BOOK REVIEWS

Language Use in Interlingual Families: A Japanese-English Sociolinguistic Study. **By Masayo Yamamoto. Clevedon, UK: Multilingual Matters. 2001. 170 pp.**

How do the members of families in which one parent is a native speaker of Japanese and the other, a native speaker of English communicate with each other? Which language is most frequently used between the parents and the children? In which situations are children most likely to be willing and able to use both languages equally well? These are some of the key questions which Yamamoto Masayo has researched and discusses in this book. Her aim is to dispel some of the folk myths surrounding bilingualism and to show that being born to parents with different native languages does not automatically lead to becoming bilingual. Active bilingualism has to be cultivated. For people starting research of their own, or for parents wishing to know about research findings, this book is an excellent starting point. Yamamoto's style is academic but very easy to read, and she highlights the main points so clearly that this reader's attention was held throughout the book, even in the most technical sections.

Language Use in Interlingual Families has five sections, including a short, but thought-provoking conclusion. It starts with a comprehensive overview of sociolinguistic/sociocultural research carried out in the last twenty years in the field of bilingualism in interlingual families (i.e., families with two or more languages). In this section she introduces some of the issues she will examine later in her own study. In addition to the questions raised above, some of the other issues covered in this section and the author's own study are as follows: 1) Which pattern of communication between parents and their children seems most effective in developing active bilingualism (i.e., speaking as well as understanding both languages)? 2) Is the one parent-one language communication pattern the most effective in promoting active bilingualism in both languages? 3) Should parents avoid mixing languages when speaking with their children? 4) How does the relative prestige of the two languages affect their acquisition? 5) Does the gender of the minority language parent have a large influence? 6) Do extended stays in areas where each language is spoken have a great effect? 7) Is the language of formal education a big factor? 8) Is there a clear connection between the attitudes towards and beliefs about bilingualism of the parents and the bilingual language acquisition of their children?

Yamamoto next summarizes the findings of research conducted in the Japanese context and explains that there are few studies so far because multilingualism is still a relatively new area of investigation in this country. (In fact a number of the studies so far have been carried out by Yamamoto herself.) This situation is rapidly changing, nevertheless, owing to recent demographic changes. These are illustrated with detailed graphs and tables showing the steady increase in the numbers of international marriages over the last 40 years and the variety of nationalities which are now involved. It is interesting to note that, according to the statistics available, Japanese men are more likely to marry Filipino, Thai, Chinese, Brazilian or Peruvian women, while Japanese women are more likely to marry American or British men. Thus, for the children, the potential source of the minority language tends to differ depending on what that language is. For example, in the case of Chinese, it is more likely to be their mother, but in the case of

English, it is more likely to be their father. Moreover, most of the languages of foreigners involved in international marriages with Japanese do not enjoy such high prestige as English in Japan. Thus, although the author has chosen to focus on English-Japanese bilingualism for this study, she acknowledges that, given this highly complex linguistic situation, research also needs to be done among speakers of other languages to find out about the situation of the majority of bilinguals in Japan. She points out that this is especially important because attitudes towards and beliefs about bilingualism may be very different among speakers of languages not considered prestigious.

One of the most useful sections of this book for others researching and writing in this very complex field is Yamamoto's framework for categorizing every possible type of interlingual family. She has coined four phrases which can be combined to cover all possibilities: cross-native language (i.e., parents have different native language backgrounds); shared-native language (i.e., parents have the same native language backgrounds); community language families (i.e., the parental native languages include the language spoken in the community); non-community language families (i.e., the parental native languages do not include the language spoken in the community).

The first two objectives of Yamamoto's study were to investigate the language environments of cross-native/community language families in Japan by means of a questionnaire survey carried out in 1996. The questionnaire was designed to find out who uses which language(s) with whom and the circumstances under which children are likely to speak in the minority language (i.e., English) to their English-speaking parent. The author explains the purpose of each question and provides the original questionnaires in Japanese and English in an Appendix.

