

# Redefinition of Russian Immigrants in Japan since the Second Half of the 1990s: From the Standpoint of Language Maintenance of Post-Immigrant Generation

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## Introduction

Following the collapse of the USSR the spectrum of changes in the economic situation of the 1990s–2000s led to an increase in the number of young female visitors from Russia to Japan (in comparison with men of the same age), and an increase of marriages between Russian and Japanese nationals which resulted in higher international birth rates.

The aim of this article is to focus upon new and urgent demands for changing the way of viewing the migration process to take into consideration global trends of migration in a new era of globalization. It covers two key areas related to migration studies and education. It assesses the conditions of Russian language transmission for the children of Russians living in Japan provided by both formal (provided by the Embassy School) as well as informal (run by community members), referred to as maintenance of Heritage Language (HL); issues that have been considered almost unrelated to Russian immigration studies for many years.

## Research Subject, Methodologies and Fieldwork

The research covers the third wave of Russian migration, which frames the period from the second half of the 1990-s till the present.<sup>(1)</sup> The author follows previously established determination, given by Takigawa-Nikiporets (瀧川 2007), who defines three waves by the time of immigrants' arrival. In particular, the first wave of Russian immigration to Japan during the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, belonged to the upper-middle class and entered Japan to escape expropriation after the Bolshevik Revolution of 1917, the second one reached Japan in the late 1970s–early 1990s.

This article analyzes the problems the Russian community in Japan faces dealing with the transmission of Russian language to their children. The author presents analyses of the latest data, provided by Japanese government authorities concerning Russian alien-registration holders which reflects spouses, college students, entertainers, more than 90 days visa holders, etc., their children and demographic information of scholars provided by Japanese Ministry of Education (MEXT) in order to capture a third wave migration pattern and number of children. In addition the author relates the official data with the survey, conducted among parents of potential Russian HL learners (both born in international marriages with Japanese nationals and from two Russian parents). It also aims to reconfirm the previous relevant studies.

Such relevant studies include recent research by Paichadze, Chiba, & Sugiyama (パイチャゼ、千葉、杉山 2012) that takes into account regional components to consider how the situation differs due to the regional location. They review migration patterns in the case of Hokkaido and identify four migration patterns: family migration, businessmen, international students as well as *returnees* from Sakhalin.

The study stresses the importance to redefine the term 'immigrant' as it has changed for the latest three decades. The United Nations defines immigrant as a person who stays in another country for more than 12 months (Tanaka, Kimura, & Miyazaki =田中, 木村, 宮崎 2009 p. 243). There is debate whether international students and labor migrants with a short-time permit should be included or not as

immigrants (R. Brooks, & J. Waters 2011; Ono = 大野 2008; Miyajima = 宮島 2003; 『社会学辞典』1988; 『新社会学辞典』1993), but migration patterns of the last decade show that international students and labor female migrants bottom in Japan. The author suggests that the third wave can be revised by adding college students and returnees from Sakhalin to working visa holders and spouse visa holders. In this connection, the author applies the term ‘in-migrant’ coined by C. Baker (2007) in regard to the review of previous research in a context of transnational migration. It will help to avoid a negative connotation of the term ‘immigrant’.<sup>(2)</sup>

As Shimada (島田 2012) states, in an era of globalization migration studies must take into consideration a gender perspective, and Iyotani (伊豫谷 2012) points out the necessity to view female migration as a transnational phenomenon without frames of the nation-state; the author focuses on the problem of Russian Female migration, as there are a comparatively larger proportion of female migrants.

## Background of the Phenomenon

The origins of this phenomenon go back to the 1990s–2000s, when the number of Russian women increased dramatically. Simultaneously, in recent years the number of children with Russian roots in Japan has been constantly growing.

This section aims to give a definite answer to the general question: What is the reason for Russian female migration to Japan, especially, why was the number of female Russian alien registration holders (20–24 y. o.) higher than that of male?

The Immigration Bureau data presents an increase in the total number of female Russian population of the age 15–39 between 1996–2009 (『在留外国人統計』1996–2009). The total number of Russian women with alien registration compared to men is reflected below in Figure 1 and Table 1.

