regarding the use of diaries in education here. She has 20 years' teaching experience at public schools. She explained that two different types of diary are used within the Catalan educational system, an excerpt of the interview is shown below.

[Citation 7-12] First of all, when we hear "diary," we normally think about a private diary which you keep it secretly. However, there is a diary entry at school called "diario de aprendizaje" which you write what you learned today's class, what surprised you, what you found it interesting, what you understood and what you did not understand, etc. Some teachers ask students to reflect about what they have done in the

class and write them. It is important to write them on the spot because if we ask them to do that as homework, they will probably forget what they have learned in the class.

On the other hand, in Japanese schools many teachers ask children to write a diary entry as homework. Therefore, students write it at home and bring it to school. Occasionally teachers ask them to read it in class and teachers mark it, evaluate it and give it back to them with some feedback. In conclusion, the Catalan culture views keeping a diary as a form of personal expression, whereas in Japanese culture it is treated as academic writing. In Japan, especially in primary school and junior high school, diary education has been quite common for many years (Fukukawa & Cassany, 2018). There are several types of diaries which you cannot find in Spain:

- The first and most popular is a “regular diary” that everyone is familiar with. According to the Education Ministry’s curriculum guidelines, teachers must include the following aspects when teaching students about how to keep a diary. What I have done on a day-to-day basis, described in practical terms: 1) factual accounts of things that they did, people they met and what they said, books or papers that they read, 2) ideas that they might want to remember, 3) reports of observations, experiments, events, and 4) personal views and opinions.
- The second type of diary is called *Koukannikki* (交換日記 in Japanese, the translation of which is “pass-diary”). It is a diary which is passed around among best friends in primary, junior high and even high schools. In other words, since children do not need to show it to teachers, students, especially girls, write whatever they want, for example, they write about a boy they like, they complain about their class or their homework or parents, etc. Namely, they often talk about gossip and they are very personal issues. Children do not normally want to show it to others. From the characteristics this type of diary has, you can probably imagine that girls like this pass-diary more than boys. As I mentioned, generally a pass-diary is circulated among two to five good friends at school, infrequently it occurred between a student and a teacher. As teachers read this, it is treated as academic writing and teachers write responses and comments and later evaluate it, but in actual fact teachers use this method in order to know students better and more personally. Even though technically a pass-diary is a diary by name, it is

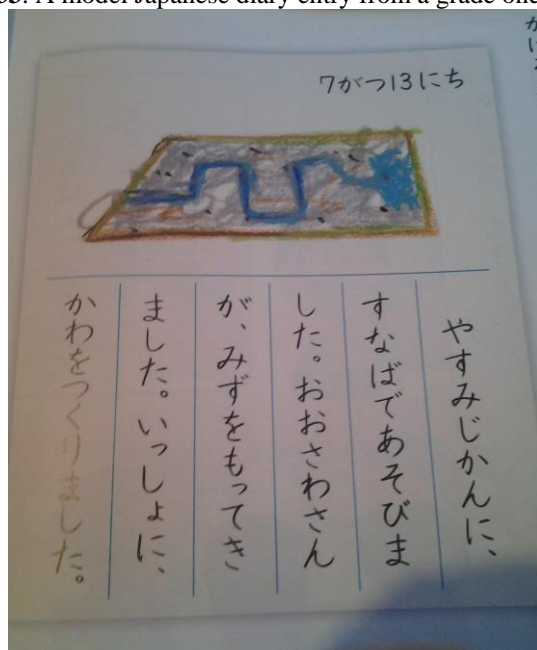
more interactive than a monologue because another person has to react to the writer. In fact, many teachers in Japan use this as a tool of communication between teachers and students. Although this type of diary is quite popular in Japan, I could not find a similar example in the Hoshuko probably because Spanish-Japanese children are not familiar with this custom.

- The third diary type that you can find in Japan is known as a *Supootsu kokannikki* (スポーツ交換日記 “pass-sport diary”). In a way this is similar to a pass diary which I have just mentioned above. The difference is that this pass sport diary is between a coach and a player. Normally, those who are belonging to a sport club or activity write this diary and pass to a teacher/coach of the club. They write about their goals, how they felt when they practice sport and what they achieved, etc. The theme is always related to the sport they are practicing such as baseball, soccer, basketball, volleyball, swimming, etc. When a coach reads it, he/she put some comments and feedback to his/her student to motivate them to practice sport more.
- The fourth diary is called *Toubyounikki* (闘病日記 “journal of the battle with illness”), whereas Stensland and Malterud (1999) used the term “illness diary” during their study. This is usually very private because a patient writes how he/she feels confronting serious illness and what he/she thinks about the rest of his/her life, etc. Those who have a serious illness, especially those who have been told the limit of his/her life by a doctor normally write this kind of diary to encourage themselves and leave something for their family, friends, coworkers and so on. It is not uncommon for this type of diary to be passed around between medical doctors and patients in order to investigate ongoing patient symptoms. In this particular study, the general physician and the patient designed the diary together and patients were free to record both their symptoms and also their reactions to these as they wished. This document acted both as a communication tool and a prompt to further reflection and discussion. Nowadays, some patients prefer to write this *Toubyounikki* online (on their own website, blog or social networking service) to communicate with other patients who have the same disease or simply with other people in the world.

- The last diary is called *Ikujinikko* (育児日記 “diary entry with baby’s growth”). This type of diary is very common among young Japanese mothers and Mika’s mother is no exception. (see section 8.2). As can be guessed from the name of this type of diary, Japanese mothers write a diary about their baby, for example, what the baby did, ate and said, etc. They try to keep a record of the first day of crawling, walking, using pen and paper, speaking a word “mom” and so on. This subjects written about range from the baby’s physical condition to educational aspects. Presently, many Japanese mothers create their website, blog or social networking service to let their grandparents and friends know about the growth of their baby or just to keep a record it.

So far I have introduced the five major types of diary which can be found in Japan. The diary that my study’s participants use is the first type. From the interviews conducted with teachers at this school, I discovered that Japanese teachers recommend students to write what they have done on a day-to-day basis or report what they have observed and experienced including personal views and emotions. Japanese textbooks provided by the Ministry of Education explain how to write a diary and what the best diary is depending on the Japanese proficiency and students’ age. The figure below is a model diary entry, introduced in the first grader’s textbook.

Figure 33. A model Japanese diary entry from a grade one textbook



[Translation] July 13th / I played in the sandbox during break-time. Osawa (friend’s name) brought water. We made a river together.

Due in part to these textbooks issued by the government, Japanese teachers already have an understanding of what constitutes a good diary, and how to teach students how to write and maintain a good diary. Ultimately, as the Ministry of Education's curriculum guidelines suggests, they use a diary in order to teach writing strategies and it is a part of curriculum because they use it as a writing material. According to Nishikawa (2009), Japanese diaries were first published in 1896 by the Finance Ministry. The use of diaries spread to the middle classes during the Meiji period (1868-1912). After that, modern Japanese schools started to use them as the subject of the Japanese classes. From long time ago, Japanese people have had the experience of keeping a diary as homework, especially when there is no school, for example, during summer break, and everyone has to keep a diary as homework. Nishikawa (2009) points out that this assignment is meaningful for students during their summer holidays for both developing their writing skills and helping to contribute towards a habitual lifestyle. Teachers would like their students to establish a regular routine such as getting up early, helping household chores and the best way to achieve this is by writing a diary. In other words, she argues that teachers want their students to have good time management and be autonomous learners by maintaining a diary. I also gained an opportunity to interview two current teachers. One of them is the fifth grade teacher at the Hoshuko. When she assigns a diary as homework, she tries to motivate children to write it for fun. This is explained as follows in the interview.

[Citation 7-13] 日記を書けて子供に言うのはあまり好きじゃないんです。個人的に思うんですけど、朝起きてから夜寝るまでにしたことを書くってつまらないじゃないですか。その代わりにもっと子供たちに書きたいって気持ちにさせるよう、具体的な何か決まったテーマを出したり私はしています。例えば、今週一番怖かったこととか、今週嬉しかったこととか、今週感動したこととかですかね。まあ、これはもう日記とは呼ばないと思いますけど。だから日記という書く宿題じゃなくてミニ作文みたいな感じで、与えられたテーマについて書かせるって感じでやっています。

I do not like to ask children to keep a diary every day. In my opinion, it is boring to write what I did today from waking up in the morning to going to bed at night. Instead, I try to give more concrete and specific themes so that children are eager to write something. For example, the themes are "what were you scared about most this week," "what made you happy this week" and "the thing you appreciated most this week" and so on. Probably you do not call this a diary anymore. Rather it is a

short essay in which children have to write something based on the given topic.

Another teacher that I interviewed is a private primary school teacher in Japan who has been working for 19 years. She is a very unique teacher because she is teaching children who have a low proficiency of Japanese due to living outside of Japan for a long time. She does not assign of keeping a diary every day because it is boring. However, she assigns summer break homework for which children must write a diary beside some photos. She commented on this during the following interview.

[Citation 7-14] 夏休み明けの子供たちの絵日記読むのってすごく面白いんですよ。ここの子達は夏休みに家族で海外に行ったりするから、読んでいて楽しいんですよ。ほとんどの子達は外国にルーツを持つ子達なんですよ。それで、絵日記を集めたあとはそれを教室の壁に貼って夏の経験を子供達がシェアできるようにするんです。私は個人的に、子供達の書く力を伸ばすための課題っていうのは出していません。それよりむしろ、どうやってそれぞれが夏を過ごしたか、何か初めて新しいものを見た時どう感じたかっていうのを大切にしています。

It is very interesting to read students diaries with photos after summer vacation because my students go abroad to spend summer with their family. Most of them have some roots outside of Japan. After collecting this assignment, I put them on the wall in class so that they can share their experiences of the summer. Personally, I do not give this assignment in order to improve students' writing skills. Rather I put value on how they spent the summer, how they felt when they saw something new for the first time, etc.

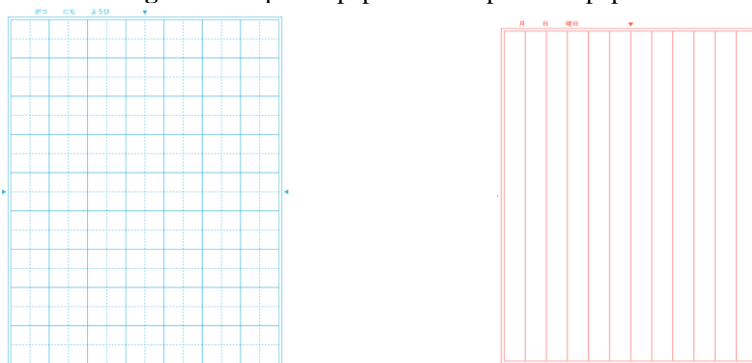
As you can see, not all Japanese teachers use a diary to improve children's writing skills. The previous teacher believes that students' motivation is the most important thing. When she gives this homework before summer, she is paying attention to the style of the assignment.

[Citation 7-15] 漢字を子供達が勉強するっていう時は、線が入ったプリントとかノートを使うのがいいんですよ。それがあるとバランスいい漢字が書けるし。でもその反対に、日記とかを書く時っていうのは、こういうスタイルのノートだと、子供のやる気をへし曲げちゃうんですよ。これを使うと、バランスいい漢字を書かなきゃこいけないっていうことばかりに集中してしまっ、文を書きたいとか言いたい事を伝えたいっていうのが育たないんですよ。だから私は日記とか作文には、真っ直ぐの線だけ入っているような紙を使います。こういう紙を使えば子供達は漢字をしっかりと書くっていうのにとらわれず、もっと

自由に自分の考えとか経験とかっていうのをイキイキと書けると思うんです。それに私はつづりとか漢字とか文法は直しません。それをやっちゃうと子供が書きたいっていう気持ちなくなっちゃいますからね。だから私がいつも子供達に言っているのは「間違えていいんだよ。まだ日本に来て間もないんだから、間違えるのは当たり前だよ。大切なのは自分の考えを伝えようってすることだよ。それからお互い理解しようってすることだよ」って言っているんです。

When children practice kanji, it is better to use squared and lined notebooks (see Figure 34, left-side) because these lines help them write well-balanced kanji. On the other hand, when they write a diary, this kind of notebook stifles their motivation. If they keep using it, they focus on writing well-shaped kanji too much and it does not develop their motivation to write and convey their ideas. Therefore, I use simple lined paper (see Figure 34, right-side) for this task. With this paper, I assume that students feel freer to express their ideas and experiences without thinking too much about the format of kanji and writing styles. Moreover, I do not correct spelling, kanji and grammar mistakes because I do not want them to lose their motivation for writing by doing that. I always tell them that “It is ok to make mistakes. It is normal for you that writing a diary is difficult because you have just arrived in Japan. What is important is that you are trying to convey your ideas and what you think and you are trying to understand each other.”

Figure 34. Squared paper and simple lined paper



In summary, this teacher is not trying to correct students' superficial mistakes made in their diaries. Rather, she is letting them pass and putting more value on the students' ideas, feeling and observations. She considers that their enthusiasm and imagination are the most important aspects when it comes to writing focused education.

7.3.3 Mothers' Perspectives towards a Diary Entry

Some Japanese mothers do not know how a diary is treated in Catalan/Spanish school. However, as they all were raised in Japan, they are familiar with a Japanese style diary

and know how a diary education is introduced in a classroom in Japan. nine out of 11 informants answered that they have/had their homework of keeping a diary in Japanese. On the other hand, all of them said that they have never had such homework in other languages. However, I should include some comments of Natsuki, Naoya and Nina's mother.

[Citation 7-16] Natsuki's mother: 3、4年生ごろまでは英語のクラスで日記っていうものを書いていたと思います。

Until grade three or four, I think my daughter sometimes wrote a diary in her English class.

[Citation 7-17] Naoya's mother: 幼稚園では週末何したかとかを絵で描かされていたと思います。でも今は書くっていう宿題はないかな。もちろん学校では何かしらは書いているけど、でもあまり家では書かないかな。私が思うに、スペインの学校は、学校のことと家のことをちゃんとわけている気がします。

In his kindergarten he was sometimes asked to draw what he did at the weekend. But now he does not have writing homework. Certainly he writes something at school, but not much at home. I think Spanish schools make a separation between school life and private life.

[Citation 7-18] Nina's mother: 1、2、3年生の時はスペイン語のクラスで weekend news っていう名前の宿題が出ていたと思います。あの子はだから、それで補習校についてよく書いていたんですよ。だから先生は私達家族は、全然週末を楽しんでいないみたいに思われちゃったんですよ。

When she was in grade one, two and three, she often had homework called "weekend news" in her Spanish class. She often wrote about Japanese Saturday school for this homework, so her teachers always thought that my family never enjoyed the weekend.

Considering from what these people's comments, when they are younger such as five to 10 years old, some children used to have a chance to write a diary in Catalan/Spanish. On the other hand, in Japan it is quite common to have this kind of homework until grade six which is 12 years old or even older children like 15 years old. Probably both cultures use a diary for different purposes. In Japan, many teachers implement a diary activity to improve students writing skills. In fact, Kazuo's mother mentioned as follows in the interview when I asked the difference between a diary in Spain and Japan.

[Citation 7-19] 日本とスペインの日記の違いについて今、聞かれるまで全然考えたことなかったです。でも確かに、日本で日記っていうのは、あまりプライベートなものって感じで扱われていないですね。先生はそれを書く力育成のための材料として使うし。先生はそれを読んで、つづりもそうだけど、文法の直し

もして。そうすることでどうやって説得力のある文章を書いていくかっていうのを習っていきますよね。

Until I was asked the difference between a diary in Japan and Spain, I have never thought about it. However, it is true that Japanese diaries are not normally considered private. Teachers use them as a teaching aid to teach writing. They read students' diaries and correct not only spelling mistakes but also grammar mistakes. By doing that, students learn how to write effectively and persuasively.

This interview shows that Japanese teachers get used to use a diary as a teaching aid to teach writing skills in class because by doing that students are able to practice and gain not only kanji and orthography skills but also writing skills in general which include writing strategies, how to write interesting stories, how to convey your ideas effectively and how to write essays persuasively, etc. Diaries are always taught and used in Japanese school, some people acknowledge that this is kind of shared writing because they knew that it is not private and later they have to show it to a teacher. Nina and Asuka's mother pointed out as follows.

[Citation 7-20] Nina's mother: 日本の日記は決まったところに絵を描きますよね。でもスペインのはそうではないですよ。それに日本の日記っていうのは何か、あとで誰かに見せるっていう感じですよ。私が子供の時も、日記っていうのは普通のこと、当たり前のもので感じでした。

Japanese diaries come with a specific area for drawing, whereas Spanish ones do not. I consider the Japanese diaries to be something we show to others later. When I was a child, keeping a diary was very common and an activity we took for granted.

[Citation 7-21] Asuka's mother: 日本では日記と呼ばれるけど書いたあと先生に見せるっていうのは皆わかっていると思います。だから誰にも言いたくないようなことは、書かないし。それに先生もそんなプライベートなこと書いてあるなんて思っていないと思いますよ。

In Japan, it is called a diary but we all know that we have to show it to the teachers after writing. So, we do not write things we do not want to tell anybody. At the same time, I suppose teachers do not expect private stuff either.

Finally, Kandai and Aki's mother remarked about comparison between Catalan people's writing habits and Japanese ones as follows.

[Citation 7-22] Kandai's mother: そんなこと、今まで考えたことなかったなあ。でもよく考えたら、日本人はオンラインのブログを書いたり、そしてそれを頻繁に更新したりとかしていて、も

っとよく書くんじゃないかな。スペイン人は日本人ほどそれをそんな更新とかしないと思います。

I have never thought about it much. But if I think about it, I think Japanese people often write their blogs online and frequently they update it whereas Spanish people do not update as much as Japanese people do.

[Citation 7-23] Aki's mother: 表現する方法として、スペインと日本の違いは、私が思うのは、スペイン人は直接話したりするけど、日本人は言う前に、相手の気持ちを考えたりしますよね。どう受け取られるかとか。それにうまく表現できないことを書きだしてみたりする人もいないですか。そう思うと、日本人は話すより書くほうが上手なんじゃないかなって思います
In terms of the methods of expressing between cultures in Spain and Japan, I think Spanish people talk and speak more directly whereas Japanese people normally begin by imaging the listener's reaction before they speak. Some Japanese people write down things which they cannot convey directly. In this way, Japanese people might be better at writing than speaking.

As I have been observing and analysing so far, I noticed that these two cultures utilise diaries in education differently and the purposes of using them are also distinct. From the interviews with mothers, I found out that most of them have never thought about the differences between diaries in Japan and Spain until I brought up these questions. However, they all realised that diaries are treated in different ways in educational system depending on the countries and cultures.

7.3.4 Teachers' Attitudes toward Writing Education

In this section, I will describe the teacher's beliefs that emerged from the data by alternating analysis with excerpts from the data (interviews and ethnographic diaries) that support this analysis. Gamage (2003) and Kern (1995) point out that strategies of teaching kanji at HL classrooms affect the learning strategies that students use. Shimizu and Green (2002) further argue that it is vital to know which instructional strategies teachers choose because "the particular language instruction used by a teacher may significantly impact the choices that students make in their efforts to develop learning strategies" (p. 228). According to Gamage (2003), many studies on kanji learning strategies have been investigated by looking at the learner's perspective which can be attained through questionnaires, however these are mostly conducted in university settings. Moreover,

Mori and Shimizu (2007) discuss the possibility of the transfer of a teacher’s instructional strategy on to a student’s learning strategy. Although Yamaguchi (2008) looks at kanji instruction at Hoshukos in the USA, further research is needed that deals with kanji teaching and learning strategies, especially at HL institutions.

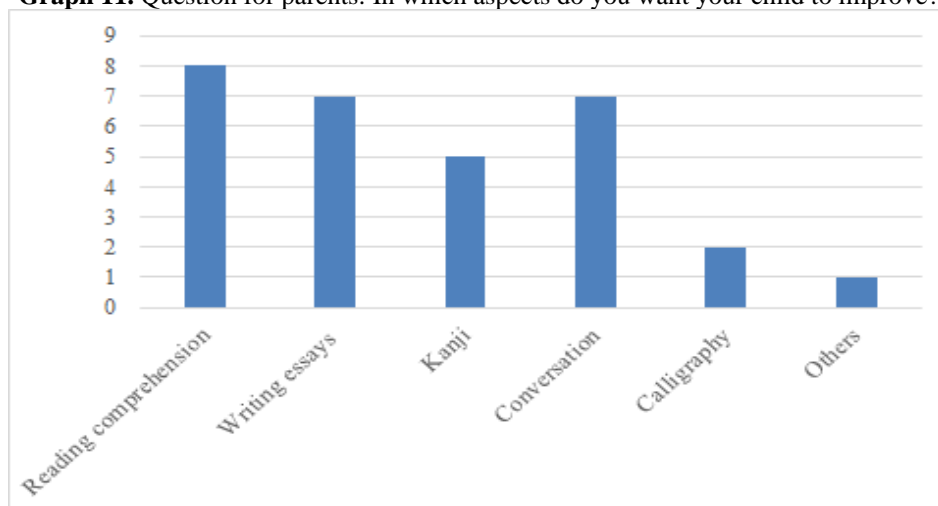
7.3.4.1 How to Teach Japanese Writing at the Hoshuko

Teaching Japanese writing skills is the one of the core objectives as well as one of the most challenging things for the teachers at this school. One of the questions in the questionnaire that I distributed to these participants at the beginning of this study, is reproduced below.

In which aspects do you want your child to improve?
(Reading comprehension/Writing essays/kanji/Conversation/Calligraphy/Others)

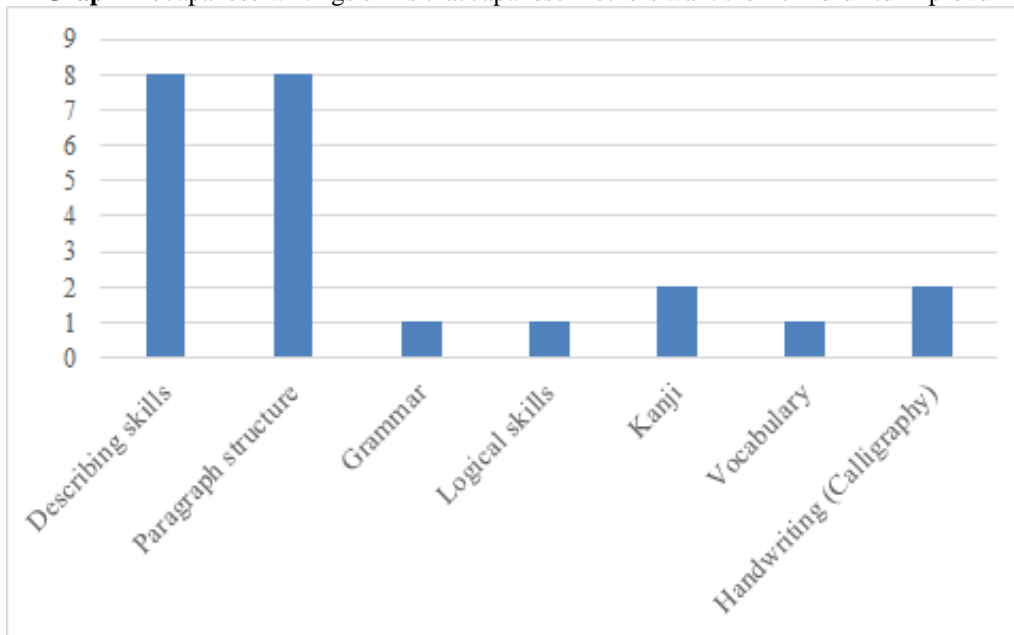
Questionees were able to choose multiple answers. Namely, if one wants the child to improve all aspects of Japanese, one is able to circle everything. Two participant’s mothers actually chose all options I gave in a sheet and one mother chose “others” by putting down her answer which was “presentation skills.” According to the result of this particular question, seven out of 11 Japanese mothers answered that they want their children to improve their Japanese writing skills. As the graph below shows, five mothers mentioned kanji skills and two mentioned calligraphies as those skills they want their children to improve.

Graph 11. Question for parents: In which aspects do you want your child to improve?



Furthermore, during the interviews with mothers, I asked more detailed question such as “in terms of writing, which aspects do you want them to improve? (e.g., orthography, spelling, use of conjunction, paragraph structures, etc.)” The following graph illustrates their answers.

Graph 12. Japanese writings skills that Japanese mothers want their children to improve

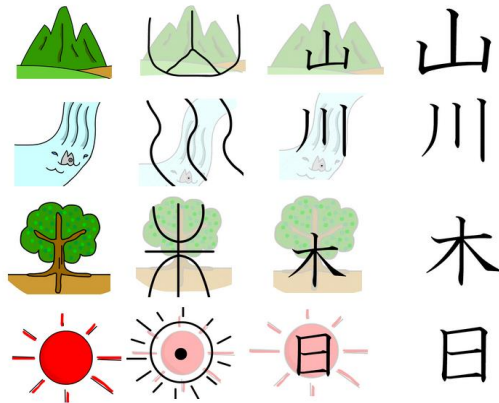


Moreover, I asked the same question to the teachers and discovered that their perspectives and goals are similar to those of the Japanese mothers. That is to say, the aspects of writing that the teachers want students to improve the most on are describing skills and paragraph structures as opposed to kanji skills which is the same as what the parents want. This indicates that both parents and teachers have the same opinion when it comes to Japanese writing education. According to the online survey conducted by Kaneko (2017), 163 out of 193 teachers at different Hoshukos all over the world answered that they think Japanese writing skills are the most difficult for their students to develop compared with listening, reading and speaking skills. As the timetable of the Hoshuko describes, the first hour of every Saturday is used for kanji practice in each class. During their six years in primary school, these children learn over 1,000 kanji. In this time, they greatly increase their reading sophistication and move from picture books to short novels. There are many different ways to learn kanji, and they are even able to learn and improve their kanji skills by reading manga and playing video games in their free time. Here, I introduce some of the common methods of teaching kanji at the Hoshuko.

- Showing the origin of kanji

Especially teachers in the lower grades said that they first show the origin of kanji with some images. They often find relevant materials online or draw something by themselves. The figure below is a good example of the origin of simple kanji for grade one students.

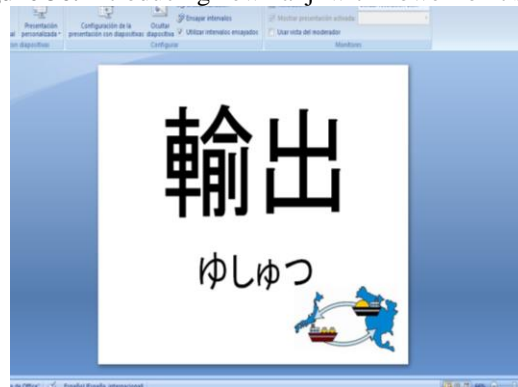
Figure 35. The origin of simple kanji



Source: http://www.tos-land.net/teaching_plan/contents/24447

However, teachers in the higher grades cannot use this method as easily because not all of the kanji comes from images. In that case, they have to think about different practical methods by themselves. Some teachers prepare PowerPoint slides which include new kanji and their pronunciation and show them to students in a class. The figure below how the kanji for “export” is introduced, along with its hiragana spelling and a representative image.

Figure 36. Introducing new kanji with PowerPoint slides



Consequently, most teachers try to show new kanji with some images if they have them, before actually writing them with a pen and paper because they postulate that kanji recognition skills are also very important for children.

- Breaking down kanji

In addition to the rote learning strategy, other teaching strategies were also used especially in higher grade classes. As complicated kanji consist of multiple simple kanji or katakana characters, when teachers introduce complex ones, they try to split into a few parts. Moreover, some of the teachers are so creative that they can make up stories in order for their students to memorise kanji easily. Yamaguchi (2008) observed several classes for teaching kanji at Hoshukos in the USA and her observation notes indicate the use of a teaching technique centered around breaking down kanji characters. Fuyuko is a teacher of the seventh grade.

Fuyuko is checking a student's worksheet. She finds a mistake and says, "You wrote the kanji *kou* 交 for *koutsuu* [交通, traffic] wrong. Do you know how you can memorize this kanji? Listen. The top part is the radical, *nabebuta* [𠂇, the same sound as 'pot lid'], right? The bottom part is the kanji for father [父]. So, a father is walking the street wearing a lid on his head. If you have this image in your mind, you can remember the kanji. You should learn kanji in this way. OK? Then, you will never forget it" (p. 64).

According to Yamaguchi (2008), what this teacher does in her class is to break down the kanji into components and to create stories that help students remember kanji. Therefore, she also used the memory strategy in addition to the rote learning strategy. This strategy of breaking down kanji is traditional and widely used. As a matter of fact, teachers' materials and guidelines suggest using this method when teachers introduce new kanji. Another teacher at the Hoshuko also uses a similar strategy whereby she first asks her students to deconstruct the kanji in order to find out if there are parts that they already know. This teacher recounted to me some examples during the interview as follows.

[Citation 7-24] ご存知のように、小5にもなると漢字が複雑で、覚えて書くっていうのは結構大変なんです。でも、その複雑さゆえに、漢字を分けて教えるっていうことができるんですけどね。だって、複雑な漢字っていうのは、いくつかの部分から成り立っていたりしますよね。例えば先週「態」とか「禁」とか勉強したですけど、まず私は子供たちに漢字を分けて考えさせるよう指示しました。そうすることで難しい漢字も、パーツからできているから少しは楽に覚えられるんじゃないかな。こうやって分けて考えるっていう練習は実は、今まで習った漢字の復習にもなっていると思うんですよ。分けて考えるっていう

課題の時は、もう既に子供たちが習った漢字のことも、こんな漢字も前あったね、とか話せますからね。例えば、「態」の漢字だったら、ム、月、七、七、心の5つから成っているじゃないですか。こういうのは子供たちを見ていると、この漢字の中に漢字を探すっていうの、結構好きみたいですよ。こうやって少しでも楽しみながら漢字学習してくれたらいいなとは思いますがけどね。

As you know grade five kanji is pretty complicated to memorise and write. However, thanks to this complexity, it is easy to break down because each kanji has some small parts in it. For instance, when I introduced new kanji such as 態 and 禁 last week, I asked them to deconstruct them so that they can remember them easily. Actually, this deconstructing exercise is a good review of previously learned kanji because through this task, we can talk about the kanji that they already know. Taking 態 as an example, this kanji consists of five parts (ム、月、七、七、心). Actually, my students like to break down kanji. It seems to me that they enjoy finding hidden parts in each kanji. I hope they learn kanji through fun ways like this.

With this method, this teacher shows the students that kanji consists of multiple, simple kanji. Although it is not always easy to make up stories after breaking down kanji, the same teacher explained to me one of examples she used in her kanji class.

[Citation 7-25] 例えば、「災い」という漢字を教えた時、水害と火事という自然災害を二つ説明したんです。この漢字の上の部首は、川を表していて、つまり川の氾濫ですかね。それで下のつくりは、火ですよ。だから火事で、こんな風にして話を作って教えたら、漢字も、意味も交えて覚えやすくなるんじゃないかと思っています。でも必ずしもこれがいつもできるってわけじゃないんですけど、その漢字の語源とか話したり、漢字にまつわる話を作ったりして教えていますよ。

For example, when I taught the kanji 災 [meaning catastrophe], I presented two types of natural disaster in Japan which are flood and fire. The top radical represents river and flood and the bottom radical represents fire. With this story, I think it is easier for my students to memorise the shape of kanji as well as the meaning. I am trying to teach some of the history or stories behind kanji, but it does not mean that I am able to do that all the time.

This teacher acknowledged that the method of breaking down kanji and explaining it with a story is effective, but it is not always possible.

- *Soragaki* (writing kanji in the air)

Traditionally, the word *Soragaki* means the method used to teach children the correct stroke order and the form of kanji. When translating *Soragaki* into English, one can translate the word as “writing in the sky.” As this translation shows, *soragaki* is a dynamic method used to teach the writing of kanji to students. As a result, primary school students are able to master not only the stroke order and the form of kanji but also an appropriate way of finishing each stroke. Strictly speaking, in kanji there are three types of ways of ending each stroke.

1. *Tomeru* means finishing a stroke with complete stop
2. *Haneru* means finishing a stroke with a sharp hook
3. *Harau* means finishing a stroke smoothly without making a rapid stop

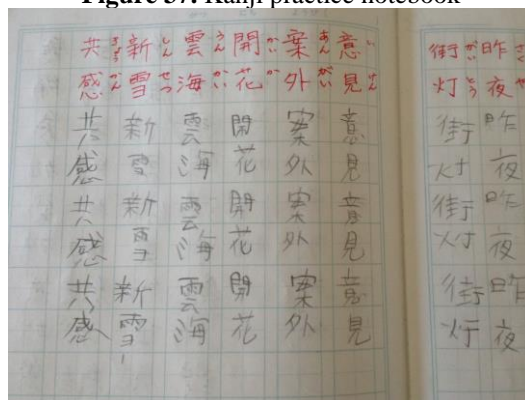
These three ways of ending each stroke are especially important when we write Japanese characters with a brush, a practice known as *Shodo* (traditional calligraphy). However, when teaching kanji, these three concepts are still important because students could be tested on whether or not they are writing characters in the correct manner. Moreover, nowadays there are several apps called *Soragaki* which are used for mastering the stroke order of kanji. It was invented for primary school students to learn both the right stroke order and the form of kanji by tracing over model characters on the screen of a tablet computer with a finger or stylus.

- Drilling

Given the option, some people may choose not to spend time learning how to write kanji by hand. This is a reasonable decision in an age of computers and smartphones, when very little communication is done on paper. Even so, most of the teachers and parents at the Hoshuko assume that handwriting is a skill that offers a variety of potential benefits. First, the repeated action of writing can help cement the knowledge more firmly than reading alone. Writing also forces students to focus on the shape of a character, emphasising the difference between similar kanji that are easily confused, such as 千 (1,000) and 干 (dried) or 微 (minute) and 徽 (sign). Both of these factors can make kanji more readily recognisable the next time they are encountered in reading. Therefore, the teachers spend some time with students to have them write the same kanji in their

notebook many times. Some teachers apply a traditional method that asks students to practice those kanji that they made mistakes on a kanji test. The figure below is an example of a kanji practice notebook for grade four students.

Figure 37. Kanji practice notebook



- Making up sentences

In the final exercise, teachers usually write phrases on the board corresponding to kanji that they are teaching. They write it in the *Tategaki* style (the vertical style of Japanese writing) starting on the right side of the board. Students read those sentences and copy them in their notebook repeated times. In this way, they are able to memorise the kanji and the usage of it in a correct sentence. These methods of teaching kanji are common not only for the teachers at the Hoshuko but also for teachers in general in Japan. As a consequence, when the teachers at the Hoshuko teach multilingual children, they follow the same methods as teachers in Japan utilise. In short, I have shown from the examples given above that teachers depend on a rote learning strategy, in which students write and read kanji over and over. Most of the materials that they used were used for drill exercises that consisted of controlled sentences. Furthermore, these sentences were not provided in context, which made it difficult for the students at the Hoshuko, who live in a Catalan/Spanish dominant environment which is a non-kanji society, to guess the meanings of the kanji words. Although some teachers know mnemonic strategy works better, none of the teachers at this Hoshuko used it as the primary teaching strategy because it takes a lot of time. As the teachers articulated in the interviews, they do not have enough time to explain every kanji in detail during class. Furthermore, as Shimizu and Green (2002) point out, in order to use the mnemonic strategy, teachers have to have great preparation and a deep cultural, historical and philosophical understanding about

kanji. Therefore, it makes it difficult for the teachers at the Hoshuko to implement this strategy to teach kanji. Based on my calculations, they only have 20 to 25 minutes to explain four to eight kanji every Saturday after the kanji test has been taken in the first hour of the school.

7.3.4.2 How to Develop Japanese Writing Skills at the Hoshuko

After learning a lot of kanji, students have to use it in an essay in order to learn how to utilise it correctly. They are supposed to write an essay with the kanji that they have learned. If they do not use it and use hiragana, the teachers will point this out and the students will have to correct it. This is because text that contains only hiragana can be difficult to read and is considered either childish or demonstrating a beginner level of writing. Therefore, students are encouraged to use the kanji that they learned at school. From the conducted interviews with the teachers, it was revealed that each teacher delivered writing assignments to the students. Depending on the weeks or grades, the number of assignments or length of the writing assignments varied. However, what is important is that all teachers required something to be written in Japanese every week, no matter how short it is. One teacher provided more details in the interviews.

[Citation 7-26] 私達は宿題にいつも書くっていう練習を入れるようにしているんです。もちろん書くだけじゃなくて、大切な要素、読む、書く、話す、聞くっていうの。あ、実は聞くっていうのは入れるのは難しいんですけど。でもとにかく、書くってことに関しては、私がやっているのは漢字の練習だけじゃなくて、短文を書かせたり、日記だったり、要約だったり、作文だったり。だから補習校の子達は少なくとも毎週、まあ2週間に1回は作文とかを書くって練習はしていると思いますよ。

We are trying to include writing assignments in homework. I mean I am trying to include every aspect, reading, writing, speaking and listening. Well, actually listening is a little bit difficult to include in homework. But anyways, in terms of writing, I try to include not only kanji practice, but also writing short sentences, diaries, summaries and essays, etc. Therefore, students at the Hoshuko practice Japanese essay writing every week or at least every two weeks.

This comment matches with what my participants and their mothers said during the interviews which I conducted. The Japanese mothers revealed that their children's

Japanese literacy practices at home are mainly doing their homework from the Hoshuko. In other words, homework from the Hoshuko plays an important role for the development of a children's Japanese proficiency. I also asked the teachers how often they teach Japanese writing at school. One teacher explained this to me during the interviews:

[Citation 7-27] もちろん、私達は4つから8つの漢字を毎週教えていますよ。そうじゃないとカリキュラムとか、日本の子供達についていけませんからね。それから、正直に話すと、教室では書くことに時間をあまり使っていないんですよ。それはだって、何ていったって時間がないですから。もちろん、子供達に新しく習った漢字を使って短文とかは書かせたりはしますけど。あとは教室で読んだ話をもとに、いくつか質問を作ってそれに子供達が短文で答えるっていうのをしたりしますけど。それで日本語で書く練習をしているって言えるかな。でも正直って、先生誰も、そんな作文指導に時間取れていないと思いますよ。だから私達は時々親に言って、家で教えてあげてください。残念だけど、土曜の3時間だけじゃやりたいこともそんなにできないんですよ。

Of course, we teach four to eight new kanji every week. Otherwise, we will be so behind the curriculum we are following and cannot keep up with children in Japan. Apart from that, to be honest, I do not spend time in class for Japanese writing essays simply because we do not have sufficient time for that. Of course, we ask the students to make up sentences with new kanji. Also I prepare some questions based on the story that we are reading in a class and the students have to answer these questions with short sentences. In that case, I teach what the correct way is for writing sentences in Japanese. However, frankly speaking, none of teachers dedicate time to teach writing essays. Therefore, we sometimes ask the parents to teach this at home. It is unfortunate, but within three hour classes on Saturdays, we cannot do everything we want to do.

What I discovered from this interview is again the issue of limited time on Saturday. As teachers are rushing in order to finish the textbook with the same speed as teachers in Japan do, teachers at the Hoshuko cannot spend enough time to teach writing skills in class. Therefore, this responsibility is sometimes taken over from teachers by the Japanese parents at home. Indeed, I have had a chance to see the year-study plan of the Hoshuko which one mother kindly showed. My comment was written in the ethnographic diary as follows.

補習校で配布される年間学習予定表には時々、これは家庭学習という記載がある。それは、補習校では時間的な制限から取り扱えない単元があるので、それは各家庭で親が教えるなりしてやってくださいという意味だ。

In the year-study plan which teachers at the Hoshuko made for the students, occasionally “please study this chapter at home” was written. It means at Hoshuko, they do not cover that particular lesson/chapter due to restricted time they have at school. Each parent has to teach that lesson/chapter at home. (citation from ethnographic diary)

This school constantly requires the involvement of Japanese parents. According to Nakajima (2014), when it comes to HL learning for young children, it is vital to involve the parents because the whole family should get together in order for the children to acquire a HL.

7.3.4.3 How to Evaluate Japanese Writing Skills at the Hoshuko

One of the easy, simple and clear ways to evaluate kanji skills is through an exam. This school carries out kanji tests every week from grade one to junior high school grade three. Depending on the grade, the number of questions and what they are asked are slightly different. However, students are supposed to memorise four to eight kanji that they learned last week at school. They have to obtain a mark that is more than 70-80% of the total score in order to pass it. This passing grade is quite high and challenging, considering that a grade of 70% is a passing mark in their local Catalan/Spanish schools. Although these students do not see nor use kanji on a daily basis, they have to memorise several new kanji every week in order to keep going to the Hoshuko. Many children complained about it during interviews in the manner.

[Citation 7-28] 漢字テストは大嫌い。だって覚えても次の日全部忘れちゃうもん。でも別にいいよ。だってどうせまた次の新し漢字覚えなといけないし。いつも土曜にさ、新しい漢字、漢字、漢字でつまらない。

I hate kanji tests. Even if I memorise kanji for a test, the next day I forget everything. But that is ok because soon I have to memorise new kanji. Every Saturday, new kanji, new kanji and new kanji. It is boring.

Moreover, some parents showed sympathy about this in the following manner. This citation is extracted from my ethnographic diary.

子供を見ていて、思うのはちょっとかわいそうということ。毎週新しい漢字を覚えて練習して。ここは漢字なんてないところなのに、それをやることは難しいと思う。この漢字テストは厳しいし、子供にはかなりの負担になっていると思う。私と一緒に宿題をする時、喧嘩になったりもするし、本当に泣きながらやることだってある。このやり方で本当にいいのかなって時々思う。

When I observe my child, I feel sorry for her. Each week memorising and practicing new kanji in a society where kanji does not exist is so difficult. This kanji test is strict and absolutely a huge burden for my child. We sometimes argue and cry when she does her Japanese homework with me. I wonder if this way of learning Japanese is appropriate for my child (citation from ethnographic diary).

On the other hand, other parents agree to have a kanji exam every week. I overheard the conversations among Japanese mothers at school and made notes in my ethnographic diary as follows:

漢字テストは漢字力を維持するためには大切で、役立つものだと考える親もいる。この学校では漢検を年に2回受けることもできるが、それは強制ではない。だから、私は学校で毎週土曜この小さいものではあるけど漢字テストやってくれているのは助かっている。もしテストがなかったら、子供は全然勉強しないですよ。

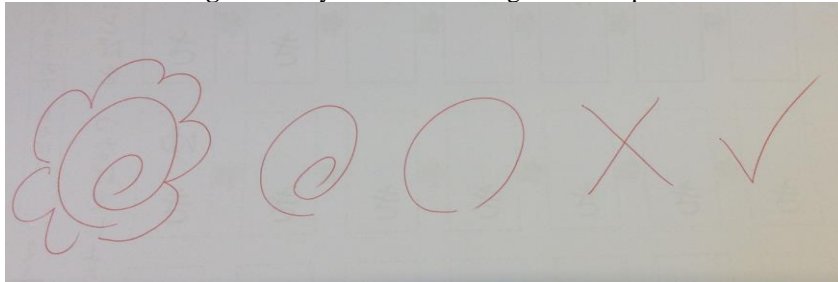
Some parents think that a kanji exam is useful in order to maintain kanji skills. Although this school holds twice a year an official kanji examination (which was accredited by Cabinet Office), the participation is not mandatory. Therefore, I appreciate this small kanji exam at school every Saturday. If there is no exam, my child does not study at all (citation from ethnographic diary).

Also it is important to note that all of the teachers prepare a kanji test one week in advance and distribute it in class. That is to say, students know exactly what they are going to be tested in the following week. This way of organising a kanji test is not a common at all in Japan because people think that if they know what is on the exam, it is no longer an exam. However, this Hoshuko came up with this method so that students can feel less stressful about memorising new kanji every week. When it comes to evaluating a Japanese essay or diary, what the teachers undertake to do is to write down some positive comments beside their students' writings. When they do this, they use a red pen as can be seen above (see the writing samples in the section 6.1.3.4). In Japan, teachers use a red pen to mark or evaluate an essay or dairy because it stands out. Therefore, all of the teachers at the Hoshuko follow this Japanese common sense. Not only do they write down

some comments which are usually one to four sentences, but also they correct grammatical, lexical and conventional errors with this red pen. After reviewing all of the points, teachers normally pick one of the symbols for overall writing. There are five types of symbols as shown below:

- These hand drawn circles and spirals with petals are called “Hanamaru” in Japan, meaning “very good.”
- Spirals without petals mean “good.”
- Regular circles mean “correct” which is the way these symbols are used for scoring tests in Japan.
- Triangles means it is somewhat correct, however it is not completely correct.
- X and ✓ mean incorrect.

Figure 38. Symbols for scoring tests in Japan



During the interviews with a teacher, she commented on the way of evaluating students' writing and highlighted the importance of teacher's education as follow:

[Citation 7-29] 子供達の作文を評価するのってすごく難しいんですよ。誰もそのやり方とか教えてくれないですし。だからだから私自身の方法で採点とかしていますけど。でもこれが一番いい方法なのか、わからないんです。それにこの方法で子供達の書く力が上がっているのかもちょっとわからないです。だから何か学校がそのトレーニングとかしてくれたらいいなとは思いますが。それでずっと前ですけど、それを主任の先生とかにちらっと話したんですよ。でもそれは難しいって言われちゃいました。その理由っていうのが2つあって、1つ目は、そんなトレーニングをするなんて時間がないってことです。平日は先生たち、他の仕事をしている人もいるし、土曜にやるっていうのも難しいらしいんです。2つ目の理由はそれを教える人がいないってこと。誰もトレーニングとか、正しい評価法を教えたりできるような専門家ではないってことなんです。私達、みんなプロじゃないですから。もちろんね、日本で教職持っている先生っていうのもいますが、でもその先生達が教師トレーニングとかできるってわけではないし。

I have difficulty evaluating students' essays. No one taught me that. Therefore, I assess them in a way that I think is correct. However, I am not quite sure if this is the best way of doing this and if this actually helps my students improve their writing skills. Therefore, I hope the school provide us with some training. Long time ago, I talked with a chief teacher about teacher's education, however, she told me that it is difficult to do that because of two reasons. First of all, we do not have time to have a training session. During weekdays, most of the teachers have their own jobs and on Saturdays it is also difficult to get together to have a training. The second reason is that there is no expert to teach the correct evaluation or to provide us with teacher's education. We all are non-professional. It is true that some of us are qualified teachers with teaching certificates. However, it does not mean that they can offer teacher's training at school.

According to her, many teachers at this school are not sure about evaluating students writing correctly. I assess them just like how they were evaluated when they were kids in Japan. However, Mitsumura (a publisher of the official textbook that they are using at school) display on their website the curriculum of each grade which also includes the objectives as well as the evaluation system for each chapter. The following is a translation of an excerpt from the teachers manual for the grade one Japanese class (see Appendix 14).

[Only the evaluation for writing skills of the first two months of primary school is translated]

Evaluating points.

<April>

- Writing hiragana neatly.
- Understanding chunks of words, exchanging cards with classmates and reading them.
- Writing down one's name and year on the card in hiragana.
- Matching characters and pronunciations of the five pure vowels (a, i, u, e and o) and writing them.
- Understanding the words on pages 24 and 25 and writing created words.

<May>

- Writing words which include voiced-sounds.
- Making up songs which include voiced-sounds and writing them down.
- Understanding characters and pronunciations of voiced-sounds and writing assigned words.

The teachers at this school might not have paid attention to this website carefully. However, it is important to note that these assessment tools were created for children in Japan, not for HLLs. Therefore, the evaluation system might need to be modified accordingly if teachers want to implement them at the Hoshuko. There are teachers who use diary entries as a communication tool between teacher and student. A grade five

teacher spoke about her approach to giving feedback for diary entries. Instead of correcting the students' superficial mistakes, she tries to get to know her students more and help them to develop cognitively and psychologically through checking the diary entries. She believes that using diary entries helps build good relationships between herself and the children as she is able to find out something about what each child does after school, and what he/she has been thinking about. By giving feedback on the diary entries, she thinks that she can support her students' cognitive and psychological development by providing motivation and advice related to the content of the diary entry. The following table details three writing assignments and the specific feedback this teacher gave, as well as the teacher's intended message to the student, which she explained to me during our interviews.

Table 48. Japanese teacher's feedback on three writing samples

Assignment	A summary of what the students wrote	Teacher's written feedback	Teacher's intended message
Write an essay titled "what I regret"	One student wrote about a time when she witnessed bullying at school. Although she noticed it, she did not do anything to try and stop it, or report it to her teacher.	<i>That was unfortunate. What can you do next time you witness bullying?</i>	The teacher wanted the student to learn from this experience and act correctly next time.
Write an essay titled "what I regret"	One student wrote about a fight he had with his brother over toys. He knew that fighting is not good, but he ended up doing that.	<i>That sometimes happens. But your brother is an important person. He will be on your team in the future.</i>	The teacher suggested this student to make a good relationship with his brother because siblings are important.
Read a newspaper article, then write a summary and reflection	One student chose an article about a drone attacking a president of Venezuela. This student thought this was a horrible accident using a drone.	<i>Drones can be convenient, but we hope there is no more bad usage of drones, right?</i>	The teacher tried to teach him more humane usage of a drone. Also, her message was even though a convenient machine could be harmful if it is not used appropriately, therefore we have to think more carefully about their use.

Another Japanese teacher tends to ask more questions related to what her children wrote in their essays or diaries when she gives feedback in order to help him/her to develop their ideas. To conclude, these results could contribute somewhat to the teachers and parents at Hoshukos all over the world, because despite the students' backgrounds being diverse, all of these schools use some very similar methods and materials. For example, the

teaching guide as well as the curriculum are both designed by the Ministry of Education, and thus are the same across all Hoshukos. Furthermore, these findings could contribute not only to educators at Hoshukos but also teachers and policy makers at HL schools which are focused on other languages. Not to mention, the Japanese teachers of immigrant children in Japan could also implement some of my findings in their day-to-day classes.

7.3.4.4 Teachers' Challenges

From the transcripts of interviews with teachers and my ethnographic diary, using Atlas.ti, I searched for the most frequent expressions or phrases that the teachers used. It was “we do not have enough time,” “due to time constraints” and “limited time on Saturdays.” Teachers occasionally used these phrases when they answered my open-ended questions. What they repeatedly said is true because they are trying to cover whole curriculum and to use all of the materials which are used in a Japanese class in Japan. For instance, according to the Ministry of Education, grade two students have eight hours of Japanese classes every week in Japan. On the other hand, at this Hoshuko teachers are trying to teach everything within three hours on Saturday which is physically impossible. That is why, they have to assign a lot of homework and extra home literacy activities. In terms of teaching kanji, diary entries and essays, three teachers expressed their dilemma explicitly.

[Citation 7-30] 書く教育に関して、正直に言うと、私達、子供達に十分な時間をさいてあげていないと思うんです。限られた時間しかないから、クラスでやりたいことも十分にできていないですよ。もちろん、それぞれの生徒の横に座って、ブレインストーミングからして、書きたいことを聞き出して、書くのを手伝ってあげるっていうのができればそれが一番理想なんでしょうけど。それをするっていう時間がないんですよ。それにクラスの人数を考えたら、それは絶対無理でしょ。もちろん日本の学校っていうのは30人とかクラスにいて、ここよりもっと多い子供達を先生は教えてするわけだけど、でも向こうっていうのは月から金までの時間がけあるわけですよ。でも私達は土曜の3時間じゃ日本のようにはできないですよ。だからどうしても家で書く練習のサポートしてくださいって、親にお願いしないといけないわけで。だから例えば夏休みの宿題として4

つか5つの日記とか作文の宿題は出していますよ。夏休みまで勉強、勉強っていうのはちょっとかわいそうな気もするけど。まあ、でもそれも日本の文化と言えば、そうですね。

Regarding writing education, honestly I think we have not spent enough time with children. Due to time constraints, I cannot do what I wanted to do in a class. I know that it would be really great if I could sit down beside each child, brainstorm together, take out what he or she wants to express, and help him or her to start writing. We just do not have time to do that. Also the size of the class makes this completely impossible. I know that even now some teachers in Japan have 30 students in a class which is more than I have here at the Hoshuko. They have more time because they get together to study from Monday to Friday. But within three hours on Saturdays, I cannot do the same thing that teachers in Japan do. Consequently, I have to ask the parents to help and support Japanese writing at home. For instance, as we do not have enough time to spend on writing in a class, I assign four to five essays or diary entries as summer break homework. I feel a little bad for the children who have to study hard even during the summer vacation. However, that is a part of Japanese culture as well, you know.