The section explaining the method of the study will perhaps be an eye opener for people thinking of using a questionnaire survey approach for the first time. The rate of response is far from high; in this case, 1,059 questionnaires were distributed and only 397 were returned -- a response rate of only 37.5%. Of these, 279 had to be discarded because they did not meet all of the six criteria Yamamoto had set. The remaining total of 118 responses was, nevertheless, the largest sample surveyed so far in this field in Japan.

Yamamoto's discussion of her findings is very thorough and she seems highly aware of the difficulties that less expert readers may have in dealing with such data. She explains the surprisingly complicated number of possible combinations of language use in interlingual families by using tables and coining expressions. To give you an idea of the nature of the population surveyed, here are some of the findings. Most families (94.1%) were nuclear families and only seven (5.9%) had grandparents living with them. The number of children ranged from one to three, but most had two children (51.7%) or only one child (35.6%), while 12.7% had three. The parents were mostly in the 30 - 40 year age range, and 42.4% had a mother with Japanese as her native language (pJ), while 57.6% had a father with Japanese as his native language. The age range of the children was from 3 to 28 years old. About one quarter of the families had experienced living in an English-speaking area for a year or longer.

Somewhat surprisingly, given that all of the families surveyed lived in Japan, the most common means of communication between the parents was English only. The author quotes other research to

explain that this could be due to the fact that most Japanese-speaking parents have received at least six years of instruction in English in school, while English-speaking parents (pEs) often have not studied Japanese as much. The second most common means of communication was for both parents to use both languages. It was relatively uncommon for both parents to use only their native language when addressing each other. The most common patterns of communication between the Japanese parent and the children were using both Japanese and English or Japanese only. However, communication between the native English-speaking parent and the children was most often carried out in English. Children with no siblings tended to respond to the pE in English more often than children with siblings, who tended to respond more in Japanese. Siblings most often used both Japanese and English when speaking among themselves, closely followed by Japanese only. Very few used English only. Switching languages within a sentence (code-mixing) was common when family members spoke to each other. Less than one third of the families reported that they never did this.

The factors which most strongly influence the use of English by children when addressing their pE were the absence of siblings and the language of instruction at school. The majority of school-age children were attending a Japanese school (79.7%), with only 10.2% at international schools. Other factors which were shown to have a strong effect on whether the child used English or not were the language use of the parents and their attitudes towards bilingualism, as well as their efforts to promote bilingualism in their children. The most interesting finding for this reader was that the one parent-one language principle was not the most commonly adopted pattern of language use and that when it was adopted, it did not guarantee the child's exclusive use of English with the pE.

The section of the book which is perhaps of most interest to readers with a practical rather than purely academic interest in this topic is the summary of interviews with six families conducted two years after the questionnaire survey. The author wanted to get more detailed information about the linguistic situations of these families and convey a sense of how these situations are continually changing. The families were chosen because they were very clear examples of particular types of language use between parents and children. Two of these families use only Japanese in all communication between parents and children. One family uses only English. The parents of two of the other families each use their native language to address their children, who in turn, respond in the same language to each parent. The parents of the sixth family each use their own native language to address their children, but the children respond to both in Japanese only. The six case studies are fascinating because the reasons why each family has chosen to communicate in the way they do are all valid. This section highlights how unique and complicated the situation of each interlingual family is, and how such families have to adapt continually as circumstances change, especially as the children grow older.

There are three main limitations in this study which the author acknowledges. Firstly, the questionnaire was answered by volunteers, so the sampling was not random. This means that the results may well not apply to families outside this study. Secondly, the study was limited to Japanese-English interlingual families, so the findings may not apply when speakers of other languages are involved. Thirdly, the children's language proficiency in each language was not measured. This means that it is not

possible to judge whether the reason that some children do not actively use English is a lack of proficiency rather than a lack of will. Also, it is not possible to know from this study if the children who actively use both languages suffer some language deficiency in one or both languages. Finally, this reader was expecting more comments on the influence of the gender of the minority language parent on acquisition of the minority language, as this was discussed in some detail in Yamamoto's review of previous research. I would also like to have known what the opinions of the children themselves are about their language use.