Regarding the age distribution, if we look at Figure 2 and Table 2 below, we can conclude that the number of Russian female alien registration holders in Japan had been growing constantly until 2006. The population of women between 20–24 years old increased from 383 people in 1996 to 1,454 people in 2005. The same observa-

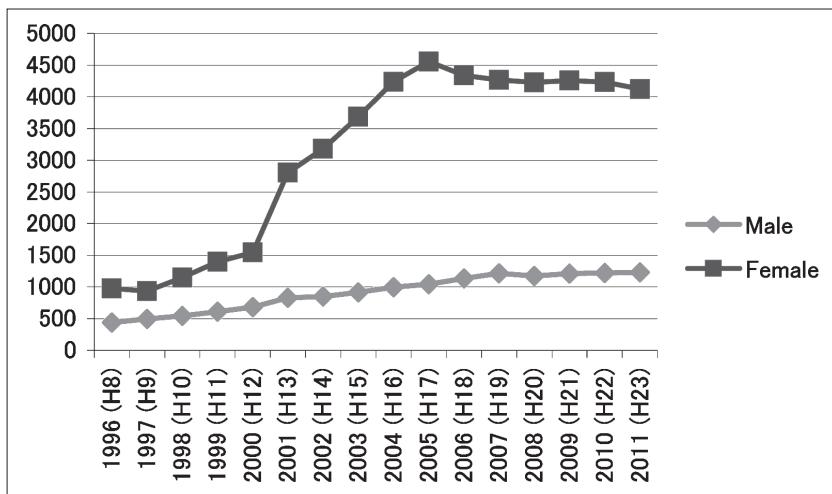


Figure 1 The Dynamics of Russian Alien Registration Holders with Regard to Their Gender 1996–2011 (15–39 y. o.)      Source: Japan Immigration Bureau

tion was made after checking the female population of the age 25–29 between 1996 and 2005, when the number of women of that age peaked in 2005 and increased from 263 people to 1,614. Only one year later, as a result of Japanese Government Policy towards entertainment visa holders under 30 years of age, the number of women who had not reached 30 years old decreased. However, an exponential growth in the number of women over 30 years old is more than an evident progress. The data also does not reflect on the real number of women who entered Japan because of the liberal attitude in the Japanese Law towards temporary visitors. Short-term (less than 90 days) visitors are not obligated to obtain alien registrations (see Yamawaki Keizo 1996, p. 18), it means that they might repeatedly enter Japan with a short-term permit without registration and remained unnoticed for statistics, but might change their visa status to spouse visa later. Elena Baibikov (2006) points out the lack of statistical data concerning Russo-Japanese marriages. In the official records they are traditionally entered under the category of ‘Other Countries’. According to nonofficial records their number fluctuated between 80–100 cases per year (Baibikov 2006, p. 124). Sivakova (2009, p. 117) provides another number of Russo-Japanese

marriages (350–400 cases per year) for the period of 2004–2008.

Over the longer period from 1996 until 2011 (15 years), with some exceptions, the total number of women was still constantly higher than men. Much higher was the ratio of women between 20–24 years old in the very beginning of the 2000s (the total number of women at that time was about 10 times higher than men of the same age category). In comparison to the male population of the age of 15–39 y. o., which almost tripled (2.75 times) from 440 people in 1996 to 1,209 people in 2009, the female population has grown from 975 people in 1996 to 4,255 people in 2009. One can see that growth has quadrupled (4.3 times).

Indeed, deep economic recession during the first decade after the collapse of the Soviet regime led to growth of Russian female migration. The Japanese entertainment

Table 1 The Dynamics of Russian Alien Registration Holders with Regard to Their Gender 1996–2011 (15–39 y. o.)

	Male	Female
1996 (H8)	440	975
1997 (H9)	494	936
1998 (H10)	544	1150
1999 (H11)	608	1395
2000 (H12)	683	1544
2001 (H13)	830	2802
2002 (H14)	849	3177
2003 (H15)	916	3683
2004 (H16)	998	4239
2005 (H17)	1042	4559
2006 (H18)	1136	4339
2007 (H19)	1216	4267
2008 (H20)	1173	4227
2009 (H21)	1209	4255
2010 (H22)	1219	4233
2011 (H23)	1232	4125