[Citation 7-31] 漢字だけじゃなくて、もっと作文とかにも時間を使いたいんですけどね。でもクラスでそんな時間がなくて。私達、教師っていうのは休み時間も忙しいんですよ。座る時間もトイレに行く時間もなかつたりしますから、時々。休み時間にやることっていうのは結構あるんですよ。漢字テストの採点とか、宿題をチェックして、ワークブックも見て。この学校は週1だから、漢字テストもその日のうちに返してあげないと、そうでないと1週間また待つことになるじゃないですか。それに間違いはなるべく早いうちにその場で直してあげるっていうことが大切だと思うんで。そうすることで子供も間違いに気づいてすぐ覚えますよね。だから補習校の先生っていうのはよく働いていて大変だと思いますよ。休み時間も宿題とかテストとかチェックしていて。だからホント他の先生とかと話す時間なんて全然ないですよ。もっと色々情報共有とかしたいんですけどね。でもその時間が本当にはないんですよ。

I want to spend more time with my students for not only kanji, but also writing essays, but we simply do not have time in a class. Because we, teachers are so busy on Saturdays even during the break, we occasionally do not have time to sit down nor go to bathroom. We have a lot of work to do during the break. What we are doing is marking kanji exams, correcting homework, and checking workbooks, etc. As this school is only once a week, if we do not return them to my students the day of the exams, then they have to wait for a whole week. I think it is important for teachers to point out the students' mistakes as soon as possible and ask them to correct them on the spot. By doing this, children will learn, right? So, teachers at the Hoshuko work so hard during the break so that they finish to checking all of students' homework and tests. Needless to say, I have no time to talk with other teachers at school. I hope to share more things with them, but it is difficult to find time to do that.

[Citation 7-32] 正直、作文指導まで、クラスで時間がとれていないのが、現状です。作文まではいかないけど、なんとか沢山書いてもらおうと、「100字で感想を書く」とか「150字で要約を書く」とかそういう練習はしています。まあ、これも作文指導って言えるかな。結構時間なくて、書かせて終わりって感じになってしまっていますね。でも何人かに発表させたりはしているけど。添削とかしている時間はないんですよ。

To be honest, the current situation is not having enough time to teach how to write essays in a class. However, I still try to ask my students to write as much as possible in a class. So, I give tasks such as “write your thoughts about the story within 100 Japanese characters” or “write a summary of the story within 150 Japanese characters” and so on. I am not sure if this is regarded as a writing lesson because I do not have time to correct their writing. I just ask them to write and that is all. Well, I also ask some students to present in class what they have written.

Many other researchers who carried out their research at other Hoshukos also point out this problem which is the limited time that they are open on Saturdays (Nagaoka, 1998; Yamaguchi, 2008). It is true that they do not have enough time to teach kanji in classes which is fundamental for Japanese writing. Although the teachers also acknowledged the importance of teaching diary entries and essays in class, though they do not have time to do this and end up asking parents to support their children’s writing at home. Teachers must really work hard in order to finish the given textbook which follows the curriculum that Ministry of Education provided them with. Another new teacher expressed her difficulty of knowing actual students’ abilities.

[Citation 7-33] 宿題で日記とか作文とか、ある程度まとまった文章を書くっていうのを2週間に1回は入れるようにしているんですけど、それだけ見ているんじゃ子供の実力がどのくらいあるのかなかなかわからないですよ。それが補習校教師の難しいところかな。だってこの子達の親ってすごく熱心じゃないですか。それで宿題もばっちりチェックしてもらっているから。その作文とかが子供一人で書き上げたものなのか、お母さんに手伝ってもらって書いたものなのか、それともまたは、親が隣で言っていることをそのまま聞いて書いているだけなのか、わからないんですよ。だからどこまでが子供の本当に実力なのか知るの難しいです。もちろん、ある程度、授業態度見ていたりとかしたら、わかってくるけど、特に一学期の間はその書く力がどのくらいあるのか、わからないですね。

I try to give an assignment of writing once in two weeks. It would be either a diary or an essay. But it is difficult for me to know the actual students’ writing skills just by looking at these regular assignments. It is one of the difficulties I feel as a teacher at the Hoshuko. As you know, the parents of these children are so keen that they check their children’s

Japanese homework thoroughly. I am not sure if the children wrote essays by themselves or with the assistance of their mother or whether they might have completed the task as their mother sat beside them. Therefore, it is quite challenging to know the true writing abilities the children possess. Of course, I can get a general idea of how good their writing skills are by observing their performance in a classroom. However, it is still hard for me to know and comprehend their actual skills, especially in the first semester.

Consequently, this study has discovered that the teachers confront various problems that are unique to this type of school. Therefore, more effort should be devoted to investigating current problems at school and on developing materials and curriculums that best suit the needs of the students at Japanese HL school.

CHAPTER 8

CASE STUDY: MIKA

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In this chapter, I pay particular attention to one of my participants, Mika and I explain in detail how both her and her mother showed me how she was introduced to literacy activities at school and at home. Due to the unique insights I obtained from several in-depth interviews with the mother, I also focus on her perspective on language learning. The aim of this chapter is to explore how Mika started multiliteracy activities at home, how she has engaged in them and how her mother perceives them. Furthermore, the translanguaging she used in her creative writing and her mother's attitudes towards ICT are presented.

8.1 Mika's Brief History

She was born in Barcelona in 2008. Although many Spanish-Japanese choose Catalan/Spanish or Japanese names for their children, interestingly this family chose the daughter's name in Greek (not shown here to protect the participant's identity). This shows that from the very beginning how different from other typical Spanish-Japanese families they are. When I met her for the first time and collected her writing samples, she was only six years old and was in grade one class at the Hoshuko. Currently in 2019, she

is in grade four and continues to study Japanese at the Hoshuko. She has a Spanish father and a Japanese mother and no brothers or sisters, in a middle-high socioeconomic family. The father is an architect and the mother works from home as a freelance translator and logistics coordinator. Both of them have a university degree. This mother has strong mind because she made up her mind to take care of her child without asking for any help from grandparents, babysitter, etc. until her daughter started at kindergarten. She believes the bond of family is the most important thing and wanted to spend as much time with her as possible. She is different from other Japanese people in Barcelona who often hire babysitters when they go to work. Three interviews with Mika's mother, one interview with Mika and various email exchanges to ask more details and clarify certain things were carried out over a 32 month period (from September 2015 to May 2018). All the interviews were semi-structured, containing questions about experience, opinion and values, feelings and background (Patton, 2002). The following table is a summary of data collection with this particular participant.

Table 49. Summary of data collected from Mika

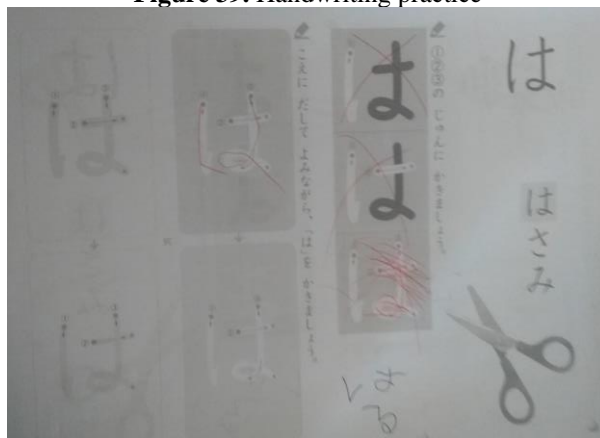
	Date	Length of interview	Word count in English
First interview with Mika's mother	September 2015	41 minutes	Transcription has 6700 words in English
Second interview with Mika's mother	March 2016	47 minutes	Transcription has 6450 words in English
Third interview with Mika's mother	April 2018	3.5 hours	Transcription has 18800 words in English
Interview with Mika	March 2016	22 minutes	Transcription has 2500 words in English
Collecting writing samples	December 2015 and May 2018		Six Japanese writing samples One Spanish writing sample One French writing sample Others ⁶

⁶ Others include four paintings, one pencil sketch and two Japanese practice materials. However, these were not analysed as they did not have many words. All samples she submitted are displayed in Appendix 4.

8.1.1 Languages

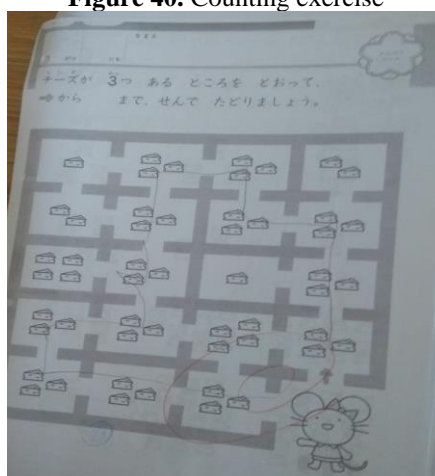
As seen in section 4.6.4, when Mika was three years old, her mother had to decide which kindergarten she would attend. She believes that public school education which is dominated by Catalan speakers, is not open-minded nor international. She wants her daughter to be a broad-minded global person. She considered what the best choice was for her child's future. As they live in Barcelona, it is easy to learn Catalan and Spanish. In terms of English, the parents can teach her at home. Therefore, the only options they felt they had were either French school or German school. So, at first they decided to send her to a German school, but then discovered that it was difficult for her to keep up with other students since they do not speak the language at home. If it is French, the mother is able to teach it to Mika a little bit because she also has experience learning it. Moreover, her father also learned French at high school. They thought they could support the daughter's French literacy development a little bit at home. Consequently, the parents chose a French school for her to attend, where she can also learn English, Catalan and Spanish. When she was three years old, she started to go to a French kindergarten in Barcelona which is a massive school where there are approximately 2,200 students age ranged from three to 18 years old attend. Surely, all of the subjects are instructed in French by French native teachers. When she was four years old, she started to go to the kindergarten level of the Hoshuko every Saturday. Although she was practicing Japanese characters at home with her mother, she also learned a lot at this school. When she was about 10 months old, her mother bought some handwriting textbooks in Japan with which Mika learned how to use a pencil. The figure below is an example of the type of exercises that she did.

Figure 39. Handwriting practice



When Mika practiced writing Japanese characters and Latin alphabets, her mother did not give her a tablet. Mika always used a pen and paper and she enjoyed using them to write. Mika's mother thought that writing by hand is better for her daughter than using a tablet and as far as her mother was concerned, using a tablet to teach writing was not an option. The mother thinks that it is critically important for her daughter to learn Japanese in order to know her cultural roots and connect with her grandparents, aunts and cousins, etc. Therefore, when Mika was one or two years old, her mother knew that she was going to send Mika to the Hoshuko when she turned four years old. For this reason, the mother started to teach Mika Japanese at home using the textbooks that she had bought for her daughter in Japan. The vast majority of those textbooks were focused on practicing Japanese language skills. However, she also started to learn simple Maths in Japanese. Figure 40 shows the exercise of counting in Japanese which Mika did when she was three or four years old. The instruction says “go through the places where there are three pieces of cheese.” At that time, she was doing these kind of exercises over and over with her mother every day.

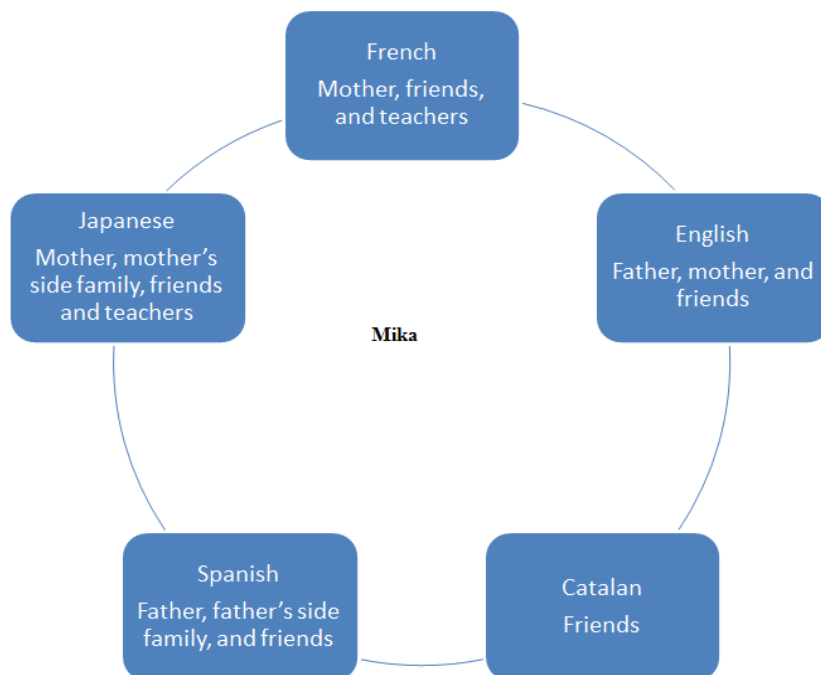
Figure 40. Counting exercise



Before entering to the Hoshuko, she was able to write her name in Japanese. The mother has put a big poster of Japanese alphabets in the living room so that Mika is able to see it all the time. Since Mika was four years old, her and her mother travel to Japan every summer so that Mika is able to experience school in Japan. When Mika was six years old, her formal education began at a French school. Of course, she has Catalan and Spanish classes every week. Due to the fact that she has lots of Catalan and Spanish speaking friends at school as well as at classical ballet class, she had been picking up these language skills easily. At the same time, she started a Japanese formal education at this Hoshuko

on Saturdays. She learned Japanese basic characters hiragana and katakana in kindergarten of the Hoshuko and now it is time to learn kanji, the most complicated writing system among three types. At the age of eight, she officially began to learn English at school. As there are native English children such as Americans and British in the class, the class was divided into two groups (native students and non-native students) and surprisingly she was put in the native class. Since she was born, her mother has been teaching and talking to her in English at home. This mother, whom I talk about in more detail in the following section, is a Japanese and English bilingual. Therefore, English is always spoken at home. Moreover, the mother told me that Mika is going to learn German at school soon. German class is going to start from fifth grade at French school. The mother already decided to hire a German private teacher for her daughter and her daughter's best friend once a week. Consequently, Mika is surrounded by five languages on a daily basis which are French, Catalan, Spanish, English and Japanese. It will be six from September by adding German. The mother taught me one of her philosophies. "The more you know, the better." That is why she wants her daughter to learn as many languages as possible. The figure below indicates that the five surrounding languages and with whom Mika uses them.

Figure 41. Illustration showing with whom Mika uses her five known languages



Evidently, Mika uses the five languages with different people. Research (Kramsch & Whiteside, 2008, 2009) shows that multilingual speakers do not keep their known languages apart and that they use their language knowledge according to situation and place. This allows children to perform in different scenes depending on the situation (Torpsten, 2008). Culturally linguistically diverse students are different from adult language learners in many ways. These students' L1 and other languages' skills are still in a developing stage. These multiple languages do not exist separately, but they can be improved together hands in hands and having a relationship. Therefore, we have to investigate across the languages (Cummins, 1979). Mka identifies herself as half Spanish and half Japanese. As a matter of fact, she had a conversation with her mother as follows.

[Citation 8-1]

Mika: I am neither 100% Japanese nor 100% Spanish. I am me.
Mika's mother: I think your understanding is right. That is a good way of thinking. You are neither 100% Japanese nor 100% Spanish. You are Mika!

Mika's mother repeated to me part of a conversation she had with her daughter in citation 8-1 during the third interview. This exchange between Mika and her mother was had using English when I was not present. Many researchers investigated the identity issues of multilingual speakers (Block, 2006; Guo and Gu, 2018; Marshall and Marr, 2018; O'Rourke and Ramallo, 2018; Piller, 2001; Wei, 2011). According to Lambert (1975), there are four types of adjusting to the demands of the wider society by minority children as follows.

- 1) The child may reject their HL and culture.
- 2) The child may reject the dominant language and culture.
- 3) The child may not develop affiliation to either.
- 4) The child may become comfortably bilingual and bicultural and be able to participate fully in both cultures.

Mika also faces a question which is "who am I?" In fact, in Japanese there is a term called "half" which describes people who have parents of different nationalities like Mika. In Japan, she would be categorised as "half" because she is 50% Japanese and 50% Spanish. However, some Japanese people including Mika's mother do not like this word because

“half” means not complete. They normally call them “double” instead of "half" because those children who are part of an international family know more languages, cultures, etc. Therefore, Mika’s mother acknowledges positively who her daughter is. As can be seen in citation 8-2, Mika’s mother firmly affirmed her daughter’s mixed identity.

[Citation 8-2] みかの父親はスペイン人で、母親の私は日本人でしょ。それに私達はバルセロナに住んでいて、でも彼女の学校はフランス語でしょ。こんな複雑な言語環境だから、彼女が自分は誰かって考えるのは当然だと思うの。確かに完全に日本人でもスペイン人でもない。でも彼女は彼女なの。こんな色々な面があるみかは、本当に特別よって、私、話したのよ。

Mika has a Spanish father and a Japanese mother that is me. Furthermore, she lives in Barcelona and goes to a French weekday school. Knowing that this complicated linguistic background exists for her, it is normal to wonder who she actually is. She is not a completely Japanese nor Spanish. She is who she is. I told her that she is very special because she has many different facets.

From citation 8-2, it can be seen how positive this mother is and how much she actually enjoys this linguistic and cultural complexity they encounter. Identity is dynamic and everchanging and it is constructed by the reaction of the identity holder to their specific circumstances along their life journey. It is essential to think of identity “as a production, which is never complete, always in process, and always constituted within, not outside, representation” (Hall, 1990, as cited in He, 2010. p.72). In addition to that, Mika introduced me an interesting slogan her family has, which is “we are an amazing family.” She told me the word “amazing” includes the initials of the family members’ names. That is why when they have argument, they try to remind themselves that “we are an amazing family, so let’s solve our problems peacefully.” It shows that this positive thinking family’s bond is very strong.

8.1.2 Summer Experience in Japan

During summer at the age of four, Mika began spending two months in Japan in order to attend a Japanese kindergarten. As summer break does not start until the end of July in Japan whereas schools in Barcelona end in either the middle or at the end of June, this

family optimises the chance of learning Japanese in Japan. As a matter of fact, a lot of Spanish-Japanese families do this in order for their children to experience real Japanese school life and connect with their extended Japanese families. Mika's mother believes that the best way of acquiring languages is living in that country which creates a situation of complete immersion. The mother herself learned several foreign languages and she found out that this is the best and the shortest way to learn them. Therefore, her policy is that "whatever country you live in, you should be using the target language predominantly." She also applies this policy to her daughter's language education as well. When they are in Japan, they try to speak Japanese as much as possible. Having said so, when Mika's father comes to Japan with them, they have to talk in Spanish or English because he cannot speak Japanese. Thus, Mika uses only Spanish and/or English to communicate with him during their stay in Japan in summer.

She had a good time in the Japanese kindergarten by making Japanese friends, singing songs in Japanese, making crafts, playing music, etc. As she is 10 years old now, she goes to public primary school near her grandparents' house every summer. This year will be the sixth time she has made this trip, therefore she has already gotten used to it. She usually skips the last week of French school in Barcelona and flies to Japan with her parents in order to spend summer there. She has approximately four weeks to attend Japanese school before summer vacation in Japan. She already has some friends from previous years in Japan and three Japanese cousins who are from 9-12 years older than her. Mika's mother likes to take pictures of her daughter in Japan and sends them to teachers at the Hoshuko to share Mika's experience in Japan and her development. Moreover, she shares these photos with other Japanese parents in Barcelona. This active and positive attitude might encourage them to experience authentic Japanese life and its culture. After her summer experience in Japan, Mika always writes emails and letters to her Japanese teachers, friends and grandparents. She is actually motivated to write them and enjoys writing them. Her mother thinks it is a good opportunity for her to write something in Japanese because it is an authentic situation. Mika's mother observed her daughter's behaviour all the time and claimed as citation 8-3. The mother pointed out a difficulty of using multiple languages and learning them simultaneously during the interviews.

[Citation 8-3] 2ヶ月向こうで過ごしたあと、こっち戻ってくるじゃない。そうすると、初めの週はみかはちょっとフランス語やスペイン語を話すのが難しかったみたい。スムーズに出てこなかったの。でもその後、またすぐ言語の切り替えができるようになったけどね。

When we came back to Barcelona from Japan after having spent two months there in summer, for the first week, my daughter (Mika) had difficulty speaking in French and Spanish. It took her about one week to be able to switch languages correctly and rapidly.

The mother explained to me that this phenomena was seen until the age of six. Now she is 10 years old and she is very good at changing from one language to the others. However, from when she was about four to six years old, she needed seven to 10 days after returning to Barcelona each time to fully express herself in French, Spanish and English.

8.1.3 Painting and Literacy

At the age of three, she also began to take classical ballet and piano lessons every week. She enjoyed learning arts very much and improved little by little. When it comes to drawing, she has possessed good artistic skills since she was little. The mother showed me one of the paintings which she drew when she was three and explained the details.

Figure 42. A painting by Mika when she was three years old



[Citation 8-4] 小さい頃から、みかはアーティストなのよ。これを描いた時、よく妹や弟がほしいね、なんて話していたからそのことを絵なりにしたんじゃないかな。私ね、彼女は色彩感覚があると思うの。それは私が小さい時にしてあげたことと関係あるんじゃないかな。普通お母さんが離乳食作る時って何でもこう混ぜちゃうのね。あの機械で、ほうれん草も、人参も、トマトも、かぼちゃも、きのこも何でも。でも私は絶対そうしなかったの。私は例えば、ある日は豆腐と人参。ある日は、豆腐とほうれん草。そうすることによって色がすごくきれいにできあがるの。実はね主人は「おまえはすごい」って褒めてくれたのよ。それに豆腐もただの豆腐じゃなくて富士山の近くで作られたいい豆腐をわざわざ買ってきていたの。そこは富士山からの水を使って豆腐を作っているからいい豆腐なの。you are what you eat っていうじゃない。だから料理する時は、いい材料を使うようにしているの。ちょっと話それちゃったけど、みかはそうやって離乳食の時から色彩感覚を得たんじゃないかなって思うわね。

書きに関しては、確か2, 3歳からペンと紙でやり始めたと思います。比較的、アルファベットも日本語も他の子に比べて早いほうだったと思うけど。とにかくペンと紙で書くのが好きだったから、そういう意味でもどんどん書いて、習得も早かったと思う。

She has been an artist since she was a little kid. At that time, we were often talking about having a younger brother or sister. So, I think she drew this imagining them. In my opinion, she has a great sense of colour, probably this comes from what I did when she was a baby. When mothers make baby food, they usually mix everything in a machine such as spinach, carrot, tomato, pumpkin, mushroom, etc. But I did not do that. I just mixed tofu and carrots one day, and tofu and spinach another day. In doing so, the colour stays beautifully and actually my husband praised my use of this method. Moreover, I did not use regular tofu, but a special tofu which was made near Mt. Fuji (the highest mountain in Japan). They use water from Mt. Fuji to make tofu which is known as the cleanest water in Japan. I strongly believe that “you are what you eat.” Therefore, when I cook, I choose the best ingredients as possible. I was side-tracked, but I think she acquired somehow a good sense of colour by having colourful baby food.

With regards to writing, I think she started to use pen and paper when she was two or three. She actually mastered alphabets and Japanese characters relatively faster than her peers. She liked to write and draw with pen and paper, so it helped obviously.

Although she had been drawing many things at home for pleasure, when she turned seven, she officially started to take a painting class. This class is once every two weeks. Normally it takes three to four weeks for her to complete one piece of work. The following figures are some examples of her work.

Figure 43. Paintings by Mika



For being 10 years old, she draws remarkably well and her work has exquisite touches. She is a very talented as her painting teacher and her mother both agree. According to Lin et al. (2016), “Chinese is typically described as a logographic script, Chinese characters are visually complex” and so is Japanese kanji. Japanese kanji, which is composed from the same characters found in the Chinese alphabet, is composed of strokes. A stroke is written in a continuous movement sometimes involving changes in direction. Lin et al. (2016) emphasise the difference between Chinese ideographic characters and alphabetic orthographies explicitly.

In alphabetic orthographies, letters are arranged in a linear format from left to right, which causes words with more semantic and phonological units to appear longer. However, in Chinese, every character fills the same square-shaped space regardless of its number of strokes. As a result, characters with more strokes appear more clustered and complex (p. 95).

Additionally, Lin et al. (2016) continue to stress the importance of the visual spatial skill when it comes to learning these kind of ideographic characters such as kanji as follows.

With low phonological transparency, characters are nearly impossible to be accurately sounded out without instruction. Visual spatial skill is crucial to Chinese character learning. Many Chinese characters differ from one another in terms of strokes, radicals, spatial configuration, or even a single stroke, such as 大 (big) and 犬 (dog). Making nuanced visual distinction among Chinese characters is essential because the Chinese orthography has many visually similar radicals and characters (p. 95).

According to Bogue and Marra (2003), “although spatial skills have been a significant area of research since the 1920’s, there is no real consensus on the definition of spatial visualization skills.” Spatial ability may not be a unitary construct, but rather a collection of specific skills (Voyer, Voyer, & Bryden, 1995). Moreover, according to Miller and

Bertoline (1991), there are lots of distinct combinations of the words. “Visual” and “spatial” with “cognition,” “ability,” “skill,” “orientation,” “perception,” “reasoning,” “relations,” “rotations,” and “imagery” in order to more precisely classify and label this set of mental abilities. Linn and Peterson (1985) have derived the following definitions:

Spatial ability is the over-arching concept that generally refers to skill in representing, transforming, generating, and recalling symbolic, nonlinguistic information. Spatial ability consists of mental rotation, spatial perception, and spatial visualization.

Mental rotation involves the ability to rapidly and accurately rotate a two- or three-dimensional figure.

Spatial perception is a person’s ability to determine spatial relationships with respect to the orientation of his or her own body, in spite of distracting information.

Spatial visualization involves complicated, multi-step manipulations of spatially presented information. These tasks require analysis of the relationship between different spatial representations, rather than a matching of those representations. Mental rotation and spatial perception may or may not be elements of the analytic strategy required to complete the task (p. 2).

Plenty of studies have discovered that the visual spatial skill foresaw Chinese reading development of both typically developing children and children with dyslexia (Ho & Bryant, 1999; Huang & Hanley, 1995; Luo et al., 2013; McBride-Chang et al., 2008). Few studies have examined if reading experience promotes the core development of the visual spatial skill. However, McBride-Chang et al. (2011) assessed children twice at 12-month intervals and found that Chinese reading ability at the age of three was a significant predictor of visual spatial skill at the age of four, measured by visual spatial relationships (Gardner, 1996). In addition to that, interestingly, Chinese and Korean children scored higher on the visual spatial skill measure than Israeli and Spanish counterparts. Another study by Huang and Hanley (1995) discovered that there is a correlation between visual skills and reading ability of the eight year old children from Taiwan and Hong Kong, both of which are societies that use ideographic characters. On the other hand, the British children did not exhibit the same correlation. Based upon these analyses, Lin et al. (2016) interpret the results as follows.

These results suggest that learning a visually complex ideographic script, such as Chinese, may promote the development of visual spatial

skill. In learning Chinese characters, children practice visual spatial skill by identifying visual features of characters and making distinctions among characters (p. 95).

Nonetheless, systematic empirical research regarding the developmental changes of that relationship remained lacking. Therefore, Lin et al. (2016) tested the visual spatial skill and Chinese character reading ability of 106 kindergarteners in Hong Kong. Their cross-lagged path analysis showed a bidirectional relationship between visual spatial skill and Chinese character reading ability the age from four to five, but not from five to six. Then Lin et al. (2016) conclude as follows.

To read Chinese characters, children must attend to the salient visual features of characters as well as analyze the spatial orientation and configuration of strokes. Children who process the visual features of Chinese characters effectively are likely to perform well on the visual spatial relationships task, and vice versa (p. 98).

In truth, McBride-Chang et al. (2011) discovered that children learning orthographies that are more visually complex such as Chinese and Korean scored significantly higher on visual spatial skills than their peers learning alphabetic orthographies such as Hebrew and Spanish. Alphabetic languages including English have a small number of alphabets compared to Japanese and Chinese which have at least 2,000 distinct logographs frequently used. In other words, high visual complexity and low phonological transparency may be the characteristics of Chinese and Japanese that boost children's visual spatial skill development in the early stage. By the same token, according to Tan et al. (2001), in order to read logographic orthographies correctly such as kanji, it is important to have visual skills to analyse the spatial information of strokes.

From the analysis of essays written about the Sports Festival and also essays for Bunshu, Mika performed well compared with her classmates in three areas: 1) total number of kanji used, 2) the length of essay, and 3) total number of errors. Her teachers at the Hoshuko reported that Mika always prepares well for the tests and gets good scores. Not only does she perform remarkably well in kanji tests, but also she is so curious to learn new kanji that she often asks her mother or Japanese teachers to show her new kanji so she can copy the kanji which she has not learned yet. Apparently, Japanese writing

samples collected from her show several kanji that is higher than her grade level. As it is challenging for children in the Hoshuko to remember kanji that they have learned, none of the children except Mika try to learn the kanji which is more difficult than their grade level. Considering that, Mika has higher kanji skills as well as a more highly developed visual spatial skill.

8.2 Mika's Mother's Educational Principles

Since it is not the children themselves but their parents who decide and create a bilingual/multilingual child-rearing environment in the family home, it is ineluctable to consider parental influence, especially when analysing early school age child multilingualism. Juan Garau and Pérez Vidal (2001) stresses in her study the importance of the role of parents who speak a minority language.

Thus, it appears from our study that parents have a significant contribution to make to their children's degree of bilingualism. It needs to be acknowledged, however, that the establishment of productive bilingual in the home demands great conviction and effort especially from the parents who are the conveyors of the minority language (p. 84).

Mika's mother is a very sociable, affectionate and energetic person. She enjoys communicating with people around her and building good relationships in her society. She is probably the most broad-minded and collaborative mother at the Hoshuko and different from most other Japanese mothers. Not only did she answer willingly in the interviews and provide me with an abundance of literacy practice samples, but she also shared with me Mika's achievements outside of school. For example, she showed me videos of piano concerts and classical ballet performances in which Mika performed. As mentioned in section 4.6.4, her experience of living abroad (the USA and Spain) since she was 16 years old makes her more open-minded and inquisitive when it comes to diversity and multilingualism. During the third intensive interview of three and half hours at her home, she repeatedly showed me her three educational principles that she keeps in her mind at all time. The first is "the more you know, the better" as was mentioned in the previous section. Although Mika is already learning five languages at the same time, her

mother is ambitiously hoping that her daughter acquires even more. As it was mentioned earlier, Mika is going to start to learn German at school soon as well as at home with a private teacher. After that, the mother wants Mika to learn Russian. Furthermore, she told me that after Russian, the next one would be Arabic. Consequently, this keen mother wants Mika to learn as many different languages from as many different language families as possible such as Romance languages, Germanic languages and so on. As the Table 16 in section 4.5.7 illustrates, Mika's father uses Spanish and English and her mother uses English, French and Japanese when they talk to Mika. They constantly change one language to the other and communicate with each other adequately. Moreover, they claimed that they found that this is the best way for them to express themselves productively.

However, this attitude is contrary to the “one parent, one language (OPOL)” policy. The OPOL strategy in families has gained attention in the last two decades, along the evaluation of multilingualism in a globalising society. Barron-Hauwaert (2004) mentions that the original concept of OPOL derives from Maurice Grammont who was a French linguist. He mentioned “une personne; une langue [one person one language]” in his book titled “Observations sur le langage des enfants [observations on children's language]” (1902). The aim of OPOL policy is to help children acquire languages at an early age by demanding the use of strictly one language by each parent. The theory behind this is that “by strictly separating the two family languages, the child will acquire them in a balanced and fluent way, without much confusion from mixed language use” (Park, 2008: p 636). However, Mika's family does not follow nor care about this recommendation because they think their way of doing things works better.

The second principle she has is “the peace of the world” which is her ultimate goal. In her opinion, her daughter's learning various languages, making friends who have different backgrounds and becoming a bridge among several countries lead to world peace. For this reason, she let Mika learn several languages since her birth, takes her to different countries to show the world and teaches her the importance of diversity. She believes that although the peace of the world is too big to achieve, her ambitious and hard-working

personality could change her small community and society. She thinks that it eventually leads to “the peace of the world.” None of my participants’ Japanese mothers told me such large-scale dreams in the interviews.

The last principle that she considers important is communication. She is a very enthusiastic and outgoing mother. She loves communicating with not only with Japanese people but also locals (Catalan/Spanish people) as well as immigrants from all over the world. She is open-minded and willing to learn about other culture and languages. As it happens, she chose this French school for her child because it is more multicultural than other schools in Barcelona. It seems that she enjoys getting more involved with people from different backgrounds’ than most Japanese people. She likes to get very involved in her daughter’s education, which is evident from her efforts to build a good relationship with teachers both at the French school and the Hoshuko. Once a year, she teaches Japanese culture in Mika’s class voluntarily. During the interview with Mika, she described her mother’s presentation about Japanese culture in the following way.

[Citation 8-5] いつも学校が終わる時くらいに、ママは学校に来て日本のことをみんなに教えるんだよ。今年、私、浴衣着たんだよ！日本とか日本語のこととか色々説明して、私はフランス語で話したの。そしたら、友達がお母さんの日本語聞いていて「日本語はMASUで終わっている」って気がついたの。すごいよね。それからママが作ったどらやき みんなで食べたよ。60個もママ作ったから、友達と先生と友達のママ、パパにもあげたよ。すっごく楽しかった。来年も楽しみだな。

At the end of every academic year, my mom comes to school to teach Japanese culture. This year, I wore Yukata (Japanese traditional costume)!! She explained lots of things about Japan in Japanese and I translated into French. Some of my friends noticed that most of Japanese sentences end with MASU. It is great, isn’t it? After that, we tried dorayaki (Japanese sweets) that she prepared. She cooked 60 dorayakis, so we gave them to friends, teachers and parents. It was so fun. I look forward to this next year.

From what Mika’s family recounted to me, I discovered that this mother and child work like Japanese ambassadors at the school. Although at this school, there are many foreigners such as Asians, South-Americans, Americans, African, etc, no one represents their own culture in the way that Mika’s family do. However, Mika’s mother voluntarily demonstrates Japanese culture to her daughter’s classmates every year. Also Mika worked

as a translator during the presentation and it showed that she is proud of being Japanese. Unexpectedly, Mika and her mother practiced the presentation just once or twice at home. As she constantly translates one language to the other in her everyday life, she did not have any difficulty translating from Japanese to French during the presentation. She reported that it went well and everyone seemed to enjoy it.

Mika's mother works willingly not only at the French school but also at the Hoshuko on Saturdays. While parents wait for their children at Hoshuko for three hours, most parents sit and talk in the library, whereas Mika's mother gets much more directly involved at the school. As a matter of fact, some Japanese mothers enjoy talking with people who are in a similar situation which is to say, living in Barcelona, having a Spanish husband and wanting to transmit heritage language to their children. They think that it is important to connect with other Japanese families in Barcelona and exchange useful information about Japanese education for their children. So does Mika's mother. However, she prefers to help teachers on Saturdays. Therefore, she registered as a substitute teacher and sometimes teaches lower grades while Mika studies. She brings her child to Japan every summer to spend between two and two and a half months there. whilst they are there, Mika goes to a local school in the neighbourhood of her grandparents. Of course, Mika's mother makes a special effort to build a good relationship with teachers and her daughter's friends whilst in Japan in the same way she does with the teachers in Barcelona.

There are various studies which investigate the impact of local communities and parents' involvement in the community. For example, Wei (1994) explores the social networks of multiple generations of Chinese-English bilinguals in the UK and discloses the important role of social networks in language transmission through generations. Along the same line, Velázquez (2012) investigates the correlation between mothers' social network and family language maintenance of 15 Mexican-American children in the USA. It was found that Spanish transmission is influenced by the mother's perception of the cost to benefit ratio, mother's participation in networks where Spanish is vested with social capital, and the mother's linguistic competence. Mika's mother trusts that participating in local

communities and social networks is important. The mother already has a clear idea of which university she wants her child to go to. That is Université Paris-Sorbonne that is the best university in France according to her. Moreover, the mother told me that Mika made a promise of going to that university with her grandmother just before she died last year. Mika's mother believes that it is essential to live with concrete purposes. For this reason, in spite of Mika still being a young child, they already chose the university. Although the focal point of this chapter is Mika, the remainder of this chapter will focus on her mother. One of her mother's literacy practices is especially worthy of highlighting, due largely to the tremendous self-discipline required to keep it up. As a result, it could have a positive, if unconscious, influence on Mika. This mother has been keeping a diary entry every day since she was six years old. To put it another way, she has been writing for 34 years which clearly indicates that she loves writing and it is and has been an important part of her life for a long time. During my three interviews with her, she explained this significant pastime as follows in citation 8-6.

[Citation 8-6] 時々彼女も日記を書いたりはしますけどね。私は6歳の時からずっとやっているんですよ。こうやって書くっていう習慣は本当に大切だと思うんです。でもまあ、強制して書かせることはしていません。書きたいって思った時に書けばいいかな。でもやっぱり書くっていうのは続けてほしいですけどね。

Also from time to time, she (Mika) writes a diary in Japanese like I have been doing since when I was six. I believe this habit of writing a diary is very important for her. I never force her to write. So when she feels like writing, she does. Yet I want her to continue.

The figure below is an example of a collection of her diaries.

Figure 44. Diary collection of Mika's mother



Not only did she write her personal diary entries, but she also kept track of her daughter's milestones in a diary as well. This type of diary is called Ikuji nikki (see section 7.2.2). The picture below is three year Ikujinikki written by Mika's mother.

Figure 45. Sample entry from an Ikujinikki

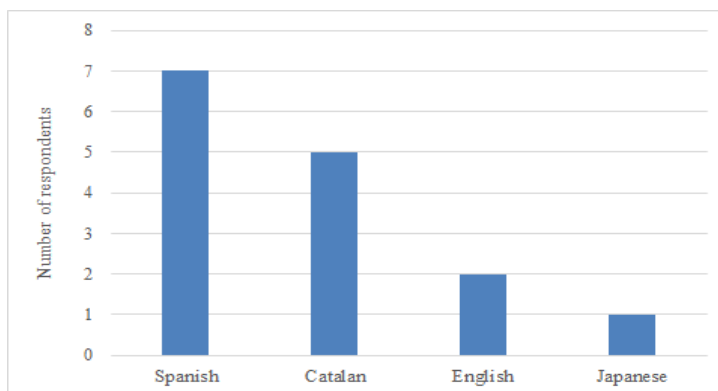


According to Morinaga Milk industry, a well-known milk products and sweets company in Japan, as of 2011, 90% of Japanese mothers are keeping a baby's journal or had been kept one before. Despite the fact that their telephone survey approached to only 100 Japanese mothers, it might imply that Mika's mother is not rare in doing this activity, especially considering the fact that she enjoys writing. Although on the front of this diary, above the picture, "three year baby's journal" is inscribed, Mika's mother kept these milestones books for five years in order to record all the development details of her daughter. Despite Mika's mother's love of writing, she does not force her daughter to do the same thing. However, this mother hopes that one day her daughter starts to keep a diary no matter which language she chooses to write it in.

8.3 Mika's Mother's Perspective towards Language Learning

During the first interview with all the participants' mothers, I asked them which language they consider to be the most important for their children. With the exception of Mika's mother, all of the participants' Japanese mothers responded either with Spanish, Catalan or English, which also happens to be the school language for them. The following graph indicates the responses to this question.

Graph 13. Language thought by Japanese mothers to be most important for their children



As is clearly shown above, no one answered that Japanese is the most important language except for Mika’s mother. citation 8-7 shows her reasoning as to why she thinks Japanese is the most important language for her daughter to learn.

[Citation 8-7] もちろん全部の言語は大切ですけど、もし1つだけ選ばないといけないとしたら、日本語かな。私自身、16歳の時、日本出てアメリカ行って、英語、フランス語、スペイン語、イタリア語とかって色々な言語を学んできたんだけど、やっぱり日本語って1番難しいと思うのね。あの、independent languages って言って日本語や韓国語、フィンランド語、ハンガリー語みたいに“independent languages”は難しいって言われているから、みかにはその大変な言語からスタートっなしてほしいと思うの。簡単なものからじゃなくてね。こういう経験はとても大切だと思うの。これって言語だけじゃなくて、人生においても大切なことで、だから言語を習うってことだけが大切じゃなくて、言語を習うことを通して、思考力やクリエイティブな力も身につけてほしいなと思っています。

Certainly all languages are important, but if I have to choose one, Japanese is the most important. I myself learned various languages (English, French, Spanish and Italian) because I left Japan for the USA when I was 16. But what is the most difficult things to acquire are “independent languages” like Japanese, Korean, Finnish, Hungarian, etc. I want her to try difficult ones, not easy ones. This experience is significant not only for her languages, but also for other difficulties she will have in her life. Consequently, I want her to learn not only languages but also critical thinking, creative skills, etc. by learning Japanese.

In addition, I asked the other mothers the thinking behind their decisions. The table below indicates each mother’s response.

Table 50. The most important language and why, according to the mothers

Child's name	The most important language	Reasons for choosing this language	School language
Hitoe	Spanish	I think Spanish is the most important language for my children because they will live here for the rest of their lives. Their grandparents are Spanish, not Catalan. So, we speak Spanish at home which is also their mother tongue.	Catalan
Kandai	Catalan and Spanish	From my perspective, Spanish and Catalan are more important at the moment because they are community languages. These are basic and crucial. Above that, I want him to learn Japanese and French in order to communicate with us. Also me and my husband think learning Japanese and French can broaden his future. Even if his public school places a strong emphasis on Catalan, I want him to learn more Spanish.	Catalan
Kaisuke	Catalan and Spanish	It is a difficult question for me, but if I have to choose one, Spanish and Catalan are more important than others because he lives here and will probably live here in the future.	English, Spanish, Catalan
Mika	Japanese	Certainly all languages are important, but if I have to choose one, Japanese is the most important. I myself learned various languages (English, French, Spanish and Italian) because I left Japan for the USA when I was 16. But what is the most difficult things to acquire are "independent languages" like Japanese, Korean, Finnish, Hungarian, etc. I want her to try difficult ones, not easy ones. This experience is significant not only for her languages, but also for other difficulties she will have in her life. Consequently, I want her to learn not only languages but also critical thinking, creative skills, etc. by learning Japanese.	French
Naoto	Catalan and Spanish	The priority of our home literacy practice is Japanese, but I think all languages (Catalan, Spanish and English) are equally important. The reason why I emphasise Japanese at home is because he uses Catalan and Spanish at school and in local society. Therefore, I assume acquiring Japanese is very challenging and difficult and that is why I make him spend more time with Japanese learning. For English, his English class is focused on listening and speaking, and he still cannot write complicated sentences in English. So, that is why he reviews English at home once or twice a week for about one hour. Having said so, since we live here and the foundation of our lives is here, Catalan and Spanish are essential.	Catalan
Naoya	Catalan and Spanish	I believe it is important to be able to write something in at least one language. If he feels like writing in Spanish, he should do that. If he wants to write in Japanese, he should do so. But as he lives here, I think Catalan and Spanish are more important.	Catalan
Aki	Spanish	I think Spanish is the most important language for my children because they will live here for the rest of their lives. Their grandparents are Spanish, not Catalan. So, we speak Spanish at home which is also their mother tongue.	Catalan
Kazuo	English	I am afraid to speak frankly as a committee member of this school. But frankly speaking, I think school language (English) is the most	English

		important because I assume he will live outside of Japan in the future. I do not know where he will end up living, but if he knows English, he can survive everywhere.	
Nina	English	At the moment, I think English (school language) is important because this is her academic language. When she thinks about complex things, she thinks in English. Also she can absorb more knowledge if it is in English. Having said that, I believe Japanese is also important.	English
Natsuki	Catalan	When she was younger, I thought Japanese is the most important and I wanted her to study more Japanese because she does not live there. However, after living here in Spain for a long time and settling down, my idea changed. Now I think Catalan is more important because it's a local language and many of her family members are Catalan (father, grandparents, etc). So, we talk with family and friends in Catalan. In the past, she was good at Japanese, but gradually her stronger language became Catalan. I also let her study more Catalan, otherwise she would not be able to catch up with other kids at school.	English, Spanish, Catalan
Asuka	Spanish	I think Spanish is important because she lives here in Spain. In my opinion, the local language is more important. However of course, I want her to read and write more in Japanese. I would be happier if she could write more diaries or essays in Japanese, but the reality is that she writes everything in Spanish.	Catalan

If I compare the most important language and the school language, 10 out of 11 matched. In other words, 10 out of 11 mothers think that their children's school language is the most important language for them to learn. Mika's family are not yet sure if Mika is going to settle down in Spain or Catalonia or Japan or France in the future. However, Mika's mother replied to this question by saying Japanese is the most important language for Mika. In citation 8-7, she used the term "independent languages" which no other Japanese mothers mentioned. It reveals her profound knowledge about linguistics.

8.4 Literacy Activities at Home

As mentioned earlier, Mika actively has literacy practices out-of-school. When I conducted the first interview with her mother, I asked her to describe the last two activities she did at home with her daughter. Here is Mika's mother's answer.

[Citation 8-8] うちには大きい黒板があって、そこに絵を描いたり、字を書いたりしているの。もちろん、言語は何でも。フランス語、カタラン語、スペイン語、英語。あの子のお父さんはここの人だけど、カタラン語が一番使わないかな。

フランス語の宿題をする時なんかは、彼女が先生役になって私が生徒役になって黒板使って私が彼女から習うのよ。こうやって人に教えることによって、彼女も自信がついていると思う。それから、もう1つ読み書き活動と言えば、補習校の図書館から本を借りきて、いつも夜寝る前、1、2冊一緒に読むの。もちろん、英語もフランス語もスペイン語も読むけど、一番は日本語かな。

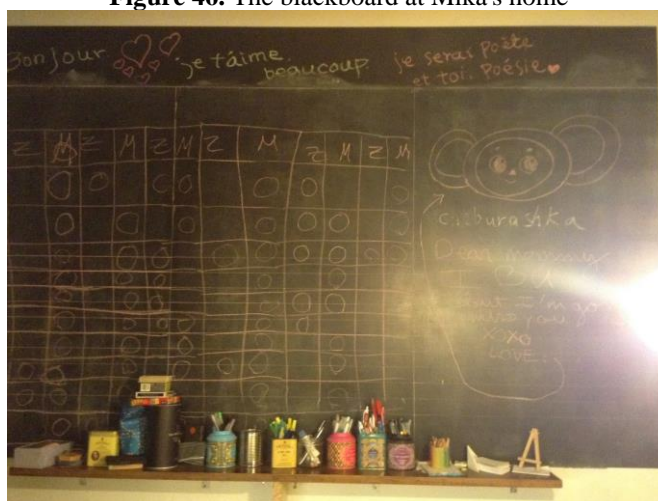
We have a big blackboard at home and use this often to draw pictures and letters in four languages (French, Catalan, Spanish and Japanese). Although her father is from here, the language she has least contact with is Catalan. When she does homework in French, she takes the role of a teacher and I take the role of a student, learning from her. In this way, she gains confidence to teach others.

Regarding another literacy activity, she borrows Japanese books from a library at Hoshuko and reads one or two books every night which is our custom. She also reads books in English, French and Spanish, but mainly in Japanese.

This activity is unique which no other participants answered in the same way. Having a huge blackboard at home works effectively for her education because this family frequently utilises it wisely. As can be seen in the mother's statement above, Mika occasionally pretends she is a teacher and uses this blackboard to teach her mother. This mother is very keen to learn new things with her daughter in order to allow her daughter to raise her own confidence, so she takes on the role of a student in order to achieve this. This is the same as Freire's (1970) vision in which both adults and children are simultaneously teachers and students. Mika likes to practice kanji for exams on this blackboard as opposed to using pen and paper. Therefore, a lot of kanji is often written on the board in order for her to memorise. This board is also used as a communication tool in a family. Instead of writing down something for a family member on a PostIt, this family use the blackboard to deliver what they want to convey. Since Mika loves drawing, she often draws something on the board as well. This figure below is a picture I took one day at their house. This blackboard approximately 1.3m x 2.8 m. On the top, there is a French message. On the left side of the blackboard, there is a chart which displays the result of playing cards. The mother and Mika like to play Spit, also referred to as Slam or Speed. When they play, they sometimes end up playing 50 times consecutively without stopping because both of them are sole losers and neither want to finish playing on a loss.

The mother loves it, and so her daughter does. A circle of the blackboard indicates the person who won that game. On the right side of the blackboard, there is a message from Mika to her mother before her mother goes on her trip to the USA for a week.

Figure 46. The blackboard at Mika's home



[The text] Cheburashka / Dear mommy / I ♥ U. / but I'm going to / miss you. / xoxo /LOVE.

The following table lists the literacy practices at home in the five surrounding languages.

Table 51. Literacy practices at home

Languages	What Mika does with the languages
French	Reading books which she borrows from school library Doing her homework Writing messages on the blackboard at home Watching YouTube Playing mobile app games
English	Reading books which she borrows from school library Writing messages on the blackboard at home Watching YouTube Playing mobile app games
Catalan	Watching YouTube
Spanish	Reading books which she borrows from school library Writing messages on the blackboard at home Writing holiday cards Watching YouTube Playing mobile app games
Japanese	Reading books which she borrows from the Hoshuko Doing her homework Writing holiday cards Writing messages on the blackboard at home Watching YouTube Playing mobile app games Sending IMs to extended family in Japan

As shown above, some same literacy practices are carried out across different languages. Indeed, Mika commented during the interview regarding the language choice of literacy activities at home explicitly.

[Citation 8-9] 家で書く時、別にあんまり考えていないよ。フランス語で書きたい時はそうするし。日本語で書きたい時はそうするの。それからなんか英語で書きたいなって時は英語で書くの。でも英語のYouTubeは友達が見ていて、見てみてって言われたらから他のじゃなくて、英語のしているの。クラスの子みんな見ているし、面白そうだなって思って私もそれ見るの。

I do not think deeply when I read and write at home. When I feel like writing in French, I do so. When I feel like reading in Japanese, I do so. Also when I feel like watching something in English, I do so. But when it comes to YouTube, my friends often recommend me English ones, so I watch them in English rather than other languages. I watch them because everyone in class watches them and they look interesting.

Furthermore, her mother pointed out YouTube during the interviews as follows.

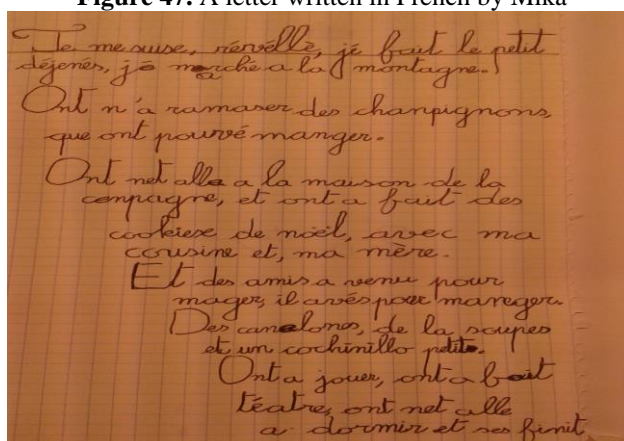
[Citation 8-10] 私気づいたんですけど、子供達って結構英語圏からのものを色々取り入れていて、つまり子供の流行とかってそこから来ていることが多いじゃないですか。例えば、スピナーズとかスライムとかも。だからみかもよく英語のYouTubeを見るようになりました。もちろん時々他の言語でも見たりするけど。

I noticed that kids pick up new things from English-speaking countries. By that I mean things from popular culture such as “Spinners” and “Slime.” That is why Mika often watches YouTube in English, although she also watches them in other languages from time to time.

8.5 Writing Samples

She uses five languages on a daily basis. Depending on the situation, she changes the languages accordingly. Indeed, she provides me with four writing samples in four languages. The French diary below was written by Mika when she was seven years old. She wrote this for fun, not as a homework task. At times, she picks up a pen and paper to write down something in whatever language that she feels like using at that time.

Figure 47. A letter written in French by Mika



The New Year's card below was written by Mika and sent to her grandparents in Japan. In Japan, sending New Year's cards is more common than Christmas cards. Even if nowadays sending New Year's messages via email or IMs is gaining more popularity, some Japanese people still send hard copies of cards. However, when such advanced technology was not available, people used to write them by hand whereas recently many people make New Year's cards using a computer. However, at the Hoshuko, children learn how to write physical New Year's cards. In fact, it is volunteer parents, not teachers, who teach the children how to do this on "Culture Day" which occurs every November. The majority of Japanese parents think that it is important to teach how to write traditional cards in Japanese as a Japanese custom. Therefore, on Culture Day, some volunteer parents go to class and teach the children this skill. In this culture focused class, children actually write them using the real sending address of the recipient in Japan. Almost all of the children actually send it to their extended Japanese family after this class and so does Mika.

