INTERNATIONAL PARENTS IN TOKYO

AND THE EDUCATION OF THEIR

TRANSNATIONAL CHILDREN

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Thesis submitted in fulfilment of the requirements for the

degree of Doctor of Philosophy

The University of Adelaide

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Abbreviations

ADTP	Australasian Digital Theses Program
AICE	Advanced International Certificate of Education
ANZCCJ	Australia and New Zealand Chamber of Commerce in Japan
ASIJ	American School in Japan
ATCK	Adult Third Culture Kid
BAB	Being-A-Broad
BAT	British American Tobacco
BST	British School in Tokyo
CCK	Cross Cultural Kid
CCKs	Cross Cultural Kids
CIE	Cambridge International Examination
CLPD	Centre for Learning and Professional Development
CM	Code-Mixing
CS	Code-Switching
DoDDS	(US) Department of Defence Dependents School
DS	Down Syndrome
EFL	English as a Foreign Language
EIB	English for International Business
ESEA	(US) Elementary and Secondary Education Act
ESL	English as a Second Language
EU	European Union
FEW	Foreign Executive Women
FLE	(Japanese) Fundamental Law of Education
GCSE	(UK) General Certificate of Secondary Education
GN	Global Nomad
GNs	Global Nomads
HOT	Hands On Tokyo
HR	Human Resources
IB	International Baccalaureate
IBDP	International Baccalaureate Diploma Program
IBMYP	International Baccalaureate Middle Years Program

Abbreviations *continued…*

IBO	International Baccalaureate Organisation
IBPYP	International Baccalaureate Primary Years Program
ID	Identification
IGCSE	International General Certificate of Secondary Education
LFJT	Lycée Franco-Japonais de Tokyo
MEXT	(Japanese) Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science & Technology
MF	Mother and Father (combined frequency counts)
MHLW	(Japanese) Ministry of Health, Labor and Welfare
MK	Missionary Kid
MKs	Missionary Kids
MYP	(IB) Middle Years Program
NCLB	(US) No Child Left Behind
NESB	Non-English-Speaking Background
NZ	New Zealand
OOV	Out-Of-Vocabulary
OPOL	One-Person-One-Language
PhD	Doctor of Philosophy
PR	Permanent Residency
PTA	Parent Teacher Association
PYP	(IB) Primary Years Program
TA	Teaching Assistant
TAC	Tokyo America Club
TCK	Third Culture Kid
TCKs	Third Culture Kids
TIS	Tokyo International School
UK	United Kingdom
US	United States
USB	Universal Serial Bus
USD	United States Dollar
WMA	Windows Media Audio

Glossary of Terms

Chronosystem
: [Ecological Systems Theory] The chronosystem encompasses change or consistency over time, not only in the characteristics of a person, but also of the environment in which that person lives. Changes include those over the life course of the individual in family structure, socio-economic status and employment (Bronfenbrenner, 1994: 40).

Cross Cultural Kid
: [CCK] A child who has lived in, or meaningfully interacted with, two or more cultural environments for a significant period of time during their developmental years (Van Reken & Bethel, 2007, 2009).

Ecology
: Ecology comes from the Greek root *oikos* meaning 'home'. With reference to human growth, an ecological perspective focuses attention on development as a function of interaction between the developing organism and the environments or contexts in which it [sic] lives out its life (Bronfenbrenner, 1975: 439).

Exosystem
: [Ecological Systems Theory] The linkages and processes taking place between two or more settings, at least one of which does not contain the developing person, but where events occur that indirectly influence processes within the immediate setting in which the developing person lives (Bronfenbrenner, 1994: 40).

Expatriates
: These employees are temporarily transferred out of their home base into some foreign operations. Some firms simply call such persons 'expats' or 'international assignees', while others use different terminologies such as inpatriates, transpatriates, and repatriates according the direction of personnel transfer. The present study will use 'expatriate(s)' to take account of all categories of international personnel (Yang, 2007: 2-3).

Gaijin
: [Japanese] In Japan, non-Japanese persons are called *gaijin,* which literally means 'people from outside'. While the term itself has no derogatory meaning, it emphasises the exclusiveness of the Japanese attitude and has therefore picked up pejorative connotations that many Westerners resent. In general, Japanese people treat foreign visitors politely, but always as outsiders (Itoh, 1996: 236).

Glossary of Terms *continued…*

Global Nomad

[GN] A person who has lived abroad as a child because of a parent's career choice. As a result of their internationally-mobile upbringing, they may feel simultaneously part-of and apart-from all the countries they have lived. GNs often have a great sense of the wholeness of common culture with others who share their global nomad heritage (McCaig, 2001).

Haafu

[Japanese] The most commonly used social descriptor given to multi-ethnic people in Japan. In mainstream Japanese society, the word *haafu* enjoys some positive nuances, inferring on its recipients cosmopolitan qualities of internationalism, elite bilingualism and worldly experience. However, many parents of Japanese intercultural children oppose this term for its negative connotations in English i.e., half-breed or half-caste, and for its nuance of incompleteness (Greer, 2005: 959).

Hiragana

[Japanese] Considered the first Japanese alphabet, *Hiragana* is a set of phonetic symbols, each of which stands for a single syllable that has no meaning by itself but joins others to form words. The number of basic symbols is 46. With the 46 symbols, plus other marks that give additional phonetic values, 71 letters can be used to write any word or any sentence in the Japanese language. In its most natural form, *Kanji* and *Hiragana* are intermixed in the Japanese language, with the *Hiragana* syllables used for parts of words that cannot be written in *Kanji* e.g., adjectives, adverbs, inflected endings of verbs, interjections, particles, and pronouns (Sakamoto, 1975: 241-243).

Hoikuen

[Japanese] A day-care facility where acceptance is determined by the degree to which the child is defined as 'in need of care' by a set of categories used nationwide, as well as by the availability of places. Single parents, children of working mothers, and disabled or seriously ill parents are given priority. Fees are determined by family income and the amount of tax parents or guardians pay. Operational hours are long and all licensed public or private *hoikuen*, receive Japanese Government subsidies (Boocock, 1989: 43-46).

Glossary of Terms *continued…*

Juku   [Japanese] An after-school tutoring establishment, otherwise referred to as a 'cram' school. The term *juku* is quite inclusive and embraces academic subjects, as well as hobbies, sports and some arts (Rohlen, 1980: 207-210).

Kanji   [Japanese] *Kanji* characters originally came from China, but today are typically Japanese. *Kanji* are read differently and even the significance of some characters is unique from that of the same characters for Chinese speakers. The learning of *Kanji* is more difficult than the learning of *Hiragana*, not only because they are more numerous, but unlike *Hiragana*, each *Kanji* usually has several alternative readings that range from monosyllabic to quadrisyllabic sounds (Sakamoto, 1975: 242-243). In Japan, there are a total of 1,945 basic *Kanji* characters in common use (Morton, Sosanuma, Patterson, & Sakuma, 1992: 517; Tamaoka, Kirsner, Yanase, Miyaoka, & Kawakami, 2002: 260).

Katakana   [Japanese] Often referred to as the second Japanese alphabet, the *Katakana* script is conventionally used to represent foreign loan words that have been imported into Japanese. Words written in this script—proper names in particular—constitute the single biggest source of Out-Of-Vocabulary (OOV) words in modern Japanese (Brill, Kacmarcik, & Brockett, 2001).

Kikokushijo   [Japanese] These children have accompanied their parents on overseas work assignments and subsequently returned to Japan. In other words, the approaches to education for these children assumed a handicap. That is, overseas experiences were not regarded positively and their apparently low academic performance was considered in need of special remedial attention (Fry, 2007: 131).

Kokusai kekkon   [Japanese] Literally, 'international marriage' is the Japanese cultural category commonly used to designate any marriage pairing Japanese and non-Japanese nationals (Nitta, 1988: 207).

Ku   [Japanese] This is the suffix meaning 'ward'. The Tokyo prefecture or metropolis includes 23 special wards in addition to cities, towns and villages (Fukuda, Nakamura, & Takano, 2004: 2437).

Glossary of Terms *continued…*

Kumon   [Japanese] The most widely used supplemental system for studying mathematics in Japan. The *kumon* curriculum has been expanded to over 5,000 timed worksheets, taking the learner sequentially and incrementally from pre-writing skills and dot-counting exercises to college-level physics problems (Ukai, 1994: 88).

Kyoiku mama   [Japanese] *Kyoiku* 'education' is combined with English 'mama' to refer to a Japanese mother who devotes considerable time and energy to her children's education. Aware of the importance of education, these mothers seek to promote their children's interest and involvement in school, and they strive to create a home environment that is comfortable and conducive to study (Hogan, 2003: 45; H. W. Stevenson, 1991: 116).

Macrosystem   [Ecological Systems Theory] The overarching pattern of micro-, meso-, and exo- systems characteristic of a given culture or subculture, with particular reference to the opportunity structures, material resources, lifestyles, hazards, customs, bodies of knowledge, belief systems, and life course options that are embedded in each of these broader systems (Bronfenbrenner, 1994: 40).

Mesosystem   [Ecological Systems Theory] The linkages and processes taking place between two or more settings containing the developing person. A prime example includes the relationship between home and school (Bronfenbrenner, 1994: 40).

Microsystem   [Ecological Systems Theory] The pattern of activities, social roles, and interpersonal relations experienced by the developing person in a given face-to-face setting with particular physical, social and symbolic features that invite, permit or inhibit engagement in sustained, progressively more complex interaction with, and activity in, the immediate environment (Bronfenbrenner, 1994: 39).

Municipality   The municipality is the basic unit for Japanese administrative services including public health and preventive health services (Fukuda et al., 2004: 2437).

Glossary of Terms *continued…*

Prefecture

Prefectures are Japanese Governmental bodies larger than cities, towns and villages. The prefectures of Japan are the country's 47 sub-national jurisdictions (Fukuda et al., 2004: 2437).

Setting

[Ecological Systems Theory] A place with particular physical features in which participants engage in particular activities in particular roles. Thus, the factors of time, place, physical features, activity, participant and role, constitute the elements of a setting (Bronfenbrenner, 1977: 514).

Third Culture Kid

[TCK] A child who has spent a significant part of his or her developmental years outside their parents' culture. The TCK builds relationships to all of the cultures, while not having full ownership of any particular one. Although elements from each culture are assimilated into their life experience, their sense of belonging is in relationship to other children of similar background (Pollock & Van Reken, 2001: 19).

Transnational

Transnational persons take actions, make decisions, and develop subjectivities and identities embedded in networks of relationships that connect them simultaneously to two (or more) nation states. It is the processes by which immigrants forge and sustain multi-stranded social relations that link together their societies of origin and settlement. They develop and maintain multiple relationships—familial, social, economic, organisational, religious and political—that cross geographic and cultural borders. They tend to use 'home' for their society of origin, even when they have made a home in their country of settlement. The country of settlement is usually the 'host' but such a term often carries unwarranted connotations that the person is both 'welcome' and a 'visitor' (Basch, Schiller, & Blanc, 1994: 7).

Youchien

[Japanese] A predominantly 'private' kindergarten facility that runs for four hours a day, though some have extended hours in response to the demands of working mothers. There is considerable variation in fees with some elite *youchien* costing more than private universities (Boocock, 1989: 43-46).

Abstract

This thesis is a qualitative investigation of sixty-one international parents living in Tokyo in relation to their family's cultural background and their choice of schooling for their children. The context of cosmopolitan Tokyo is discussed as the city of residence for three groups of participants: Japanese-born internationally-oriented families; Japanese intercultural families; and non-Japanese internationally-mobile families with origins in other countries. Research on so-called 'Third Culture' or 'Cross Cultural Kids' is reviewed in order to understand children's experiences of growing up in more than one cultural context because of parental career or lifestyle decisions. In addition, the range and nature of Japanese and non-Japanese national and international schools available to international parents in Tokyo is described.

The conceptual framework adopted is based on Bronfenbrenner's human ecology model, in which the various contexts of children's lives—family, school and community—need to be seen holistically and as interacting influences in children's social and educational development. This approach was extended by Epstein who described the possible partnerships among these three contexts in terms of overlapping spheres of influence. Based on these two models, the research developed a new conceptual framework of fourteen cross cultural scenarios designed to take account of the experiences of transnational children who find themselves negotiating unfamiliar cultural settings, either at school or in society. Four spheres of cultural influence on the social and educational developmental ecology of transnational children in Tokyo were identified and specified as mother's cultural background (M), father's cultural background (F), school cultural background (S), all sited within the Japanese residential country culture (R).

For this exploratory study, research data concerning the families' cultural backgrounds and choice of schools for their only or eldest child in Tokyo were collected in two distinct stages. First, a four-page questionnaire, distributed throughout the 23 wards of Tokyo, but predominantly the high foreign population areas in and around *Minato*-ward during 14 November – 20 December 2007, was completed by 55 parent respondents (43 mothers and 12 fathers). Their responses were summarised in frequency tables. Second, face-to-face semi-structured interviews were conducted with 17 parents (10 mothers and 7 fathers), with nine parents participating in both stages. Participants were again recruited predominantly throughout the *Minato*-ward of central Tokyo during the period 26 June – 29 August 2008. The interviews were audio-recorded and later transcribed as narratives, used to develop family profile summaries, and discussed in relation to four key themes that emerged: international orientation; location of home; language socialisation; and school choice.

An analysis of the research data, in terms of the spheres of cultural influence, revealed that ten of the fourteen cross cultural scenarios were represented. Correlating each family's cultural background with the choice of schooling for their only or eldest child in Tokyo, revealed a definite pattern of relationships. It also demonstrated the usefulness of the cross cultural scenario framework for identifying the extent of cultural overlap in each child's ecology. Such understanding is important for parents, schools and community services dealing with transnational children in Tokyo, as well as providing insights for those in other international education contexts.

Declaration

This work contains no material which has been accepted for the award of any other degree or diploma in any university or other tertiary institution to Donna Marie Velliaris and, to the best of my knowledge and belief, contains no material previously published or written by another person, except where due reference has been made in the text. I give consent to this copy of my thesis, when deposited in the University Library, being made available for loan and photocopying, subject to the provisions of the Copyright Act 1968. I also give permission for the digital version of my thesis to be made available on the web, via the University's digital research repository, the library catalogue, the Australasian Digital Theses Program (ADTP) and also through web search engines, unless permission has been granted by the University to restrict access for a period of time.

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Acknowledgements

One thousand days to learn;
Ten thousand days to refine.
- Japanese Proverb -

This study, like most of life's endeavours, represents a shared effort as well as an individual achievement. As such, I would like to acknowledge the contribution of a number of people.

Dr Margaret Secombe, my principal supervisor, whose guidance, dedication and unfailing belief in the importance of my work provided me with a constant source of support. Her contagious passion for learning, insight and tenacity for never giving up until the job was done correctly, are testaments to her gift for mentoring.

Dr Linda Westphalen, my co-supervisor, for her patience and wisdom dispensed in judicious amounts. Her *genki*-ness allowed me to battle my way through endless days, countless books and blurry screens.

Edward Palmer, whose encouragement made this PhD journey more manageable. By sharing the ups and downs of mine and his own candidature, he made me laugh or provided appropriately soothing noises in my times of angst.

Barbara Brougham, for formatting my thesis and allowing me to look at my research in a new and improved way. She transformed the overall quality of my work to one that I can feel extremely proud.

All Stage 1 respondents and Stage 2 participants who contributed to this study. They let me into their lives and this research could not have been completed without their contribution, interest and generosity.

Finally, I pay tribute to my parents, Michael and Mary Velliaris, who instilled in me the values of pride, hard work and learning. Their love, support and understanding has been one of the main driving forces behind my academic pursuits. May they jointly celebrate in the attainment of this award. This thesis is dedicated to them both!

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Crossing cultures

1.1   Introduction

With the unprecedented ease of travel, the number of individuals vacationing, studying, working and establishing family or business connections outside their home country, has been on the rise over the last two decades. In an age of increasing levels of dual citizenship, family members residing on opposite sides of national borders, labour contracts based on short-term visas, and faster and ever cheaper lines of contact among nations (Ley & Kobayashi, 2005), it is not surprising that there has been a rise in the number of parents who are either internationally-oriented or mobile through their relationships or lifestyle. Such an internationalisation is becoming a challenge to 'the adaptive capacity of families collectively and each of their members individually' (Vercruysse & Chandler, 1992: 68). This is particularly evident in the issue of what form of education these parents select for their children.

Internationally-oriented parents are those whose life experiences have led them to adopt an international outlook even though they may have never lived or worked outside the home country of their birth. If they wish their children to share their international orientation, they seek schools that foster this outlook from the beginning. This usually means sending children to schools where the language of instruction and the prevailing culture is different from those of their parents and of the society in which the family lives.

In contrast, internationally-mobile parents make career decisions—voluntarily or involuntarily—that take them and their children out of their home cultural setting. International relocation is often a complex event that is likely to involve profound changes for family members as a result of disruption to, and disengagement from, the

well-established relationships and the taken for granted cultural and linguistic patterns of their home. The challenge for internationally-mobile parents is to find a school that supports the educational and professional aspirations they hold for their children.

While children from both sorts of families—internationally-oriented and internationally-mobile—may be advantaged by exposure to a wider world perspective or the opportunities of travel, at the same time, they may have a more limited experience of their homeland culture. In other words, they may never know the sort of cultural certainty that children who learn in a single culture at home, school and in the community, often take for granted (Cameron, 2003; McCluskey, 1994; Pollock & Van Reken, 2001). Beare (2001: 12) highlights this as a feature of the rapidly changing world of the twenty-first century and sees the emerging one as 'borderless'. He proposes that as future citizens, children will be living in a multinational and multicultural networked global community, and these changes will have extraordinary implications for families, schools and communities, in a way that may prove culturally destabilising for at least some individuals.

Parents are responsible for the malleable period when children's fundamental sense of self is in development (Sroufe, Cooper, & DeHart, 1996). It is often assumed that young children are able to quickly adapt to new surroundings, as they are 'more context dependent and context vulnerable than older children and adults' (Graue & Walsh, 1995: 139). However, in acculturating to a foreign environment, whether a new school or residential community, children may become influenced in lasting ways. Parental school choice, in particular, may turn out to be a more complex process than it would have been if children had remained within the national system of education in their parental country of birth (MacKenzie, Hayden, & Thompson, 2003: 300). In comparison to their more mono-ethnic and geographically stable counterparts, these children lose the reaffirming

influence that comes when two important cultures in their life, that is school culture and residential country culture, coincide (Eidse & Sichel, 2004).

Internationally-oriented and mobile parents usually cope with international transitions within a given society or across state borders, better than their children (Eidse & Sichel, 2004; McCluskey, 1994; Pascoe, 2006; Pollock & Van Reken, 2001). Yet, much of what influences children emanates from outside the realms of the family, such as their school and residential community networks. Significantly, it is parents who engage in the process of negotiating the multiple dimensions of what may be called their children's 'developmental ecology' (Bronfenbrenner, 1979), in which school and residential community are primary influences.

The focus of this research, carried out in the cosmopolitan context of Tokyo, was twofold. The first was to ascertain the effects of international orientation in local families and the education of their children in particular. The second was to investigate the effects of international mobility upon the social and educational development of children who experience their childhood in a foreign environment, usually another country. Both such children face

> …new patterns of verbal and non-verbal communication, accommodating to a new educational system, establishing new social networks, adjusting to new customs and standards of normative behaviour. (Vercruysse & Chandler, 1992: 68)

The children in this research needed to negotiate the differences to which they had been introduced through an unfamiliar setting, whether school or societal, and all of these new influences had to be dealt with over and above the usual developmental issues common to children the world over.

1.2   A personal narrative

My own experience of crossing cultures in pursuit of educational and professional goals has been a significant influence in the formulation of this study. I have encountered many of the issues that face internationally-oriented and mobile families, especially in the social and educational context of Tokyo, an environment vastly different from my own home culture. Personal links to this topic have been a valuable source of insight and imbued me with the drive to see this thesis to its fruition. In order to validate the genesis of my research within an autoethnographic framework (Ellis & Bochner, 2000), I present some personal experiences and reflections, which support the notion that there are unique outcomes that can emerge as the result of lived cross cultural experiences. The following personal narrative depicts my engagement with the issues at the heart of this study.

Upon having children, my European-born parents were keen to assimilate into Australian society and chose to speak only English in the home. My Macedonian language skills never developed and my ability to communicate with all four of my Non-English-Speaking Background (NESB) grandparents came to an abrupt halt at five years of age. Today, I am still unable to communicate in my parents' native tongue and my inability to speak this language is more often seen as a sign of ignorance rather than of circumstance. Luke exemplified this tendency by stating:

> Ascriptions of linguistic competence are commonly linked in people's minds to visible racial/ethnic markers; if you look Chinese, you must be able to speak Chinese. When assumed linguistic competence fails to match a visibly 'obvious' ethnic identity, a sense of cultural in-groupness fractures and the ethnic linguistic 'incompetent' speaker can suddenly find themself repositioned outside the culturally distinct 'us'. (Luke, 2003: 389)

Integrating aspects of my parents' cultural background with my residential country culture, I have created a personally blended 'other' culture for myself; elements from

both these cultures and additional cultures are merged into my personal identity,[1] which is a unique fusion of my many reference groups.

My preference to incorporate Macedonian as a recognised 'reference group' for who I am (Vandenbroeck, 1999: 22) has been a struggle. Further, if I had to say whether I am a 'typical' Australian or Macedonian, I would probably answer 'no' to both.

> No child assimilates to one culture… Along with their socialisation, children and young people find elements from different sources that encourage them to look critically at certain norms, institutions, symbols, languages, and social relationships. This makes them want to exist in their own right, instead of assuming the role that has been outlined by others. (Vandenbroeck, 1999: 27)

It is unrealistic and problematic to limit my personal identity to ethnic and linguistic markers alone. Nor, on the other hand, am I limited to gender, family and professional markers. I am sensitive to the fact that I am a combination of a number of important reference groups and I believe that individuals should be able to decide for themselves to which groups they wish to actively belong and what significance they have (Vandenbroeck, 1999: 25). I possess backgrounds among which there are similarities, as well as differences; that are not fixed, but are still evolving. Furthermore, my behaviour is not only culturally influenced, but also affected by genetic, psychological and socio-economic variables.

At 16 years of age, I added another reference group to my personal identity. I applied to be an international exchange student and my parents allowed me to proceed with the interview process. However, upon the announcement that I was the first choice candidate, their real fears were made clear. Their initial reaction was that I should thank

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1   Here, 'identity' has been conceived in a holistic rather than fragmented way. As Vandenbroeck (1999: 29) recorded, 'identity is not static, but is dynamic, multi-faceted and active. It is never completed and is a personal mixture of past and future, of fact and fiction, creatively rewritten into an ever changing story'.

the sponsors for their time and politely decline the offer. My counter argument was that I had been presented with a wonderful opportunity that necessitated serious consideration before I would willingly retract my application. Fortunately, my parents agreed and dedicated several days to the decision-making process. To scrutinise the 18 countries on my choice list, they consulted family, friends, professionals and other acquaintances. I felt proud that my parents were not persuaded by the extended family or others, as I would have surely been prevented from participating in a program that has contributed enormously to the person I am today.

After deliberation, my parents sat me down to present their decision. First, they addressed all the reasons against sending me to certain countries on the list, rejecting many on the grounds of perceived dangerous locales, distance from Australia, freezing climates, and greater sexual freedom. Finally, they announced that 'Japan' appeared to have an excellent social and educational reputation, and it was the 'only' country they considered plausible. I distinctly recall them referring to Japan as a place worth spending one year of my life. I had never studied Japan or the Japanese language, and in actuality, I was hardly concerned with the choice of country. As this was my first overseas journey, I did not have any preconceived expectations apart from the belief that this experience would somehow be 'glamorous—romantic—as seen through foreign eyes; distance on both sides lends enchantment' (Eidse & Sichel, 2004: 11).

My arrival at the Tokyo International Airport was immediately followed by a transfer to the *Immigration Bureau* of the local *Municipal Ward Office* in the city in which I would be living over the next 12 months. Foreigners intending to stay in Japan for more than 90 days must register their presence within the 90 days of their arrival. I was photographed and fingerprinted numerous times in order to obtain my *Certificate of Alien Registration*[2]

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2   The term 'alien' in the Japanese *Alien Registration Law* refers to those persons not in the possession of Japanese nationality (Ministry of Justice, 2006). More information pertaining to the *Certificate of Alien Registration* will be provided in Chapter Two section 2.2.3.

in the form of an identity card that I would need to carry at all times. Wearing the same clothes I had worn on the flight over, my disturbed expression was coupled with a large thumb print, hardly what I had envisaged to be glamorous or romantic only 24 hours earlier.

Despite my yearnings for early autonomy and opportunities for individual development beyond the scope of my family, relocating to Japan in the 1980s proved more difficult than I could have ever imagined. My previous life experiences had not prepared me for the completely disparate lifestyle into which I had thrown myself. Suddenly, I had a Japanese mother, a Japanese father, a Japanese school and a Japanese residency. While my host father spoke a touch of English, I was propelled into an environment that had no other familiarity. As much as I thought the orientation sessions in Australia had equipped me for my year abroad, I had remained ignorant of the potential for this experience to alter my 'developmental ecology' (Bronfenbrenner, 1979).

The public Japanese senior high school I was to attend had a student population of 3,000. On my first day, I was escorted to the assembly hall and led onto an elevated stage, where I was instructed to deliver my introductory speech in the Japanese language. While the cue cards were written in *Romaji*,[3] I had no knowledge of the pronunciation or meaning of the expressions I had been given to read. Looking out onto a sea of perfectly amassed, black-haired pupils, seated in deathly silence and *seiza,*[4] I delivered those strange words in sheer terror and in my new school uniform that, at the time, felt like a fancy dress costume.

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3   *Romaji* is the Romanisation or use of the Latin alphabet to write the Japanese language. It is used in any context where Japanese text is targeted at those who do not know the language (Yamada, Matsuura, & Yanase, 1988: 230). It must be noted that the Japanese language does not use capitalisation or word spaces (except for children), whereby all word collation is *kana-by-kana*. However, throughout this thesis, the Romanised version of Japanese vocabulary adheres to English language conventions.

4   Japanese *seiza* represents *sei* 'quiet' and *za* 'sitting'. To sit in *seiza* position, one first kneels and then sits back with the buttocks resting on the heels. The tops of the feet lie flat on the floor, the back is straight, and hands are folded in the lap (Reynolds & De Vos, 1982: 78).

Although my placement was on the outskirts of Tokyo, I could not walk down the street without drawing enormous attention to myself. For the first six months I was incredibly self-conscious and aware of my visible differences, yet there were countless times thereafter when I would forget those differences until someone made them known to me. In fact, in the latter part of the year, I came to question whether I stood out from the crowd at all, especially considering my dark hair and being of a comparable height to the majority of Japanese girls. My experience was consistent with those who

> …take a split sense of identity from their experiences, meaning that they may feel as though they are different people in different cultures… the concept of 'home' is often described more as an emotional location than a geographical location. (Stultz, 2002: 2-3)

As more time passed, with deeper cultural immersion, I began to question *Who am I? Where is home?* Issues of personal and national identity became real and first hand for me.

Indeed, one year later, as I hesitantly prepared to return to my 'Australian home', I felt a strong split sense of 'identity' and 'loyalty' (Eidse & Sichel, 2004: 35). I was keen to catch-up with one girl whom I had become good friends in Australia during the preparatory phase of my candidature, and who had spent her year abroad in Europe. I eagerly awaited our meeting at the Tokyo International Airport. Alarmingly, I was approached by someone who bore little resemblance to the person I had known. She had been transformed from a friendly yet shy teenager, to one who wore outrageous clothing, lit up a cigarette, had her face pierced and communicated in vulgar vocabulary. She scared me physically and emotionally, and after a mere 12 months I wondered what her parents would think when they were finally reunited. I certainly pondered what could have happened if our placements had been reversed.

My interest and curiosity in cross cultural experiences did not end there. Twelve years later, following countless trips to and from Japan and now a qualified teacher, I considered that my career would benefit from international experience and Tokyo seemed the obvious choice. I had contacts, an appreciation of the culture, and was familiar with the environment. My Japanese communicative skills were strong and I felt ready to embark on a new challenge.

I gained employment at an international school[5] in central Tokyo, catering to the educational needs of students from Nursery through to Year 9, predominantly from the United Kingdom (UK). Located in *Shibuya-ku* [Shibuya ward in Tokyo] amidst the most densely built-up city environment, the student population included a spectrum of ethnic backgrounds, with approximately 30 nationalities represented. Due to the nature of foreign employment in Tokyo, pupils stayed on average for less than three years and annual student attrition was between one-quarter and two-fifths of the population. Over my five years of teaching there, my duties included appointments to all three levels of the campus: the Early Years, the Middle School and the Upper School. Hence, I witnessed the comings and goings of a large number of children.

From 2002–2003, my first 'Principal' had regularly referred to the school as an international community that encouraged acceptance of a wide cross-section of the local and foreign community, as well as a multicultural staff. In vast contrast, the new 'Headteacher' [sic] who arrived two years into my appointment, desired the school to be purely British and did not actively promote tolerance and empathy for international values. From the commencement of his tenure, this Head avoided hiring non-British educators, attempted to phase out all pre-existing multicultural staff, and promptly

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5   I do not name the international school I was employed from 2002–2006 in Tokyo, so as not to contravene the agreement of anonymity between the researcher and Stage 1 questionnaire respondents and Stage 2 interview participants who may have been recruited from that school community.

changed the admissions policy for prospective students. The staff who survived soon discovered that the school was involved in 'unilateral internationalism' (Cambridge & Thompson, 2004: 164; Leach, 1969: 12), meaning that its sole mission was to deliver the National Curriculum of England, transplanted into a different national context.

The Headteacher's leadership mission appeared to be to engender an assimilationist ideology of British traditions, which presupposed that the proper ends of education at the school were reached when the minority group(s), including the Japanese in a Japanese context, no longer existed or at least could not be differentiated (Carter, 2006; McAdoo, 1993) from the British. Vandenbroeck (1999: 103) asserts that if a school does not deal with diversity in the community, it runs the risk that people from other ethnic groups will not register there, because they feel that they will not be valued in that environment.

The school suddenly became a British 'cultural bubble' (Cambridge & Thompson, 2004: 165), that attempted to isolate the parent community from exposure to the external Japanese residential culture. The school was rapidly transformed into an educational institution primarily designed and run for the smoothest transition, and most swift integration possible, to and from UK schools worldwide in case of future relocation, and to schools in the UK in case of repatriation. The assimilationist ethos fostered by the new Headteacher ensured that in most instances, any intercultural interaction remained at the social level.

Originally, diversity within my international school had been omnipresent and as a teacher it provided the perfect opportunity to enhance the socialisation and education of students. An international school can promote the 'merging of people from different paths of life… in a host country [and] can minimise social and ideological differences' (Cameron, 2003: 130). While the socialising task of a school does not lie in replicating social inequalities or cultural dominance in the broader community, in general, schools

are mini-societies that can provide a snapshot of how certain adults think about the world (McAdoo, 1993).

Anecdotally, the change in my school's demographics as a snapshot of how the new Headteacher was thinking appeared to be an example of 'racism by omission' (Vandenbroeck, 1999: 103-104). This process can occur when

> …certain groups are underrepresented or absent from the children's schools… whether in the physical environment, or at certain levels of human environment (for example the presence or absence of teachers, caregivers or other people in managerial roles from a group with which individuals identify themselves), it may give children a certain message about the importance/unimportance of themselves and others. (Targowska, 2005: 93)

The Head's actions proved detrimental as he chose to introduce social inequality into the learning environment, rather than accept the natural social balance that was present in the community. His overt nationalism severely restricted cross cultural relations, as a monocultural school in an international environment may have implications for international children's development if their self-concept or identification does not appear to be valued.

After 2004, the school catered to the pragmatic needs of dual parent British passport holders and did not generally cater to a wide cross-section of clientele, regardless of any association with the UK. In many cases, I found non-British clientele more passionate members of the school community, given the fact that most of them had chosen to pay the exorbitant tuition fees from their own pockets. Nonetheless, they did not appear to be nearly as valued despite the number of years they had invested in the school. Fortunately, the school did not need to compete for student enrolments as the number of applicants well exceeded the quota. Nonetheless, many staff and families departed this school shortly after his arrival in numbers well above the normal attrition rates.