This book is not meant as a guide on how to raise children to be active bilinguals. Rather, it serves to underline the fact that children of interlingual families are highly influenced by the language of the mainstream society and will not spontaneously acquire the languages of both their parents. Active bilingualism needs to be worked towards by both parents and children, otherwise the children will tend to become passive bilinguals or monolinguals in the majority language. For this reason, I recommend this work to all parents of interlingual families. It is a good starting point for parents with very young children and could be effective to revitalize those whose energy and resolve are flagging further along the road of family life.

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Can Threatened Languages be Saved? Reversing Language Shift, Revisited: A 21st Century Perspective. **Edited by Joshua Fishman. Clevedon, UK: Multilingual Matters. 2001. xvi + 503 pp.**

Although the distinguished sociolinguist Joshua Fishman[1] has written extensively on language minorities, language death[2], and the need for systematic language planning to reverse minority language loss since the beginning of his career in the early 1950s, it was his 1991 book, *Reversing Language Shift: Theoretical and Empirical Foundations of Assistance to Threatened Languages*, that resulted in wide-scale focus on the impending loss of many of the world's estimated 6,000 languages. This seminal work consisted of 14 chapters, eight on theoretical and practical issues of language maintenance and loss, and six presenting case studies of endangered languages having the potential to be revitalized: Irish-Gaelic; Basque and Frisian; secular and religious Yiddish, Navajo, and Spanish in the U.S.; Maori in New Zealand; Aboriginal and immigrant/minority languages in Australia; and modern Hebrew, French in Quebec, and Catalan in Spain. Fishman suggested that the key element preventing language shift was the active transfer of the first language (also called L1, minority, or heritage language) to the subsequent generation, a process requiring both family and community support and one greatly facilitated through government policy.

To systematically analyze language loss, Fishman developed the Graded Intergenerational Disruption Scale (GIDS), an eight-stage model of minority language use, where Stage 8 indicates incipient language death, with use by only a few aged speakers. Stage 7 use is limited to the older generation, while Stage 6 use is characterized by transmission of the language to the younger generation, who use it in the home and community. Stage 5 is characterized by community-based schools for language maintenance, Stage 4 use is expanded to private and public schools, and Stage 3 is expanded to include other local/regional contexts and the workplace. Stage 2 use includes local/regional mass media and governmental services, while Stage 1 use includes all previous categories plus higher education, government and media use. In terms of language revival and maintenance, movement through the stages towards Stage 1 is the goal, with Stage 6–continued transmission to the next generation–being most critical for language maintenance.

This scale has become a primary means for assessing the degree of language revitalization or the extent of language loss[3], and language maintenance is now a focus for educational initiatives and bilingual research. During the past decade there has been a proliferation of case studies of minority/heritage language maintenance programs among indigenous and immigrant populations and a number of important works have been published or revised to address language revival and maintenance issues (e.g., Baker, 2001; Crystal, 2000; Dixon, 1998; Grenoble and Whaley, 1998; Hinton and Kale, 2001; Kouritzin, 1999; Nettle and Romaine, 2000; Skutnabb-Kangas, 2000).

In his 2001 edited volume Fishman builds significantly upon his 1991 work by re-examining the languages analyzed in 1991 to determine the direction of change over the past decade, and to examine the effectiveness of his eight-stage GIDS model as a tool for analyzing language shift and revitalization gains. In the preface to this revisitation of the languages, topics and model introduced in 1991, Fishman notes that although Reversing Language Shift (RLS) has now become a mainstream topic in bilingual education, with its own conferences, journals and media attention, it urgently needs data-driven theoretical principles on how to prevent or remedy language shift: "RLS progress is revealed as taking three steps

forward and two steps back; and, while its progress is slow, its woes and fears are numerous . . . "(p. xiv).