Figure 48. A New Year's card written by Mika



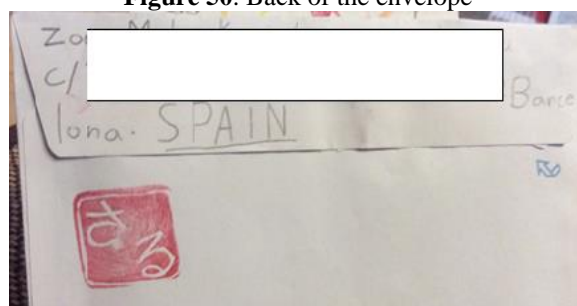
[Translation] Happy New Year / 2016 / Mika / A stamp of the Japanese zodiac sign: Monkey

Figure 49. Front of the envelope



[Translation] Delivery address / Addressee / A stamp identifying the card as a “New Year’s card”

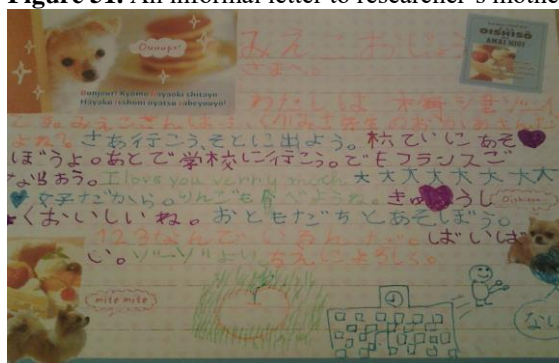
Figure 50. Back of the envelope



[Translation] Return address / A stamp of the Japanese zodiac sign: Monkey

Another literacy practice she did at home was writing a letter for a researcher’s mother. As a matter of fact, I was her teacher for a year when she was in grade one. Therefore, personally I know her and her mother well. One day, I praised her by saying that “your writing is amazing. I think everyone thinks so too. Even my mother told me that.” At that time she was six years old and was so curious that I also have a mother as she does. Then, she started to ask me about my mother. Then a week later, she handed me the following letter by saying that she wrote a letter to my mother, so give it to her. As her mother mentioned several times with regards to Mika’s personality during our interviews, Mika is active and when she feels like doing something, she instantly takes action. Even though she has not met my mother in person, she wrote it for her. Mika’s grandmother bought this letter template for Mika in Japan. Interestingly, there are some French sentences in the left top corner and the rest of the phrases are in Japanese, but written in romanised letters.

Figure 51. An informal letter to researcher's mother



[Translation] Dear Ms. Mieko, / I am Mika. You are the mother of Ms. Fukukawa, aren't you? Let's go. Let's go outside. Let's play in the ground (conventional error). Later let's go to school. But let's learn French. I love you very very much. I love you so much. Let's eat apples. School lunch is delicious, right? Let's play with friends. Why are there one, two and three? Bye. Mika. Say hello to Chie.

Apparently, she enjoys writing very much and expresses her feelings in any language. Although she is still in the process of organising her words into the most appropriate structure for a letter, this example showing a lack of coherence and cohesion; her writing skills are advanced for her age, considering the fact that she lives outside of Japan. She often jumps around from one topic to another, her writing style is more like a stream of consciousness. However, there is no grammatical errors. Although there is minor conventional error, it is easy for Japanese native speakers to guess what she meant. According to Sano et al.'s (2014) study, cohesion, audience awareness and rhetorical skills of bilingual children would be acquired as children get older. Moreover, Mika's kanji proficiency is adequate for a first grader because she regularly uses the kanji she has learned so far. Furthermore, according to Chevalier (2004), HLLs may write their HL the way they speak, stringing sentences together without connectives or other cohesive devices typical for written discourse.

8.6 Translanguaging

As Mika is surrounded by five languages, she constantly changes languages when she speaks. This phenomena is also seen when she writes something at home during leisure time. The concept of translanguaging was first used in the context of bilingual education in English and a minority language, Welsh. As Lewis et al. (2012) explain, it refers to a

bilingual pedagogy based on alternating the languages used for input and output in a systematic way. According to García and Wei (2014), the concept of translanguaging is as follows:

Translanguaging is a developing concept in which the deliberate and systematic use of two languages is encouraged for education and learning purposes. Translanguaging as an approach views all of the language in a speaker's linguistic repertoire as belonging to a single, integrated system, whereby speakers select and use the most suitable elements of a language for communicative use in a given context. Second language learners are not considered to be acquiring a new language, but adding the integrated linguistic system of which their first language is already a part. In second language learning, an important concept within a translanguaging approach is the idea that both learner's first and second languages are encouraged and utilised in the classroom for the purpose of developing the weaker target language. (p 19-20).

Although Garcia and Wei (2014) are talking about L2 education, the concept of translanguaging can also be applied to HL education because this concept covers the entire linguistic repertoire of bi/multilinguals. This definition outlines the basic purpose of the use of translanguaging, in which both languages are seen as beneficial tools to the development of the less proficient L2. Garcia and Wei (2014) highlight that translanguaging allows for the better transmission of information and concepts related to cultural differences that are evident between the societies in which the languages are spoken. Furthermore, according to Bartlett (2017), translanguaging improves the overall comprehension of concepts not only important to the improvement of the target language, but also to understand the mannerisms, concepts and social constructs evident within the target language. Therefore, as Creese and Blackledge (2010) conclude, translanguaging is seen as a method that should be encouraged in a topic based learning environment.

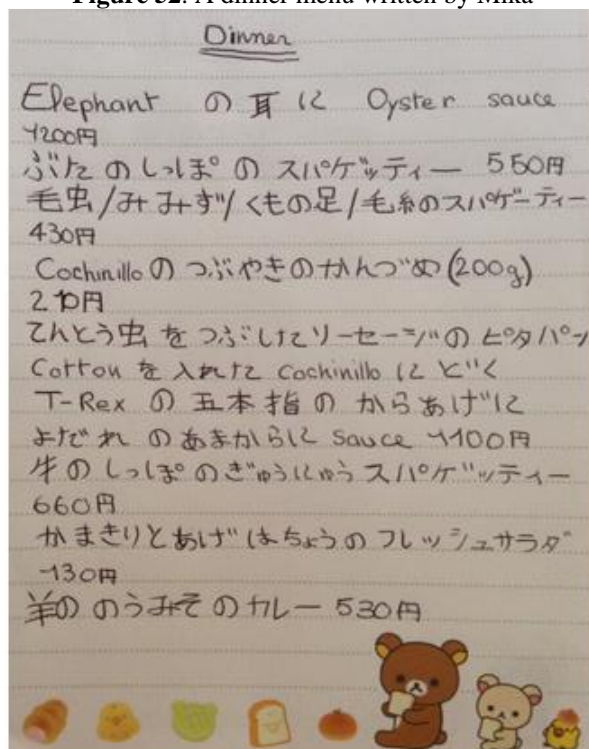
Mika uses the five languages on a daily basis, especially French, English, Spanish and Japanese. She has no problem when changing from one language to another when she talks with her friends and family. As a matter of fact, she constantly changes languages when she speaks as well as when she writes. The following Figures 52, 53 and 54 are a restaurant menu she created at home for leisure. It was written when she was nine years old. The following excerpt comes from my interview with her.

[Citation 8-11] ちょっとねすごく疲れている日があったの。でもママは「ピアノの練習しなさい」って言ったけどしたくなかったの。だからレストランのメニュー作ろうと思ったんだよ。でも普通のじゃつまらないから、どうしようかなって思って。そしたらいいアイデアが来て、それは気持ち悪いレストランのメニュー作ろうって思ったんだよ。それでママに見せようって。面白いなと思ったよ。

One day, I was too tired to study. My mom said that I have to practice the piano, but I did not want to do that. So, I decided to make a restaurant menu. But a normal restaurant menu is boring. Suddenly, I have got a great idea! I decided to create a menu for an ugly and disgusting restaurant and show it to my mother later. I thought it is an interesting activity.

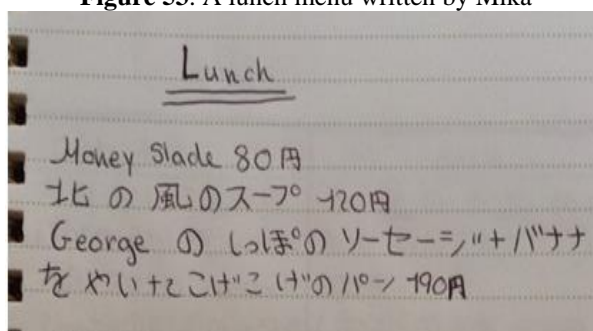
As citation 8-11 describes, because she got bored with studying, doing her homework and practicing the piano, she wanted to do something else which is not related to schoolwork. The fact that she chose to engage in this very creative writing activity as a means to have fun shows how much she enjoys writing.

Figure 52. A dinner menu written by Mika



[Translation] Dinner // Ears of elephant with oyster sauce 1200 yen / Tail of pig spaghetti 550 yen / Caterpillar or earthworm or legs of spider or knitting wool spaghetti 430 yen / Grilled grain of cochinillo (pork) 200g 210 yen / Pita pan of sausage of mashed ladybirds / Stuffed with cotton cochinillo (pork) with poison sauce / Fried T-Rex five fingers with sweet and sour slaver 1100 yen / Milk with tail of cow spaghetti 660 yen / Flesh salad with mantises and swallowtail butterflies 130 yen / Curry with sheep's brains 530 yen

Figure 53. A lunch menu written by Mika



[Translation] Lunch // Money Slade 80 yen / North wind soup 120 yen / Sausage of George's tail, grilled banana and burned bread 190 yen

Figure 54. A drinks menu written by Mika

<u>Drinks</u>	
Cold drinks	Hot drinks
犬のおしこ 100円	Red 血のお茶 102円
ロバのはなぐそ 105円	Vlady Mary (生のココア) 230円
ハビスカスの cocktail 230円	しお水のお茶 400円
Zombieの目玉のOlive 320円	
しお水 50円	

[Translation] Drinks // Cold drinks // Dog pee 100 yen / A booger of donkey 105 yen / Hibiscus cocktail / Olives of zombies eyes 320 yen / Salt water 50 yen // Hot drinks // Red blood tea 102 yen / VladyMary (raw cocoa) 230 yen / Salt water tea 100 yen

She is so creative and unique that she created a menu for an ugly and disgusting restaurant. She started to write the dinner menu first, then drinks and finally the lunch menu. Currently, she is writing the dessert menu. The mother reported that this family has been to good restaurants many times and always lets Mika read these kind of separate menus and choose her food by herself. That is why she knows that these menus are structured by category, and she applied this prior knowledge when she created her version. She created her own comedy version of the menus for fun. Her creativity and originality are excellent and she enjoys doing these kinds of activities to make her mother laugh. She essentially used a Japanese sentence structure, however she occasionally used English words (e.g., elephant, cotton, T-Rex, red, George, etc.) and a Spanish word (cochinillo). Interestingly, she did not use any French words although she and her mother claimed that French is her strongest language. Needless to say, there are Japanese words for “elephant” and “red,” etc. However, she chose the English words and I asked her why. The following citation shows her answer.

[Citation 8-12] なんとなく英語で書いたんだよ。だって頭に一番に英語が来たから。もちろん elephant は日本語で言えるよ。ぞうでしょ。知ってるよ。

I do not have a particular reason why I wrote some words in English. It is just because English words came to my mind first. Of course, I know how to say elephant in Japanese. It is *Zou* [elephant in Japanese], right? I knew it.

Under the drinks menu, she wrote “Vlody Mary” when she actually meant “Bloody Mary.” As her parents drink alcohol, Mika knows the names of some alcoholic drinks and used them in her creative menu because she guessed her mother was going to order it. When it comes to translanguaging between Latin alphabets and Japanese, it is vital to take into account writing directionality. Latin alphabets are written horizontally from left to right whereas Japanese can sometimes be written vertically from top to bottom. However, it is important to note that this is not always the case, meaning that Japanese can be written horizontally like Latin alphabets. Knowing that this different directionality of characters exists, it is almost impossible to write Latin based languages vertically. Therefore, translanguaging can rarely be observed in writing. On the other hand, when they write something in Japanese horizontally, it is more likely that translanguaging will occur.

Another phenomena that has to be taken into account when it comes to Japanese people’s translanguaging is borrowed words. The Japanese language has borrowed many words from foreign countries. These are referred to as “loan words” or “borrowed words.” These words have been borrowed from Portuguese, Dutch, German, French and Italian, and most of all, English. Today, English is the origin of most modern loan words. One of the Japanese writing systems, katakana is used to write borrowed words. The Japanese use English words to express concepts for which they have no equivalents. However, some people simply prefer to use English expressions for practicality. In the case of Mika, when she wrote borrowed words such as “cotton,” “zombie,” “olive” and “cocktail,” she used English words instead of writing them in katakana. Translanguaging has a positive influence on HLLs and even allows for languages to be learned more easily. To summarise, Mika uses her linguistic competence as a resource (the five different languages) when interacting with others. From Mika’s writing samples of translanguaging (Figures 52, 53 and 54) and the conducted interviews, it can be seen that she used the language that was instantly available at the moment the thought was

generated. Also she used Japanese, one of her stronger languages for structural organisation. Depending on how she feels, she also uses the faster language to write in because it is more efficient. It is revealed that Mika makes an active use of her entire linguistic repertoire. Additionally, He (2003) recounts that translanguaging is highly random, creative and extemporaneous, but at the same time, an important aspect of an individual's multilingual socialization. Finally, Li and Zhu (2013) manifest that by translanguaging, individuals actively open up transnational spaces, construct transnational identities and display cultural fluency and flexibility.

8.7 Mika's Mother's Attitudes towards ICT

Mika's family also has unique perspectives when it comes to children using technology. Citation 8-11 is an excerpt from the first interview with Mika's mother, conducted in December 2015. She is responding to my general question about Mika's use of technology at home.

[Citation 8-13] 基本的にはうちはアンチテクノロジーの家族なんです。だから私達はみかに携帯やタブレットを持たせたりはしていません。だからビデオゲームしたり、オンラインゲームしたりもないかな。去年までは実はうちにテレビもなかったんですよ。でも今はリビングに置いていて、映画を見たりはします。テレビ番組っていうのは、私が嫌いだから見せていないし、見ません。でもまあ、みかが友達の家なんか行っている時は友達の携帯とかで何をしているのかわからないけど。

Basically my family is anti-technology. In other words, we (Mika's parents) do not let her (Mika) use mobile phones, tablets, etc. She does not play video games and online games. We did not have a TV until last year. Now we have a TV in a living room and sometimes enjoy watching movies. We do not watch TV programs because I do not like them. However, I have no idea what she does with mobile phones and tablets when she goes to her friends' houses.

[Citation 8-14] 一応家には3つパソコンと1つタブレットがあります。娘は学校のあと色々な習い事があるから、パソコンとかタブレットで遊んでいる時間がありません。どうしてもやりたいっていう時は、宿題のあと20分とかやらせたりもしますけど。でも平日は20分で、週末は30分がマックスかな。

We have three computers and one tablet at home. My daughter (Mika) has many after school activities, so she does not have time to play with computers and tablets. We sometimes let her use a tablet after her homework for 20 minutes during weekdays and 30 minutes on the weekend.

Mika's mother explained this further using a more concrete example from riding public transport.

[Citation 8-15] 私よく電車やバスの中で親子を見て、母親は子供を黙らせるために、携帯を与えたりしているのを見たんですよ。子供がゲームとか YouTube に夢中になっている間に、母親はメール送っていたり、他のママとの話に夢中だったりして、それ見ていて、なんだろうなと考えたんですよ。ああいう人たちってテクノロジーを悪用っていうか、うまく使っていないかなと思って。私は娘にはできるだけ形態とか使わせたくないなって思います。その代わりに、もっと会話を増やしたいなあって。

I often saw mothers and children in trains or buses and noticed that some mothers use mobile phones and tablets in order for their children to be quiet. While children are hooked with games or YouTube channels, mothers do not pay attention to them. Instead, mothers are busy with talking with other mothers or sending IMs. In my opinion, those mothers utilise technology in a wrong manner. I do not want to allow my daughter (Mika) to use as much as possible. Instead, I want to have more conversation with her (Mika).

Citation 8-15 reveals why she does not want to let her child use mobile phones or tablets. She strongly believes that playing with mobile phones and tablets for a long time is not beneficial for her daughter. However, as in citation 8-16, Mika's mother revealed, she occasionally allows Mika to watch YouTube after her homework. Ideally, Mika's mother hopes Mika to watch more educational channels. She explained it to me during the interviews as follows.

[Citation 8-16] 彼女は日本語と英語で YouTube 見たりします。フランス語の学校行っているの、フランス語は大丈夫なんですけど、だから英語と日本語の YouTube とか見てもっと英語と日本語力を上げてくれればなあとは思っています。私の考えではゲームっていうのは害でしかないと思っているんです。だから YouTube を見るならもっと教育的なもの、例えばサイエンスチャンネルとか見てくれればいいなとは思いますがね。何語でもいいから。もっと小さい時は、ロシアのアニメとかも見ていたんですよ。小さい子って絵を見ているから、言語は何語でもいいじゃないですか。だからみかもそうで。だから別の言語で色々アニメを見ていましたよ。それで見て

いるうちに、簡単なフレーズとか覚えちゃったりしていましたよ。

She (Mika) watches YouTube in Japanese and English. She goes to French school, so her French is fine. However, I want her to watch YouTube in Japanese and English more so that she can improve them. I believe playing online games are harmful and poisonous to children. Thus, I want her to watch more educational channels such as a science channel in any language. When she was younger, she watched Russian cartoons. As you know, young children watch anything no matter what language it is. They enjoy watching cartoons. So does she. She watched cartoons in different languages and memorised typical Russian phrases there.

Although nowadays, there are many useful websites and apps for learning languages, this family tries to avoid much contact with technology. During the interviews, I asked how Mika learned letters for the first time and how she practices characters every day.

[Citation 8-17] 彼女はペンと紙で書く練習をしています。あと絵を描くのが大好きでそれもいい勉強になっているみたい。私の考えでは、描くことによってクリエイティブな力とか思考力っていうのが養われていくと思うのね。それはインターネットとかのテクノロジーじゃできないんじゃないかしら。

She (Mika) uses pen and paper to practice writing. Also she likes drawing and learns by doing that. I believe she acquires creative and critical thinking skills by drawing, but not by being bombarded with information from the internet.

Furthermore, the mother was asked how she thinks technology affects children's writing and whether or not children's writing is enhanced or hampered by using technology. Citation 8-17 is her answer.

[Citation 8-18] テクノロジーによって書く力は伸びたりも悪化したりもどちらもしないんじゃないかしら。個人的にはテクノロジーから何か得られるなんて期待は何もしていません。それに頼りたくないって感じかな。私が思うに、本を読んだり、書いたりっていうアクティブラーニングは、テレビを見たり、タブレットを使ったりっていう受身のラーニングよりずっとずっと大切だと思うの。こういうアクティブラーニングはクリエイティブな力をつけさせてくれたり、Critical thinking の力も身につくんじゃないかな。それからもっと質の高い、洗練された書く力も身につけられると思うの。

I think it neither enhances nor hampers writing skills. Personally, I have very few expectations from technology and do not want to rely on it. In my opinion, active learning such as reading books or writing is more important than passive learning like watching TV and using

tablets. That stimulates creativity and critical thinking. I think it also leads to advanced and sophisticated writing skills.

These comments from Mika's mother indicate that she strongly believes that it is important for Mika to use pen and paper in order to develop creativity and critical thinking skills, and it is better for Mika's language learning. Having said that, she explained an exceptional case in citation 8-18.

[Citation 8-19] 携帯やタブレットはあまり使わせたくないとは言いましたが、車や電車で長距離移動の時は、どうしても私も時々、彼女にお父さんの携帯を渡せて使わせることはあります。日本語の書きとかのゲームですけどね。

Despite what I just said, when we are in a car or train for a long time, I sometimes let her (Mika) use her father's mobile phone to play games to practice Japanese alphabets.

As citation 8-18 depicts, Mika's mother occasionally allows her daughter to use a mobile phone or tablet on a long journey. However, Mika usually brings a Japanese textbook with her on long trips so that she is able to practice reading while she is away from home. As a matter of fact, one of the Hoshuko's homeworks is reading aloud from a textbook every day and Japanese parents are supposed to check it out, evaluate it and sign it on homework sheets. This family follows that instruction thoroughly. Therefore, in a car, train or airplane, Mika's mother permits Mika to use mobile phone or tablet after they read a textbook together. The mother firmly believes that Mika can learn more things and use her time more wisely with pen and paper than with a mobile phone because she thinks that handwriting is very important.

[Citation 8-20] 何語であっても手で書くっていうことは、とても大切だと思うの。だって文字にはやっぱりその人の性格っていうのが現れると思うから。だから娘には字はきれいにバランスよく書いてほしいわね。それに正しい文章構成とか段落構成とかも大切よね。将来的にはこの点をもっと伸ばして行ってほしいと思っています。

I believe no matter which language, handwriting describes the writer's personality. Therefore, I want my daughter (Mika) to write letters neatly and nicely. In addition to that, proper organisation of ideas and paragraph structuring are important and I want her to improve and develop these skills in the future.

According to OECD's (2015) national report, in which the participants are 15 years old, 22% of Spanish students reported using the internet for more than six hours outside of

school during a typical weekday. On average, Spanish students use the internet for 167 minutes per day on a typical weekday and 215 minutes on a typical weekend. Mika is still 10 years old and she does not have her own mobile phone yet. Therefore, she is not using technology as much as her peers do. One of the reasons her mother accounts for this is because she has no time to utilise it. She has many after school activities such as classical ballet, piano and painting, so luckily she does not have enough time to play online games. Another reason is that her mother barely allows her to utilise it because she strongly believes that using pen and paper, reading books and having conversations are much more important and beneficial for Mika. When Mika watches YouTube, her mother tries to observe her daughter by asking her to stay in the living room, not in her room. Needless to say, this mother also controls the time of watching YouTube because she knows that there are many children who spend hours and hours just watching them after school.

8.8 Conclusion

As described previously in this chapter, this family is strongly supportive of Mika's multilingual development. However, it is vital to note that this family is not a typical Spanish-Japanese family who settles down in Barcelona. There are two main reasons for that. First of all, despite this family not having any French biological roots, Mika goes to a French school on weekdays. As it happens, there are two other children (they are siblings) at the Hoshuko who attend French school. However, their father is French, therefore it is more understandable that the children are sent to a French school as opposed to a Catalan, Spanish or English school. Mika's mother is not satisfied if Mika speaks only three languages, those being Spanish (her father's mother tongue), Japanese (her mother's mother tongue) and Catalan (societal language in Barcelona). This mother is so enthusiastic about her daughter's language education that she believes that "the more you know, the better." which is one of her philosophies.

Secondly, the mother's extremely outgoing personality is not that of a typical Japanese mother. Compared to other Japanese mothers who are normally shy sometimes, Mika's

mother is very open-minded, optimistic and sociable. Her positive attitude towards French school and Japanese school and her active participation in Mika's social life play an important role in the development of Mika. This mother is good not only at creating new social networks, but also maintaining previous relationships. For example, even though she does not need to talk with Mika's former teachers anymore, she occasionally visits former teachers' classrooms to let them know about Mika's development or simply to update them on how things are going. In a way, Mika is similar to her mother because she also visits her former teachers' classrooms to say hello to them. In addition, she easily makes friends in the classes she attends. Those friends ages range from four years younger to five years older than Mika. One of her strengths is being able to make friends with anyone, regardless of gender or age. This friendly attitude might have come from her mother's gene. As this family is very unique case, the next section, Chapter 9 is going to deal with a participant from a more average Spanish-Japanese family.

There was a misconception about bilingual/multilingual children. Until the 1980's they were thought to lag behind in both language learning and academic performance (Nakajima, 1988). Mika is surrounded by five languages and is constantly using four languages at school and at home. Among the 11 participants of this study, Mika is the one who has exposure to five languages. Furthermore, her mother's expectations do not stop there, rather they extend up until the acquisition of German, Russian and later Arabic has been achieved. Despite the fact that Mika is attempting to acquire five languages simultaneously, her Japanese literacy skills are developing appropriately. This is in line with previous research which has found that language and literacy skills in an HL can act as an important empowering tool by developing an HLL's ethnic identity (Bankston & Zhou, 1995; Lee, 2002; Phinney et al., 2001), self-esteem (Gong, 2007; Lorenzo-Hernández & Ouellette, 1998), and overall academic success (Bankston & Zhou, 1995; García-Vázquez et al., 1997; Ramírez et al., 1991). This mother is trying to create an ideal environment for Mika's development. After researching Japanese-English bilingual development in New Zealand, Lauwereyns (2011) suggests that factors such as parental attitude and the language proficiency levels of the parents are important in creating a supportive environment for bilingualism to flourish.

CHAPTER 9

CASE STUDY: KEN

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 - 9.1.1 Languages (Catalan, Spanish and English)
 - 9.1.2 Language (Japanese)
 - 9.1.3 Summer Experience in Japan
- 9.2 Home Environments
- 9.3 The Educational Principles of Ken's Mother
- 9.4 Literacy Practices at Home
- 9.5 Writing Samples
 - 9.5.1 Japanese Writing Samples
- 9.6 Digital Literacy
 - 9.6.1 Video Games and Mobile Apps
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In this chapter of my thesis, I pay close attention to one of my participants, Ken. The aim of this chapter is to clarify how he was introduced to literacy activities at home, how he uses different languages on a daily basis, how he has developed multiliteracy skills with four distinctive languages, and how he is trying to improve them.

9.1 Ken's Brief History

I asked Ken's mother how often Ken practices writing at home. She replied that Ken writes every day because he has homework every single day. According to her, his weekday school assigns homework every day. Therefore, he has to write something every day. In the same interview, his mother recounted to me that he also writes in Japanese every day even if the quantity is not much. It means that he writes something in Catalan, Spanish and even in Japanese every day at home. Moreover, his mother stated that he likes writing in general. From the very first interview with Ken's mother, I discovered

that Ken enjoys writing in any language and actually writes something at home on a regular basis. I considered Ken to be an ideal participant for a case study because he takes part in active literacy practices at home using four languages (Catalan, Spanish, English and Japanese).

He was born in Barcelona in 2008. He has been attending a *concertada* with his little brother since Ken was two years old. This family lives in a pleasant residential area called Sarriá, Barcelona. This area is known to have a middle-high socioeconomic status. Actually, many Japanese families, especially sojourners, live in that neighbourhood and the Japanese Consulate General is located there as well. When I met him for the first time and collected his writing samples, he was only seven years old and was in grade one class at the Hoshuko. Currently in 2019, he is in grade four and continues to study Japanese at the school. Ken has been going to the Hoshuko on Saturdays since he was four years old, as this is the age when children begin attending a Hoshuko. In other words, Ken and Mika have been studying in the same class for six years. Ken has a Catalan father and a Japanese mother in a middle-high socioeconomic family. The father is a banker and the mother is a freelance medical translator. Back in Japan, she was a nurse working at hospital. Both of them have a university degree. The younger brother who is two years younger than Ken, was also born in Barcelona. This mother was happy to play a collaborative role for my study and is interested in children's language development, in the same way as Mika's mother. Since she went back to her work after maternity leave, when Ken was around four years old, she has been busy with taking care of her children, doing house chores, and working daytime. However, she manages everything well with the assistance of her husband, his parents and temporary nannies.

There are three interviews with Ken's mother, one interview with Ken and various email exchanges between myself and the mother for clarifications and additional info over a period of 31 months (from October 2015 to May 2018). All the interviews were semi-structured, containing questions about experience, opinion and values, feelings and background (Patton, 2002). The following table is a summary of data collection with this participant.

Table 52. Summary of data collected from Ken

	Date	Length of interviews	Word count in English
First interview with Ken's mother	October 2015	40 minutes	Transcription has 4700 words in English
Second interview with Ken's mother	May 2016	33 minutes	Transcription has 5450 words in English
Third interview with Ken's mother	April 2018	1.5 hours	Transcription has 10800 words in English
Interview with Ken	March 2016	15 minutes	Transcription has 1800 words in English
Collecting writing samples and screenshots of apps and games	December 2015 and May 2018		Six Japanese writing samples Four Catalan writing samples Five screenshots of games Others ⁷

9.1.1 Languages (Catalan, Spanish and English)

When Ken was two years old, his formal education started in Barcelona. When Ken's mother was studying English in the USA in her 20's, she met her husband who also came to the USA to study English. Therefore, from the beginning, the parents think that learning and acquiring English language skills is a very important thing for their children to do. When it comes to choosing the right kindergarten, the mother was looking for kindergartens where Ken would be able to learn English, in addition to Catalan and Spanish. The parents decided to let him attend the *concertada* where Catalan, Spanish and English are instructed 33% respectively. His younger brother also attends the same school, and he has done so since he was three years old. The parents intend for their children to attend this school until the end of high school which occurs at 18 years old. In section 9.3, there is a more descriptive explanation of his school and how his mother ended up choosing this specific school. Interestingly, at this *concertada*, there are three other Spanish-Japanese families who also go to the Hoshuko on Saturdays. Moreover, there are a few Japanese children whose fathers came to Barcelona for their work and they are planning to stay in Barcelona for a couple of years. Therefore, Ken sometimes plays with Spanish-Japanese children and Japanese children at school as well as outside

⁷ Others include a poster and Japanese practice materials. However, these were not analysed as they did not have many words. All samples he submitted are displayed in Appendix 3.

of school. In this family, the father and mother have different responsibilities and roles when it comes to their children's studies. The table below illustrates the roles of the father, mother and a private English teacher who comes to their house once a week.

Table 53. Responsibilities and roles of the father, mother and private English tutor

Teaching role	Subjects	Responsibilities
Father	Catalan Spanish	Checking the children's homework Helping to prepare for any exams
Mother	Japanese Maths	Checking the children's homework Helping to prepare for kanji exams Reading Japanese books together
Private English tutor	English	Checking the children's homework Helping to prepare for any exams Reading English books together

Furthermore, Ken's mother told me in detail about each responsibility and role at home, as described in citation 9-1.

[Citation 9-1] 私達は家で完全役割を分けているんですよ。やっぱり効果的に言語を教えないといけないから。お父さんはカタラン語とスペインをやってもらって、私は日本語と算数を見ている。もちろん私達も簡単な英語なら教えられるけど、それは英語の家庭教師にお願いしています。正しい発音とかはやっぱりネイティブから習ったほうがいいと思うから。聞いた事があるんですけど、英語には日本人が捉えにくい音域とかがあって、そのせいで日本人の大人は英語の発音が悪かって聞いたの。だからやっぱり子供の時からネイティブの発音に触れておくのってすごく大切だと思う。私達はネイティブじゃないから、英語は絶対に教えないようにしているの。

We (Ken's parents) divided our roles at home in order to teach different languages appropriately to our children. While their father teaches Catalan and Spanish, I teach Japanese and Maths. Although both of us can teach English, I contract an English native speaker for my children. I think that children should learn languages from native speakers in order to acquire correct pronunciation. I have heard that with regards to English, there is a range of sounds which Japanese adults are not able to hear or pronounce. Therefore, I believe that it is very important to have exposure to English native speakers' sounds when my children are still young. As neither of us are English native speakers, we try not to teach them.

From citation 9-1, it is evident that this family applies an OPOL approach. This approach is understood to be a relatively effective method when there is little assistance outside of

the family. According to Saunders (1982) and Döpke (1992), for the child who is acquiring two languages through the OPOL approach, the minority language speaking parent is the main, and often the only input source. Therefore, by strictly using only the minority language in interaction with his/her child, the minority language speaking parent can increase the amount of input for his/her child. As a matter of fact, Ken's mother admitted during the interviews that Ken's Japanese input comes mainly from her mother, with a little from his Japanese teacher on Saturdays. Having said that, he receives lots of input during the summer in Japan. During his one month stay in Japan, he utilises Japanese even with his younger brother who normally speaks Catalan or Spanish in Barcelona. According to Schlyter (1993), in bilingualism, the issue of quantity of input correlates with the minority language speaking parents' consistency in their language choice together with an actual increase of exposure to the minority language through visiting the country where the minority language is spoken and receiving visitors from that country.

9.1.2 Language (Japanese)

Even before he started to walk, which was at the age of 10 months, his mother started to join a Japanese mothers' community in Barcelona. She thought that it is important for her children to play with other Japanese speaking children. With that aim in her mind, she sometimes got together with about eight to 10 other Japanese mothers from this community group. Not only did Ken get the opportunity to play with other Spanish-Japanese children, but also his mother got some advice regarding raising bilingual/bicultural children from older and more experienced mothers who are in a similar situation. During the conducted interviews, she admitted that she may have been influenced positively by other Japanese mothers in this group because from time to time she consulted with them when she had some questions about her children's acquisition of Japanese. With regards to home literacy activity, Ken started to learn Japanese first, exclusively. The mother ordered Japanese educational materials from Japan and used them to teach him at home. The following three figures are some examples of what he did when he was three or four years old. They often used a series of kids' intellectual training textbooks published by Kumon Educational Japan Co., Ltd. This well-known Japanese

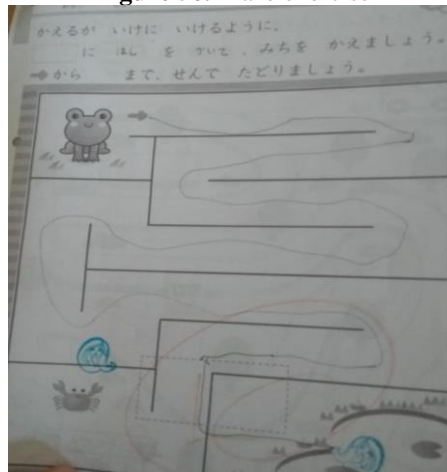
series provides children with many different intellectual activities in addition to Japanese language learning, such as numeracy and science.

Figure 55. Japanese educational material for three and four years olds



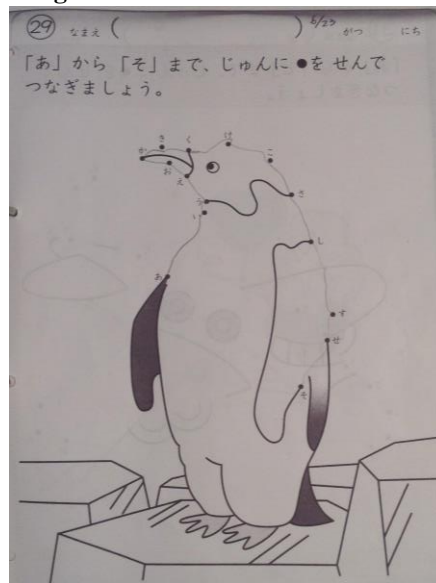
Figure 55 above was taken from the textbook called “Hajimete no meiro” [The first maze] (2008). According to this publisher, this textbook is for children between two and four years of age. The above figure is one of the first exercise which was done by Ken with a pencil. 10 vertical lines represent rain. The purpose of this exercise is to practice straight lines. The instruction says “Let’s let it rain. Who is the happiest one?” The options are snail or frog or hydrangea.

Figure 56. Maze exercise



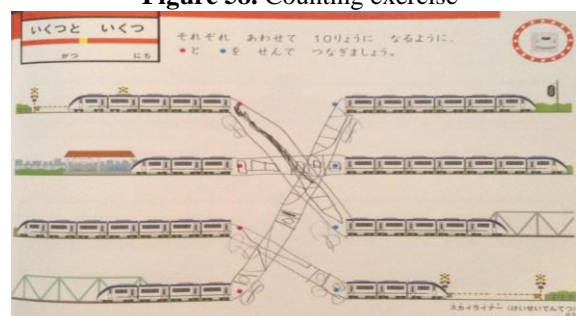
The above Figure 56 was taken from the next level of “Hajimete no meiro” [The first maze] (2008) which is for two to four year old kids. This is another exercise that Ken used to practice a lot and enjoyed. The instruction says “Let’s draw a line so that a frog can go to the pond.” He followed the instruction and completed successfully with a pencil.

Figure 57. Connect the dots exercise



This figure was taken from “Yasashii hiragana” [Easy hiragana] (2008) which was designed for children aged three to five years old. This is another typical activity that young Japanese children including Ken did with his mother. This exercise has two objectives. One of them is to recognise hiragana correctly and to know the order of Japanese writing system, hiragana which has 46 characters, in the same way that children learn the alphabetical order from A to Z in English. The second concept of this exercise is to use a pencil correctly and draw lines from one dot to another. Ken drew lines from the dot of the first Japanese character to the next and finally completed the drawing of a penguin.

Figure 58. Counting exercise



Ken’s mother believes that it is also very important for him to acquire and develop mathematical skills along with language skills. Since he was two or three years old, his mother has been teaching him Maths in Japanese. Although he is currently 10 years old, his mother still teaches him Maths in Japanese. Therefore, he has been learning Maths

and Japanese simultaneously. Figure 58 is one of his favorite Maths exercises from when he was four years old. His mother bought it in Japan. It is called “Denshano kazu, tokei” [Train’s number and watch] (2017). The instructions ask the reader to connect train cars in order to make 10 cars. This Maths activity book was designed for Japanese boys who love vehicles such as bullet trains, regular trains, buses, etc. From this textbook, children are able to learn not only Maths but also social manners in the context of public transportation, how trains work, what the station officer’s job is, etc. They can study in an interesting way and it is more likely they will be motivated to learn more.

Ken’s mother was teaching him Japanese using these materials. They always used a pen and paper, not an electronic device such as a tablet because at that time this family did not have a tablet. His parents thought using a pencil correctly is important for him because formal education would start soon when he turns six years old. They did not consider the idea of using a tablet to teach Japanese writing. Since this family visits Japan once a year, when they go back home, they buy lots of materials, especially Japanese writing, reading and comprehension workbooks as well as Maths related materials. In addition to that, his Japanese grandparents often send Japanese books to him. Therefore, his mother tries to read them with her sons before going to bed. Not only his mother, but also his Japanese grandparents support Ken’s Japanese development. When the mother cannot read books to her sons, the father tries to read some books in Catalan. As a result, this whole family constructs a context for literacy learning at home. When he turned four years old, the habit of going to Hoshuko every Saturday began. As Ken and his mother had been studying Japanese, before starting Hoshuko, they already had solid Japanese literacy foundation. I asked the experience of going to Hoshuko for the first day in the interview.

[Citation 9-2] 補習校に初めて行ったのは、面接の時だったと思います。知っていると思いますけど、運営委員主催の面接があって、子供と日本人の親が行くんです。よく覚えていないけどけんの場合、お父さんも行ったかな。面接では、絵カードを見せられて、それを使って親子で簡単な会話をしたのを覚えています。4, 5人面接官はいたと思うけど。実は、そんなようなことを聞かれるっていうのを私達は知っていたから、家で少し練習していたの。だから面接はまあよかったかな。

The first day of Hoshuko was the day of interview. As you know, committee members conduct interviews with candidate children and

six. Although it is certain that children get a chance to practice hiragana a little bit at kindergarten as well, it is considered that teaching a child hiragana and how to write his/her own name are one of the parents' responsibilities. In other words, it is expected that children arrive on their first day of school with a basic foundation in numeracy and literacy. Like other Japanese families, Ken and his mother also used these cards to practice Japanese. Here are the steps they performed.

1. Firstly, the mother used the cards shown in Figure 59 to teach the 46 hiragana characters. She showed the cards to Ken and repeatedly pronounced the words throughout a couple of months.
2. Eventually, Ken could identify the pictures that the mother was talking about and he could also pronounce the words correctly.
3. Then, the mother gradually introduced vegetable and housewares cards (Figure 60). The way they practiced was the mother saying one of items and Ken looking for that item amongst the other cards.
4. After he was able to identify the correct cards by listening to his mother, the mother asked him to pronounce them by showing him cards randomly.
5. When he turned five or six years old, they started to practice with antonym cards because by that time, he could identify most of Japanese characters. By doing this, he learned Japanese words.

The steps that the mother took are similar to what Fons (2016) suggests. She is saying that first letters and sounds, then syllables, then words and finally sentences.

L'aproximació sintètica es basa fonamentalment en una instrucció sistemàtica i seqüenciada: primer les lletres i els sons, després les síl·labes, després les paraules i finalment les oracions; gairebé sempre ensenyen primer a llegir i després a escriure; i, les activitats d'escriptura es basen en aspectes gràfics i grafofònics (copiar, omplir buits, encerclar) (p. 2).

In citation 9-3, Ken's mother continued to detail how the first day of classes at Hoshuko went.

[Citation 9-3] けんは補習校、まあまあ楽しんで行っていたみたい。弟のほうとは違ってね。けんは日本語勉強するのも好きだしだから土曜も補習校行くのは別に苦になっていないみたい。あと友達がいるっていうのは大きいと思う。だからあの子から

「補習校行きたくない」というのは聞いたことがないな。宿題もわかってやっているから、そんなに難しく感じていなかったと思う。その前、2年くらい通信教育やっていたからかな、あの、こどもちゃれんじとか進研ゼミっていうやつ。補習校の勉強は初めのほうはそんなに難しくなかったと思う。

Ken enjoyed the school. Generally speaking, compared with his younger brother, he enjoys learning Japanese. So, it seems that it is not so hard for him to go to Hoshuko every Saturday. He has good friends there, so that is why he never says that “I do not want to go to Hoshuko.” In terms of class materials at Hoshuko, he was able to understand and do his homework. We had been taking Japanese distance learning courses for two years before attending Hoshuko. So, the study at the Hoshuko was not so difficult for him at that time.

The following comment made by Ken echoes part of what his mother said.

[Citation 9-4] 4歳とか5歳の時、補習校もっと楽しかったよ。だって勉強簡単だもん。あ、小さい時やっていたチャレンジは楽しかった。だって色々楽しいのがあったからだよ。何か作ったり、迷路とか、なぞなぞとか、パズルとかあるでしょ。簡単だから、楽しかった。

When I was four and five years old, going to Hoshuko was more fun because the study was easy. Oh, I also liked Japanese distance learning that I took when I was small. It had a lot of interesting activities, crafts, mazes, quizzes, puzzle, etc. If the study is easy, it is more fun.

The Japanese distance learning courses that Ken took were provided by Benesse Corporation, a well-known Japanese company which focuses on correspondence education and publishing. After subscribing, this distance learning company sent Ken's family educational materials every month and Ken was studying Japanese with his mother using these materials. In Japan, sending children to cramming school or hiring a private tutor is very common among keen parents. Some parents choose distance learning instead of cramming school and a private tutor. Indeed, there is an increasing need for infant education in Japan. A formal curriculum and assessment procedure are in place, however there is no formal certificate given upon completion of the course. This company creates infant focused materials, even for babies aged zero - two which indicates they are experts of infant distance education. According to Ken's mother, many other Japanese families in Barcelona also have taken them and it seemed useful for learning Japanese in an interesting way. In addition to that, the cost was reasonable for her which is about 20-30 Euros per month (excluding the shipping fee from Japan), considering the amount of materials and information they received every month. She was satisfied with the quality

of these materials (textbooks, teaching manuals for parents, arts and crafts etc.) because the curriculum includes lots of Japanese social etiquette, culture, traditions, songs, seasonal events and interesting stories, etc. Every month, the material covers a wide range of topics, for example Japanese characters, expressions, greetings as well as basic numeracy. However, unfortunately, there is no built-in interactive system which is able to track kids' work progress and achievements. Essentially, what the Benesse Corporation does is to send various educational materials every month to the subscribed families. The figures below are some examples from the textbooks.

Figure 62. Materials for distance learning courses (the process of making bread)



[Translation] The process of making delicious bread. / Ingredients...milk, butter, sugar, salt, eggs, baking powder, flour. / Mix all ingredients. If you mash them well, it will stick together. / Quiz. After this, what will happen if we put this origin of bread (dough) in a hot place? 1. It will change the colour. 2. It will rise. 3. It will change back to powder.

The above textbook has a short story about the process of making bread. The topic of that month was food, therefore many Japanese foods, ingredients and materials are introduced with colourful pictures. The follow Figure 63 is another example from other month.

Figure 63. Materials for distance learning courses (learning numbers)



[Translation] We came to the farm. There are various animals, right? Which one has more animals? Put a sticker on the one which has more animals.

Every month, different educational materials are incorporated, for example, simple mathematics, practicing hiragana, reading onomatopoeia, etc. Figure 63 is asking children to count animals and put a sticker on the group containing the most. As the above examples show, these distance learning courses are well-designed and well-organised and teach many important elements effectively. It is easy for children to be engaged and interact with their parents through completing the delivered materials each month. Also, it includes some craft activities which actually Ken was looking forward to the most. For instance, the craft activity for December is decorating a mini Christmas tree and for March it is creating Hina dolls (Japanese traditional dolls for girls festival). Therefore, it also teaches Japanese customs, national holidays and social etiquette through arts, stories, DVDs and websites. Moreover, occasionally some prizes (such as toys, books, stationary, etc.) were given to Ken by this distance course company which his mother acknowledged as a good motivation to study Japanese. However, once he started going to Hoshuko at the age of four, he stopped this distance learning. After starting to attend Hoshuko, Ken's mother put more effort on reading books aloud to him because his teacher at the Hoshuko strongly recommended this literacy activity to all parents. 10 out of 11 participants' Japanese mothers reported that they purposefully chose books that were in Japanese to read aloud to the children in order to develop the children's Japanese vocabulary. Haag and Williams (2004) also manifest the significance of reading aloud in the promotion of oral language skills and ideologically demonstrate the value parents placed on rich vocabulary as a marker of a competent HL user. When he was six years old, Hoshuko primary school started. His former teacher commented on his personality during the interview as follows.

[Citation 9-5] 彼はすごいクラスで積極的な子ですよ。よく発言もするし、学習内容もしっかりわかってついてきていると思います。

He (Ken) was actively participating in class discussions, and seeming to be comfortable with class content and materials.

At that time, since he had already mastered hiragana and katakana, the two basic Japanese writing systems, he was willing to learn kanji, the most complicated writing system. In

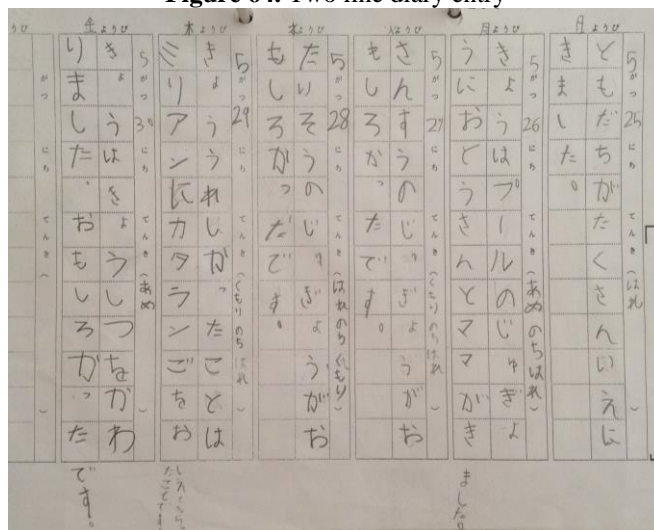
grade one classes, he was instructed on how to write a diary using the kanji he had learned. Ken talked about the habit of keeping a diary during our interview.

[Citation 9-6] 初めて日記書いた時は、すごく短かったよ。2つだけとか。でも次に先生から4行日記をもらってそれ書いた。まあ、それは宿題じゃなかった時もあるけど、ママはコピーとかして、だから僕はまた練習しなくちゃいけなかった。でも忙しい時はそれはできなかったけど。でも宿題だったらやるよ。本当はやりたくないけど、しょうがない。だって面白くないもん。

My first diary entry was very short. It was just two lines. Then the teacher gave us another sheet which has four lines. So, I wrote on it. Even if the teacher did not give us homework of writing a diary, my mother printed out the diary sheet for me. So, I wrote more sentences there. But when I was busy, I did not write anything. Of course, if it was homework, I did my homework. Honestly, I do not want to do that if it is not my homework because it is not interesting.

Citation 9-6 shows how eager Ken's mother was to help him with his Japanese studies. The figure below is the picture of Ken's two line diary entry.

Figure 64. Two line diary entry



[Translation] May 25, Sunny / Many friends came to my place. // May 26, Rainy followed by sunny / My father and mom came to swimming class. // May 27, Cloudy followed by sunny / Math class was interesting. // May 28. Sunny followed by cloudy / Gymnastic was interesting. // May 29. Cloudy followed by sunny / What made me happy today was Mirian taught me Catalan. // May 30, Rainy / Today, we changed the classroom. It was interesting.

Currently in 2018, he is in grade four. He told me that he does not keep a diary at the moment because he has other things to do. However, his mother hopes that he will develop the habit of writing something regularly in Japanese. Moreover, the mother disclosed her worries in the third interview. Citation 9-7 is an excerpt from the interview.

[Citation 9-7] 最近、彼の補習校の宿題は本当に大変になってきているんですよ。当たり前だけど2、3年生の時に比べて宿題終わるのにかかる時間が増えたし。宿題のあとはもう何もできないって感じ。宿題で精一杯で。本当は日本語でもっと色んなことをしたいけど、無理かな。時間がなくて。でもさ、補習校の先生とかがって「けんはここが弱いから、もっと練習してください。」とかがって言うんですよ。もちろん復習とか家でしたいけど、そんな時間ないってば。あの宿題のあと。だから最近本当にこの日本語教育のやり方でいいのかなって考えたりする。

Recently, his (Ken's) homework from Hoshuko is getting hard and it takes more time to complete compared with the time it took during grades two and three. I can see that keeping up with the school curriculum is getting difficult for him. After doing his Japanese homework, there is no time left. It looks like he cannot do anything for fun because he has got his hands full with the homework. We want to try more things in Japanese other than doing his homework, however we just do not have enough time, unfortunately. What is more, his teacher at Hoshuko sometimes tells him that "This is your weak point, so practice more at home." I want to spend more time with him to improve that point, but due to a heavy workload, we cannot do other things. Therefore, these days, I have been thinking if this kind of the Japanese language education is suited to him or not.

When Ken entered grade four, his mother started to worry about his Japanese writing skills. Ken's mother stated that he has no problem communicating with other Japanese people in Japanese face to face, but she cannot see his progress when it comes to writing skills, especially kanji skills and reading comprehension skills. Koda, Zhang and Yang (2008) state that HLL's oral language proficiency in the HL has typically been found to be stronger than their literacy skills, due to a lack of exposure to the HL. They also discovered that Chinese HLL's reading comprehension in Chinese was impaired due to their morphological knowledge remaining at a basic level. In addition to that, Matsunaga (2003) found that college-level Japanese HLL's oral proficiency was stronger than their knowledge of kanji. Similar to that, Xiao and Wong (2014) found that first-year students in Chinese HL class in college were most anxious about writing and much less anxious about speaking in Chinese, which felt easier to them. According to Tigert (2017), "this orality-literacy gap may be due to the fact that HLL's contact with the HL is typically limited to home or community contexts where the language is encountered mostly in spoken form" (p. 18).

9.1.3 Summer Experience in Japan

Similar to other Spanish-Japanese children, Ken also spends around one month every summer in Japan. When he was four and five years old, he attended kindergarten in Japan for a month in the summer, the same kindergarten his mother used to attend when she was his age. His mother reported that he had a good time there by making Japanese friends, singing songs in Japanese, making crafts, playing music, etc. As I described in Chapter 8, many Japanese parents see July as the optimal time to send their children to school in Japan. As a child who has roots in Japan, it is important to have a school experience at a real Japanese school. Ken's mother acknowledges that it would be beneficial for them, however due to her work commitments and those of her husband, they cannot bring their children to Japan in July. Therefore, when Ken was six and seven years old, he joined a summer camp and a cramming school in Japan during summer. The mother thinks talking with children of the same age as him and mingling with them would be helpful for Ken's Japanese development. According to her, this summer experience is authentic. He is able to learn up-to-date Japanese as well as learn something about Japanese culture. Most importantly, this strategy is fun for both children and parents. During those two summers, he had a good time and did not play any video games whilst he was in Japan. The mother mentioned about his habit of playing video games explicitly.

[Citation 9-8] 面白いことがあるんですよ。彼はどうしてか日本行くと全然ゲームしないんですよ。多分日本には面白いものが沢山あるからかな。バルセロナにいる時は、ゲームは週末しかやらせないっていうことをもう分かっているのに、ゲームやらせてってお願いしてくるんですよ。でも念のため、日本行く時スーツケースにゲーム入れて日本に行くんですけど、全然ゲームを出さないでスーツケースに入れたままで、全然ゲームをしないから、いいなって思いますけどね。まあ、多分おじいちゃん、おばあちゃんの所はバルセロナと全然違って楽しくて。うちの実家、米屋やっていて、その二階に住んでいるんですね。だから下に行けば、なんか機械とか見れるし、そこで働いている人も見えるし、すごく面白いみたいなんです。外では公園で遊んだり、川で泳いだり、魚つったり、森で昆虫採集したり、町を探検したり、とにかく面白いことがあってゲームなんて忘れちゃうみたい。

Interestingly, he (Ken) never plays video games while he is in Japan, maybe because he has so many other interesting things to do in Japan. When he is in Barcelona, he often asks me permission to play video

games even if he knows that I allow my children to play them only on the weekend. Just in case, I always bring some video games in a suitcase when we fly to Japan. However, the games sit in a suitcase for the whole summer in Japan. I think it is good because he does not play the video games at all. At his grandparents' house, it seems that there are many other forms of entertainment that keep him interested. It is just a completely different environment. My parents own a rice shop and live on the second floor of a rice factory. So, if Ken goes downstairs, he is able to see some machines and people working there and it is very fun for him. Outside the house, there are many things to do as well, such as playing in parks, fishing and swimming in a river, catching insects in forests, exploring the town, etc. He seems to forget to play video games because there are a lot of interesting things around him.