Source: Japan Immigration Bureau

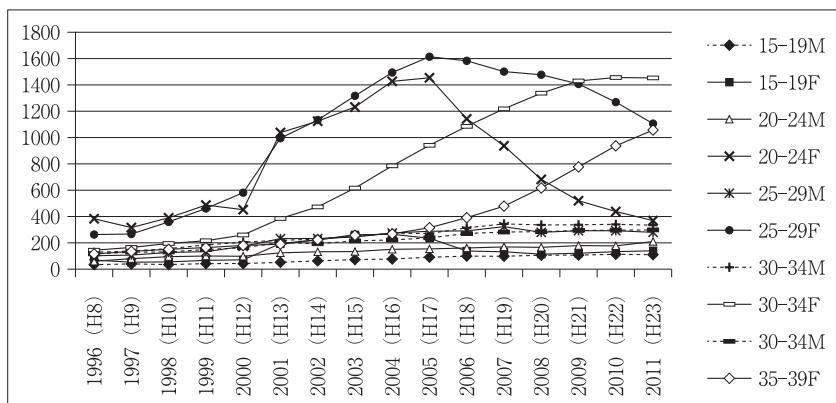


Figure 2 The Dynamics of Russian Alien Registration Holders with Regard to Their Age and Gender 1996–2011      Source: Japan Immigration Bureau

Table 2 The Dynamics of Russian Alien Registration Holders with Regard to Their Age and Gender 1996–2011

	15–19M	15–19F	20–24M	20–24F	25–29M	25–29F	30–34M	30–34F	35–39M	35–39F
1996 (H8)	34	69	60	383	102	263	128	144	116	116
1997 (H9)	40	53	80	316	107	267	138	165	129	135
1998 (H10)	35	55	95	390	127	359	156	195	131	151
1999 (H11)	42	67	100	487	133	461	184	216	149	164
2000 (H12)	43	71	98	452	173	581	206	260	163	180
2001 (H13)	52	194	124	1038	232	995	219	385	203	190
2002 (H14)	63	224	132	1124	233	1133	228	473	193	223
2003 (H15)	73	261	134	1232	244	1317	250	616	215	257
2004 (H16)	77	265	151	1427	275	1494	273	785	222	268
2005 (H17)	91	235	154	1454	288	1614	271	941	238	315
2006 (H18)	99	138	161	1142	291	1583	314	1085	271	391
2007 (H19)	98	132	169	937	323	1501	344	1218	282	479
2008 (H20)	106	114	166	682	280	1477	336	1337	285	617
2009 (H21)	107	121	179	520	292	1407	337	1430	294	777
2010 (H22)	113	133	177	438	292	1269	341	1456	296	937
2011 (H23)	110	140	210	369	280	1106	334	1453	298	1057

Source: Japan Immigration Bureau

industry district became attractive for many Russian women as their monthly wages could cover educational expenses for themselves and provide parents family support. An introduction of for-profit education (higher education was free during Soviet period) made it more difficult for female students to continue education. Unlike linguistic migration, which is always a well-planned project (R. Brooks, & J. Waters, 2011, p. 62) this female migration was rather an impulsive and random act.

The trend in male population draws a different picture. The main occupation among Russian males was re-selling used cars and parts. Before the Russian tax policy for used cars was crucially changed in 2009, the profit from reselling them was high enough to cover living expenses for their families in their home country.

Furthermore, even after 2005 when the popular used car business became profitless, many port cities of the Japan Sea coast (such as Toyama, Niigata, and Otaru) still continued to deal with the export of used car destined for Russia (Asazuma 浅妻 2011, p. 58–60). Like women, they also came to Japan for money as short-term visitors, many of whom were also repeaters and were left out of the official data. As a rule, in comparison with women who were still single and young, they left families at home.<sup>(3)</sup> As Iyotani (伊豫谷 2012) argues, there is a difference between male and female type of migration and women need ‘a place to return to’ which they don’t

have in a home country, so many of them dropped an anchor in Japan due to the absence of a well-paid job in their home country. The same phenomenon can be observed also in Russia, because female population is much larger than male, so it is difficult to find a partner in the home country. See also Saito (齊藤 1994), as she refers to the census of 1993, when female population was 53.1%, while male population was 46.9%. This disproportion is most visible among those belonging to the reproductive age (S. Ryazantsev 2010). Japanese enterprise's expansion into the Russian market has also produced female migration to Japan. K. Golovina (2011, p. 146) in her recent study of Russian female migrants married to Japanese men reports the result of the survey of the marriage pattern. Out of 55 couples in 11 cases a Japanese husband had an experience of working or studying in Russia.