The new book differs from the 1991 volume in that it is an edited collection of 19 chapters, with an introduction, conclusion and chapter on secular and religious use of Yiddish by Fishman, and the remaining chapters written by leading specialists in the minority languages examined. It is therefore an essential sequel to the 1991 work. The book is organized by geographic area, with the Americas as the first section, containing chapters on Navajo, Spanish in New York, Yiddish, Quebec French, and the Indian languages of Otomí and Quechua. The second section examines language maintenance in Europe, treating Irish, Frisian, Basque, and Catalan. The third section deals with African and Asian languages: Oko, Andamanese, Ainu, and Hebrew. The final section discusses the Pacific: Aboriginal and immigrant/minority languages in Australia, and Maori in New Zealand. Many chapters, specifically Chapter 4 by Fishman on Yiddish, Chapter 5 on Quebec French, by Bourhis, Chapter 8 on the Irish language by O Riagáin, Chapter 9 on Frisian by Gorter, Chapter 10 on Euskara (the Basque language) by Bachoc and Zabaleta, Chapter 11 on Catalan by Strubell, Chapter 14 on the Ainu language by Maher, and Chapter 15 on Hebrew by Spolsky and Shohamy (its revitalization being a classic example of movement through the scales of Fishman's GIDS model) report positive gains in RLS over the past decade due to increased use by family, friends, neighborhood and community, especially when augmented by educational programs, government support–if not actual legislation designed to promote the language–and possibilities for use in the broader social sense.

However, other case studies are not optimistic. In Chapter 2 Lee and McLaughlin report that Navajo, a formerly robust heritage language with special schools since the 1930s, is in danger of declining because of the failure of transmission to the younger generations. Similarly, Chapter 3 by García, Morín and Rivera reports that Spanish in New York is also declining, with an increased use of "Spanglish", a mixture of Spanish and English, as an identity marker. Chapter 6 on Otomí use in Mexico by Lastra, and Chapter 7 by Hornberger and King on Quechua, a group of 17 varieties spoken in the Andean highlands, indicate that both language groups are declining and that revitalization efforts are hindered by negative perceptions of bilingual speakers by Spanish monolinguals. Chapter 12 on the Oko language of Nigeria by Adegbija also reports a decline in use due to "low emotional, intellectual and functional investment" (p. 287), the author observing that a world-wide threat of death hangs over such "status poor, officially inconsequential and functionally emaciated languages" (p. 284). Chapter 13 by Annamalai and Gnanasundaram on Andamanese (a group of dialects spoken in the Andaman Islands in the Bay of Bengal) reports language shift directly linked to a decline in the population. With only 35 Andamanese remaining, the language is headed towards extinction. Chapter 16 by Clyne notes the continuation of language shift for Australian minority languages such as Greek, Dutch German, Latvian, Vietnamese, Arabic, Spanish and Chinese, while Chapter 17, on Aboriginal languages by Bianco and Rhydwen, places many of the Aboriginal and Island languages at Stage 8, with 90% near extinction, and emphasizes their poor prospects for future survival. Chapter 18 by Benton and Benton discusses the Maori language in New Zealand, finding that there is still not significant movement along the GIDS towards language maintenance.

In addition to assessing the degree of minority language revitalization or shift, each contributor was requested to comment on the robustness of the GIDS model as an evaluative tool and to recommend modifications. Many used it as an organizational framework for their chapter and all commented on its usefulness for understanding the complex process of minority language use in society. However, several authors called for more flexibility, noting that the stages are not always linear and sequential, but may overlap, depending on region and political initiatives. For example, in Chapter 17 on Aboriginal language in Australia, Bianco and Rhydwen note that patterns of language use in Australia do not fall neatly into the eight stages, and that for some languages, progress beyond Stage 6 will never occur, so refinement of the higher numbered part of the scale would be useful.

In the final theoretical chapter, Fishman emphasizes that RLS is "concerned with the recovery, recreation and retention of *a complete way of life*, including non-linguistic as well as linguistic features (p. 452, italics are the author's), concluding that threatened languages *can* be saved, despite the impact of globalization and the resulting dominance of English (termed a "killer language" in much of the literature today), if this is recognized. Despite noting that none of the cases in the current volume report dramatic successes, he nonetheless finds that the general climate has improved. Still, as noted by Baker in his discussion of Fishman's previous work (2000, p. 84), Fishman closely relates language vitality to the social, economic and symbolic status of the minority language, the geographical density and distribution of its speakers, and the degree of institutional support, including religion, administration, mass media, education and the community. Fishman also revisits the GIDS, examining each scale in light of the new data, and finds that its application remains useful.