At the age of eight, his mother decided to send him to a full-time Japanese school in Barcelona (Nihonjin gakko) in July. Since this school is managed and supported by the Ministry of Education, they meticulously follow the Japanese educational calendar, utilising the same curriculum as public schools in Japan. Ken got the opportunity to attend this Nihonjin gakko for a month after his local *concertada* finished its last term of the year in the middle of June. There, he studied all the subjects in Japanese with the textbooks provided by the Japanese Consulate General. As has been explained in section 4.3, the Hoshuko and Nihonjin gakko in Barcelona use the same buildings and facilities. Therefore, Ken is already familiar with the school environment. There are some school activities which are unique to Japanese schools as described in section 4.2, which Ken's mother wants her children to experience. One of these activities is cleaning. In Japan, there have been a long tradition of students cleaning their own schools. During the interview with a current primary school teacher in Japan, she commented on the importance of this tradition explicitly.

[Citation 9-9] 学校は教科書から学んで勉強するという場所だけじゃないんです。学校は、子供が社会の中のメンバーになるような学習をするところであり、またそのために責任感を身につける場所だと思うんです。

School is not the place just for learning from books. It is also a place to learn how to be a member of our society, and for this, I believe it is the place for the students to learn to be responsible for themselves, too.

The teacher who provided me the comment of citation 9-9 is familiar with Western culture because she has lots of students coming from Western countries. She continued to explain the reason why cleaning their own school is an important part of Japanese school culture explicitly.

[Citation 9-10] 外国では、日本の学校は清掃員を雇わないで、その代わりに子供に掃除をさせるなんて、ひどいと言われているなんて聞いたことがあります。でも日本では掃除文化は包括的な実践と見なされていて、それによって子供達に責任感が芽生えたと考えられているんですよ。

I heard that instead of hiring janitors, getting children to clean their own school could be considered terrible by the Western countries. However, in Japan, it is recognised as a holistic practice that allows the child to grow up as a more responsible citizen.

As a matter of fact, this practice is not government mandated, however every school follows this national trend with little variation. Many Japanese parents of bilingual families including Ken's mother thinks this kind of Japanese school tradition, which appears to be exceptionally rare in Western culture, is important for their children to partake in. As a result, they are keen for their children to experience this while they are in Japan during summer. Several researchers in the area of Japanese HL point out the importance of having an authentic Japanese experience and tradition. For example, Alzayed (2015) details the methods that parents should take in order for their children to maintain their cultural identity. It is pointed out that religion, tradition and customs are important factors when understanding the culture and transmitting it to the next generation. Moreover, Alzayed (2015) states that the following four activities play an important role when it comes to understanding the country's customs and ways of thinking in that country.

1. Reading books together in the HL.
2. Talking about the national holidays of that country.
3. Participating in the local events and activities of that country.
4. Making friends who have the same HL background.

Muramoto, Carsten and Nakajima (2018) also suggest simple approaches such as talking with children about the family's memories and using the HL actively at home supports the children's HL development. Furthermore, according to Hinton (1998), going back to the parent's country temporarily would be the best and the most efficient method to maintain a HL as well as cultural identity. In citation 9-11 from his mother, it can be seen that Ken also enjoyed this unique experience.

[Citation 9-11] 弟と比べて、けんはもっと日本人っぽいかも。もちろん、けんは平日行っている学校も好きだけど、日本人学校もすごく好きだったみたい。たぶんそれはいい友達が学校にいたから、楽しめたんだと思う。でもその友達は日本に帰っちゃって残念。もうこっちには帰ってこないんだよね。でもけんは「なんで他の子が夏休みの間に、僕は日本語勉強したくない」って言ったりしなかったんですよ。下の子は時々そういう文句を言って、どうして日本語やらなきゃいけないのか聞いてきたりするんですけど、けんは全然言わないなあ。

Compared with Ken's younger brother, Ken is more Japanese. He likes the school (*concertada*) which he goes to everyday, but he also likes *Nihonjin gakko*. I think because he had really good friends there, he could enjoy it everyday. Unfortunately, they had all returned to Japan and they are not planning to come back to Barcelona. But he actually did not say "I do not want to go to extra school when other children are having summer vacation." His little brother sometimes complains, wanting to know why he has to study Japanese more, but Ken has never said that.

In citation 9-11, the mother said "Ken is more Japanese (than Spanish)." She further added that his Japanese proficiency and his interest in Japan probably strengthen his ethnic identity. In fact, Curdt-Christiansen (2006) manifests that immigrant parents believe HL proficiency strengthens children's ethnic identity, improves intergenerational communication, and provides an advantage on the job market, leading to upward social mobility. Ken's mother also believes that being fluent in various languages will bring not only an economical advantage, but also fundamental happiness because if you can communicate with more people in different languages, it would be much more fun. During the summer when he was nine years old, he again spent time with his grandparents in Japan. When he got there, the Japanese school term had already ended because it was August. Therefore, his mother decided to put him in a football club. The mother explained to me that his coach was her former classmate in high school. Ken made new Japanese friends there and had a wonderful experience that summer. His mother also sent him to a cramming school near his grandparents' house. At this academy, he studied Maths and Japanese with their original textbooks. The mother explained to me how this school works in the following citation 9-12.

[Citation 9-12] 実はそれは私が若い時、行っていた塾なんです。だからまあよくわかっているっていうか。もちろん先生とかは全部変わっちゃいましたけどね。そこではまあ基本的に10人

くらい子供がいて、先生2人とかいて、子供達はそれぞれ自分のテキストで自分の課題をやるんですよ。で、わからないのがあったら手を挙げて質問するみたいな。先生はクラスを循環しているからすぐ聞けるんです。それで教科書は二種類あって、1つはまあ普通の学年相当レベルのやつで、もう1つはちょっと応用問題とか入ったりしている少し難しめ。けんと私は、その難しいやつをやろうって決めたんです。ちょっとチャレンジ的な問題があるほうが、勉強になるしいかなと思って。

Actually, I (Ken's mother) used to go to this cramming school when I was young. So, I know how the school works well even though my former teachers no longer work there. Basically, there are around 10 children and two teachers in a classroom. Each student works on his/her exercise and when they have any questions, they put their hands up and ask one of the teachers, because they are walking around the classroom in order to help students. The teachers are very approachable once the children have any questions. In terms of textbooks, two types were introduced, one is a regular textbook with a grade-level and the other one has more challenging exercises. Ken and I chose the more difficult one because I thought he would be able to learn more when he encounters challenging studies.

Ken demonstrated his learning experience as follows.

[Citation 9-13] その教科書はちょっと難しかったよ。でも大丈夫だったよ。わからなかったら、先生に日本語で聞けたから。だから、うん。大丈夫。

This textbook was a little bit difficult, but it was ok. When I do not understand something, I could ask the teachers in Japanese. I had no problem.

Back in Barcelona, his Japanese learning experience is attained at the Hoshuko and Nihonjin gakko. The mother acknowledged that these experiences may have helped his new experience in Japan.

9.2 Home Environment for Learning Japanese

Ken has several Japanese DVDs which his grandparents bought for him in Japan. He and his little brother, especially when they were younger, used to watch them in Japanese. The table below illustrates the Japanese educational channels they used to watch regularly in Barcelona in order to improve their Japanese proficiency.

Table 54. Japanese educational TV channels

Name of TV show	Description
<i>Okaasan to ishho</i>	The literal translation of <i>Okaasan to ishho</i> is “With mother.” It is a children’s TV program. The show consists of seasonal songs and animated shorts.
<i>Nihongo de asobou</i>	The literal translation of <i>Nihongo de asobou</i> is “Let’s play in Japanese.” NHK (Japan Broadcasting Corporation) broadcast this educational channel in order to teach Japanese.
Kids folk songs	UA, a Japanese pop singer created her own arrangement of traditional folk songs for children.

Ken’s mother thinks it is one way to learn Japanese when living in Barcelona. Rather, she does not allow them to watch Catalan/Spanish TV programs because they are not focused on education and, therefore, she think that they are a waste of time. She decided to subscribe to a Japanese TV service in Barcelona so that they are able to watch Japanese TV programs all the time. In fact, his mother recounted that her children watch Japanese TV every day. According to Marsh et al. (2015), culture and ethnicity are central to digital literacy practices. Also, technology is very important because it enables communication globally, with satellite television enabling access to television channels broadcasting in Japanese. Marsh et al. (2015) conclude that multilingual digital literacy experiences are thus an established part of life for bilingual and multilingual children. Another interesting learning technique that Ken’s family utilises that I noticed when I visited their house is the practice of putting lots of Japanese learning posters on the walls. Putting a kanji list or hiragana chart in a washroom or children’s room or on the fridge is a very common habit in Japan, and is also practice by this family so that Ken and his brother are always able to have exposure to Japanese visually. That was his mother’s idea and she started this when Ken was three or four years old. The distance learning that he had taking sometimes included a poster to put up. For that reason, his mother began to put up Japanese educational posters for her children. Currently, she put a list of grade four kanji in Ken’s room and another list of grade two kanji in a bathroom for his brother. When she cannot find an appropriate list or favourite chart, she sometimes creates her own lists for them. The following figure is a simple hiragana chart that they used to put in a washroom a long time ago.

Figure 65. A simple hiragana chart in a washroom made by Ken's mother



The data from interviews with Ken and his mother indicates that he lives in a media-rich home. He is surrounded by a range of print media (books, comics, magazines, textbooks, dictionaries, etc.) as well as technologies (television, computers, laptops, mobile phones, games consoles, etc.). Not only this family but also the families in my study reported buying reading materials while visiting Japan every year, books, comics and magazines were frequent gifts from Japanese grandparents and relatives. Additionally, as Tigert (2017) discusses, some reading materials could also be ordered online to be sent to be either in electronic or paper-based form to Barcelona.

9.3 The Educational Principles of Ken's Mother

Ken and Mika have been in the same class since they were four years old. Interestingly, Ken's mother is the youngest mother of a child in that class whereas Mika's mother is the oldest, with an age difference of 15 years. Ken's mother is very keen to assist the children's language education and acquisition and is very sensitive about raising Ken and his brother, her multicultural children in Barcelona. She had already decided to send her children to Hoshuko, even before Ken was born. She mentioned that going to Hoshuko is not an optional extra, but an essential thing to do. According to her, when Ken was born, there was no other Japanese school in Barcelona other than Hoshuko. That is why she knew that she was going to bring her son there in four years time. Nowadays, there are two other private Japanese language schools for children in Barcelona which means that there are other options to choose from. Ken's mother described to me her process for

choosing the kindergarten in Barcelona which her sons would attend from Monday to Friday.

[Citation 9-14] 子供をバルセロナでどの学校に入れようかなって考えていた時、私はかなり神経質になってこだわっていたと思います。外国で子育てをするのがすごく心配で、すごくインターネットで調べまくったんです。“chino bullying” and “chino discriminación”とかグーグルで検索して。いくつかバルセロナの学校とか出てきて、もちろん、そういういじめや差別がありそうな学校には子供を入れたくなかったんで。そうやっている時に、ある日本人ママから、あの concertada はいいよって勧められたから見学しに行ってみて、そしたら結構よくて。何がよかったかって、それは多文化な雰囲気先生も多文化の子を受け入れるのに慣れている感じだったから。

I was very picky and sensitive when I was choosing the school my children would attend in Barcelona. I was very worried about raising my children outside of Japan. Then, I was searching for the words like “chino bullying” and “chino discriminación” in Google, and found some schools in Barcelona amongst the results. Of course, I did not want to send my children to the schools with the problems of bullying and racial discrimination. While I was searching for schools, one of my Japanese friends recommended a school to me which happened to be the *concertada*. So, one day I went there to observe classes and I liked it because it was a multicultural atmosphere and teachers are used to welcoming multicultural children.

As is depicted in citation 9-14, Ken’s mother was looking for a multicultural environment for her sons because she was afraid of them getting bullied at school due to the fact that they are half Asian. She told me that even though her children are Spanish-Japanese, the vast majority of people here would guess that they are Chinese. In other words, Chinese are more well-known than Japanese. Therefore, she put “chino bullying” and “chino discriminación” in Google in order to find a better school. Okita (2001) argues that Japanese mothers have to “deal with internal conflicts,” “balance various needs or demands” among which language is only one, “monitor” their children’s learning process continuously and carefully, and shoulder the “blame” if anything goes wrong, all of which can generate anxiety for the mothers (p. 224-226). Furthermore, Lin (2018) highlights that raising children bilingually in intermarried families is indeed “emotionally demanding work” (p. 4). In citation 9-15, Ken’s mother mentions another reason why she decided on this concertada.

[Citation 9-15] もちろん、他にこの学校のよかった点は英語教育に力を入れているってところかな。科目によって、カタラ

ン語、スペイン語、英語で教えるようになっていて。だから今けんは 4 年生なんだけど、社会とか科学とかは英語で習っているんですよ。英語の家庭教師の先生が言うには、そのレベルは結構低いらしいけど、でもやっぱこの学校入って英語力を上げてほしいとは思って選んだかな。小さい時から英語やっておけば大人で勉強するより苦労しないっていうじゃない。私は成人してからアメリカ行って英語を勉強したけど、それじゃ、遅すぎたかなって感じるから。それで結構苦労したんですよ。だから子供達にはその苦労を味あわせたくないなあって。だから小さいうちから、色々な言語の勉強はしておいたほうがいいのかなって思っています。

Of course, the other advantage of this *concertada* is that it focuses on English education. Depending on the subject, lessons are conducted in Catalan, Spanish or English. Currently, Ken is in grade four and he learns social sciences and natural sciences in English. His private English tutor whom I have been contracting said that the English level of this school is low. But I chose this school because I thought my children would be able to acquire English much easier compared with adult English learners. When I went to the USA I was already an adult. You know it is too late. I was struggling with speaking English and had difficulty acquiring it. I do not want my children to have the same difficult experience of language learning. Therefore, I thought that they have to start learning foreign languages when they are very young.

As Ken's mother explains in citation 9-15, his weekday school teaches several subjects in a foreign language (English). Comajoan (2003) describes the language acquisition explicitly.

Només cal esperar que en el futur les relacions entre l'adquisició de llengües i altres disciplines, presents des dels inicis de l'estudi científic, facin que l'adquisició de primeres llengües i l'adquisició de segones llengües s'apropin i no es diferenciïn per por de quedar l'una engolida per l'altra o per vergonya d'assemblar-se l'una a l'altra (p. 39).

Furthermore, during the interviews with Ken's mother, she explained to me the importance of learning English for her children. She strongly believes that having English skills is vital in this globalised world. In addition to that, as she thinks that English is as important as Catalan, Spanish and Japanese for her children, she has been hiring a private English teacher who is an English native speaker for her children, since Ken was seven years old. For this mother, acquiring English proficiency is a must because English is the lingua franca in Europe. She is also thinking of letting her son study abroad (SA) in the future, and in fact this school has SA programs with schools in the UK. This idea coincides with Pérez-Vidal's (2013) suggestion.

This seems to indicate that our learners should have access to both CLIL programs and SA programs if we want to obtain the objective of multilingual education. A combination of these two specific contexts of learning, in addition to the conventional FI [formal instruction] context, should help them develop as young multilinguals, able to communicate in an increasingly changing international society in which knowledge of languages and positive attitudes toward multiculturalism are important requisites for success (p. 82).

9.4 Literacy Practices at Home

When I conducted the first interview with Ken's mother, I asked what typical literacy practices she does with her child. Citation 9-16 is her answer. At that time, Ken was in grade one.

[Citation 9-16] 短くても何でもいいから、私は息子に毎日、日本語で日記をかかせるようにしています。それから日本語の読解問題みたいのも時々やっています。それから、短い文章とかを読んで、日本語でそれを説明するみたいな、短い文を書く練習なんかもしています。スペイン語とカタラン語と英語に関しては、週1でスペリングテストがあるので、練習しています。それから宿題で、短い文とか詩を写して覚えるみたいな宿題が時々出たりします。それはカタラン語でやることが多いかな。
I make my son (Ken) write something every day like a diary in Japanese even if it is short. Also he sometimes does workbooks in Japanese to understand short texts. After reading short texts, he is asked to write a few sentences in Japanese. Regarding Spanish, Catalan and English, he practices spelling for a test which is once a week. Also he sometimes has homework in which he has to copy poems or short texts and memorise them. He does this in Catalan more than any other languages.

Next I asked her what the most recent literacy activities that she did with her child at home were. She mentioned two activities as follows.

[Citation 9-17] 最近、あの子とやった読み書きと言えば、詩と一緒に覚えたことかな。もう1つは日本語の参考書を使って、読解の練習問題をしたこと。
One of the reading/writing activities that I did with him (Ken) recently is memorising poems and the other one is using Japanese workbooks to practice reading comprehension.

When I conducted the first interview with Ken's mother (at that time Ken was six years old), she said that she had to sit beside him when he did his Japanese homework because

he was still too young to complete it. However, when I asked her mother about the homework three years later, she no longer sits beside him to do the homework together. He is able to do his Japanese homework alone, although he often asks his mother about unfamiliar words. I also observed that the older the child was, the less likely the parent was to intervene with homework in any way. When Ken began grade four, I conducted the third interview with his mother. A couple of months before the interview, he started an interesting habit thanks to his mother's suggestion. His mother bought huge pieces of paper in order to teach him organisational skills. He has his homework from Hoshuko which he cannot finish in one day. Therefore, his mother came up with the idea of dividing homework over seven days and organising them visually on a big poster. Below she explained in detail how she helps him do it at home.

[Citation 9-18] 前から子供ともっと一緒にいて勉強みてあげられたらなあって思っていたんですけど、どうしても私も仕事しているしできないんですよ。それが残念でどうしようかなって。もちろん子供達は少しは自分で宿題できるんですけど全部じゃないんですよ。特に日本語の宿題は私がついていてあげないと。だから私が仕事で家にいなくても出来る方法はないかなって考えていたんです。それである方法が思いついて大きな画用紙を買ってきてそれを7つに分けることにしたんです。7つっていうのは一週間の7日っていう意味でけんにポストイットにやらなきゃいけないことを書かせて。例えば「教科書ワークの10ページをやる」「あかねこの漢字の15ページをやる」とか1つずつポストイットに書かせたんです。それでそれを日に分けさせて貼らせたんです。このポストイットのいいところはできたら終わってとれるし、その日できなかつたら次の日とかに移動させられるっていうこと。これで自分で計画立てられるようになってほしいな。

I always wanted to spend more time with my children to look at their studies, but because I am working, there is not enough time. It is frustrating. They can do some of their homework by themselves, but not everything. Especially, they still need my help when it comes to their Japanese homework. So, I was thinking how they can study by themselves without me staying at home. Then I got an idea. One day, I bought a big white poster and divided it into seven parts which represent seven days. Separately, I asked Ken to write what he has to do on PostIt notes. For example, he wrote “workbook page 10” and “kanji book page 15,” etc. on Post it notes. Then I asked him to allocate them day by day. The advantage of using this is that he can easily remove them when he has done them, or he can push them forward if he could not finish them on the planned day. By doing this, I hope he will learn organisation skills as well as complete his homework more easily.

The following figure is a picture of his schedule of this week.

Figure 66. Ken's homework schedule using a poster and PostIt notes



[Translation] Monday...Read textbook and memorise new kanji of building, yellow, rest. / Tuesday...Read textbook and memorise new kanji of sunny, humid and driver's seat/ Wednesday...Read textbook and kanji workbook page 18. / Thursday... kanji workbook page 19 and 20. / Friday...Memorise new kanji of gain weight, fly, and green. / Saturday...Write an essay and review this week's kanji. / Sunday ... Do a reading comprehension workbook.

They use color PostIt notes effectively. For example, orange is for kanji practice, yellow is for workbook and pink is for reading from a textbook which teachers recommend their students do every day. This schedule poster covers only Japanese studies and Maths, not Catalan, Spanish, English and other studies. His mother wanted Ken to do his homework by himself even if she is not at home with him. Based on the roles of his parents described in section 9.1.1, his mother teaches him Japanese and Maths at home. Therefore, this schedule poster includes only these two subjects. I also asked him how he found this activity and how he feels when doing this literacy event with his mother.

[Citation 9-19] この書くやつは別に面白くも、つまなくもないよ。ママのだから。ママがこうやってって。これを見たら今日何するかわかる。終わった後ポストイットをはがすの楽しい。それから全部一週間のが終わったら土日に映画を見ながらポップコーンを食べていいんだよ。いいでしょ。
This creative activity is neither fun nor boring. It was my mom's idea. My mom said to do it this way. But now I know what I have to do today. It is fun when I take off the PostIt notes after completing it. Also, once I have finished everything, I am allowed to watch a movie and eat popcorn. That is great, isn't it?

The mother thinks that this reward system works well because it motivates him to study hard and complete the given tasks. She continued to explain to me that when they go to

Japan in summer, they will bring this poster and these PostIt notes so that Ken is able to keep up this habit even in Japan. She said this poster is relatively big and not easy to carry (approximately 1m x 1.5m), however she believes that it is important to maintain this routine whole summer. The mother reported that so far this method of organising his homework is working well and she wants him to continue this as a habit. Consequently, she tries to teach not only Japanese, but also organisational skills as an important tool to work/study effectively. Since Ken was one or two years old, his mother has done her best to read Japanese books with him regularly. Once he started a Japanese formal education at the Hoshuko at the age of six, his mother encouraged him to keep a diary entry in Japanese. Also since he was four years old, this whole family including his Catalan father go back to Japan every summer to spend time with Ken’s grandparents. What Ken does or used to do regularly at home in Japanese is common among other children of intermarried families. For instance, Yanase (2017) reported that her Chinese-Japanese participants also read Japanese books, keep a diary, experience Japanese school in summer, and partake in typical literacy events at home to help HL development. The following table lists the literacy practices at home in the five surrounding languages.

Table 55. Literacy practices at hom

Languages	What Ken does with the languages
English	Reading books which his parents bought Doing his homework Watching YouTube Watching DVDs
Catalan	Reading books which his parents bought Doing his homework Sending IMs to his grandmother
Spanish	Reading books which his parents bought Doing his homework Watching YouTube Playing mobile app games and PlayStation
Japanese	Reading books which he borrows from the Hoshuko Doing his homework Writing holiday cards Writing a week schedule on the poster Watching TV programs Playing Nintendo 2DS games Sending IMs to extended family in Japan

As shown above, some same literacy practices are carried out across different languages. It was discovered that Ken uses four languages on a daily basis for different activities at home. Table 55 infers the following five points.

- 1) Among these four languages, Japanese has the most literacy practices at home which indicates the keenness of his mother towards Japanese education despite the fact that they live far away from Japan.
- 2) Ken uses Catalan and Japanese to communicate with his extended family. This could be a good motivator for him to keep learning Japanese in Barcelona.
- 3) He plays video games in Spanish, English and Japanese. Although he is allowed to play only on the weekend, this could play an important role in helping his language development.
- 4) Although he does not borrow books from the library, his parents buy them for him so that he is able to read them anytime he wants. He reads books in four languages which helps his language development.
- 5) With the exception of Catalan, he receives lots of input in the three other languages, Spanish, English and Japanese by watching TV programs or YouTube. This could help his listening and speaking skills.

Although he is usually busy with doing his homework, his mother and he are trying to find spare time to practice reading and writing.

9.5 Writing Samples

I have compiled five of Ken's Japanese writing samples for Bunshu from when he was between the ages of four and eight. As described in section 6.1.2.1, at the end of academic year which is every March, Hoshuko publishes a collection of all students' essays which is called Bunshu. Depending on their age, the topic of essay, its length and the format of writing sheet varies. Appendix 3.2.1 represents Ken's development of Japanese writing skills over the past five years. At age four, everyone in his class put ink on their hands and stamped them on a piece of paper. This is kept as a memory from a time when his hands were quite small. He did not write anything, but he did draw several pictures in the empty spaces.

Figure 67. Ken's work when he was four years old



The following table illustrates the quantitative aspects of these samples.

Table 56. Quantitative aspects of Ken's Japanese writing samples

Age	Topic	Total number of bunsetsu	Total number of kanji	Number of paragraphs
Four years	Hands of hard worker	0	0	0
Five years	My favourite	10	0	0
Six years	Memories of winter break	32	15	2
Seven years	Dear grade six me	57	44	4
Eight years	My memories of this year	147	124	5

From the table above, it is apparent that as Ken got older, he was able to write longer essays with more kanji and more complicated bunsetsu. Especially, when he turned six years old, the total number of kanji and the number of paragraphs in his Japanese essays increased drastically. As the age of six, his formal Japanese education started and he was introduced to lots of new kanji as well as the new habit of keeping a diary entry in Japanese. He learned 80 kanji in grade one, 160 in grade two and 200 in grade three. In total, he is supposed to know and use 440 kanji characters. When he wrote essays in grades two and three, he used all learned kanji correctly in his own essays. The table below lists sentences which contained the most kanji in that essay.

Table 57. Example sentences showing correct usage of kanji

Grade (age)	Japanese sentences	Number of kanji	Translation
G1 (six)	一月五日、レジエス・マゴスのために、ぼくとおとうとはおかしとみずとじぶんたちのくつをそとにおいておきました。	4	On January 5th, my younger brother and I put a snack, water and our own socks outside to Reyes Magos.
G2 (seven)	二年生のぼくは、かん字をおぼえるのがすごくむずかしくて大へんだけど、毎週大すきな	10	Currently grade two me has difficulties memorising kanji, but I am doing my best with my

	友だちと、ほしゅう校をがんばっています。		favorite friends at Hoshuko.
G3 (eight)	ぼくが、三年生の一年間で一番楽しかったことは、夏休みにぼくたち余人とおじいちゃんおばあちゃんの家族六人で四国へ旅行へ行ったことです。	22	The most fun thing in my third grade is going on a trip with our family six people, four of us and grandfather and grandmother.

From the table above, we can see that the sentence he wrote in grade one has four kanji. However, he could have written five kanji because he was supposed to know and use the kanji for water which is 水. Although he was introduced to this kanji in a class, he forgot to use it in his essay and wrote this word in hiragana instead, a practice which is not recommended. In Japan, once a child has learned a new kanji, he or she is supposed to use it instead of hiragana when it comes to writing. This is the way that Japanese people acquire kanji skills and a Japanese adult is supposed to know a total of 2,136 kanji, collectively known as Jouyou kanji, meaning “everyday kanji.” It is worth noting that before the school publishes the annual Bunshu (the formal collection of students’ essays), all parents and teachers proofread the document many times to ensure that no mistakes remain in this important yearly project of the Hoshuko. As a matter of fact, according to Ken’s mother, she helped him write these essays in Japanese during winter break since it was the homework task assigned to this holiday.

9.6 Digital Literacy

9.6.1 Video Games and Mobile Apps

According to Tigert (2017), digital literacies are treated by HLL’s parents as follows.

While parents were fairly involved in traditional literacy practices such as homework and reading aloud with their children, digital literacies such as video games, DVD movies, and YouTube videos did not receive the same level of parental promotion and involvement. Parents did of course indirectly contribute to their children’s engagement with these practices by making available the electronic devices and the media needed for them. However, parents did not seem very knowledgeable about the digital literacies with which their children were engaging, or how those could contribute to their children’s HL acquisition (p. 113).

His mother, like the vast majority of participants' mothers, has a negative attitude towards her children using electronic devices all the time (see section 7.1.4). Generally speaking, she allows her children to play video games only at weekends. This policy has not been changed since the first interview was conducted. However, she briefly mentioned her complaint about her children's behaviour during summer break explicitly.

[Citation 9-20] 夏休みは、義理の母に子供たちを家で見てもらうように頼むんですよ。ほら、私、外で仕事あるから。でも私が家に帰ってきたら、ゲームは週末しかやっちゃいけないことになっているんだけど、子供は結局ゲームして待っていたりしてね。週末しかゲームしなきゃいけないっていうのは結構前から子供と私の間でルールになってずっと守ってきていたんだけど、やっぱり夏休みはしょうがないかな。おばあちゃんが家にいる時はそれができなくて、残念なんだけど。まあ、私もおばあちゃんのことわかるっちゃ、わかるんだけど。やっぱりあの子達を一日中見る元気っていうか体力が、おばあちゃんにはそんなにないから。そりゃゲームやらせておけば静かだし、おばあちゃんは楽よね。だから、結局最近何時間くらい子供がゲームしているのかわからないんですよ。もうちょっと把握しきれないんですよ。

During summer break, I occasionally ask my mother-in-law to take care of my children at home while I go out for work. But when I come back home, my children often end up playing video games even though it is not weekend. I created a rule with my children of not playing games during weekdays and they have been following that rule, but in summer with their grandmother at home, it is difficult for them to follow it, unfortunately. I kind of understand it because the grandmother does not have enough energy to take care of them for the whole day. It is easier if you let them play video games because they will be quiet. Therefore, I really have no idea how many hours they play in a day recently. I lost track of the time.

Similar to other children, Ken loves playing mobile games and video games, particularly using his Nintendo 2DS. Nintendo is probably the most famous Japanese multinational consumer electronics and video game company which has developed a dual-screen handheld game console. This game console has two LCD screens which work in tandem, a built-in microphone, and support for wireless connectivity. The bottom screen features a touchscreen. In addition to that, The Nintendo 2DS has the capacity for multiple DS consoles to directly interact with each other over Wi-Fi within a short range, without the need to connect to an existing wireless network. This game console is very popular among children not only in Japan but also in the world. Needless to say, it is observable that the

vast majority of boys in younger grades at the Hoshuko own this console, although it is prohibited to bring it to school on Saturdays. As a matter of fact, eight out of 11 participants of this study answered that they have one or two Nintendo 2DSs at home that they either currently use or used to use regularly for fun. Ken got his own Nintendo 2DS when he was six years old. His younger brother also received one when he was four years old. Ken's mother explained to me the episode of buying these game console.

[Citation 9-21] 子供達に日本で 2DS を買ったんですよ。っていうのも私達毎年夏、日本行くじゃないですか。だから向こうで買ったんです。もちろん、バルセロナでも買えるけど。でも日本で買ったっていうのは、日本で買うと日本語のゲームしかできなくなるんですよ。それにゲームのソフトも日本でしか買えなくなるし。実はこれは補習校ママにそうしたほうがいいよって勧められて日本で買ったんです。でもいい考えかなって思っていて。だってバルセロナにいながら、ゲームを通して日本語に少しだけでも触れられるし。

We bought these games console Nintendo 2DS for our children (Ken and his brother) in Japan. You know every summer we spend time in Japan. At that time, we bought them in Japan. Of course, you can buy them in Barcelona, but the reason why I did buy them in Japan is because if you buy game consoles in Japan, you can play only the Japanese games. Children are able to read and learn Japanese while they play. Actually this idea is a recommendation from other Japanese mothers at the Hoshuko. I thought it is a good idea because I want to my children to be exposed to Japanese as much as possible in Barcelona.

The following figures were taken when Kaisuike was playing with Nintendo 2DS.

Figure 68. Japanese language video game from a Nintendo 2DS



[Translation] Good! It is level up! // Information. / R...Rooftop. / 4th floor...Direction office. / 3rd floor...Reception room. / 2nd floor...Gimmy shop and Level up room. / 1st floor...Entrance. / Basement...Sasurai sports stadium.



[Translation] Welcome to Gimmy. // Information. / R...Rooftop. / 4th floor...Direction office. / 3rd floor...Reception room. / 2nd floor...Gimmy shop and Level up room. / 1st floor...Entrance. / Basement...Sasurai sports stadium.



[Translation] An escapee from hell. // Objective...Find the prison breaker! / Place...In a town of Otsukai. / Ranking...8. / Time-limit...30 minutes. / Reward...2200. / Emergency in King of Busters. Chase the worse monster who escaped from a jail! // Chapter 9 Look for a summit of Busters.

As the figures above show, he has to read and understand some short sentences in Japanese to continue playing the games. When he encounters some unknown kanji, he skips them or asks his mother how to read it and what it means. Ken's mother believes that this attitude is positive because he is learning and using Japanese unconsciously in a fun way. During the third interview with Ken's mother, she explained to me the video game which Ken plays most often with his friends recently. This survival game is called *Fortnite* and it is a kind of dystopia. It is set on Earth, where the sudden appearance of a worldwide storm causes 98% of the world's population to disappear, and zombie-like creatures rise to attack the remainder. Fortnite has up to four players cooperating on various missions randomly. Ken's mother described how Ken plays this game with his friends at home.

[Citation 9-22] 最近のゲームっていうのはすごいですね。本当に私達の想像を超えているっていうか。けんがゲームする時、

耳にヘッドフォンつけて、それでオンライン上でゲームの中で友達と待ち合わせするんですよ。実際に会うんじゃなくて。それぞれの家にいながらゲームするんですけど、夜9時とかにゲームに集合して。それでゲームの中では何か問題解決するために友達と話したりするみたい。けんの友達はスペイン人なんでスペイン語で話していますね。ゲーム自体にもスペイン語が表示されていたと思います。こっちで買ったゲームだし。でもゲームやっていいのは週末だけってことにしています。

Contemporary video games are fascinating. It is completely beyond my imagination. When Ken plays, he puts on a headset and meets his friends online, not physically. They play games from their own homes and get together in a video game at 9 o'clock at night. They need to talk to solve problems in the game. Ken talks in Spanish because his friends are Spaniards. I think this game displays in Spanish too because we bought this here in Barcelona. I allow him to play video games only on the weekends.

In general, she has negative attitudes toward playing video games. For that reason, she recounted that “I sometimes utilise tablets to show him some Japanese music on YouTube. But I do not allow him to use them when I am not there.” In the first interview with her in 2015, she told that she permitted him to use those devices only on the weekend. When I conducted the interview in 2018, she revealed that she has not changed this rule. She believes that playing video games could be very addictive and she needs to set a time limit for her sons. Furthermore, she assumes that letting him use a computer and a tablet too much could cause a negative influence on their Japanese writing skills because she herself forgets kanji if she has not written it using pen and paper. The following figures are some screenshots taken by Ken’s mother. According to her, Ken really enjoys playing this game because even if they live far away, they can still meet within the game, talk and play together.

Figure 69. Fortnite (taken from PlayStation 4 gameplay)



Sidani (2017) highlights the role of digital media explicitly.

The process of acquiring knowledge and language proficiency has changed significantly because of digital media; this process necessitates a better understanding of how the process has changed and how existing practices need to be revised for new contexts (p. 11).

Moreover, according to Gee and Hayes (2011), “digital media deliver knowledge and language, just like writing and print do. But they do so faster, more widely, more easily and in a way that allows rapid modification and wider participation” (p. 88).

9.6.2 IMs and Voice Messages

His first contact with technology was back when he was eight or nine months. His father was watching music videos, TV programs, news, etc. for fun on his mobile phone while holding Ken in his arms. Ken was staring at the screen, but Ken’s mother did not like it much because she thought it was not good for babies. When Ken turned three or four years old, Ken’s mother started to download some mobile apps for educational as well as leisure purposes. Ken listened to Japanese fairy tales and children’s songs and practiced hiragana and simple Maths exercises through free apps. For leisure purposes, he played cards, watched Japanese cartoons on YouTube and played some games. When Ken was five or six years old, his mother casually taught him how to type hiragana on her mobile phone and it seemed he understood how it worked. Moreover, around that time, his parents bought the first tablet for Ken and his brother. His mother also taught them how to unlock the password and set a rule which allowed them to use the tablet only on the weekend. Ken and his brother still really enjoy watching YouTube with the tablet. As Ken was frequently watching his mother texting and sending voice messages, when he turned seven years old, he began to text and send voice messages to his grandparents in Catalan and Japanese. His mother did not teach him how to do that thoroughly, however he has explored it by himself by pushing different icons and eventually he figured out how to send IMs via WhatsApp and LINE. The following table summarises his activities related to the tablet and mobile phone.

Table 58. Ken's activities with technology

Age	Type of activity
3-4 years old	Listened to fairy tales and songs in Japanese. Practiced hiragana with flash cards. Practiced simple mathematics. Played games. Watched YouTube.
5-6 years old	Unlocked the passwords. Typed Japanese (hiragana) and Catalan. Played games. Watched YouTube. Used mobile's camera.
7 years old-present	Sends IMs and voice messages. Plays games. Watches YouTube. Uses mobile's camera.

From the table, it is clear that Ken has gradually gained skills of in working with different technologies. He has learned these skills not only from his parents, but also through independent learning. Nowadays he sometimes uses his mother's mobile phone to send IMs and voice messages to his Catalan and Japanese grandmothers in Catalan and to his grandparents in Japanese. However, he told me that he uses voice messages more than IMs because it is easier and faster. His Catalan grandmother occasionally sends him both voice and written messages with pictures via his mother's phone. He usually replies by sending voice messages. Those often consist of short greetings such as "merci" and "bona nit." Other times, however, records longer messages answering his grandmother's questions. The table below is some examples of what he said in voice messages.

Table 59. Summary of how Ken uses voice messages

To who	Language	Method	Example of voice messages
Grandmother in Barcelona	Catalan	WhatsApp	He menjat pastís. Hi ha una obra de teatre a la escola, vindràs a veure'm.
Grandparents in Japan	Japanese	LINE, Skype	もうすぐ日本に行くのが楽しみだよ。 [Translation] I look forward to going to Japan soon. 昨日学校で発表会があったよ。ビデオ見てね。 [Translation] Yesterday we had a school play. Watch the video.

In terms of frequency, compared with playing video games, he does not send many IMs to his extended family members. When he feels like sending messages or voicemail, he does. According to his mother, he sends them to his two grandmothers once or twice a month. He sends Catalan written messages and voicemails more than he sends Japanese ones. Naturally, due to the physical distance, he spends more time with his Catalan grandmother compared with his Japanese one. However, he knows how to type different languages using mobile phones and how to send messages to his grandparents. Since these are IMs, each message has only three to 20 words. He showed his interest by saying that he likes sending messages via WhatsApp and LINE because even if the opponents live far away, he is still able to communicate easily. At the moment, his mother is not planning to buy a mobile phone for him because the vast majority of his friends do not have one yet either. However, once he has one, his literacy activities in social media would be expanded immediately. Although his mother considers playing Nintendo 2DS in Japanese to be beneficial for Ken, she believes playing video games too often has a negative influence on him. She admits that playing them could be addictive because if there is no time-limit, he keeps playing them for a long time. For that reason, they made a rule which is that it is ok to play video games only on weekends. This rule has been in effect since Ken was four years old. He is now nine years old and this rule which was made between him and his mother has remained unbroken.

9.7 Conclusion

Despite the fact that I knew Ken and his mother in person even before conducting this research, I was able to get to know them better after the interview of this case study. Similar to Mika's mother, Ken's mother is also very enthusiastic about children's language acquisition and development. Even though he was born and is growing up in Barcelona, his mother tries to create a better environment for him to acquire English and Japanese, in addition to Spanish and Catalan. His mother strongly believes that when one learns languages, it is always good to learn from native speakers of that target language. With this belief, she hired a private British teacher for his son's English. She also decided to send him to the Hoshuko where all teachers are Japanese native speakers. However,

she acknowledged that when Ken was four years old, there was no other Japanese school available for children in Barcelona. The Hoshuko was the only option she had at that time. For that reason, sending her sons to the school is not special. She recounted to me that going there every Saturday is already a routine for him and he looks forward to meeting his friends there. Therefore, both Ken and his mother have very positive perspectives towards learning Japanese as a HL in Barcelona. In his everyday life, his mother creates an appropriate environment so that he is able to have more exposure to Japanese. For example, the following is the list that he has exposure to:

- Every summer, Ken and his family spend time in Japan.
- He sometimes plays video games in Japanese.
- He has some educational posters at home and looks at them intentionally and unintentionally.
- He organises a weekly schedule on a big poster.
- He sometimes sends IMs or voice messages in Japanese.
- He watches TV in Japanese.
- He does his Japanese homework and prepares for kanji tests every week.
- He sometimes reads books in Japanese.

His and his mother's effort to learn Japanese is phenomenal, knowing that learning a HL is not easy at all. She started to join a Japanese mothers' community group even before Ken started to walk. She wanted him to have lots of exposure to Japanese and also wanted to get some useful information from other Japanese mothers in Barcelona. She built a good network there and sometimes obtained some advice from other Japanese mothers who have older children.

The digital literacy practices in the list above include watching TV and sending IMs. Ken's mother has a contract with a Japanese TV program provider so that her family can watch Japanese TV programs as if they were in Japan. In this way, Ken is able to listen to and learn Japanese whenever he turns on TV. His mother actually does not like Spanish TV programs so much and does not want to show them to her sons. She occasionally allows Ken to use her mobile phone because he wants to send IM or voice messages to

his grandparents. Ken's mother acknowledges the usefulness of a TV and a mobile phone, however she does not permit Ken to use them all the time. With regards to her perspectives towards technology and video games, similar to the vast majority of the Japanese mothers in this study, she has negative perspectives. She is worried that if there is no time limit, Ken would keep playing games forever. Moreover, she assumes that if he keeps using a computer/tablet/mobile phone, instead of pen and paper, he would forget some kanji because that actually happens to her. The loss of kanji is problematic not only for these multilingual children but also for people in Japan.

His weekday school puts more emphasis on English than other public schools in Barcelona. In fact, he learns social science and natural science in English at school. In spite of his mother's ability of teaching him basic English, she does not do that because it is better for him to learn languages from native speakers. As a matter of fact, this family clearly divides the role of teaching the children at home, as Table 53 indicates. His father never teaches English, although he is also able to teach basic English. Instead, he is in charge of looking after all of the Catalan and Spanish homework. Also he spends time preparing for tests with Ken. The parents divide not only the tasks of teaching languages, but also languages they speak to their children. His father always uses Catalan when he talks with Ken, whereas his mother uses Japanese. Therefore, this family follows OPOL policy and clearly separates their roles as language educators.

CHAPTER 10

CONCLUSION OF CASE STUDIES

Index

10.1 Conclusion of the Two Case Studies

10.2 Social Factors

10.3 Heritage Language Use

In this chapter, I summarise two presented case studies by comparing and contrasting them. Although they have different language background and different literacy practices at home, both of them are the same age and have been in the same class at the Hoshuko since they were four years old. I also looked for more similarities and differences between them. Throughout the analysis of two case studies, two essential factors have emerged. One of them is that there are various social factors which surround these multilingual children and the other one is that they use their HL at home.

10.1 Conclusion of the Two Case Studies

Based on Luke and Freebody's (1997) statement, researchers from the social practice perspectives on literacy suggest that literacy studies focus on engaging in praxis, which is action based on reflection, in order to seek possibilities for social change, cultural diversity, economic equity, and political enfranchisement through this kind of discursive practice. Therefore, I have presented what my participants do, act, and say about their trajectories of social engagement over time, by drawing from multiple sources of data that shape and influence their lived experiences. In addition to that, I have documented and examined any literacy-related artifacts including materials and texts that were available to Ken and Mika or that were actively used within the literacy events I observed. Analysing texts available to children has been used as a way to examine literacy environments, and these have been found to have an effect on the type of literacy activities in which students engage (Dowhower & Beagle, 1998; Reese, Garnier, Gallimore & Goldenberg, 2000; Jeong, Gaffney & Choi, 2010; Neuman & Celano, 2001; Saracho,

2002). Since I was in a multilingual environment, I also focused on the languages in which these two participants demonstrated literacy both at the Hoshuko and at home. I took pictures of significant artifacts such as the Hoshuko homework, essays, and the books on the two participants' bookshelves at home, etc. and described artifacts in my ethnographic diary.

It was found that Ken uses Catalan, Spanish, English and Japanese on a daily basis and engages in various literacy activities at home. The types of literacy activities range from the traditional style which uses pen and paper, to a more contemporary style which uses a mobile phone and/or tablet. Although his mother sets a time-limit for the use of tablet, I collected some digital literacy activities from Ken. Although Ken and Mika are the same age and it was reported that both of them like writing, both similarities and differences between them are found throughout Chapter 8 to 9. The below table presents the language use of these two participants at home. This is an excerpt from the questionnaire that I asked each mother to fill out at the beginning of the study. Therefore, it is self-reported. The percentage indicates how much conversation occurs between the participant and each family member.

Table 60. Language use within the families

	Mika		Ken	
From father to the child	Spanish and English	30%	Catalan	30%
From the child to father	Spanish and English		Catalan	
From mother to the child	English, Japanese and French	70%	Japanese	30%
From the child to mother	English, Japanese and French		Japanese and Spanish	
From his/her sibling to the child	N/A	N/A	Spanish and Catalan	30%
From the child to his/her sibling	N/A	N/A	Spanish and Catalan	

From his/her grandparents to the child	N/A	N/A	Catalan and Japanese	10%
From the child to his/her grandparents	N/A	N/A	Catalan and Japanese	

The main difference between these two participants as indicated by the above table is that when Mika responds to her parents, she uses the same language that the parent uses, whereas when Ken responds to his mother, he sometimes uses Spanish as well. As a matter of fact, according to these mothers, Mika's mother reported that Mika speaks Japanese as well as other languages she speaks, whereas Ken's mother reported that Ken speaks Spanish better than Japanese. With regards to their Japanese studies of Mika and Ken, some similarities as well as differences are found. Several similarities are:

1. They started to go to Hoshuko at the age of four and they have each been there for five and half years.
2. They do their homework and prepare for kanji exams every week.
3. They go back to Japan every summer for one or two months.
4. They send holiday cards to their Japanese grandparents annually.
5. Occasionally, they send text or voice messages to their Japanese grandparents using their parents' mobile phones.
6. They read Japanese books.

Although six similarities were found, it is vital to point out some of the differences in terms of learning Japanese as a heritage language. For instance, Mika does not play nor own game consoles, whereas Ken plays the Nintendo 2DS, Wii and PlayStation with his friends and younger brother. Moreover, when he uses the Nintendo 2DS, he can only play Japanese games because his mother bought it in Japan on purpose. Regarding Japanese literacy practices at home, Ken has started to organise his weekly schedule by creating a big poster in Japanese. Also when Ken was two and three years old, he was taking Japanese distance learning courses, whereas when Mika was three years old, she started going to piano and classical ballet classes which are taught in Spanish. However, both

mothers are very keen about their children's Japanese acquisition and they were trying to read Japanese books to them as much as possible. This was also one of the recommendations from the Hoshuko.

With regards to these mothers' perspectives, both of them were looking for a multilingual/multicultural environment for the children's weekday school. Furthermore, during the interviews, they emphasised the importance of English skills in this globalised world. In terms of the use of technology at home, both families have a time-limit. Mika's family allows her to use 20 minutes on weekdays and 30 minutes on the weekend after finishing her homework, whereas Ken's family permits one hour on Fridays and Saturdays. Both mothers assume that if they do not set a time-limit, their children would not stop playing video games and watching YouTube. Therefore, they prefer to control it while the mothers are at home. Moreover, they also revealed to me that they allow their children to use a mobile phone and/or tablet only in the living room where they can see what the children are doing. In regards to the influence of technology on the children, both mothers did not express as positive an attitude as they did in the interview (see Appendix 3.1.1 and 4.1.1). They argue the relationship between the use of technology and writing skills explicitly.

[Citation 10-1]

Mika's mother: 個人的にはテクノロジーから何か効果があるなんて全然期待していません。私の考えでは、本を読んだり書いたりというアクティブラーニングが大切だと思っています。それはテレビを見たり、タブレットを使ったりする受身のラーニングよりずっといいと思うわ。アクティブラーニングはその子をクリエイティブにしてくれたり、思考力、創造力を使わせると思うから。それでもっと書くのも上手になるんじゃないかなと思いますね。だから娘にはあまりテクノロジーに頼ってほしくないです。そうではなくて、アクティブラーニングのほうをもっと積極的に実行していってくれたらなと思っています。

I think it neither enhances nor hampers writing skills. Personally, I have very few expectations from technology and do not want to rely on it. In my opinion, active learning such as reading books or writing is more important than passive learning like watching TV and using tablets. That stimulates creativity and critical thinking. Also it leads to advanced and sophisticated writing skills. Therefore, I do not want my daughter to rely on technology too much, instead I want her to carry out more active learning.

[Citation 10-2]

Ken's mother: 個人的にはやっぱりテクノロジーは書く力に悪影響があると思います。やっぱり私でさえ、漢字をしばらく使っていなかったら忘れてたりしますからね。だから私が思うに、手を使って紙と鉛筆で書くのってすごく大事なあと。

Personally, I think technology hampers writing skills because I myself forget kanji if I do not use it for a long time. So, in my opinion, writing by hand is crucial.

Both Mika and Ken do not practice writing with a mobile phone and tablet, rather they use a pen and paper because these mothers in my study firmly believe that practicing with a hand makes memorisation easier, especially with respect to the writing of kanji.

10.2 Social Factors

With regard to multilingual education, we cannot ignore social factors which impact multilingual children. Sakamoto (2001) conducted her study in order to find social factors which could affect a child's bilingualism. She studied five Japanese immigrant families and found the following factors.

1. Professional information on bilingualism
2. Immigrant families' stories
3. Availability of schools
4. Access to resources
5. Availability of caregivers that could speak the target language
6. Teachers that were familiar with language mechanisms
7. Frequent visits to their home country
8. Multicultural environments
9. A clear division of tasks between school and home

Despite the fact that Sakamoto (2001) lists nine social factors, here I would like to emphasise the three most relevant factors for my participants (1, 7 and 8). Regarding number 1 of the above list, as Sakamoto (2001) stresses, it is very important for parents

to have professional information on bilingualism if they want to raise bilingual children. Therefore, it is crucial to educate not only parents, but also teachers at Hoshukos in order for them to understand the challenges faced by children seeking to become bilingual. In general, most parents at the Hoshuko have positive attitudes towards bilingual education. Similar to the critiques of Aguirre (1984) and Tigert (2017), although parents are interested in bilingual/multilingual education, a number of them are unsure what exactly they can do for their children and how they can assist their children's language development effectively. Therefore, it is vital to ask experts in bilingual/multilingual education for advice. With regards to number 7, "frequent visits to their home country," all of my participants' parents are trying to bring their children back to Japan as much as possible. The majority of them send their children to local schools in Japan in summer so that the children are able to experience school life in Japan. As most of the schools in Barcelona finish in the middle of June and schools in Japan finish at the end of July, the children get a chance to attend schools in Japan for three to six weeks. In the case of Kandai, his mother respects his wish to attend Japanese school for a longer period of time. One year, his mother explained to his Catalan teacher that he wanted to spend more time in Japan to study. So he finished his Catalan school in May and attended a school in Japan from May to July. The mother told me that that Catalan teacher is such an understanding person that the teacher actually encouraged her son to keep learning Japanese. This shows that the weekday school teachers' perspectives towards HL also play an important role in the development of multilingual children. Finally, in terms of number 8 on the list, "multicultural environments" are a significant factor for my participants. From the in-depth interviews with Mika and Ken's mothers during my case studies, it was revealed that they regarded a multicultural environment as an important factor in order to raise multilingual children in Barcelona.

[Citation 10-3] Mika's mother: みかは本当に色々な人種の友達と遊ぶのよ。学校ではフランス人、スペイン人はもちろんのこと、アメリカ人、ロシア人、南米人の子なんていうのもいるから、本当に色々な文化とか言語を知れて楽しんでいるみたい。もちろん、日本人の子とも遊ぶけど、土曜、補習校のあととかね。でも予定が合わなかったりして、あまり日本人の子とは遊ばないかな。こうやって、色々な国や文化か言語を知って、仲良く遊ぶことって結局世界平和につながると思うんですよ。私の最

大の目標は世界平和ですから、みかにはこれからもこうやって多文化に触れてもらって、世界をもっと見てほしいなと思いますね。

Mika's mother: Mika plays with friends who have different backgrounds. Of course, at school there are children who are French, Spanish, American, Russian and South American as well. So, she plays with them all and enjoys getting to know their different cultures and languages. Certainly, she plays with Japanese friends after Hoshuko on Saturdays, but she does not play with them a lot since at that time she does not have much time. I believe that by my daughter getting to know other cultures and languages through play that this leads to world peace. You know, my ultimate goal is world peace. So, I want Mika to come to understand many cultures and to experience more of the world.

[Citation 10-4] Ken's mother: 実は、去年の夏、日本人学校に体験入学で行った時、ちょっとなあって思ったんですよ。すごい、日本日本していて、全然多文化に関心がないっていうか。まあ、もちろん日本人学校だから、当たり前と言えばそうなんですけどね。なんか日本よりも日本日本しているっていうか。分かります？あんまりスペインにも目を向けないし、教えることは全部日本のことだけで。先生たちも日本的な考えなんじゃないかね。うちの子はやっぱり家ではカタラン語、日本語を使うわけだし、ここで生まれたんだし、それでやっぱ英語もすごい大切だと思うんですね。っていうか英語は必須ですよ。これからの時代、絶対。そんな中、あんな日本日本的な教え方ってどうなんだろうって。

Ken's mother: Actually, I questioned the ways they teach at Nihonjin gakko, when my sons attended Nihonjin gakko in Barcelona last summer. The school and teachers focus heavily on Japan and it seems that they are not interested in other cultures. Of course, it is a Japanese school, so I understand that. But the focus is too much on Japanese. You know what I mean? They do not pay attention to Spain or Catalonia. All they teach is about Japan. The teachers' mindset is also very Japanese. But my sons use Catalan and Japanese at home and they were born here in Barcelona. Also I think English is very important. I mean English will be a must in the age to come. As a result, I was wondering if their traditional ways of teaching are appropriate.