## Previous Research

The most representative works on female migration to Japan are done by Hayase (早瀬 2002), Ito (伊藤 1996), Yamawaki (1996), Truong (1996), Iguchi (2002) and R. Yoder (2011). Iyotani (伊豫谷 1996) and Miyajima (宮島 2008) also have

図表 2-7 興行ビザによる国籍別外国人登録者数

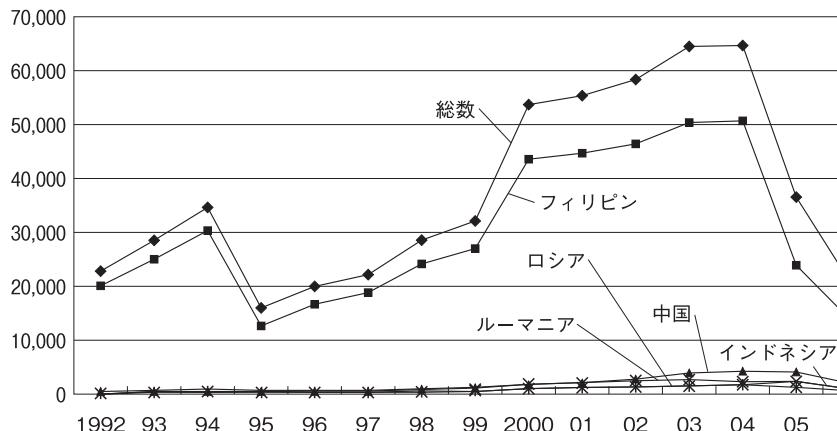


Figure 3 International Women Migration with Entertainment Visa Status in Japan (1992–2006)

Source: Kamoto Itsuko (嘉本伊都子: 2008, 「興業ビザによる国籍別外国人登録者数」図表 2-7)

perceived the topic from an international marriage perspective. Many research works were conducted for Thai and the Filipino women, while Russian women were left almost unstudied.

Until now, there is only one comparative study represented by Kamoto (嘉本伊都子 2008, p. 56) in which Russian women reflected statistically with the status “entertainer” are viewed in contrast with women of other ethnic groups.

According to Figure 3, above, the rapid growth of the ‘entertainer’ status holders cannot be followed, but she overlooks the factor, that women might enter Japan repeatedly entering the country with a different visa status (see also Yamawaki Keizo 1996, p. 19). Moreover, the actual number of the above mentioned group remains unknown. It means that the status ‘entertainer’ was not given to all of them. While statistics present a sudden increase of ‘entertainer’ status holders from 2001 to 2005 (from 1,363 up to 1,921), the data of the previous years may have been distorted (see Figure 4).

According to the Law, enterprises simply were not obligated to report the data to the government. As Truong (1996, p. 151) suggests, undocumented female entertainers might be driven more to the underground since the introduction of New

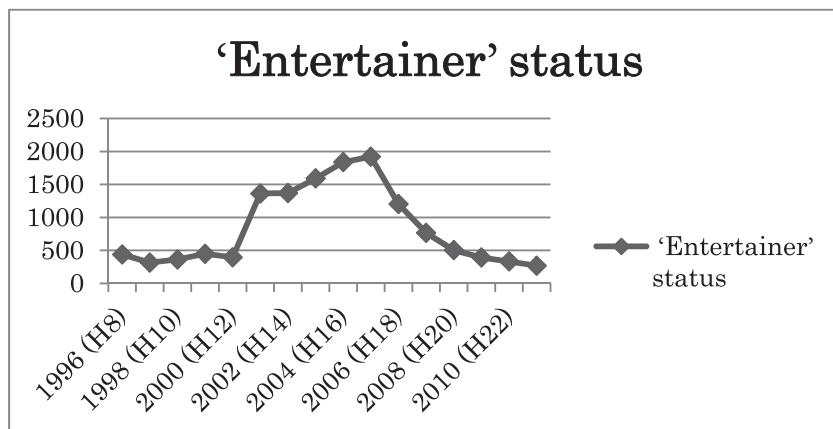


Figure 4 The Dynamics of Growth of Russian Alien Registration Holders with Regard to their Visa Status ‘Entertainer’ 1996–2011      Source: Japan Immigration Bureau

## Russian HL Learners in Japan

We have viewed the statistics of female migration. According to Iyotani (2012), researching only immigrants does not cover those who do not change their locations — children of intermarriage. They have Japanese citizenship, but because of their differences from Japanese, they need the maintenance of HL.