In his characteristic way of reducing complexity to homily4, Fishman ends with the comment that RLS can be reduced to three strategies (p. 474): "shoot for the moon", "anything is better than nothing," and "the right step at the right time". He then suggests:

> The complexity of human motives and identities is rarely better illustrated than via the RLS scene, where neither total triumph nor total resignation, neither total reason nor total irrationality are in the offing, and where particularism and globalization cohabit in a sometime antagonistic as well as in a sometime cooperative marriage. Human societies will just have to make room for both . . . as migration and globalization . . . both continue to advance . . . (p. 480).

For those concerned with minority language maintenance, this book is an essential companion to the 1991 volume.

Notes

1. Fishman's biography is available at: http://www.stanford.edu/dept/SUSE/Spencer_PRproject/indexaffiliates.htm
2. The process of language death is referred to as "language shift," indicating a continued reduction in the number of speakers until there are none left.
3. See Crystal, 2000 for a list of solutions to avoid language death.
4. Fishman is considered to be the 1957 originator of the famous saying (originally about Yiddish linguistics) regarding the link between military/economic might and language status: "A language is a dialect with an army and a navy."

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Identity and Language Learning: Gender, Ethnicity and Educational Change. **By Bonnie Norton. Essex, UK: Pearson Education Limited. 2000. 173 pp.**

Drawing on post-structuralist theories of identity, cultural studies, feminist research and critical ethnography, Bonnie Norton argues throughout *Identity and Language Learning* that language learning, which includes the right to speak, is not a neutral form of communication, but is tied up in complex, unequal relations of power in which individuals can contest and bring about change. She asserts,

> the learning of a second language is not simply a skill that is acquired with hard work and dedication, but a complex social practice that engages the identities of language learners in ways that have received little attention in the field of SLA. (p. 132)

In Chapter One, Norton introduces a fictional character in order to examine the basic themes which she comes back to throughout the book: identity and language learning; power and identity; motivation and investment; ethnicity, gender and class; and communicative competence. She challenges current SLA theorists who have neglected to include in their identity theories the impact of power relations in the social world and their effect on the social interaction between L2 learners and target language speakers.

In this study, the second language learners that Norton focused on were five immigrant women—two of whom were young and single and three who were married, with careers and family responsibilities. These women had responded to a call Norton had made after having helped teach a six-month ESL course to recent immigrants in a special program in Canada. She asked for participants willing to take part in a long-term project, which included keeping a diary, and then set up eight weekly sessions at her home to discuss their diary entries. Her survey also included two questionnaires, individual interviews, and written essays. The purpose of the diary study was for the participants to

> reflect on their language learning experiences, not only in the classroom, but in the home, the workplace and the community. The emphasis of the diary study was on what participants thought, felt and did, in response to different language learning situations and different encounters with speakers of the target language. (p. 30)

Norton challenges current SLA notions of motivation which create an image of learners as unitary and unchanging. Instead, her concept of investment "signals the socially and historically constructed relationship of learners to the target languages, and their often ambivalent desire to learn and practice it" (p. 10). She draws on Bourdieu's concept of cultural capital (Bourdieu and Passeron, 1977):

> If learners invest in a second language, they do so with the understanding that they will acquire a wider range of symbolic and material resources, which will in turn increase the value of their cultural capital. Learners expect or hope to have a good return on that investment. . . (p. 10)

Symbolic resources include language, education, and friendship, while material resources include capital goods, real estate and money.

In Chapter Two, Norton details the hows and whys of some of her procedural decisions:

> My next strategy was to categorize all the data that pertained to everyday experiences implicated in the production of gender and ethnicity. I wrote up a chapter on each of these issues respectively, drawing comparisons across participants. This was a valuable exercise in that it gave me the opportunity to examine how gendered and ethnic identities are structured across time and space, and how opportunities to practice English must be understood within this context. (pp. 34 - 35)

I found this detailed description of the process of how she went about conducting her research, including her thought and organizational processes, very helpful.