It is important for other parents to have a similar perspective to that of the mothers of Mika and Ken in order for them to be able to create a multicultural environment for their children. Mika has a lot of friends who come from different backgrounds. Her school is a French school, but Mika and her mother go to her class in that school once a year to teach the Japanese culture to the other students there. They take the initiative in promoting a multicultural environment around them because Mika's mother firmly believes that this small action will eventually lead to world peace. In the case of Ken, his mother chose that concertada for Ken and his brother because she thought this school is very multicultural

and there are many children from many different countries there. Put differently, when she researching schools, the priority was a multicultural school because she thought if there are children from many different nationalities there. her sons will not be the target of bullying. In addition to that, she assumed that it would be beneficial if her children grow up surrounded by different cultures and languages.

10.3 Heritage Language Use

During the interviews with teachers at Hoshuko, one of them pointed out the importance of language practice at home which is using Japanese at home to maintain HL.

[Citation 10-5] 補習校に来るだけで日本語習得できるって思っている親御さんがいるんですよ。だから毎週土曜連れていだけで十分みたいな。自動的に日本語ができるようになるみたいだね。日本語で「家庭は第二の学校」っていう表現があるじゃないですか。だから学校の次に家庭もすごく大切ですっていうね。でも継承語を習得するって考えたら、補習校よりも家庭でのことが一番大切だと思うんですよ。私は。だから私達は親にね「バルセロナでの日本語教育は家庭が第一の学校ですよ」ってよく言っているんです。補習校じゃなくてね。そうやって親も教育していくっていうかね。

Some parents think that attending a Hoshuko would be enough for the children's Japanese development and competence. What I mean is that if you go to a Hoshuko every Saturday for several years, you can automatically learn Japanese or something like that. I think that is completely wrong. There is a Japanese expression that "home is the second school." which means home is the second most important place after school for children to learn. However, I believe that home is the most important place to develop HL, more so than at Hoshuko. So, we (teachers at Hoshuko) are trying to empower their parents by saying that home is the first school, not Hoshuko, when it comes to learning Japanese in Barcelona.

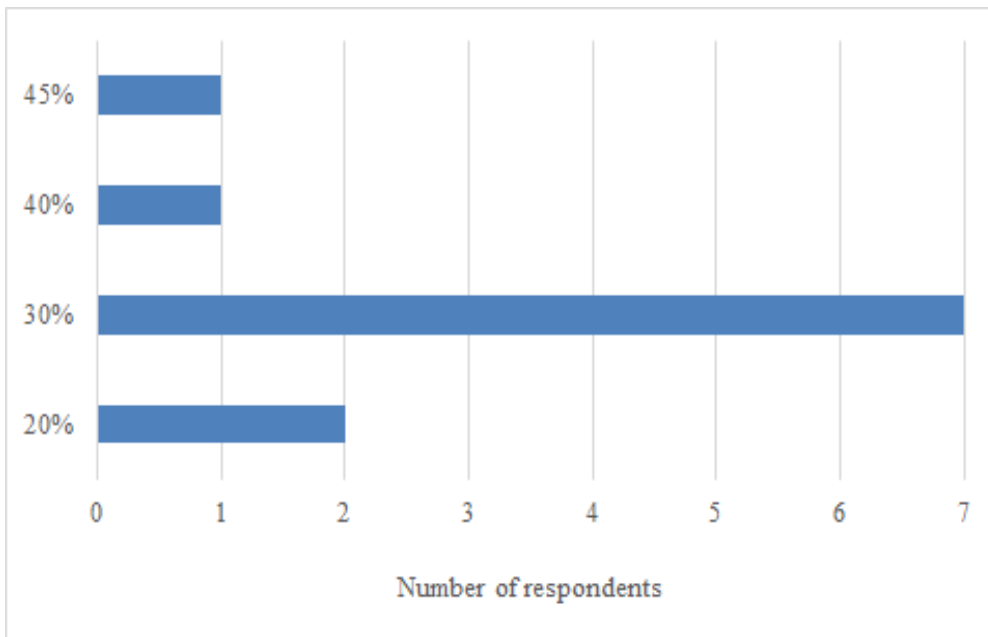
My participants' mothers acknowledge that the home environment is very important for children's Japanese development. For this reason, these mothers always try to speak and respond in Japanese when they talk with their children, even if the children use other languages such as Spanish, Catalan, or English. Moreover, Mika's mother commented on the use of language at home explicitly in our email exchange.

[Citation 10-6] 補習校に行かせるだけで十分なんて、思っていないですよ。だから、家で宿題やったり、手紙や日記書いたり、本読んだり、映画なんかもいいですよ。そういうこととして、日本語を家で使わないと、と思っています。ただ日本語で話すだけだっていいと思いますよ。みかは平日、現地校で十分フランス語とスペイン語には触れているから、だから家ではなるべく英語か日本語を使うように意識しています。補習校に行くのは必要なことで、当然のことだと思っています。何も特別なことじゃないと。日本からこうやって遠く離れたところにすんでいながら、日本語を習得したいと思ったら、それくらいやらないと。

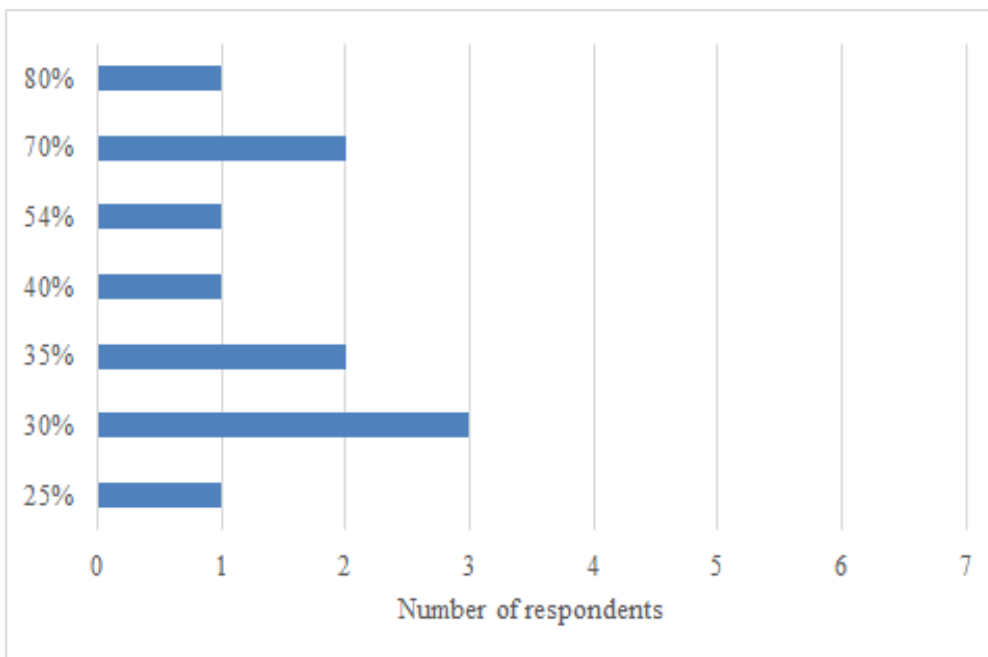
I know sending my daughter to Hoshuko is not sufficient to acquire Japanese language skills. That is why we have to practice Japanese at home as well by doing homework, writing letters and diary entries, reading books, watching movies, or simply speaking in Japanese. I acknowledge that Mika has enough exposure to French and Spanish at her weekday school, so I intentionally use Japanese and English with her at home. Attending Hoshuko is fundamental. I do not regard attending Hoshuko on Saturdays as something special. It is normal if you want to acquire a relatively good level of Japanese skills when you live far away from Japan.

Fishman (1991) highlights that school-based programs alone are not sufficient when it comes to improving a HL, rather language practice at home is the most vital factor. In other words, sending children to Hoshuko every Saturday is not enough to reach fluency in Japanese. What is more crucial is that having language practice at home during weekdays because studying Japanese at school is very limited which is only less than three hours on Saturdays. Furthermore, Fishman (1991), Guardado (2002) and Kondo (1998) also suggest that parental support, particularly that of the mothers, is essential in order to develop a HL. However, when we look at the percentage of conversation at my participants' homes, only slightly less than half of conversation occur between the child and mother.

Graph 14. The total percentage of conversation between the child and his/her father



Graph 15. The total percentage of conversation between the child and his/her mother



Obviously, if the participants have any siblings, these participants have conversations with them at home as well. However, the above graphs only illustrate the percentage of the conversations between the participants and their parents. Among these 11 participants, on average, 30.45% of the conversation at home were carried out between the child and his/her father, whereas 45.36% of the conversation was taken place between the child and

his/her mother. The remaining 24.19% of conversation occurred between the child and his/her siblings or extended family members. As these numbers indicate, almost half of the conversation that the children have is with their mother. Therefore, it is possible that mothers have a greater influence on children's language development when compared to the father. Moreover, a HL can be lost easily.

According to Anderson (2004) and Hilton (1999), one of the main causes for HL loss is due to it not being used at home. As described earlier, from the questionnaires I carried out at the beginning of this study, I discovered that all of the participants' mothers use Japanese at home. The fact that 45.36% of conversations the child has at home uses Japanese plays an important role for children who are learning Japanese as a HL. Furthermore, according to Wong Fillmore (1991), it is easy for children to lose their first language. Wong Fillmore (1991) investigates Chinese immigrant children in the USA and discovered that when they go to American school, they realise that Chinese cannot be used at all to communicate with others. As a result, they try to learn English and automatically drop Chinese. This phenomenon of language loss could occur among my participants. One of the participants, Natsuki commented on language use at school explicitly.

[Citation 10-7] 本当は、補習校で日本語話すのってめんどくさいんだよ。まあ、そりゃ日本語で何でも言えるけど。だって赤ちゃんの時からお母さんと日本語だよ。でもスペイン語とカタラン語のほうが、楽だよ。授業中は日本語で話すけど、友達と話す時は時々スペイン語になるよ。なんか自然に出ちゃうから。
Honestly, speaking Japanese at the Hoshuko is bothersome. Of course, I can say anything in Japanese because I've used it since I was a baby. But Spanish and Catalan are much easier. So, at Hoshuko I use Japanese in classes, but when I talk to my classmates, I sometimes use Spanish. It just comes out from my mouth.

As my participants attend the Hoshuko, they have more opportunities to use Japanese compared to the children who do not attend. However, if they use Catalan or Spanish at the Hoshuko, they could notice that there is no need to use Japanese with their friends there. This could contribute to the loss of HL.

CHAPTER 11

CONCLUSION

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The purpose of this research was to explore how Spanish-Japanese multilingual/multicultural children use different writing systems and appropriate writing skills across languages. Additionally, this research is aimed at explaining what kind of literacy practices, including digital literacy practices, are carried out by them outside of school. This dissertation has looked at multilingual children's writing samples and their parents' attitudes and perspectives towards their children's home literacy practices, as well as the use of technology outside of school. This study has examined interviews with 11 focal students, 10 Japanese mothers (parents of the focal students) and three Japanese teachers at the Hoshuko in Barcelona.

11.1 Research Questions

In my study, the notion of New Literacies (Gee, 2015; Street, 2000; 2003) was important in order to understand literacies as multiple, socially negotiated, accrossing different languages, and rooted in sociocultural meanings. I have drawn on a variety of data sources to uncover literacy practices taking place in participants' homes and outside of school. I

reviewed the students' writing samples, screenshots of apps and websites that they use and the detailed ethnographic diary of the observations because they contain important data that may reveal what is actually happening in their lives before and after school. Furthermore, I have collected and interpreted ethnographic data through participant interviews, in-depth description of the settings, and prolonged observation (from December 2015 to May 2018). In addition, I constructed the practices and ideologies underpinning the language and literacy practices that I observed.

11.1.1 Children's Literacy Practices

So far, my research has been investigating the children's literacy practices at school as well as at home. Moreover, I have paid special attention to my two case study participants, Mika and Ken by investigating their home environment because Roberts, Jurgens and Burchinal (2005) insist that rich literacy practices are often embedded within family life. They also depict that the home environment is a key predictor for the development of literacy skills in young children. Furthermore, Phinney, Romero, Nava and Huang (2001) posit that parents are more influential than their peers in HL proficiency. Additionally, one of the teachers at the Hoshuko strongly believes that home is the more important learning environment, with the Hoshuko being the second. As such, my research was focused primarily on the home, and the parents who play a significant role in the children's acquisition and maintenance of HL. Thus, my primary interviewees were their mothers. In order to reveal what the children do with reading and writing in their surrounding languages, I asked them to hand in their writing samples, as these constitute a significant dataset for my analysis.

<Research Question 1>

What kind of literacy practices do Spanish-Japanese multilingual children engage in using their four or five surrounding languages?

Throughout the analysis of collected data, I identified four different categories of literacy practice: 1) homework, 2) kanji, 3) Bunshu, and 4) diary entries.

- Homework

In section 7.2, I highlighted the importance of homework from the Hoshuko because the vast majority of Japanese literacy practices is doing a homework (see Graph 10). Also, the mothers play an important role because they have more responsibilities to the Hoshuko's work, rather than weekday's school one. They were supposed to check their children's Japanese homework thoroughly during weekdays before handing it in to their teacher every Saturday. As this school is only once a week, practicing and using Japanese during weekdays is quite important to acquire the written language. As one teacher mentioned during the interview, sending children to Hoshuko every week does not make him/her able to learn Japanese automatically. As mentioned earlier in this thesis, Hoshukos across the globe use only the official Japanese curriculum and textbooks approved by the Ministry of Education. Using these tools they intend to cover everything that children in Japan study under the compulsory education. Due to this pressure and time constraints, there is a tendency for teachers to assign lots of homework during summer, winter and spring breaks. It is challenging for some children to understand the meaning of doing homework and to complete it before the deadline, especially because children are get used to a Catalan custom in which there is almost no homework during vacations. One of the participants complained saying "I do not like the Hoshuko because there is always lots of homework and kanji tests." In addition to that, my ethnographic diary records another comment from a Spanish mother whose son goes to the Hoshuko, although this mother is not a participant of my study.

When I visited my student's house to have a private Japanese lesson, I heard his Spanish mother complaining about the workload of the Hoshuko. She said "I cannot understand the amount of homework Hoshuko assigns to my son. The older he gets, the more homework he gets at the Hoshuko. Luckily, my son's weekday school does not assign much homework, so he is able to spend some time for Japanese studies during weekdays. But imagine those who have homework from their weekday school as well. They would not be able to catch up with Hoshuko's homework and exams." (citation from ethnographic diary)

In spite of the fact that this citation did not derive from conducted interviews, the voice of this mother is important to know how Spanish mothers view the workload of the Hoshuko. Spanish mothers who have a Japanese husband and a child who attends a Hoshuko are minorities. This family is another example of those which view HLs with high importance, because when a Japanese father has a business trip to Japan, they hire me as a private Japanese tutor to help complete Japanese homework and prepare for kanji tests. On the other hand, the interview analysis revealed that some teachers are not sure what constitutes an appropriate amount of homework. Other teachers are trying to listen to the parents' voices regarding the amount of homework and adjust it. In conclusion, parents and teachers acknowledge the importance of homework, however the amount of homework still has to be discussed and negotiated between schools and families.

- Kanji

Kanji is essential when it comes to learning Japanese. It is already very difficult for Japanese native speakers to learn, as there are over 2,000 commonly used kanji. It is incredibly challenging for these children to acquire it because outside of the Hoshuko, they have no exposure to it in the society in which they live. Each family tries to maximise their children's exposure to kanji. For example, Kandai's mother occasionally brings his son to Chinese supermarkets because Kandai is excited to see kanji there that he has learned at school. Strictly speaking, not all Chinese characters are the same as Japanese kanji, however many of them are visually identical or very similar. Kandai's mother tries to create these kinds of substitutive environments so that Kandai feels more motivated to learn Japanese. Naoto practices kanji every day with his mother. She puts new kanji on the fridge so that Naoto is able to see them all the time. She also suggested that he create kanji cards featuring some drawings because she thinks that memorising kanji would be easier if he connects it with drawings or stories (see Appendix 5.2.3). In the case of Ken, his mother specifically bought a Nintendo 2DS in Japan, meaning the interface would be in Japanese, and he would have more exposure to Japanese in Barcelona as a result.

Not only at home, but also at the Hoshuko, teachers try to teach kanji effectively within the time constraints on Saturdays. As section 7.3.4.1 describes, different methods to teach

kanji are implemented at the Hoshuko. Each teacher thinks and looks for effective strategies so that the students are able to memorise kanji more easily and acquire kanji skills more efficiently. In order to maintain kanji skills, there is a kanji test for grade one to nine every week and a *Kanken* (an official kanji examination) once a year. Four participating mothers decided to let their children write this examination because they think this could be a good motivation for them to keep learning kanji while they live in a non-kanji society. Teachers also encourage all students to try this, however usually only two or three students per class actually take the test. Mika's mother decided to let Mika take this exam because the mother thought this would be good motivation and provide a reason to study kanji hard every week. This official exam was the most challenging exam she had attempted to take. Before the exam, the mother told me that if Mika passes the exam, she will be encouraged to keep studying even more. Even if she fails, the mother believes that this would be a good chance to find out more precisely what Mika's level is. If she does not pass it, the mother hopes that Mika learns something from the experience, studies hard and prepares even more for the next attempt. In any case, the mother strongly thinks that this experience of taking an official exam is beneficial for Mika. When kanji is taught at school, teachers use a blackboard, pen and paper. When children practice it at school as well as home, the vast majority use pen and paper. As Naoto's mother mentioned in the interview, many Japanese mothers believe in the concept of "muscle memory," which means that children should write repeatedly using pen and paper until they can recall specific kanji at will. As Kazuo's mother added, this was how Japanese people learned kanji when she was young. Today it can be observed that Hoshukos still recommend this method as a means of acquiring kanji skills.

- Bunshu

Bunshu is a collection of Japanese essays of all students which we can see their achievement of the year. At the end of every academic year, students, teachers and parents create Bunshu as a memory. It contains 161 Japanese essays, written by children aged from four to 15, however it should be noted that the writings of by four and five years old children would not technically be considered essays due to their structure. Depending on their age, teachers assign different topics. Topics range from "memories of winter break" to "what I have learned at the Hoshuko in the last 10 years." Others are "my treasure,"

“my hero” and “Braille’s system” etc. Teachers look for diverse topics every year so that their students will become more eager to write essays in Japanese. Using the Bunshu, we are also able to see their linguistic development from the Japanese essays. Ken, now aged nine provided me with all previous essays he had written since the age of four (see section 9.5.1). These consisted of five separate essays, one written each year. Not only did he improve his Japanese characters, but also the number of kanji, bunsetsu, conjunctions, and subordinate clauses he used also increased. Needless to say, it was observed that both his audience awareness skills and paragraph structure skills improved as he gets older. From the analysis of interviews with children, four out of 11 answered they did not enjoy writing essays for Bunshu, whilst another four answered they neither liked nor disliked it. The rest answered that whether they enjoyed the activity or not depended on the given topic. Therefore, it would be a good idea if teachers and children discuss and decide topics for essays together, as this may increase both enjoyment and motivation.

Another interesting finding about Bunshu is teachers’ attitudes towards the students’ mistakes in their essays. Various informal and formal interviews with teachers and my ethnographic diary revealed teachers’ perspectives and attitude towards Japanese as a HL. For instance, regarding Bunshu project (see section 6.2.1), it was revealed that some teachers and parents consider their children’s errors (either grammatical, spelling or lexical) to be problems. They do not regard them to be opportunities to learn or signs of interlanguage development of children. All of the participants handed in their Japanese essays from Bunshu project. In essence, 15 out of 66 collected writing samples were what they wrote for Bunshu. Throughout the analysis of these 15 Japanese essays, no errors were detected. The possible reason is that teachers and parents check and correct their essays thoroughly before creating either a paper or electronic copy. One of the teachers recounted to me the teacher’s work concerning the Bunshu project.

[Citation 11-1] 文集を作るのは毎年結構大変ですよ。保護者の中で文集係っていう人が何人か選出されて、まあ、それはボランティアなんですけどね。それから先生の中でも文集係っていうのが2人くらいいるのかな。それでこの人たちが連携して作業するんですけど、毎年すごく大変みたい。ほら、子供の数も増えているでしょ。だからチェックする作文の数も必然的に増えるわけだし。先生たちの中では、もちろん担任は自分のクラ

スの子たちの作文をチェックするけど、それだけじゃ見落とししている部分もあるかもしれないから他学年の先生と作文を交換して、それでまたチェックが入るってわけ。それで間違えがあったら、書き直したりして、作文をいいものにしていくわけ。実際に印刷に出す前にね。

Creating a collection of essays is quite challenging every year. Every year a few parents volunteer for the Bunshu team and also two selected teachers are in charge of this project to work as a team. These parents and teachers work together to create a collection of essays. But it is very tough work because as you know every year the number of the children at school increases. This means that the number of essays that they have to check also increases. Each teacher certainly checks their students' essays. But that is not enough because occasionally a teacher does not notice a student's mistakes. For that reason, teachers exchange their students' essays with those of other teachers so as to double-check their students' essays for errors. It is easier for a second pair of eyes to spot errors. If teachers find the students' errors, the students have to correct them and polish the essay before publishing it.

From this workload the teachers have, it is clear that teachers are trying to eradicate all the students' errors in the collection of essays because after publishing it, they can no longer correct them. As a matter of fact, parents expect teachers to make the effort of checking for any errors in the Bunshu prior to its publication. Therefore, parents try not to ensure their children's essays do not have any mistakes when they are to be used for the Bunshu, and they work hard with their children in order to help them write a better essay at the end of academic year.

- Diary entries

Chapter 7 explained that keeping a diary is one of the most common literacy practices in Japan and introduced five different types of diary entries which exist in Japan. Furthermore, seven participant's mothers stated that they encourage their children to keep a diary to learn Japanese. Teachers at the Hoshuko constantly assign the task of keeping a diary as regular homework as well as long break homework (summer and winter break). My participants all began taking part in this popular writing practice starting with the two-line diary entry. Then they move to four-line, half page, and one page diary entries. The downside to regularly assigning this specific literacy activity is that students can become bored with it. Throughout the analysis of written feedback on diary entries by teachers (see section 7.3.4.3), I discovered that one Japanese teacher uses diary entries and essays

as a communication tool. She recounted to me that she wants to get to know her students better by reading their diary entries then communicating with them by leaving comments or feedback. In her opinion, by doing so, she is able to help them grow both cognitively and psychologically. Although they occasionally write diaries in other languages, writing them in Japanese plays a significant role in fostering their HL.

11.1.2 Appropriation of Different Writing Systems

As I myself am a teacher of multilingual children who have complicated linguistic backgrounds, I am interested in how they learn different writing systems (Latin alphabets and Japanese ideographic characters) simultaneously, how they cope with difficulties, and what kind of strategies they use when they write, etc. Therefore, I created the second research question as follows.

<Research Question 2>

How do Spanish-Japanese multilingual children attain four distinctive languages inside and outside of the school?

In order to answer the question, I identified three important factors: 1) translanguaging, which is a common strategy that these participants employ, 2) literacy practices for leisure, and 3) their mothers' perspectives towards multiliteracy development.

- Translanguaging

Throughout my study, translanguaging was found to be a commonly used strategy especially outside of school amongst multilingual children who are learning different languages simultaneously. As analysed in section 6.5, five children used different strategies to express their thoughts. For instance, when Naoya wrote a Japanese diary entry, he used English phrases directly, without translating them into Japanese. Kandai simply put one Japanese word for a drawing in a Catalan diary entry. On the other hand,

when Ken wrote a Japanese essay, he decided to use katakana to say a Spanish word, Reyes Magos, because we learn that katakana is used for borrowed words. Natsuki is the one who used several Japanese words in her English essay, using quotation marks. Finally, Mika used a few English words in the restaurant menu she created, written primarily in Japanese (see section 8.6). However, using other languages is not encouraged, and in fact is prohibited at the Hoshuko. As a result, these children, who could otherwise utilise translanguaging, cannot do it when they work on Japanese language tasks at the Hoshuko. Seen as beneficial at some classes, it could be legitimised and encouraged to use the stronger languages as resources in order to cover the limitations in the weaker language. Moreover, it is not only emergent bilinguals but also relatively proficient bilingual writers as well can be encouraged to use translanguaging because Sano et al. (2014) revealed that the stronger language serves better in structural organisation. In other words, teachers could provide the opportunities for the children to use any language they are familiar with, to express themselves more effectively at the Hoshuko as well. According to García and Wei (2014), “[t]ranslanguaging as pedagogy involves leveraging, that is, deliberately and simultaneously merging students’ repertoires of practice” (p. 93).

- Literacy practices for leisure

Another finding of this study is that even though some literacy practices were designed as leisure activities, there were many cases in which parents forced their children to complete those practices as parents think that these can be useful for the Japanese learning. For instance, Ken decided to follow his mother’s suggestion and created a poster to help keep track of his homework for a week (see section 9.4). Kazuo wrote an imaginative essay as a leisure activity because his mother strongly recommended him to do that. However, since he knew that it was not necessary to submit this to school, he felt more relaxed and did not worry about making mistakes in kanji and grammar. He finished this task faster and with greater enthusiasm than he expected. As parents are in the position to suggest language acquisition activities for their children, parental values and perspectives toward language and culture play a significant role in their children’s HL acquisition. According to Tigert (2017), “the parents’ choice of strategies to use and to develop the heritage language also influences whether children maintain or lose their

heritage language” (p. 22). Furthermore, Fujiu’s study (2004) looks at the relationship between parents’ attitudes towards culture and children’s awareness of their cultural identity. The study discovered that parents have concerns regarding how to best support their children’s language development. It would be suggested that teachers and researchers educate not only children, but also their parents in order to learn various languages effectively. In conclusion, these participants engage in various literacy practices both at home and at the schools they attend, with different languages. They constantly use distinct languages at home for doing their homework (including reading a textbook aloud, preparing for exams, etc.) and for leisure purposes such as writing holiday cards, watching YouTube, sending IMs, etc. They are active users of Latin alphabets (Catalan, Spanish, English and French) and Japanese. Despite the varying degree to which Japanese literacy practices are used in the home among the participants, all of them have been using and learning these four or five languages on a daily basis. They consider that it is normal because they are from bicultural families and they have been surrounded by various languages since they were born.

- The Japanese mothers’ perspectives towards multiliteracy development

Hamada (2008) comments on the importance of the home environment when it comes to the acquisition of HLs.

[T]he home is a crucial factor in heritage language maintenance, and it is important in the heritage language maintenance field to investigate what family members do at home in order to maintain their heritage language as well as their perspectives on heritage language maintenance (p. 27).

Additionally, it is vital to examine students’ surrounding environments, their writing samples and their parents’ attitudes from a sociocultural point of view. As a matter of fact, Fishman (2000) points out that the most important thing which needs to be done in order to maintain a HL is for the women of childbearing age to use it at home with their children, since the family and community are critical to its maintenance. In Kondo’s (1998) study, the role of mothers in particular, is emphasised when they transmit HL skills, particularly spoken oral skills, to their children. Not to mention, interaction in the target language in a family is essential for HL education (Fishman, 1991). From the questionnaire and

interviews of my study, all of the participants' mothers revealed that they use Japanese when they communicate with their children outside of school. For these mothers, Japanese is a native language and they want to transmit it to their children even though currently they do not live in Japan. One of 10 mothers revealed that she also uses English and French in addition to Japanese when she talks with her daughter. These Japanese parents want their children to be familiar with their linguistic and cultural heritage, but their eyes are firmly set on their children's success in Spain. Also, I discovered that all Japanese parents take full advantage of the Japanese community as a strategy to improve Japanese as a HL and solve issues regarding their children's education in Spain, as well as raising Japanese children in Spain, etc. Ken's mother in particular, views other Japanese parents in Barcelona as great resources. They are a source for sharing ideas and information as well as a way to get advice from mothers with children in higher grades. She got information from other mothers about various things, such as after-school activities, online materials, textbooks, the reputations of certain schools etc. Moreover, when she was thinking about buying a video games console in Barcelona for her children to use for fun, she was recommended to buy one in Japan so that her children can play games in Japanese. As a result, she decided to buy a Nintendo 2DS Japanese version for her sons.

If you go to the Hoshuko on Saturdays, you will be able to get to know more than 100 Spanish-Japanese families there which is considered a relatively big Japanese community in Barcelona. Certainly, if I compared this number and total number of Japanese citizens in Barcelona, it is approximately only 10%, however sending children over there every week means connecting with a Japanese community in Barcelona. Ken's mother mentioned that Ken has been used to playing with Spanish-Japanese friends since he was eight or nine months old, because this mother believed that playing in Japanese is good strategy to learn Japanese as a HL. She wanted to give him the opportunity to spend time with other Japanese children so that he could use Japanese in different situations. While he played in a park or someone's home, his mother had chances to talk with other Japanese parents. Even at the Hoshuko, since she has to wait for three hours while Ken studies, she exchanges information with other parents, and shares ideas with the aim of helping each other. At other Hoshukos, weekday schools and even other after-school classes, parents normally send their children there and come to pick them up later. In contrast, this

Hoshuko requires all parents to stay at school while their children study on Saturdays. In addition, as this school is situated in a rather remote location, there is no place to kill the time near there. Therefore, parents usually stay in the library and talk with other parents. Some of them read books and others bring their laptop to work.

One of the most well known characteristics of Japanese people is their emphasis on making an effort and doing their best. According to Shimahara (1986), Japanese mothers and children attribute performance largely to effort and children's potential is developed particularly by the environments that the mother and children create. Moreover, a famous Japanese music philosophy called the "Suzuki Method" advocates that ability does not just come by nature without discipline and training. Believing this philosophy and having this mentality, many Japanese parents including my participants' mothers send their children to cramming schools and after-school lessons to cultivate their children's potential talents. When it comes to the participation of parents in their children's education, mothers usually take care of them in Japan. As Mika's case showed in Chapter 8, in Japan, a close bond between mother and child is a characteristic of the family's social environment (De Vos, 1973; Vogel, 1979). According to Steven, Lee and Nerison-Low (1998), Japanese mothers often take part in school events such as Sport Festivals, Bazaars, interviews and PTA meetings. This behaviour is reflected in all the participating mothers in this study. Therefore, it seems that mothers have more responsibilities to be in charge of their children's education in Japanese society.

In terms of the concept of multilingualism, the participants' mothers have positive attitudes. In general, they think that being multilingual is beneficial for their children's future. One of Mika's mother's slogans is "the more you know, the better" and Mika is currently learning five languages simultaneously. Moreover, she is going to add one more language, German soon. Apparently, her mother believes that English is crucial because this mother hopes that her daughter is able to work internationally in the future. Xavier, Bretxa and Comajoan's (2014) sociolinguistic research looked at the use of Catalan, Spanish and English of researchers at the Barcelona Scientific Park. They recount one of the three variables of sociolinguistic studies about globalisation explicitly.

La segunda gran variable tiene que ver con la dirección y el alcance de los cambios. Nadie duda de que se esté produciendo una reducción veloz y sin precedentes en el número de lenguas en el mundo (p. 113).

As Xavier, Bretxa and Comajoan (2014) highlight, English has so much power that it extends to not only historical anglo saxon territories, but also other countries. English is essential because it works as a lingua franca. This perspective is similar to Ken's mother in my study because she mentioned that "there is no excuse for not learning English because there is more and more pressure to be able to communicate in English in this society." Therefore, this mother let their children learn English from English native teachers, not from someone who can speak English. Even though this mother and father are able to teach English to them, she firmly believes that it is important to hire a private native teacher for them to acquire solid English proficiency through authentic English. In response to the second research question, the results showed a variety of literacy practices in Catalan, Spanish, English, Japanese and French. Some of the examples of formal writing samples take the form of academic essays, class notes, assigned diary entries, etc. Whereas the informal writing samples consisted of letters, holiday cards, created game cards, kanji cards and stories. Moreover, in-depth case studies provided me with more personal literacy practices such as a creatively themed restaurant menu and weekly schedule poster. These results could be useful and practical for teachers who teach multilingual children because the teachers at the Hoshuko and weekday schools actually do not know how Spanish-Japanese children use five different languages at home.

11.1.3 Digital Literacy

My interests are how they use technology at home, in what language they use it, and ultimately how the use of technology affects their linguistic skills. This section consists of two parts: 1) digital literacy practices; and 2) the Japanese mother and teachers' perspectives towards the use of technology by their children.

<Research Question 3>

How do Spanish-Japanese children use technology (computers, tablets, mobile phones, etc.) in academic and private contexts and what attitudes do their mothers and teachers have towards digital literacy?

- Digital literacy practices

In order to investigate this research question 3, I first looked into what kind of digital literacy activities are carried out by these children. Simultaneously, I paid attention to their mothers' perspectives towards the use of technology because it is the mother who normally makes the decision whether or not to buy a computer, a mobile phone or a tablet for their child. Also, these mothers usually set rules for how such devices should be used at home. In a similar vein, Little (2018) notes that "parents function as gatekeepers, providing access to hardware (table, computer, iPad) and facilitating access to software via researching and purchasing suitable apps" (p. 10). Therefore, the research question related to digital literacy asks how children use technology at home and what attitudes their mothers have towards digital literacy. Participants' parents also engaged their children in digital literacy activities by providing them access to video games, YouTube, WhatsApp messages, etc. These activities were typically carried out in Spanish or English. Only three out of 11 participants claimed that they watch or play video games in Japanese as a routine. Also, Asuka and Natsuki who are the oldest students among these participants, claimed that they used to watch more Japanese TV, DVDs and YouTube content when they were younger than they do now. It is true that Ken also watches Japanese TV programs and DVDs, however he does not watch them much now, compared to when he was three to five years old. Therefore, I discovered that overall, the children's engagement with Japanese to be limited, which the parents did not always acknowledge. In my study, I have collected several IMs from two students, Ken and Asuka. Asuka has her own mobile phone, therefore she sends and receives messages whenever she wants, whereas Ken still does not own one, therefore he has to ask his parents to borrow one. Then, he sends messages to his grandmother in Catalan and to his Japanese grandparents in Japanese. Although Asuka's mother is worried about the loss of Spanish punctuation skills when using a mobile phone, Allagui's (2014) study reported that the use of WhatsApp improved three aspects: vocabulary, punctuation and spelling.

I also discovered that playing video games or apps on consoles, mobile phones and tablets are typical leisure activities for these children. Some mothers, such as Ken's mother, purposefully bought video games in Japan so that their children are able to play them in Japanese. She hopes to increase her children's exposure to Japanese, even through non traditional means, such as playing video games or reading comics in Japanese. Some mothers (e.g., Naoya and Natsuki's mothers) expect their children to choose Japanese games as opposed to Spanish ones. However, Naoya's mother does not force him to choose Japanese when he prefers Spanish because she believes that her son's motivation and feeling is the most important. In the case of Natsuki's mother, she cannot force her daughter to use more Spanish in her leisure time because Natsuki is already 11 years old and becoming more independently minded. Although these families are facing challenges with their children's Japanese development, they still respect their children's choice.

- The Japanese mothers' attitudes

Eight out of 10 participating mothers do not regard YouTube viewing as a literacy or even language event. According to Buckingham, Banaji, Carr, Cranmer and Willett (2005), children's literacy practices are often deeply infused with popular culture and media. This statement is similar to what Mika's mother disclosed in the third interview. As citation 8-10 describes, this mother realised that children in Barcelona often pick up new things such as popular culture, games and songs, etc. from English-speaking countries such as the USA and the UK. Buckingham et al. (2005) suggest that for this reason, parents should be encouraged to view these activities as engagement with literacy. Moreover, they consider these activities part of the development of critical discourse skills and part of one's cultural capital. Similar to the parents of Tigert's (2017) study, the parents in my research often do not recognise video gaming as developing or requiring language and literacy skills. These Japanese mothers think that the use of technology, especially video gaming, influences negatively on their children's writing skills, particularly kanji skills.

- The Japanese teachers' attitudes

At Hoshuko, digital and other new literacies were not seen in the classrooms, although teachers think that these are useful and needed. Traditional literacy practices with pen and paper and plentiful oral language were seen as one of the best ways to create a haven for

Japanese acquisition, especially within limited time on Saturdays. It is true that some teachers use PowerPoint as an aid when introducing new kanji in classes (see Figure 36), but still the use of technology by teachers is only supplementary and not regularly used. One of the likely reasons for this would be the lack of internet connection at this site nor a Digital Online Platform. When they assign homework, most teachers do not utilise nor design online for activities that involve technology. They always use paper-based materials instead of asking their students to submit their homework online. They, especially the experienced teachers who are accustomed to use paper-based materials, use the same or similar materials every year with very little variance. On the other hand, some teachers introduce useful online resources to the parents so that they can practice more Japanese with their children at home. Other teachers require their students to go on the internet to watch some educational videos, as citation 7-5 indicates, but always as a homework. Consequently, this research revealed what kind of digital literacy practices are carried out by the children at home on a daily basis and how their mothers view this digital form of literacy practice. These results could be useful for educators aiming to design a curriculum which incorporates both technology and languages.

11.2 Pedagogical Implications

11.2.1 Literacy Practices

The conducted interviews and collected screenshots of mobile apps and IMs revealed that these participants have been engaged with digital literacy from a very young age, from between four to five years old. Moreover, they have further opportunities to utilise these devices not only at home but also at their weekday schools. On the other hand, the Hoshuko does not provide the opportunity to use them in the classroom, although some teachers assign homework which requires the students to use internet from time to time. No teachers ask their students to write essays with a keyboard nor do they accept online submission of homework. They always use print-based materials and encourage their students to practice handwriting. In fact, some teachers and parents strongly believe that using pen and paper is vital when it comes to acquisition of kanji for younger children.

However, as younger children know how to use a keyboard of computer or tablet, the school could implement digital literacy activity. In section 6.2, I demonstrated the contents of their literacy practices. All of the participants have or have previously had authentic writing opportunities such as sending holiday cards or letters. When they write essays, normally the topics were chosen by their teachers. Having said so, it seemed that Hitoe, Kandai and Ken enjoyed writing about their winter break, and Kazuo and Mika enjoyed creative writing. Moreover, Nina enjoyed collaborative novel writing with her friend and they even published it. This shows that what they write and what they want to write are important.

11.2.2 Curriculum of Hoshukos

As described in Chapter 4, the original objectives of Hoshukos were to 1) maintain the Japanese children's ability to speak their mother tongue, and 2) teach other major subject courses such as Maths, science and social studies in Japanese, so that when the Japanese children go back to their home country, they will have no difficulty catching up with their peers. According to the conducted survey for all of the students at the Hoshuko, 94% claimed that they are not planning to go back to Japan to settle down there. Namely, these families are regarded as permanent residents in Spain. However, the school follows the curriculum which was designed for children in Japan and uses the textbooks which turn out very challenging for the students. The teachers have to cover in two or three class periods the amount of content that would be taught in about eight class periods in regular classes in Japan. Due to this fast class, many students feel overwhelmed and some of their mothers wonder whether the children actually are learning something on Saturdays. Based on theories for curriculum development for young HLLs, Douglas (2005) proposed a curriculum development process consisting of the following five steps.

1. Teachers have to analyse children's interest, content knowledge and language proficiency through the construction of a learner profile.
2. Topics and themes based on the profile analysis are generated.
3. Teachers should also set instructional objectives.

4. Instructional materials and activities are developed.
5. Teachers have to assess learners through alternative approaches such as performance-based assessment and portfolio assessment.

Especially, in Douglas's (2005) list above, number 1 is important because HL schools do not always succeed in meeting the needs of HLLs. Some previous research found out that the failure of HL schools to capture the interest of their students, leading to low motivation to attend the HL school. This is because some HL schools focus too much on the mechanics of literacy, use rote exercises such as drilling kanji, dictation and copying of text as means for literacy instruction (Tse, 2001; Lee, 2002; Jia, 2009). As can be seen in citation 9-7, Ken's mother's concern is often seen and raised during teacher-parents meetings. The appropriate adjustment and modification of the curriculum and materials are urgently needed so as to accommodate more diverse needs of multilingual and multicultural children.

11.2.3 Language Policy at Hoshukos

Williams's (1996) research showed that the simultaneous use of numerous languages in the classroom leads to broader and deeper knowledge of language and other school subjects. Moreover, other studies (Blackledge & Creese, 2010; García & Wei, 2014) demonstrated how the strategic use of multilingualism promotes multilingual students' identities and knowledge development. As described earlier, translanguaging would be welcomed in HL classes, instead of sticking with "Japanese only" school policy. Studies on HL schools have found that schools often try to act as havens for the HL by forbidding the use of any other language in the classroom (Creese & Blackledge, 2012). This was true of the Hoshuko as well. The following excerpt comes from my ethnographic diary.

補習校で先生が生徒にはっきりとスペイン語禁止、つまり日本語オンリーと注意する場面を見た。それから授業中も、スペイン語やカタラン語の使用を注意する先生も見た。

I witnessed both outright reminders from teachers to the children to speak only Japanese at the Hoshuko, as well as more subtle ways to

enforce the classroom language policy, such as interrupting a child who was speaking Spanish or Catalan (citation from ethnographic diary).

The traditional approach of HL schools has been to stick with strict HL only-policies in the classrooms and to teach the target language and literacy according to the traditions of the homeland (Japan, in this case). Tigert (2017) points out this problem explicitly.

In some cases, by the time these traditions have wound their way into HL classrooms and are implemented by HL educators, they may not reflect the realities in the schools of the homeland, much less the realities of the multilingual, multicultural HL classrooms. It is understandable that HL educators feel that maximizing HL use in the school is imperative, since most HL schools operate only for a few hours a week. However, for HLLs it may not be the best way to learn (p. 174-175).

The reality is that not only Japanese HL schools but also other languages' HL schools still follow this traditional way of using only the HL at school. For example, Blackledge and Creese (2010) conducted their study about four different languages' complementary school in the UK which are Bengal, Chinese, Gujerat and Turkish. They observed that teachers and students at all these four ethnic schools are required to use their own ethnic languages, not English. Additionally, Matsuda (2015) reported that teachers at Hoshukos should use Japanese, particularly, Japanese standard, not dialects. Also, in Seo's (2017) research, one of her participating Hoshuko's teachers commented that using English, which is not the target language, at the Hoshuko is absolutely unacceptable. However, this teacher at Seo's (2107) study was generous when she taught writing classes at her Hoshuko. She allowed her students to use their stronger languages rather than Japanese because she believes that it is important for her students to express their own feeling and ideas in order to find their "true self." For this reason, when students write essays, she did not restrict the use of languages in her class. Similar to this example, some teachers are more flexible in terms of the language policy of Hoshuko in Barcelona. In fact, one of the teachers was describing the change in her attitude throughout working at the Hoshuko for six years. According to her, during her first year working at the school, she strictly followed the language policy of the school. Whenever she found students talking in Spanish, she corrected them. However, she gradually became tired of correcting them because she got the feeling her students did not like her. Little by little, she started to allow

them to use Spanish from time to time. She still insisted, however, on only using Japanese during classes. During breaks, she was more flexible, and so even though she heard some Spanish, she did not point out as she used to do.

When plurilingual people read and write something in one language, they actually use more than two languages in their brain to construct the meaning from a given piece of text. As Cummins (1981a) developed the “Common Underlying Proficiency” model (see section 2.2.1), when people write something in L2, they are able to take advantage of their L1. Therefore, it is better for language teachers to let their learners use the language they want. Namely, it is recommended Japanese teachers allow their students to use the language they feel most comfortable with when writing. Consequently, I would like to propose the following points to the teachers.

- Allowing students to chat in Catalan, Spanish or even in English when working in pairs or small groups in the classroom.
- Letting them do pre-writing activities in any language (brainstorming, writing drafts etc.).

Currently, this school has a “Japanese only” language policy, and translanguaging is not encouraged in classroom. Normally, teachers do not allow their students to use Catalan, Spanish and English. However, students can communicate with each other in those languages when brainstorming or clarifying teaching points with each other, then switch back to Japanese to continue the exercise. In my opinion, teachers should recognise that their students’ proficiency in Catalan, Spanish and English are higher than their Japanese, and their stronger languages can function as a scaffold when they are writing in Japanese. As a result, it helps improve their motivation and confidence, leading to improved Japanese acquisition.

11.2.4 Families

Multilingual children are constantly communicating and trying to express themselves with different languages. As such, these children should be allowed to use translanguaging practices to make meaning of their Japanese learning. My participating teachers believe that providing children maximum exposure to Japanese during the limited time on Saturday at school is essential. However, it is also important for these teachers to notice that translanguaging is commonly used outside of the classroom and could be drawn upon by teachers as a resource to explore meaning and encourage students' thinking, rather than something to be prohibited. Tigert (2017) argues that "translanguaging can lead to improved meaning-making and a validation of HLLs' identities as multilingual and multicultural individuals, as students feel that they can freely draw on their full linguistic repertoire" (p. 175). Reading aloud to the child in Japanese is another important way parents can help their children to develop Japanese vocabulary and literacy as Tigert (2017) recommends. It is because it provides the child access to texts at a higher reading level than he or she might be able to read independently. It also gives children exposure to rich vocabulary and age-appropriate and interesting contents. Moreover, Cassany and Aliagas (2007) argue the importance of this practice explicitly.

Los ejercicios de lectura ponen el acento en reconocer las formas gráficas, asociarlas con sus fonemas y automatizar la mecánica del procesamiento lector. Oralizar el escrito en voz alta y en público es una práctica fundamental (p. 20).

In addition to that, Aliagas and Margallo (2017) manifest "[i]n particular, family storybook reading has been identified as one of the most powerful contexts that benefit children's literacy and literary awareness" (p. 44). A good example of such practices in my study was Kazuo's mother's approach to reading aloud to him. This practice at home remains a regular part of their day even after Kazuo learned to read and he is already a nine years old boy. In a survey study of HLLs by Carreira and Kagan (2011), 71.3% of the respondents said that having been read to in their HL by parents or relatives contributed to their HL competence and maintenance. Therefore, it is recommended for

parents and teachers to read aloud to their young children in any language, but especially in their HL, because it would boost their language development.

Another suggestion for HLL's parents is to refrain from using a point-deduction system. Nakajima (2003) introduces a child who complained about his/her parents' attitude. This child says "I get yelled at by my parents if I do not speak Japanese. They yell at me even when I speak Japanese because of my errors." Nakajima (2003) suggests that parents should not evaluate their children's Japanese based on a point-deduction system. Rather, they have to look positively at their children's use of HL and stop criticising their mistakes. It is true that there is a tendency that parents tend to be strict about their own mother tongue which is a HL for their children. However, the recommended way is to praise children when they are trying to use HL at home even though they sometimes make mistakes.

11.2.5 Digital Literacy

- At home

This study revealed that all of the participating families have at least one computer and one tablet at home, and the children are using them on a daily basis both for academic and leisure purposes. Two families bought an extra second-hand tablet for their children's friends to use, so they are able to play together when their friends come over. Some families mentioned that they do not throw away old tablets, even after buying a new one, because it is always good to have a spare one around. With the exception of Asuka and Natsuki, the two oldest participants, families set their own rules concerning time limits for using computers and tablets in the home. Some families allow their children to use them after they have completed their homework, whereas others allow them only 20 minutes a day or only weekends to use these devices. Ken's mother mentioned during one of our interviews, that if the parents do not set any rules, the children will get so hooked that they keep playing video games or watching YouTube at the expense of their studies. Moreover, this research discovered that Asuka (the oldest student) constantly send text

and voice messages to her friends/family members using her own phones, whereas the remaining 10 participants sometimes use their parents' mobile phones to do that, too. As all of them have their extended families in Japan, they occasionally use Skype or FaceTime to communicate with them. From Asuka's mother's positive point of view, she mentioned in the interviews that nowadays we have more opportunities to write thanks to advanced technology.

[Citation 11-2] 昔は電話以外のコミュニケーションの方法って手紙だったわけですね。でも今はこのテクノロジーの発達のおかげで、いつでも世界中の誰にも気軽にメッセージできるようになったから書くっていう機会を考えたら、昔に比べて最近のほうがもっと書いているんじゃないかな。

In the old days, the only communication tool apart from a telephone was the letter. On the other hand, nowadays we can casually send messages to communicate with anybody in the world thanks to technology. When I think about the amount of writing, we write a lot nowadays compared to the old days.

As communication has become much easier, young children have gained more opportunities to send messages via email, IMs and by using social media, etc. Most of my participants are still young and only Asuka has her own phone. However, Kazuo and Nina reported that they constantly have homework which is required to be submitted online. Chapter 7 described the Japanese mothers' perspectives towards their children using technology, most of them have negative or neutral attitudes. Only two out of 10 showed positive attitudes regarding the relationship between the use of technology and their children's writing skills. Given this fact, researchers and educators need to present more positive aspects of multilingual children using technology outside of school to a much wider audience, in order to promote digital literacy development.

- At the Hoshuko

As these students are always between different languages and cultures and different from the students in Japan, it is not realistic for teachers to expect that HLLs will learn in the same way as students do in Japan. Moreover, as technology becomes increasingly important in students' lives, teachers will need to start thinking of ways to best implement digital literacy into HL instruction. For example, teachers should utilise sound, text and visual aids effectively in HL classroom so that many HLLs will be encouraged to use

Japanese more, not only inside but also outside of school. It can also combat the disinterest some students may feel towards learning their HL. More specifically, students could look up information online, access mobile apps for learning and watch and create videos in Japanese. Therefore, teachers who tend to follow a traditional way of teaching should be encouraged to use more digital equipment wisely and effectively in classes. I discovered that digital literacy provides the following three advantages.

1. It provides students with authentic opportunities to use Japanese outside of school, such as sending IMs as well as emails, etc. to their extended families.
2. It gives more opportunities to learn about Japanese culture through YouTube, blogs, video games, online mangas, songs, traditional literature etc.
3. Children are able to take advantage of websites, podcasts and mobile apps to learn many aspects of Japanese, such as kanji, grammar, vocabulary etc.

With regard to homework from Hoshuko, students do not need to use technology for the given task. None of the teachers ask students to submit their homework online, they assign print format homework. It would also be recommended to provide more authentic opportunities to use Japanese in class and outside of class such as sending letters, having an online chat with Japanese friends, etc. Although some teachers still feel comfortable following the traditional method of teaching kanji, teachers should be allowed to explore more dynamic methods which utilise technology.

11.3 Limitations

In this study, analysing not only the literacy events that took place across contexts and languages, but also the literacy practices, mothers' perspectives, revealed important aspect of literacy development in multilingual contexts. In all 10 families, it was the mothers who attended my presentation to introduce this study at the Hoshuko, submitted their children's writing samples, communicated with me via emails and WhatsApp, and attended all interviews. According to Hannon et al. (2006), fathers engage actively in their children's home literacy. Reay (1998) mentions that mothers normally participate at

school-based events. My study is a small empirical research project which does not include the fathers' perspectives. As such, the resulting data used for analysis does not cover the whole home environment, and as such, seeking the father's perspectives could prove insightful in the future. Okamura-Bichard (1985) argues the importance of parental attitudes and values towards the maintenance of Japanese language skills. She mentions that it is more important than attendance at a Nihonjin gakko. That is to say, parents' perceptions towards language and culture play a significant role in their children's acquisition of HL. Therefore, as my present study has covered only 50% of parents, the mothers, it would be wise to ascertain the perceptions and attitudes of the fathers in future research.

As seen above, individuals' perceived language use and actual language practices often differ. Although it is important to consider individuals' self-reported perceptions of their language use, many studies simply treat it as an actual language practice, and there is a dearth of research looking at the gaps between individuals' perceptions and practices. Since ethnographic inquiries collect various types of data, they can capture both self-reported perceptions, for example interviews, as well as actual language practices, such as students' writing samples. Exploring such gaps enables me to deepen my understanding of the complexity of individuals' language use from a dual perspective, and may highlight some reasons behind such gaps. Additionally, mainstream schools, in other words, their weekday local schools play such an important role in children's language and literacy development because the vast majority of time is spent there, not at the Hoshuko on Saturdays. However, this research did not extend to those schools. Therefore, it would be useful to follow participants into these environments as well, to increase to potential benefits of such research for children's education.

Another limitation of this study is access to a limited amount of data. For example, Asuka handed in some of her IMs, however these messages were only a partial account of an ongoing conversation. It was not easy to understand the flow of contents, even though I asked students and their mothers about the submitted messages during the interviews. In addition to this, although I obtained 77 writing samples, 17 of them were not used as they

were not relevant to my research questions. All 77 samples are however present in the appendices. In addition, my participants decided which writing samples to submit, this freedom of submission might have caused them to writing samples with less errors. Throughout this Ph.D project, I have been analysing Spanish-Japanese children's literacy practices with their five surrounding languages, including those around HL acquisition and maintenance, through multimodal texts (handwritten texts as well as digital literacy activities). My research did not cover all multimodal activities, specifically those such as communication and representation, which go beyond easily recordable language (e.g., gesture and gaze) which provides a more holistic perspective (Marsh, 2003).

11.4 Future Research

As Reyes (2012, p, 323) points out, “[b]ecause children’s language experiences are a by-product of their language choices, patterns, and individual differences, biliteracy development is a dynamic, fluid, and at times seemingly messy process.” Therefore, a more highly focused investigation with an in-depth description of students’ profiles is necessary. Additionally, in my research, although I conducted interviews with each child briefly, the vast majority were conducted with parents and teachers. Allocating more time to spend interviewing children in future may provide greater insights into what they think about different language activities. The research shows that not only HL’s parents but also their weekday school teachers play an important role in their language and literacy development. Therefore, future studies should include more input from fathers, students as well as weekday school teachers.