Unfortunately the research in this area is non-extensive, so summarizing is the major difficulty. At the same time, according to Takigawa-Nikiporets (2007), the post-immigrant generation is still young, many of them were born in Japan and most of them are still in preschool age, therefore the problem of HL education has not become acute yet.

Consequently, the general question arises: why is the maintenance of HL for children with Russian roots needed? The answers may be as follows:

First of all, the physical appearance of Russian-rooted children differs from children born in Japanese-Asian international marriages (see R. Yoder 2011, p. 145). In other words, in case of Russian-Japanese intermarriages, the children are recognizably different and are often labeled as ‘half’; even being passed by statistics as Japanese. According to L.W. Zimmerman (2010, p. 8), identity is created not only by how the individual sees himself, “but also by the image that others recognize and communicate to” the person. At the same time, as J. Cummins (2007, p. 109) declares the interdependence of the first and the second languages (L1 and L2) in cognitive context, there can be observed “the effects of bilingualism on children’s cognitive and educational development.” Furthermore, Miyajima (宮島 2003, p. 138) points to the effectiveness of applying students’ mother-tongue for successful education. Hara, Yoneno-Reyes, & Osaya (2011) viewing the case of Japanese-Filipino concludes that those who acquired a fairly good command in the first language have a greater tendency to acquire other languages, while others cannot use any of the languages properly.

Table 3 The Dynamics of the Under-aged Russian Alien Registration Holders with Regard to Their Age 1996–2011

Age	0 - 4	5 - 9	10 - 14	15 - 19	Total
1996 (H8)	71	125	93	103	392
1997 (H9)	75	125	112	93	405
1998 (H10)	76	123	130	90	419
1999 (H11)	90	127	135	109	461
2000 (H12)	93	138	151	114	496
2001 (H13)	104	124	171	246	645
2002 (H14)	116	133	159	287	695
2003 (H15)	110	155	167	334	766
2004 (H16)	145	158	174	342	819
2005 (H17)	169	148	182	326	825
2006 (H18)	172	164	187	237	760
2007 (H19)	218	191	202	230	841
2008 (H20)	224	208	226	220	878
2009 (H21)	277	221	241	228	967
2010 (H22)	303	252	237	246	1038
2011 (H23)	307	249	237	250	1043

Source: Japan Immigration Bureau

from one Japanese and one foreign parent (it includes double citizenship holders, others than Japanese, because the former pass as Japanese), children who attend private schools, and children who are not enrolled for schooling. The data about children who need special language support in their native language collected from *todo-*

Several authors have studied the lack of data concerning children who need special language support and the misleading definition of the term itself. (Refer to also: Lee Yon Souk (イ・ヨンスク 2008), Kawakami (川上 2005), Chiba, Paichadze, & Sugiyama (千葉, パイチャゼ, 杉山 2011), Miyajima (宮島 2003). Therefore, the data of foreign children who need special language support provided by MEXT automatically excludes children born

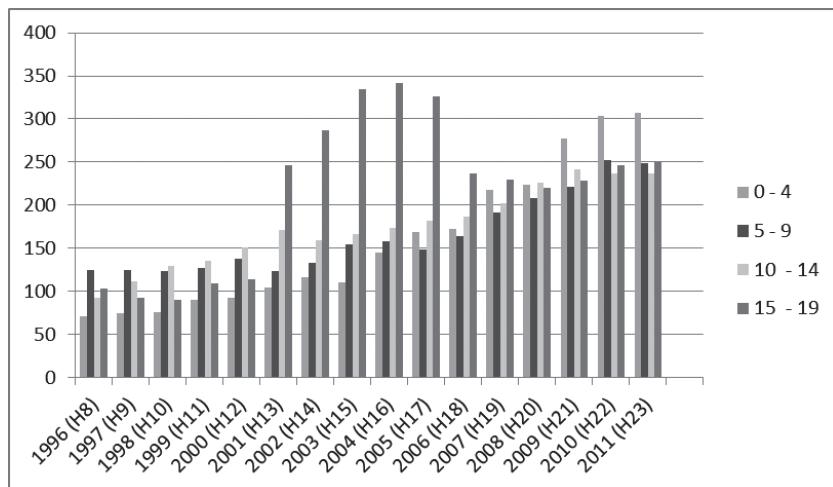


Figure 5 The Dynamics of the Under-aged Russian Alien Registration Holders with Regard to Their Age 1996–2011      Source: Japan Immigration Bureau