The above narrative offers a synopsis, organised in part chronologically and in part conceptually, of my cross cultural experiences. In sharing my own memories and the feelings of the impact of crossing cultures on two significant stages of my life, I have attempted to link my personal motivation to pursue this study as it was the 'process of opening inward that allow[ed] me to reach outward toward understanding' (Berger, 2001: 515).

1.3   Definition of key terms

In this section, select key terms centred on their importance and frequency of use in this study are defined. Vocabulary specifically related to the conceptual framework are addressed in Chapter Three and a general *Glossary of Terms* has been provided at the front of this thesis for ease of reference.

- *internationally-oriented*

    This term refers to many of the Japanese parents in this study who, to some extent, have rejected the Japanese homogenised imperative of cultural uniformity and see themselves as 'internationally-oriented'. Though they may or may not have lived abroad as a family, they tend to have had international experiences and be functionally fluent in English.

- *internationally-mobile*

    This term communicates the essential characteristic of many of the Japanese intercultural and non-Japanese parents who participated in this investigation. They may come from any country and move frequently for varied reasons, but predominantly for employment purposes (Gerner, 1992: 198).

- *international parents*

    All the parents who contributed to this study are referred to as 'international parents'. Apart from sections of this thesis that are focused specifically on the

three main family types, namely Japanese, Japanese intercultural and non-Japanese (as well as their subgroups), international parents will be used as the collective term of reference.

- *parent(s)*

    Although 'parent' includes those with 'legal, quasi-legal custodianship, whether biological, adoptive, or foster parents of the child' (Henderson, Marburger, & Ooms, 1986: 18), I purposefully chose to study biological mothers and fathers. The inclusion of both was pertinent to my examination of international parents who are collectively responsible for their children's transition(s) abroad. The constructs examined in this study applied equally to mothers and fathers as a means of establishing the cultural ecology of the only or eldest child in each family (McAdoo, 1993: 300). I recognised that other family members, such as step-children, adoptive, step-parent, grandparent-led, cohabiting and live-in helpers to cite a few of the family constellations, could have been included, but I decided that they were beyond the scope of this study.

- *child(ren)*

    I use 'child' and 'children' to refer to the beneficiaries of parental involvement; a heterogeneous population of predominantly school-aged individuals who included preschoolers and adolescents between the ages of 2-18 years. Understandably, within this population, children may vary in how they are affected by changes in their social and educational ecologies, their understanding of those changes, and their capacity to respond adaptively.

- *transnational child(ren)*

    The term 'transnational' was adopted from Basch, Schiller and Blanc (1994: 7) who explained it as the 'process by which immigrants [children] forge and sustain multi-stranded social relations that link together their societies of origin and

settlement'. International parents 'take actions, make decisions, and develop subjectivities and identities embedded in networks of relationships that connect them [children] simultaneously to two or more nation states' (Basch et al., 1994: 7).

- *school choice*

    The concept of 'school choice' is centred on parents being able to decide how and where their children will be educated. In this thesis, school choice denotes the propensity of parents to implement their concerns about the beliefs, norms, rituals, traditions, and values (Fail, Thompson, & Walker, 2004: 333) to which their children will be exposed. As will be made evident in Chapter Two, there is much school choice available to international parents in Tokyo.

- *school cultural background*

    Schooling is an integral part of a typical child's environment from infancy through to late adolescence. The term 'school' includes the buildings, the academic and administrative staff, and other children together with their families who may establish contact. School culture involves the 'tangible and intangible qualities' (Wright & Smith, 1998: 155) of the school structure and its personnel who contribute to a sense of empathy, cohesiveness, safety, and other perceived attributes. These influences affect everything that goes into them such as staff attire, how members speak, and their practice of instruction. In this thesis, 'school culture' refers to the 'stream of norms, values, beliefs, traditions, and rituals that have built up over time… This highly enduring web of influence binds the school together and makes it special' (Fail et al., 2004: 333). Collectively, the people involved develop, modify and continue the nature of the school culture.

- *residential country culture*

  There are two major uses of the term 'community' (Gusfield, 1975; McMillan & Chavis, 1986; Osterman, 2000), which are the 'geographical' notion of community, that is the neighbourhood; and the 'relational' notion of community, that is the interpersonal relationships without reference to location. These two usages refer to the upholding of common values such as 'a feeling that members have of belonging, a feeling that members matter to one another and to the group, and a shared faith that members' needs will be met through their commitment to be together' (McMillan & Chavis, 1986: 9). In this thesis, 'residential country culture' should be interpreted as the geographical Tokyo [Japanese] residential community, defined by the socially shared boundaries of the international parents who participated in this study.

- *family, school and community partnerships*

  Parents' interest in their children's education has been described in many ways, including 'participation, involvement, cooperation, collaboration, integration, and partnership' (Driessen, Smit, & Sleegers, 2005: 510). Several of these terms, however, do not inherently signify 'mutuality'. In this thesis, 'partnerships' was the term of choice for reference to the overlap of family, school and community, as it presupposes shared interests that strengthen and support one other, and produce outcomes that should signify an improvement in the social and educational development of children (Driessen et al., 2005; Epstein, 1995; Epstein & Hollifield, 1996).

1.4   The present study

The increasing number of international families, particularly in Tokyo, necessitates research into the experiences of the parents responsible for their children's school and

residential choices. The research problem of this thesis is best summarised by the following extract:

> Parenting is a challenging art, especially in view of the rapidly changing, shrinking world in which we live… [International parents] have additional complexities that they must manage, including… easing their children's cross cultural adjustments… and operating in new roles and under different rules than their parents did. The most successful international parents are those who recognize, understand, and respond to their children's individual reactions to moves, who listen to and selectively follow the advice of those who have 'been there' and who prepare thoroughly before embarking on any international endeavour. (McCluskey, 1994: 32-33)

It should be noted that the international lifestyle of these families can be seen to set them apart from other cultural groups, such as immigrants, refugees and minority communities (Cameron, 2003: 21; Nette & Hayden, 2007: 435).

1.4.1 Research question

It is parents who decide the process of negotiating the multiple dimensions of their children's 'developmental ecology' (Bronfenbrenner, 1979), particularly in terms of choice of schooling and residential community. From this potentially problematic situation stemmed the initial question that guided this study:

> Q1.   What is the nature and extent of the cross cultural influences on the transnational children of international parents in Tokyo, and how does this affect parental school choice?

1.4.2 Research aim

The aim of this research was twofold: to present an analysis of the families' cross cultural experiences that international parents shared with the researcher, and to develop an in depth understanding of the means by which a group of international parents in Tokyo selected schooling for their children. This study sought to fill a gap in the

literature by applying to these international families a conceptual framework for analysing the extent to which 'family', 'school' and 'community' partnerships overlapped to provide the contexts for the social and educational development of their children.

Two stages were designed to address different aspects of the research question stated above. Stage 1 questionnaires gathered information to identify potential issues of interest and the degree of cultural complexity involved. Relying solely on questionnaire data to ascertain how international parents chose schooling for their children in Tokyo, was not expected to provide a rich understanding of their experiences. Stage 2 interviews, therefore, were intended to elicit from such parents more detailed information and move towards a fuller appreciation of international parenting and transnationalism.

1.4.3   Research objectives

This study involved personally networking with international families in Tokyo, in order to collect original data from parents about their experiences of living and working there, and of their children's schooling. Three research objectives were identified and are cited below:

- to investigate the extent of cultural and linguistic diversity among international families residing in Tokyo

- to analyse the cross cultural influences on transnational children of international parents in Tokyo

- to document the strategies of international parents in Tokyo in the selection of schooling for their children and their subsequent evaluations of that choice.

This study sought to draw upon extant research, theory and practice to help create a framework that will better support and guide the rising population of international families and the organisations that assist them.

1.5 Research assumptions and delimitations

1.5.1 Assumptions

This research was conceptualised within the broader context of a globalised world, where change and discontinuity are common features. The potential problematic situation of leading an international lifestyle can be seen to require the combined attention and effort of all those involved in the developmental ecology of transnational children (Bronfenbrenner, 1979: 21). As will be described in detail in Chapter Three, an ecological approach provided the opportunity to

> ...evaluate the whole picture of the child and his or her family. The child who struggles to cope in one school may simply be reacting to a new peer group, new school and or change of pace and curriculum. The student who moves from a small ten-child village school in Scotland to a large international complex of 2000 plus pupils in a multicultural city like Hong Kong will experience some transition issues... The unravelling of a complex family situation together with cultural and linguistic issues can present as a significant challenge. (Hoover-Dempsey & Sandler, 1997: 5)

Moreover, many internationally-mobile families relocate or repatriate during the early formative period of their children's development.

Presumably, parents have intimate knowledge of their children and their specific abilities, habits, interests and desires. In making a choice of schools, international parents need to complement their knowledge about their children with their knowledge of educational programs that appear to offer the best results for their children. Parents' educational choice rests on what they have come to understand as being potentially

optimal for their children in both familiar and unfamiliar environments. However, while some parents are

> …explicitly reflective, aware, and active in relation to their decisions about being involved in their children's education; in other circumstances, they appear to respond to external events or unevaluated demands from significant aspects of the environment… the latter circumstances also represent parental choice, even if implicit. (Hoover-Dempsey & Sandler, 1997: 6)

The social and educational development of children can be viewed as one of continuous adjustment and adaptation to the forces in which international parents have chosen for their transnational children to engage.

Research supports the idea that parental involvement in children's education declines over time (D. L. Stevenson & Baker, 1987; Wright & Smith, 1998). With this in mind, there were a number of advantages associated with focusing on parental influences on transnational children in the younger years. Stevenson and Baker (1987: 1356) maintain that parents may 'disengage from school activities once the child is on the 'right track'… and feel more competent to help younger children than older ones'. Concentrating on parent decision-making and its effects on the development of children when parents tend to be most engaged, presented a type of 'best case' scenario.

1.5.2   Delimitations

Among the conscious exclusionary parameters of this research were the following factors. First, from a practical research perspective, the international family can be viewed as one of the hardest to contact (Cameron, 2003; Schaetti, 2000). Studies that span multiple countries run into several challenges such the ability to find a large enough group of respondents, budget limitations, and the time it takes for data collection. For the purpose of this study, Tokyo was the only research context chosen, due largely to the fact that Japan continues to represent a comparatively homogenous nation and

cultural identity is more clearly defined than in a country as ethnically diverse as Australia.

Second, literature was primarily examined within the realm of educational sociology with an appreciation that other disciplines, such as developmental psychology, offered significant information about critical elements of parental decision-making processes with regards to their children's education (Hoover-Dempsey & Sandler, 1997: 5). However, the questions and methods of inquiry that have guided much psychological research have characteristically employed controlled methods of family investigation whereby 'the classical psychological experiment allows for only two participants [such as mother and child]... In most real-life settings, there are usually more than two people acting in more than two roles' (Bronfenbrenner, 1976: 9). An ecological perspective was utilised and this study took a more 'non-deterministic vantage point, that is, a does not cause b' (Greene & McGuire, 1998: 10).

Third, if school choice is made on the child's behalf by caring parents whose motivation is enhancement of the child, then there is intent by the parents that the child grows strong in a particular way. Knowledge about the child was known more intimately by parents than by any others. Through the bond and the practices of parenting, parents gain extensive and intimate knowledge about their young child. Human judgment and experience are personal. The effects of a decision can be part of an on-going process of development which continues long afterward (Adams, 2004: 470). Hence, focus was not on the forces that have shaped the transnational children's development in the past, but on those that were operating in the present to influence them today and tomorrow (Bronfenbrenner & Evans, 2000: 117).

1.6   Research significance

1.6.1   Personal

The personal significance and motivation to commence this study were realised during the period when I was teaching at an international school in Tokyo. My own reflection suggested that there were unique qualities that emerged as a result of childhood years abroad. Time and again, I felt a strong connection to my students and their sense of new adventure coupled with displacement. However, 'age has an influence on the way children feel when they are relocated, as do the number and frequency of relocations' (Eidse & Sichel, 2004: 11). In hindsight, I consider myself fortunate to have been 17 years old when I first travelled to Japan, to have already completed my compulsory formative schooling, and to have experienced only one global transition from Australia. These variables further prompted my empathy and curiosity in relation to living a transient lifestyle.

The parents with whom I associated had high career aspirations as well as the best childrearing intentions, however, in concert with an international lifestyle came varying degrees of productive and/or unproductive partnerships among family, school and community. Over a five year period, informal observation suggested that the parents of the students in my classes had placed varying levels of priority upon the education of their children. Yet, it was the parents' responsibility to steer their children through the states of increasing cultural complexity onto a steady path.

The movement towards continued and increased globalisation has meant that international parents need to improve their 'intercultural competence' (Hill, 2006; Lo Bianco, Liddicoat, & Crozet, 1999; Stier, 2003; Taylor, 1994a, 1994b) as decisions are made that will inevitably impact on the lives of their children. Taylor (1994a: 154) describes intercultural competency as 'an adaptive capacity based on an inclusive and

integrative worldview which allows participants to effectively accommodate the demands of living in a host culture'.

1.6.2 Intellectual

The intellectual significance of this study lies in the systematic investigation of the way cultural influences experienced by transnational children may impact upon them, and in particular, the nature of the relations among family, school and community in a foreign setting. Parents, as the first educators, communicate the many aspects of their culture to children in different ways, but as previously stated, much of what influences them emanates from outside the realm of the family to include school and residential community networks. Schools for their part, do not develop in a cultural vacuum and so, schools, staff, curriculum and how teaching and learning are pursued also reflect cultural values and beliefs. The residential community may reinforce parental norms and school practices, because the conduct of a given group tends to be influenced by a set of accepted cultural values and beliefs. What has not been fully understood is the way these different systems of primary influence interconnect to form a developmental 'context' for transnational children.

1.6.3 Practical

An important practical significance of this study was that it gave voice to international parents in Tokyo. Unlike my own first experience in Japan, residing in Tokyo today does not challenge people to adapt to the unfamiliar in every aspect of their lives. Nevertheless, parents who have stepped onto a plane with their children for a temporary, semi-permanent or permanent experience abroad, can suddenly become responsible for a multicultural family despite each member holding the same national passport (Pascoe, 2006). Whether these families choose to become fully immersed in the surrounding host culture or not, their children still grow up in and amongst cultures other than their own or their parents'.

Analysis and discussion of the research data was designed to be descriptive, informative and analytical, in order to better understand the factors of internationalisation and their impact on transnational children in the Tokyo context. It was anticipated that such a systematic understanding of the impact of this lifestyle on the development of transnational children would lead to recommendations of ways to support parents, teachers, schools and community services that contribute to their socialisation and education in cosmopolitan urban centres such as Tokyo.

1.7   Thesis structure

This thesis has been organised into seven chapters. In Chapter One, I included an autoethnographic background explaining my personal motivation to pursue this research. This introductory chapter has presented the broad context for, and an outline of, the nature and direction of this study by elucidating key terms, the primary research question, as well as delineating the aim, objectives, assumptions, delimitations and significance of this work.

Chapter Two reviews the literature on international families in the Tokyo context. Organisation of information traces the ongoing discourse about the foreign population in Tokyo, international families, their transnational children, and parental choices of schooling in that environment. It establishes the context for this research and contributes to an understanding of international parenting through an interdisciplinary approach that integrates educational and sociological research.

Chapter Three introduces the concepts underpinning this study. Parent decision-making is rooted within two theories of the human ecological development of children, namely Bronfenbrenner's (1979) *Ecological Systems Theory* and Epstein's (1987) *Overlapping Spheres of Influence*. These theories focus on family, school and community links and functionality. An ecological perspective was considered important in terms of its

emphasis on the interactive dynamics among person, process and context over time, and also in terms of its emphasis on proximal processes in driving development. This study adopted an implicitly socio-cultural perspective on learning, recognising that the learning which takes place within any given cultural setting, is mediated by the tools, experiences and individuals of that particular group. Together, both models enabled formulation of an original adaptation of a conceptual framework for collection and analysis of the research data.

Chapter Four outlines the methodological influences and orientations that guided this study. The research methods are explicated and the strategies for data collection and analysis are detailed. How data were analysed, interpreted, organised and presented are also addressed, along with ethical considerations.

Chapter Five documents the results of Stage 1 questionnaires and Chapter Six analyses the Stage 2 interview data. Both are organised around four key themes, namely (a) Factors in internationalisation, (b) Location of home, (c) Language socialisation, and (d) Parental school choice. These two chapters build upon the conceptual framework established in Chapter Three as a means of analysing, interpreting, organising and presenting the research data.

The final chapter, Chapter Seven, discusses the collective findings of Chapters Five and Six. In particular, the relationship between the family's cultural ecology and parental choice of schooling is highlighted, together with a discussion of the conceptual and methodological limitations of this study. This chapter concludes with a consideration of the intellectual and practical implications for researchers, educators and policy-makers, several recommendations for future research, and a final reflection.

International families in Tokyo

2.1   Introduction

A range of carefully selected scholarly works were surveyed in order to refine understanding of topics relevant to this research. The discussion below has been organised under four main headings: (2.2) Cosmopolitan Tokyo; (2.3) International families; (2.4) Transnational children; and (2.5) Parental school choice, all sited within the Tokyo context. Exploration of these topics identified gaps in the literature related to the research question indicated in Chapter One.

There was no single body of research that encapsulated the range of knowledge upon which this study could have been based. Boote and Beile call attention to the fact that

> …a thorough, sophisticated research of literature is even more important in education research, with its messy, complex problems, than in most other fields and disciplines… in education research we are often faced with the challenge of communicating with a diverse audience, and it is very difficult for us to assume shared knowledge, methodologies, or even commonly agreed-upon problems. (Boote & Beile, 2005: 3-4)

Despite this challenge, the aim of this review of the relevant literature was threefold: (a) to set the context and clearly demarcate what was and was not within the scope of the research; (b) to situate this study in a broad scholarly perspective; and (c) to summarise and synthesise the literature in a way that would encourage the development of an effective conceptual framework, thereby improving the quality and usefulness of this thesis for subsequent research (Boote & Beile, 2005: 4). The first two points are dealt with in this chapter, while the third is covered in Chapter Three.

2.2   Cosmopolitan Tokyo

Japan comprises four main islands, *Hokkaido, Honshu, Shikoku* and *Kyushu*, which together with 4,000 small islands, cover a land area of 377,835 square kilometres. Data derived from 2007 showed that Japan's total population was over 127 million people,[6] which made-up 1.9 per cent of the world's total population and was the tenth highest globally (Ministry of Internal Affairs and Communications, 2009). Based on total land area, Japan's population density has been estimated at 342 people per square kilometre, although two-thirds of the nation is mountainous and not easily habitable. In actuality, the population density is expected to be much higher.

As a thriving cosmopolitan metropolis, Tokyo is one of Japan's 47 Prefectures[7] and encompasses 23 *ku* [wards] or municipalities.[8] Although each ward is administratively a city in its own right, collectively they constitute the area called 'Tokyo' or 'greater Tokyo'.[9] One of the largest cities in the world with a resident population of approximately eight million and a daytime population of as many as 12 million (Ministry of Internal Affairs and Communications, 2009), the daily rise in people is attributed to commuters who have been calculated to include

> …650,000 from the Tama district, 970,000 from Kanagawa Prefecture, 1,050,000 from Saitama Prefecture, 870,000 from Chiba Prefecture, 80,000 from Ibaraki Prefecture, and 70,000 from other prefectures. This makes a total of 3,690,000 commuters every working day. (Hirooka, 2000: 24)

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6   Japan's population is changing. Not only is it rapidly ageing (by 2025, 27.3% or 33.2 million people will be aged over 60), but its continued low birth rate means that the population is projected to shrink from 127 million in 2008 to 102 million in 2050 (Chapple, n.d.: 4).

7   Japan has three levels of government: national, prefectural and municipal. Japan is divided into 47 prefectural areas and these are further divided into approximately 3,000 municipalities (Abe & Alden, 1988: 430).

8   The municipality is the basic unit for Japanese administrative services including public health and preventive health services (Fukuda et al., 2004: 2437).

9   Greater Tokyo is composed of 23 wards, 26 cities, five towns and eight villages (International Communication Committee, 2006).

In 2007, the population density of Tokyo was recorded as 5,750 people per square kilometre (Ministry of Internal Affairs and Communications, 2009).

Table 2.1   Major cities of Japan and their approximate populations (Japanese National Tourism Organization, 2009)

NOTE:
This table is included on page 28
of the print copy of the thesis held in
the University of Adelaide Library.

Notwithstanding the fact that Japan prides itself as being a homogeneous nation, Tokyo as the capital has been increasingly exposed to international flows of capital, goods, ideas, information, technology—and perhaps most significantly—people.

2.2.1   The perception of ethnic homogeneity

Japan has a reputation for being one of the most ethnically homogeneous populations in the world (Kim, 2002; Lu, Menju, & Williams, 2005; Tarumoto, 2002, 2003; Willis, 2002). Tsuneyoshi (2004a: 56), however, has claimed that image to be more 'simplistic than realistic'. Since the 1970s, there has been an influx of other Asian and South American foreigners to Japan in the form of workers, immigrants, refugees and Japanese spouses (Tsuda, 1998, 2003, 2004). The resultant diversification and coexistence of different cultures has prompted the rearrangement of group relationships and brought to the forefront issues such as Japanese citizenship, nationality and identity. New social categories have been, and are continuing to be, constructed or deconstructed as the majority of Japanese society attempts a 're-examination of mainstream assumptions'

about foreigners living in Japan, primarily to situate them in the larger societal landscape (Lu et al., 2005: 132).

According to R. Yoshida (2008), data derived from the Japanese Ministry of Health, Labor and Welfare (MHLW) in 2006 indicated that the number of 'registered' foreign residents grew by 50 per cent over the previous decade to 2.08 million, accounting for 1.63 per cent of Japan's total population. The increase in foreign population has been significant to the point that the Japanese term *gaijin*[10] or 'foreigner' can no longer be taken to refer to two ethnic groups, namely Koreans[11] and Chinese (Lu et al., 2005; Tsuneyoshi, 2004a). Two factors were reported as having made the greatest contribution to this growth: Japan as a world economic power and Japanese intercultural marriages.

A world economic power. International businesses involved in expanding their products and imparting expertise across borders have been attracted to Japan as 'an important destination for international migration, being seen as an economic power that provides a great volume of job opportunities' (Takao, 2003: 550-551). A strong economy attracts business activity and foreign firms are active in Japan with 69 per cent of head offices located in Tokyo (Higuchi, 2006: 16). Face-to-face interaction for the creation of confidence, trust and reciprocity is a fundamental requisite in Japanese social and professional networks, due to their strong 'in-group'[12] orientation (Huff & Kelley,

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10   *Gaijin* is the colloquial Japanese expression meaning 'foreigner' or 'non-Japanese'. This word is composed of two characters, *gai* meaning 'outside' and *jin* meaning 'person'. Thus, the word literally means 'outside person' (Itoh, 1996: 236).

11   The total population of 'registered' foreigners in Japan is less than two per cent. From this group, the percentage of the largest ethnic group 'Koreans' is below one per cent. The fact that the largest ethnic minority is visibly indistinguishable from ethnic Japanese, and that under assimilation pressure they have tended to adopt Japanese names and speak Japanese, is symbolic of the idea that even if cultural heterogeneity does exist in Japan, it is not of the visible sort which one can identify at a glance. Thus, the illusion of homogeneity continues (Tsuneyoshi, 2004a: 57).

12   The Japanese have such a strong [in] group orientation that has been 'likened to a school of small fish, progressing in orderly fashion in one direction until a pebble dropped into the water breaks this up and sets them off suddenly in the opposite direction, but again in orderly rows' (Reischauer 1998: 136 cited in Kuwayama, 1992: 121).

2003; Peltokorpi, 2007). Professional businesses, such as banking and finance, require real-time intelligence, speed, proximity, concentration and intensity, meaning that oftentimes, skilled foreign employees need to be seconded to Tokyo.

Japanese intercultural marriage. The rise in the number of foreigners in Tokyo is also attributed to the increase in the number of Japanese nationals marrying non-Japanese nationals. Data again derived from the Japanese MHLW in 2006, indicated that 6.1 per cent of marriages in Japan were international, more than three times the rate 20 years earlier (R. Yoshida, 2008). In fact, one in every ten marriages within Tokyo was calculated to be the union of a Japanese and non-Japanese national. Records may, however, have underestimated the true number as the Japanese MHLW has no systematic method of collecting information on Japanese intercultural marriages occurring overseas and then entering Japan (Burgess, 2004; Nitta, 1988; M. Sato, 2004).

Given these two factors, that is (a) the influx of foreign nationals working in business outposts in Japan, and (b) the increase in number of non-Japanese spouses, the 'quantitative and qualitative changes of international migration have undeniably had an impact on the whole of Japanese society' (M. Sato, 2004: 20).

2.2.2   Accession of Japanese citizenship

Japanese persons. Since the *Meiji-era* (1868–1912),[13] Japan has adopted a *Jus sanguinis*[14] rule for the accession of Japanese citizenship, along with a family registration system (Tarumoto, 2002: 7). Surak (2008: 369) has expressed that accession

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13   The *Meiji-era* (1868–1912) brought about the rapid modernisation of Japanese economic, political and social institutions. Throughout the *Meiji-era*, conflicts arose over how much Japan should emulate or borrow from the West and tensions continued regarding Japan's policy toward foreigners and foreign ideas (Gordon, 2000).

14   *Jus sanguinis* is the Latin for 'right of blood' and the policy by which citizenship is determined not by place of birth, but by having an ancestor who is a national or citizen of the state. *Jus soli* is the Latin for 'right of the soil' or birthright citizenship and the policy by which citizenship is granted to an individual born in the territory of the related state (Aleinikoff & Klusmeyer, 2001; Bertocchi & Strozzi, 2004; Dahlin & Hironaka, 2008).

of Japanese citizenship is 'highly exclusive… under which even ethnic Japanese returnees are not guaranteed easy access to full membership'. Japanese *koseki* or 'Family Registration' is the system by which births, deaths, marriages and divorces of Japanese nationals are recorded. In many ways it a national identity registrar, since Japanese public offices collect and maintain detailed records about all Japanese citizens. Each *koseki* has a 'head' of the family unit, as well as a *honseki-chi*, the owner's symbolic home.

Nikkei-jin are Japanese persons and their descendants who live outside of Japan. The *Kanji*[15] characters for this expression are appropriated from three symbols meaning 'sun-line-people'[16] (Maeda, 2006: 195). The first generation to emigrate from Japan are referred to as *issei,* literally meaning 'first generation'. Similarly, *nisei, sansei* and *yonsei* refer to the second, third and fourth generations respectively (Shibata, 2003: 7). In order to maintain the Japanese family registry, one must know the name of the 'head' and the *honseki-chi* recorded on the *koseki,* which is held at the corresponding municipal office (Japan: Children's Rights Network, 2009).

Japanese intercultural persons. Japanese intercultural children born in Japan or overseas with dual nationality, automatically lose their Japanese citizenship unless the parent or guardian expressly retains it within three months of their birth[17] (Murazumi, 2000: 415). Japanese intercultural children or those who have acquired Japanese

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15   *Kanji* is the writing system originally developed from pictographs used by the Chinese thousands of years ago. Some characters retained their pictographic form and remained similar in appearance to the objects they were intended to represent. Others were developed using combinations of single characters or were formed to represent more abstract ideographs (Morton et al., 1992: 517; Tamaoka et al., 2002: 260).

16   Japanese tradition honours the Emperor of Japan as a descendant of the sun-goddess *Amaterasu*. The tradition of the imperial 'sun-lineage' holds that the goddess installed her grandson as the first ruler of Japan and that his descendants have ruled in unbroken succession down to the present (Kirkland, 1997: 109).

17   The current Japanese law provides that children of Japanese nationals born abroad lose their Japanese nationality retroactively from the time of birth unless a clear indication of intent to reserve Japanese nationality is recorded. This provision applies to births in any foreign country, not only *Jus soli* countries (Murazumi, 2000: 423).

citizenship through their naturalised parents must declare, between the ages of 20-22 years, that they wish to retain their Japanese citizenship (Murazumi, 2000: 422). Once that declaration has been made, they are obligated to renounce any other citizenship (Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Japan, 2008a). Most foreign governments, see this declaration as an 'internal' Japanese administrative issue and since different countries decide who their citizens are based on their own laws, there may be a gap where the acquisition of another citizenship does not render the original one invalid (Aleinikoff & Klusmeyer, 2001). Hence, some people may be considered a citizen by two or more countries even if one or all of them forbids dual or multiple citizenship.

Japanese intercultural adults who wish to retain dual citizenship must apply great caution as they are not permitted to exercise their rights as a foreigner in Japan. The following are termed *Expatriate Acts* and will result in the permanent loss of Japanese citizenship: Japanese nationals departing and returning to Japan on foreign passports; Japanese nationals accepting employment positions intended for foreign nationals; and Japanese nationals applying for visas applicable only to foreign residents (Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Japan, 2008a).

Non-Japanese persons. Naturalisation[18] is a process undertaken by foreign nationals who wish to obtain Japanese nationality. The Japanese *Minister of Justice* must approve all applications for naturalisation and review of documentation generally takes one year using criteria provided in *Article 5* of the Japanese *Nationality Act* (Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Japan, 2008a). This act evaluates applicants against criteria such as: at least 20 years of age and otherwise legally competent; continuous residence in Japan for

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18   Although the naturalisation rate in Japan is increasing, it is still relatively low (0.6% in 1991; 1.0% in 1995) in comparison with other industrial countries. At the turn of the century and 50 years after World War II, many foreign residents in Japan (Koreans in particular) have not been naturalised. This is said to stem from the fact that Japanese nationality is strongly connected to ethnic identity and foreigners may feel that they will lose their own identity in the process (Tarumoto, 2002: 8).

five or more years; sufficient capital or skills either personally or within the family to support oneself; history of good behaviour and no past history of seditious behaviour; and willingness to renounce foreign citizenship (Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Japan, 2008a).

2.2.3 Acquisition of Japanese residency

Japanese intercultural persons. One of the seven categories of Japanese foreign visa is the 'Specified' type. Japanese intercultural spouses, otherwise known as 'dependents', are eligible for this visa, which entitles them to the full privileges of working in Japan and to obtaining national health insurance. This visa is not, however, synonymous with *Permanent Residency* (PR). If a foreign resident is authorised to stay in Japan on a permanent basis, he/she will obtain the *Status of Residence* of *Permanent Resident.*

PR status is determined against criteria such as the person: is of good conduct; observes Japanese laws; does not invite any social criticism; has sufficient assets or ability to make an independent living; and their stay is regarded to be in accordance with the interests of Japan. PR provides more advantageous treatments than other statuses, because it does not limit the holder's period of stay or activities. For this reason, the Japanese *Immigration Control* authority examines these foreign applicants more closely than persons applying for the other visas discussed above (Immigration Bureau of Japan, 2006). As with spouses and dependents of Japanese nationals, spouses and dependents of PR persons are eligible for a 'Specified' visa.

Non-Japanese persons. In contrast to the accession of Japanese citizenship and Japanese naturalisation, foreign acquisition of Japanese residency is relatively straightforward. Non-Japanese passport holders planning to stay in Japan for more than

90 days are obliged to register themselves at their local *Municipal Ward Office*[19] (Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Japan, 2008c). As required by *Alien Registration Law,*[20] the local ward will issue foreign persons with a residency card to be carried at all times in place of a passport. This card enables access to Japanese social services, but must be renewed with every relocation to a different *ku* [ward] and surrendered to *Immigration Control* when departing the country for residency abroad. The length of a foreigner's stay is specified by the dates accompanying their visa status, which is determined by the purpose of their visit to Japan and indicated on their residency card.