Furthermore, there is a need to investigate biliteracy development from a longitudinal perspective. My research has kept track of two particular children (Mika and Ken), for three years due to the case studies, however nine out of 11 participants took part in this research over a period of six months. In Sano et al.’s study (2014), it was shown how biliteracy development is affected by their writers’ cognitive maturity, as well as length of residence and age of arrival in that country (in my case, Spain). Longitudinally

investigated studies would better inform the pedagogical practices of our prospective multilingual and multicultural learners. While it is apparently to the benefit of the schools, the nation, and immigrants themselves that they learn the dominant language of the society, HLs should also not be overlooked. According to Ruíz (1988), language is a resource and language is a right. Following this principle of language as a right, language is part of a person's identity, part of who the person is. Lee and Oxelson (2006) account that losing one's HL proficiency can be "more than just a loss of a linguistic system; it is a separation from [one's] roots, a denial of [one's] ethnic identity, and a dismissal of [one's] potential bilingual and bicultural member of society" (p. 455). Therefore, more empirical research is needed to promote not only HL development, but also effective acquisition of mother tongue, L2 and L3.

In terms of digital literacy education, as Velázquez (2016) points out, "los docentes deben abrazar las prácticas letradas digitales como realidades socioculturales inseparables de un aprendizaje de lenguas integral y capacitador" (p. 24). My research has demonstrated how important it is to consider not only different languages, but also different media when examining the literacy practices of multilingual children. Especially, nowadays for children and adolescents, digital literacy is becoming an increasingly important channel for literacy development and we need to shed light on the complex intersection of technologies, literacies and language when exploring how multilingual individuals acquire and use literacies. Therefore, new literacies as an important avenue of multilingual language and literacy socialisation should have significant attention paid to them in the future. In my small-scale research, I presented how Spanish-Japanese multilingual/multicultural children harnessed mobile phones, tablets, video games, apps and websites. However, I believe future research should examine more closely the ways that new literacies could be tapped into, in order to better support students' HL maintenance and acquisition of various languages throughout their lives.

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APPENDICES

Appendix 1 Hitoe

1.1.1 Transcript of the First Interview with Hitoe's Mother

1. Could you explain what you are doing at home/weekday school in order to improve your children's writing in Spanish, Catalan and Japanese? What are the strategies, methods or techniques you are using?

My daughter makes picture books and writes letters for me, but you know it is a very simple letter like saying "I love you Mom." However, I do not write replies. Instead, I respond orally. She likes drawing very much, therefore often makes picture books with some Japanese words.

2. Please make me a narration of the last two activities you did at home with your kids.

We sent Christmas cards to Japanese and Spanish relatives and grandparents. Yet she does not write much, maybe just her name and signature. The other activity I do with her is the correction of her picture books. She sometimes writes Japanese wrong, so I correct her instantly. A long time ago, our TV broke and currently only the DVD works ok. Moreover, we divorced and the children live with me. So, basically our conversation at home is in Japanese. All the DVDs we watch and the music we listen to is in Japanese. Yet, they sometimes go to their Spanish grandparents' house on the weekend and watch TV (kids channel) in Spanish there.

3. How often do they practice writing at home/weekday school?

She does Japanese homework for 10-15 minutes every day. Also she has Catalan homework twice a week.

4. How often do your children have authentic situations, audiences (responses) and purposes that they write in and outside of school?

We send Christmas cards and birthday cards to my Japanese family.

5. What do you think about a difference between children that have them and not?

I think there is a difference between having authentic situations and not having them. I myself like writing letters, not using emails. So, I want to teach my children how interesting writing letters to friends and family is.

6. What kind of novels, tales, etc. do they read? In which language?

Recently, she reads Japanese books like "Barbarpapa" "Bamu to kero no samui asa" "Obakeika ni kiwotsukero, otouto usagi" and picture books about the human body. I read two books to her before going to bed for around 30 minutes, but sometimes she reads them by herself.

It is mandatory for school that she borrows Catalan books on the weekend, but I forgot the titles. But she said it is not really interesting.

7. How do they use technology? Do they learn Japanese writing with pencil and paper or with screens and keyboards or both? Which kind of texts, genre are they doing? (social networks, blogging, chatting, IMs, WhatsApp, LINE...).

She does not have a mobile phone yet because she is still 6 years old. Basically, I do not let her use my mobile phone. But the only game she plays is called "Nekoatsume" which is a very simple game about cats. This is not an educational game. She asked me to buy a Nintendo DS Spanish version for her 7th birthday, so I promised to buy it for her. I also bought it for her big brother on his 7th birthday. She does not want a Japanese version for some reason.

8. If they use apps or websites to improve their Japanese, could you tell me?

We do not use apps nor websites to study, but probably she catches some words from "Nekoatsume"

9. What kinds of videogames are they playing? In which language?

She plays "Nekoatsume" in Japanese.

10. Which language do you think is the most important for them to write in? And why?

I think Spanish is the most important language for my children because they will live here for the rest of their lives. Their grandparents are Spanish, not Catalan. So, we speak Spanish at home which is also their mother tongue. Their Spanish grandmother always comes to our house in the morning to send the kids to school because I have to go to work early in the morning. When she comes, she usually reads Don Quijote (kids version) to them for a few minutes. They really like it. Their father does not read books for children, but their grandmother does.

11. In terms of writing, which aspects do you want them to improve? (for example, orthography, spelling, use of conjunction, paragraph structures, etc.)

I want her to improve proportions of her Japanese characters so that other people can read them easily.

12. How do you think technology affects children's writing? Do you think your children's writing is enhanced or hampered by using technology?

I think it hampers children's writing. I do not want them to use technology much and want them to use traditional methods.

1.1.2 Transcript of the Second Interview with Hitoe's Mother

1. How many computers and tablets are there at home? Does your child play games and watch YouTube using parents' mobile phone? How many hours does he/she play? Is there any time limit?

We have one computer, one WiiU which enables to watch YouTube. My children do not have a mobile phone yet. Because they are busy on weekdays, they watch YouTube and play games on the weekend (approximately 4 hours each weekend)

2. In which language does your child play games and watch YouTube? From your point of view, do you want him/her to watch it in Japanese?

They play games and watch YouTube both in Spanish and Japanese.

3. Does he/she use Japanese games or applications to improve Japanese?

They do not use it.

4. Japan is often considered to be a superior country in the field of technology among all other nations. Do you think so?

I think generally speaking technology in Japan is advanced.

5. What do you think the difference between Japanese games/applications and Spanish/English ones?

6. Does your child have his/her own email address? Or does he/she use parents' email address to send emails? In which language does he/she write emails?

Akira has his email address, but Hikari does not. They sometimes send Japanese voice messages from my mobile phone to their grandparents'.

7. Does your child write a diary? Does he/she enjoy writing or feel obligated to write due to homework?

Hikari writes a diary because it is homework.

8. Does his/her weekday school assign homework of keeping a diary?

No.

9. In Japan, keeping a diary is typical writing activity that all teachers assign. Especially, during summer break many teachers ask children to maintain a diary entry as homework. On the other hand, in Spain a diary is considered personal and they do not show to anybody. Regarding a diary, do you feel any other differences between Spain and Japan?

I have never thought about it well. But if I think about it, I think Japanese people often write their blogs online and frequently they update it whereas Spanish people do not update as much as Japanese people do.

1.2.1 Japanese Essay for Bunshu



[Translation] "My important thing" / My important thing is Piupiu. Piupiu is a stuffed eagle owl. It has various colours and is cute. / I got this in the airport of Barcelona when we went back to Japan. I hug this every morning. I love Piupiu.

1.2.2 Japanese Essay for Sports Festival



[Translation] Yesterday was Sports Festival. I ran a race with two friends. I was the first place. Saya was the second. Yuko was the third. / What I enjoyed was pulling a rope. / I did my best. / The red team lost. When I hurt myself, I had a runny nose.

1.3.1 Screenshots of Apps



Appendix 2 Kandai

2.1.1 Transcript of the First Interview with Kandai's Mother

1. Could you explain what you are doing at home/weekday school in order to improve your children's writing in Spanish, Catalan and Japanese? What are the strategies, methods or techniques you are using?

My son writes a diary in Japanese almost every day. I am glad that this has become his routine and I appreciate his teacher's help too, because she motivates him to write more. My husband and I do not speak Spanish and Catalan at home, so my children (three sons) do not practice these languages at home. Kandai does not do anything special to improve his writing in four languages. The only thing he does is homework. He has Catalan homework twice a week. Although his father is French, he has not started to learn it yet. But I would like him to learn it someday.

2. Please make me a narration of the last two activities you did at home with your kids.

One activity is doing Japanese homework together with a lot of writing exercises. As he likes writing, he enjoys doing his homework. We always do homework together because one of the responsibilities parents

have in this Japanese school is checking their child's homework. The other activity is writing a diary in Japanese. This is not homework, but the teacher highly recommended writing a diary every day in Japanese even if the entries are very short, like two or three sentences. Fortunately, his teacher knows he likes writing, saw his progress and advised us to write more sentences, like five or six. Nowadays he even writes more than that, especially when he has something that he wants to say.

3. How often do they practice writing at home/weekday school?

He practices Japanese every day because he likes writing. He is especially interested in kanji and likes to write the kanji characters. When he sees kanji on the street, he copies them into his notebook. I am glad that he takes an interest.

4. How often do your children have authentic situations, audiences (responses) and purposes that they write in and outside of school?

We almost never write letters to Japanese friends and/or his grandparents. But I think it will be a good experience for him. He writes Christmas cards and postcards from time to time, but it is not a habit of his. I think this experience is very important because learning Japanese is not only for studies but also for connecting with his family and his roots.

5. What do you think about a difference between children that have them and not?

I think there is a difference between those who have audiences and purposes to write letters and cards and those who do not. In my opinion, it is very important to write something with our own words. This authentic experience is different from writing something as homework.

6. What kind of novels, tales, etc. do they read? In which language?

We have a huge bookshelf in the living room so that the children can choose books at anytime. He reads books mostly in Japanese. His favourite book is the dictionary of Ultraman. Most of the books we have at home are either in French or Japanese. But since he doesn't know French yet, he always reads Japanese books. As he has two little brothers, he often reads Japanese books to them.

7. How do they use technology? Do they learn Japanese writing with pencil and paper or with screens and keyboards or both? Which kind of texts, genre are they doing? (social networks, blogging, chatting, IMs, WhatsApp, LINE...).

He only uses pen and paper. He tried online games before, but it was so difficult that he gave up.

8. If they use apps or websites to improve their Japanese, could you tell me?

He watches YouTube in Japanese, sometimes in French.

9. What kinds of videogames are they playing? In which language?

His father's job is related to computers. So he also has chances to play videogames. He plays "One Piece" in Japanese, "Clash of Clans" which is building castles in Spanish because he wants to play with his classmates, "Minecraft" in French, and "Hearthstone", which is a card game, in English. As he wants to play these games, he uses different languages according to the games.

10. Which language do you think is the most important for them to write in? And why?

From my perspective, Spanish and Catalan are more important at the moment because they are community languages. These are basic and crucial. Above that, I want him to learn Japanese and French in order to communicate with us. Also me and my husband think learning Japanese and French can broaden his future. Even if his public school places a strong emphasis on Catalan, I want him to learn more Spanish.

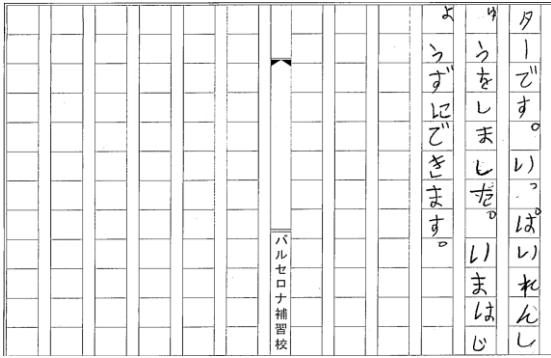
11. In terms of writing, which aspects do you want them to improve? (for example, orthography, spelling, use of conjunction, paragraph structures, etc.)

I think everything is important, but I want him to improve sentence structures including punctuation in all languages because I think that is the most important thing.

12. How do you think technology affects children's writing? Do you think your children's writing is enhanced or hampered by using technology?

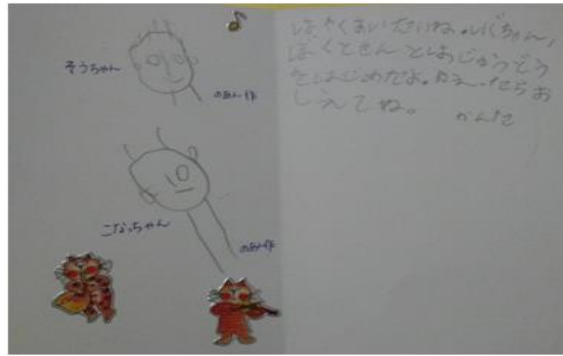
He does not have a mobile phone yet, but often uses tablets. From my experience, I think technology has hampered kanji writing. I use computers in my work and often forget to write kanji even if I have a rough image in my mind. If I use computers which correct kanji automatically, I think my writing skills will diminish. So, he uses tablets and does not have the opportunity to write and that might cause reduced writing skills.

However, I know more and more schools use tablets in education and I wonder how long we will continue to use pen and paper in the future. Probably these children will have fewer opportunities to write by hand. I assume there is a tendency that even if they can read kanji, they cannot write them. Maybe they can choose the correct kanji from options provided, but cannot write it themselves. When I think about a future with fewer opportunities to use pen and paper, I wonder how important handwriting education is. I do not know what the best thing will be.



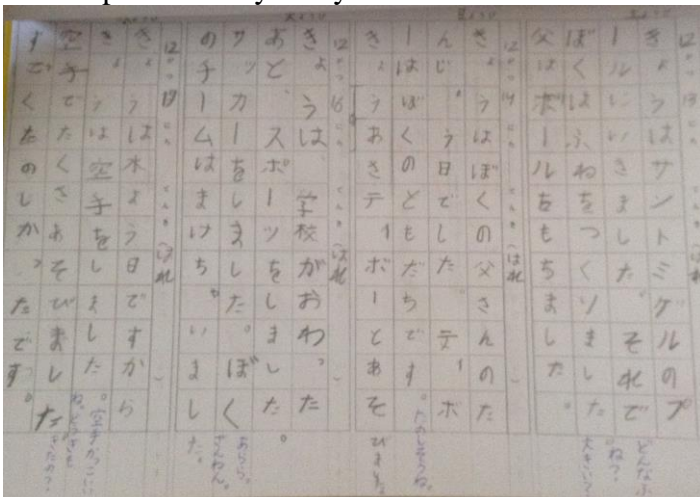
[Translation] "Important things" / I have a lot of important things. They are my family, my friends and toys. / There are five people in my family. The reason why my family is important is because my mom cooks every day. My dad and I play games together. I play soccer, ride a bike and kickboard with two younger brothers. I love my family. / I also have a lot of friends. I like to play hide and seek with them. It is fun to be with them. / The most important toy I have now is a radio control helicopter which I got from Santa Claus. I practiced a lot. Now I can handle it well.

2.2.2 Japanese Cards



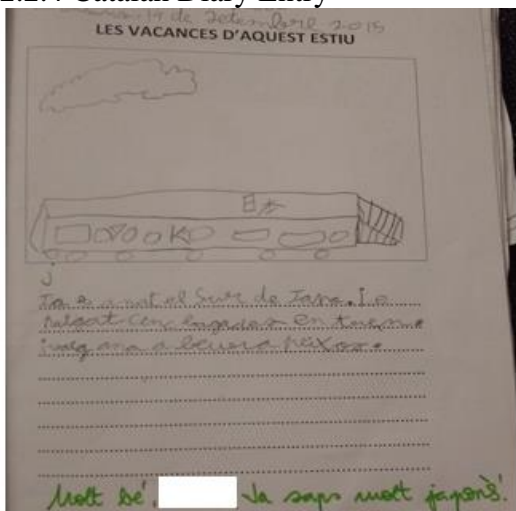
[Translation] Grandpa and grandma. Merry Christmas. Please pick me up soon. Me and Sen (Kandai's younger brother) started Judo. When we go back to Japan, I will show you.

2.2.3 Japanese Diary Entry

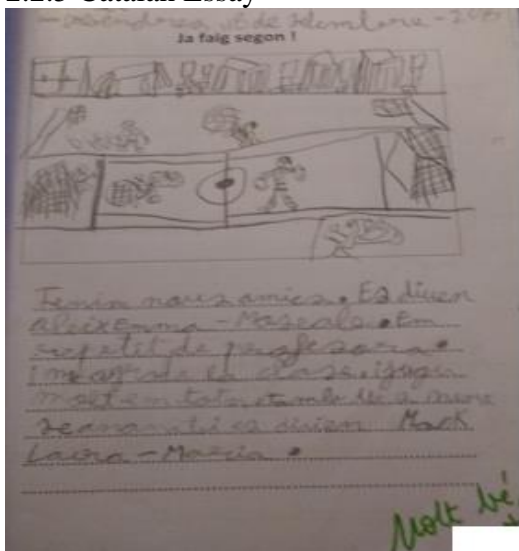


[Translation] December 13, Sunny / I went to the swimming pool of Sant Miguel. Then I made a ship. My father held a ball. // December 14, Sunny / It was my father's birthday today. Tibo is my friend. This morning I played with him. // December 16, Sunny / After school, I played sport. I played soccer. Unfortunately, my team lost. // December 17, Sunny / Because it is Thursday today, I practiced Karate. I played a lot in Karate class. It was very fun.

2.2.4 Catalan Diary Entry



2.2.5 Catalan Essay



Appendix 3 Ken

3.1.1 Transcript of the First Interview with Ken's Mother

1. Could you explain what you are doing at home/weekday school in order to improve your children's writing in Spanish, Catalan and Japanese? What are the strategies, methods or techniques you are using?

I make my son write something every day like a diary in Japanese even if it is short. Also he sometimes does workbooks in Japanese to understand short texts. After reading short texts, he is asked to write a few sentences in Japanese. Regarding Spanish, Catalan and English, he practices spelling for a test which is once a week. Also he sometimes has homework in which he has to copy poems or short texts and memorise them. He does this in Catalan more than any other languages.

2. Please make me a narration of the last two activities you did at home with your kids.

One activity I did with him is memorising poems and the other one is using Japanese workbooks to practice reading comprehension.

3. How often do they practice writing at home/weekday school?

He writes every day because he has homework every single day. He also writes in Japanese every day even if the quantity is not much. He actually likes writing which is really good.

4. How often do your children have authentic situations, audiences (responses) and purposes that they write in and outside of school?

He sometimes writes postcards in Japanese to grandparents. Additionally, he has an English tutor, so he writes something in those classes too.

5. What do you think about a difference between children that have them and not?

Absolutely. Compared to his younger brother, Ken likes writing, writes better and really enjoys writing. Since he was younger, he sits down properly and writes neatly.

6. What kind of novels, tales, etc. do they read? In which language?

Recently he reads "Harry Potter" and "Quinto Viaje al Reino de la Fantasía" in Spanish and Catalan. Regarding Japanese, he reads manga and picture books almost every day. Also, he reads English books about Egypt with an English tutor.

7. How do they use technology? Do they learn Japanese writing with pencil and paper or with screens and keyboards or both? Which kind of texts, genre are they doing? (social networks, blogging, chatting, IMs, WhatsApp, LINE...).

He uses tablets to watch anime and listen to music on YouTube in Japanese and plays Wii only on weekends.

When he learned Japanese writing, he used only pen and paper, not screens and keyboards. I sometimes utilise tablets to show some Japanese music on YouTube. But I do not allow him to use them when I am not there. Namely, he can use them only in front of me.

8. If they use apps or websites to improve their Japanese, could you tell me?

We do not use that.

9. What kinds of video games are they playing? In which language?

I permit him to play videogames on the Wii. But the game setting is in Spanish.

10. Which language do you think is the most important for them to write in? And why?

It is a difficult question for me, but if I have to choose one, Spanish and Catalan are more important than others because he lives here and will probably live here in the future.

11. In terms of writing, which aspects do you want them to improve? (for example, orthography, spelling, use of conjunction, paragraph structures, etc.)

I want him to write good paragraph structures in order to deliver his ideas and opinions well.

12. How do you think technology affects children's writing? Do you think your children's writing is enhanced or hampered by using technology?

Personally, I think technology hampers writing skills because I myself forget kanji if I do not use it for a long time. So, in my opinion, writing by hand is crucial.

3.1.2 Transcript of the Second Interview with Ken's Mother

1. How many computers and tablets are there at home? Does your child play games and watch YouTube using your mobile phone? How many hours does he/she play? Is there any time limit?

There are two computers and three tablets. He plays games with tablets but I allow him to use them only Friday evenings and weekends.

2. In which language does your child play games and watch YouTube? From your point of view, do you want him/her to watch it in Japanese?

I received some advice from another Japanese mother who lives in Barcelona and she said it is better to buy Wii in Japan because it requires players to play only Japanese games. I want him to watch TV or YouTube in Japanese or English.

3. Does he/she use Japanese games or applications to improve Japanese?

He does not use anything.

4. Japan is often considered to be a superior country in the field of technology among all other nations. What do you think?

Japan is the one of the advanced countries in terms of technology, however recently other countries are similarly advanced.

5. What do you think the difference is between Japanese games/applications and Spanish/English ones?

Since I do not use apps, I have no idea.

6. Does your child have his/her own email address? Or does he/she use your email address to send emails? In which language does he/she write emails?

Basically he does not email.

7. Does your child write a diary? Does he/she enjoy writing or feel obligated to write due to homework?

It is not exactly a diary, but from the Japanese school my son has homework in which he writes about what he did or what he found or how he felt, etc. He writes it because he feels he has to write it due to homework.

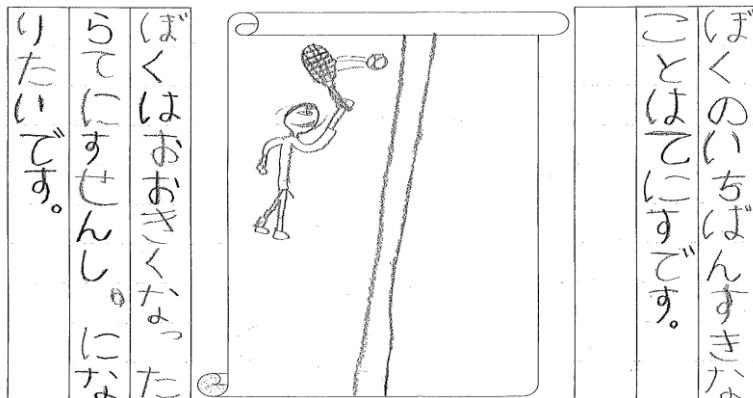
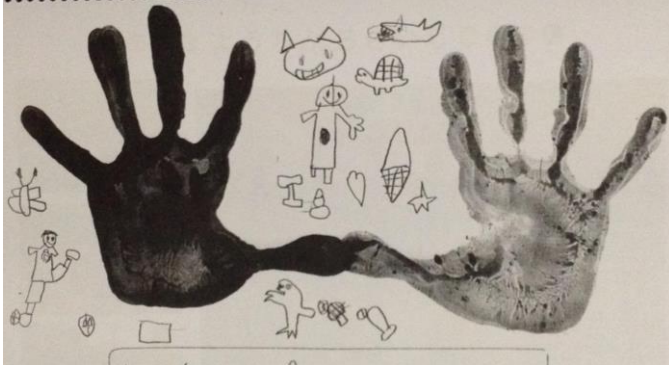
8. Does his/her weekday school assign a homework task of keeping a diary?

No.

9. In Japan, keeping a diary is typical writing activity that all teachers assign. Especially, during summer break many teachers ask children to maintain a diary entry as homework. On the other hand, in Spain a diary is considered personal and they do not show it to anybody. Regarding a diary, do you feel there are any other differences between Spain and Japan?

I have not talked to Spanish people regarding a diary, so I have no idea how they treat it here.

3.2.1 Japanese Essays for Bunshu (Ages Four to Eight)



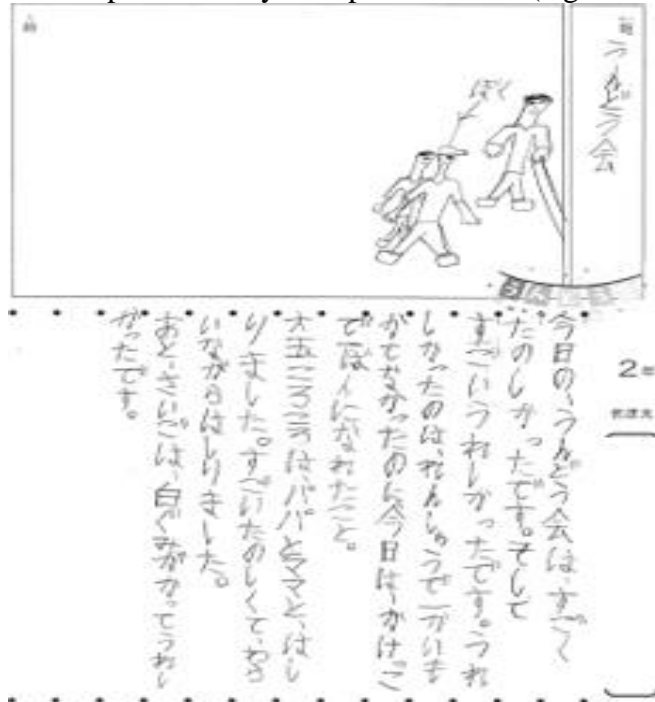
[Translation] What I like the most is tennis. When I grow up, I want to be a tennis player.



[Translation] "Memory of winter" / On January 5th, my younger brother and I put a snack, water and our own socks outside to Reyes Magos. / On January 6th, when I got up, there was a present. It was a book of Geronimo Stilton. It was a big and beautiful book. I was so happy. It is my treasure.

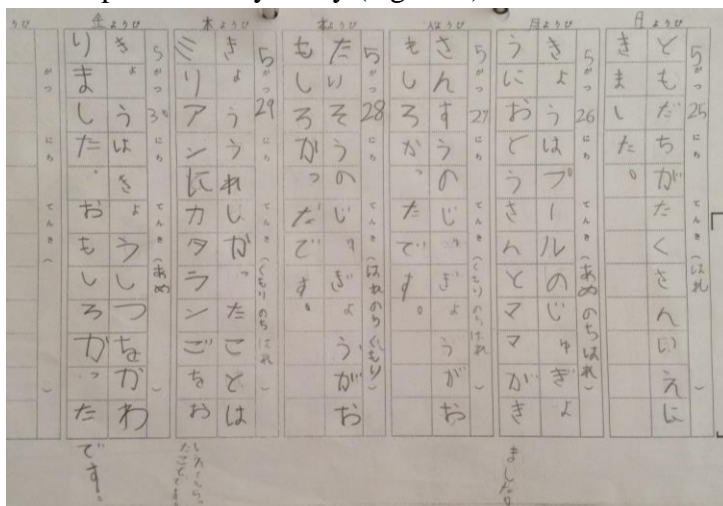
chose the type of noodle and then we took our favourite toppings. Because I was so hungry, I put a lot of toppings. The most delicious thing was fried shrimps. The soup of noodle was also delicious. / At the end, we came back to Ehime, but this time we went to an old Japanese-style house to stay. As it was in a middle of mountain, at first, I was worried, but in that house there are kind-looking old ladies and we liked that house. The breakfast and dinner that old ladies cooked were delicious. What I was surprised was Tempura which used leaves. I was not quite sure if it is delicious or not, so I hesitated to eat it, but once I ate it, I could not stop eating it because it was so good. In the morning, I found beetles in a garden. / This year's trip was really fun. Maybe this is the most fun trip that I have ever made. It would be great if I can go on a trip with them next year.

3.2.2 Japanese Essay for Sports Festival (Age Seven)



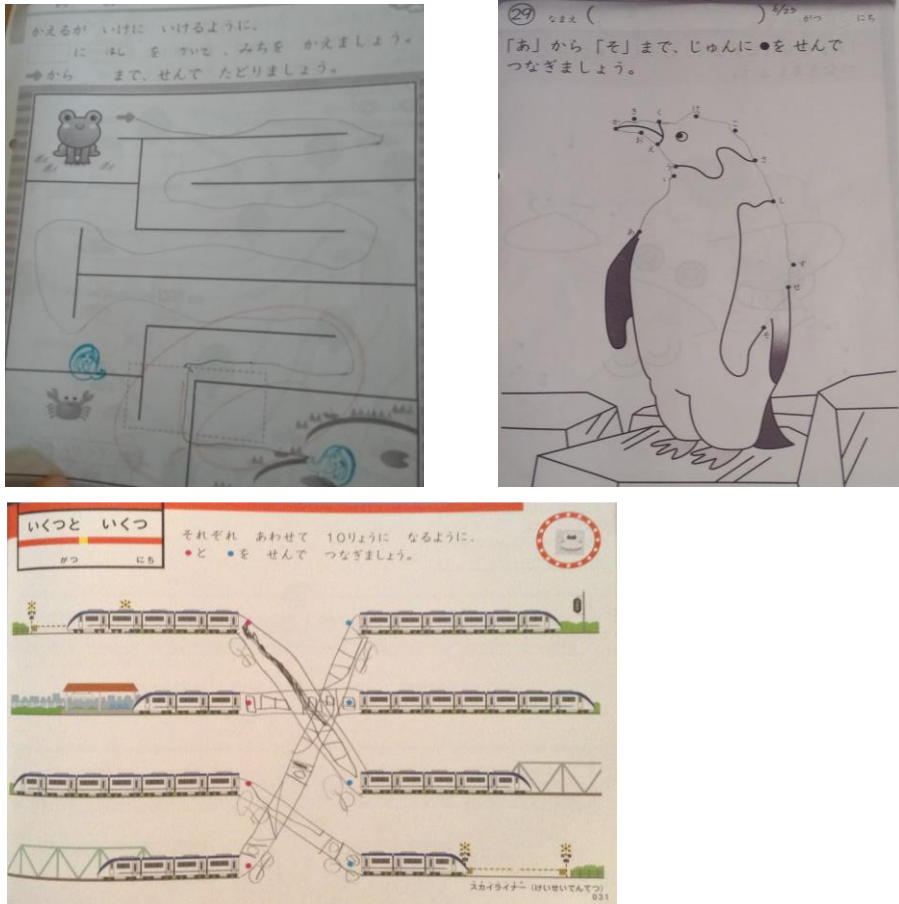
[Translation] Today's Sports Festival was really fun. And I was really happy. The happiest thing was getting the first place although when I practiced I could not get it. / For the "rolling a big ball", I ran with my dad and mom. It was really fun. I ran laughing a lot. / And finally I was so happy because the white team won.

3.2.3 Japanese Diary Entry (Age Six)

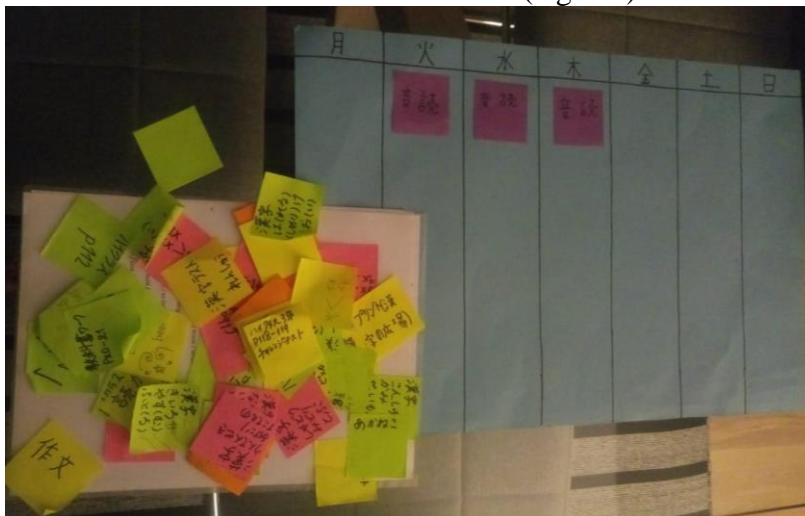


[Translation] May 25, Sunny / Many friends came to my place. // May 26, Rainy followed by sunny / My father and mother came to swimming class. // May 27, Cloudy followed by sunny / Math class was interesting. // May 28. Sunny followed by cloudy / Gymnastics was interesting. // May 29. Cloudy followed by sunny / What made me happy today was Mirian taught me Catalan. // May 30, Rainy / Today, we changed the classroom. It was interesting.

3.2.4 Japanese Practice Materials Used by Ken (Ages Three to Four)



3.2.5 Poster about Homework Schedule (Age 10)



3.2.6 Catalan Class Notes (Age Nine)

Dimarts, 17 d'abril del 2018

El nombre romans

1 → I	10 → X	100 → C
2 → II	15 → XV	200 → CC
3 → III	20 → XX	300 → CCC
4 → IV	40 → XL	400 → CD
5 → V	50 → L	500 → D
6 → VI	60 → LX	600 → DC
	90 → XC	900 → CM
		1000 → M

54 → LIV
 23 → XXIII
 139 → CXXXIX
 287 → CCLXXXVII
 2.542 → MMDLXLII

10/4/18

Les fraccions

Les fraccions

$\frac{1}{2}$ un mig

$\frac{1}{3}$ un terç

$\frac{1}{4}$ un quart

$\frac{1}{6}$ un sext

$\frac{1}{8}$ un octè

$\frac{1}{24}$ un vint-i-quatre

El temps

Un segle són 100 anys
 Un any són 365 dies i 12 mesos
 Un mes poden ser de 28, 29, 30 o 31 dies
 El mes de febrer té 28 dies i cada quatre anys té 29 dies.
 Un semestre té 6 mesos.
 Un trimestre té 3 mesos.
 Una setmana té 7 dies.
 Un dia té 24 hores.
 Una hora té 60 minuts.
 Un minut té 60 segons.
 Un quart d'hora són 15 minuts. Dos quarts d'hora són 30 minuts. Tres quarts d'hora són 45 minuts.

EL TEMPS

3.3.1 Screenshots of Nintendo 2DS



[Translation] Good! It is level up! // Information. / R...Rooftop. / 4th floor...Direction office. / 3rd floor...Reception room. / 2nd floor...Gimmy shop and Level up room. / 1st floor...Entrance. / Basement...Sasurai sports stadium.



[Translation] Welcome to Gimmy. // Information. / R...Rooftop. / 4th floor...Direction office. / 3rd floor...Reception room. / 2nd floor...Gimmy shop and Level up room. / 1st floor...Entrance. / Basement...Sasurai sports stadium.



[Translation] An escapee from hell. // Objective...Find the prison breaker! / Place...In a town of Otsukai. / Ranking...8. / Time-limit...30 minutes. / Reward...2200. / Emergency in King of Busters. Chase the worse monster who escaped from a jail! // Chapter 9 Look for a summit of Busters.

3.3.2 Screenshots of Video Games



Appendix 4 Mika

4.1.1 Transcript of the First Interview with Mika's Mother

1. Could you explain what you are doing at home/weekday school in order to improve your children's writing in Spanish, Catalan and Japanese? What are the strategies, methods or techniques you are using?

We try to read books as much as possible (Japanese, French, English and Spanish). I believe reading books helps improve writing skills, so since my child started to go to Japanese Saturday school, we read books almost every night before sleeping.

I am currently teaching Japanese to 15 year old Spanish children once a week. When we play Japanese games in a class, my child also joins and learns Japanese together with them.

2. Please make me a narration of the last two activities you did at home with your kids.

We have a big blackboard at home and use this often to draw pictures and letters in four languages (French, Catalan, Spanish and Japanese). Although her father is from here, the language she has least contact with is Catalan.

When she does homework in French, she takes the role of a teacher and I take the role of a student, learning from her. In this way, she gains confidence to teach others.

3. How often do they practice writing at home/weekday school?

Honestly, she does not write much apart from homework. I want her to write more, but we have no time because she has many after school activities.

4. How often do your children have authentic situations, audiences (responses) and purposes that they write in and outside of school?

She has opportunities to write emails and letters to my parents, Japanese teachers and friends. Last summer, she went to Japanese school in Japan like normal Japanese children and she made friends there. Thus, she is motivated to write something to them. Also she writes a diary in Japanese like I have been doing since when I was 6. I believe this habit of writing a diary is very important for her. I never force her to write. So when she feels like writing, she does. Yet I want her to continue.

5. What do you think about a difference between children that have them and not?

Of course, there is a difference.

6. What kind of novels, tales, etc. do they read? In which language?

She borrows Japanese books from a library at Japanese Saturday school and reads one or two books every night which is our custom. She also reads books in English, French and Spanish, but mainly in Japanese.

7. How do they use technology? Do they learn Japanese writing with pencil and paper or with screens and keyboards or both? Which kind of texts, genre are they doing? (social networks, blogging, chatting, IMs, WhatsApp, LINE...).

Basically my family is anti-technology. In other words, we do not let her use mobile phones, tablets, etc. Thus, she uses pens and papers to practice writing. Also she likes drawing and learns by doing that. I believe she acquires creative and critical thinking skills by drawing, but not by being bombarded with information from the internet.

8. If they use apps or websites to improve their Japanese, could you tell me which ones?

Despite what I just said, when we are in a car for a long time, I sometimes let her use her father's mobile phone to play games to practice Japanese alphabets.

9. What kinds of videogames are they playing? In which language?

She does not play video games and online games. We did not have a TV until last year. However, I have no idea what she does when she goes to her friends' houses.

10. Which language do you think is the most important for them to write in? And why?

Certainly all languages are important, but if I have to choose one, Japanese is the most important. I myself learned various languages (English, French, Spanish and Italian) because I left Japan for the United States when I was 16. But what is the most difficult things to acquire are "independent languages" like Japanese, Korean, Finnish, Hungarian, etc. I want her to try difficult ones, not easy ones. This experience is significant not only for her languages, but also for other difficulties she will have in her life. Consequently, I want her to learn not only languages but also critical thinking, creative skills, etc. by learning Japanese.

11. In terms of writing, which aspects do you want them to improve? (for example, orthography, spelling, use of conjunction, paragraph structures, etc.)

I believe no matter which language, handwriting describes the writer's personality. Therefore, I want my daughter to write letters neatly and nicely. In addition to that, proper organisation of ideas and paragraph structuring are important.

12. How do you think technology affects children's writing? Do you think your children's writing is enhanced or hampered by using technology?

I think it neither enhances nor hampers writing skills. Personally, I have very few expectations from technology and do not want to rely on it. In my opinion, active learning such as reading books or writing is more important than passive learning like watching TV and using tablets. That stimulates creativity and critical thinking. Also it leads to advanced and sophisticated writing skills. Therefore, I do not want my daughter to rely on technology too much, instead I want her to carry out more active learning.

4.1.2 Transcript of the Second Interview with Mika's Mother

1. How many computers and tablets are there at home? Does your child play games and watch YouTube using your mobile phone? How many hours does he/she play? Is there any time limit?

There are three computers and one tablet. My daughter has many after school activities, so she does not have time to play with computers and tablets. We did not use to have a TV, but recently bought one to watch movies, not to watch TV programs. We sometimes let her use a tablet after her homework for 20 minutes during weekdays and 30 minutes on the weekend.

2. In which language does your child play games and watch YouTube? From your point of view, do you want him/her to watch it in Japanese?

She often watches YouTube in Japanese and English. She goes to French school, so her French is fine. However, she tries to watch YouTube in Japanese and English more so that she can improve them. I believe playing online games are harmful and poisonous to children. Thus I want her to watch more educational channels such as a science channel in any language. When she was younger, she watched Russian cartoons. As you know, young children watch anything no matter what language it is. They enjoy watching cartoons. So does she. She watched cartoons in different languages and memorised typical phrases there.

3. Does he/she use Japanese games or applications to improve Japanese?

No.

4. Japan is often considered to be a superior country in the field of technology among all other nations. What do you think?

I do not feel that Japan is a superior country in the field of technology. I think Spain is more technologically advanced. In her class at French school, no one has a mobile phone yet. I think her French is also advancing. She has not started technology class at school, but she will start soon. According to the school regulations, only children over 12 years old can have one.

5. What do you think the difference is between Japanese games/applications and Spanish/English ones?

What I heard is that Japanese games/applications are a bit cruel and mediocre like stupid Japanese TV programs.

6. Does your child have his/her own email address? Or does he/she use your email address to send emails? In which language does he/she write emails?

No, she does not have one. She sometimes uses my LINE to communicate with her friends and her grandfather in Japan.

7. Does your child write a diary? Does he/she enjoy writing or feel obligated to write due to homework?

She has her homework of writing a diary in this Japanese school. After she writes a few sentences, I have to respond to it. Since she has to do this every week, she feels obligated to keep a diary due to homework. If we did not force her to write a diary, she would have shown more interest.

8. Does his/her weekday school assign a homework task of keeping a diary?

No.

9. In Japan, keeping a diary is typical writing activity that all teachers assign. Especially, during summer break many teachers ask children to maintain a diary entry as homework. On the other hand, in Spain a diary is considered personal and they do not show it to anybody. Regarding a diary, do you feel there are any other differences between Spain and Japan?

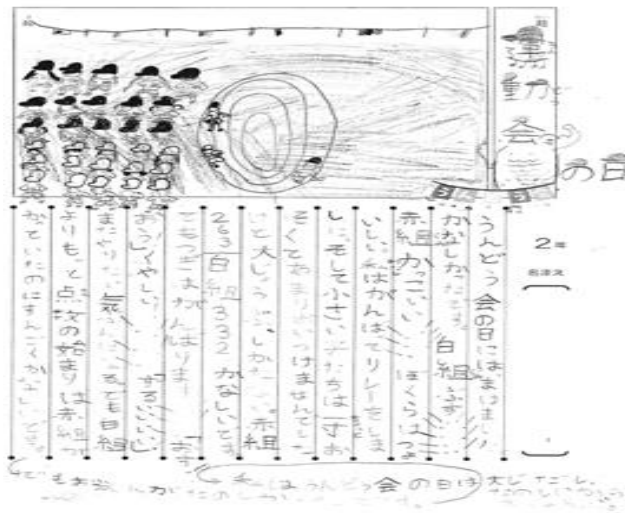
In my opinion, Japanese teachers and parents are constantly checking what students are doing/writing; they even check diaries which are supposed to be personal.

4.2.1 Japanese Essay for Bunshu (Age Six)



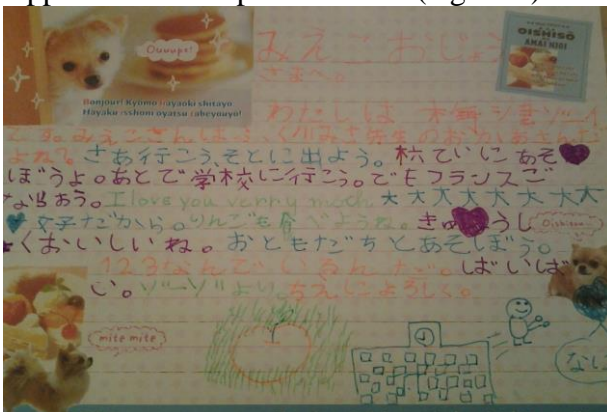
[Translation] “Memory of winter” / I have a lot of memories of winter. Among these, what I liked the most was going to see a Star Wars movie on Christmas day (syntactic error). / On Christmas morning, there was a present on the patio. I opened the box so excitedly and found a different stuffed animal! Then I ran to the living room. Suddenly, Santa Claus appeared and said / “What you wanted is this, right?” / Then he gave me a box of a stuffed animal that I wanted. I felt so happily. / Also, when I tried to wear 3D glasses at the movie theater, I thought I could touch things in front of me.

4.2.2 Japanese Essay for Sports Festival (Age Seven)



[Translation] In the day of Sports Festival, I was sad because our team lost. The white team is ugly!! The red team is cool! We are strong. I did my best in relay. Younger children were a little bit late and could not catch up. But it is ok. It cannot be helped. The red team got 263 scores and the white team got 332. I am sad. But next time I will do my best. Wuuu. It is frustrating. It is not fair. I feel like trying one more time. But I am sad because at the beginning the red team was winning. But cheering my team was fun. I think sports festival is important and fun. So, it is ok.

Appendix 4.2.3 Japanese Letter (Age Six)



[Translation] Dear Ms. Mieko, / I am Mika. You are the mother of Ms. Fukukawa, aren't you? Let's go. Let's go outside. Let's play in the ground (conventional error). Later let's go to school. But let's learn French. I love you very very much. I love you so much. Let's eat apples. School lunch is delicious, right? Let's play with friends. Why are there one, two and three? Bye. Mika. Say hello to Chie.

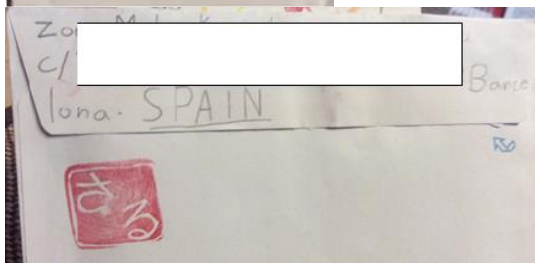
4.2.4 Japanese New Year's Card (Age Six)



[Translation] Happy New Year /
2016 / Mika / A stamp of the
Japanese zodiac sign: Monkey

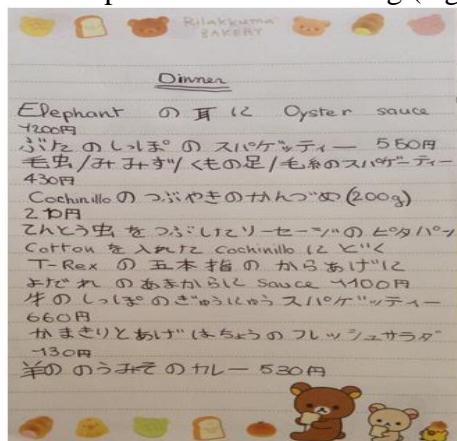


[Translation] / Delivery address /
Addressee / A stamp identifying
the card as a "New Year's card"

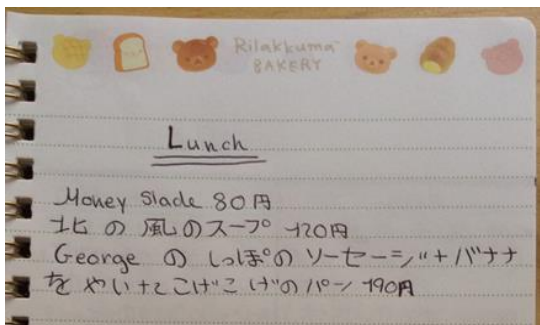


[Translation] Return address / A
stamp of the Japanese zodiac
sign: Monkey

4.2.5 Japanese Leisure Writing (Age Nine)



[Translation] Dinner // Ears of elephant
with oyster sauce 1200 yen / Tail of pig
spaghetti 550 yen / Caterpillar or
earthworm or legs of spider or knitting
wool spaghetti 430 yen / Grilled grain of
cochinillo (pork) 200g 210 yen / Pita pan
of sausage of mashed ladybirds / Stuffed
with cotton cochinillo (pork) with poison
sauce / Fried T-Rex five fingers with
sweet and sour slaver 1100 yen / Milk
with tail of cow spaghetti 660 yen / Flesh
salad with mantises and swallowtail
butterflies 130 yen / Curry with sheep's
brains 530 yen

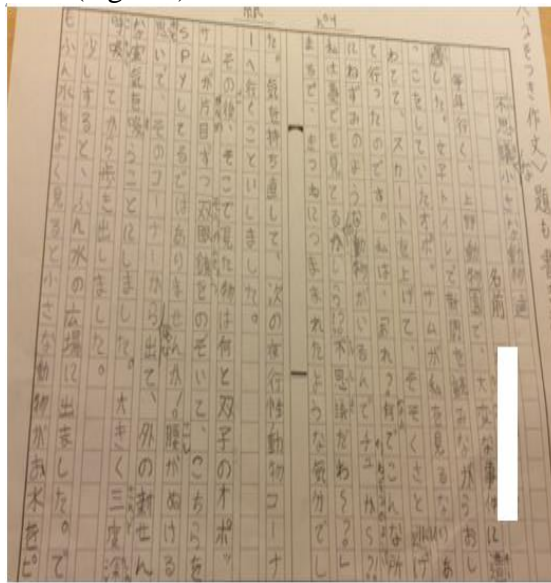
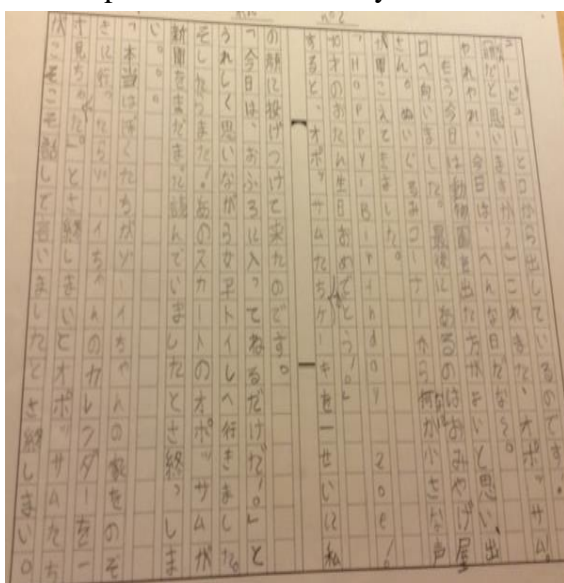


[Translation] Lunch // Money Slade 80 yen / North wind soup 120 yen / Sausage of George's tail, grilled banana and burned bread 190 yen

Drinks	
Cold drinks	Hot drinks
犬のおしるこ 100円	Red 血のお茶 102円
ロバのはなぐさ 105円	Vlady Mary (生のココア) 230円
1匹スカスの cocktail 30円	しお水のお茶 100円
Zombieの目玉のOlive 30円	
しお水 50円	

[Translation] Drinks // Cold drinks // Dog pee 100 yen / A booger of donkey 105 yen / Hibiscus cocktail / Olives of zombies eyes 30 yen / Salt water 50 yen // Hot drinks // Red blood tea 102 yen / VladyMary (raw cocoa) 230 yen / Salt water tea 100 yen

4.2.6 Japanese Creative Essay for Her Homework (Age 10)



[Translation] "Mysterious small animals" // At Ueno zoo where I go to every year, I encountered a big accident. A possum was peeing while she was reading a newspaper in the women's bathroom and she ran away raising her skirt right after seeing me. I thought "why is there an animal like a mouse here. I am probably dreaming. It is mysterious." I felt like that a fox pinched me. I tried to think about a different thing and decided to go to the next nocturnal animals section. // After that, I saw twin possums who were spying on me with binoculars. I almost could not move because I was so surprised. I managed to exit that section and inhaled the refreshing air outside. After three big deep breaths, I started to walk. // After a little while, I arrived at the square where a water fountain was located. But when I looked at the fountain carefully, I noticed that a small animal was spitting water from her mouth. Who do you think she is? This is again possum. It is a strange day today. // I thought it is better to go out from the zoo, so I headed towards the exit. There is a souvenir shop over there. I heard something coming from stuffed animals section. "Happy 10th birthday!" Then suddenly the possum and the other animals started to throw cakes towards me. // I thought I just have to take a bath and go to bed. Then, I went to bathroom happily. In the bathroom, that possum with that skirt was reading a newspaper again. That is all. // Possum said sneakily "when we went to your room, we saw a calendar." That is all.

4.2.7 French Diary Entry (Age Six)

Je me suis, nouvelle, je fait le petit
déjeuner, je marche à la montagne.
Ont n'a ramasser des champignons
que ont pourvé manger.
Ont net alla a la maison de la
campagne, et ont a fait des
cokettes de Noël, avec ma
cousine et, ma mère.
Et des amis a venir pour
manger, il avés pour manger.
Des canelones, de la soupe
et un cochonillo petit.
Ont a jouer, ont a fait
leatre, ont net alle
a dormir et ses finit.

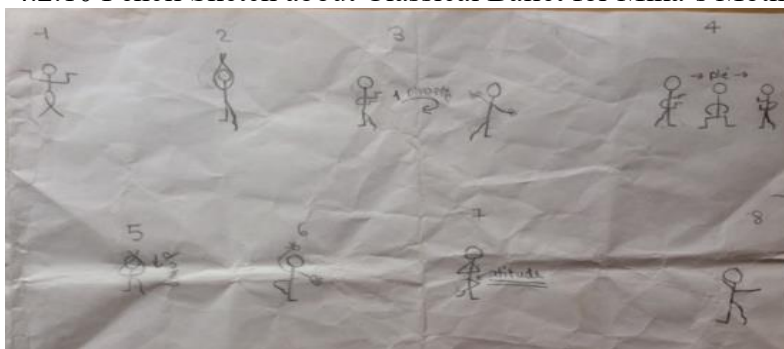
4.2.8 Spanish Letter (Age Six)

Quiero un patinete
color Blanco
como de mi madre
por favor.