*fuken* (local government authorities) also needs revision and detailed investigation; so far it doesn't reflect the actual number of children, as some might pass as Japanese. In each case, school needs to make a decision on whether to give special language support or not. Hence, it is impossible to identify the Russian part.<sup>(4)</sup>

The data of children by the Immigration Bureau (see Table 3 and Figure 5 below) is age-graded, defined per 5 years: for 0–4 years old, 5–9 years old, 10–14 years old, and 15–19 years old.<sup>(5)</sup> The number of the children reflected statistically between age 0 and 4 has tripled from 1996 until 2007 and quadrupled in 2009. So, this age category reached 307 in 2011. The total number of children was constantly growing from 1996 to 2011, however because the Japanese Government Agencies have no full data about actual number of children who were born in intermarriages, *de facto* they only have data of children with alien registration.

Here there are some of the results of a survey that the author conducted among the parents in Tokyo and Kanagawa areas in a context of Russian HL maintenance (For full description of this survey see also O. Basova, 2012). 152 parents of children of Russian Community whose average age is 6 y.o. took part in survey by providing information about their children. However, in this survey parents from the former the USSR also took part as far as they have the similar identity with Russians and use Russian for communication (Seki = 関 2002, p. 274; S. Sivakova 2009, p. 117). Among them were 17 Ukrainians, 4 Belorussians, 3 Uzbeks and citizenship owners of Kazakhstan and Lithuania one from each other. Because some of the families had more than one child each, the total number of children covered by the survey reached 182. The majority of children were born into intermarriages (116/182) and because of their Japanese citizenship they are not covered by any official data (neither Immigration Bureau nor MEXT). 48 children were born in non-Japanese families in Japan or came with parents at the pre-school age and 18 were cases of children from the first marriages who came to Japan during school age. The question 'What is your child's mother tongue?' was asked to 152 parents that took part in the survey. Parents were explained that mother tongue refers to the language their child learnt first and can still speak well. Out of 90 parents of children born into intermarriages 36 con-

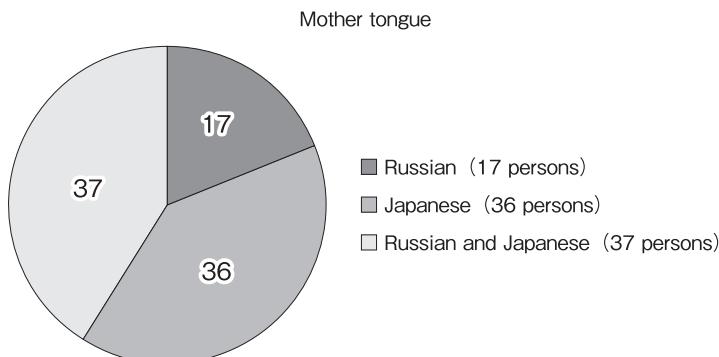


Figure 6 Mother Tongue of Children Born into Intermarriages (90 children)

*Source:* The Author's Questionnaires

sidered Japanese as the mother tongue of their children, and 37 considered both Russian and Japanese as such.

Thus, language shifting in interlingual families occurs, and Japanese becomes the language of daily communication in families; as a result children cannot comprehend many concepts, neither in Japanese nor in Russian, due to the fact that their mothers lack Japanese vocabulary, while communication with the fathers - native Japanese speakers — is often limited.

After extensive oral communication testing children who acquire Russian as HL both in families and through community language instructions, the author found out that many children born into intermarriages lack vocabulary in both Russian and Japanese.<sup>(6)</sup> All participants were given a 40-minutues bilingual interview in four levels: introduction, basic, dialogue, cognitive (both in Russian and Japanese). Interviews were conducted one-on-one, and rated by the tapes. Other data (age, grade, and age of arrival) were available for each subject. The cognitive level scores in Japanese correlated significantly with age (.533) and age of arrival had a positive correlation with cognitive level of children performance in Russian (.435). There was a high negative correlation (-.970) between the children generation and the age of arrival, and high positive correlation (.786) between conversation fluency children performed in Japanese and Russian on the dialogue level. No significant correlation

between Russian and Japanese cognitive level performance was observed (.170).

The example raised by C. Baker (2007, p. 8) is also true for the Russian community situation in Japan. Some mothers choose not to use Russian with the child. To them it feels sound and sensible, effective and educative to use the local language, the language of the father and /or the language of the school. Family aspirations for HL education must be viewed in relation to the language choices and also the way parents expect the HL maintenance to help children to be successful in Japanese.