Japanese foreign visas are listed under seven distinct categories (Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Japan, 2008b). The first three visas (Diplomatic Official Work) require a *Certificate of Eligibility*[21] issued by a sponsoring organisation. A certificate from a sponsor is a guarantee that the activity the foreigner wishes to engage is valid and indispensable, and that the applicant fulfils conditions as stipulated in the *Immigration Control Act*. The next three visas (Temporary Transit General) do not permit employment, while the final visa (Specified)[22] is conditional and may or may not permit employment. Within these seven distinct categories of foreign visas, the most common is

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19   Applicants who are over 16 years of age are required to apply for a Japanese *Certificate of Alien Registration* in person. For applicants who are under 16 years of age, a person who shares the same 'domicile' can apply on their behalf (International Communication Committee, 2006).

20   *Alien Registration Law* requires that information related to all non-Japanese residents be officially recorded. Foreign persons are then issued a document called a *Certificate of Alien Registration*, and a photographic identification card that is colloquially referred to as *Gaijin Card*. All non-Japanese persons in Japan are required to carry their passport or card at all times (Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Japan, 2008b).

21   A Japanese *Certificate of Eligibility* is issued before a visa application by a regional immigration authority under the jurisdiction of the *Ministry of Justice*, as evidence that the applicant fulfils various conditions of the *Immigration Control Act*. This certificate confirms that the activity in which the foreigner wishes to engage in Japan is valid and comes under a *Status of Residence* (Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Japan, 2008b).

22   Specified status – Activities that are specifically designated by the *Minister of Justice* for foreign individuals. This includes: dependent spouses and children; foreigners privately employed by consular representatives; foreigners under bilateral working holiday agreements; foreign athletes in amateur sports; foreign lawyers in international arbitration affairs; and university students engaged in internships (Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Japan, 2008b).

the 'Work' visa, which is issued for 14 *Status of Residence* (Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Japan, 2008b). The work statuses include: artist; engineer; entertainer; instructor;[23] intra-company transferee; investor/business manager; journalist; legal/accounting services; medical services; professor;[24] religious activities; researcher;[25] skilled labour; and specialist in humanities/international services.[26]

Table 2.2 **Legal foreigners who entered Japan in 2007 by 'work' visa status of residence (Ministry of Internal Affairs and Communications, 2009)**

NOTE:
This table is included on page 35
of the print copy of the thesis held in
the University of Adelaide Library.

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23 Instructor status – Activities that engage in language instruction and other education at elementary, junior and senior high schools; schools for the handicapped and blind; and other miscellaneous schools (Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Japan, 2008b).

24 Professor status – Activities that engage in research; research guidance or education as professor, assistant/associate professor at universities or technical colleges (Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Japan, 2008b).

25 Researcher status – Activities that engage in examinations, surveys and research on the basis of a contract with a public or private organisation in Japan (Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Japan, 2008b).

26 Specialist in Humanities/International Services status – Activities that engage in services that require specific ways of thought or sensitivity based on experience with foreign cultures such as: interpreting; translation; international finance; public relations; and advertising based on a contract with a public or private organisation in Japan (Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Japan, 2008b).

Table 2.2 above, provides data from 2007, which indicates the population of 'legal' foreigners entering Japan according to their work visa statuses. All foreign nationals who reside in Japan must act according to their *Status of Residence* for the period of stay permitted at the time of their entry. If the foreigner wishes to renew their period of stay, change their residential status, or to engage in activities other than those permissible by their status, they are required to follow designated procedures at a local office of the Japanese *Immigration Bureau* (International Communication Committee, 2006).

Non-Japanese children born in Japan are required to have their birth reported to the local *Municipal Ward Office* of the place of birth, together with information pertaining to the parents' registered 'domicile' and where their *Certificate of Alien Registration* was issued. This notification must be submitted within 14 days of the birth by either the mother or the father. As previously stated, children who are born in Japan to non-Japanese parents are still considered foreign nationals and are not entitled to Japanese nationality. Non-Japanese couples, therefore, are required to register newborns for a *Certificate of Alien Registration* (International Communication Committee, 2006).

2.3　International families

Prior to an examination of each international family configuration, several background issues that have particular relevance to the Japanese context are introduced. To avoid repetition, I provide more detail here with less focus in subsequent sections.

International assignees. As international companies compete for new markets, products, technologies and investors, as well as for the best talent, there is the added demand for cross-border deployment of assignees on short and long-term placements. According to Bennett et al. (2000: 239), the reasons underpinning such relocations are varied and include: the development of international skills and knowledge within the workforce; the management of joint ventures; the penetration of new markets through

sales and marketing presence; the supervision of operational start-ups; the transfer of technologies; and the transmission of corporate culture, mission and vision.

Whichever the case, E. Cohen (1977: 24) has suggested that 'expatriates' could be viewed as a 'transient, privileged minority, that gains status by its entrance into the society and hence tends to defend the exclusiveness of the enclave and its institutions from the hosts'. Yang (2007: 3) clarifies, however, that the term 'expatriate' or 'expat' for short, originally referred to the outflow of an employee from a firm's parent country to its foreign operations. Over time, this came to be used as a generic term to describe the flow of all international staff. More accurately though, 'repatriate' refers to an employee returning to the parent country after an international assignment; 'inpatriate' signifies the inflow of a foreign employee to a firm's parent country; and 'transpatriate' is an employee transferred between foreign subsidiaries. For ease of reference, many firms today simply call such employees 'international assignees' (Bennett et al., 2000; Bonache & Zarraga-Oberty, 2008; Morley & Heraty, 2004).

Where individual careers are concerned, 'corporate rhetoric suggests that international experience is essential for promotion to senior management' (Richardson & Mallon, 2005: 410). Employees may, therefore, feel wooed as they reflect on the advantages and disadvantages offered by an international assignment and its potential impact on their professional development and future job prospects (Morley & Heraty, 2004). The literature suggests that international assignments are more likely to be successful if assignees believe that they can choose whether to accept the placement or not. In contrast, assignees who feel 'coerced into taking assignments abroad, perhaps for fear that their careers will suffer, will have negative attitudes towards their new assignment and greater difficulty in adjusting' (Webb & Wright, 1996: 40).

Foreign relocation with family. Harvey (1998: 311) has stated that the vast majority of international assignees are male, with women less likely to being willing to

move for improved job opportunities for themselves. The trailing spouse issue, therefore, tends to focus on the wife's willingness to relocate overseas. According to Ali (2003: 14-15), the cross cultural adjustment of trailing spouses and children is more difficult than the adjustment that international assignees face. While assignees change physical locations, they stay within the stability of the familiar organisational culture, which largely reflects the 'home' culture. They find continuity in their work life, as well as a network of colleagues for support. For a large part of the day and during most of week, they do not come into direct contact with the 'host' culture. On the other hand, trailing spouses and children have no access to organisational continuity, and mainly experience disruption of their personal lives. Furthermore, they receive little help in coping with the daily demands of unfamiliar circumstances. Hence, spousal attitudes and/or predispositions often play a significant role in a couple's eagerness to accept foreign assignments (Harvey, 1995, 1997, 1998; Harvey & Wiese, 1998).

Shaffer et al.'s (2001: 100) study estimated that '80% of international assignees are accompanied by a spouse, children or both'. Similarly, Van Der Zee et al. (2007: 25) posited that '70% of expatriates have children and most of them bring their families along with them during their international business assignments'. Cadden and Kittell (2009: 1) reported that 'two-thirds of employees who turned down an international assignment cited their child's education as the reason for choosing not to move'. Tharenou (2008: 184) concluded that having older children, around high school age, reduced both men and women's willingness to accept international assignments.

Japanese mothers. Since the second half of the twentieth century, Japanese mothers have been known as *kyoiku mamas* or 'education mamas' (Dickensheets, 1996; Knipprath, 2004; Saito, 2006; H. W. Stevenson, 1991). The literature suggests that

schooling is an all-encompassing role for *kyoiku mamas*[27] from when their children reach the age of three years. They strive to provide a nurturing and protective atmosphere for their children's learning, which stems large from Japanese societal norms at large.

> The value placed on the role of women in Japan derives directly from the national consensus that Japan's most important resource is its children, and the nation's most important job is their education… confers great importance on the women who undertake it. The 'good wife' thus has yielded to the 'wise mother' dedicated to the care and education of the children. (White, 1987: 154)

Kyoiku mamas perceive their work as a 'wise mother' as essential. They prepare their children for the characteristically fierce academic examinations common in the Japanese national school system, because they judge themselves and are judged by society on the basis of the academic success of their children (Saito, 2006). Although mothers across the globe help their children with school work, the intense way that *kyoiku mamas* devote their lives to this undertaking has become recognised as a 'purely Japanese phenomenon' (Dickensheets, 1996: 74).

As already alluded, men and women experience different influences on their decision-making about whether to accept an international assignment and women are said to be more receptive to family constraints than men (Linehan, 2002; Tharenou, 2008). In particular, *kyoiku mamas* largely reject the prospect of relocating abroad as they believe that their children will be 'unjustifiably academically disadvantaged' (Fry, 2007: 132) by interruption(s) to a well-established study environment. Certainly, *kyoiku mamas* are more involved in their children's education than Japanese fathers, primarily due to the

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27   In addition, Japanese wives have more or less full charge of the family domain. Customarily, they manage their husband's salary, out of which they dispense his allowance. Besides the household budget, Japanese wives manage their children's daily life, the purchase of all clothing and equipment, as well as the cooking and cleaning. Japanese wives represent their family in local activities, neighbourhood committees, and in the Parent-Teacher Association (PTA) (White, 1987: 153).

heavy work load of a typical Japanese 'salaryman'[28] who leaves home early in the morning and returns home late in the evening (Miyamoto & Kuhlman, 2001; H. W. Stevenson, 1991). A common solution is for the mother to remain in the original location with the children while the father independently relocates to a new position for the term of that work contract (Saito, 2006: 105).

English for internationalisation. Professionals from a wide range of organisations, whether small, medium-sized enterprises to large multinational corporations, are increasingly coming together to do business in the international workplace. Such international events usually bring together people from different cultural and linguistic backgrounds with the result that a common language of communication is frequently adopted. According to Kubota (1998: 296), during the 1960s and 1970s, Japan's economy began to surge ahead, increasing the amount of contact between Japanese and non-Japanese people. Since the 1980s, the slogan *kokusaika* or 'internationalisation' has become prevalent in businesses, national and local government offices, schools and communities. Learning English has been emphasised as a prime strategy to 'internationalise' the nation. Hastened by technological advances in mass-communication, English has penetrated various aspects of Japanese daily life from television to radio, movies and the internet.

Today, the dominance of English in international business contexts is seemingly beyond dispute. English is an intrinsic part of communication in multinational settings and a fact of life for many business people. Rogerson-Revell (2007: 103) has claimed that while English for International Business (EIB) has an essential function as a *lingua franca* in multilingual settings, it can also present challenges—culturally and linguistically—

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28   Regardless of the fact that women have always participated in the labour force in Japan, it was (and to a large extent still is) men who are seen as representing and epitomising paid work. Strictly speaking, the term 'salaryman' refers to salaried, white-collar employees of private-sector organisations. However, in reality, the term has wider connotations that also encompass non-white collar and non-private sector employees (Dasgupta, 2000: 192).

particularly as more and more interactions are between speakers from Non-English-Speaking Backgrounds (NESB).

Kobayashi (2000: 25-26) has claimed that although many Japanese associate English with internationalisation, this association does not necessarily include tolerance of the varieties of English accents. Due to the strong economic, historic and political ties between Japan and the United States (US), English has been largely associated with that culture. Most Japanese public and private schools that provide English language education, adopt American-English as the target model.

Code-switching. In general terms, 'Code-Switching' (CS)[29] can be used to refer to situations in which bilingual people alternate between languages, either between or within utterances (Bhatia & Ritchie, 1999; Greer, 2007). CS may also be referred to as 'Code-Mixing' (CM), however, scholars claim that technically CS refers to the insertion of linguistic elements within a sentence, otherwise known as intrasentential switches, while CM refers to the mixing of linguistic units across sentence boundaries within a speech, otherwise known as intersentential switches (Bhatia & Ritchie, 1999: 244).

Language is one of the most apparent manifestations of biculturalism in Japan and the number of families in which more than one language is used for communication among family members is on the increase (Yamamoto, 2002: 532). Commonly, knowledge of Japanese and the linguistic conventions of another language, non-verbal cues, and how to mix them properly, are seen as proof of the right to bicultural group membership. Nevertheless, Japanese intercultural children in particular, are often chastised by monolingual Japanese persons for allowing 'other' expressions to intrude into their conversations. The crossing between Japanese and English is known as *champon* in

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29   The use of English-derived vocabulary in Japan relates to Code-Switching (CS) and Code-Mixing (CM) in several respects (Hogan, 2003: 46). However, the distinction between CS and CM, and a discussion of the phonological, semantic and morphological changes to English-derived Japanese vocabulary is beyond the scope of this research.

Japanese slang, a term appropriated from a word meaning to 'mix drinks or foods in an unlikely combination' (Greer, 2007: 18). *Champon*[30] is perceived as either showing-off or a sign of the lack of proper vocabulary.

International family configurations. The number and nature of categories into which international families can be grouped is, to some extent arbitrary, with categories likely to be broad areas that overlap in a diverse and constantly changing context such as Tokyo. Nonetheless, Wakabayashi (1998: 6) identified three types of students attending international schools in Japan:

- Japanese and non-Japanese Asian children, including Japanese 'returnees' from abroad, as well as those children who have never been abroad

- Japanese intercultural marriage children

- non-Japanese children who have come to Japan with their parents who work as business-persons, missionaries and diplomats.

Almost a decade later, Greer (2007: 56-57) identified three types of family sending their children to international schools in Japan:

- Japanese intercultural marriage families between a Japanese and non-Japanese spouse

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30   English-derived vocabulary in Japan can be categorised into two main types: (a) direct loanwords and (b) pseudo-loanwords or *wasei eigo* [made in Japan English] (Hogan, 2003: 44). Apart from *Champon*, English influences on the Japanese lexicon have been called *Jangrish, Janglish, Japangurishu, Japlish, Japalish, Enganese* or *Foreignerese* (Koscielecki, 2006: 29; McArthur, 2006: 363).

Oftentimes, the semantic change in English words can only be understood in relation to the Japanese cultural context, otherwise they have no meaning for English-speaking people. They are especially prevalent in advertising, product names and youth culture. Again, an in depth discussion on this topic is beyond the scope of this research.

- short-term expatriate families, such as those where the household head is in a business, military or diplomatic post

- long-term non-English-speaking families, such as business and diplomatic personnel.

These two sets of categories have different emphasis, but combining the insights of both would suggest a division of three types of international family in Tokyo who need to confront choices about the education of their children. As will be discussed below, they stem from: (1) Japanese parents wanting their children to have an international education; (2) Japanese intercultural parents where either the mother or the father is Japanese; and (3) non-Japanese parents.

2.3.1   Japanese families

Two (sub)groups of Japanese parents in Japan have been included in this study, as they have chosen to send their children to non-Japanese schools, which accounts for the cross cultural dimension. This grouping includes Japanese internationally-oriented parents and Japanese international returnee parents.

Japanese internationally-oriented parents. Japanese internationally-oriented families can be seen to exhibit international values and mindedness. Oftentimes, these families have not lived abroad, but for whatever reason desire to foster or maintain their children's bilingual communicative skills—usually English—through native-level exposure. This orientation could be coupled with the fact that, for the last 15 years, Japanese society has existed in a paradigm conflict with regards to their 'educational system, educational concepts, and educational philosophy' (Willis & Yamamura, 2002: 1).

> Many [Japanese] parents are dissatisfied with Japan's public school system…
> They're worried that their children may not be able to obtain [sufficient]
> academic and English skills at Japanese public schools. (Nakamura, 2008: 2)

While there are several reasons for this, the underpinning concern appears to stem from the decision of the Japanese Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science and Technology (MEXT) to replace the previous six-day school week with a bi-monthly six-day school week. Rather than reduce the amount of content public schools are mandated to deliver in the lesser time available, the curriculum was in fact enlarged. This change is said to have contributed to a profound 'weakening' of the academic achievement of Japanese school students (Bjork & Tsuneyoshi, 2005; Y. Sato, 2006) and to have led some parents to look at other educational options.

While in recent years international schools throughout Japan have reported greater numbers of locally enrolled Japanese students, according to Nakamura (2008), there is usually a quota on how many they are prepared to accept. Allen (2000) explains that, in general, international schools will admit a handful of host nationals in order to gain influence within the host community. As the fluidity of the foreign or expat population can significantly impact on student attrition rates, having a proportion of the student body from the local community—host country nationals, intercultural children or other long-term foreign residents—provides international schools with some stability.

Japanese international returnee parents. These Japanese parents are those who were transferred abroad and have since repatriated. Their children are considered to be *kikokushijo* or 'returnee' children (Fry, 2007; Kanno, 2000, 2003; T. Yoshida et al., 2003; T. Yoshida et al., 2002). The term was first used in the late 1960s by MEXT, for the purpose of establishing policies to deal with the rising number of predominantly 'elite' Japanese children returning home after several years overseas, as well as the problems associated with their socialisation and education (Kamada, 2000: 28). Derived from data supplied by foreign countries,

> …the [Japanese] Ministry of Education [MEXT] estimates that the number of
> Japanese students studying abroad totals some 76,000 in 32 countries in 2000.

This figure already surpasses the number of foreign students in Japan, but the actual number might be higher, since statistics from other countries are apparently incomplete. (cited in M. Sato, 2004: 26)

Notably, in the mid-1980s, economic prosperity and a strong yen resulted in unprecedented flows of Japanese nationals venturing abroad (Castro-Vazquez, 2009: 63).

Kikokushijo who have spent time outside Japan during their formative or 'most linguistically impressive years' (Kamada, 2000: 33), have found it daunting to differing degrees to assimilate back into mainstream Japanese society. They are said to have lost their 'Japaneseness' and the fading of language and self-awareness of being Japanese results in 'incompleteness' or 'contamination' (Fry, 2007: 132). *Kikokushijo's* degree of Japaneseness was seen to be influenced by such factors as

> …whether their sojourn was in an industrialized or a developing country; whether they attended a full-time Japanese school, a local school plus a supplementary Japanese school, or an international school; the language spoken in the host country; the age range during which they lived overseas; and finally by the historical period in which they lived abroad—the 1960s having been very different from the 1990s, for instance. (Befu, 2003: 131)

Potential sources of 'otherness' were distinguishable by the following:

> Many [returnees] felt that they were 'physically marked' because their fashion, hair, make-up, ways of talking and walking were different… 'behavioral signs' such as eye contact, facial expressions and gestures often 'gave them away' as returnees. 'Interpersonal styles' were also different, with returnees indicating that they had problems with Japanese 'manners of speaking' especially with *keigo*.[31] (T. Yoshida et al., 2002: 430)

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31   *Keigo* is Japanese honorific language used to show respect when speaking to superiors or people outside one's own group. It displays rank and seniority according to culture, but not gender. While *keigo* is similar to polite language in English, there are differences in the degree and complexity of relationships, and in interpreting those relationships (Kitao, 1990: 181).

Kikokushijo, especially those who have lived in Western cultures for an extended period of time, tend to be more assertive and individualistic (Miyamoto & Kuhlman, 2001). *Kikokushijo's* acquisition of foreign patterns of language and behaviour may alienate them from their Japanese peers and teachers. Hence, these children are often sent to international schools that are more accepting of these character traits. The image of *kikokushijo* has been shifting, albeit slowly, under Japan's national commitment to globalisation.

In general, the prototypical image of *kikokushijo* are strange individuals with a mix of East and West; Japanese on the outside and foreigner on the inside (Kanno, 2000: 363). Negative labels have evolved over the years to include *non-japa* [non-Japanese], *han-japa* [half-Japanese], *shin-japa* [new-Japanese], and even *hen-japa* [strange-Japanese] (Befu, 2003: 131; Fry, 2007: 132). Fortunately, the perceived negative attributes of these children as culturally ambiguous or 'educational refugees' (Fry, 2007: 134) is being exchanged for positive perceptions of them as having global awareness. Their potential to contribute via language and intercultural skill-related areas has increasingly become valued rather than viewed as something that separates them from mainstream society. In particular, the negative perception of *kikokushijo* as possessing incompetent Japanese language skills, has switched to a positive one linked to their mastery of a foreign language, usually English (Fry, 2007; Podolsky, 2004).

2.3.2   Japanese intercultural families

The second international family configuration stems from Japanese intercultural parents. *Kokusai kekkon* is the term used to designate a Japanese marriage to a non-Japanese national. The literature presents an array of possible English translations of the term, such as 'cross cultural marriage' (Breger & Hill, 1998), 'cross national marriage' (Seto & Cavallaro, 2007), 'international marriage' (Greer, 2007), 'interethnic marriage' (Lievens, 1998), 'intermarriage' (L. R. Jackson, 2006), 'interracial marriage' (Root,

2001) and 'transnational and transcultural marriage' (Anderson, 1999). Given the types of marriages that may be categorised here, 'intercultural marriage' (Nitta, 1988: 208) was identified as the preeminent translation and has become the preferred term used in much of the associated literature (Crippen & Brew, 2007; Frame, 2004; McFadden, 2001; Romano, 2008).

The expression *kokusai kekkon* is primarily related to the common perception that Japan is a homogeneous society comprising one race that speaks one language (Kim, 2002; Tarumoto, 2003; Willis, 2002). While some *kokusai kekkon* are visibly international, such as those between Japanese and European partners, it must be noted that the term also refers to marriages in which the non-Japanese partner may be of Korean or Chinese ethnicity, born and raised in Japan, but without Japanese citizenship. Koreans and Chinese are two groups of foreigners who frequently marry Japanese partners (Kim, 2002; Nitta, 1988; Willis, 2002), but are considered *gaijin* [foreigner] even though they may have lived their entire life in Japan. Consequently, *kokusai kekkon* can be a misleading term as it covers diverse intercultural marriages and overemphasises the non-Japanese element.

Where one parent is a Japanese national and the other is born and raised outside Japan, the Japanese parent has an important role to play in the adjustment of the non-Japanese partner to the host country. Supported by the Japanese spouse, a partner can better adjust to the host environment and enrich the lives of their bicultural children (McAdoo, 1993: 300). In addition, extended family and friends can help provide a broader and deeper 'in-group' social network and this may be one reason why, in comparison to other foreign residents, intercultural couples are less likely to form ethnic or national enclaves.

Berry (1999: 306) has contended that there are four basic orientations of intercultural couples in a foreign setting, which are listed below in descending order from 'functional' to 'dysfunctional'.

47

- *Integration:* attraction to partner's culture and preservation of own cultural norms

- *Assimilation:* attraction to partner's culture, but non-preservation of own cultural norms

- *Separation / Segregation:* preservation of own cultural norms, but non-attraction to partner's cultural norms

- *Marginalisation:* non-preservation of own cultural norms and non-attraction to partner's cultural norms.

In the case of integration, the perceived better elements of the home and host country cultures are preserved, combined and expanded upon to create a new whole. In the case of assimilation, the individual unilaterally adapts to the norms and behavioural patterns of the host country that may promote local responsiveness, but this strategy is not conducive to global integration. In the case of separation, the individual retains their distinct set of norms and behaviours. While less dysfunctional than marginalisation, this mode of interaction rarely facilitates organisational performance. Finally, in the case of marginalisation, the expatriate either rejects or is rejected by both the home and host country cultures (Berry, 1999; Tung, 1998).

It is important to note that through marriage and family formation, it is possible that the non-Japanese spouse will become a long-term resident in Japan. Interest in remaining in the host country tends to strengthens over time, which can be partly but not exclusively, related to the presence of children. Full citizenship (naturalisation) or *Permanent Residency* (PR) may become the next step towards settlement. A non-citizen of Japan, whether married to a Japanese national or not, is placed in a vulnerable position, primarily because of the influence of the Japanese state. Immigration and citizenship policies cannot be underestimated. Much more serious is when the non-Japanese partner's visa is that of a 'dependent' spouse and divorce is likely to result in the loss of

his or her residency status, and oftentimes the custody of Japanese bicultural children in Japan (Piper, 2003: 465).

Yamamoto's (2002) study found that the vast majority of Japanese and English-speaking intercultural couples in Japan were in favour of raising their children bilingually. In general, children who grow-up in a bilingual environment from an early age do not necessarily learn both languages and may speak only one even with a parent who speaks another language to them (De Houwer, 2007: 411). According to King et al. (2008: 916), '[h]ow families use and allocate language in the home has implications for cognitive development and educational achievement'. Such an approach takes into account what families actually do with language in day-to-day interactions, their beliefs and ideologies about language and language use, and their goals and efforts to shape learning outcomes (King et al., 2008: 909).

To help promote bilingualism, Japanese intercultural families often develop an internal 'family language policy' (King et al., 2008), which is an agreed upon plan in relation to language use within the home and among family members. That is, many *kokusai kekkon* tend to follow a 'one-person-one-language' (OPOL) approach to bilingual childrearing (Barron-Hauwaert, 2004; King et al., 2008), meaning that each parent speaks only their most proficient language to the children. For example, one parent may speak Japanese and the other parent may speak English.

By their appearance, children of *kokusai kekkon* may be seen as curious anomalies who challenge the long-established assumptions of racial purity and uniqueness. According to Kamada (2005), Japanese people often erroneously judge linguistic ability based on an individual's physical features. The dominant Japanese discourse of conformity, as expressed by the proverb *deru kui wa utareru* [The nail that sticks up gets hammered down], illustrates the disagreeableness of 'otherness' or non-conformity in Japanese society. Additionally, several common non-sensical views have evolved such as *gaijin*

[foreigners] *are not Japanese; gaijin cannot speak Japanese*; and *all gaijin speak English*. These statements view interculturalness in a 'subtractive' manner (Kamada, 2005: 104).

Japanese intercultural children attending national schools may be 'racialised' and 'ethnicised' as *haafu* taken from the English word 'half' (Cornwell, Simon-Maeda, & Churchill, 2007; Greer, 2007; Kamada, 2005). Unsurprisingly, Japanese intercultural parents have opposed this expression due to its negative connotations derived from the English terms 'half-breed' or 'half-caste' (Greer, 2007). In order to offer their children a more empowering alternative, these parents have introduced a peripheral discourse of diversity that bestows a positive connotation on the difference exhibited by their children, which they argue is enhancing and valuable.

Kokusai kekkon have attempted to replace *haafu* with the 'additive' term of *daburu* from the English word 'double' (Cornwell et al., 2007; Greer, 2007; Kamada, 2005). There is evidence for this in relation to certain 'phenotypic' and 'genotypic' qualities (Greer, 2007: 11) that are highly regarded in Japanese mainstream society.

> In Japanese, the words *hori ga fukai* and *hana ga takai* (in English, 'deeply sculptured face' and 'high nose' both implying 'deep-set eyes') have a positive nuance of attractiveness and foreign-exoticness. This discourse also includes the notion of 'good body style', which refers to a female with well-developed breasts and hips, and long legs—features associated with foreign Caucasian attractiveness. For men 'good body style' refers to broad shoulders, full chest, and tall stature—features associated with foreign attractiveness [sic]. (Kamada, 2005: 105)

As Murphy-Shigematsu (2001: 212), himself a *daburu* expressed, 'a bright image of a fashionable, foreign-looking Japanese who speaks fluent English'. In other words, *kokusai kekkon* view their children as having the best of both worlds provided that their special qualities are given a positive connotation 'exemplified by a widely held notion

that a Eurasian child will be very attractive if it [sic] takes the Japanese parent's skin and the Caucasian parent's bone structure' (Greer, 2007: 12).

A main concern for *kokusai kekkon* is to expose their children to diversity, while maintaining their bilingual proficiency (Greer, 2007: 57). Empirical studies suggest that children of *kokusai kekkon* who have been born and raised in Japan have a functional fluency in the Japanese language, strong ties to the local community, and an intimate involvement in the Japanese way of life (Greer, 2007). To augment their children's biculturalism and bilingualism, many *kokusai kekkon* send their children to Japanese national schools in the early years and then to international schools from junior high school onwards to avoid the test-centred educational philosophy that is inherent in the Japanese system. Typically, Japanese intercultural children who are taught solely in Japanese national schools are very much in the minority. If Japanese intercultural parents choose Japanese national schooling for the entirety of their children's education, they often seek alternate opportunities such as overseas visits and/or foreign summer camps to allow them to experience the non-Japanese parent's culture and maintain their bicultural heritage (Greer, 2007).

2.3.3   Non-Japanese families

The third type of international family configuration involves non-Japanese parents. They can be seen to fall into three different (sub)groups stemming from: non-Japanese/English-speaking internationally-mobile parents, non-Japanese/NESB internationally-mobile parents, and non-Japanese self-initiated internationally-mobile parents.

Non-Japanese/English-speaking internationally-mobile parents. The first type of non-Japanese family involves short-term sojourners. In the Tokyo context, these families are predominantly business persons, diplomats, journalists, educators,

military or missionary personnel who are expected to reside in the host country for several years. The literature advises that what constitutes a short-term international assignment is typically company specific (Collings, Scullion, & Morley, 2007: 205). However, as explained by Webb and Wright (1996: 43), it is important to realise that business usually takes longer to conduct in foreign cultures. Thus, '[s]hort stints abroad of less than three years are not conducive to high performance as the expatriate [short-term sojourner] barely has time to adjust before being transferred' (Webb & Wright, 1996: 43).

As one of the most developed cities in the world, Tokyo provides the infrastructure for the lifestyle these parents desire. In order to cope with their foreign experience, these international assignees often receive assistance from their sponsoring organisation in the form

> …of a variety of compensations for the alleged hardships and extra expenses actually or supposedly incurred by their stay abroad. These 'compensations' often represent a major financial incentive and raise considerably the disposable income of the expatriate [international assignee]… there are baggage allowances, expatriate allowances, children's education allowances, mileage allowances, subsidized housing, squash courts, golf courses, swimming clubs... The expatriate has all these rewards together with a distinct knowledge that no one will bother him [sic]. (E. Cohen, 1977: 21)

While they are not materially disadvantaged, their relative affluence should not disguise the cultural challenges that they themselves, and their children, may face (Nette & Hayden, 2007: 443).

The parents' awareness of the shortness of their stay may influence how much of the 'host' language and culture or how much of the 'home' language and culture they wish to promote (Fry, 2007: 142). E. Cohen (1977: 18) suggests that short-term transiency 'reduces the readiness and even the opportunity for adaptation to, and integration into,

the host environment'. In this scenario, cross cultural exposure and adjustment are seen as intermittent rather than ongoing, so that the 'extent of their [family] acculturation and the effect on their subsequent development, given their temporary status, is largely unknown' (Gerner, 1992: 199).

In addition, short-term international assignees tend to be 'planted' in certain localities under the auspices of their sponsor organisation (E. Cohen, 1977: 25). Such planted communities can be expected to be more oriented to their home language and culture and therefore, socially cohesive and somewhat segregated from the host society. In other words, they may establish a type of 'environmental bubble' as epitomised by the following early, yet still pertinent observation:

> The manner in which the stranger [foreigner] copes with strangeness [host environment], and especially the extent to which he is willing or capable to expose himself to it, or regresses from it into the shelter of the familiarity of an 'environmental bubble' of his home environment, is a basic variable in the analysis of stranger behaviour… expatriate communities tend to establish quite substantial 'environmental bubbles' [sic]. (E. Cohen, 1977: 16)

For foreigners who rely heavily on others from a similar background, the environmental bubble also constitutes a 'cultural bubble' (Joslin, 2002: 50). The relatively small size of these bubbles may somewhat force the creation of friendships or alliances where international parents cannot easily change their social networks. These parents may stay attached to the group whether they like them or not (Doran, 2004: 53), thus enlarging the bubble.

In Japan, examples of 'environmental' and/or 'cultural' bubbles tend to be disproportionately concentrated in the three largest metropolitan cities—Tokyo, Yokohama and Osaka (Table 2.1). Here, foreign employees are closest to international head offices and the foci of political power and economic activity. In Tokyo more specifically, the foreign population predominantly resides in planted or 'cluster'

locations, such as the central *Minato-ku*[32] [Minato ward], where they are in close proximity to the headquarters of multinational corporations, embassies, foreign association and clubs, as well as the majority of international schools.