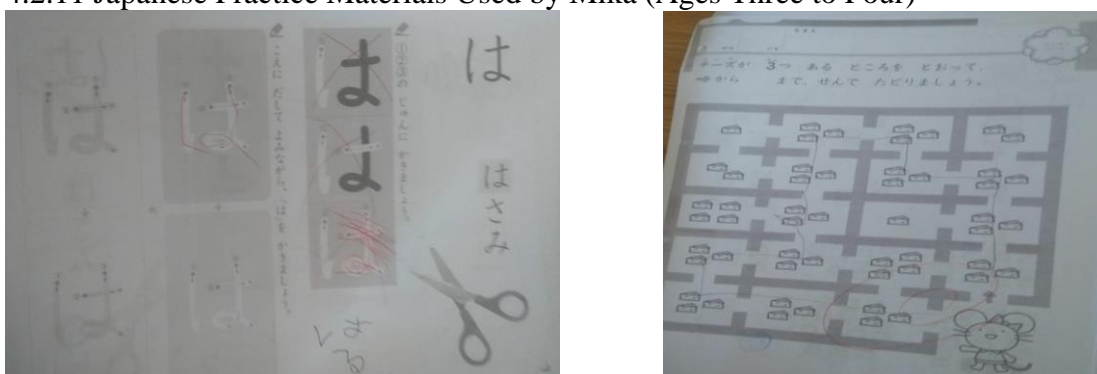
4.2.9 Paintings (Ages Three to 10)



4.2.10 Pencil Sketch about Classical Ballet for Mika's Mother (Age 10)



4.2.11 Japanese Practice Materials Used by Mika (Ages Three to Four)



Appendix 5 Naoto

5.1.1 Transcript of the First Interview with Naoto's Mother

1. Could you explain what you are doing at home/weekday school in order to improve your children's writing in Spanish, Catalan and Japanese? What are the strategies, methods or techniques you are using?

He practices kanji every day. First, he selects one new kanji, reads out loud and writes down the pronunciations of that kanji, its origin, examples and how to use it, etc. Then he memorises the stroke order by painting in a kanji drawing book. Later he puts the kanji on the wall in the kitchen for four to five days so that he can see it and check it anytime.

For homework, he has to write short diaries or letters every day. After his writing, I have to write a response which is part of homework at the Japanese Saturday school. In order to improve his essay writing skills, I try to take time on the weekend to write something together. Also he practices kanji and writes example sentences using new kanji every day. That often develops and expands to short essays and I think that he ends up practicing writing.

In terms of Catalan and Spanish, the only thing he does is homework and preparation for vocabulary tests.

2. Please make me a narration of the last two activities you did at home with your kids.

Recently we did Japanese school homework together. We discussed it a lot and wrote a story together. Also we practiced dictation using math, science and social studies textbooks in Japanese.

3. How often do they practice writing at home/weekday school?

He practices Japanese writing every day from 20 to 60 minutes. We use 40 to 50 % of this time for practicing kanji and the rest of the time for writing short sentences and essays, etc. On the weekends when we have more time, we try to practice writing sentences and short compositions.

4. How often do your children have authentic situations, audiences (responses) and purposes that they write in and outside of school?

He sometimes sends letters and cards to friends and family in Japan. Also he writes a diary when something special has happened. He sometimes makes notes in Catalan or Japanese. His Catalan is better than his Spanish because his school language is Catalan and we live in a village in which basically everything is in Catalan. Thus, he feels more comfortable using Catalan and Japanese.

5. What do you think about a difference between children that have them and not?

This kind of authentic practice and authentic experiences are important in order to acquire Japanese as a mother tongue. I think those who have this authentic motivation can master Japanese as a mother tongue and those who do not cannot.

6. What kind of novels, tales, etc. do they read? In which language?

Mostly he reads books in Japanese, but he does read in Catalan, too. Regarding Japanese books, he reads all types of books including manga, novels, kids' magazines, educational manga, science books and social studies books, etc. When it comes to Catalan books, he reads Catalan comics like TESEO, etc. but does not read novels much. If I ask him to read, he does. But he reads something every day at home because me and my husband's policy is that we do not turn on the TV when our son is awake. Namely, he never watches TV. So, he spends time reading something because he does not have siblings. Every other day, I read Japanese books to him.

He has 30 minutes to read books every morning at school. During that time, he reads Tebeos and other short novels in Catalan.

7. How do they use technology? Do they learn Japanese writing with pencil and paper or with screens and keyboards or both? Which kind of texts, genre are they doing? (social networks, blogging, chatting, IMs, WhatsApp, LINE...).

He almost never uses these. There is a computer class every other week at his school. Honestly, his grade is very good in all subjects except for computer class because he is not good at using a keyboard and its applications. When he learned Japanese writing, he used only pen and paper.

But he sometimes uses WhatsApp in his father's phone to communicate with his friends' parents.

8. If they use apps or websites to improve their Japanese, could you tell me?

He played Japanese apps to learn kanji last year, but got bored quickly and then quit.

9. What kinds of videogames are they playing? In which language?

He got a Nintendo 3DS Japanese version last Christmas. He uses this once a week (about 40 minutes). He plays only RPG games of Youkai Watch.

10. Which language do you think is the most important for them to write in? And why?

The priority of our home literacy practice is Japanese, but I think all languages (Catalan, Spanish and English) are equally important. The reason why I emphasise Japanese at home is because he uses Catalan and Spanish at school and in local society. Therefore, I assume acquiring Japanese is very challenging and difficult and that is why I make him spend more time with Japanese learning. For English, his English class is focused on listening and speaking, and he still cannot write complicated sentences in English. So, that is why he reviews English at home once or twice a week for about one hour.

11. In terms of writing, which aspects do you want them to improve? (for example, orthography, spelling, use of conjunction, paragraph structures, etc.)

I want him to improve kanji skills, vocab skills, paragraph structures and writing skills. I think what he learned in Japanese will be used in other languages.

12. How do you think technology affects children's writing? Do you think your children's writing is enhanced or hampered by using technology?

I think it hampers Japanese writing especially for young children (under nine years old). It is very important to use pen and paper and "muscle memory" in order to memorise letters for young children. Technology could be useful for older children, older than 10 years old, because they can utilise knowledge they have already acquired when they use technology.

5.2.1 Japanese Essay for Bunshu

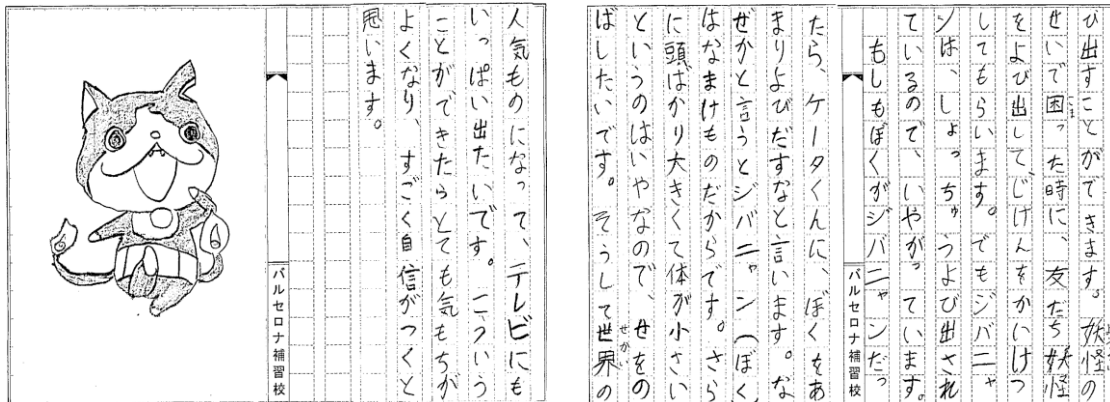
トラックにひかれてしまい、そして、地ぼくおいになっちゃいました。それから、アニメの主人公のケータくんとか、友だちにな。て、今では、ケータくんの家にすんでいます。

「妖怪ウォッチ」には「妖怪メダル」という物がでてきます。妖怪メダルは、妖怪と友だちにな。たらもらえて、妖怪をよび出す時につかいます。妖怪メダルを「妖怪ウォッチ」と言う時計の中に入れると音が鳴り、そのメダルにかいてある妖怪をよ

もしもぼくが
シバニヤンだったら
二年

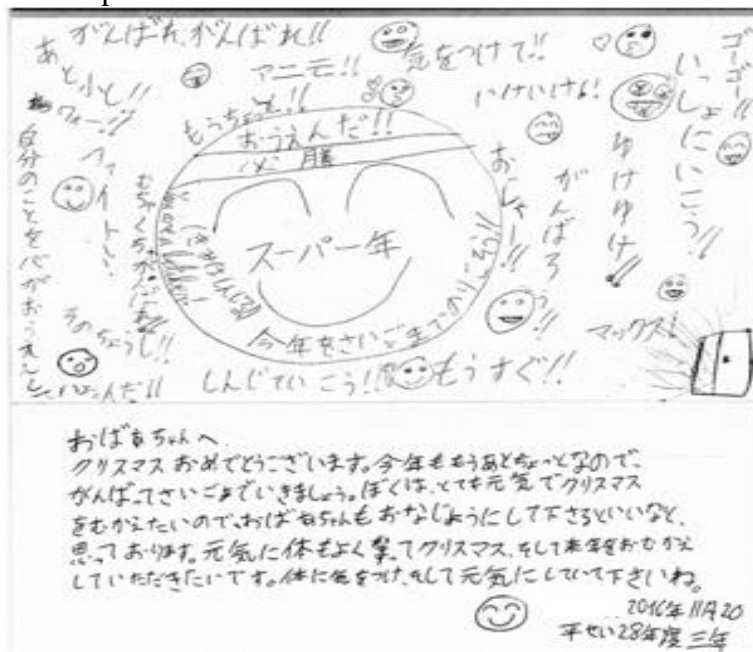
「こんにはニヤン」
とシバニヤンが言いました。
シバニヤンは、アニメ「妖怪ウォッチ」に登場する妖怪です。す。と前、シバニヤンは小ヤンて赤いおこでした。がい主のエミちゃんをたすけようとして、

バルセロナ補習校



[Translation] “If I were Jibanyan” / “Hello, Nyan.” Jibanyan said. / Jibanyan is a character who appears in an anime called “Yokai Watch”. A long time ago, there was a small red cat called Jibanyan. When he was trying to save his owner, Emi chan, he was run over by a truck. Then he became a ghost bound to that location. Then he became friends with Keta, a main character and currently Jibanyan lives in Keta’s place. / In Yokai Watch, there are Yokai medals. You can get them when you become friends with ghosts and you can use them when you call out ghosts. When you put Yokai medals in a watch called a Yokai watch, it makes a sound. By doing this, you can call out the ghost which is displayed. When you are in trouble because of ghosts, you can ask your friend’s ghost for help who can solve problems. However, Jibanyan is called out so many times that he is reluctant. / If I were Jibanyan, I would say do not call me so many times because Jibanyan (in this case me) is lazy. Also, I do not like this body that a head is too big and body is small, so I would want to be taller. Then I could be popular in the world and would like to appear on TV many times. I think if I could do this, I would feel really good and could gain confidence.

5.2.2 Japanese Letter



[Translation] Animo (in Spanish) / Fight, fight! Go, go! / Let’s go! / Max! / Let’s do our best. / Let’s go together! / Be careful! / Let’s do our best the rest of this year! Believe in yourself! / Cheer up! / Go for it! / Way to go! / You win. / The heart cheers you up! / You will get there soon! // Dear grandma, / Happy Christmas. Let’s do our best because we have a few days left this year. I am very well and want to celebrate Christmas. I hope you do the same. I hope you get better soon and spend good time during Christmas and New Year days. Please take care and stay healthy. / Naoto / November 20th, 2016 / Heisei 28 year (on the Japanese calendar) / Grade 3

3. How often do they practice writing at home/weekday school?

He does not practice much, only when he feels like it. He knows that homework is something everyone has to do, so he does it too.

4. How often does your child have authentic situations, audiences (responses) and purposes that they write about in and outside of school?

He does not write letters to his Japanese grandparents. But his younger brother, aged five, writes letters to his cousins. Again, I do not want to force him to write. So, he does not write them normally. But there was a culture event at the Japanese school last week where everyone learned how to write New Year's cards in Japanese. They actually wrote them in class and we sent them to our family in Japan. They are simple cards, but I think it was a good experience for him.

5. What do you think about a difference between children that have them and not?

I think it is better if there are chances to write. But if parents make their children write even if the children do not want to, then writing does not mean anything. In my opinion, it is better not to make them write if they do not want to. But homework is mandatory, so I ask my children to do it neatly.

6. What kind of novels, tales, etc. do they read? In which language?

He reads books in Japanese and Catalan. The Japanese books he read recently were "Korokoro comics" and "Mirukii Tantei." But I do not know much about Catalan books. His school has 10-15 minutes reading time every day. So, he reads books in Catalan there like "Gat Detective."

7. How does your child use technology? Does your child learn Japanese writing with pencil and paper or with screens and keyboards or both? Which kind of texts, applications and websites does your child use on a regular basis? (social networks, blogging, chatting, IMs, WhatsApp, LINE...).

He used pen and paper when he learned Japanese characters. These days, he uses a tablet to watch YouTube. He doesn't play videogames much, but he likes to watch the game's explanation in Spanish on YouTube. It is funny because he does not play games but likes to know how to complete them.

8. Does your child use websites to improve his/her Japanese? If so, which ones?

We used to use the "Yahoo Kids" website to study, but not anymore.

9. What kind of video games does your child play? In which language?

He plays the Playstation in Spanish. When we go to Japan, he plays more Japanese games like "Pazudora".

10. Which language do you think is the most important for your child to write in? And why?

I believe it is important to be able to write something in at least one language. If he feels like writing in Spanish, he should do that. If he wants to write in Japanese, he should do so. But as he lives here, I think Catalan and Spanish are more important.

11. In terms of writing, which aspects do you want your child to improve? (for example, orthography, spelling, use of conjunction, paragraph structures, etc.)

Regarding Japanese, I want him to learn sentence structures and have the ability to write essays. For Catalan and Spanish, I want him to improve spelling and accents.

12. Do you think technology affects children's writing? Do you think your child's writing is enhanced or hampered by using technology?

Yes, it might be making his writing skills worse. For Japanese especially, you have to write a lot to memorise the characters. Repetition by hand is important. If you do not do that, you will forget kanji easily.

6.1.2 Transcript of the Second Interview with Naoya's Mother

1. How many computers and tablets are there at home? Does your child play games and watch YouTube using your mobile phone? How many hours does he/she play? Is there any time limit?

There are one computer and one tablet at home. Sometimes he uses my mobile phone and watch YouTube. I allow him to use the tablet for 30 minutes and take a break or do homework and then use the tablet again another 30 minutes in a day.

2. In which language does your child play games and watch YouTube? From your point of view, do you want him/her to watch it in Japanese?

My son plays games in which language is not really required such as fighting games. But he often plays games in English or Spanish and from time to time he asks me some English words from games. Also sometimes he watches Japanese anime. We can watch Japanese anime on Catalan TV, but I do not change the language setting. He watches Japanese anime in Catalan or Spanish. However, it is unfortunate that he sometimes loses the funny parts of anime. For example, if you watch Doraemon in Japanese, some plays on words appear. But if you watch it in Spanish, you do not get it.

3. Does he/she use Japanese games or applications to improve Japanese?

No.

4. Japan is often considered to be a superior country in the field of technology among all other nations. What do you think?

Many people say that Japan is an advanced country in terms of technology. But my son's school (public school) uses digital screens and computers in class. Although I do not know what the current Japanese primary schools are like, probably Spain could be even more advanced.

5. What do you think the difference is between Japanese games/applications and Spanish/English ones?

I do not know the difference. But children can learn Japanese by playing Japanese games because they have more chance to see Japanese and to ask the meaning of Japanese words if they do not understand.

6. Does your child have his/her own email address? Or does he/she use your email address to send emails? In which language does he/she write emails?

He does not have an email address, nor does he use mine to send messages. It is rare but sometimes he uses my mobile phone to send messages in Catalan to his father.

7. Does your child write a diary? Does he/she enjoy writing or feel obligated to write due to homework?

When he was in grade 1 and 2, he had the homework of keeping a diary. He was happy to write it when he had something to write or express. But when he did not know what to write, he was reluctant to write anything. It would be better if a teacher gives children a certain topic of an essay or diary. However, he did because it was homework. Thanks to this, I think he gained writing skills, but I do not think it is good idea to force him to write at home. So, I do not ask him to write a diary at home.

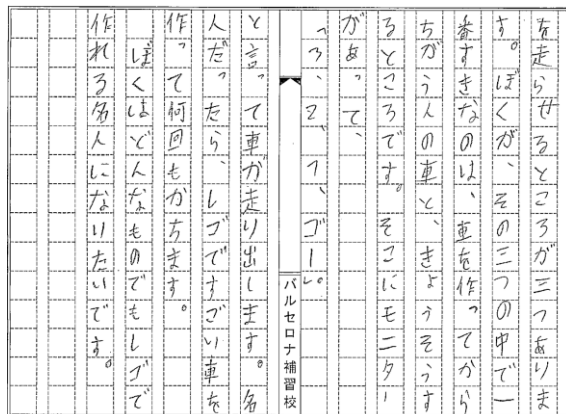
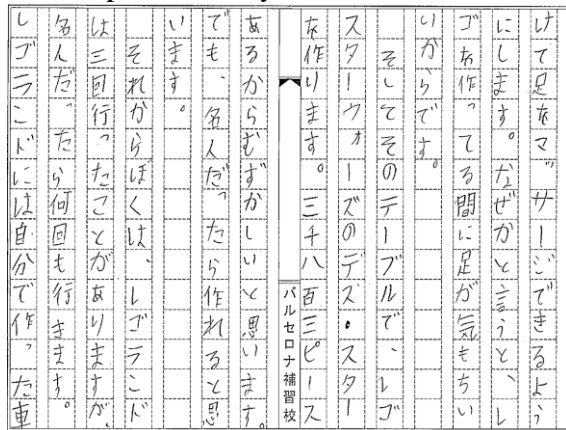
8. Does his/her weekday school assign a homework task of keeping a diary?

No. But he likes craft art, so he often draws and makes his own cards, etc.

9. In Japan, keeping a diary is typical writing activity that all teachers assign. Especially, during summer break many teachers ask children to maintain a diary entry as homework. On the other hand, in Spain a diary is considered personal and they do not show it to anybody. Regarding a diary, do you feel there are any other differences between Spain and Japan?

In his kindergarten he was sometimes asked to draw what he did at the weekend. But now he does not have writing homework. Certainly he writes something at school, but not much at home. I think Spanish schools make a separation between school life and private life.

6.2.1 Japanese Essay for Bunshu



[Translation] “If I were an expert of Lego” / If I were an expert of Lego, I could make a big table first. Under the table, I could put a sting of Lego so that I could get some massage. By doing so, I could feel better when I am making Lego. On the table, I could make Death Star of Star Wars. I think it would be difficult because there are 3803 pieces. But if I were an expert, I could make it. / Also I have been to Lego Land three times, but if I were an expert of Lego, I would go there many times. In Lego Land, there are three places where you can race your car that you created. What I like most is that after making cars, competing with other cars. There is a monitor and it says, / “Three, two, one and go.” / Then the cars start to run. If I were an expert, I could make a great car and win many times. / I want to be an expert who can make anything.

6.2.2 Japanese Essay for Sports Festival



[Transcription] うん動会でまけたけど、楽しかったです。一番すきだったのは、グルグルハリケーンでした。ぐるぐる回ったからすきでした。そして、うん動会で一番へんだったのは、うずまきがあったことです。次のうん動会も楽しみにしています。

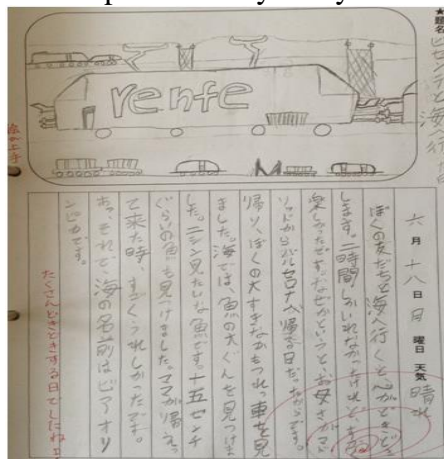
[Translation] Although we lost at Sports Festival, it was fun. What I liked the most was “Guru guru hurricane” (the name of the game). I liked it because I rolled many times. What was the strangest thing was there was whorl. I am looking forward to the next Sports Festival.

6.2.3 Japanese New Year's Card



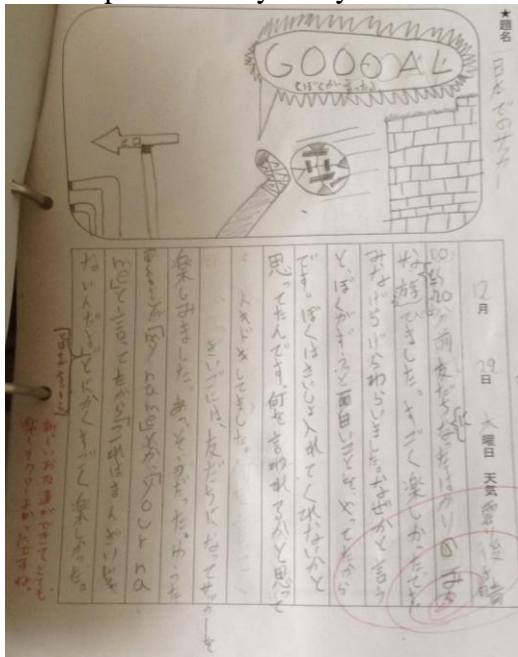
[Translation] Happy New Year!

6.2.4 Japanese Diary Entry 1



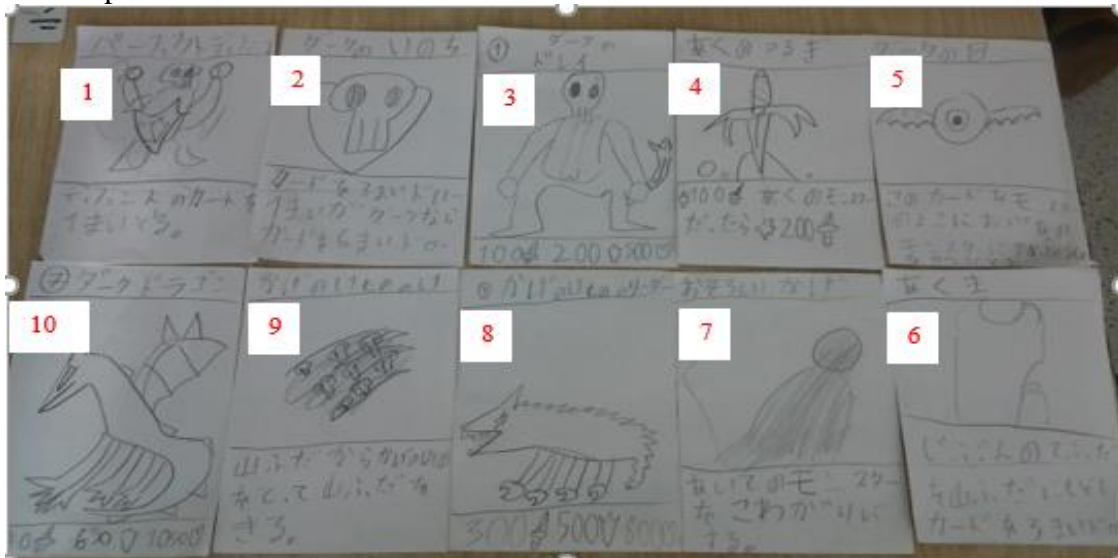
[Translation] June 18, Sunny / “The day I went to the beach with Victor” / When I went to the beach with my friend, I was excited. We could stay there only for two hours, but it was fun because it was the day that my mother comes back from Madrid to Barcelona. On the way back to home, I saw my favourite cargo trains. In the sea, I found a large group of fish. It was like herring. I also found a fish which is about 15 centimetres. When my mom came back, I was so happy. Oops, the name of the sea is Via Olimpica.

6.2.5 Japanese Diary Entry 2



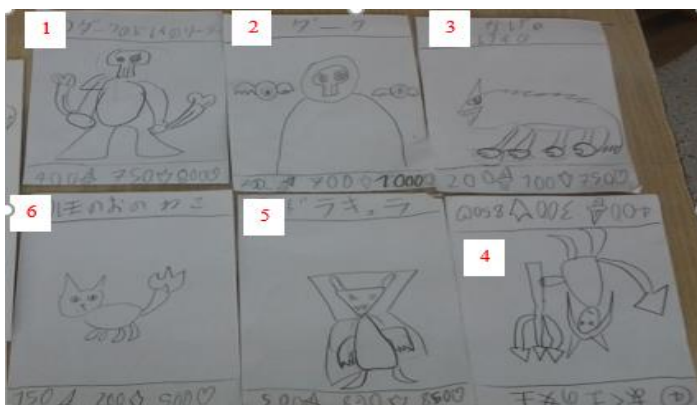
[Translation] December 19th, Thursday, Cloudy followed by sunny. / “Soccer in Japan” / I played with friends with whom I became acquainted with 10 to 20 minutes ago. It was really fun. Everyone laughed a lot because I had been doing funny things all the time. At first, I thought they do not accept me. I was nervous because I was not sure what they were saying about me. / In the end, we became friends and enjoyed playing soccer. Opps Yuta (my friend) was saying to me “my name” and “your name”, etc. Then I said “this is not a joke.” Anyway it was really fun.

6.2.6 Japanese Game Cards



[Transcription] 1. パーフェクトディフェンス・・・ディフェンスカードを1まいとる。 2. ダークのいのち・・・カードを3まいドロ1まいがダークならカードを6まいドロ 3. ダークのドレイ 4. あくのつるぎ 5. ダークの目・・・このカードをモンスターのよこにおいてあのモンスターにかかっているものをぜんぶとる。 6. あくま・・・じぶんのでふだを山ふだにもどしてカードを3まいとる。 7. おそろしいかげ・・・あいてのモンスターをこわがりにする。 8. かげのけものリーダー 9. かげのけものけ・・・山ふだからかげのけものをとって山ふだをきる。 10. ダークドラゴン

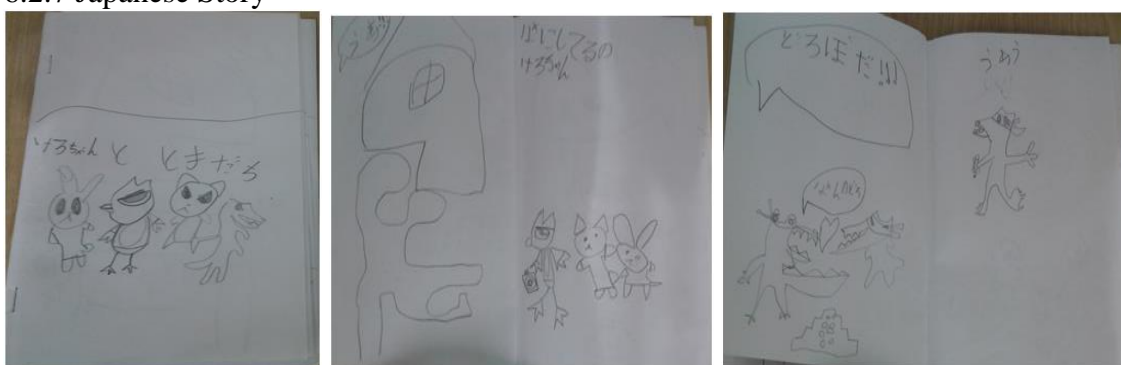
[Translation] 1. Perfect defence...Take one defence card. 2. Life of “Dark”... Draw three cards. If one of them is Dark, draw six cards. 3. Slave of Dark. 4. Evil’s sword. 5. Eyes of Dark... Put this card next to a monster and take all cards which cover a monster (lexical error). 6. Evil... Put your cards in a stock and draw three cards. 7. Scary shadow... It causes other monsters to be scared (grammatical error). 8. Leader of beast’s shadow (lexical error). 9. Hair of beast’s shadow (lexical error)... Pick beast’s shadow card from the deck and shuffle the deck. 10. Dark dragon.



[Transcription] 1. ダークのドレイのリーダー 2. ダーク 3. かげのけもの 4. あくまの女王 5. ドラキュラ 6. ほのおのねこ

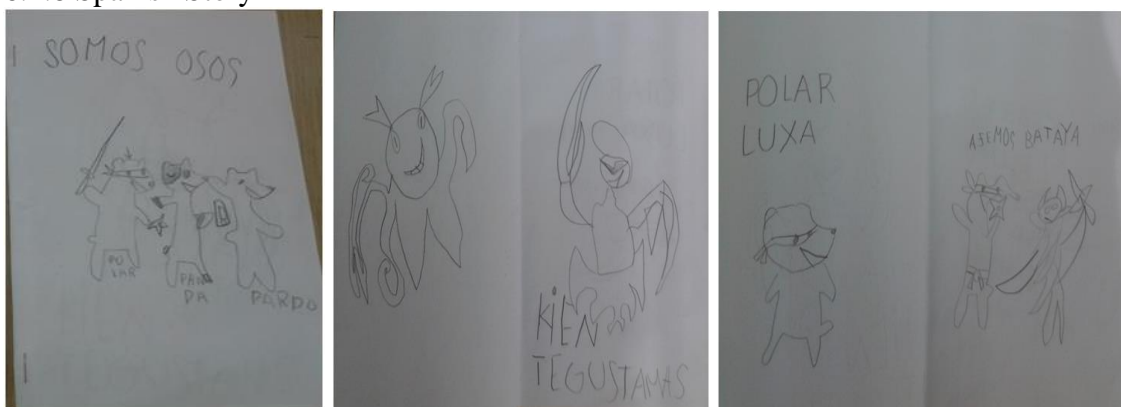
[Translation] 1. Leader of Dark's slave. 2. Dark. 3. Beast's shadow. 4. Evil princess (This card is shown upside down.) 5. Dracula. 6. Fire cat.

6.2.7 Japanese Story



[Translation] Kerochan and friend. / Wow! Kerochan, what are you doing? / It is a thief!!! What's Wah!?

6.2.8 Spanish Story



Appendix 7 Aki

7.1.1 Transcript of the First Interview with Aki's Mother

1. Could you explain what you are doing at home/weekday school in order to improve your children's writing in Spanish, Catalan and Japanese? What are the strategies, methods or techniques you are using?

He does not do any special things other than homework.

2. Please make me a narration of the last two activities you did at home with your kids.

We sent Christmas cards to Japanese relatives and grandparents. Also, he has homework from Japanese school for which he has to write diaries or letters to me every day. I also have to respond every day, but it is very short, just four or five sentences.

3. How often do they practice writing at home/weekday school?

He does Japanese homework for 10-15 minutes every day. Additionally, he has Catalan homework every day.

4. How often do your children have authentic situations, audiences (responses) and purposes that they write in and outside of school?

We send Christmas cards and birthday cards to my Japanese family.

5. What do you think about a difference between children that have them and not?

I think there is a difference between having authentic situations and not having them. I myself like writing letters, not using emails. So, I want to teach my children how interesting writing letters to friends and family is.

6. What kind of novels, tales, etc. do they read? In which language?

Recently, he reads Japanese comics like “Doraemon” “Korokoro comics” and Japanese novels like “Kaiketsu zorori”. For Spanish books, he reads “Geronimo Stilton”.

7. How do they use technology? Do they learn Japanese writing with pencil and paper or with screens and keyboards or both? Which kind of texts, genre are they doing? (social networks, blogging, chatting, IMs, WhatsApp, LINE...).

He does not have a mobile phone yet because he is still 9 years old. Basically, I do not let him use my mobile phone. But the only game he sometimes plays with his sister is called “Nekoatsume” which is a very simple game about cats.

8. If they use apps or websites to improve their Japanese, could you tell me?

We do not use apps nor websites to study, but probably she catches some words from Nekoatsume.

9. What kinds of videogames are they playing? In which language?

He has a Nintendo 3DS and I only allow him to play games for 30 minutes a day. All games are in Spanish and he plays mostly “Pokemon”

10. Which language do you think is the most important for them to write in? And why?

I think Spanish is the most important language for my children because they will live here for the rest of their lives. Their grandparents are Spanish, not Catalan. So, we speak Spanish at home which is also their mother tongue. Their grandmother always comes to our house in the morning to send the kids to school. When she comes, she usually reads Don Quijote (kids’ version) to them for a few minutes.

11. In terms of writing, which aspects do you want them to improve? (for example, orthography, spelling, use of conjunction, paragraph structures, etc.)

I want him to improve proportions of his Japanese characters so that other people can read them easily.

12. How do you think technology affects children’s writing? Do you think your children’s writing is enhanced or hampered by using technology?

I think it hampers children’s writing. I do not want them to use technology much and want them to use traditional methods.

7.1.2 Transcript of the Second Interview with Aki’s Mother

1. How many computers and tablets are there at home? Does your child play games and watch YouTube using your mobile phone? How many hours does he/she play? Is there any time limit?

We have one computer, one WiiU which enables us to watch YouTube. My son does not have a mobile phone yet. Because he is busy on weekdays, he watches YouTube and plays games only on the weekend (approximately four hours each weekend). On the weekdays, I do not allow him to use the mobile phone unless we are in a waiting room of a hospital or in a train or in an airplane.

2. In which language does your child play games and watch YouTube? From your point of view, do you want him/her to watch it in Japanese?

He plays games and watches YouTube both in Spanish and Japanese. When he plays Japanese games, the other players are Japanese, so he has to use Japanese to communicate with them. I think this is a good motivator to study Japanese.

3. Does he/she use Japanese games or applications to improve Japanese?

He does not use it.

4. Japan is often considered to be a superior country in the field of technology among all other nations. What do you think?

I think generally speaking technology in Japan is advanced. Recently, however, other countries are getting advanced as well and I do not think there is no big difference.

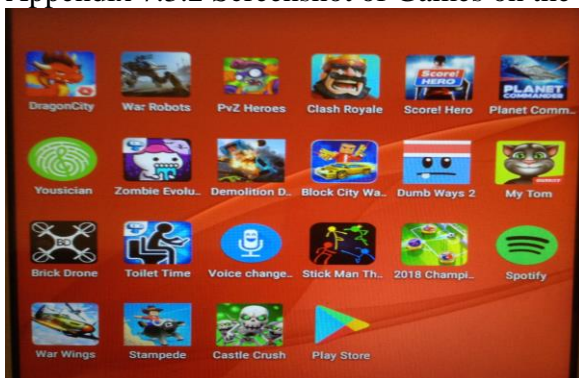
5. What do you think the difference is between Japanese games/applications and Spanish/English ones?

Japanese ones are cuter with a lot of different colors and pictures and character designs are more detailed than Spanish/English ones.

7.3.1 Screenshots of Video Games



Appendix 7.3.2 Screenshot of Games on the Tablet



Appendix 8 Kazuo

8.1.1 Transcript of the First Interview with Kazuo's Mother

1. Could you explain what you are doing at home/weekday school in order to improve your children's writing in Spanish, Catalan and Japanese? What are the strategies, methods or techniques you are using?
All he does is homework. He has a lot of homework every day from the American school. He has a reading log (at least 30 minute a day), English writing and Catalan reading. Of course, he does Japanese homework, too.

2. Please make me a narration of the last two activities you did at home with your kids.
We did Japanese homework together during winter break, writing an essay and diary. Also he wrote a letter to his Japanese grandmother because he wanted to show it to her when he went back to Japan during this winter break.

He does English, Spanish and Catalan homework by himself and does not want to show me. Maybe because he can do that by himself.

3. How often do they practice writing at home/weekday school?
He has homework from Monday to Thursday. On Friday, he only has reading log. So, he writes something at home almost every day.

4. How often do your children have authentic situations, audiences (responses) and purposes that they write in and outside of school?

He does not write much to his grandparents and aunts. However, he likes to send messages via LINE from my mobile phone to them in Japanese and to Japanese friends in English in the USA.

5. What do you think about a difference between children that have them and not?
He does not write much to his grandparents and friends. But those who write more or have more opportunities, their writing skills must be better.

6. What kind of novels, tales, etc. do they read? In which language?
Recently he reads "Grandpa's great escape" in English. It seems the author is famous and he likes this author and reads other novels of the same author. He does not like to read Japanese books alone. So, I read

them for him like “Kaiketsu Zorori.” I think this way is childish. He does not like mangas because he does not know where to read due to too much information in one page.

7. How do they use technology? Do they learn Japanese writing with pencil and paper or with screens and keyboards or both? Which kind of texts, genre are they doing? (social networks, blogging, chatting, IMs, WhatsApp, Line...).

In the beginning, he used tablets.

8. If they use apps or websites to improve their Japanese, could you tell me?

He does not use applications and sites for learning Japanese.

9. What kinds of videogames are they playing? In which language?

He watches YouTube and plays Minecraft, etc. Everything is in English.

10. Which language do you think is the most important for them to write in? And why?

I am afraid to speak frankly as a committee member of this school. But frankly speaking, I think school language (English) is the most important because I assume he will live outside of Japan in the future. I do not know where he will end up living, but if he knows English, he can survive everywhere.

11. In terms of writing, which aspects do you want them to improve? (for example, orthography, spelling, use of conjunction, paragraph structures, etc.)

In my opinion, sentence structure, grammar, spelling are important in any languages. When I check his Japanese homework, I try to check these points.

12. How do you think technology affects children’s writing? Do you think your children's writing is enhanced or hampered by using technology?

I believe using pencils and papers is very important especially for Japanese because when you learn kanji, the stroke order is very important. I think learning kanji with mobile phones and tablets has its limits. So, I want him to write by hand using pen and paper when he is under compulsory education. When he writes English, I still also want him to use hand, pen and paper.

8.1.2 Transcript of the Second Interview with Kazuo’s Mother

1. How many computers and tablets are there at home? Does your child play games and watch YouTube using your mobile phone? How many hours does he/she play? Is there any time limit?

There are two computers and three tablets. Some of the tablets are old, but I still keep them because when my son’s friends come over, they can play games together. During weekdays, I do not allow him to use these gadgets for fun. He can use them for his studies, though.

2. In which language does your child play games and watch YouTube? From your point of view, do you want him/her to watch it in Japanese?

He watches YouTube and plays games exclusively in English. He likes to follow YouTubers who demonstrate “Minecraft” and “Crash Royale”. On occasion, he watches Japanese anime such as “Rupan sansei” and “Hayao Miyazaki”. We watch Japanese TV variety shows together (“Anatano Jyoushiki wa hijyoushiki” and “Admachikku tengoku”) and Japanese dramas (“Doctor X” and “Uchuu kyodai”).

3. Does he/she use Japanese games or applications to improve Japanese?

He used to use applications to practice Japanese alphabets when he was 4 or 5 years old, but not anymore. However, he regularly uses two applications. The first one is a reading log application. His teacher recommended that he read more because he is poor at oral fluency. Thus he reads out short articles, records his voice and sends it to his teacher. Later the teacher puts an icon of “I like it” as if it were Facebook. He does this for 30 minutes a day, sometimes longer if he is interested in the texts which are assigned by the teacher.

The second one is called “Kahn academy” which is learning math. He usually uses this software for 30 minutes a day, these tasks are his homework. When I think about it carefully, it is true that no teacher assigns homework which uses a pen and paper anymore except for the subjects of Catalan and Spanish. All of his homework should be done using either a computer or tablet. It seems like teachers assume that all of the students have at least one computer at home. This school could be special because it is a private American school.

4. Japan is often considered to be a superior country in the field of technology among all other nations. What do you think?

In terms of ICT and educational technology, I disagree that Japan is advanced. We have a chance to go back to Japan every summer and my son goes to school there for a month, but they don’t implement ICT at school. The way they teach is the same as the one when I was a child. ICT here in Spain is more advanced than in Japan. His school here offers even robotics and programing activities.

5. What do you think the difference is between Japanese games/applications and Spanish/English ones?

I have no idea about this.

6. Does your child have his/her own email address? Or does he/she use your email address to send emails? In which language does he/she write emails?

He has his own school specific email address. He also has storage space online where he can upload all of the documents he is working on now and download them whenever and wherever he is. In this way, it seems to me that he acts like an adult, working at a company. He sometimes sends LINE messages to his friends and aunt in Japan and his Japanese friends in the US. He also messages his local friends in English.

7. Does your child write a diary? Does he/she enjoy writing or feel obligated to write due to homework?

He does not write a diary, but he has homework for which he has to write a two page essay once a month based on the given topic. Even though he struggles to write two pages, he likes this better than a regular diary.

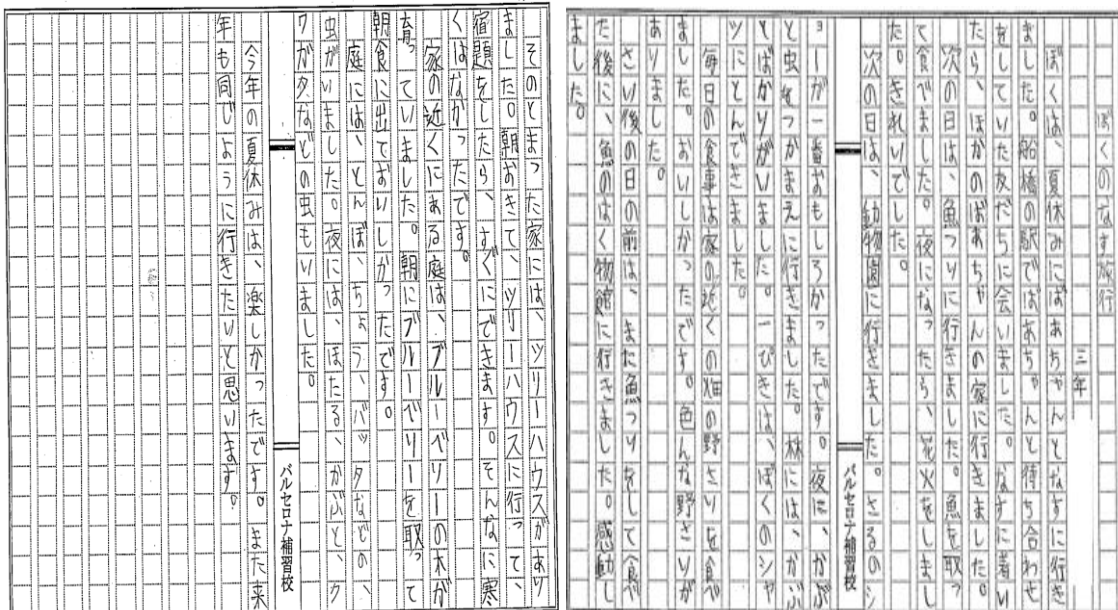
8. Does his/her weekday school assign a homework task of keeping a diary?

No.

9. In Japan, keeping a diary is a typical writing activity that all teachers assign. During summer breaks especially, many teachers ask children to maintain a diary as homework. On the other hand, in Spain a diary is considered personal and they do not show it to anybody. Regarding diaries, do you feel there are any other differences between Spain and Japan in terms of how they are used?

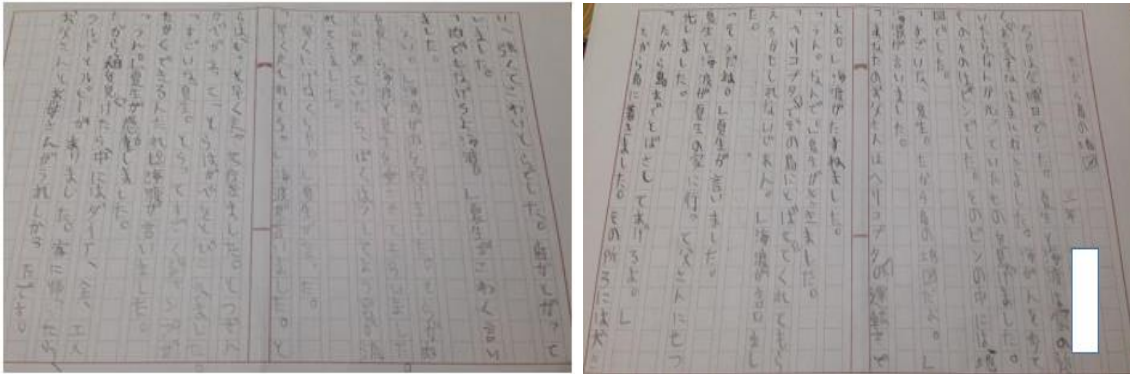
Until I was asked the difference between a diary in Japan and Spain, I have never thought about it. However it is true that Japanese diaries are not normally considered private. Teachers use them as a teaching aid to teach writing. They read students' diaries and correct not only spelling mistakes but also grammar mistakes. By doing that, students learn how to write effectively and persuasively.

8.2.1 Japanese Essay for Bunshu



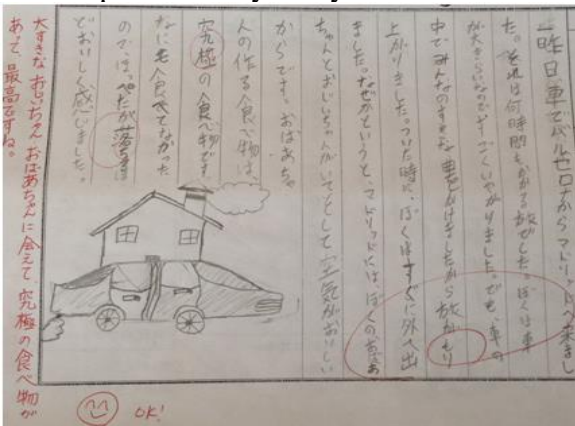
[Translation] "My trip to Nasu" / I went to Nasu with my grandma during summer break. When I was waiting for my grandma in Funabashi station, I bumped into my friend (syntactic error). When we got to Nasu, we went to other grandma's place. / Next day, I went fishing. I caught fish and ate it. At night, we played fireworks. It was beautiful. / Next day, we went to a zoo. The show of monkeys was the most interesting thing. At night, we went to outside to catch beetles. In grove, there are many beetles (syntactic error). One beetle flew to my shirts. / For every day meal, we had vegetable which was cultivated in field near the house. It was delicious. There are various vegetables. / One day before the last day, we went fishing again and went to a fish museum. I was moved. / In the house I stayed, there was a tree house. If I get up in the morning, go to the tree house and do my homework, I can finish it soon. It was not so cold. / In the garden near the house, there was a blueberry tree. In the morning, we took blueberries and they were delicious. / In the garden, there were insects such as locusts, butterflies, snake feeders, etc. At night, there were also fireflies, beetles, stag beetles, etc. (syntactic error). / This summer break was fun. I would like to go there next year as well.

8.2.2 Japanese Non-academic Essay



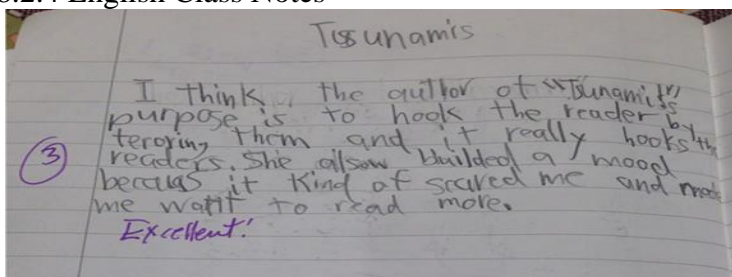
[Translation] It was Friday today. Kazuo and Natsuki went to a sandy beach near my place. When we walked (conventional error) on the seashore, we saw something shining (grammatical error). It was a bin (lexical error) and inside the bin, there was a map (lexical error). / “Oh, that is great. It is a map of treasure land” Kazuo said. / “Your father (lexical error) is a helicopter pilot, isn’t he?” Kazuo asked. / “Yes, but why?” Natsu replied. / “He might take us to the land by his helicopter (lexical error), right?” Kazuo said. / “Yes, that is right.” Natsu said. Then we went to Natsu’s place and explained (conventional error) to his father. / “I can take you guys to the treasure land.” (lexical error) Then we arrived at the treasure land (conventional error). Over there, there was a strong and scary tiger (grammatical error). His teeth were very sharp. / “Kazuo, throw something like meat.” Natsu said, sounding scared (lexical error). / “Ei (onomatopoeya of throwing something with all his might)” Kazuo threw it at the tiger. After the tiger eating it (conventional error), they got on the tiger (lexical error). When they were passing near the volcano (conventional error), it exploded and lava started to go off. / “We have to escape quickly.” Natsu said. / “Tiger, run fast. (conventional error)” Kazuo said. Then the tiger started to run fast (conventional error). Suddenly, a wall appeared and we jumped across it. / “Wow! Tiger is awesome. He can jump across so high (conventional error).” Kazuo said. / “Yes.” Natsu was so moved. Then we found a treasure box (conventional error). Inside there were diamonds, gold, jewels and emeralds. When I got home and showed them to my father and mother, they were happy.

8.2.3 Japanese Diary Entry



[Translation] Two days ago, we went to Madrid from Barcelona by car. It was a long trip. But we put on our favourite music in a car, so we had a good time. Immediately after we got there, I went out from the car because my grandfather and grandmother are there and the air is very clear in Madrid. My grandmother’s cooking is sublime. As I had not eaten anything for a long time, I felt that her cuisine was so wonderful and scrumptious.

8.2.4 English Class Notes



She does not have writing homework from English school. Of course, she does homework from Japanese school. Because she likes writing, she sometimes writes a diary or recipes (in Japanese).

4. How often do your children have authentic situations, audiences (responses) and purposes that they write in and outside of school?

She has three or four times opportunities (summer break, Easter break, winter break) a year to write postcards.

5. What do you think about a difference between children that have them and not?

I do not know if there is a difference in terms of writing proficiency because what she writes is a few sentences in postcard. So, I am not sure if this activity improves writing skills. My purpose to write letters or postcards is to connect with friends and maintain friendship which is related to motivation, I think.

6. What kind of novels, tales, etc. do they read? In which language?

This week she is reading "Little Gini Series" in Japanese, "Sexto Viaje Reino Fantasia" in Spanish and "The Lemonade Crime" in English.

7. How do they use technology? Do they learn Japanese writing with pencil and paper or with screens and keyboards or both? Which kind of texts, genre are they doing? (social networks, blogging, chatting, IMs, WhatsApp, LINE...).

She uses the internet to do homework from her English school, plays games and uses my phone to send messages in English via WhatsApp. Also once in a while she sends messages to her cousin in Japanese via LINE.

She has really liked using pencils since she was a child. So, she practiced Japanese writing with pencils, but also used tablets.

8. If they use apps or websites to improve their Japanese, could you tell me?

The app she and her big brother used is called "Hiragana Nazori." give you a bunch of hiragana and you choose the correct one. But I wanted them to write hiragana, not to do multiple choices. This "Hiragana Nazori" is so strict that you have to write neatly.

To improve her kanji skills, she sometimes uses the app "Shogakusei kanji Ninja." But sometimes it does not work well because even if she writes the wrong one, it says correct.

The other one she uses is called "Yubi Drill". I think when she practiced with the ipad, she can memorise the kanji better and, especially at the beginning, she enjoyed it because this method was new and fresh.

9. What kinds of videogames are they playing? In which language?

She occasionally plays games in English and Japanese. For Japanese, she plays "Nekoatsume." For English, she uses her brother's mobile phone, but I do not know the name of the games.

10. Which language do you think is the most important for them to write in? And why?

At the moment, I think English (school language) is important because this is her academic language. When she thinks about complex things, she thinks in English. Also she can absorb more knowledge if it is in English. Having said that, I believe Japanese is also important.

11. In terms of writing, which aspects do you want them to improve? (for example, orthography, spelling, use of conjunction, paragraph structures, etc.)

For all languages, I want her to write logical sentences. I mean I want her to improve logical skills which are appropriate for her age. I believe this aspect is more important than orthography and spelling because she can manage orthography and spelling later.

12. How do you think technology affects children's writing? Do you think your children's writing is enhanced or hampered by using technology?

This question makes me think whether technology is good for her (my daughter's) education or not. But I do not think technology is bad because she enjoys using it and practices kanji a lot in order to go to the next level of a Japanese kanji writing app. Using WhatsApp has pros and cons. One of the cons is that she can send messages easily without thinking too much. But as she has to write short sentences, she tends to summarise what she wants to convey. By doing this, she has probably improved her summarising skills. I am not worried about her losing kanji skills like many other people think. When she gets some messages from her Japanese aunts, sometimes kanji she has not learned appears. In that case, she asks me to pronounce them and then she learns it. It seems she is eager to read messages even if there are some unknown kanji.

9.1.2 Transcript of the Second Interview with Nina's Mother

1. How many computers and tablets are there at home? Does your child play games and watch YouTube using your mobile phone? How many hours does he/she play? Is there any time limit?

We have one computer and three tablets. She watches math videos for her homework, uses Google Docs for group work and watches YouTube in English. Also using my mobile phone, she sometimes sends messages to her friends in other cities via Instagram and WhatsApp.

2. In which language does your child play games and watch YouTube? From your point of view, do you want him/her to watch it in Japanese?

When she watches YouTube, mainly she watches in English. As a Japanese parent, I want her to watch Japanese stuff, but I allow her to do what she wants because she sometimes reads books in Japanese.

3. Does he/she use Japanese games or applications to improve Japanese?

She does not play games much because she does not like them. However, she used to play “Shogakusei Kanji Ninja” and “Nekoatsume” to practice kanji. Since these games are only for beginner students, she stopped using them.