In Chapter Three, Norton introduces other studies of immigrant language learners from around the world. Then, arguing that each woman's investment in English must be examined in the context of her purpose for coming to Canada, her future hopes and her changing identities, Norton portrays her participants in detail, describing the younger two women in Chapter Four and the three older women in Chapter Five. The older women's gendered identities as mothers set them apart from the single women. Norton does an excellent and insightful job of both separating these two groups and also comparing within each group and across the two groups.

Chapter Six, where Norton goes back to the problem of the inadequacy of SLA theory to explain identity and language learning issues, is probably the most important chapter in the book. Norton demonstrates her claims using the voices of her participants. In particular, she highlights the lack of the incorporation of notions of power into SLA theories. She presents several specific SLA theories and by referring back to her cases, reveals how they have fallen short.

First, Norton blasts Spolsky's (1989) Natural Language Learning Theory for five claims he makes which are unsupported in the experiences of her participants. His first claim, according to Norton, is that "in natural language learning, the target language is used for authentic communication and not for contrived, classroom purposes" (p. 119). However, Norton shows in her immigrant women's accounts that their target language speakers were often not willing "to engage in a negotiation of meaning with language learners. . . . More often than not, the native speakers would indicate through paralanguage their impatience with these foreign women: 'I could see by their face that they think this', said Eva" (pp. 110-111).

Spolsky's second claim that the learner is surrounded by fluent speakers of English in natural language learning was also shown to not be true for most of Norton's participants, who either lived in immigrant neighborhoods or else seldom spoke with Anglophone neighbors. While the workplace for some of the women provided environments with fluent speakers of English, they were often organized into social networks in which the immigrant women struggled, and often failed, to gain access.

Spolsky's third claim, cited by Norton, that "the outside world is open and stimulating, where there is a multitude of contextual clues for understanding language in use" (p. 111), also was unsupported in Norton's immigrant women's experiences. Her participants were all intimidated "by strangers–by people who did not know them, their personal histories, and the fact that they were not uneducated, illiterate, immigrants" (p. 111).

The fourth of Spolsky's claims given by Norton is that "in natural language learning, the language

used is free and normal, rather than carefully controlled and simplified" (p. 112). The women in the study often wanted to speak, but could not because they were restrained by inequalities of gender and ethnicity, so that language was "seldom free and normal, but a mechanism of social control" (p. 112).

The final claim of Spolsky's which Norton challenges is that the native speaker makes an effort to see that language is comprehensible. Norton offers many examples to demonstrate that this was often not the case.

> The research suggests that the onus is on the learner to understand and be understood, and not on the native speaker to ensure that the learner understands. Whenever a breakdown in communication occurred, it is significant that the learner felt ashamed, while the target language speaker felt impatient or angry. (p. 112)

Thus, Norton concludes that natural language learning as depicted in SLA literature does not address real situations "frequently marked by inequitable relations of power in which language learners struggle for access to social networks that will give them the opportunities to practice their English in safe and supportive environments" (p. 113).

After dismissing Spolsky's claims, Norton goes on to demonstrate the incompleteness of Shumann's Acculturation Model of SLA (1976, 1978), which asserts that the degree to which learners acculturate to the target language group will control the degree to which they acquire the second language. Shumann developed this theory through a study (Cazden, et. al, 1975) in which an immigrant called Alberto showed very little linguistic development over a ten-month period compared with the other participants. Shumann determined that the reason was that Alberto did not acculturate to the target language group and remained at a greater social distance. Instead of "blaming" Alberto for his inability to acculturate, Norton suggests that SLA theory has neglected to consider that it was the dominant power structures within society which had relegated Alberto to a marginalized status, hampering his ability to acculturate. SLA theory fails to note the "inequitable relations of power, in which second language groups are socially structured as inferior to the dominant group" (p. 116). Norton also challenges the assumption that "positive attitudes between the target language group and the second language group will enhance SLA" (p. 117). This takes for granted that "members of the target language group are happy to accommodate attempts by the second language group to assimilate and that they will reciprocate the positive attitudes of the language learner group" (p. 117).