## Problems the Russian Community Faces in Transmitting Russian to the Children

According to B. Spolsky (2009, p. 44), who emphasizes the significant role the religion had played in language maintenance, especially Christianity, in which “language rules are most applied to public speech events, and they also have serious implications for and effects on the language at homes and individuals.” It is in contrast with other conservative religious communities, where the language maintenance is traditionally held by churches (Bible readings, Sunday lessons, moral readings directly through Sunday schooling, where churches are enrolled into language maintenance). At the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, the Russian Orthodox church, which had been established in Japan during 19<sup>th</sup> century, played a significant role in spreading Russian Language and Culture (Takigawa-Nikiporets 2007, p. 198). Pushkin School was a center of HL maintenance. It was operated by church (Nikolai-do) and members of the community. Unlike the first wave, people who belonged to the second and a big part of the third waves are not strong religious believers and most of the second wave can be counted to be atheists, due to the long religious prohibition during the Soviet period. This situation continued through the 1990s until Russia adopted a new political course: the Communist Party was rapidly replaced by religious movements, but the tradition of HL maintenance had been interrupted for five decades (Takigawa-Nikiporets, 2007). According to Sawada (沢田 2007, p. 119–121) the school was closed in the second half of 1940s. Takigawa-Nikiporets (2009:

53) refers to Sablina (2006) and points that the school was closed in the second half of 1950s, due to the mass outflow of Russian population from Japan that time.

Finally, unlike the other groups, there is only one Russian School in Tokyo on the territory of the Russian Federation Embassy with two branches in the General Consulates of Russian Federation in Osaka and Sapporo. The school provides general education according to the Russian Federation Standards for children whose parents stay in Japan. Since the school was established during the USSR, it mainly provided support to children of the diplomatic mission members. Although the teaching content has changed, the educational system has not been upgraded. Students are expected to read and write in fluent Russian, but lack of vocabulary makes it difficult for them to meet academic progress expectations. Many children use Japanese in everyday life and attend local schools. This situation has served to encourage the implementation of HL educational services, but due to the absence of authorization and sufficient financial means those remain to be additional forms of education. G. Shatohina (2012) primarily names community-run language facilities in her work, mainly in Kanto District.<sup>(7)</sup>

Teaching support is provided by community members or frequently by parents themselves. It appeared that the teachers felt a very strong need to share their challenges with others and support each other emotionally. The first Japanese-Russian HL education conference took place in Tokyo September 23, 2012.<sup>(8)</sup>

## Conclusions

In addition to reviewing the previous studies on the subject, after providing a detailed examination of the official data, the author found that as a consequence of Russian women migration to Japan during the last two decades many children with Russian roots in Japan are identified by neither Russian nor Japanese authorities. The data of the Immigration Bureau is counted to be the most statistically significant as the main government source, but still it is not conclusive. Children born of one foreign and one Japanese parent are usually deemed as Japanese (they are allowed to

have two citizenships until they reach lawful age of 20). Besides, the General Consulate of Russian Federation in Japan has no full data about the total number of Russians and their children due to non-obligatory registration. The registration is mandatory in cases of issuing a new passport instead of an expired one, revoking and re-endorsing passports. Registration is also required for voting. Furthermore, children are allowed to cross the border being admitted with one of the parent's passports. Accordingly, about 50% of children remain uncovered by officials (according to an interview with the Consulate General of Russian Federation staff in Sapporo made by phone in November 2009).

Let us have a look at local responses to Russian community-based HL schooling. Such phenomenon — complex negotiation between global ‘theory’ and ‘local’ practice used to be called ‘glocalization.’ Thus, community-based alternative school ‘Rosinka’ for students whose Russian level was not sufficient for the Embassy School, was established by parents.<sup>(9)</sup> They are receiving some Human-Resource support and partial compensation of examination fee for Russian Language Proficiency Test from the Japan-Eurasia Society Kanagawa office. The support of immigrant children and returnees (children and grandchildren of Japanese emigrants) in Sapporo provided by the NPO Casa (Child-assist Sapporo Association) since 2008 is covered in the research conducted by Paichadze et al. (パイチャゼ, 千葉, 杉山 2012) and Chiba et al. (千葉, パイチャゼ, 杉山 2011). Host-country’s NPOs encourage the development of HL schools, but it is still not enough to solve long-term problems in education. Having looked at the above stated challenges on the path of maintaining Russian language in Japan, the importance of sufficient data, official support of the Russian Government and development of effective educational system for Russian as a HL has become as clear as ever. In addition to existing community-based HL education, other resource model needs to be established. Again, this is an easy observation to make, but a difficult problem to solve.