4. Japan is often considered to be a superior country in the field of technology among all other nations. What do you think?

When it comes to technology, it not true that Japan is advanced. However, in terms of technology in education, I disagree that Japan is a superior country. Schools here use technology in the educational system, for example homework of watching online videos and group work of using Google Docs, etc.

5. What do you think the difference is between Japanese games/applications and Spanish/English ones?

I do not know about much games or applications, but I think the quality of English educational games and applications are better than Japanese ones.

6. Does your child have his/her own email address? Or does he/she use your email address to send emails? In which language does he/she write emails?

She has had her own email address since she was seven years old. She sometimes sends emails to her friends in Japan in Japanese. She uses different languages depending on who she is talking with.

7. Does your child write a diary? Does he/she enjoy writing or feel obligated to write due to homework?

She sometimes has homework of keeping a diary in Japanese. However, she does it because it is homework nor for pleasure.

8. Does his/her weekday school assign a homework task of keeping a diary?

When she was in grade 1,2 and 3, she often had homework called “weekend news” in her Spanish class. She often wrote about Japanese Saturday school for this homework, so her teachers always thought that my family never enjoyed the weekend.

9. In Japan, keeping a diary is typical writing activity that all teachers assign. Especially, during summer break many teachers ask children to maintain a diary entry as homework. On the other hand, in Spain a diary is considered personal and they do not show it to anybody. Regarding a diary, do you feel there are any other differences between Spain and Japan?

A few years ago, there was the optional homework of keeping a diary in her school. It was supposed to write about winter break. My daughter was the only one who wrote it and it seemed that her teacher did not expect that anyone would do this additional homework.

It is a diary but we know that we have to show it to the teachers. So, we do not write things we do not want to tell anybody. At the same time, I suppose teachers do not expect private stuff either.


9.2.1 Japanese Essay for Bunshu



[Translation] “My biggest achievement this year.” / On December 29th I was skiing in Font Romeu, France. I took a lift with my coach. The place we reached was a steep slope and I thought, I cannot do this. But after following him for a while I became able to turn curves and jump. I slipped only three times. / When I took a lesson for the first time last year, I could not those things that well and came to dislike skiing. But this year I tried patiently my best and feel that skiing is fun. This year when I tried the skiing jump for the first time, I fell to the ground, but I tried it once more and managed to do it. I thought I got it! Also when I tried to turn curves, I would repeatedly fall. But after the coach taught me, I quickly mastered it. After the lesson, I showed my skills to my family. My father said I had improved since last year and my mother said I was now better than my older brother. My brother who was also there said to me that he had seen someone who was skiing very well and that person turned out to be me! After hearing all of these positive comments, I felt that I want to become even better next and the following year through practice.

9.2.2 Catalan Essay 1 ⁸

POLITICA



Nou President de la generalitat

El nou president de la generalitat es diu Carles Puigdemont Casamajo i té 53 anys. Va néixer a Amer un poblet de Girona. Va ser alcalde de la ciutat de Girona. Avons de ser alcalde va ser periodista i membre de col·legi de periodistes de Catalunya. Està casat amb una periodista romana i té dues filles. Té una web que es diu www.CarlesPuigdemont.cat. De petit deien que era solitari i maticós. Ell deia que volia ser astronauta.

9.2.3 Catalan Essay 2


ESPORTS

El japonès Yuzuru Hanyu, campió olímpic de patinatge artístic.

El dia 14 de Desembre el patinador Yuzuru Hanyu a guanyat el gran Prix de Barcelona de patinatge artístic sobre gel. El japonès va aconseguir la puntuació més alta de la història. 330.43 punts. Una actuació perfecta. El esportista va fer tres salts quadruples i molts salts triples. Té 21 anys i va néixer a Sendai, Japó i va entrenar amb Brian Orser i Tracy Wilson.

Va començar a patinar quan tenia quatre anys seguint a la seva germana gran que també patinava. Va començar a entrenar al 2006 amb Naomi Age i al mateix any va ser campió junior del Japó.

(p.6-8)



⁸ This Catalan essay is about the former Catalan president, Carles Puigdemont, and was collected in January 2016.

9.2.4 Spanish Essay

El Texto Expositivo

La brújula

La brújula es un invento que se utiliza para determinar la dirección del norte. La brújula es necesario para ir de camping, caza, senderismo, navegar en el mar y todas las actividades que necesite saber desde estas o a donde van.

Los primeros personas que usaban la brújula fueron los chinos. Ellos descubrieron que la magnetita (óxido de hierro) y metal de hierro puesto en un sitio plano siempre tiene la dirección al norte. Ha sido descubierto durante la dinastía Han en el año 300 antes de cristo.

Más tarde hubieron más innovaciones por el señor Pietro Peregrino de Maricourt, era un señor que estudio el magnetismo. Él diseñó un modelo que se puede llevar a mano y lo cambió a una brújula magnética. Después también había una brújula de navegación que fue diseñado por el señor Flavio Gioja. La brújula ha sufrido pocas modificaciones.

Una brújula tiene dos agujas, una indica el

norte y otro indica el sur. La brújula es redonda y tiene las letras N(norte) E(este) S(sur) O(oeste) a cada lado.

Gente empezaba a usar la brújula porque todos lo necesitaban y porque todos querian saber donde estaban o a donde van.

La brújula es un invento muy útil y todos lo podemos usar. Todos deberian apreciar que la brújula existiera.

9.2.5 English Essay

Rebeca is the best

Do you know that having a friend that you like and is very important for you is very important during your life? My friend Rebeca is a very important person for me because she is kind, she is always smiling and shows me she is happy and at last, she cares about every body. That is why she is the best and you should think about who is your most important friend for you.

One reason why Rebeca is the best is because she is always smiling and is happy. An example of this is that, it makes me happy too. In addition, it makes other friends happy too. Seeing Rebeca happy makes me happy because she is a important person for me. And, why she is important is because she has been a great friend since kindergarten.

Are your friends important for you?

yes	no	Don't know
*****	zero	one
even		

Another example of this is, that I like to be with her smile because it means that she likes to be with her friends. That meant she liked to also be with me. For example, one day I made a joke and Rebeca and our other friends started laughing. They laughed so much that I also smiled and laughed. And even if she is playing something she didn't want to play or something she did not like, she still smiled and laughed with us. The important thing is that, to make your friend or friends happy and smile is a thing that some people can't do and not making a friend happy makes them not a special or good friend. That's why she makes me feel very special like her, and that is one reason why Rebeca is the best to me.

My second reason why Rebeca is the best is because she cares about people. This reminds me that, one day during p.e. we accidentally hurt each other. It hurted both of us but, she didn't get mad at me, she didn't cry because it hurted. She kept on asking me if I was all right. Even if the match started she still asked. In other words, she cared about me. Another example of this is, that one day we were deciding what to play and a kid wanted to play a game and she wanted to play another one but she didn't care about the game. So we played the game the other kid wanted to play. At last, she never cares about her self or what she doesn't like.

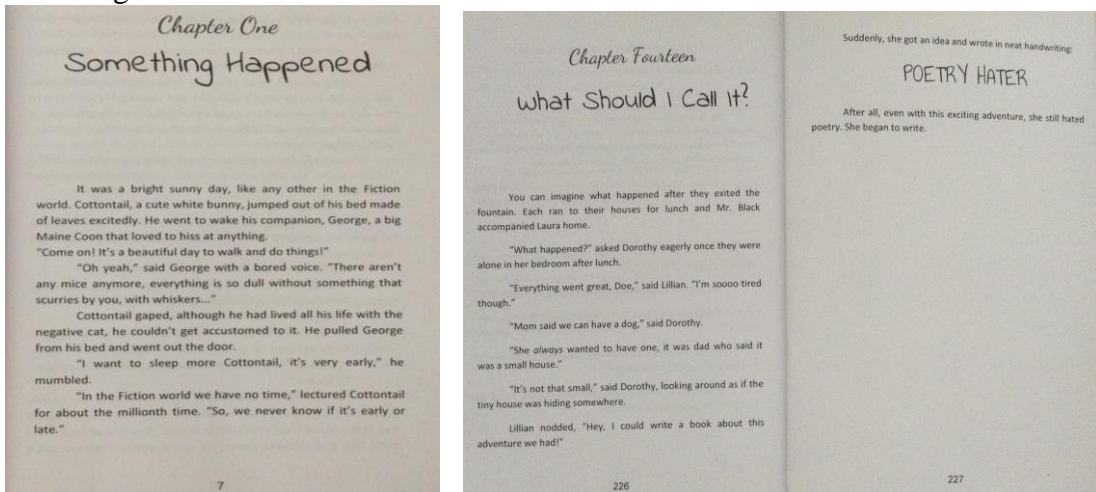
she goes with people she likes to be with. That is also why Rebeca is the best.

Finally, my last reason Rebeca is the best is because she is very kind. For example, one day our friend was crying and she tried to help maybe sometimes what she tries wouldn't help but sometimes it does help, but at least she still tries. One day we almost spent one whole recess time trying to help our friend. She perseveres a bit. As I'm saying this, I'm realizing that today during library she had a problem because the boys were trying to hack her library account, and she came all the way to the other room where I was to tell me she was sorry because we were not together. As you can see, Rebeca is a very kind and important person to me she helps not just me but every one. She tells me sorry when she doesn't need to and finally, she does stuff for every body. One day, I bumped into a big fifth grader and the part behind my glasses hurted. It hurted like it couldn't not rug. One kid did not care about me and yelled "Go! Run! Fast! Go!" while laughing but, what Rebeca did was to call all my friends to pass the game. I felt like the whole world cared about me even though only she helped.

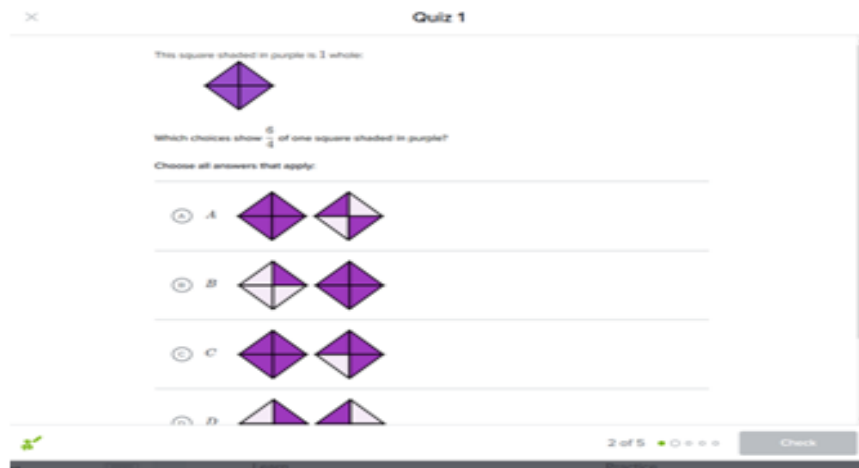
That is another big reason why my friend is the best.

Other people should care about this because having a valuable and important friend is a key to magnificent things. But because what Rebeca does makes me feel cared by every one in the world. Maybe you could be like her. For example, the first thing she told me was that she liked the flower I drew. Every one should understand that friends are more important than markers, erasers and even more stuff. Some people want to be the smartest but, having a friend helps you and every person in the world has a friend that is important. That is why people should understand, having a important friend is necessary.

9.2.6 English Novel



9.3.1 Screenshot of a Khan Academy Lecture Video



Appendix 10 Natsuki

10.1.1 Transcript of the First Interview with Natsuki's Mother

1. Could you explain what you are doing at home/weekday school in order to improve your children's writing in Spanish, Catalan and Japanese? What does your school do in terms of methods and techniques?

For Japanese, she does homework (practicing kanji, diary, dictation, essays, letters, drills, etc.). For Spanish and Catalan, she also does dictation, essays, letters and so on. For English, she has a spelling test almost every week and essays in class. English teachers especially, ask students to write essays after vacations like summer break or winter break. Her father helps her with Spanish and Catalan homework.

2. Please make me a narration of the last two activities you did at home with your kids.

We wrote a Japanese diary together (this is homework she has every week). She has to write about an event or something once a week. For example, this week she wrote about a recent Japanese movie called "An." For Catalan, she and her father did dictation together, it was homework.

3. How often does your child practice writing at home/weekday school?

She writes a diary in Japanese and makes a dictation in Catalan once a week respectively.

4. How often does your child have authentic situations, audiences (responses) and purposes that they write about in and outside of school?

She does not have many chances, but on occasion she writes letters in Japanese to her family and friends in Japan. She also writes birthday cards, Christmas cards, etc. in Catalan, but these are not very long. However,

when she writes something for me, she writes in Japanese. She learns piano from a Japanese teacher in Barcelona. So, she writes solfeggio in Japanese and the piano textbooks are in Japanese too.

5. What do you think about a difference between children that have them and not?

Yes, I think there is a difference. If they have authentic situations that motivate her to write more. So, I think there is a difference in terms of motivation.

6. What kind of novels, tales, etc. do they read? In which language?

For Japanese, she is reading biographies of Madame Curie and Galileo Galilei (but these are mangas) and "Ochamena futago." She reads "Hi ha un nen al lavabo de les nenes" in Catalan. She reads books in English too but I forgot the titles. She usually reads books in Catalan or Japanese.

7. How does your child use technology? Does your child learn Japanese writing with pencil and paper or with screens and keyboards or both? Which kind of texts, applications and websites does your child use on a regular basis? (social networks, blogging, chatting, IMs, WhatsApp, LINE...).

She does not have her own mobile phone yet, so she sometimes uses mine. I heard half of her classmates have them already. She often uses an ipad to listen to music, watch videos and play games rather than writing and computers to do assignments (Word, PowerPoint). She always uses an ipad because it is very handy and convenient. I let her use my WhatsApp and KIK accounts (ipad chatting application) to communicate with her classmates. She writes in Catalan normally. When she learned Japanese alphabets for the first time, she used a pencil and paper.

Regarding music, she listens to music in multiple languages, but I think she often listens to British or American pop and Japanese pop.

In terms of games, she plays in English.

8. Does your child use websites to improve his/her Japanese? If so, which ones?

Recently, she is busy with her homework, so does not use apps. But a long time ago, she used the app called "Obenkyo" to learn kanji. Originally, my husband used this to learn Japanese, but later my daughter used it together with him.

In addition, as she writes the kanji official exam every year, she uses this link to prepare for the exam. www.kanken.or.jp

9. What kind of video games does your child play? In which language?

She often plays video games using Nintendo Wii, and mostly in English.

10. Which language do you think is the most important for your child to write in? And why?

When she was younger, I thought Japanese is the most important and I wanted her to study more Japanese because she does not live there. However, after living here in Spain for a long time and settling down, my idea changed. Now I think Catalan is more important because it is a local language and many of her family members are Catalan (father, grandparents, etc.). So, we talk with family and friends in Catalan.

In the past, she was good at Japanese, but gradually her stronger language became Catalan. I also let her study more Catalan, otherwise she would not be able to catch up with other kids at school.

11. In terms of writing, which aspects do you want your child to improve? (for example, orthography, spelling, use of conjunction, paragraph structures, etc.)

I want her to improve sentence structure. I believe expressing ideas, writing down her thoughts and summarising are more important than orthography and spelling.

12. How do you think technology affects children's writing? Do you think your child's writing is enhanced or hampered by using technology?

I think Japanese skills would decrease, especially kanji skills, because if you do not practice with your hands, you will not remember it. However, if you use apps where you can practice kanji with your fingers, writing skills would probably not be hampered. I do not think other language skills will change much when using technology.

10.1.2 Transcript of the Second Interview with Natsuki's Mother

1. How many computers and tablets are there at home? Does your child play games and watch YouTube using your mobile phone? How many hours does he/she play? Is there any time limit?

My husband and I have one computer and one tablet respectively and my daughter has one computer and one tablet. In total there are six computers/tablets. I just bought a mobile phone for her in Dec. 2016. She was the last one in her class to have a mobile phone. She does not watch YouTube or play games much. However, she often listens to music with her mobile phone while she studies.

2. In which language does your child play games and watch YouTube? From your point of view, do you want him/her to watch it in Japanese?

She does not play games, but listens to anime songs. Probably 80% are Japanese and 20% are Spanish/English. I want her to improve all languages (Spanish, Catalan and Japanese)

3. Does he/she use Japanese games or applications to improve Japanese?

The applications she uses are “Pigment” and “Colouring art” in Japanese, “Touch art” “Snap chat” and “Colour switch” in English.

4. Japan is often considered to be a superior country in the field of technology among all other nations. What do you think?

Nowadays I do not really feel that Japan is a technologically advanced country. It’s true that Japan is advanced in terms of robots.

5. What do you think the difference is between Japanese games/applications and Spanish/English ones?

I think Spanish/English games are simpler and generally Japanese games have detailed instructions.

6. Does your child have his/her own email address? Or does he/she use your email address to send emails? In which language does he/she write emails?

She has her email address because her school asked her to create one for her homework. Depending on who she will send to, she changes the language she uses. Also using my mobile phone, she sends LINE messages to her friends and relatives in Japan. I assume she will do this more often in the future because she just started to use her own mobile phone.

7. Does your child write a diary? Does he/she enjoy writing or feel obligated to write due to homework?

As the Japanese school gives this homework, she feels obligated to write it.

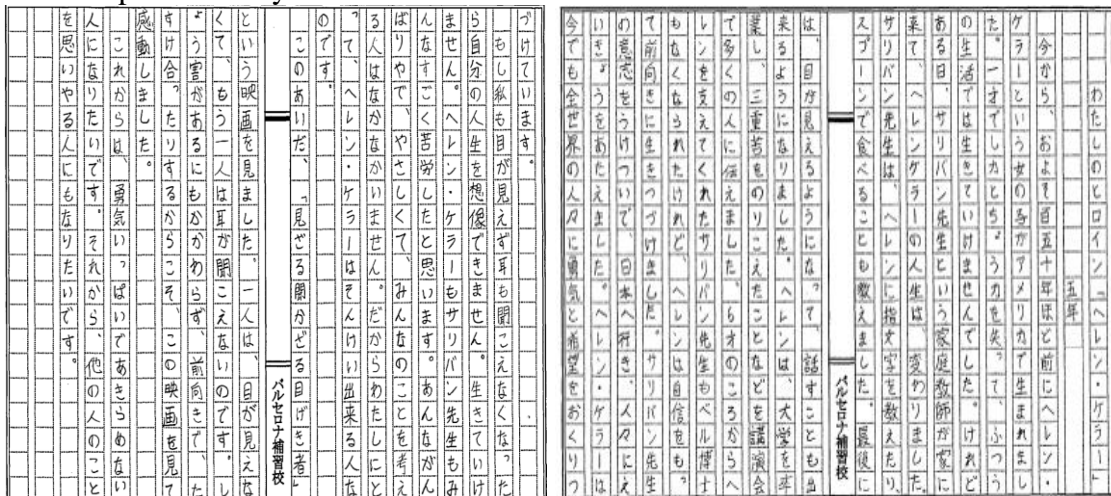
8. Does his/her weekday school assign a homework task of keeping a diary?

Until grade three or four, she sometimes wrote a diary in her English class.

9. In Japan, keeping a diary is typical writing activity that all teachers assign. Especially, during summer break many teachers ask children to maintain a diary entry as homework. On the other hand, in Spain a diary is considered personal and they do not show it to anybody. Regarding a diary, do you feel there are any other differences between Spain and Japan?

Firstly, there is no homework during summer break. In my opinion, many children are forced to write a diary in Japan. On the other hand, here in Spain there is no such pressure or obligation.

10.2.1 Japanese Essay for Bunshu



[Translation] “My heroine, Helen Keller” / About 150 years ago, the girl called Helen Keller was born in the United States. When she was one year old, she lost eyesight and audibility and could not live like others. But one day, a private teacher called Sullivan came to her place and her life changed. This teacher taught sign language and how to use a spoon when eating. At the end, Helen Keller became to be able to see and talk. Helen graduated from university, gave a lot of speeches and told a lot of people about her difficult life. But Sullivan who taught her since when she was six died. Also Dr. Bell died, but Helen continued to live positively. She followed Sullivan’s will, went to Japan and influenced to many people. And even now, she sends courage and hope to people all over the world. / If cannot think of the situation that I became deaf and blind. I cannot survive. I think Helen and Sullivan went through difficult situations. There is no one like these people who are hard-workers, very kind and thoughtful. That is why, Helen is a person that I respect. / The other day, I watched the movie called “See No Evil, Hear No Evil.” One person is deal and the other one is blind. Even though there are a lot of difficulties, they helped each other. So, I was moved. / I want to be a person who has courage and never give up. Also I want to become a person who think about others.



10.2.2 English Essay

Well written! Good use of Past - Some spelling mistakes (9)

Japan Holiday


On 22nd of June I went with my mother to Japan because my mother is Japanese and my family is there. My father stayed at home but he said he could come in August. We went to Japan 2 months and a little for one side I was sad because I ~~wouldn't~~ see my father for 1 month and a bit. But for the other side I was very excited because there is my family, friends and all the people that I love. I said "bye" to my father and I went with my mother to the number of the plane. When I was in the plane I sat on the number 32E. I was very tired. The plane flew to Paris, that took 2 hours. Then we got on to another plane and that one flew to Japan, but there were 12 hours. I liked that plane a lot because there were lots of games and films. In 12 hours I saw 8 films and I slept 2 hours! When we arrived in Japan, Osaka we rode on a bus because my family live in Japan, Osaka, Ibarakishi. The bus took 1 hour and a half to arrive. There I slept, played with my mother and lots of things. When we arrived in Ibarakishi we got a taxi to the house of my grandfather. I was very excited! When I saw my

grand father I was very happy, but very tired. The next day I went to the interview of the school because I was going to go to the Japanese school. It was very hard because you got up at 7 o'clock and the school began at 8:15. I was very happy to see my friends again. All the days were the same but the thing that I didn't like was the weather. It was very, very, very and very hot! All the days were like 38 degrees. But it was ^{for} more hotter than that because in Japan there is a lot of humidity. One of the things that I liked was the bag. You have to go with that bag to school. It's obligatory to all the schools of Japan. There are a few of colors. Blue, red, black... etc. The typical one for girls is red for boys black, but there is girls with blue as well. On July I began to play an instrument of Japan very known for the people. It's name is "TAIKO". There are a type of drums very difficult, but these were very interesting and exciting. On August I played a concert with

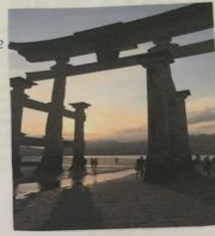



the drums. I played in a school festival. It was great thing too.

On 2nd of August my father came to Japan. I was very glad to see him again. My father was happy to see all the family. On 11th we went to Hiroshima, that is in the south of Japan. "SHIMA" comes for an island. We went there with the most fast train, the Shinkansen. When we arrived there we took a ship and we crossed the river. Finally we walked to the hotel. But when I got off the ship I saw lots of deers they came from the mountains. They just come for food. I loved playing with the deers, they were very funny and very intelligent. When we arrived to the hotel I was very surprised. I liked a lot the rooms because they were made with "TAKI" is a typical food of Japan that is made of bamboo. In the evening we went to the restaurant of the hotel. It was a viking. There was a lot of food and it was delicious. We slept very comfortably. The next day of the morning we went to see a monument very typical called "TORI". There are lots in Japan, but



each place it's a little bit different. It is very pretty and on this one on the leg of the "TORI" you put a coin because they say you will have good luck. The most thing that I was surprised was that at midnight and at the morning the "TORI" is in sand very close to the sea and at afternoon and evening it's on sea. The waves come closer and closer until the "TORI" is in the sea. It's incredible! Finally we got on the ship and we returned to Osaka, Ibarakishi. I loved this trip!



Finally came the last day of Japan. I was very sad, but happy to return home. We got on the bus, then 12 hours of plane to Paris. After that, another plane of 2 hours to Barcelona. Finally a taxi to return to Madrid. I loved my holidays and I want the same one next year!

10.2.3 Catalan Essay 1


La meua familia

La meua mare es deu Eiko i es japonesa. Te els ulls i els cabells castanyos. Li agrada molt llegir en japonès i siria que es molt alegre. Es una mica buixeta.

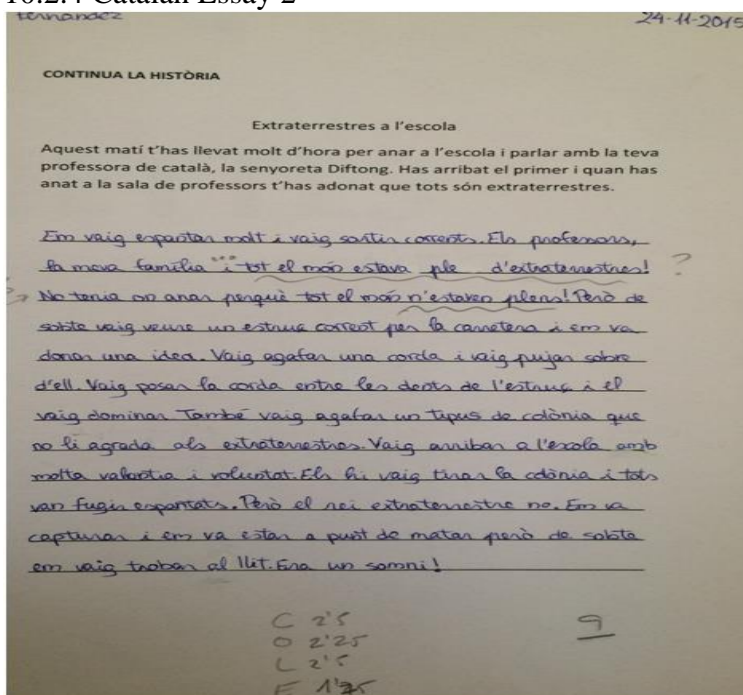
El meu pare es deu Genji, te els ulls marrons però el cabell negre. Li agrada molt l'esport i es molt amable.

Jo em deu Naorun Fernández. So una jove catalana. Tinc els ulls marrons i els cabells castanyos. L'esport es la meua vida però també m'agrada molt llegir i dibuixar.

El meu gos es deu Mel. Es un mascle i te 2 mares i mig. Es molt juganer i jo el considero com el meu gos petit. Te el pel castany fosc i es un caniche enano. Menja pomes i una mica de patè. Jo me l'estimo molt. Aquesta es la meua familia i me l'estimo molt, no fa cammaria a per totas les rigures de món!



10.2.4 Catalan Essay 2



Appendix 11 Asuka

11.1.1 Transcript of the First Interview with Asuka's Mother

1. Could you explain what you are doing at home/weekday school in order to improve your children's writing in Spanish, Catalan and Japanese? What are the strategies, methods or techniques you are using?

She does not do anything special. What she does is her homework and preparation for the tests.

This might be off topic, but when she was in grade 1, she had *Dictado* three times a week. Each time students had to listen and write five Spanish words. I thought it was a good exercise and she learned a lot.

2. Please make me a narration of the last two activities you did at home with your kids.

She is a teenager and does her homework and everything by herself.

3. How often do they practice writing at home/weekday school?

She has her homework every day, so in other words, she writes something every day. She likes writing especially in Spanish. Also she likes reading books in Spanish.

4. How often do your children have authentic situations, audiences (responses) and purposes that they write in and outside of school?

She often sends messages by mobile phone, tablet, and computer. Since she was 11 years old, she has had a mobile phone. Initially, she used it in emergencies. But gradually she started to use them to communicate with her friends.

5. What do you think about a difference between children that have them and not?

I think there is a difference. Those who write often can describe things well and improve writing skills, especially vocabulary skills.

6. What kind of novels, tales, etc. do they read? In which language?

Spanish→"El signo de los cuatro"

Catalan→"La porta dels tres parys"

Recent popular Spanish novel in her class → "After" (There are four volumes.)

She does not read English or Japanese books. It's unfortunate that she never borrows Japanese books from this library. I should have taken her to this library and have borrowed books since she was a child. But I did not do that. It is important to get into the habit of going to library and borrowing books together.

7. How do they use technology? Do they learn Japanese writing with pencil and paper or with screens and keyboards or both? Which kind of texts, genre are they doing? (social networks, blogging, chatting, IMs, WhatsApp, LINE...).

She used a pen and paper to learn them. Even now, when she practices kanji, she uses a pen and paper. She uses Facebook, WhatsApp and LINE.

8. If they use apps or websites to improve their Japanese, could you tell me?

No, she does not use them.

9. What kinds of videogames are they playing? In which language?

She plays Spanish and English video games which have a few conversations. I mean she plays games without using many languages.

10. Which language do you think is the most important for them to write in? And why?

I think Spanish is important because she lives here in Spain. In my opinion, the local language is more important. However of course, I want her to read and write more in Japanese. I would be happier if she could write more diaries or essays in Japanese, but the reality is that she writes everything in Spanish. She is writing novels, memos, etc. in Spanish. For example, when she gets a present from her friends, she keeps a wrapping paper and writes a message. (When, from who, what she got and so on.) It is difficult for her to do this in Japanese.

11. In terms of writing, which aspects do you want them to improve? (for example, orthography, spelling, use of conjunction, paragraph structures, etc.)

I am satisfied with her orthography skills in all languages because she writes alphabets very neatly. Also I think her spelling skills, use of conjunction, paragraph structures, etc. in Spanish and Catalan are relatively good, so I hope she maintains her skills in the future as well, but when it comes to Japanese, I want her to improve paragraph structures.

I know your research is about writing, but my daughter is good at listening. She listens to some phrases from TV commercials and repeats them exactly with multiple languages. She cannot write them, though.

12. How do you think technology affects children's writing? Do you think your children's writing is enhanced or hampered by using technology?

I think there are positive effects. In the old days, the only communication tool apart from a telephone was the letter. On the other hand, nowadays we can casually send messages to communicate with anybody in the world thanks to technology. When I think about the amount of writing, we write a lot nowadays compared to the old days. Of course, if we do not use kanji, we forget them easily, but keyboards give us multiple choices of kanji and we see them all the time. So, I am not really worried about the negative impact of technology towards kanji skills. The negative effect would be using abbreviations in Spanish. She is not writing Spanish appropriately by using abbreviations on her mobile phone and tablet. I do not think people use abbreviations when they write letters.

11.1.2 Transcript of the Second Interview with Asuka's Mother

1. How many computers and tablets are there at home? Does your child play games and watch YouTube using your mobile phone? How many hours does he/she play? Is there any time limit?

We have one computer and three tablets at home. My daughter uses all of this equipment depending on what she does. With them, she does her homework, watch YouTube, take photos, make videos, checks locations with Google Maps, play games, etc. On weekdays, she utilises them for three or four hours and on the weekends for around five or six hours.

2. In which language does your child play games and watch YouTube? From your point of view, do you want him/her to watch it in Japanese?

She plays games in English and watches YouTube in Spanish, English and Japanese. As her mother, I do not force her to watch Japanese stuff or anything because she is already a teenager.

3. Does he/she use Japanese games or applications to improve Japanese?

She uses some Japanese applications for fun, but not for educational purposes.

4. Japan is often considered to be a superior country in the field of technology among all other nations. What do you think?

In terms of technology at school, Japan is further behind than Spain. Since she was in grade six or seven, she started having to do her homework which required access to the internet. In summer, she went to Japanese weekday school in Barcelona for four years, but I do not think they used technology much in class.

5. What do you think the difference is between Japanese games/applications and Spanish/English ones?

My daughter thinks that there are many games and applications for younger children in Japan, but not for teenagers. She also thinks that Japanese ones are cuter.

6. Does your child have his/her own email address? Or does he/she use your email address to send emails? In which language does he/she write emails?

schools. I felt very stressful. Last reason is that gradually my friends at the Hoshuko quitted school. When I was in kindergarten of the Hoshuko, we were 12 children. But gradually, the number of friends was decreased. When I was the first year of junior high school, finally I was the only student in a class. However, a new student came in the second semester. Because of this and my strong will of finishing the third year of junior high school and graduating from the Hoshuko, I did not stop. That is why, I wish good luck to those who are going to the Hoshuko right now. // This is a message from me, going to the Hoshuko for 10 years. To children who are in kindergarten. Can you write hiragana? From grade one, you will learn kanji. Let's memorise grade one kanji because it is basic. Please keep going to the Hoshuko for nine years. lol // To children who are in grade five. I remember that suddenly class became so difficult when I was in grade five. More and more vocabulary which we do not use every day appear, so I think it is better to borrow books from the library. // To children in junior high school. Congratulations on graduating from primary school of Hoshuko. Kanji will appear surprisingly more and more and you will learn Japanese classic as well. But do your best because the gold is almost there. // It was difficult to go to weekday school and the Hoshuko. But I am quite sure that what I learned here will be helpful in my future.

11.2.2 Spanish Essay 1

Consejo

Yo de ti le contaría por qué le dijiste que no, así verá que la razón no era porque no te gustase, sino exactamente porque te gustaba. Una vez hayas hecho eso acércate a él como antes, simplemente como amigos. Y cuando ya tengáis más confianza, le podrías decir lo que sientes por él. Si él también quiere salir contigo, no te lo pienses más y sal con él; tienes que confiar en vuestra relación.

Y si te dice que no, pues aunque duela, acéptalo. Pero no te separes de él. Que no podáis ser novios no significa que no podáis seguir siendo amigos, no? Es mejor tenerlo en tu vida como amigo (si no es como novio) antes de no tenerlo, no crees? Porque estos 2 años sin él parece que se te han hecho duros.

Espero que te vaya bien!

Buena suerte!!

11.2.3 Spanish Essay 2

Trascendencia

La caída de Constantinopla a manos del imperio turco el día 29 de mayo de 1453, fue un suceso histórico muy importante, tanto, que se considera que con él termina la Edad Media y comienza la edad Moderna. Fue el fin de lo que quedaba en Roma, y el inicio del imperio turco-otomano.

Desde entonces, el imperio otomano empezó a ser una amenaza permanente para el cristianismo en Europa.

Consecuencias

La caída de Constantinopla causó una gran conmoción en Occidente, incluso se pensó que era el principio del fin del cristianismo.

Hay tres consecuencias importantes:

1- Conmoción en Occidente. Hubo reuniones entre los gobiernos cristianos para formar una nueva cruzada que pudiera liberar Constantinopla de la dominación turca. Aunque en aquel momento, ninguna nación pudo ceder tropas.

Se inició un conflicto con el Imperio Otomano que duró siglos.

2- El comercio entre Europa y Asia, de donde venían las especias y los artículos de lujo y donde se destinaban las mercancías más valiosas, se interrumpió.

Lo que hizo que las naciones europeas buscaran rutas alternativas.

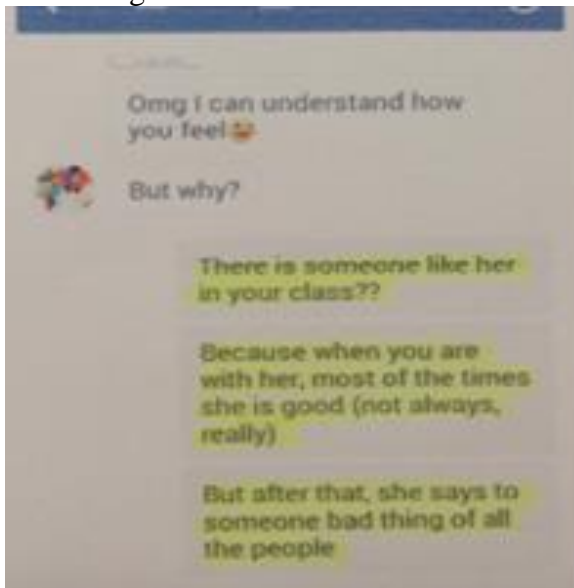
Los portugueses y los españoles aprovecharon que estaban junto al Océano Atlántico para intentar llegar a la India por mar.

Los portugueses intentaron llegar a Asia rodeando África, lo que acabó con el viaje de Vasco da Gama y el inicio de la ruta comercial de las especias.

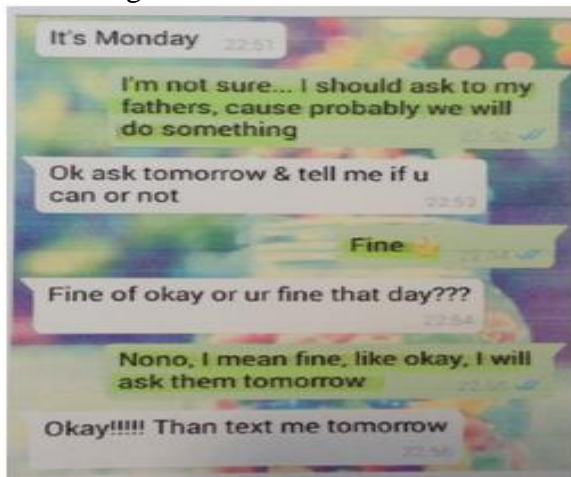
Y en Castilla, la reina Isabel financió a Colón en su proyecto. Al final, acabó descubriendo América con la intención de llegar a la India por Occidente (ya que defendía que la Tierra era redonda). Comenzó el rico comercio con América.

3- La huida de muchos sabios griegos a las cortes italianas de esa época, cosa que empezó a dar comienzo al Renacimiento.

11.2.4 English IMs 1



11.2.5 English IMs 2



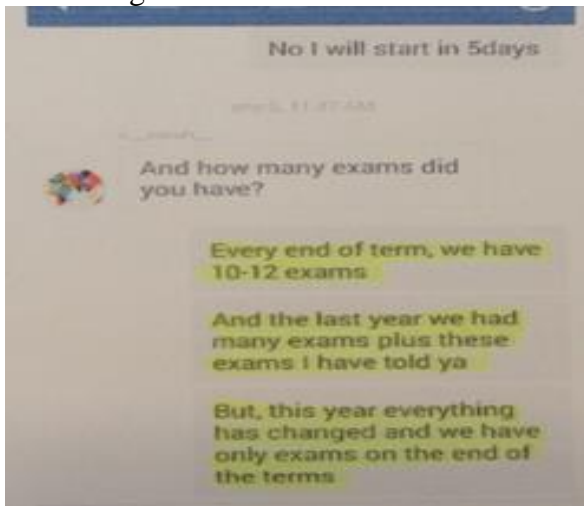
11.2.6 English IMs 3



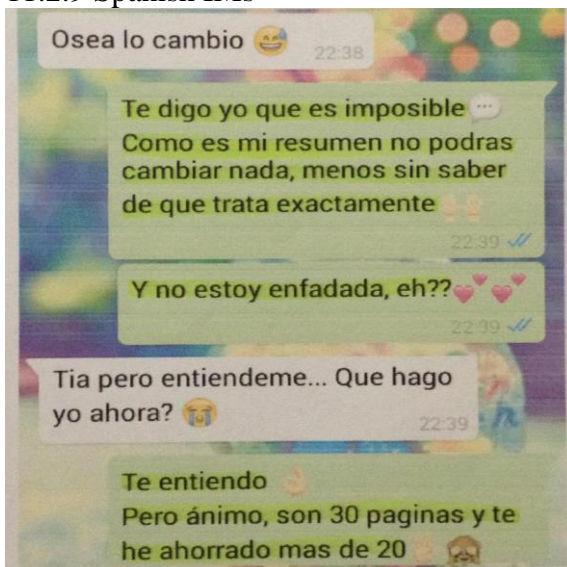
11.2.7 English IMs 4



11.2.8 English IMs 5



11.2.9 Spanish IMs





Consentiment informat de participació (familiar)

Jo, _____, amb
DNI _____, com a pare/mare/tutor del menor
_____, que participa en la
recerca titulada *Multiliteracy practices of Grade 1-9 students from a Japanese school in Catalonia: Language, Writings systems and technology*, de Misa Fukukawa, dirigida per Daniel Cassany a la Universitat Pompeu Fabra, que és un treball de tesi doctoral que forma part del projecte ICUDEL15⁹;

comprenc que:

- tant jo com el meu fill/tutoritzat participem en l'esmentada recerca com a informants i que això inclou:
 - participar en diverses entrevistes que seran enregistrades amb àudio;
 - acceptar el seguiment i l'observació de les pràctiques lectores i escriptores en qualsevol idioma que faci el meu fill/tutoritzat dins i fora de l'escola, en paper o en línia (i, per tant, l'acceptació com a 'seguidora' de la investigadora [amiga, blockaire, etc.] del meu fill/tutoritzat en els seus espais en línia), i
 - cedir temporalment alguns documents de les pràctiques anteriors perquè la investigadora en faci còpies;
- les dades obtingudes (material audio amb la meua veu i la del meu fill/tutoritzat, documents en paper, captures de pantalla, etc.) formaran part del corpus d'estudi, que només es podran usar per a la recerca (avenç del coneixement, millora de la qualitat educativa), que no es compartiran amb tercers, i que es tractaran de manera confidencial d'acord amb la legislació nacional i europea (Real Decret 1720/2007, Llei Orgànica de Protecció de Dades de Caràcter Personal 15/1999 i la directiva europea 2002/58/CE);

⁹ Projecte ICUDEL15: <https://sites.google.com/site/icudel15/home>

- algunes de les dades obtingudes podran incloure's en treballs científics publicats per l'equip d'investigació en revistes, o presentats en congressos acadèmics;
- en el cas que en una publicació o presentació hi hagi una referència directa a la meua persona o al meu fill (o a les nostres paraules), se'm demanarà previament si volem constar-hi amb el nostre nom (mai cognoms) o si preferim usar un pseudònim;
- la investigadora em facilitarà una còpia de totes les dades meues que reculli, com també un informe dels resultats més importants d'aquesta recerca.
- la recollida de dades no durarà més de dos cursos (2015-17), encara que l'anàlisi i el tractament de les dades pugui requerir més temps;
- la participació en l'estudi és de caràcter voluntari i no remunerat;
- en qualsevol moment puc retirar la meua participació i la del meu fill/tutoritzat i recuperar totes les dades aportades, sense haver de donar explicacions.

Per tot això, preste lliurement la meua conformitat per participar en aquest estudi.

Nom i cognoms del familiar:	Data i lloc:
Signatura	

Appendix 13 Linguistic Background Questionnaire
 Translation is located in section 5.2.

バルセロナ補習授業校 言語環境調査アンケート

新学期からの学年	幼・小・中	生徒氏名	ふりがな 男・女	生年月日	西暦	年	月	日	(満 歳)
----------	-------	------	-------------	------	----	---	---	---	----------

➤ お子さんの状況について当てはまる項目に○を、または、回答をご記入下さい。

●学校での主たる使用言語 (カタラン語 ・ カスティーリャ語 ・ 英語 ・ その他_____)

●家庭での使用言語

父との会話 (日本語 ・ カタラン語 ・ カスティーリャ語 ・ 英語 ・ その他_____)

父の母語 : _____

母との会話 (日本語 ・ カタラン語 ・ カスティーリャ語 ・ 英語 ・ その他_____)

母の母語 : _____

兄弟姉妹との会話 (日本語 ・ カタラン語 ・ カスティーリャ語 ・ 英語 ・ その他_____ ・ 該当なし)

し)

その他の家族との会話 (日本語 ・ カタラン語 ・ カスティーリャ語 ・ 英語 ・ その他_____ ・ 該当なし)

おおよその会話の割合 : 父 _____ %、母 _____ %、兄弟姉妹 _____ %、その他の家族 _____ %

●日本語のレベル (例 : 年齢相応、語彙が少ない等、保護者の方から見たお子さんの日本語力についてお書き下さい)

話す :

聞く :

読む :

書く :

●他言語のレベル (_____ 語) (例 : 年齢相応、語彙が少ない、日本語と比べてどうか等)

話す :

聞く :

読む：

書く：

●他言語のレベル（ _____ 語）（例：年齢相応、語彙が少ない、日本語と比べてどうか等）

話す：

聞く：

読む：

書く：

●家庭での国語学習状況（毎日・ _____ 日宿題のみ・ほとんどやらない： _____ 一週間に合計 _____ 時間程度）

●日本滞在期間（延べ _____ 年 _____ ヶ月・なし・定期的に日本に行っている：頻度と期間 _____ ）

●スペイン以外、海外滞在期間（日本も含む）（国名 _____ ・延べ _____ 年 _____ ヶ月）

●日本の学校への通学経験（あり： _____ 回/期間 _____ ・今後予定している・なし）

●パルセロナ日本人学校への体験入学経験（あり： _____ 回・今後予定している・なし）

➤ ご希望・目標についておたずねします。当てはまる項目に○を、または、回答をご記入下さい。

●宿題の量（毎日やらないと終わらない位の量・二、三日で終わる位の量・一日で終わる位の量・できるだけ少なく）

●特に力を入れて欲しいポイント（読解・作文・漢字・会話・書写・その他： _____ ）

●目標とするレベルについて（日本で受験 / 進学が問題なくできる・日本人学校に編入ができる/教科書が理解できる・

その他： _____)

先生への伝達事項及びご要望等

Appendix 14 Evaluation of Writing Skills

Translation of highlighted texts is located in section 7.3.4.3.

4月	さあ はじめよう	時間数		
	<p>なんて いおうかな 2時間 (話・聞②)</p> <p>◎相手や場面に応じて、適切な言葉遣いで話すことができる。(話・聞(1)イ)</p> <p>○互いの話を集中して聞き、話題に沿ってやり取りをすることができる。(話・聞(1)オ)</p> <p>■場面に合わせてやり取りをする。</p> <p>☆挨拶や言葉遣いなどを心掛けて、他人と接する心を育てる題材 (道徳)</p>	1 ~ 2	<p>1 P10-11の絵を見て、何をして、どんな話をしている場面なのかを出し合う。</p> <p>2 それぞれの場面に合った言葉や動作を考え、友達とやり取りをしたり、クラスの前で発表したりする。</p> <p>・学習場面や教師に対する言葉遣いと友達どうしの言葉遣いとの違いに気づく。</p>	<p>【関】 体験を生かしながら、場面に応じた言葉遣いを考えて話そうとしている。</p> <p>【話・聞】</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> 相手や場面に応じて、丁寧な言葉と普通の言葉を使い分けて、話したり挨拶をしたりしている。 話し手の方を見ながら互いの話を集中して聞き、それぞれの場面の話題に沿って適切な言葉を考えてやり取りをしている。
	<p>どんな おはなしかな 2時間 (読②)</p> <p>◎本や作品の読み聞かせを、想像を膨らませながら楽しく聞くことができる。(読(1)ウ)</p> <p>■読み聞かせを聞いて楽しむ。</p> <p>☆読み聞かせ (図書館活用)</p>	1 2	<p>1 教科書の絵を見て、読み聞かせをしてもらった体験を想起し、自分の好きな本や作品を発表する。</p> <p>2 教師が選んだ本の読み聞かせを聞き、感想を言い合う。</p> <p>3 教科書に載っている本や好きな本・作品を選んで教師に読んでもらう。</p> <p>4 教師が読んだ本や作品の内容 (登場人物や出来事等) について話す。</p>	<p>【関】 知っている本や作品について話そうとしている。</p> <p>【読】 教師の読み聞かせを、想像を膨らませながら楽しんで聞いている。</p>
	<p>どうぞ よろしく 3時間 (話・聞①, 書②)</p> <p>◎友達に知ってもらいたいことを考え、互いに自己紹介をすることができる。(話・聞(1)ア・イ・オ)</p> <p>○相手によく分かるように、自分の名前などを丁寧に書くことができる。(書(1)ウ・オ, 伝国(1)ウ(ア))</p> <p>■自己紹介をしたり、それを聞いたりする。</p> <p>■紹介したいことをカードに書く。</p> <p>☆自己紹介や対話を通して、お互いのことを知り、伝え合う姿勢を育てる題材 (生活科)</p>	1 2 ~ 3	<p>1 友達をたくさん作るために、自己紹介し合うことを知る。</p> <p>2 「い・ち・ね・ん」と組や自分の名前を平仮名で書く。</p> <p>・P14-15を参考に、姿勢や鉛筆の持ち方に気をつける。</p> <p>・知らない文字は教師に聞く。</p> <p>3 名前カードを作る。</p> <p>・画用紙に自分の名前を書く。好きなものの絵を描いたり、色を塗ったりしてもよい。</p> <p>4 名前カードをクラスの友達と交換する。</p> <p>・挨拶し、名前と好きなものを言って握手する。</p> <p>・できるだけたくさん友達の友達と交換する。</p>	<p>【関】 平仮名を丁寧に書こうとしている。</p> <p>【話・聞】 名前カードを交換する際、友達と言葉のやり取りをしている。</p> <p>【書】 語のまとまりを意識して書き、カードを交換して読み合っている。</p> <p>【言】 「い・ち・ね・ん」と、自分の名前を平仮名で書いている。</p>
	<p>こえの おおきさ、どう するの 1時間 (話・聞①)</p> <p>◎場面に合わせた声の大きさと話することができる。(話・聞(1)ウ)</p> <p>■いろいろな場面で相手に伝える声の大きさと話す。</p>	1	<p>1 教科書の絵を見て、四つの場面ごとにどんな声の大きさと話しているかを考える。</p> <p>・場面ごとに、実際に声を出してみる。</p> <p>2 場面や状況に応じた声の大きさについてまとめる。</p>	<p>【関】 場面に合う大きさの声を出そうとしている。</p> <p>【話・聞】 場面に応じて適切な声の大きさを考えて話している。</p>

	<p>うたに あわせて あいうえお 2時間 (読②)</p> <p>◎語のまとまりや言葉の響きなどに気をつけて音読することができる。(読(1)ア)</p> <p>○「あ・い・う・え・お」の文字を正しい筆順で書くことができる。(伝国(1)ウ(ア))</p> <p>■想像を広げながら楽しんで読む。</p> <p>☆歌を通して正しい発声を身につける題材 (音楽)</p>	<p>1</p> <p>2</p>	<p>1 教材文を繰り返し読む。</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ・口の開け方, 声の大きさ, リズム, テンポなどに気をつける。 ・体を動かしたり, 手足でリズムをとったりする。 ・音声CDを聞いて「うたに あわせて あいうえお」の歌を歌う。 <p>2 P20-22の大きな「あ・い・う・え・お」の文字を指でなぞる。</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ・青い部分が一面目であることに気をつける。 <p>3 P23のマス目に「あ・い・う・え・お」を書く。</p>	<p>【関】 楽しくリズムをとり, 声に出して読もうとしている。</p> <p>【読】</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ・言葉のまとまりで区切って, はっきりした発音で読んでいる。 ・姿勢・口形に気をつけて「あ・い・う・え・お」を発音している。 <p>【言】</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ・「あ・い・う・え・お」の文字と発音を一致させて書いている。 ・文字には筆順があることを理解している。
	<p>ことばをつくろう 2時間 (書②)</p> <p>◎音節と文字の関係に気づくことができる。(伝国(1)イ(イ))</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ・既習の平仮名を使って単語を書くことができる。(書(1)ウ) <p>■文字を並べて, 言葉を作る。</p>	<p>1</p> <p>2</p>	<p>1 「あ」「い」「う」「え」「お」で始まる言葉を集めて, 「あいうえお」に親しむ。</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ・2文字の語, 3文字の語を読んだり, 考えたりして, 1音節1文字であることに気づく。 <p>2 これまでに習った文字を使って言葉を作り, ノートに書く。</p>	<p>【関】 1音1文字であることを意識しながら, 既習の平仮名を使った言葉を進んで見つけようとしている。</p> <p>【書】 P24・25に提示された文字や自分で考えた単語を正しく書いている。</p> <p>【言】 1音1文字であることを理解している。</p>
5月	<p>えをみて はなそう 2時間 (話・聞②)</p> <p>◎絵を見ながら型に合わせて尋ねたり, 質問に答えたりすることができる。(話・聞(1)オ)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ・主語と述語の関係に注意することができる。(伝国(1)イ(カ)) <p>■尋ねたり, 応答したりする。</p>	<p>1</p> <p>2</p>	<p>1 教科書の絵を見て, どんな動物がどこにいるかを尋ねたり, 答えたりする。</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ・二人組で, 教科書の話型を参考にして問答をする。 ・答えの後に, 尋ねた側はうなずいたり呼応した言葉を発したりして応じる。 <p>2 二人で交代したり, 相手を変えたりして問答をする。</p>	<p>【関】 絵を見て分かることを話そうとしたり, 問答を楽しもうとしたりしている。</p> <p>【話・聞】</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ・提示された「問い」「答え」の話型で話している。 ・質問→答え→答えに応じる, というやり取りをしている。 <p>【言】 主語と述語の関係に注意してやり取りしている。</p>
5月	<p>かきと かぎ 2時間 (書②)</p> <p>◎平仮名で濁音を含む単語を書くことができる。(書(1)ウ, 伝国(1)ウ(ア))</p>	<p>1</p> <p>2</p>	<p>1 P28の唱歌を, いろいろな言い方で楽しく読み, 濁音に気づく。</p> <p>2 P29にある単語を, 一語一語唱えながら濁点の有無を確認する。</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ・清音と濁音の平仮名をノートに書く。 <p>3 濁音を含む短い唱歌を考えて書く。</p>	<p>【関】 濁音を含む単語を書こうとしている。</p> <p>【書】 濁音を含む唱歌を考えて書いている。</p> <p>【言】 濁音がつく文字の音と表記を理解し, 提示された平仮名を書いている。</p>