Greer (2007: 56-57) contends that many of these families experience regular overseas secondments and rely on non-Japanese 'national' or '[fully][33] international' schools within their bubble to maintain their children's academic continuity between countries. The foreign community and the children's international school community help to serve as a network, helping the family to establish—rather quickly—new social ties in the Japanese host-setting. The local international school is a vital component of the bubble and teachers, parents and students who live within the borders of a tight, insular social group, tend to be dependent on each other for emotional support and in some cases physical safety (Doran, 2004: 51).

Chiefly concerned with maintaining a comfortable lifestyle and their children's 'monolingual' education, these parents prefer to relocate when their children are young and not bound by academic demands such as senior secondary examinations. McClusky confirmed that:

> Since parents serve as the primary anchors for these age groups, most agreed that it was the easiest time to move children internationally… Kids who are not yet in school are the easiest to deal with in an internationally-mobile lifestyle… Even in the most stable of environments, adolescence is often a traumatic time, both for the teenager and the parents. (McCluskey, 1994: 14-16)

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32   The *Minato* ward is located in the heart of Tokyo. It hosts 49 foreign embassies and 22,000 'registered' foreign residents, which comprises approximately 10 per cent of the total population of the ward. Over the past few years, the number of foreign residents in *Minato* has been increasing by 1,000 people annually (Minato City Municipal Ward Office, 2009).

33   Greer (2007) is referring to what Allen (2000) termed 'fully' international schools, which will be explained in section 2.7 of this chapter. In brief, Allen (2000: 126 & 128) says that, 'Fully international schools will… have structures to minimise the influence of any one culture. If the school is 'inclusive' in its aims, it must strive to involve them all, regardless of cultural traits'.

These families tend to relocate several times, suggesting that it is possible for children to have been '[b]orn in Japan, weaned in Greece, and toilet trained in Taiwan' (Taber, 2004: 28) and for there to be 'Japanese children growing up in Australia, British kids raised in China, Turkish youth reared in Germany' (Pollock & Van Reken, 2001: 5).

Non-Japanese/NESB internationally-mobile parents. The second type of non-Japanese family involves Non-English-Speaking Background (NESB) international assignees. Similar to those families described above, these international assignees tend to be business persons, diplomats, journalists, educators, military or missionary personnel who are expected to reside in the host country for several years, and are functionally fluent in English.

Regardless of whether there are non-Japanese national schools available in the host country or not, many of these parents prefer to send their children to international schools to acquire English as a Second Language (ESL) or English as a Foreign Language (EFL). That is, they value the affluence and exclusivity associated with an internationally transferable education (Greer, 2007: 57).

> It could be argued that such families hold their own language and culture in high esteem, take steps to preserve these, and therefore do not feel threatened by the assimilation of an Anglophone cultural identity. Instead, for them, the 'élite bilingualism' offered by an international school education is a pragmatic choice that will open doors to a transnational lifestyle. (Grimshaw & Sears, 2008: 268)

The chosen school may be seen as providing a higher quality product, reinforcing privilege or promoting 'elite separateness' (Allen, 2002), while providing for the global *lingua franca* of English.

Certain international schools may not discourage this view of elite separateness, recognising that it as their strongest marketing tool (Cambridge, 2002). For example,

internationally-oriented products and services such as global certification of educational qualifications, can facilitate

> …educational continuity for the children of a globally mobile clientele, as well as for the children of the host country clientele with aspirations towards social mobility in a global context. (Cambridge, 2002: 228)

Developed by the International Baccalaureate Organisation (IBO)[34] are the *International Baccalaureate Primary Years Program* (IBPYP), *International Baccalaureate Middle Years Program* (IBMYP), and *International Baccalaureate Diploma Program* (IBDP). Similar programs developed by the University of Cambridge International Examinations (CIE)[35] are the *International General Certificate of Education (*IGCSE) and the *Advanced International Certificate of Education* (AICE). In both cases, these organisations offer their 'products for sale in a single unitary world market' (Cambridge, 2002: 241).

These international parents are typically from high-income backgrounds and wish to maintain their family's cultural and linguistic plurality, and privileged circumstances. In applying to send their children to select schools, these parents often make choices based on the notion that despite exorbitant tuition fees, the benefits for them and their children in terms of an internationally-oriented education, will outweigh these costs. They perceive such education as a long-term investment.

> Universities around the world recognize the IB [International Baccalaureate] as an indicator of a top-quality education. Some will give university credit or advanced placement to students with the IB, depending on the score the

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34 According to the official IB Organisation website (2010), there are more than 775,000 IB students at 2,815 schools in 138 countries.

35 According to the official CIE Organisation website (2010), they are the world's largest provider of international qualifications for 14-19 year olds and operate in 157 countries around the world.

students earned on the IB exams. And some will waive the requirement to take entrance exams for students with the IB. (Copeland, 2009: 1)

Choice of schooling provides not only fluency in English, but also 'reputational capital' (Potter & Hayden, 2004: 90) as a result of the prestige accorded to their programs and especially the possibility they offer for children to enter universities around the world.

Non-Japanese self-initiated internationally-mobile parents. The third type of non-Japanese family stems from self-initiated internationally-mobile assignees (Fitzgerald & Howe-Walsh, 2008; Suutari & Brewster, 2000; Tharenou, 2003). Suutari and Brewster (2000: 434) identified six (sub)groups of people who may fall into this category, namely: young opportunist; jobseekers; officials; domestic professionals; international professionals; and dual career couples. They often experience the same privileged standards of living as other non-Japanese families in this grouping.

Increasingly, a 'boundaryless career' that crosses national borders has become an alternative among highly educated or skilled individuals (Eby, Butts, & Lockwood, 2003; Thomas, Lazarova, & Inkson, 2005). This stems from the fact that

> [o]rganizational careers have been traditionally conceptualized as linear trajectories where individuals advance hierarchically within a single organization over the course of their career… Given today's more volatile and unstable organizational environment, individuals can no longer expect lifetime employment within one organization or a steady climb up the corporate ladder… (Eby et al., 2003: 689)

In the twenty-first century, the reality for most individuals is that they will change employers several times over the course of their working life. 'With the frequent occurrence of reorganizing, downsizing, rightsizing, delayering, pyramid flattening, teaming, and outsourcing, traditional career ladders are vanishing fast for many jobs' (Selmer, 1999: 56).

Richardson and Mallon (2005: 412) found that many self-initiated international participants in their study had not actively sought overseas employment, but rather the opportunity to become an expat arose 'serendipitously' through unexpected chance meetings, such as at conferences. Once the opportunity to expatriate had arisen, other factors such as a lack of job prospects or high taxation levels in their home country may have raised the level of attractiveness of the foreign job market. Then, without the constraints of a fixed-term expatriate contract, Yang (2007: 3) has suggested that these assignees have 'more time to adjust to a foreign environment, but the longer they stay overseas, the more difficulty they and their family members are likely to encounter as they return home'.

Depending on their employment status and conditions, parents in this group may choose any of the schooling options available in the Tokyo context from free local Japanese national schools to exclusive non-Japanese international institutions. International schools are often viewed as elitist as they can cost up to USD $25,000 per annum per student (Jenckes, 2006: 75), although generally, high educational costs do not create a barrier for these families who have usually accounted for such factors prior to initiating their own relocation.

2.4   Transnational children

As described in Chapter One, the term 'transnational' was adapted from Basch et al. (1994: 7) who expressed it as 'the process by which [children] forge and sustain multi-stranded social relations that link together their societies of origin and settlement'. Much of the research on transnational children has been autobiographical and pragmatic, rather than related to any conceptual framework. This has the disadvantage of drawing at random on the circumstances and experiences of a relatively small group of children who are 'atypical' in relation to the majority of the world's young people (Gunesch, 2004: 252).

Frequently, these 'transnational' children learn to live in a new socio-cultural and geographical landscape, and negotiate their roles in an unfamiliar society. They observe human interaction in an array of cultural contexts and their membership in multiple cultures can leave them with no sense of ownership of any one particular culture. In a sense, these children are living at the forefront of globalisation and may be regarded as 'prototype' citizens of the twenty-first century (Pollock & Van Reken, 2001: 7). As such, a confused identity may ensue, particularly when an individual reaches adolescence (Pollock & Van Reken, 2001).

Metaphors derived from intercultural observations of the way transnational children adjust and adapt to foreign environments have been used as tools to try to gain a better understanding of what scholars are not yet able to readily understand. Metaphors can help to

> …sensitise and clarify for the uninitiated new and unfamiliar concepts. With regard to the relatively new understanding about the experiences and characteristics of [transnational children], metaphors also help the subject express feelings and situations with few words but much symbolism and descriptive representation. (Zilber, 2004: 17)

Vocabularies of travel, migration and movement have proliferated. The list of metaphors presented in Table 2.1 attests to the ongoing evolution in global terminology.

Table 2.3   Metaphors for transnational children found in the literature

positive connotations	
advanced tourist	citizen of the world
cross cultural kid	cultural bridge
cultural entrepreneur	cultural liaison
disciple of life	global citizen
global patriot	global soul
little ambassador	professional correspondent
negative connotations	
airport hopper	boomerang kid
hidden immigrant	hybrid child
hyphenated	new elite
perpetual outsider	resident alien
rubber-band nationality	swinging door
touring aristocrat	transit lounger
neutral connotations	
composite self	diplomatically immune
cultural chameleon	global nomad
homeless VIP	interactive cosmopolitan
impermanent resident	multicultural composite
intercontinental wanderer	multinational soul
new world fusion	privileged homeless
nomadic child	portable identity
prototype citizen	rolling stone
third culture kid	transcontinental tribe
transitional cosmopolitan	transnational child

The most prevalent term extrapolated from the associated literature was 'Third Culture Kid' (TCK). 'Global Nomad' (GN) and 'Cross Cultural Kid' (CCK) were observed with lesser frequency, but have been included in the following discussion as transnational children can be variously called TCKs, GNs or CCKs (Pollock & Van Reken, 2001; Schaetti, 2000; Zilber, 2005). These terms are described below in chronological order.

2.4.1 Third Culture Kids (TCKs)

The expression 'Third Culture Kid' (TCK) was introduced when two social scientists, Drs J. and R. Useem, travelled to India in the 1950s to study Americans deployed there predominantly as corporate, governmental, military and missionary personnel (Pollock & Van Reken, 2001). The birth of the TCK term stemmed from the apparent commonality of challenges, characteristics, perceptions and tendencies amongst the Useem's three sons and other American children observed in India. The Useems recognised that their children's one-year experience during their formative years, left an indelible mark on their development, whereby their sense of belonging became more relationship-based than geography-based (McLachlan, 2007: 235). The international placements and employment opportunities that existed when the TCK term was first introduced are represented in Figure 2.1.

Throughout their children's impressionable adolescence, their sons absorbed cultural, linguistic and behavioural norms, as well as a frame of reference different to, but assembled from, what the parents regarded as the Indo-American third culture in which they were living (R. Useem, 1966: 145). The TCK term implied that their children had a strong attachment to the Western (US) sojourners in India with whom they shared this life experience. Hence, the definition came to represent Western children who had spent their developmental and school-aged years outside their parents' culture, building a relationship to a non-Western culture, while never developing full ownership of either.

In this construction, TCKs tended to be raised in one culture, relocated to another, and repatriated back. That is, TCKs integrated aspects of their birth culture (first culture) and their new culture (second culture), and created a personally blended 'other' culture (third culture) unique to them as individuals (Pollock & Van Reken, 2001: 20). R. Useem posited that TCKs found that their values and behaviours did not fit with the stereotypical characteristics of their American home culture. Rather, they became more

comfortable occupying the space between the practices of home and host cultures, otherwise known as the cultural 'third place' (J. Useem, Useem, & Donoghue, 1963; R. Useem, 1966).

NOTE:
This figure is included on page 62
of the print copy of the thesis held in
the University of Adelaide Library.

Figure 2.1   Traditional Third Culture Kid model (Adapted from Van Reken & Bethel, 2007)[36]

R. Useem began publishing on TCKs in the 1960s and remains widely regarded as the founder of research on this topic. In 1993, together with Cottrell, R. Useem altered and provided greater clarity for the TCK term than had been originally conceived.

> In summarizing that which we had observed in our cross cultural encounters,
> we began to use the term 'third culture' as a generic term to convey the styles
> of life created, shared, and learned by persons who are in the processes of

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36   Figure 2.1 is a minor adaptation, in terms of format, of a figure from Van Reken, R. E., & Bethel, P. M. (2007). Third culture kids: Prototypes for understanding other cross cultural kids. Retrieved 24 June 2007, from http://www.crossculturalkid.org/cck.htm

relating their societies, or sections thereof, to each other. The term 'Third Culture Kids' or TCKs was coined to refer to the children who accompany their parents into another society. (R. Useem & Cottrell, 1993: 1)

Unencumbered by the associations of particular nationalities, ethnicities or other reference groups, TCKs are able to forge alternate self-affirming identities (Anderson, 1999; Grimshaw & Sears, 2008; Selmer & Lam, 2004).

Whereas expatriate or foreign communities used to live in enclaves or compounds so that they could maintain homogeneity in their lives, nowadays foreign deployed families are increasingly opting to live in the host country alongside host nationals. In addition, while international assignments in the past were typically of a fixed-term nature, the recently depressed global economy has resulted in shorter secondments, such that 'by 2005, over forty per cent of such assignments were for less than 12 months' (Cadden & Kittell, 2009: 1). Families are being notified with a smaller amount of relocation or repatriation preparation time, often resulting in overwhelmed parents, and for the accompanying children, an increased potential to have their personal needs overlooked in the course of the transition.

In consideration of these differences, the intersection of two definitive cultures as originally observed by R. Useem in the 50s and 60s, no longer adequately represents transnational children in the twenty-first century.

> What made sense in the 1950s no longer makes sense in the early 21st century. In the 1950s, an overseas posting meant real isolation for families and expatriate communities. In the 21st century efficient transport, telecommunications, satellite television, email and internet make that isolation, for most, a thing of the past. In the 1950s, nation states were the most significant unit for structuring global human relations and, in a global context, cultural identity. National borders mattered. In the 21st century complex cultural, economic, political and human flows ignore national

borders, and national cultural identities form just one layer in the multiple cultural identities of human beings. (Heyward, 2002: 23)

Applying the original definition to contemporary children's cross cultural scenarios would suggest that the TCK term is more applicable as an overarching expression to refer to the complex cultural realities transnational children may encounter today.

Additionally, the TCK expression became popularised among those working with internationally-mobile youth and TCKs themselves when Pollock and Van Reken (2001) adapted and extended R. Useem's scholarship. In a book titled *Third Culture Kids: The experience of growing up among worlds*, they published the following definition:

> A *Third Culture Kid* (TCK) is a person who has spent a significant part of his or her developmental years outside the parents' culture. The TCK builds relationships to all of the cultures while not having full ownership in any. Although elements from each culture are assimilated into the TCK's life experience, the sense of belonging is in relationship to others of a similar background. (Pollock & Van Reken, 2001: 19)

Without a fully developed identity and corresponding cultural patterns to use as a base for interacting with the host culture, transnational children find that both the home and host cultures offer significant input, but their development is primarily influenced by the patterns of international life.

TCKs are not passive recipients of competing cultural values. TCKs are active agents engaged with the differing cultural values to which they have been exposed and from which they are able to make their own 'hybridised choices' (Anderson, 1999: 14). In a global context,

> …adaptation may be even more extreme. Added to the difficulty of adapting to new schools, new friends, and the like, children often must also learn a new language, new culture, new replacement sports and hobbies, and so on. One of the most problematic areas in global transition for children is with respect to

their education and re-establishing social networks. (Caligiuri, Hyland, & Joshi, 1998: 316)

Increasingly, there exists a multiplicity of cultures to which transnational children are exposed. This has occurred through a life of high mobility between countries or the mix of cultures represented within the family and/or international schools they attend (Cameron, 2003: 23). Hence, rather than an intersection of two definitive cultures, the 'third' culture can be viewed as learned behaviours that emerge in relation to the patterns of a transient lifestyle (Cameron, 2003; Schaetti, 2000).

Many TCKs function in a host environment where their physical appearance is a major aspect of their identity or alternatively, they may need to function in a host environment where they physically look similar, yet their perspective on the world is substantially different. As such, TCKs often refer to themselves in terms of the 'other'; when they are in a foreign culture they may identify as coming from their 'home' country and when they are there in the host culture, they may identify as coming from their 'host' country.

Identification of 'home' becomes difficult for such transnational children, especially those who frequently relocate on short-term placements, as 'home in a 'classical' sense is somehow understood as a counterpart to mobility' (Gunesch, 2004: 261). They may have contrasting feelings and notions of home from one or both parents, family members and friends, as their experiences have been particular to them alone. In a study conducted by Nette and Hayden (2007: 443), 120 internationally-mobile youth were asked to identify a specific place of belonging. They usually resolved this dilemma by using concrete or tangible indicators that pointed to places where 'they had some sort of 'physical' link, such as place of birth, passport country or location of family'.

A sense of belonging is a subjective experience that elicits differing emotions in people. This appears to be an issue that TCKs will find themselves facing at one time or another (Fail et al., 2004). Either way, this 'rootlessness' is a prime reason why TCKs often

experience problems repatriating to their passport country (Eidse & Sichel, 2004; McCluskey, 1994; Pollock & Van Reken, 2001). They may have enjoyed a life full of travel, so that preference for settling down in one place and achieving a sense a stability becomes replaced with the desire to maintain transience (Selmer & Lam, 2004: 5). Eidse and Sichel (2004: 1) describe these children as 'perpetual outsiders… born in one nation, raised in others, flung into global jet streams by their parents' career choices… shuttle[d] back and forth between nations, languages, cultures and loyalties'. Hence, TCKs may continue their inspiring experiences whereby their sense of stability is gained from international mobility.

2.4.2   Global Nomads (GNs)

McCaig (1992; 1994) defined 'Global Nomad' (GN) as a person of any age or ethnicity who has lived a significant part of his or her developmental years in one or more countries outside their passport country because of a parent's occupation. The term was born at an international school in India where McCaig had spent time as a boarder (cited in Thompson, 2009: 36-37). An unspecified number of years later when she was invited to that school's reunion, she pondered why she should attend when she had only spent a few years there and would potentially not recognise anyone. It occurred to her that as soon as she was reunited with her fellow alumni, she would feel at home. They too would be GNs and they too would identify with the same shared perspective or cultural 'third place' (J. Useem et al., 1963; R. Useem, 1966).

McCaig (1992: 1) paired the word 'global' emphasising the individual's 'global awareness, skills of adaptation, appreciation of cultural diversity, adventuresome spirit and willingness to risk change', with 'nomad' emphasising the 'sense of belonging everywhere and nowhere, indecisiveness, uncertain cultural identity and difficulty with commitment which can be the legacy of high mobility'. When it was realised that the first half of this expression was seen to represent the 'positive' nature of the lifestyle,

while the second half was more suggestive of the 'negative' side, attention was drawn back to the metaphors listed in Table 2.3 where this pattern had previously gone unnoticed. A number of the metaphors that had been classified as 'neutral' were now seen to combine a positive and negative word (not necessarily in that order) to balance the overall expression (Table 2.4).

Table 2.4   Examples of neutral metaphors for transnational children

neutral connotations		
global (positive)	+	nomad (negative)
intercontinental (positive)	+	wanderer (negative)
multicultural (positive)	+	composite (negative)
privileged (positive)	+	homeless (negative)
homeless (negative)	+	VIP (positive)
impermanent (negative)	+	resident (positive)

This pattern, however, cannot apply to all GNs as individuals may not share the same cultural background, may not speak the same language, and may not attend the same schools. What GNs do share, is the experience of moving multiple times to various countries and the experience of growing up in culture(s) not their own. As Konig (2009: 106) explains, these children 'have to make sense and meaning out of the myriads of different stimuli impinging on their senses and entering their neuronal networks' such as those indicated in Figure 2.2 below.

Where skills in intercultural communication, diplomacy and the ability to manage diversity are critical, 'global nomads are probably better equipped than others' (McCaig, 1994: 33). The potential benefits of this unique upbringing may be far-reaching.

> The skills of the global nomads are also associated with their ability to move beyond the boundaries of a given culture, to question those boundaries, and perhaps even to recognize their cultural constructedness. (Ahmed, 1999: 337)

While the disruption associated with any relocation or repatriation may be troublesome, it is usually manageable in the short-term. Not so immediately obvious are 'what might be considered the less positive and generally less tangible effects of such a childhood' (Nette & Hayden, 2007: 436).

NOTE:
This figure is included on page 68 of the print copy of the thesis held in the University of Adelaide Library.

Figure 2.2   Multiple cultural influences on Global Nomads (Adapted from Van Reken & Bethel, 2007)[37]

Along with R. Useem, McCaig championed the globally mobile student community. McCaig was the first to recognise the importance of helping GNs re-enter their home country and envisioned a 'GN Club' at every college and university across the US. She encouraged educational institutions to be aware of their special status and allow individuals to designate themselves as GNs on their application documentation.

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37   Figure 2.2 is a minor adaptation, in terms of format, of a figure from Van Reken, R. E., & Bethel, P. M. (2007). Third culture kids: Prototypes for understanding other cross cultural kids. Retrieved 24 June 2007, from http://www.crossculturalkid.org/cck.htm

2.4.3   Cross Cultural Kids (CCKs)

In 2007, Van Reken and Bethel attempted to reconceptualise the TCK concept and introduced the term 'Cross Cultural Kid' (CCK). From their research, they spoke with individuals who identified themselves as TCKs, but who were concerned that they did not fit the model (Figure 2.1). With this in mind, the 'CCK' term was set-up to be more encompassing and embodied an additional six groupings of children who could be experiencing a transient TCK-type lifestyle. With reference to Figure 2.3, it is important to recognise that the high transience of some of today's international families as 'temporary guests' in host countries sets them apart from several of the groupings identified, namely immigrants, refugees and minority communities (Cameron, 2003).

A prime example of the growing complexity of transnationalism experienced by some children is provided by the personal experience of Cockburn:

> Recently I was asked provide parenting and child behaviour management strategies to an Indonesian mother married to a Japanese father located in Singapore. It was soon apparent that their views and experiences were so different that this was the main issue and the children were, of course, confused by different expectations made by each parent. The mother herself was from a more vibrant and expressive culture where emotions and feelings were frequently demonstrated, whereas the husband believed that children simply 'raised themselves', remained quiet and did not appear to need to be managed. The parents were also influenced and confused by the local Singaporean parents, who tend to be quite punitive in their management style. (Cockburn, 2002: 479)

By stimulating communication about cross cultural complexities and their interwovenness with identity, a bridge may be built through which individuals can help enrich, educate and transform each other.

NOTE:
This figure is included on page 70
of the print copy of the thesis held in
the University of Adelaide Library.

Figure 2.3   Cross Cultural Kid model (Adapted from Van Reken & Bethel, 2007)[38]

2.5   Parental school choice

The issue of parental school choice is familiar, to varying degrees, to parents based in different parts of the world. School choice is centred on parents deciding where and how their children will be educated. Most parents hold a deep concern for their children's education, because childhood opportunities provide the basis for cognitive learning, health and happiness. School choice signifies the capacity of parents to respond on behalf of their children and to implement their concerns about their development. Exposing a child to a deprived environment could be a risk to later social, emotional and

38   Figure 2.3 is a minor adaptation, in terms of format, of a figure from Van Reken, R. E., & Bethel, P. M. (2007). Third culture kids: Prototypes for understanding other cross cultural kids. Retrieved 24 June 2007, from http://www.crossculturalkid.org/cck.htm

educational success. This topic has been of interest to scholars concerned with optimal developmental outcomes for children (Epstein, 1986, 1987, 1990, 1992, 1995, 2005; Epstein & Dauber, 1991; Epstein & Hollifield, 1996; Epstein & Sanders, 2006).

In relation to parents who seek employment in another country, school choice may turn out to be more complex than usual. International parents are often faced with arranging education for their children from the home country. Satisfying cultural and linguistic preferences, the practicalities of foreign domestic travel and fulfilling varied admissions criteria, may radically restrict the range of schools from which international parents feel they can effectively make a selection. In an international context, the implication is that in the socialising and educating of children, an appropriate amount of challenge be matched with sufficient support, comfort and stability (Ebbeck & Reus, 2005; McCluskey, 1994; Pascoe, 2006).

A study by Ball and Vincent (1998) found that parents made reference to the crucial role of 'social networks' in the process of deliberation and final school selection. Social networks influence the way parents make sense of, take-up positions towards, and respond to their ability to choose appropriate schooling for their children. Ball and Vincent (1998: 378) concluded that it was 'almost impossible to find a transcript where parents did not refer to drawing upon the impressions and experiences of friends, neighbours and relatives'. However, the reality for many international parents is that they cannot easily access these three supportive social networks.

According to Maddaus (1990: 275), schools represent different mixes of educational, compositional, structural and reputational diversity. Research has consistently shown that parents tend to look at a number of school choice criteria in 'combination' (David, West, & Ribbens, 1994; Goldring & Hausman, 1999; Gorard, 1999; Maddaus, 1990; Tomlinson, 1997). Researchers have attempted to classify school choice criteria into various thematic categories (Ball, Bowe, & Gewirtz, 1995, 1996; Ball & Vincent, 1998;

Gorard, Fitz, & Taylor, 2001; Jeynes, 2000; Reay & Ball, 1998), but Gorard's (1999: 31-33) study has provided the clearest and most concise classification model:

- *Academic:* parents believe that their children will fare better academically at a particular type of school

- *Situational:* parents believe that convenience in terms of location and ease of travel are important

- *Organisational:* parents believe that the reputation, ethos, atmosphere, class size and the physical environment are important

- *Selective:* parents believe that gender, religion and other certain social background(s) are desirable when considering a school

- *Security:* parents believe that discipline, teaching of moral values and respect for others, as well as an avoidance of bullying and therefore the happiness of children, are important for school choice.

Given the lack of research on international parents' reasons for choosing schools in the Tokyo context, much of the available information is—of necessity—based on anecdotal evidence. It could reasonably be expected, however, that similarities would exist between international parents choosing schools in Tokyo and those exercising school choice in other national contexts where studies have been undertaken.

Typology of schools in Tokyo. Tokyo represents an active and dynamic school market and is home to multilingual, multiracial, multinational, multipurpose and globally competitive learning institutions that give international parents—Japanese, Japanese intercultural and non-Japanese—considerable choice. According to Barbara (1989: 128), 'the importance and nature of the educational infrastructure in the country of residence will have varied consequences' on the choices that parents are able to make. Japan's economic success has been grounded in the nation's focus on expanding their education

and the country now enjoys some of the highest rates of literacy and other educational benchmarks, which may encourage foreign parents to make use of the national system.

Figure 2.4 represents the typology of schools in an international context. Schools range along a continuum from national to international (left to right), and with unlisted variations in between. In terms of this study, to the far left of the continuum are the pure Japanese national schools with an emphasis on a national curriculum and cultural homogeneity. To the far right of the continuum are what have been called 'fully'[39] international schools with an international curriculum and the greatest range of cultural diversity. As will be discussed below, in broad terms, schools in this study could be classified into four groupings: Japanese national schools, non-Japanese national schools, Japanese international schools, and non-Japanese 'fully' international schools.

- emphasis on national curriculum
- culturally homogeneous student body
- emphasis on international curriculum
- culturally diverse student body

national schools   international schools
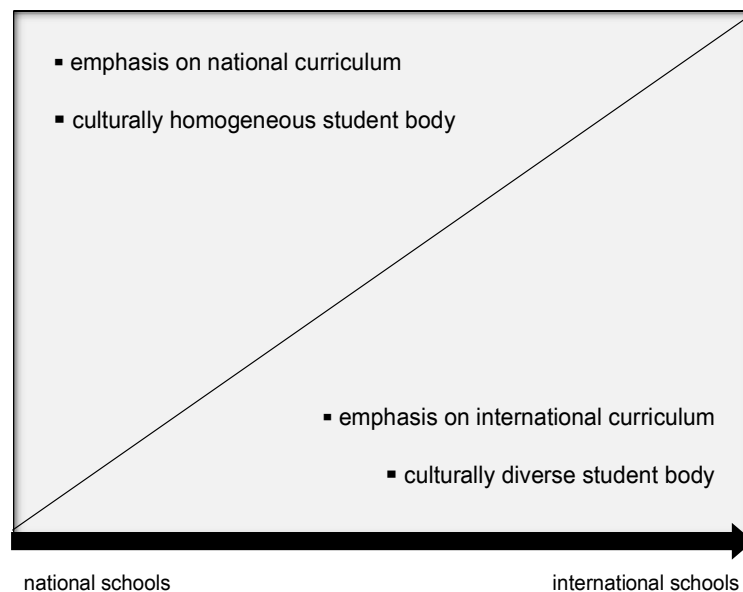
Figure 2.4   Typology of schools in an international context (Hill, 2006: 10)

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39   This expression has been adopted from Allen (2000: 126 & 128) who explained that 'Fully international schools will… have structures to minimise the influence of any one culture. If the school is 'inclusive' in its aims, it must strive to involve them all, regardless of cultural traits'.

2.5.1 Japanese national schools

Features of national schooling tend to include a culturally homogeneous staff and students from the host country. Regardless of whether it is public or private, it offers an education programme prescribed by the nation state (Hill, 2006: 8). The purpose of education in Japan is described by their *Fundamental Law of Education* (FLE)[40] from which *Article 1* declares:

> Education shall aim at the full development of personality, striving for the rearing of the people, sound in mind and body, who shall love truth and justice, esteem individual value, respect labor and have a deep sense of responsibility, and be imbued with the independent spirit, as builders of peaceful state and society. (cited in Okada, 2002: 429)

A Japanese assumption underpinning this philosophy is the belief that everyone possesses the same innate intellectual capacity and it is only the effort of individuals, or lack thereof, that determines their achievement above or below their peers (M. L. Johnson & Johnson, 1996: 2).

A feature of Japanese national schools includes nine years of compulsory education that can be accessed free in the public sector. According to Shimizu (1992), Japanese children enter elementary school when they are six years of age and after completing 1st to 6th Grades must enrol for another three years in junior high school from 7th to 9th Grades. Although the 10th to 12th Grades in senior high school are optional, the percentage of Japanese youth completing their entire schooling, especially in Tokyo, remains high (Tokyo Metropolitan Board of Education, 2007).

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40   The Japanese FLE became law on 31 March 1947. It comprises 11 *Articles*, which collectively describe a 'system that provides equal opportunity for all children, is compulsory, is devoid of partisan teaching of religion and politics, and relies on the home and other institutions for supplementation' (H. W. Stevenson, 1991: 111).

Table 2.5a   **Yearly standard lesson hours fixed by MEXT for Japanese national elementary schools (Tokyo Metropolitan Board of Education, 2007)**

Table 2.5b   **Yearly standard lesson hours fixed by MEXT for Japanese national junior high schools (Tokyo Metropolitan Board of Education, 2007)**

Japanese national schools throughout the country, follow the same annual schedule. The academic calendar begins in April and is divided into three terms interspersed with three holiday breaks: Summer (July 21 – August 25); Winter (December 25 – January 10); and Spring (March 25 – April 7). Schools are in session Monday through Friday, with a bi-monthly six-day (Saturday) school week. In general, each class period is 45-50 minutes in length and is separated by a 10-15 minute recess to round-off the hour. To secure a certain standard of school education and promote the idea of equal educational opportunities, MEXT prescribes a standard guidance plan for the curriculum of compulsory education; elementary schools (Table 2.4a) and junior high schools (Table 2.4b). The number of hours is precisely defined by MEXT, although institutions are allowed to organise their own daily schedules within those prescribed boundaries (H. W. Stevenson, 1991: 111).

Free public Japanese schooling within the local catchment area may be an affordable and convenient option for foreign residents in Tokyo. With the cost of international school tuition reaching up to USD $25,000 per annum per student, there are foreign parents who do receive compensation from sponsoring organisations for their children's education and may not be able to afford this cost. In addition to financial implications, some non-Japanese parents may have a preference for national schooling so that their children can experience total Japanese cultural and linguistic immersion.

Four stages of Japanese national schooling are now addressed: Japanese day-care, Japanese kindergarten, Japanese elementary school, and Japanese junior and senior high schools.