Next Norton moves on to examine Krashen's (1981, 1982) Affective Filter Theory and motivation theory. She suggests that instead of the unified, coherent measure of a person's type or intensity of motivation (intrinsic/extrinsic), the investment model is much more relevant here. While all of the women in Norton's study were highly motivated to learn English, they were held back on many occasions by feelings of inadequacy and discomfort, especially in talking to people, *"in whom they had a particular symbolic or material investment"* (p. 120; Norton's italics). Norton refers to the learners' motivation to speak as investments connected with their identities and desires for their future.

Next, Norton challenges conceptions of the role of anxiety and self-confidence in SLA theory. Departing from the concept of the poor language learner with a closed affective filter, Norton addresses

the socially constructed feelings of anxiety that these learners are made to feel. These feelings of anxiety and lack of self-control are linked to the relations of power which these women had to negotiate in their everyday social interactions and their marginalized positions in Canadian society (p. 123). Norton sums this up: "Their anxiety could not be considered an invariant personality trait, but a condition constructed by poor economic conditions and limited life chances" (p. 124).

Later in Chapter Six, Norton deals with the theory of subjectivity as defined by Weedon (1987, p. 32): "Subjectivity is defined as the conscious and unconscious thoughts and emotions of the individual, her sense of herself and her ways of understanding her relation to the world" (quoted in Norton, 2000, pp. 124 - 125). The first defining characteristic of subjectivity, according to Norton, deals with the multiple, non-unitary nature of the subject in contrast to the SLA definition, which presupposes individuals as having an "essential, unique, fixed and coherent core" (p. 125). In contrast to this,

> post-structuralism depicts the individual—the subject—as diverse, contradictory, dynamic and changing over historical time and social space. Subjectivity is conceived of as multiple rather than unitary, decentered rather than centered. (p. 125).

In the second defining characteristic, according to feminist post-structuralist theory, subjectivity is produced in a variety of social sites (home, workplace, school, community) in which relations of power structure the various positions of people (such as teacher, child, feminist, manager, critic) [p. 127]. Norton reveals through her participants the notion that once a person takes up a position within a certain site, that person may contest and resist that position by their own agency.

> The concept of identity as a site of struggle is a logical extension of the position that identity is multiple and contradictory. If identity were unitary, fixed and immutable, it could not be subject to change over time and space, not subject to contestation. (p. 127)

Finally Norton shows how the changing quality of a person's identity also applies to subjectivity.

In the final part of Chapter Six, Norton uses Bourdieu's (1977) notion of legitimate discourse to conceptualize language learning as a complex social practice, rather than an abstract, internalized skill (p. 129). The book concludes with a chapter dealing with applications of her study to classroom practices.

As I intend to conduct qualitative ethnographic research along the lines of what Norton has done here, I found this book extremely helpful not only in the depth of the findings, but also in the detailing of the processes that she went through in setting up, conducting and analyzing her data. Norton deals with some very important questions that I have grappled with, such as ethical issues involved in dealing with participants. I especially like her approach of collaborating with the participants in a process of helping them to address their own agendas. Her methodologies and insights will certainly be helpful in my own research, which draws on a small pool of children of acquaintances in the very interconnected bicultural/bilingual community in Japan.

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Doing Qualitative Research: A Practical Handbook. **David Silverman. London: Sage Publications. 2000. 316 pp.**

I found David Silverman's book on qualitative research, *Doing Qualitative Research: A Practical Handbook* (2000), to be extremely helpful in laying out not only what qualitative research has to offer, but also, and for me more importantly as a Ph.D. candidate in the initial stages of qualitative research, in providing practical details of how to go about doing it. Throughout his work, Silverman provides various examples of both student works-in-progress and professional studies. I felt that this book would be particularly relevant for qualitative research involving bilingual and bicultural subjects using such data as transcripts of naturally occurring language or interviews. It is very clear that having published numerous practical how-to-do-research texts for students (e.g., *Qualitative Methodology and Sociology* 1985; *Interpreting Qualitative Data: Methods for Analyzing Talk, Text and Interaction* 1993; *Qualitative Research: Theory, Method and Practice*, 1997), Silverman has made considerable efforts to ensure that this book is probably his best yet in terms of being easy-to-read, student-friendly and extremely helpful in a wide range of concerns. He even uses student's language and humor, referring to such things as strategies for "the kitchen-sinkers" or "the grand-theorists".