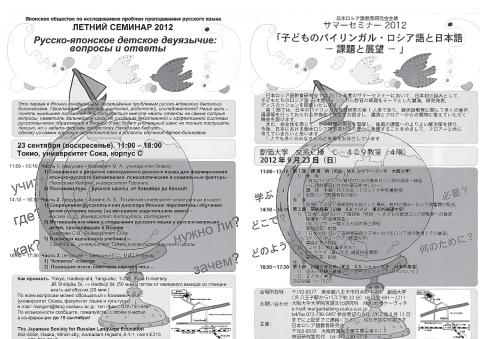
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## Notes

- (1) Russian (partially Soviet) migration is a complex historical phenomenon. According to the classification by the year of arrival, it is divided into four waves (by Kh. Pfandl 1994; A. Barkan 2012). Unlike other countries, where the Russian immigrants have already numbered for the fourth wave, the third wave reached Japan quite late Takigawa-Nikiporets (瀧川 2007).
- (2) A new term “in-migrant”, introduced by C. Baker (2007, p. 211) encompasses immigrants, migrants, guest worker and refugees. The term “in-migrant” can be used to avoid the negative connotations of the term “immigrant” and to avoid distinctions between “migrant”, “immigrant”, “refugees”, long-stay and relatively permanent residents.
- (3) A term “repeater” is used by Haino (拝野 2007) towards Brazilian labor migrants, who came to the Japan at the second or more time.
- (4) 日本語指導が必要な外国人児童生徒の受け入れ状況等に関する調査(平成 22 年度)概要  
[http://www.mext.go.jp/b\\_menu/houdou/23/08/1309275.htm](http://www.mext.go.jp/b_menu/houdou/23/08/1309275.htm)  
As for 2011 year, languages others than Portuguese (9,477), Chinese (6,154), Tagalog (4,350), Spanish (3,547), Vietnamese (1,151), Korean (751), and English (717) are summarized in the category ‘the others’ (2, 364). Children with Japanese

- citizenship are summarized separately (See also 表1「日本語指導が必要な児童生徒の学校種別在籍状況」).
- (5) Last but not least, the differences in definition of the term ‘lawful age’ in Japan and Russia are the matter of significant interest for the research. There is no problem with the first three age groups, but as for the last one (15–19) it may be wrong to combine the age categories of 15–19 years old as by Russian legislation it includes young adults (the term refers to the age category from 18–21). In spite of the fact that lawful age in Japan is 21, it is different from Russia (for Russia it is 18). As this category may also include women who entered Japan with the status ‘entertainment’, it must be reviewed differently.
  - (6) Several observations were made after testing 22 Russian immigrant children of age 6–12 using Oral Test for Bilingual Children (OBC) testing methods to define how Russian HL learners can use their academic vocabulary in oral communication. I divided them into two groups (‘The Generation 1.5 and The Generation 2’). Sources: OBC testing methods, previous researches of HL learners related to the OBC testing (Russian and non-Russian speaking communities both). See also: Ishii (石井 2007); Nakajima Kazuko, Rosana Nunas (中島・ヌナス 2001); O. Basova (2011).
  - (7) See also S. Sivakova (2009) and her description of formal and non-formal education of Russian-Japanese bilingual children and Russian children—migrants living in Tokyo; Chiba, Paichadze, & Sugiyama (千葉美千子, パイチャゼ・スヴィエトラナ, 杉山普平 2011); Paichadze, Chiba, & Sugiyama (パイチャゼ・スヴィエトラナ, 千葉美千子, 杉山普平 2012) for sparsely populated area: the case of Sapporo.
  - (8) <http://rokyoken.web.fc2.com/kiroku2012.html#120923>  
日本ロシア語教育研究会  
*A bilingual poster of the first Japanese -Russian heritage language education conference (venue: Soka University, September 23, 2012).*
  - (9) The word ‘alternative’ in school’s name means that it was established to give an opportunity to learn Russian in a contrasting way, different



from the Embassy School.

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