Japanese day-care. Japanese *hoikuen* began around the turn of the century and were initially designed for children of the poor (Boocock, 1989: 44-45). Today, *hoikuen* are non-compulsory predominantly 'public' institutions run by the Japanese Government up to eight hours per day and six days per week (Boocock, 1989). They resemble a day-

care facility catering for children from as young as six weeks to six years of age. The two sections to *hoikuen* are a childcare centre for children under three years which is comparable to nursery, and a three year preschool program for children older than three years (Holloway & Yamamoto, 2003).To be admitted, one or both parents must have a legitimate reason for their inability to care for their children during 'daytime'[41] hours. Tuition fees are primarily determined on family income and the amount of tax parents or guardians pay (Boocock, 1989). The curriculum is set by law and is focused on children acquiring the skills to take care of themselves.

In essence, the primary objective of *hoikuen* is to keep children safe and nourished, and education may be seen as somewhat secondary. A prime example of this is that lunch and snacks are provided and prepared off-site by the *Public School Nutritional Program*.[42] MEXT (2009) maintains that:

> School lunches are planned in order to provide palatability, a variety of food combinations and a good nutritional balance; they play an important role in building strength and maintaining and improving the health of growing school children. From the viewpoint of nutritional intake, school lunches hold an important place in a day's diet. In particular, school lunches are planned to provide 55% of the minimum daily required calcium and certain vitamins.

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41 According to the official *Minato* municipal ward website (2009), legitimate reasons include: the primary caregiver is working (inside or outside home); is pregnant, sick or disabled (physically or mentally); is taking care of another family member who has an illness or disability; the family was struck by a natural disaster such as an earthquake or fire and is in the retrieval process; the family has another reason accepted by the ward.

More specifically, when caregivers are looking for employment, their child can enter *hoikuen* for two months. When a caregiver is pregnant, *hoikuen* can be accessed two months before and two months after the birth (five months in total). When caregivers are going to school or getting vocational training, they can enter their child until they graduate. When caregivers are sick or looking after sick family member(s), they can enter their child as long as they are in need. If parents' conditions change after their child's enrolment, there needs to be a re-examination of their individual case (Minato City, 2009).

42 The Japanese *Public School Nutritional Program* provides healthy meals prepared by cooks with portions of vegetables, a meat (generally fish or chicken), noodles or bread instead of rice, *miso* soup and milk. Often, daily meals and snacks can be seen in a glass-case in the entrance way of the *hoikuen* when the children are retrieved at the end of the day, and a monthly menu will be published in the *hoikuen* newsletter (Japan with Kids, 2009).

The school lunch program has the goal of contributing to the healthy physical and mental development of school children, and improving the eating habits of the public.

Japanese kindergarten. In vast contrast to *hoikuen*, Japanese *youchien* were initially designed for children of the wealthy (Boocock, 1989: 44-45). Today, *youchien* are non-compulsory predominantly 'private' centres catering for children from three to six years and operate between four to five hours per weekday. The two types of *youchien* are a two year program for four to six year olds, and a three year program for three to six year olds (Holloway & Yamamoto, 2003). The education is somewhat similar to *hoikuen*, but there is a greater 'academic' focus (Boocock, 1989).

Curricula are often thematically based, for example arts-*youchien*, nature-*youchien* or religious-*youchien,* and are set by each school. To be admitted, some *youchien* have an interview selection system and others have an entrance examination comprising of children being able to say and write their own name. There tends to be a great deal of competition between them and when the number of applicants exceeds the number of openings, a lottery system may be used. Unlike *hoikuen,* but depending on the institution, nutrition is a secondary goal. In essence, the primary objective of *youchien* is to prepare children for Japanese elementary school.

Japanese elementary school. Also popular with foreign residents in Tokyo are public or private Japanese elementary schools. Japanese elementary students experience diversity in teaching and learning through a rich and engaging curriculum, and remain together as a class with the same teacher for two or sometimes three consecutive years (H. W. Stevenson, 1991: 111). Two slogans that are regularly used to promote a culture of 'togetherness' are *kokoro o hitotsu* [make our hearts one] and *naka yoku suru* [get along well with each other] (N. Sato, 1993: 130). Teachers are respectful to even the most disrespectful students and no elaborate reward and punishment system contingent on good conduct exists; rather, an intrinsic motivation is carefully nurtured.

Japanese elementary schooling, with its ideology of a 'culture of togetherness' or 'collective communalism' (Tsuneyoshi, 2001: 79; 2004a: 76-77) has consistently emphasised students doing things at the same time, which has helped to sustain the perception of homogeneity. Increasingly, however, foreign newcomers are challenging that perception of homogeneity in a manner that Japanese educators cannot fail to notice. Empirical evidence suggests that more and more Japanese intercultural and non-Japanese parents are placing their children in the Japanese national system up to 6th Grade elementary school, which has a substantially more positive social and educational reputation than Japanese junior and senior schooling.

In contrast to Japanese junior and senior schooling, Tsuneyoshi (2004b: 366) confirms that Japanese elementary schools involve minimal streaming of ability groups and little categorising of students in ways that would make them feel different or deny them participation based on behaviour, achievement or perceived ability. Young Japanese intercultural and non-Japanese children may enter the national elementary school system when the social and educational focus is on 'collectivism' and their ability to acquire the language is at its peak, but despite uniform clothing and belongings, the newcomers have identifiable markers. Oftentimes, newcomers are unfamiliar with Japanese cultural and linguistic practices.

> According to the research of the [Japanese] Ministry of Education (2004), the number of children who need special language training totaled 19,042 in September 2003: 12,523 at primary schools, 5,317 at junior high schools, 1,143 at high schools, and 59 at other schools. (M. Sato, 2004: 27)

Hence, younger children tend to more rapidly orient to Japanese cultural norms and some may come to see themselves as completely Japanese; no different from other Japanese children born and raised in Japan (Tsuda, 2003: 391). On the other hand, when

these children enter Japanese elementary school in the later years and beyond, are said to encounter social and educational complications[43] (Riordan, 2005).

Japanese junior and senior high school. From the 6th Grade onwards, students in Japan are confronted with a national curriculum that sets extraordinarily high standards. The Japanese 'social milieu' that pressures students to work hard is a source of immense stress (Yoneyama & Naito, 2003: 320). Japanese students are required to sit 'severe' entrance examinations to enter high schools and universities, because these institutions only accept students deemed competent to engage in further studies. According to Japanese public perception, each institution at the upper-secondary and higher levels fits into a hierarchy in terms of academic achievement and consequently, of social status and prestige. Japanese society tends to overemphasise the importance of 'formal' schooling and the prestige of the university a person attends usually receives excessive weight in hiring decisions for superior jobs within the government and major corporations. Japanese mothers, in particular, believe that entering a prestigious high school or university assures their children an impressive future.

Japanese mothers and their children eagerly attempt to enter as high a ranking an institution as possible, creating the notorious *shiken jigoku* or 'examination hell' (Frost, 1991; Gainey & Andressen, 2002; Mori, 2002; Shimizu, 1992) where schools have been accused of becoming 'pressure cookers' (Tsuneyoshi, 2004b: 368). The examination system has been designed to differentiate students on academic merit. The system is said to curtail the development of well-rounded students and can affect children's' mental and physical health by neglecting all activities irrelevant to examinations (Gainey &

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43   By the end of the 6th Grade, Japanese students must be familiar with four scripts: (1) *Hiragana,* a set of 46 cursive symbols used to represent the syllables of the Japanese language; (2) *Katakana*, a parallel set of 46 angular symbols used for writing Japanese versions of words borrowed from other languages; (3) a certain number of *Kanji* Chinese characters; and the (4) Roman alphabet (H. W. Stevenson, 1991: 112). For more information about these Japanese scripts, refer to the Glossary of Terms.

Andressen, 2002: 156). Although strong competition still exists, Mori (2002: 30) reports that in order to secure minimal enrolments, universities have lowered their standards to allow more students to gain entry. This is related to the need to fill student quotas in order for an institution to acquire financial aid from the Japanese Government.

In 1981, MEXT declared a set of 1,945 '*Kanji* for everyday use' [third Japanese alphabet comprising Chinese characters] to be learned during compulsory school education and also stipulated at what grade-level each character should be taught to the children[44] (Havelka & Tomita, 2006: 984). As previously stated, foreign children are not legally required to attend school in Japan. Education for them is considered a privilege they may enjoy to the extent that Japanese schools can provide it (Riordan, 2005: 7).

Language acquisition for Japanese intercultural or non-Japanese children who have not been exposed to Japanese from birth, or who have not received equal exposure to two languages, will usually follow a different trajectory from that of children who have received continuous exposure to Japanese from birth. Japanese intercultural or non-Japanese children who have attended national schooling from the 1st Grade, may still not have had enough exposure to the more sophisticated formal language delivered in the higher grade levels. Unsurprisingly, older Japanese intercultural or non-Japanese children face the challenge of learning the Japanese language at a less receptive time in their intellectual development and usually have to work harder to gain proficiency in reading, writing, speaking and listening at an 'accelerated pace' (Riordan, 2005: 20). They must also contend with great social pressures to conform and may experience

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44 For example, only 76 *Kanji* are taught in the 1st Grade and they include characters such 'one,' 'right,' 'below,' 'fire,' and 'flower'. In the 2nd Grade, 145 characters are taught, 195 characters in each of the next three grades, and 190 characters in the 6th Grade (H. W. Stevenson, 1991: 112).

social alienation. Riordan (2005: 31) argues that limited Japanese exposure is not enough to succeed in the highly educated Japan of today.[45]

Lacking a more suitable term to identify newcomer children who are unable to speak Japanese, MEXT has referred to them as 'children who need assistance in Japanese instruction' and started compiling figures in 1991. As the number of so-called children who have grown-up in Japan and who do not require Japanese language assistance increases, there would appear to be the need to coin another term which is more sensitive to the diversity within this category (Tsuneyoshi, 2004a: 62).

2.5.2   Non-Japanese national schools

In Tokyo, due to high numbers of foreign residents, the availability of schools providing instruction in languages other than Japanese have steadily increased. There exists networks of non-Japanese national schools (English and NESB) catering to parents who wish their children to maintain the educational qualifications of the home country during their sojourn. Foreign parents may prefer for their children to stay in their own national system, because it provides reassurance that they will be able to readily re-integrate into the same system on return to their country of origin. Students usually find it easier to create friendships within their own cultural and linguistic group, and this choice can also provide them with a sense of solidarity as part of a minority group in the host country. From an institutional perspective, the atmosphere may be virtually the same as attending a national school in the home country.

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45   The number of Japanese students in the 18-year-old-bracket enrolling in universities and junior colleges has steadily increased to exceed 50%. If the percentages of students enrolling in colleges of technology and specialised schools are added, the total percentage exceeds 70% (Ministry of Education Culture Sports Science and Technology, n.d.).

In general, students attending non-host country national schools are not integrated into the local culture. To a degree, they form motherland territories like foreign embassies and tend to follow the criteria outlined by Hayden and Thompson (1995: 338):

- principally serve the students of the home nationality

- have a national school ethos as distinct from international

- staff come predominantly from the home country

- only the curriculum and examinations of the home country are offered

- may be government or private fee-paying schools with a parent governing board

- located overseas to serve the expatriates of the home country.

It is also important to recognise that cost may also be a consideration, since national schools abroad tend to be much cheaper than international schools (Hill, 2006).

Whether the school is public or private, many of them follow mandated or regulated governmental programs and students continue to experience the language and culture of their home country.

> A majority of the teaching staff in the French and German schools abroad are recruited from public service teachers in France and Germany and are paid by the government of the home country. The British, Japanese, Swiss and US schools recruit teachers from the home country or elsewhere but they are not paid for by their governments. These overseas schools may receive some very small assistance from local embassies representing their home country but they are private institutions not directly connected with, or funded by, their home governments. They are supported pedagogically by not for-profit organizations in their home countries, which liaise with their governments and may also assist with recruitment of teachers. However, a number of American schools abroad have received assistance and support from the US government

under a programme administered by the Office of Overseas Schools of the US Department of State. (Hill, 2006: 19)

More often, this type of national school choice is at the expense of a more enriching cultural and linguistic experience in the host country. The extent to which students attending non-host national schools are exposed to pedagogical approaches that facilitate intercultural understanding, depends on the curriculum and the ethnic composition of that country (Hill, 2006: 15).

This study considered two broad types of non-Japanese national schools: English and NESB national schools.

English-speaking national schools. These schools operate to serve clientele predominantly from their own country and deliver their national curriculum in English. In Tokyo, non-host English-speaking national schools represent Canada (Canadian International School Tokyo), India (Global Indian International School), the UK (The British School in Tokyo), and the US (American School in Japan). In 2008, the 'homepage' of the British School in Tokyo stated:

> *Our School is unique…* We aim to offer the best of British education within our international setting. This enables us to provide our pupils with unprecedented opportunities for academic achievement surrounded by this extra-ordinary country of Japan.

It is worth noting that American (*The American School in…*) and British (*The British School in…*) chain of schools, constitute roughly half the English-speaking national schools abroad (Caitcheon Cross-Cultural Services, 2001).

Additionally, there are schools that cater for children of US military personnel in Japan. Department of Defence Dependents Schools (DoDDS) educate children of enlisted Army, Navy, Air Force, Marines, Coast Guard and National Guard employees. These schools are located at army and naval bases throughout the archipelago and there are

several in the greater Tokyo area. DoDDS in Tokyo include the Joan K. Mendel Elementary School, Yokota West Elementary School, Yokota Middle School, and Yokota High School (America's Air Force, 2009). According to Popp, Stronge and Hindman (2003: 53), students from military families experience high levels of mobility, with 35 per cent of students in DoDDS changing annually.

NESB national schools. NESB national schools in Tokyo represent China (Tokyo Chinese School), France (Lycée Franco-Japonais de Tokyo), Indonesia (Tokyo Indonesian School), and Korea (Tokyo Korean School). In 2008, the bilingual 'homepage' of the French school stated:

> The *Lycée Franco-Japonais de Tokyo* (LFJT) is a French international school belonging to a network of establishments operated by the *Agence pour l'enseignement français à l'étranger*, part of the Ministry for Foreign and European Affairs… In Tokyo, the LFJT assures continuity in public educational services for French expatriate children while also contributing to the promotion of French language and culture abroad, particularly by welcoming students of Japanese and many other nationalities.

These schools predominantly operate to serve clientele from their own country, and deliver their own national curriculum in their own native language (Japan with Kids, 2009).

2.5.3   Types of 'international' schools

In a seminal essay addressing international schooling, Hayden and Thompson (1995) asked whether an international population was adequate to classify a school as 'international' or if a more fundamental commitment to internationalist principles and philosophies had to be evident. While the concept of an international school is well-used and common vocabulary in educational discourse, the literature reveals ongoing debate based on ambiguous criteria loosely applied to a wide range of schools and institutions

(Dolby & Rahman, 2008; Hayden, Rancic, & Thompson, 2000; Hayden & Thompson, 1995; Heyward, 2002; Joslin, 2002).

Hayden et al. (2000: 107-108) identified five meanings for 'international' as characteristic of international schools found around the world:

- non-national school that is not subject to the requirements or standards of any particular national system

- pan-national school that seeks to build bridges between different countries

- ex-national school that caters predominantly to the internationally-mobile expatriate community and their children

- multi-national school that has a curriculum that draws on a number of national education systems

- transnational school that provides valid certification that can most easily cross educational borders.

Several years later, Cambridge and Thompson (2004: 172) identified four meanings for 'international' as characteristic as characteristic of international schools found around the world:

- transplanted national system serving expatriate clients of that country located in another country

- transplanted national system serving clients from another country

- simulacrum of a transplanted national system serving expatriate clients and/or host country nationals

- educational system that possesses an ideology of international understanding and peace, and the promotion of responsible world citizens.

With consideration of these two lists and others, the term 'international school' is better understood as a part of a wider grouping of 'schools in an international context' (Cambridge & Thompson, 2000: 22).

This study considered two broad types of international schools: Japanese international schools and non-Japanese 'fully' international schools, which corresponds to the fourth point nominated above by Cambridge and Thompson (2004: 172).

Japanese international schools. An increasing number of private schools in Tokyo now include the word 'international' in their institutional title, primarily to give an air of sophistication that may appeal to members of the Japanese community. For example, use of the word 'international' in the school title may legitimately reflect the international-mindedness of the curriculum delivered, while the student body remains culturally homogeneous (Hill, 2006: 9). The majority of parents are not internationally-mobile and unlike 'fully' international schools discussed below, student attrition is relatively stable.

While Japanese international schools have recognised the global demand for English language skills and made the most of this marketing tool, they have incorporated the teaching and learning of English to differing degrees (Greer, 2007). These schools tend to offer special programs that could be considered international, such as English language classes and overseas exchange programs, but they are invariably made-up almost entirely of local Japanese students and regular classes are conducted in native Japanese level language (Greer, 2007). Steadily, however, the number of Japanese international schools that use English as the language of instruction has risen, which

testifies as much to the Japanese perception of English as an elite language (Yamamoto, 2002: 532) as it does to the need for specialised instruction for the expatriate community.

'Fully' international schools. The original international school was primarily created to educate a transitory community of children who may be living in a particular location due to their parents' careers (Schaetti, 2000; Zilber, 2005). In 1989, Matthews (cited in McLachlan, 2004: 14) described the importance of these international schools to education worldwide as 'an influence equivalent to a nation of three to four million where 90 percent of students go on to higher education'. Today, they tend to have a culturally diverse student body, ideally with no one group significantly dominating the others (Hill, 2006: 8).

The most comprehensive definition of 'fully' international schools was found to encompass the following criteria (adapted from Drake, 1998: 153):

- international student body

- international teaching body

- international academic curriculum e.g., International Baccalaureate Diploma Program (IBDP) or International General Certificate of Secondary Education (IGCSE)

- broad non-academic programme that encourages and facilitates cross cultural mixing

- board of governors who represent different cultural views, especially when this impacts on policy formation.

Additionally, teachers in the largest and most prominent international schools in Tokyo are native English speakers who have been recruited abroad and represent a faculty that is often as transitory as the parent and student body. Other teachers and Teaching

Assistants (TAs) are selected from among local English-speaking residents who have settled in the area long-term (Greer, 2007). The office and ancillary staff too, for the most part, are locally-hired but are required to have bilingual competence as they frequently need to deal with internal and external English/NESB parents and authorities.

Many of these schools obtain a large proportion of their financial resources via tuition or corporate sponsorship, predominantly from companies who offer executives subsidised fees for their children while the family is living abroad. Some have been officially registered with the Japanese Government as *gakko hojin* [academic corporations] allowing them a degree of recognition among potential Japanese applicants and granting them certain tax advantages as non-profit organisations (Greer, 2007). Such companies grant on-going support to certain international schools and they in turn provide international assignees with stability in an unfamiliar environment.

Lastly, the majority of these 'fully' international schools operate according to the British/American systems, meaning that the academic calendar runs from September to June of the following year. Indeed, this facilitates many overseas transfers across the northern hemisphere, but can be problematic for students transferring from national Japanese or southern hemisphere schools with a different calendar.

2.5.4   Other school options

Over the past two decades, supplementary tutoring, in which pupils in public and private schools receive extra lessons—after school, at weekends and during vacations—has become a phenomenon in parts of Asia (Mark & Emmanuelle, 2008). In all levels of the Japanese education system, there is the tendency to automatically pass students through to the next grade with their cohort. Consequently, without tutoring, some students may not be academically capable of the work. Although supplementary tuition is expensive, most Japanese parents are prepared to pay the fees to ensure that their children reach the

level needed to be accepted into preferred senior high schools and universities, thus facilitating a prosperous future. On the other hand, when local Japanese and non-Japanese national and international schools are not viable, some parents may choose to send their children to overseas boarding schools to complete their education overseas.

Other school options discussed below in brief include: Japanese *kumon,* Japanese *juku* and overseas boarding schools.

Japanese kumon. Ukai (1994) described the *kumon* method as the most widely used supplemental system for studying mathematics in Japan. The self-paced curriculum has been expanded to over 5,000 timed worksheets, taking the learner sequentially and incrementally from prewriting skills and dot-counting exercises to college-level physics problems. The structure of women's employment in Japan, means that 'hundreds of thousands of education mothers [*kyoiku mamas*] are available for, and dedicated to, carefully supervising their children's completion of *kumon* worksheets at home' (Ukai, 1994: 88-89). The *kumon* method is mostly used by young children; seven per cent of all Japanese elementary school children study twice a week at after-school *kumon* centres (Ukai, 1994: 88). Approximately 70 per cent of Japanese children who study *kumon* math are also enrolled in Japanese language and a smaller proportion study English.

Although it occupies a special niche in Japanese education, critics dislike its rote-style progression through skill levels and the stress placed on computation and curricular standards for each grade that students must surpass. *Kumon's* most prominent critic is MEXT, who promote the development of critical thinking skills in mathematics. The individualised nature of the *kumon* method runs counter to group-oriented methods. Despite its controversies, the longevity of the method, coupled with student enrolment numbers, has made the *Kumon Institute of Education* Japan's largest private educational enterprise.

Japanese juku. Traditionally, the term *juku* meant 'private school'. However, as elementary education was achieved in the late nineteenth century in Japan, the term gradually came to refer to private 'cram' tutoring academies operating outside regular school hours for students from 1st to 9th Grades (Rohlen, 1980: 209). *Juku* teachers are comprised predominantly of retired school teachers, then university students, and finally 'moonlighting' school teachers (Rohlen, 1980: 214).

The major function of *juku* during the early school years is to enrich children's learning experiences. Classes in calligraphy are said to be more popular than classes in academic subjects such as mathematics and science (H. W. Stevenson, 1991: 115). Indeed, students attend *juku* to review and study regular school subjects, but they can also practice music, the abacus or learn judo. The instruction offered at *juku* may vary significantly in subject matter, method and intensity.

During the high school years, *juku* are sources of additional information and practice related to the contents of university entrance examinations.

> Japanese society accepts the uniformity and egalitarianism of the public school system in part because the *juku* act as a safety valve: parents of high achievers send their children to *juku* to study advanced materials, and parents of low achievers send their children to *juku* to catch up with remedial work. (Mark & Emmanuelle, 2008: 9)

The literature suggests that many Japanese parents believe homework from *juku* is of practical value for their children, while homework from regular schools is at a low academic level and not directly related to university entrance exams (Saito, 2006: 107).

Critics of Japanese *kumon* have also been especially harsh in denouncing the proliferation of *juku.* Criticisms are of two sorts, that is, attendance at after-school *juku* extends the school day to the early hours of evening, a situation that is considered to be too demanding for children, and the pedagogy employed by *juku* teachers is considered

to place too great a reliance on rote-learning and memorisation. Despite these criticisms, research suggests that *kyoiku mamas* believe that their children cannot be successful in examinations without *juku* (Saito, 2006). It is unlikely, therefore, that its influence will decline as long as the prestige of being admitted to prominent Japanese schools continues to be viewed so highly.

Overseas boarding school. If Japanese intercultural and non-Japanese parents are yet to repatriate, they may chose to send their children to overseas boarding schools, even if this means fragmentation of the family unit during school terms. The boarding school experience requires that transnational children move regularly throughout the year, between being part of the family to being fairly autonomous. Accordingly, students may experience boarding house equality of demands and responsibilities as one student amongst many during the term, and then go home to the behaviours and conduct expected of family members. Parents maintain expectations of their children, unaware of gradual shifts in relational patterns that may occur during a ten week term or an eleven month year, depending on how long they are absent. Within these dyadic relationships, the shift in power and altered behaviours tend to occur in irregular and sudden jumps, rather than in gradual shifts.

Moreover, boarding schools tend to constitute a relatively 'closed' educational environment (Kashti, 1988). That is, they isolate students for long periods from family and often from the environment in which the school is located. These structural features create an infrastructure moulding the boarding school as a highly 'influential' educational environment (Kashti, 1988: 359).

2.6   Chapter summary

This chapter revealed a landscape of relevant issues that taken together provide a complex scenario of interconnectedness. Collectively they sketch a holistic picture of the

current state of globalism in terms of family, lifestyles of mobility, and issues of citizenship, identity and education. The conceptual framework and the research methods of this study are detailed in Chapters Three and Four.

Conceptual framework

3.1   Introduction

In order to understand the issues faced by international parents and their transnational children, models that dealt with cultural change from the fields of education, sociology, anthropology and psychology were evaluated. Two models that were found to be effective in conceptualising the cultural influences of the various key environments, such as family, school and community, on the development of children were Bronfenbrenner's (1979) *Ecological Systems Theory* and Epstein's (1987) *Overlapping Spheres of Influence*.

Both models are based on a human ecological perspective that recognises the possibility of overlapping, differing or interacting influences from the different environments in which children develop. They take account of the fact that 'families and schools are embedded in communities' (E. P. Smith et al., 1997: 340) and that the relations among them create 'complex chains of influence' (Connard & Novick, 1996: 11). When these models are viewed as portraying dynamic three-dimensional processes and not static entities (Kotchick & Forehand, 2002: 256), they can help us understand the different ways in which children can be raised within two or more cultures at any one time.

3.2   A human ecological framework

Around 1870, the word 'ecology' was coined by German zoologist Ernst Haeckel (1834–1919) to characterise the area of study in biological sciences concerned with the relations of organisms to their environment (Bruhn, 1974; Bubolz & Sontag, 1993; Lüscher, 1995). 'Human ecology', as it is called when people become the central focus, was utilised as a research framework for this study. The term 'ecology' can be applied to describe the development of children, the environments in which they grow-up, and

especially the interaction between them that together comprise a 'developmental ecology'. The terms 'environment', 'proximal and distal environments' (environments near and far from the individual), and 'context' have been used interchangeably in the literature, although educationalists have preferred the last term on the grounds that it better implies an individual's 'physical, social, and phenomenological experience' (Dunn, Brown, & McGuigan, 1994: 597).

Rather than isolating the particular cause and effect of one stimulus, researchers adopting an ecological perspective are concerned with a range of environments that influence people, often in complex and overlapping ways. A convincing analogy is a 'seed'.

> If you want a seed to develop into a normal, healthy plant, you must give it appropriate soil, light, and moisture. The quality of these environmental factors, along with characteristics of the seed itself, will determine how it grows and matures. All living things develop in an environment—a context— and the nature of that context influences the source of development. Human development, both physical and psychological, requires an appropriate context for its unfolding. If that context is abnormal, development may be, too. (Sroufe et al., 1996: 42)

The quotation above by Sroufe et al. (1996) is applicable to this study, as transnational children are frequently described in terms of plants being uprooted from their original environment, so that they have been considered as having 'unrooted' childhoods.

> Perched for a while in a new environment, they experience each move as an occasion for growth, a chance to blossom in new ways… Like orchids that inhabit a tree's high branches, these [transnational children] flourish in unusual environments, gathering strength from their hosts but taking sustenance from the very air about them. Not permitted by their mobile parents to sink roots… In exchanging the security of roots for the diversity of nomadism, their lives are filled with change. (Eidse & Sichel, 2004: 21 & 23)

It has been argued that transnational children may become 'uprooted from established channels of activity [which] causes the breakdown of habitual patterns of action and forces the conscious development of new modes of behaviour' (Dornbusch, 2000: 173).

For children raised in a primarily monocultural setting, where their passport or 'home' and their residential or 'host' countries are the same, the knowledge and skills they develop in one area may be applied in the broader contexts of their lives in a gradually more complex and fulfilling manner. Some of the knowledge and skills that are learned by transnational children, however, can only be applied in a restricted range of given settings and may be of limited use in subsequent contexts of living or schooling. A prime example is a child's linguistic ability. This may be well developed in the particular language of one context, such as English, but not yet acquired in the language needed for a subsequent context, such as Japanese.

> In such cases, children have to negotiate implicit conflicting messages… In these situations, some children may become confused about how they are supposed to act, which can lead to unhappiness and potentially to other detrimental developmental outcomes. (Wise & Sanson, 2000: 11)

While tensions in the form of choices and clashes are a part of the developmental ecology of all children, for transnational children, a sense of what has on-going importance may become confused. If parents behave in a proactive way to help their children manage a 'stress-free bridge' from familiar to unfamiliar contexts (Fabian & Dunlop, 2006: 13), then the increase in emotional well-being of their children can empower them as learners.

The extent and nature of the relationships among family, school and community, can be regarded as a direct outcome of the parents' decision-making (Doherty & Peskay, 1992). Hoover-Dempsey and Sandler have suggested that:

> Parents are sometimes explicitly reflective, aware, and active in relation to their decisions about being involved in their children's education; in other circumstances, they appear to respond to external events or unevaluated demands from significant aspects of the environment. We argue that the latter circumstances also represent parental choice, even if implicit. (Hoover-Dempsey & Sandler, 1997: 6)

Hence, family, school and community influences can be sources of support or stress, and an examination of the relationships among them can facilitate a better understanding of the ways in which they may assist or undermine the development of children (Connard & Novick, 1996; Jack, 2000; Wise & Sanson, 2000).

The next section offers a review of the literature on Bronfenbrenner's (1979) *Ecological Systems Theory* and Epstein's (1987) *Overlapping Spheres of Influence.* This is followed by discussion of a conceptual framework developed by the researcher in order to unite and adapt these two models to fit the focus of this research.

3.3   Ecological systems theory

Bronfenbrenner's (1979) *Ecological Systems Theory* remains one of the most influential theories from which current studies on the socialisation and education of children are derived. Scholars have claimed that prior to his theory, psychologists studied children, sociologists studied families, anthropologists studied culture, economists studied the society, and historians studied the times (Brooks-Gunn, 1995; Elder Jr, 1995). Bronfenbrenner (1979), however, emphasised the importance of adopting an interdisciplinary approach to researching the contexts within which the process of each individual's development is situated.

Bronfenbrenner's (1979) framework was originally conceived to account for variations in the development of children suffering from maltreatment and abusive contexts. Although it has 'not been much used in cross cultural research [sic]' (Dasen & Mishra,

2000: 432), it can be purposefully applied to this study of the different environmental settings in which international parents have chosen that their transnational children should function. Bronfenbrenner defined the ecology of human development as:

> The scientific study of the progressive, mutual accommodation between an active, growing human being, and the changing properties of the immediate settings in which the developing person lives, as this process is affected by the relations between these settings, and by the larger contexts in which the settings are embedded. (Bronfenbrenner, 1979: 21)

What differentiated Bronfenbrenner's (1979) ecological approach from later conceptual frameworks was his emphasis on 'development-in-context' (P. K. Smith, Cowie, & Blades, 2003; Sontag, 1996).

Ecological Systems Theory demonstrates that one context is enhanced when there are supportive relations to other contexts. Such relations can 'greatly influence the child's life trajectory' (Connard & Novick, 1996: 11). This theory can be used to enhance understanding of the human condition under which two extreme outcomes along an individual's developmental continuum are produced, namely 'competence' or 'dysfunction' (Bronfenbrenner & Evans, 2000: 118). In brief, competence refers to the demonstrated acquisition and further development of knowledge, skills or ability to conduct and direct one's own behaviour across situations, while dysfunction refers to the manifestation of difficulties in maintaining control across situations and different domains of development.

In support of Bronfenbrenner's approach, Connard and Novick (1996: 6) stated that, 'a child must be studied in the context of the family environment and the family must be understood within the context of its community and the larger society'. Smith et al. (1997: 340) elaborated that, 'families influence schools, schools influence families, and both are affected by the communities in which they reside'. In other words, the

development of children is influenced not only at the immediate level by the family system, but also by other institutions with which the family interacts. International families may encounter different cultures stemming not only from

> …the host culture, but also the international expatriate community culture, the culture of the expatriates from their home country, the culture of the sponsoring organization in that location, and others. Each of these cultures and sub-cultures has its own set of mores and assumptions; each one also requires an adjustment. (McCluskey, 1994: 5)

Children do not develop in isolation, but are largely influenced by family, school and community relationships or what other researchers have referred to as dyadic and triadic 'partnerships'.

Events in the school and the community can reinforce or conflict with the happenings in the family. Whether a family's effective social integration into school and community—comprising most of the ecology of children—is promoted by positive relations among these three or inhibited by the lack of such relations, can have a profound effect on their social and educational potential. As a result, 'an emphasis on any one environment, to the exclusion of the others, is insufficient in understanding the complexity of experiences within multicontextual partnerships' (Wright & Smith, 1998: 146).