In Part One, labeled "The Context," after a short introductory chapter, the reader is led right into the diaries of Silverman's students and is made to feel, from the start, like a graduate student sitting around a circular seminar table listening to him speak in his class. Chapter two, entitled "The Research Experience I", left etched in my mind the story of a student who suffered depression for a good part of a year after her computer crashed, resulting in the loss of all of her work on files which had not been backed up. I think anyone reading this book would never let that happen to them. (Just let me pause a minute here while I resave this.) The chapter that follows, "The Research Experience II", details the various methods available for qualitative research, such as conducting interviews, doing ethnographies, and collecting data via audio or video taping.

Silverman's book is rich with examples of students' work demonstrating the range of possible qualitative methods such as narratives, interviews, and ethnographies. Silverman also offers examples from his own and others' varied research in many fields, ranging from medical interviews to studies of female gang involvement. Readers get a sense of qualitative research from various angles, making it possible to visualize how they might use it for their own specific work.

Part Two, "Starting Out", offers a chronology of steps the student will need to take prior to the actual research itself, including selecting a topic, theorizing, considering methodology, selecting cases and writing a research proposal. One third of the book is devoted to these very important framework stages before Silverman even begins to discuss data in Part Three, which is entitled, "Analyzing Your Data". This section details the various types of data (interviews, fieldnotes, texts, transcripts) and the various stages of analysis of that data. The only chapter written by someone other than Silverman (namely, Clive Seale) is devoted to the new field of using computers in the analysis of qualitative data. Finally at the end of Part Three, Silverman addresses the important questions of validity and reliability.

process. Next, in Part Five, five major chapters are devoted just to the writing-up stage and are filled with valuable details that Ph.D. candidates need to know about each part of a thesis: the first few pages, the literature review, methodology, data, and final chapters. Then in Part Six, "The Aftermath", some 50 pages are devoted to very important issues which remain after a dissertation is submitted, from taking the oral examination to getting published and even finding a job. The book concludes with an epilogue in Part Seven which goes back over the question of quality.

I found not only the list of references at the back of the book, but also the "further reading" sections at the end of each chapter, to be extremely helpful for more in-depth discussion and original works referred to by Silverman. For example, some of the areas that I feel I want to read more about and for which he provided references include grounded theory, how-to-theorize about data, ethnography methodology, doing a literature review, narrative analysis, and using computers in qualitative research, to name a few. I feel that Silverman was very careful to cover the entire field of qualitative research and his helpful references allowed him to leave some of the discussion of details to the various specialists which he carefully listed. As mentioned above, Silverman even went so far as to ask one of those specialists, Clive Seale, to write his own chapter on the topic of using computers to analyze qualitative data. Moreover, each chapter concludes with exercises which I found far more useful and easy to read than any I've run across in numerous other works.

I think the most important lesson that I was left with after finishing this book was the importance of establishing a strong theoretical framework from the beginning stages of research. Without doing this, qualitative research can easily fail to ensure reliability and validity. This idea of the importance of a theoretical base came up repeatedly throughout the book, especially in discussions of reliability, with plenty of examples of students' work to show the implications of making theoretical choices.

Silverman addresses some other important questions that one must consider **before** actually choosing a method and starting to collect data. He makes it clear that during the early stages of research, the investigator must document procedure in order to establish reliability. He demonstrates this also with student examples of how "theory should generate a series of directions for your research" (p. 49). Early on, it becomes important to narrow the focus of one's research; Silverman devotes a large section to this discussion and relates this also to the idea that in the focusing of research one is making a theoretically directed selection of which area to examine (p. 107).

I personally feel that this work will help me in my own research and would highly recommend it to anyone considering undertaking a qualitative research project.

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