As with most conceptual frameworks, an explication of Bronfenbrenner's (1979) *Ecological Systems Theory* relies on defining key terminology. His theory embodies four distinct ecological systems described as 'nested structures' with the child placed centre-stage, and surrounded by the contexts of home and other environments (Bronfenbrenner, 1979: 3). Each system is characterised by roles, norms and relationships, and is pictorially represented as a layer around the child. The four-stage progression from proximal (innermost) to distal (outermost) is described as including the microsystem, mesosystem, exosystem and macrosystem (Figure 3.1). Each of these systems plays a

role in the development of children and each of the explanations presented below has been accompanied by situational examples of how and when each system could relate to the lives of international families and their transnational children.
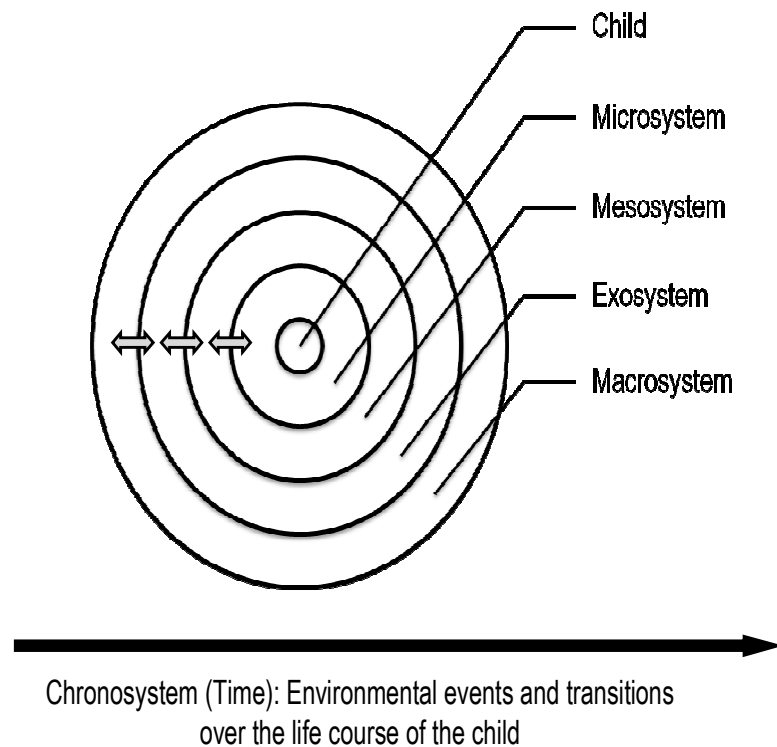
Figure 3.1   Bronfenbrenner's Ecological Systems Model

3.3.1   Microsystem

The first and innermost layer in Bronfenbrenner's (1979: 22-25) model is termed the 'microsystem' and refers to relationships between the child and their proximal environments. As the model's most basic unit of analysis, the microsystem generally encompasses children's most 'visible setting' in which they experience 'face-to-face' (Balli, Demo, & Wedman, 1998: 150) and 'day-to-day' (Garbarino, 1982: 22) reality. For example, parents, siblings, home, school and peers, provide the 'greatest influence' (Cameron, 2003: 125) on children's behavioural development, psychological adjustment and academic achievement.

Ideally, the microsystem should offer a sense of stability that is meant to be 'enduring' (Bronfenbrenner, 1975: 439). The presence or absence of certain groups of people in a child's microsystem (e.g., ethnic, gender, religious or socio-economic status) may, consciously or unconsciously, give them messages about the importance or unimportance of themselves and others (Vandenbroeck, 1999). Hence, instability and unpredictability within the microsystem can be a destructive force. As a result, children may not have the capacity to explore other parts of their environment.

Most commonly, children's primary role models are their parents who 'are taken to affect directly the [child's] cognitive and social-psychological development' and hence their progress at school. '[F]amily background is widely recognized as the most single important contributor to success in school' (Rumberger, 1995: 587). For example, parents who have high educational qualifications may feel comfortable and capable of assisting their children with schoolwork in a way that will result in increased academic guidance and achievement. Additionally, parents who have reached an elevated social status themselves may have high professional aspirations, which can influence their view of the opportunities available for their children.

While it is acknowledged that some children may become successful in spite of their parents' lack of direct involvement in their socialisation and education, this is not the case for the majority of children. Studies have documented how certain parent attributes can impact on the development of children. Notably, attributes have included parent's age (Card, 1981; Herrenkohl, Herrenkohl, Egolf, & Russo, 1998; Reis, Barbera-Stein, & Bennett, 1986); marital status (Barber & Eccles, 1992; Belsky, 1984; Bronfenbrenner, 1986; A. P. Jackson, Brooks-Gunn, Huang, & Glassman, 2000; Rumberger, 1995); degree of physical and mental health (Belsky, 1984; Eamon, 2001; Haslberger & Brewster, 2008; A. P. Jackson et al., 2000; Jacob & Johnson, 1997; Langrock, Compas, Keller, Merchant, & Copeland, 2002); educational attainment and employment (Belsky,

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1984; Bogenschneider, 1997; Bronfenbrenner, 1986; A. P. Jackson et al., 2000; D. L. Stevenson & Baker, 1987; Wright & Smith, 1998); socio-economic standing (Bronfenbrenner, 1986; A. P. Jackson et al., 2000; Kotchick & Forehand, 2002; Rumberger, 1995; Wright & Smith, 1998); and ethnic background (Forehand & Kotchick, 1996; Julian, 1994; Kotchick & Forehand, 2002; Rumberger, 1995).

Correspondingly, while it is acknowledged that some children may become successful in spite of the educational quality of their schooling, this is not the case for the majority of children. As a general rule, a school provides a child's first experience of large groups of people, all of whom have varied experiences of family life (Passy, 1999: 21). Schools are complex systems in which developmental processes and outcomes emerge from a interaction among systemic layers (E. S. Johnson, 2008: 8). With this in mind, Farmer and Farmer (1999: 381) have identified three major lines of influence pertaining to schooling in a child's microsystem: structural; instructional; and peer relational.

Structural influences. Structural influences refers to how schools are organised (Farmer & Farmer, 1999: 381). That includes for example, the physical size of the school, whether it is public or private, religious or non-denominational, the aesthetics of the classroom and campus environment, and the availability of social and educational resources. Other organisational factors relate to differentiation within the school by the streaming of academic ability groups and by special behavioural concerns. Such school features have been shown to influence children's development, although considerable debate remains as to the magnitude of such effects (Farmer & Farmer, 1999; Lee & Burkam, 2003; Rumberger, 1995).

Instructional influences. Instructional influences refers to the variability in how schools teach children, who teaches them, and what they are taught (Farmer & Farmer, 1999: 381). Commonly held assumptions, values, goals, and expectations in matters such as the discipline of a school reflected in their policies and practices, have been

shown to exert influence on children's achievement. The degree of 'academic press', where children may be perceived as more or less capable, provided with a more or less stimulating curriculum, or become motivated or not by a commonly accepted cycle of success or failure, has the potential to influence their development (Rumberger, 1995: 590). Such instructional influences contribute to a school's culture and may vary considerably from one setting to another. They can create a sense of positive identity for some students and of exclusion for others, that invariably impacts on children exposed to them (Farmer & Farmer, 1999; Lee & Burkam, 2003; Rumberger, 1995).

Peer relational influences. Peer relational influences refers to other students who play a role in the social, emotional and behavioural adjustment of children (Farmer & Farmer, 1999: 381). Within the peer network, children interact with others, evaluate one another, modify their values, goals, priorities, and expectations, as well as develop understandings of their world (Bronfenbrenner, 1986; Farmer & Farmer, 1999; Rumberger, 1995). These factors constitute an integral part of a child's microsystem.

> [P]eers can constitute distinctive networks of emotional and instrumental support. The names of groups—jocks, nerds, burnouts, slackers, and independents—point to future pathways… peers are salient and controversial. Peers may offer emotional and practical resources for doing homework, staying in school, and going to college. (Cooper, Chavira, & Mena, 2005: 420)

Such influences represent a way for children to achieve a degree of independence from their parents and can become a facilitating factor in their identity formation.

The critical role schools play on the development of children, in terms of these three major lines of influences, forms a key component of the microsystem. If these influences are positively-related and remain consistent, then children are more likely to develop an assured self-concept and high self-esteem, while the opposite scenario may breed inner-conflict and a poor self-image.

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3.3.2 Mesosystem

The second layer in Bronfenbrenner's (1979: 25) model is termed the 'mesosystem' and refers to connections between the immediate settings, such as family and school partnerships. This layer is formed when children enter a new setting, such as a school. This event requires an 'ecological transition', which according to Bronfenbrenner

> …periodically occur in a person's [child's] life. These transitions include changes in role and setting as a function of the person's [child's] maturation or of events in the life cycle of others responsible for his or her care and development. (Bronfenbrenner, 1977: 526)

Researchers have proposed that studies on 'transitions' favours an ecological model, since none of the processes operating within the model are independent of each other (Bronfenbrenner, 1977, 1979; Garbarino, Burston, Raber, Russell, & Crouter, 1978; Rimm-Kaufman & Pianta, 2000). (Dunlop & Fabian, 2002; Fabian & Dunlop, 2006, 2002).

For the transitional process to be successful, communication and participation are needed. To cite a common example, events at home can affect children's progress in school and vice versa (Bronfenbrenner, 1986: 723). The nature of the relationship between the 'family and school' largely influences children's social and educational development, because mesosystem links can either be promoting or inhibiting depending on the degree to which microsystem contexts 'complement' or 'compete' with one another. The mesosystem highlights the multiplicity of ways in which the contexts of the microsystem in children's lives are interrelated via common people and communication between, among or across settings.

To complicate matters, internationally-mobile families in particular, may live in a constant state of 'transience' (Eidse & Sichel, 2004; McCluskey, 1994). They are continually leaving one country for another, thereby experiencing one ecological

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transition after another, with substantial changes at the micro- and mesosystem levels (as well as in the outer layers of the exo- and macrosystems described below). While change can bring the excitement of fresh beginnings and the anticipation of making new friends, there can also be an element of apprehension of the unknown, which may cause some children to develop a lingering anxiety.

3.3.3 Exosystem

The third layer in Bronfenbrenner's (1979: 25) model is termed the 'exosystem' and involves the social and economic settings in which the family lives. Typically, this layer exerts a unidirectional influence that directly or indirectly impacts on children (Bronfenbrenner, 1977: 526). The exosystem encompasses the surrounding social system, including the decisions and policies over which the family caring for the development of a child has little control. Practical examples include parents' employment status; schools' adherence to local, state and federal mandates; and the residential community's accessibility to transportation, education and healthcare services.

3.3.4 Macrosystem

The fourth layer in Bronfenbrenner's (1979: 26) model is termed the 'macrosystem' and refers to the effects of the overarching cultural forces of the society in which the family resides. The macrosystem can be thought of as the broad social context where patterns of values, beliefs, customs and lifestyles in a given culture or subculture are embedded. For example, societal role expectations at the macrosystem level often determine parenting practices that a particular ethnic group may use to raise their children (Eamon, 2001: 261). 'Parents' beliefs and practices about children and their development are defined by what is considered adaptive in their cultural setting' (Wise & Sanson, 2000: 3). A host culture where childrearing practices are different may influence the way international parents choose to function in that setting. Other societal role expectations may pertain to

parents' occupational status, regular work hours in that society, pay scales, holidays and other entitlements.

In a similar way to the exosystem, the macrosystem typically exerts a unidirectional influence upon the micro-, meso- and exo- systems, and consequently upon the development of the child at the centre of the model. The model illustrates, therefore, how a decision or change in the macrosystem may affect the exosystem and hence a child's mesosystem and microsystem. Relocation, for example, not only results in the immediate disruption of support networks, but also presents a challenge to establish new networks in the host country. Support systems that worked at home, do not always have relevance abroad, as neither the context nor the resources are the same. While this may not be controversial in itself, 'recognizing these links does suggest the importance of trying to conceptualize and design… beyond just the microsystem level' (P. K. Smith et al., 2003: 10).

3.3.5   Chronosystem

Initially, in Bronfenbrenner's (1979) study of human development, the passage of time and space was treated as synonymous with the chronological age of the child. However, a final systems parameter was later introduced whereby the four layers described above became recognised as being contained within what Bronfenbrenner termed the 'chronosystem' (1986: 724). Although not recognised as one of the four layers, the chronosystem represents a temporal dimension that influences the operation of all levels of the ecological system. The chronosystem refers to both the short and long-term time dimensions of the macrosystem in which the family resides.

The chronosystem in relation to the family may include personal events such as a parent(s)' absence, death or divorce at a certain age in the development of a child (Bronfenbrenner, 1986). The chronosystem in relation to the school may take into

account the number of years the school has been in operation, as newer schools often face challenges that differ from those of an institution that is well-established, as well as the day-to-day and year-to-year changes that occur to the student and teaching body (E. S. Johnson, 2008: 3). The chronosystem in relation to the community may include social and economic happenings within the environment, such as political unrest, recession and natural disasters.

All these events impinging on children have different effects depending on the historical context in which they occurred, the length of time since they occurred, and experiences that have subsequently occurred (Haveman & Wolfe, 1995: 1835). In relation to international mobility, the chronosystem would seem to be mediated by variables such as: the transnational child's age; personality; home and host language proficiency; number, frequency and timing of moves; duration of each relocation and repatriation; amount and quality of preparation and orientation prior to relocation and repatriation; similarities or differences between family, school and host country cultures; and level of integration with the host culture. Furthermore, the chronosystem is largely mediated by the attitude and involvement of parents to and in the host culture; the selection of the type and profile of the host school(s); and the culture(s) and norm(s) of the sponsoring group(s) (Bronfenbrenner, 1979; Epstein, 1987; McCluskey, 1994; Pollock & Van Reken, 2001; Zilber, 2005).

3.3.6   Bronfenbrenner's theory and transnational children

Bronfenbrenner's (1979) theory proposes that the degree of complementarity of the ecological layers may enhance or destabilise children's view of themselves and those around them. When schools and communities are able to operate in partnership with parents, supporting the culture of the family unit, fulfilling an indispensable confirming, and extending role, the more stable the developmental ecology of children. When, on the

other hand, cultural patterns and expectations differ, the instability and unpredictability of a child's microsystem can be a destabilising force. For example

> …[international] parents may be tempted to alternate their children's school system in order to enhance cross cultural understanding and tolerance, but many experts advocate just the opposite… moving your child from one academic system to another during this time (for example, from the British to the French or the US systems) can handicap a child… whatever continuity you can provide these children is important… throughout a life in which there are many other changes. (McCluskey, 1994: 19)

Effective partnerships is seen in the form of mutual trust, cultural respect, open communication, shared goals and other efforts to foster positive long-term outcomes (Bronfenbrenner, 1979; Cooper et al., 2005; Driessen et al., 2005; Epstein, 1995; Epstein & Hollifield, 1996; Wise & Sanson, 2000; Wise, Sanson, & Southbank, 2003).

In general, parents wish to provide socialisation and educational experiences favourable to the developmental growth of their children, but for transnational children who must negotiate more than one unfamiliar setting with every relocation or repatriation, the developmental potential of each setting is likely to be improved when there are positive relationships between and among the different contexts. Some children may become confused about how they are supposed to act, which can lead to unhappiness and potentially to other detrimental developmental outcomes. In such cases, children have to negotiate conflicting messages—a difficult task at any age.

Studies of familial influences on children's social and educational growth have tended to direct their attention to Bronfenbrenner's (1979) microsystem and/or the exosystem, and paid little attention to the mesosystem. One exception has been the pioneering work of Epstein, who over the past three decades has specifically studied what she termed 'family, school and community partnerships' and their influence on the social and

educational development of children (Epstein, 1986, 1987, 1990, 1992, 1995, 2005; Epstein & Dauber, 1991; Epstein & Hollifield, 1996; Epstein & Sanders, 2006).

3.4 Overlapping spheres of influence

Epstein's (1987: 121) model of the *Overlapping Spheres of Influence* was inspired by Bronfenbrenner's (1979) 'broader' ecological model. Epstein (1987) focused specifically on the interaction among family, school and community contexts by merging educational, sociological and psychological perspectives in an 'integrated manner' to describe how these three influences may overlap to varying degrees (Driessen et al., 2005: 511).

3.4.1 Two overlapping spheres of influence

Epstein's (1987) earlier work was centred on the two influences—family and school. Her research was based on a 'mesosystem model', which focused on the interactions and interconnections that had been established between these two contexts. A central proposition of Epstein's (1987) theory is that support for the development of children should be shared. With reference to Figure 3.2, the dynamic nature of the partnership between family and school influences can be represented by the fluctuating amount of overlap between the 'spheres' in a Venn diagram.

While parents [families] and teachers [schools] may share the same vision and goals, they do not always know how to work together to create meaningful partnerships for children (Kessler-Sklar & Baker, 2000). Epstein's (1987) model exemplifies how 'congruence' between the two spheres is likely to result in the highest level of positivity of children towards their schooling, while conversely, 'incongruence' is likely to result in markedly lower levels of positivity of children towards their schooling (Cooper et al., 2005; Driessen et al., 2005; Epstein, 1987; Wise & Sanson, 2000; Wise et al., 2003). Hence, cultural discontinuities or 'mismatches' can arise when conflicts or gaps between

families' and schools' vision and goals impede the developmental outcomes of children/students (Cooper et al., 2005: 411).

The image shows two overlapping circles forming a Venn diagram. The left circle is labeled "Force B: Experience and philosophy of the family" with a double-headed arrow, and "Family Environment". The right circle is labeled "Force C: Experience and philosophy of the school" with a double-headed arrow, and "School Environment". The overlapping region is labeled vertically "Family-School Partnership". Below the circles is a large horizontal arrow labeled "Force A: Time, age and historical context".

Figure 3.2   The fluctuating amount of overlap between two spheres in a Venn diagram: Family and school environments (Adapted from McBride & Lin, 1996: 352) [46]

Epstein (1995: 702) theorised that the two spheres—family and school—could be 'drawn together' or 'pushed apart'. She considered, however, that any attempt to measure the actual degree of overlap in the partnership would be complex for two main reasons. First, the degree of congruence of family and school partnerships is affected by several forces, namely: Time, age and historical context (Force A); Experience and philosophy of the family (Force B); and Experience and philosophy of the school (Force

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46   Figure 3.2 is a minor adaptation, in terms of format, of Figure 1 in McBride, B. A., & Lin, H. F. (1996). Parental involvement in prekindergarten at-risk programs: Multiple perspectives. *Journal of Education for Students Placed at Risk, 1*(4), p. 252, which depicts Epstein's (1987) model of the overlapping spheres of influence between family and school environments.

C). Second, each individual involved in the association, for example students, parents, teachers or school principals, has a different vantage point from which to assess the functionality of that partnership (Simon, 2004; Simon & Epstein, 2001).

Separate philosophies and practices. When the connection between the family and school is classified as 'separate', each sphere is responsible for different facets of the social and educational development of the child (Epstein, 1987: 121). The family is responsible for their social development, while the school is responsible for their educational development. Each sphere has distinct duties, which are more efficiently achieved when each sphere conducts its own business. This type of partnership could breed conflict when

> …teachers do not interact with parents, they cannot be informed about nor understand the parents' expectations for their children… [likewise] If the parents avoid teachers, they cannot be informed about or understand the schools' expectations for their children. (Epstein, 1987: 122)

In this scenario, there is little or no mesosystem, because the interaction between the two spheres is minimal.

Shared philosophies and practices. When the connection between the family and school is classified as 'shared', the two spheres are communicating, cooperating and collaborating (Epstein, 1987: 121). The family and the school are jointly responsible for the socialisation and education of the child. The interconnections that comprise the mesosystem are extensive and operating at an optimal level to augment the child's developmental ecology. This occurs when each partner values the actions of the other as alluded to in the following example:

> In planning children's educational program, a teacher considers the part parents can play; it may be because the teacher holds the parents as an important reference group. If, in planning their family activities, parents take

the teachers' or schools' goals and actions into account, it may be because

they consider teachers an important reference group. (Epstein, 1987: 122)

In this scenario, interaction is considered to demonstrate the 'natural, nested, and necessary connections between individuals and their groups and organizations' (Epstein, 1987: 121).

Sequentially-related philosophies and practices. When the connection between the family and school is classified as 'sequentially related', each sphere is responsible for different facets of the social and educational development of the child according to their age (Epstein, 1987: 121-122). The family is responsible for the socialisation and education of the child during the preschool years and the school assumes that responsibility at whatever age they formally enter the institution. Each sphere has distinct duties, which are more efficiently achieved when each sphere conducts its own business. This type of partnership could breed confusion when:

Parents teach their children needed skills, arrange educational programs and experiences, and are guided or supported by social and educational agencies… At the time of formal entry to school, the teacher [suddenly] assumes the major responsibility… (Epstein, 1987: 121-122)

Once again, in this scenario, there is little or no mesosystem, because the interaction between the two spheres is minimal.

Figure 3.3   Model of two overlapping spheres of influence: Separate, shared and sequentially-related philosophies and practices between family and school environments (Adapted from Epstein, 1987: 127)[47]

3.4.2   Three overlapping spheres of influence

Epstein (1995; 1996) merged 'community' into her family and school partnership model when she recognised that it too needed to invest in children's social and educational development through providing various support services. Sanders, Allen-Jones and Abel supported her view by stating:

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47   Figure 3.3 is a minor adaptation, in terms of format, of Figure 1 in Epstein, J. L. (1987). Toward a theory of family-school connections: Teacher practices and parent involvement. In K. Hurrelmann, F. Kaufmann & F. Losel (Eds.), *Social intervention: Potential and constraints* (p. 127). New York: DeGruyter.

Advocates of community involvement in schools argue that communities house human and material resources that can aid in the intellectual, social, and emotional development of children, especially given dramatic changes in family demographics and greater demands placed on schools during the past two decades. (Sanders, Allen-Jones, & Abel, 2002: 174)

The central principle of her newer theory remained the same; the degree of overlap of shared interests and investments of the three spheres of influence—family, school and community—need to be centred on the child.

With reference to Figure 3.4, these three spheres of influence are capable of overlapping to a greater or lesser extent and the degree of congruence among them, is seen to be of considerable importance for the optimal development of children. Epstein asserts that:

The model of school, family, and community partnerships locates the student [child] at the center… partnership activities may be designed to engage, guide, energize, and motivate students [children] to produce their own successes. The assumption is that, if children feel cared for and encouraged to work hard in the role of student, they are more likely to do their best. (Epstein, 1995: 702)

Accordingly, teaching and learning are enhanced when there is purposeful overlap of the spheres of influence around children (Driessen et al., 2005; Epstein, 1986, 1987, 1990, 1992, 1995, 2005; Epstein & Dauber, 1991; Epstein & Hollifield, 1996; Epstein & Sanders, 2006; Sanders & Epstein, 2000a, 2000b; Simon & Epstein, 2001; Wise & Sanson, 2000; Wise et al., 2003).

Conforming to Epstein's (1995: 702) original model, family, school and community spheres can be 'drawn together' or 'pushed apart' depending on the quality of their partnerships. When dyadic partnerships between 'family and school', 'family and community' and 'school and community' are compatible, the stability of the developmental ecology of children is improved, but it is when the triadic partnerships of

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the 'family and school and community' are compatible, that their developmental ecology

is best realised.

NOTE:
This figure is included on page 115
of the print copy of the thesis held in
the University of Adelaide Library.

Figure 3.4   Model of three overlapping spheres of influence: Separate, shared and sequentially-related philosophies and practices among family, school and community environments (Adapted from Epstein, 1987: 127)[48]

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48   Figure 3.3 is a replication of Figure 1 in Epstein, J. L. (1987). Toward a theory of family-school connections: Teacher practices and parent involvement. In K. Hurrelmann, F. Kaufmann & F. Losel (Eds.), *Social intervention: Potential and constraints*. New York: DeGruyter, p. 127. Figure 3.4 above has been adapted from Figure 3.3 by integrating 'community environment' as a third overlapping sphere of influence. A community component was not formally addressed in the 1987 model. To distinguish between 'child' and 'community', the latter was replaced by R = residence for ease of reference.

3.4.3 Scope and assumptions of Epstein's theory

Epstein's (1987) ecological framework encourages those in each sphere to think in terms of 'family *and* school *and* community' rather than 'family *or* school *or* community'. The behaviours and attitudes of one of the triad are considered to be no less important or intrinsically valuable than the others. The goal of effective partnerships is not simply to get everyone involved, but to connect important contexts for strengthening the developmental ecology of children (Epstein & Sanders, 2006).

An analysis of Epstein's (1987: 128-129) work identified the scope that needs to be accounted for when considering her model and any adaptation of it:

- The 'minimum' overlap of the spheres is in the form of unavoidable institutional interactions, such as payments, contracts, rules and regulations, visits, evaluations and so forth.

- The 'maximum' overlap of the spheres occurs when all the people involved are acting as true partners with frequent voluntary cooperative efforts and close communications.

- There is a typical pattern of 'minimum' and 'maximum' overlap of the spheres that occurs at different times, often based on the age of children and the level of their schooling.

- There can never be 'total' overlap of the spheres, as the family maintains some functions and practices that are independent of the school, and the school maintains some functions and practices that are independent of the family.

Similarly, an analysis of Epstein's (1987: 128-129) work suggested that there are a number of assumptions that need to be accounted for when considering her model and any adaptation of it:

- Children are at the centre of the overlapping spheres as the primary reason for family and school partnerships.

- For most children, the overlap of family and school spheres is greatest during the preschool and early elementary grades.

- Family and school relationships and interactions occur at both the 'individual' and 'institutional' levels, and the extent of overlap is not static, but constantly changing.

- When parents maintain or increase interest and involvement in their children's schooling, they create greater overlap of the family and school spheres than would be expected otherwise.

- When teachers make parents part of their regular teaching practice, they create greater overlap of the family and school spheres than would be expected otherwise.

- While children are consistently connected to their families, they have different teachers over the course of their schooling and therefore experience a continuing adjustment in the overlap of the spheres.

- Each individual child, parent and teacher brings their own unique set of perceptions and beliefs about family and school partnerships, which influences the roles and relationships they adopt and their interactions with others within the overlap.

The assumption that mere contact among the three spheres reduces the occurrence of conflict and that children who are placed in diverse settings from an early age are better able to handle difference, is misleading (Vandenbroeck, 1999). Emotional stability, a strong identity and general resilience in children are promoted when the resources of the family, school and community are dedicated to their social and educational well-being.

3.5 A new conceptual framework: Cross cultural scenarios of transnational children in the Tokyo study

The overarching goal of this chapter was to use ecological theory to develop an expanded conceptualisation of the possible overlapping spheres of influence or partnerships among family, school and community for the situation of international families in Tokyo. Building on the perspectives and insights from Bronfenbrenner's (1979) and Epstein's (1987) theories, this study developed a new conceptual framework to emphasis the possible cultural and linguistic variations that could occur in the developmental ecology of transnational children; within what Bronfenbrenner (1979) called the 'ecological systems' of the individual and Epstein (1987) termed the 'overlapping spheres of influence'.

Consistent with previous research, shared goals among international families, their schools, and the Tokyo community, may assist the developmental outcomes of their transnational children, while conflicting goals may undermine that development. It has been argued that

> …while the number and scope of investigations on parenting that employ a contextual perspective have increased, these studies remain widely scattered across disciplines and journals, thus impeding efforts to develop comprehensive models of parenting that could best inform policy and intervention development… Enough evidence exists to document the effects contextual variables appear to have on parenting individually. (Kotchick & Forehand, 2002: 265)

The conceptual framework introduced below is designed to fill a gap in the literature where, as continued in the quotation above, 'work now needs to be done to identify how these variables interact or combine to influence parenting' (Kotchick & Forehand, 2002: 265).

3.5.1   Explanation

Adoption of a contemporary human ecological model mandates taking into account the broad scope of different cultural factors that can shape the social and educational development of transnational children. This new framework aligns concepts and perspectives across the theories to focus on the nature and extent of cross cultural influences among family, school and community around the developing child. In order to make this exploratory investigation focus on these cultural variations, four influences embedded within the ecological layers of transnational children were selected as key indicators.

M F S R. The four spheres of influence surrounding a transnational child (C) that were incorporated into the new conceptual framework included:

- mother's cultural background   (M)

- father's cultural background   (F)

- school cultural background   (S)

- residential country culture   (R)

The potential for children's success in school may be framed in ecological terms that encompass the system of the family and the system of the school within the broader system of the community. Changes to one or more of these spheres can involve adjustments in the overlap and partnership possibilities with the other spheres, and thus exert powerful forces in steering the course of the social and educational development of transnational children.

Multiple contexts create diversity, possibility and unpredictability. As such, these four influences or dimensions should be considered simultaneously and as a whole, rather

than in any form of hierarchy or 'linearity' of cause and effect (Kitson, Harvey, & McCormack, 1998: 150).

> Ideally, a healthy ecology would promote connectedness and flexibility among the social contexts that surround the child and be characterized by high quality communication and contact among these social contexts. In contrast, an unhealthy ecology would lack communication and social support, produce or exacerbate discontinuities, and contribute to academic failure. (Rimm-Kaufman & Pianta, 2000: 505)

Given the diverse contexts of transnational children—across two or more cultures—the full range of possible environments were termed *Cross Cultural Scenarios*. This perspective recognises that child development today 'is multidirectional, multidetermined, and probabilistic. There is no universal child, but a population of children growing up in varied contexts' (Scholnick, 2004: 104).

3.5.2   Presentation

Researchers interested in cross cultural factors in human development face the challenge of conceptualising culture in ways that can be studied empirically. The new framework of *Cross Cultural Scenarios* experienced by transnational children, sets out a basic set of parameters to enable researchers to investigate the developmental ecology of transnational children. In this way, the framework seeks to maintain a holistic perspective and recognises the potential complexity of interactions and overlap among spheres of transnational children's lived experience, that is 'less bounded, more fluid, and more of a daily challenge' (Willis, 2002: 27). The new framework can be conceived as an instrument that functions like a kaleidoscope through which can be viewed the varying scenarios that transnational children may face at any one time.

For increased clarity, the *Cross Cultural Scenarios* framework has been presented below in two distinct ways: systematically in table form and then diagrammatically.

Systematic representation. With reference to Table 3.1, all the possible factors of significance in the developmental ecology of transnational children in the context of Tokyo have been systematically listed. Within the conceptualisation of a holistic cultural scenario for each child, each of the possible variations taken overall (across the rows) and termed a *Cross Cultural Scenario*, has been given a specific designation according to the particular pattern of M F S R cultural backgrounds involved. It should be noted that Table 3.1 does not include a monocultural scenario since this conceptualisation was intended for transnational children. Seven patterns of bicultural scenarios could be identified, six patterns of tricultural scenarios, as well as one polycultural scenario where a different culture was represented by each of the four chosen indicators.

Diagrammatical representation. With reference to Figure 3.5, Epstein's (1987) three overlapping spheres was adapted and increased to four spheres, M F S R. Consistent with Epstein's (1987) theory, two types of sphere interaction and influence may occur in this adaptation of her model. The first type of sphere interaction is 'between' the elements in the structure of the model where the mother's cultural background, father's cultural background, school's cultural background, and residential country culture are multi-directionally centred on children. This form of interaction is represented by upper-case letters (M F S R) in the overlap section. The second type of sphere interaction is 'within' the structure of the model where mother's cultural background, father's cultural background, school's cultural background, and residential country culture are each conducting their own business around children. This form of interaction is represented by lower-case letters (m f s r) in the non-overlap section.

Table 3.1   **Variations of cross cultural scenarios experienced by transnational children of international parents in Tokyo**

cross cultural scenarios	M = mother's cultural background	F = father's cultural background	S = school cultural background	R = residential country culture
bicultural scenario A	Japanese	Other 1	Japanese	Japanese
bicultural scenario B	Other 1	Japanese	Japanese	Japanese
bicultural scenario C	Japanese	Japanese	Other 1	Japanese
bicultural scenario D	Other 1	Other 1	Japanese	Japanese
bicultural scenario E	Japanese	Other 1	Other 1	Japanese
bicultural scenario F	Other 1	Japanese	Other 1	Japanese
bicultural scenario G	Other 1	Other 1	Other 1	Japanese
tricultural scenario A	Japanese	Other 1	Other 2	Japanese
tricultural scenario B	Other 1	Japanese	Other 2	Japanese
tricultural scenario C	Other 1	Other 2	Japanese	Japanese
tricultural scenario D	Other 1	Other 1	Other 2	Japanese
tricultural scenario E	Other 1	Other 2	Other 1	Japanese
tricultural scenario F	Other 2	Other 1	Other 1	Japanese
polycultural scenario	Other 1	Other 2	Other 3	Japanese

Notes: A monocultural scenario has not been included as one of the 14 cross cultural scenarios, since transnational children, by definition, experience at least two (or more) different cultural contexts (Basch et al., 1994: 7).
Other 1 = A non-Japanese cultural background.
Other 2 = A second non-Japanese cultural background, different from Other 1.
Other 3 = A third non-Japanese cultural background, different from Other 1 and Other 2.

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Figure 3.5 **Model of four overlapping spheres of influence: Separate, shared and sequentially-related philosophies and practices among mother, father, school and community (residential) environments (Adapted from Epstein, 1987: 127)**[49]

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49   Figure 3.5 has been adapted from Figure 1 in Epstein, J. L. (1987). Toward a theory of family-school connections: Teacher practices and parent involvement. In K. Hurrelmann, F. Kaufmann & F. Losel (Eds.), *Social intervention: Potential and constraints*. New York: DeGruyter, p. 127. The above figure has incorporated four overlapping spheres of influence: mother's cultural background (M), father's cultural background (F), the school cultural background (S), and the residential (community) country culture (R).

3.5.3   Reformulation of the initial research question

With an advanced appreciation of the potential cross cultural experiences given by the framework, it was possible to reformulate the initial research question presented in Chapter One (section 1.4.1). The two new research questions that emerged were:

> Q1.   What is the nature of the cross cultural influences within the international families of the transnational children in this study?

> Q2.   To what extent could international parents' choice of school for their transnational children in Tokyo be considered a partnership in terms of the overlap between the school's cultural background and the ecology of the family?

The assumption of positive outcomes. It has been suggested above that the developmental ecology of transnational children may be promoted or inhibited by the environments within which international parents have chosen for them to function. However, this does not imply that the contexts around children remain 'monocultural'. Diverse settings and experiences of transnational children are not necessarily detrimental to their social or educational development. Exposure to diversity as experienced through transience can offer advantages.

> To assuage the guilt and confusion of [international] parents who raise their children overseas… the beautiful 'pearls' that grow inside 'oysters'… the skills of cultural tolerance and understanding that TCKs develop should be cause for pride instead of guilt. This valuable gem, the pearl, is to be found growing among the foreign matter inside the oyster's shell. (Zilber, 2004: 18)

The assumption behind the *Cross Cultural Scenarios* framework is that it is at least possible for the culturally diverse ecological systems to have important positive outcomes. For example, knowledge about the anthropological, economic, historical, political, religious and social influences that shape a culture can lead to an appreciation of that culture, but 'adoption of a positive attitude towards others does not stem from

knowledge alone; it is an attitudinal reflex' (Hill, 2006: 12). Positive attributes derived from living an international lifestyle may include a three-dimensional worldview, linguistic and cognitive flexibility, multiple perspective-taking and a sophisticated diplomacy (Cameron, 2003; Hayden et al., 2000; Hayden & Thompson, 1995; Heyward, 2002; McCluskey, 1994; McLachlan, 2003, 2004, 2007; Pascoe, 2006; Pollock & Van Reken, 2001; Schaetti, 2002; Schaetti & Ramsey, 1999; Zilber, 2005).

3.6   Chapter summary

Chapter Three provided a review of the relevant literature on family, school and community contextual factors that may shape the developmental ecology of children, and offered examples related specifically to international parents and their transnational children. It is my contention that the ecological perspective, which conceptualises parenting as a process rather than a static entity, facilitated the adoption of a research approach that was sensitive to change and diversity. The usefulness of the new framework provided a way of systematically understanding the complexity of cultural scenarios experienced by transnational children, as well as the ability to compare and contrast them. A viable framework offered a means of deciding what and how the research data should be gathered and analysed.

Chapter Four details the research methods applied to investigate the actual *Cross Cultural Scenarios* and school choice of a group of international parents in Tokyo.

Stage 1 & 2 research methods

4.1   Introduction

Chapter Four outlines the methods utilised in this research, which was conducted among the international parent community in Tokyo. As indicated at the end of the preceding chapter, the two research questions became: *What is the nature of the cross cultural influences within the international families of the transnational children in this study?* and *To what extent could international parents' choice of school for their transnational children in Tokyo be considered a partnership, in terms of the overlap between the school's cultural background and the ecology of the family?* Two distinct stages of data collection allowed international parents in Tokyo to respond individually, and on behalf their spouses and children. Stage 1 involved administering questionnaires in 2007 and Stage 2 involved conducting interviews in 2008.

This study was predominantly qualitative, but had a quantitative dimension in that information that could be summarised as descriptive statistics or 'frequencies' were gathered. Best described as the backgrounding phase aimed at identifying potential issues of interest, Stage 1 questionnaires were intended to not only to describe particular parents, but to also obtain a composite profile of information about a group of international families in Tokyo. Questionnaire data provided the basis for further and subsequent qualitative exploration. Neuman posits that:

> The results of early analysis guide subsequent data collection. Thus, analysis is less a distinct final stage of research than a dimension of research that stretches across all stages. (Neuman, 2004: 320)

Questionnaires and interviews can be successfully combined when the former reveals that more exploration of the subject is necessary (Kaufman, Guerra, & Platt, 2006: 115).

Hence, the purpose of Stage 2 interviews was to elicit from a smaller set of the same or similar parents, in depth information about the cross cultural influences within the family and international parents' choices and experiences of the selection of schooling for their transnational children in Tokyo.

Overall, this was an 'exploratory study' (Neuman, 2004: 15) that involved becoming familiar with a new setting and its particular features, gathering a range of data from a comparatively small community, and creating a preliminary picture of the situation to be able to generate ideas for future research. The remainder of this chapter will examine each research stage in turn.

4.2 Stage 1 questionnaires

Stage 1 involved the administration of questionnaires (Appendix A). A self-developed 'semi-structured' (L. Cohen, Manion, & Morrison, 2000) format was chosen. A series of 'open-ended' (Creswell, 2008; Kaufman et al., 2006; Neuman, 2004) questions sought discretionary comments.

> Though there is a large range of types of questionnaire, there is a simple rule of thumb: the larger the size of the sample, the more structured, closed and numerical the questionnaire may have to be, and the smaller the size of the sample, the less structured, more open and word-based the questionnaire may be. (L. Cohen et al., 2000: 247)

The questionnaires were focused on transnational children's developmental ecology as related to four environments: mother's cultural background (M); father's cultural background (F); school cultural background (S); and residential country culture (R). In this study, R was exclusively Japanese.

From my previous experiences in Tokyo, I had anticipated that a significant number of international parents would represent Japanese intercultural marriages. As expected, it was essential to separate mother's cultural background (M) and father's cultural

background (F), to allow for the possibility that neither, one or both, complemented S or R. For the purpose of this study, families where all four environments were of Japanese cultural background were excluded as no cross cultural or transnational dimension—the primary focus of this research—was evident. Hence, the focus group were parents of families with one or more of M, F or S contexts representing a non-Japanese cultural background.

4.2.1   Questionnaire design

Stage 1 (S1) data were collected in response to questions pertaining to: the background profile of each international parent (cultural, linguistic, educational and occupational); the background profile of the transnational children; factors that may have influenced parental choice of schooling in Tokyo; the educational and professional aspirations the parents held for their children; as well as where the family considered 'home' (Appendix A).

Preliminary consideration of the questionnaire format highlighted that staging of the questions was important in securing the support of respondents. The sequence of questions could have made respondents more or less receptive to the questionnaire and influenced the quality of their responses. Kaufman (2006: 137) suggested that if proven techniques are not utilised at the front of the questionnaire's design, potential respondents could abandon it altogether. Potential respondents were, therefore, encouraged to view the questionnaire to help them decide whether they felt willing and able to participate in this study.

As individuals with a range of English language skills would be completing the questionnaires, it was important that the paperwork was well-organised with clear wording and a straightforward layout. Non-Japanese respondents would not necessarily be native English speakers and every effort was made to keep the subject matter as

concise as possible. In response to this, Kaufman (2006: 137) advises that questions should be clustered around similar themes that draw focus to a topic or issue and enable respondents to 'maximize their recall'. Hence, each of the four pages were organised as a subsection with separate headings to signal a change of focus.

The Stage 1 questionnaire (Appendix A) consisted of four pages and four parts: Part A – Mother Information (11 questions), Part B – Father Information (11 questions), Part C – Family Information (10 questions), and Part D – Children Information (5 questions). This aided in making the questionnaire appear shorter for the reason outlined below.

> [A] four-page questionnaire might contain sixty questions, broken down into four sections. It might be off-putting to respondents to number each question (1-60) as the list will seem interminably long, whereas to number each section (1-4) makes the questionnaire look manageable. (L. Cohen et al., 2000: 259)

Parts A and B were identical requiring the same information about the mother and the father and necessitated mostly one word responses.

Oppenheim (1992: 108-109) claims that 'personal data questions tend to be very off-putting to respondents', and such questions should be positioned near the end of the questionnaire and preceded by the researcher's reason for asking them. As this study was focused on cross cultural influences within families, the need for information pertaining to the mother's cultural background (M) and the father's cultural background (F) was imperative and necessitated placement at the forefront of the questionnaire.

Parts C and D required some elaboration, with most parents finding adequate space in the boxes provided. This design technique was founded on the principle that a questionnaire should move from

> …objective facts to subjective attitudes and opinions through [to] justifications to sensitive, personalized data… What is being argued here is

that the logical ordering of a questionnaire has to be mediated by its psychological ordering. (L. Cohen et al., 2000: 257-258)

The concept of 'home', for example, may have been somewhat tenuous for international parents who need to decide where to live on a temporary, semi-permanent or permanent basis. The last content question, therefore, asked respondents to identify their home location.

4.2.2   Respondent recruitment

A total of 55 parents across the 23 wards of Tokyo completed a questionnaire during the period 14 November – 20 December 2007. As I had taught in an international school in Tokyo from 2002–2006 and maintained strong relations with a number of parents in that community, it seemed logical and convenient to invite them to participate. However, I was aware of the implications of collecting data that largely reflected a single school choice, thereby omitting the voices and opinions of parents who were part of the broader community. I considered it important to have respondents[50] from a number of different schools, in order to demonstrate something of the range of educational choice in Tokyo.

To increase my chances of finding suitable international parents, a number of service agencies were contacted, predominantly from the expatriate and high foreign population areas in and around *Minato-ku* [Minato ward in Tokyo]. Organisations included: the Australian Embassy; Being-A-Broad (BAB); Foreign Executive Women (FEW); Lehman Brothers; the Tokyo American Club (TAC); and the Weekender Magazine. Unfortunately, phone calls and emails to many of them failed to locate respondents.

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50   In this study, parents involved in Stage 1 questionnaires were referred to as 'respondents' (n = 55) and parents involved in Stage 2 interviews were termed 'participants' (n = 17). Similarly, Stage 1 (S1) respondents were allocated a number (1-55) in the order of questionnaire collection and Stage 2 (S2) participants were allocated a letter of the alphabet (A-Q) in the same chronological order of the interview timetable.

In response to this dilemma, the technique of 'snowballing' was adopted (L. Cohen & Manion, 1994; L. Cohen et al., 2000; Creswell, 2008; Fink, 2006; Neuman, 2004; Oppenheim, 1992; Trochim, 2005). That is, I called upon friends who understood the selection criteria to recommend and introduce me to parents from their own extended social networks who might be willing to participate. This practice is known to be effective in contacting 'hard-to-reach' populations (Trochim, 2005: 43). International parents in Tokyo were considered hard-to-reach as most tend to be professionals with a high degree of mobility and prefer to be contacted through friends who typically replace family left behind in their original home-setting (Pascoe, 2006). Fortunately, two individuals were instrumental in enabling me to reach my Stage 1 target and assemble a total of 55 questionnaire respondents.

The first person to offer assistance was a mother of two boys attending the international school at which I had previously taught, although neither of her sons was ever in my class. She agreed to complete a questionnaire herself and realised that she was able to contribute in a significant way. She was the director of her own after-school play centre, where mothers who were unable to collect their children at the end of the school day could leave them in supervised care until later in the afternoon. This mother hired carers to facilitate various social and educational activities with the children and asked whether I would be interested in volunteering at her workplace in exchange for the possibility of identifying a number of international parents who might prove willing to complete questionnaires. She had imagined that if parents saw me over a period of several weeks as they came to collect their children, this would place me in a favourable position to ask them for their cooperation. Her theory proved successful and it was through this contact that I was introduced to additional respondents.

The second person to offer their assistance was a close friend with whom I had discussed my research. Although he did not fit the selection criteria, he was a division manager of

an international corporation and he invited me to his workplace so that I could meet with his colleagues. He acted as a direct point of contact, informing his team of the details of my study. He positioned me in the company cafeteria where his associates took turns to complete a questionnaire and over the course of one day, I was introduced to a steady stream of international parents. It was through this second contact that I was able to find a much greater number of respondents.

4.2.3   Data analysis

Each completed questionnaire was given a number for identification purposes. This comprised the prefix S1 standing for Stage 1, followed by a number from 1 to 55 according to the chronological order of questionnaire collection (S1-1, S1-2, S1-3 etc.). The entire analytical process was a personal endeavour and validated by my supervisory panel.

As presented in Chapter Five, Stage 1 data from the returned questionnaires were tabulated to show the distribution of factors such as birth country, citizenship, passport ownership, and languages spoken for all members of respondents' family, as well as issues pertaining to parental school choice for their children. Other background details for analysis included comparisons between Japanese and non-Japanese nationals, as well as short and long-term international assignees to Tokyo. Short-term residency referred to a total period of less than five years and long-term residency referred to a total period of more than five years at the time of data collection. Several parents were foreign 'returnees', having lived in Tokyo on more than one occasion. Hence, the 'total period' referred to the combined sum of all lived experiences.

4.2.4   Ethical considerations

Stage 1 of this research involved an interest in parents' circumstances and personal views, which made ethical issues inevitable. Informed consent was obtained in

accordance with the procedures specified for research at the University of Adelaide, and the guidelines and codes of practice stipulated in the *National Statement on Ethical Conduct in Human Research* were followed (Australian Government, 2007). The statement of human ethics research approval has been inserted as Appendix B.

To maintain consistency of administration, stress the personal significance of the research, and allay the fear that some respondents may have had about the potential misuse of information, all 55 questionnaires were personally dispensed. Respondents retained the first two doubled-sided pages of information preceding the questionnaire. These were Page 1 – Questionnaire cover, Page 2 – Information sheet, Page 3 – Participant-copy consent form, and Page 4 – Independent complaints procedure (Appendix A). Strict confidentiality with respect to the names of respondents as recorded on Page 5 – Researcher-copy consent form, was guaranteed. Completed questionnaires were returned directly to the researcher and in this way, the respondents were assured the anonymity and confidentiality of their responses. Importantly, the focus of this study and the contents of the questionnaires were considered non-controversial. I have perceived no apparent consequences for the respondents that could arise from publication of this thesis.

4.3   Stage 2 interviews

As previously stated, Stage 1 was the backgrounding phase used to gain information on the basic dimensions of the topic being investigated and to help determine potential issues of interest. Stage 2 interviews were conducted to authenticate the questionnaire responses, follow-up unexpected results, and go deeper into the motivations and experiences of participants (L. Cohen & Manion, 1994: 273). In agreement with Gillham:

> Any research which aims to achieve an understanding of people in a real
> world context is going to need some interview material, if only to provide

illustration, some insight into what it is like to be a person in that setting. (Gillham, 2000: 12)

The primary advantage of conducting interviews was that rapport was built between the researcher and parents, thereby encouraging topics to be explored with increased depth. Nevertheless, as Neuman (2004: 183) warned, interviews have their disadvantages; the process proved costly and labour intensive, generating a great deal of qualitative data that was challenging to tabulate and compare across themes.

4.3.1   Interview design

Information gathered from Stage 1 questionnaires was used to develop the five broad questions that formed the 'interview guide' (Blankenship, Crossley, Heidingsfield, Herzog, & Kornhauser, 1949; L. Cohen et al., 2000; Kvale, 1996; Rubin & Rubin, 2005). Rubin and Rubin (2005: 135) recommend that the interview guide translate the research topic into terms the participants can associate with and report on. The interview questions listed below related to the overarching research question to ensure that the problem under investigation was thoroughly examined and its subparts explored:

S2Q1.   What were the decision-making processes by which you accepted employment and selected schooling for your children in Tokyo?

S2Q2.   What level of priority did you give to the education of your children?

S2Q3.   How do you evaluate the current schooling of your children in Tokyo?

S2Q4.   In your viewpoint, what contribution has the school in Tokyo made to the personal and educational development of your children?

> S2Q5.   What concerns about schooling do you have in relation to your relocation/repatriation or the next phase of your children's education?

For Japanese parents in this research, two of the five main questions chosen to facilitate discussion, were slightly altered to match those in the interview guide above:

> S2Q1.   What were the decision-making processes by which you selected schooling for your children in Tokyo?

> S2Q5.   What concerns about schooling do you have in relation to the next phase of your children's education?

A seminal paper by Blankenship et al. (1949: 246) stressed that, '[w]hatever the type of guide, its preparation is just as important as the design of a formal questionnaire'. All of these questions were confirmed after a review of the literature, combined with personal knowledge of and experience with the topic, and in consultation with my supervisory panel.

For the qualitative elements of this research, I chose to perform 'face-to-face' (Denzin & Lincoln, 1998; Gillham, 2000) and 'semi-structured' (Kvale, 1996) interviews. There were a number of reasons for choosing a face-to-face approach. Among them was the fact that all the participants were instrumental to the success of this study. Moreover, discussion of parenting motivators can be a sensitive issue and 'trust' therefore, played an important role (Gillham, 2000: 11). In the same way, there were a number of reasons for choosing a semi-structured approach. The semi-structured interview method allowed participants to answer on their own terms more than a fully structured interview would have permitted. They were encouraged to elaborate on questions in order to provide more comprehensive descriptions of the activities, goals, challenges and outcomes of their international lifestyle.

Moreover, having the opportunity to conduct personal interviews, especially while overseas, made it important to use the experience to the best possible advantage (Gillham, 2000: 14-15) by adopting a flexible or 'open-ended' interview method (Berg, 2001; L. Cohen & Manion, 1994; Creswell, 2008; Gillham, 2000; Oppenheim, 1992). The reasoning here is that:

> [T]he open-ended responses that might contain the 'gems' of information that otherwise might not have been caught in the questionnaire… the open-ended question can catch the authenticity, richness, depth of response, honesty and candour which… are the hallmarks of qualitative research. (L. Cohen et al., 2000: 255)

A face-to-face, semi-structured and open-ended interview method allowed me to make use of my interview guide. This guide provided the basic framework for examining participants' recollections of their choices and experiences, but given the diverse nature of human experience, both parties were able to move beyond the main set of questions.

Although the guide provided the outline from which the interview commenced, it was only the starting point for the joint researcher-parent exploration of parent experiences. By utilising my interview technique flexibly, I followed the lead of my participants and was afforded the opportunity to seek clarification, expansion and verification of their responses. I was free to pursue themes as they emerged and to gather fuller descriptions from the interviewees.

> The interviewer does not merely collect statements like gathering small stones on a beach. His or her questions lead up to what aspects of a topic the subject will address, and the interviewer's active listening and following up on the answers co-determines the course of the conversation. (Kvale, 1996: 183)

To obtain improved quality of oral data in terms of detail and vividness, it was necessary to create and employ two kinds of questions when interviews veered from the guide. In

many cases, the five main questions framing the interview guide were followed by optional 'follow-up' and 'probe' questions (Fowler & Mangione, 1990: 82).

First, follow-up questions were those that directly related to something the interviewee mentioned (Kvale, 1996: 133; Rubin & Rubin, 2005: 136-137). Examples of follow-up questions included: *How did … make you feel? How did you first learn about …? What was your impression of …? When did you first visit …?* and *When exactly did … happen?* Second, probe questions were those that were used to further explore and clarify comments made by interviewees. Examples of probe questions included: *A moment ago you mentioned … could you tell me more? Can you give me an example? Is there anything else you would like to add? What does that word refer to?* and *What I am hearing you say is that …* In this way, probes were used to elicit deeper information about reasons and outcomes, and to help create a more complete picture of events and experiences (Berg, 2001; Fowler & Mangione, 1990; Gillham, 2000; Kvale, 1996; Oppenheim, 1992; Rubin & Rubin, 2005; Trochim, 2005).

> All responsive interviews are built up by combining main questions, follow-up questions, and probes… The balance between types of questions may shift from one interview to the next. (Rubin & Rubin, 2005: 140)

In combination, these techniques enabled me to maximise the range of data gathered, while maintaining enough structure to ensure that the information collected was relevant to this study and consistent across participants.

4.3.2 Participant recruitment

The Stage 1 questionnaire's Researcher-copy Participant Consent Form (Appendix A) had a section in which respondents could indicate their interest in participating in the subsequent Stage 2. From the 55 respondents who completed a questionnaire, 25 parents recorded their contact details. However, more than had been anticipated, many of the families from Stage 1 had relocated or repatriated from Tokyo throughout the year. For

Stage 2 data collection, a total of 17 parents were interviewed during the period 26 June – 29 August 2008, with nine of the same parents (seven mothers and two fathers) having participated in both stages. Again, parents were recruited throughout the 23 wards of Tokyo, but predominantly from the expatriate and high foreign population areas in and around *Minato-ku* [Minato ward].

To maintain a consistent approach to my research parameters, I favoured parents residing in Tokyo with whom I could speak in person. Stage 2 may be referred to as a 'cohort study' focused on a 'category of people who share a similar life experience in a specified time period' (Neuman, 2004: 19).

> Finding them [participants] may take skill and time, sometimes including a bit of detective work… Finding interviewees with the relevant, first-hand experience is critical in making your results convincing. (Rubin & Rubin, 2005: 64-65)

The transient nature of many of the international parents with whom this research was concerned, meant that only a tentative interview timetable could be planned.

Realising the potential for any or all international parents to be unavailable, other contacts were sought. Apart from my previous international school employment in Tokyo, different service agencies to Stage 1 were contacted. Organisations included: the Australian and New Zealand Chamber of Commerce in Japan (ANZCCJ); British American Tobacco (BAT); Hands On Tokyo (HOT); IBM Computers; and the US Military. Neuman (2004: 184) suggests that, in general, interviewers spend 10 per cent of the time on survey preparation, 15 per cent in travelling to meet with them, 35 per cent actually interviewing, and the most time—40 per cent—locating suitable participants.

4.3.3 Developing rapport

The original research plan was to interview both parents together. The intended approach stemmed from my desire to obtain commonality of response from both the mother and father. In the majority of cases this was not possible for a variety of reasons, including concerns about finding a mutually convenient time, one parent being abroad, an inability of one parent to adequately express themself in English, or access to the husband being safe-guarded by the wife from fear that his schedule was too hectic. Rather than not interview a parent who was willing to participate because their partner could not join them, I made the decision to interview them on the grounds that I would still gain valuable research data. S2-Q was the only interview conducted with both parents.

Parent participants were asked to set aside at least one hour of their time and interviews were administered in a venue of their choosing. Allowing each parent to select their own interview location was conducive to them speaking openly about their experiences. Accordingly, nine interviews were held in a coffee shop, four in a restaurant, two in their homes, and two at their place of employment (Table 4.1). A casual and relaxed atmosphere was deliberately encouraged and interviews took a primarily 'conversational tone' (Kvale, 1996: 27).

Commonly, interviews commenced without the use of the audio-recorder. My approach was to initiate a general discussion about life and events in and around Tokyo. As previously stated, nine of the 17 Stage 2 interviewees had participated in Stage 1, so for the majority of parents this was not our first meeting. At minimum, we had emailed and phoned each other before the encounter. Once participants had received my business card, a brief description of the research study, an invitation to email for a copy of the research abstract, and were informed that they would be afforded a copy of the transcript before it would be used in the final thesis, the recorded interview began.

An initial broad question such as *Can you tell me how you and your spouse first met?* or *Can you tell me when and why you first came to Japan?* not only provided necessary background information about the family, but also assisted in the process of developing rapport with participants. A chronological format enabled participants to reflect on their experiences in terms of a series of circumstances or events in their lives. This invariably led them to reminisce about the lead-up years; the dating and the family tensions surrounding marriage. Japanese intercultural parents, in particular, were willing to share the trials and tribulations of their courtship, with several of them finding their difficult periods quite humorous in hindsight. From our conversations, parents with the same cultural background as their spouse, did not appear to face such hurdles and often preferred to talk directly about their professional life. Occasionally, these parents reminisced about their relocation to Japan, their original plans versus reality, and their need to secure suitable employment. Anecdotally, all interviewees appeared to find that discussing their life experiences and having someone listen with genuine interest was emotionally satisfying.

It became apparent from the onset that the participants whom I knew prior to conducting the interviews were potentially going to share more revealing information than those who did not know me. I appreciated the fact that it would be unrealistic to expect people to disclose personal information, unless there was already a relationship that supported disclosure. I could have chosen parents solely from the international school where I was once employed in order to obtain more comprehensive responses to my questions, but this would have prevented the accumulation of data more representative of the breadth of school choice available to international parents in Tokyo.

> Picking the low-hanging fruit—that is, talking only to interviewees who are easy to find and talk to—may not give you a balanced and accurate picture… The credibility of your findings is enhanced if you make sure you have interviewed individuals who reflect a variety of perspectives. The philosophy

of responsive interviewing suggests that reality is complex; to accurately portray that complexity, you need to gather contradictory or overlapping perceptions and nuanced understanding that different individuals hold. (Rubin & Rubin, 2005: 64-65, 67)

At the same time, I was acutely aware of the need to try to involve parents I knew at least slightly. While personal connection may lead to less distance from the data making it more difficult to be analytical, the benefit of increased engagement was judged to outweigh the disadvantage of familiarity with my participants.

When participants indicated that they had strictly one hour to meet with me, I ensured that their responses adhered to the interview guide. When they did not have time constraints, I allowed the conversation to develop in varied directions to reveal a greater level of 'richness'.

Richness allows depth interviewers to unravel the complexity of other peoples' worlds. Richness comes through hearing extended descriptions and long narratives on what occurred. (Rubin & Rubin, 2005: 134)

On occasion, the dialogue shifted from the question at hand, but remained nonetheless a fascinating recount of personal experience. By focusing on participants' lives, I attained a relatively comprehensive picture of their experiences and the way that events had unfolded.

Interviews were interactive, enabling me to confirm the meaning parents attributed to their words. Meanings that I interpreted or constructed, particularly in the Japanese language, were verified on-the-spot to promote maintenance of common understandings of key terminology. This was a challenge as I also needed to reflect on the information being imparted, relate that information the interview guide, plan for the next question, and decide whether to pose it or make provision for the interviewee to answer it in their own time.

> Through intense and often physically fatiguing concentration, qualitative interviewers listen for what has not been said, as well as what has been said… qualitative interviewing requires more intense listening than normal conversations, a respect for and curiosity about what people say, a willingness to acknowledge what is not understood, and the ability to ask about what is not yet known. (Rubin & Rubin, 2005: 13-14)

Several participants expressed concern about whether they were telling me what I wanted to hear. I reassured them that whatever information they were amenable to sharing, which pertained to their children's current schooling in Tokyo, was what I wanted to hear.

Every effort was made to make sense of what I heard. I was careful not to force new questions in a way that would lead to an abrupt break in the continuity of each interview. I did not want to insert intrusive questions from my interview guide before it was clear whether the parents were themselves already concerned with the matters to which the questions referred. By listening for the implied content of what parents told me, I was able to readily improvise meaningful and worthwhile follow-on and probe questions. Moreover, I learned the importance of interviewer silence, especially with participants who required more thinking time and those not as conversant in English.

In the interest of furthering 'active listening' to the many layers of meaning which the participants shared with me (Gillham, 2000; Kvale, 1996), I intermittently revealed something of myself as a way of encouraging more talk. My comments never pertained to parenting as I am not a parent myself, but rather to my social and educational experiences in Tokyo.

> It is up to the questioner to show the respondent that they have many personal things in common… Rapport is essential in the case of any semi- or completely personal interview… Rapport is necessary in the case of the formalized personal interview, and it is an absolute necessity in the case of the

> qualitative interview, in which the investigator wants to get far below the
> surface level of consciousness. (Blankenship et al., 1949: 405)

I was mindful of signs of impatience, annoyance and boredom, but such gestures never surfaced. The level of interest by both parties proved to be valuable and aided in the subsequent fluidity of the transcription process. In that sense, the interview was a process of constructing a shared narrative to which the researcher and parent contributed.

In general, the ground had been thoroughly covered by following the thread of their recollections and experiences. In most cases, interviews flowed like an exchange and ended naturally. Near the closing stages of each interview, I consulted my interview guide to ensure that no significant areas had been inadvertently missed, and when time permitted, interviews concluded with a debriefing. This gave parents the opportunity to add any relevant but not yet covered information. Occasionally, something new and pertinent to this study was raised once the audio-recorder was switched off.

> The debriefing is likely to continue after the tape recorder has been turned off.
> After a first gasp of relief, the interviewee may bring up topics he or she did
> not feel safe raising with the tape recorder on. And the interviewer can now,
> insofar as the subject is interested, tell more fully about the purpose and
> design of the interview study. (Kvale, 1996: 128)

Participants were, therefore, invited and encouraged to share further reflections, and/or perspectives subsequent to their interview via phone or email.

4.3.4   Voice recordings

To avoid the distractions that often accompany taking detailed descriptive notes, interviews were discreetly audio-recorded with participants' permission and later transcribed. The audio-recorder was periodically suspended due to interruptions, distractions, the need for short breaks, or when the discussion became of a personal nature and participants requested that it be momentarily paused. Batteries were changed

every couple of interviews, not only to ensure the voice data were recorded, but to make certain that time was not wasted and rapport was maintained. The device was later connectable via Universal Serial Bus (USB) to my personal laptop computer and copies were saved as electronic Windows Media Audio (.wma) files.

4.3.5 Interview narratives

Interviews generated a substantial amount of data as the participants talked about their experiences of educating their children in the Tokyo context. The length of each interview was typically one hour, with an average of 48 minutes voice recording time and yielded between 2,000–8,000 words of transcript each (Table 4.1). Personally transcribing the voice data provided the ideal opportunity to commence the process of analysis, as the files needed to be frequently replayed in the transcription process.

> [T]ranscripts differ in their precision. The most precise get down on paper exactly what was said, including grammatical errors, digressions, abrupt changes of focus, profanity, exclamations, and other indications of mood such as laughter and tears... For most projects, transcripts do not need to be this perfect. (Rubin & Rubin, 2005: 204)

The more I listened, the more I became familiar with each text; constructing categories and recognising common themes. The hermeneutic back-and-forth checking was constant within and between interviews.

The nature of the interviews necessitated that they be conducted by a person conversant with the Japanese language and education system. Parents in Tokyo, particularly Japanese and long-term foreign residents, often display idiosyncratic language usage and engage in highly symbolic in-group conversation. The insertion of Japanese words and phrases is commonplace and while a professional transcriber would have been able to follow the conversation verbatim, they may not have been able to follow the

conversation contextually. In other words, the task of trying to capture the meanings that permeate the culture as understood by each parent may have become lost.

The first draft transcriptions represented an attempt to faithfully and reliably transcribe every word in the order it was spoken. In some cases, parents were contacted to clarify certain comments, usually pertaining to specific numerical references and acronyms. I decided to use *Romaji*[51] instead of *Kana*[52] for the Japanese expressions, in order to make the transcripts accessible to a wider audience. Most Japanese writing is, of course, not normally written in the Roman alphabet, but as the Japanese orthography is not generally well-understood by potential readers, it was decided to adopt its most readable form.

The second draft transcriptions aimed to accurately represent the substance and meaning of the original conversation, but each was arranged as a 'personal experience narrative' (Denzin & Lincoln, 1998: 39). The questions I posed as the interviewer were removed. Then, I rendered the talk into a naturalised text as a detailed literal and syntactic record was not warranted, given that this was not a linguistic study. Sometimes this meant simplifying and straightening out the text by removing speech fillers. The intention was to make the interview narratives as easy as possible for readers and to avoid any possible embarrassment for the participants in this study.

Specific names were replaced by generic terms such as *my wife... my husband... the school... the company…* in order to maintain privacy yet keep the text readable. This provided a clear and systematic structure with which to analyse and identify key themes.

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51 *Romaji* is the Romanisation or use of the Latin alphabet to write the Japanese language. It is used in any context where Japanese text is targeted at those who do not know the language (Yamada et al., 1988: 230). As stated in Chapter One, the Japanese language does not use capitalisation or word spaces, except for children, and all word collation is *kana-by-kana*. Throughout this thesis, however, the Romanised version of Japanese vocabulary will adhere to English language conventions.

52 There are three *kana* scripts integrated into the Japanese writing system: (1) modern cursive *Hiragana*, (2) modern angular *Katakana*, and (3) old syllabic *Kanji*. For more information on these three scripts, refer to the Glossary of Terms.

Far from diminishing the process of qualitative interviewing, the aim here was to enhance participants' commentary and present a free-flow of response. With some of these changes necessary for confidentiality purposes, a copy of the second draft transcriptions was sent to each participant at the earliest possible convenience to ensure data 'compatibility and dependability' (Poland, 1995: 297). This measure was undertaken to reduce the potential for loss and distortion that can occur when transcribing (L. Cohen et al., 2000: 281) and importantly, to reaffirm that the texts were suitable and acceptable for continued inclusion in this research.

All interviewees were participants in co-authoring interpretations. They were welcome to make changes, but needed to verify that the interview narrative was an accurate account of what they said or what they had intended to say. The opportunity for participants in the proposed study to review and amend transcribed comments prior to its completion, further secured personal anonymity. Any changes made thereafter, resulted in the third and final version.[53]

4.3.6   Data analysis

Each interviewee was given a number for identification purposes. This comprised the prefix S2 standing for Stage 2, followed by a letter from A to Q according to the chronological order of the interview date (S2-A, S2-B, S2-C etc.). For greater ease and clarity when interpreting the data, numerals were used for Stage 1 'respondents' and alphabetic letters were used for Stage 2 'participants'. The entire analytical process was a personal endeavour validated by my supervisory panel.

The need for flexibility, which dictated the use of semi-structured interviews for data collection, also applied to the process of data analysis. I decided against the use of

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53   The record of all interview narratives is available on request. Appendix C provides three examples in full: (1) Japanese parent, (2) Japanese intercultural parent, and (3) non-Japanese parent.

computer-based analytic tools, as I wanted to remain open to the added possibilities of flexible analysis and interpretation. Similarly, I chose not to anticipate themes that would have necessitated pre-coding, since this may have restricted my ability to account for possible narrative shifting as the interviews evolved.

Early in the process, the issue of how to manage the quantity of transcribed data arose. As the word count was voluminous, one approach involved reading and re-reading the transcripts in differing sequences. When consistently referring to the transcripts sequentially from S2-A through to S2-Q, each new reading became overshadowed by what was most striking in the previous reading. To do justice to each transcript, I found it advantageous to alter and reverse the order of reading and analysis. For example, transcripts were analysed independently, in comparison with that of one other interviewee, and in relation to different subgroups.

Data analysis involved the progressive refinement of the themes that emerged. Themes were then subject to further scrutiny until they could accommodate all perspectives indicated by the participants. Data were thematically united and I adopted an iterative approach to ascertain relationships in the responses; similarities and differences in the form of excerpts and expressions. Rather than looking for meaning(s) in discrete words, I concentrated on pools of information and in this way issues of credibility were addressed by making the analysis as contextual as possible.

Table 4.1   Stage 2: Overview of interview schedule

stage 2 (S2) identification	mother (M) father (F)	citizenship	residency in Tokyo	most proficient language	interview date (dd / mm / yr)	interview location	interview duration	transcript length
S2-A (S1-3)	M	American	long-term	English	15 / 07 / 08	coffee shop	37 mins	3273 words
S2-B (S1-45)	M	Australian	long-term	English	23 / 07 / 08	coffee shop	53 mins	5012 words
S2-C	M	American	short-term	English	24 / 07 / 08	coffee shop	60 mins	7602 words
S2-D (S1-28)	M	Japanese	citizen	Japanese	26 / 07 / 08	coffee shop	54 mins	4571 words
S2-E (S1-21)	M	Japanese	citizen	Japanese	08 / 08 / 08	restaurant	53 mins	1437 words
S2-F	F	Mexican	short-term	Spanish	08 / 08 / 08	coffee shop	37 mins	2808 words
S2-G	F	American	long-term	English	12 / 08 / 08	restaurant	66 mins	5822 words
S2-H (S1-31)	M	Australian	short-term	English	13 / 08 / 08	coffee shop	34 mins	1965 words
S2-I	F	Canadian	short-term	English	13 / 08 / 08	restaurant	46 mins	2350 words
S2-J (S1-16)	M	Japanese	citizen	Japanese	14 / 08 / 08	workplace	37 mins	2384 words
S2-K	M	American	long-term	English	14 / 08 / 08	restaurant	90 mins	4951 words
S2-L	M	British	long-term	English	15 / 08 / 08	coffee shop	34 mins	3246 words
S2-M (S1-26)	F	Australian	long-term	English	15 / 08 / 08	workplace	29 mins	2655 words
S2-N	F	British	long-term	English	19 / 08 / 08	coffee shop	29 mins	2506 words
S2-O (S1-1)	M	Japanese	citizen	Japanese	19 / 08 / 08	coffee shop	59 mins	3511 words
S2-P (S1-54)	F	British	long-term	English	23 / 08 / 08	home	75 mins	5440 words
S2-Q	F	Australian	long-term	English	26 / 08 / 08	home	28 mins	1707 words

Notes: Mother (M) and Father (F) should not be confused with Male and Female. Short-term residency refers to periods of > 5 years total and long-term residency refers to periods of < 5 years in total. The nine Stage 2 participants who responded to a Stage 1 questionnaire have that identification presented in brackets in the left column.

4.3.7   Ethical considerations

As with Stage 1, Stage 2 involved an investigation into parents' personal views and circumstances, which made ethical issues inevitable. Informed consent was obtained in accordance with the procedures specified for research at the University of Adelaide, and the guidelines and codes of practice stipulated in the *National Statement on Ethical Conduct in Human Research* were followed (Australian Government, 2007). The statement of human ethics research approval has been inserted as Appendix B.

Stage 2 consent was confirmed face-to-face before and after each interview. The purpose of this study was discussed with participants, along with ethical and logistical issues relating to the voluntary nature and likely length of the interviews, use of the audio-recorder, access to the data, and confidentiality of the transcripts. As previously stated, each interview was recorded with the permission of the interviewee. Nevertheless, I remained conscious of the recorder's intrusive potential and continually checked the comfort levels of the interviewee. There were no surreptitious recordings and participants were given the freedom to ask for the audio-recorder to be switched-off at any time. Although there were several occasions when taping was momentarily paused, there were no circumstances where an interviewee requested to leave the session.

Privacy was an integral ethical consideration throughout this study. Participants were advised from the onset that they would receive a copy of the transcript and afforded the opportunity to review their interview narrative before inclusion in the final thesis. As the anonymity of participants could be preserved and no one other than the researcher had access to their personal identity, social and psychological risks were regarded as minimal. This research has not disclosed any information that may prejudice participants; no interviewee, workplace, school, or child is identifiable by name or description. The focus of this study and the content of the interviews were considered non-controversial and I have perceived no apparent consequences for the participants

that could arise from this thesis. Participants were knowledgeable of their right to withhold information and/or to withdraw from this study at any time. However, once the interviews were transcribed and they were given the chance to re-evaluate their commentary, their final email correspondence acknowledged agreement with the text.

4.4   Chapter summary

Chapter Four delineated the research methods adopted for the two stages of this study. The research question, coupled with the aim and objectives, acted as starting points to design an appropriate method, which in turn influenced the selection of strategies suitable for data collection and generation. While it may not possible to replicate this study exactly, as circumstances, settings and individuals are constantly changing, the methods described in detail are sufficient to allow a repetition of data collection and analysis procedures.

In the following two chapters, I present the results of this study. Chapter Five deals with Stage 1 data and Chapter Six with Stage 2 data. Analysis was undertaken in light of the literature review that comprised Chapter Two, the conceptual framework established in Chapter Three, and the research methods described in this chapter.

Stage 1 questionnaire results

5.1   Introduction

Chapter Five presents the Stage 1 questionnaire results. This is the first of two chapters that deals with the research data. A total of 55 parents responded to the questionnaire individually, and on behalf their spouses and children. Each completed questionnaire was assigned a respondent number for identification purposes. This comprised the prefix S1 standing for Stage 1, followed by a number from 1 to 55 according to the chronological order of questionnaire collection. Of the 55 respondents, 78% were mothers (n = 43) and 22% were fathers (n = 12).

Derived from responses to Parts A–D of the questionnaire (Appendix A), Stage 1 data were tabulated to show the distribution of factors such as birth country, citizenship, passport ownership, and languages spoken for all members of the 55 respondents' families, as well as issues pertaining to parental school choice for their children. Tables have been qualified by numbers of respondents or percentages rounded to the nearest whole number. In some cases, the value of percentages totalled slightly under or over 100 per cent. Such numerical descriptors should be read as 'frequency' measures of the categories elicited from the questionnaire data.

After a brief overview of each international family profile, discussion of the data has been organised under four main headings: (1) Factors in internationalisation; (2) Location of home; (3) Language socialisation; and (4) Parental school choice.

5.2   International family profiles

Throughout this entire study, international parents have represented three types: (1) Japanese parents wanting their children to have an international education; (2) Japanese intercultural parents where either the mother or the father was Japanese; and (3) non-

Japanese parents. In other words, the international parents represented families where one or more of the cultural contexts, denoted by the initials M F S were non-Japanese, while the residential country culture R remained exclusively Japanese.

Table 5.1   Stage 1: Cultural background of parent respondents in Tokyo

family grouping	cultural background of parents	frequency	percentage
Japanese parents	mother Japanese cultural background father Japanese cultural background	10	18%
Japanese intercultural parents	mother Japanese cultural background father non-Japanese cultural background	13	24%
	mother non-Japanese cultural background father Japanese cultural background	3	5%
Non-Japanese parents	mother non-Japanese cultural background father non-Japanese cultural background	29	53%
TOTAL		55	100%

5.2.1   Age

International parents. Of the 55 mothers, 52 recorded ages between 29-52 years, with an average age of 40 years. Three respondents did not answer this question (S1-43, S1-53, S1-55). Of the 55 fathers, 51 recorded ages between 29-57 years, with an average age of 42 years. Four respondents did not answer this question and they included the same three respondents who did not state the mother's age (S1-24, S1-43, S1-53, S1-55). From the 51 respondents, 29% of couples recorded the same age (n = 15). From the remaining group, 20% of the couples had a mother who was older (n = 10) and in 51% of couples the father was older (n = 26).

Transnational children. The number of children included in the Stage 1 data totalled 109. From the 55 families, 22% had one child (n = 12), the majority of 58% had two children (n = 32), and 20% had three children (n = 11). No family had more than three siblings.

Table 5.2   Stage 1: Transnational children's ages

age bracket	level of schooling	frequency
> 5 years	preschool	27
< 5 years > 10 years	elementary school	64
< 11 years > 15 years	junior high school	17
16 + years	senior high school	1
TOTAL		109

With reference to Table 5.2, regardless of the educational system, the age bracket with the highest count of children was 5-10 years of age (58%, n = 64), followed by the youngest cohort who were under five years of age (25%, n = 27). In third place was the age bracket 11-15 years (16%), while only one child was over 16 years. Overall, these frequency counts indicated that the vast majority of children were under 10 years of age; approximately one-quarter were preschoolers and two-thirds were attending elementary schools.

5.3   Factors in internationalisation

5.3.1   Birth country

International parents. Parents' birth countries totalled 22 and included: Australia, Canada, China, Finland, England, France, Germany, Holland, India, Indonesia, Israel, Italy, Japan, Korea, Malaysia, New Zealand (NZ), Panama, Sweden, Syria, Turkey, the United States (US) and Zimbabwe. Almost half the couples were born in the same country (49%, n = 27), while the slight majority were born in different countries (51%, n = 28).

With reference to Table 5.3, the country with the highest birth count for mothers was Japan (42%, n = 23), followed by Australia (16%, n = 9), and the US (11%, n = 5). The country with the highest birth count for fathers was also Japan (27%, n = 13), followed by the US (20%, n = 11), and then England (16%, n = 9). In terms of combined couples (MF frequency), the country with the highest parental birth count was Japan (33%, n =

36), followed by the US with less than half that total (15%, n = 16), and then Australia (13%, n = 14).

Table 5.3   Stage 1: International parents' birth country

country	mother (M)	father (F)	MF frequency
Japan	23	13	36
United States	5	11	16
Australia	6	8	14
England	4	9	13
Germany	2	2	4
Holland	1	2	3
New Zealand	2	1	3
Canada	2	-	2
China	1	1	2
Finland	1	1	2
France	2	-	2
Sweden	-	2	2
Korea	2	-	2
India	-	1	1
Indonesia	-	1	1
Israel	1	-	1
Italy	-	1	1
Malaysia	1	-	1
Panama	1	-	1
Syria	1	-	1
Turkey	-	1	1
Zimbabwe	-	1	1
TOTAL	55	55	110

Transnational children. The 109 children were born in 14 countries which included: Australia, Bahrain, Canada, England, Finland, France, Germany, Holland, Hong Kong (China), Hungary, Japan, Singapore, Sweden and the US. With reference to Table 5.4, the birth country with the highest frequency was Japan (42%, n = 46), followed by the US (14%, n = 15), and as equal third both England and Australia (13%, n = 14). Of the countries listed in Table 5.4 pertaining to the transnational children, ten also featured in Table 5.3 pertaining to the international parents.

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Table 5.4   Stage 1: Transnational children's birth country

country	frequency
Japan	46
United States	15
England	14
Australia	14
Hong Kong (China)	5
Germany	4
Holland	3
Finland	2
Bahrain	1
Canada	1
France	1
Hungary	1
Singapore	1
Sweden	1
TOTAL	109

Of the 32 families with two children, over half had siblings born in the same country (n = 19) and two-fifths had siblings born in different countries (n = 13). Of the 11 families with three children, there were three cases where all siblings were born in the same country, six cases where at least two siblings were born in the same country, and two cases where all three siblings were born in different countries. The latter two cases were S1-3 (child 1 - England, child 2 - Japan, child 3 - US) and S1-23 (child 1 - US, child 2 - England, child 3 - Japan).

5.3.2   Citizenship

Parents' citizenship countries totalled 16 and included: Australia, Canada, England (UK), Finland, France, Germany, Holland, Indonesia, Italy, Japan, Korea, Malaysia, NZ, Panama, Sweden and the US. The highest citizenship country for mothers was Japan (44%, n = 24), followed equally by Australia (n = 7) and the US (n = 7), and then the UK (n = 4). The highest citizenship country for fathers was also Japan (25%, n = 14), followed by the US (n = 13), and then the UK (n = 10). In terms of combined couples,

the country with the highest overall citizenship count was Japan (n = 38), followed by the US (n = 20), and then Australia (n = 16). Of the 55 couples, 53% had at least one citizenship the same as their spouse (n = 29), 45% held a different citizenship (n = 25), and the remaining couple possessed identical dual citizenship (S1-37).

Table 5.5   Stage 1: International parents' citizenship

country	mother (M)	father (F)	MF frequency
Japan	24	14	38
United States	7	13	20
Australia	7	9	16
England (UK)	4	10	14
Germany	2	2	4
Holland	1	2	3
New Zealand	2	1	3
Sweden	1	2	3
Canada	2	-	2
Finland	1	1	2
France	2	-	2
Italy	1	1	2
Indonesia	-	1	1
Korea	1	-	1
Malaysia	1	-	1
Panama	1	-	1
TOTAL	57	56	114

Notes: The data in this table have been taken directly from the questionnaires. Where totals were greater than 55 mothers, 55 fathers, and 110 parents, respondents held dual or triple citizenship.

In several cases, parents' birth countries did not necessarily correspond with their citizenship countries. According to the Commonwealth of Australia (2008) at the time of writing this thesis, out of the 22 birth countries, those that allowed dual citizenship included: Canada, France, Holland, Ireland, Israel, Italy, NZ, Syria, Turkey, the UK and the US (this total included Ireland which arose later in the findings). The countries that did not allow dual citizenship included: China, Finland, Germany, India, Indonesia,

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Japan, Korea, Malaysia, Sweden and Zimbabwe. Countries that allowed dual citizenship in a 'restricted' form were Australia and Panama.

A comparison of Tables 5.3 and 5.5 revealed that although there were 22 birth countries, there were six fewer citizenship countries. The nine countries whose couple totals remained identical were Canada, Finland, France, Germany, Holland, Indonesia, Malaysia, NZ and Panama. The six countries not represented in Table 5.5 were China, India, Israel, Syria, Turkey and Zimbabwe. There were more citizens than births for six countries: Australia, Italy, Japan, Sweden, the UK and the US, while there were fewer citizens than births for Korea only.

From the questionnaire data, five parents indicated that they possessed dual citizenship. They included three mothers S1-4 (M = Canada/US), S1-11 (M = Japan/US Green Card) and S1-37 (M = UK/Australia), and two fathers S1-11 (F = Japan/US Green Card) and S1-37 (F = UK/Australia). The Japanese couple S1-11 recorded that they each possessed US Green Cards. In actuality, Green Card holders possess the legal documentation for the right of abode in that country and permission to work, however, they are still considered 'Aliens' (United States Government, 2008). Unlike US citizens who are not required to carry identification as proof of their citizenship, couple S1-11 must carry their Green Card at all times while in the US. The other discrepancies in the data will be elucidated below.

5.3.3 Passport ownership

International parents. Of the 55 couples, 56% possessed at least one passport that was the same as their spouse (n = 31), 42% held different passports (n = 23), and one couple possessed identical dual passports (S1-37). Data showed, however, that parents' birth countries (Table 5.3) did not necessarily correspond to their passport countries (Table 5.6). While there were 22 birth countries, there were 18 passport countries.

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Table 5.6   Stage 1: International parents' amended citizenship and passport ownership

country	mother (M)	father (F)	MF frequency
Japan	24	14	38
United States	7	14	20
Australia	7	10	17
England (UK)	5	10	17
Germany	2	2	4
New Zealand	2	1	3
Holland	1	2	3
Indonesia	-	1	3
Ireland	1	2	3
France	2	1	3
Sweden	1	2	3
Canada	2	-	2
Finland	1	1	2
Italy	1	1	1
Korea	1	-	1
Malaysia	1	-	1
Panama	1	-	1
Syria	1	-	1
TOTAL	60	61	122

Notes: Where totals were greater than 55 mothers, 55 fathers, and 110 parents, respondents held dual or triple passports.

Although several respondents recorded their birth countries as China, India, Israel, Turkey and Zimbabwe, these five countries were excluded in the count for passport ownership. Similarly, data showed that parents' citizenship countries (Table 5.5) did not necessarily correspond to their passport countries (Table 5.6). However, while one may have citizenship of a country and not have obtained a passport, it is not possible to possess a passport without being a citizen. Officially, citizenship would allow for the issuance of a passport.

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The two countries absent from Table 5.5 were Ireland and Syria. Three parents (M = S1-13, F = S1-13, F = S1-35) indicated that they possessed an Irish passport, but not Irish citizenship. Yet normally, an individual can only be issued with an Irish passport if they are an Irish citizen. One parent (M = S1-10) indicated that she possessed a Syrian passport, but not Syrian citizenship. Again, it is unusual for an individual to attain a Syrian passport without being a Syrian citizen. Hence, it is most likely that both Ireland and Syria should have been included in Table 5.5 bringing the total to 18 citizenship countries thereby matching 18 passport countries.

The nine countries whose figures for citizenship and passport remained the same were Canada, Finland, Germany, Holland, Indonesia, Korea, Malaysia, NZ, Panama, and Sweden. The four birth countries that showed an increase in passports over citizenship were Australia, Japan, the UK and the US. One example for this increase stemmed from couple S1-20 who were both born in China and of Chinese ethnicity, but had become naturalised Japanese and would therefore be required to surrender their Chinese citizenship (refer to section 2.2.2, Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Japan, 2008a).

Transnational children. All 109 children possessed at least one passport. More accurately, 58% possessed one passport (n = 63), 39% possessed two passports (n = 42), and 4% possessed three passports (n = 4). The four children who each possessed three passports, came from two families. Dual and triple passport ownership accounted for the 50 additional passports tabulated in Table 5.7.

Table 5.7   **Stage 1: Transnational children's passport ownership**

country	frequency
Japan	46
United States	36
England (UK)	22
Australia	21
Canada	5
Germany	5
Holland	5
France	4
Sweden	4
Finland	2
Ireland	2
Italy	2
New Zealand	2
Panama	2
Malaysia	1
TOTAL	159

A comparison of Tables 5.4 and 5.7 revealed that although 46 of the children were born in Japan and there were 46 Japanese passports, they were not the same children. As discussed in Chapter Two, *Jus soli* or birthright citizenship to foreign children born in Japan is not recognised. Children obtain Japanese citizenship and a Japanese passport[54] through *Jus sanguinis* or 'right of blood' where citizenship is not determined by place of birth, but by having an ancestor who is a national or citizen of the state. For example, S1-34 had one child born in Hungary to Japanese parents and the child possessed a Japanese passport, while S1-45 had one child born in Japan to non-Japanese parents and the child possessed an Australian passport. Although 46 children possessed 46 Japanese passports, this was purely coincidental.

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54   Japan does not permit dual citizenship and therefore dual passport ownership. As individuals must make a citizenship declaration between the ages of 20-22 years (Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Japan, 2008b), this requirement had not yet affected the many Japanese intercultural children in this study. For more information on this issue, refer to Chapter Two section 2.2.2.

S1-4 had three children, the two eldest of whom were born in the UK while the youngest was born in the US. The mother possessed two passports (US/Canadian) and the father possessed one passport (US). Since two children were born in the UK where citizenship can be acquired by *Lex soli*, a derivative law of *Jus soli,* these two siblings became entitled to a third UK passport. The conditions placed upon *Lex soli*[55] include children who are born in the UK to one parent who is a citizen at the time or to one parent who is settled there (Ovidio Limited, 2009). From S1-4's questionnaire, two children aged 12 and 13 years were born during a 19-month secondment to the UK.

Family S1-13 had two children who each possessed three passports. The mother possessed two passports (Panama/Ireland) and the father possessed two passports (US/Ireland). Both children held the same combination of three passports as their parents (Panama/US/Ireland). The youngest child was born in England where, according to the questionnaires, the family resided for six years. Given the fact that S1-4's two eldest children were able to obtain British citizenship after a mere 19-month period of residence, it is quite possible that one child in family S1-13 may have been entitled to a fourth passport from the UK.

5.4   Location of home

5.4.1   Status of residence and anticipated duration in Japan

For the 10 Japanese couples (Table 5.1), neither parent would be required to obtain a Japanese visa. Couple S1-20 of Chinese cultural background and naturalised Japanese, would be afforded the same conditions as Japanese nationals (Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Japan, 2008a). Twenty-six respondents represented a Japanese intercultural

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55   British Citizenship can be acquired in the following ways: (*Lex soli*) by birth in the United Kingdom to a parent who is a British citizen at the time of the birth, or to a parent who is settled in the United Kingdom; (*Lex sanguinis*) by descent if one of the parents is a British citizen otherwise than by descent (for example by birth, adoption, registration or naturalisation in the United Kingdom); by naturalisation; by registration; or by adoption (Ovidio Limited, 2009).

couple. The non-Japanese spouse in each case would qualify for a Japanese 'Specified' or dependent visa and be eligible to reside in Japan (refer to section 2.2.3).

There were 28 couples who did not have the freedom to remain in Japan indefinitely. That is, individuals who are not Japanese nationals and without a Japanese spouse are required to secure an employment sponsor to be issued with an official Japanese visa enabling them to stay longer than 90 days in Japan (Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Japan, 2008c). A visa would allow these individuals to reside in Japan for the duration that it is valid, but is dependent upon continued sponsorship. Only one parent would be required to obtain an official visa and their spouse would then be entitled to a dependent visa . If the dependent spouse endeavoured to gain employment, they would be legally obligated to obtain their own *Certificate of Eligibility* from a sponsor in order to convert their visa to one of the 14 'Work' visa statuses[56] (Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Japan, 2008b).

Of the 28 non-intercultural and non-Japanese mothers, 27 recorded their *Status of Residence*. The majority possessed a dependent visa (79%, n = 22), while the remainder possessed their own work visa (18%, n = 5). Of the five mothers who indicated that they held a work visa, only one specified that it was an *Investor/Business Manager* type. Of the 28 non-intercultural and non-Japanese fathers, 27 also recorded their *Status of Residence*. The majority also possessed a work visa (92%, n = 26), while one husband was dependent on his wife. Of the 26 fathers who indicated that they held a work visa, 15 specified that it was an *Investor/Business Manager* type, while 11 did not specify what category they held. None of the other 13 'Work' visa *Status of Residence* were represented in Stage 1 data (Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Japan, 2008b).

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56   Within the seven distinct categories of foreign visas, the most common is the 'Work' visa. It is issued for 14 *Status of Residence,* namely: artist; engineer; entertainer; instructor; intra-company transferee; investor/business manager; journalist; legal/accounting services; medical services; professor; religious activities; researcher; skilled labour; and specialist in humanities/international services (Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Japan, 2008b). For more information on this issue, refer to Chapter Two section 2.2.3.

Additionally, Japanese intercultural and non-Japanese couples were classified as either short or long-term residents in Japan. Short-term residents who had resided in Japan for a period of less than five years at the time the questionnaires were collected in November 2007 comprised 51% of families (n = 28). Long-term residents who had resided in Japan for a period of more than five years at the time the questionnaires were collected comprised 31% of families (n = 17).

From the 17 long-term families, six parents indicated that they had resided in Japan for such an extended period of time as to make the question related to 'home location' redundant. Their responses were either *from birth* or *forever*. Of the remaining 11 families, five had resided in Japan for one period of more than five years, while the other six were international returnees. International returnee families (S1-6, S1-35, S1-36, S1-38, S1-43, S1-52) had relocated to Tokyo on at least two occasions so that the combined sum of lived experience in Japan totalled more than five years.

5.4.2   Number of international relocations

Five Japanese couples had never lived anywhere else but in Japan, while the vast majority of families had relocated or repatriated on at least two occasions (85%, n = 45). Three families, in particular, indicated four or more relocations.

Family S1-13 recorded four relocations (Singapore - 3 years, London - 6 years, New York - 2 years, Tokyo – present). The two children were six and eight years of age, and born in Singapore and London respectively. Family S1-3 recorded five relocations (London - 4 years, Tokyo - 2 years, London - 1 year, New York - 3 years, Tokyo - present). The three children were five, eight and ten years, and born in London, New York and Tokyo respectively. Family S1-10 recorded the highest international mobility with six relocations (Egypt - 3 years, India - 3 years, Australia - 2 years, England - 1.5 years, Germany - 3 years, Tokyo - present). The two children were nine and 15 years,

and born in Germany and Canada respectively, yet for reasons unknown, Canada was neither parents' birth or citizenship country nor listed as one of their many relocations.

5.4.3   Location of majority of family

When asked where the majority of family members resided, 95% of parents (n = 52) answered this question. Over half the parents recorded one country (60%, n = 34), one-third recorded two countries (27%, n = 15), a small percentage recorded three countries (2%, n = 1), and two respondents wrote *everywhere* (S1-9, S1-10).

Of the 34 respondents who recorded a single country, 13 wrote *Japan*. In the case of 10 couples, both were Japanese nationals and three other couples represented Japanese intercultural marriages (S1-30, S1-38, S1-50). Five respondents wrote the *US* (S1-4, S1-13, S1-23, S1-29, S1-46) and *Australia* (S1-14, S1-17, S1-26, S1-27, S1-31). Four respondents wrote the *UK* (S1-19, S1-37, S1-48, S1-54) and two respondents wrote *NZ* (S1-33, S1-51). The remaining five respondents who reported one country were entirely different from one another: *Finland* (S1-2); *Sweden* (S1-7); *China* (S1-20); *Netherlands* (S1-32); and *Germany* (S1-42).

Fifteen respondents wrote two countries in the answer space provided, from which nine respondents represented a Japanese intercultural marriage and recorded *Japan* and another country as being where the majority of family members resided. Of the remaining six sets of parents, five represented a non-Japanese intercultural marriage and recorded the countries related to each parents' citizenship.

Perhaps the most unique response came from respondent S1-52 who reported that most family members resided in *Australia and Scotland*. Both parents were born in England and possessed British citizenship. The father also possessed Australian citizenship, although the family appeared never to have been relocated or repatriated to Australia.

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They had three children, all of whom were born in Japan. From the questionnaire alone, the children had no obvious association with either Australia or Scotland.

5.4.4   Where the family considers 'home'

When asked the question *Where does the family consider 'home' and why?* 91% of parents responded (n = 50). Of the 12 sets of parents who wrote *Japan* without giving an explanation, six couples were Japanese parents and six couples represented a Japanese intercultural marriage.

Six respondents answered that home was *Australia* including the same five sets of parents who recorded that the majority of their family resided in Australia (S1-14, S1-17, S1-26, S1-27, S1-31). The addition to this group was S1-33 who indicated that most family members resided in *NZ*, but answered this question with:

> S1-33   *Melbourne - home ownership, preferred living location*

Five respondents answered this question with the *US*, included three of the five respondents who indicated that most of the family resided in the US (S1-3, S1-24, S1-29). The addition to this group were the two families who indicated that most of the family resided in the US and Germany. Their comments were as follows:

> S1-6   *America. We spend the most time there*

> S1-25   *US. Children born there and we will repatriate there*

Four respondents answered this question with the *UK,* yet only one couple indicated that the majority of family members lived there (S1-19). Of the remaining three respondents, S1-38 represented a Japanese/British intercultural marriage and although the majority of the family resided in Japan, the family considered their home to be England due to their *British identity*. The other two respondents wrote diverse answers that indicated great

multiplicity within the family. Family S1-41 had a mother born in France and a father born in the US, but recorded the comment:

S1-41   *London, lived there for 10 years before our relocations*

As was previously mentioned, the most unique response with regards to where most family members resided came from S1-52. He indicated that the majority of family members were based in *Australia and Scotland*, but the family considered home to be *England*. All three children were born in Japan and the family had been resident in Tokyo from 1992 to 2003 and again from 2006 to the time of the data collection in late 2007.

The three respondents who reported only one country where the majority of family resided indicated their home to be the same location: *Sweden* (S1-7); *China* (S1-20); and *Germany* (S1-42). Four respondents answered the question with two countries: *Japan and Canada* (S1-15); *Japan and the US* (S1-30, S1-39); and *Japan and NZ* (S1-51). Three of these couples represented a Japanese intercultural marriage (S1-15, S1-30, S1-39). The other couple (S1-51) were both NZ citizens and indicated NZ and the country in which they now resided, *Japan.*

Interestingly, seven non-Japanese respondents made specific reference to where the family currently resided—Japan—as being the key indicator of home.

S1-3   *Tokyo, where we live as a family*

S1-5   *Wherever we are is home!*

S1-10   *Where we live is home*

S1-11   *Where we live, Japan*

S1-13   *Right now, Japan*

S1-26   *Japan, where the family lives*

> S1-54　　*Japan, this is where we have always lived as a family*

Three respondents adopted a different approach to answering this question. Rather than group the family together to provide one collective answer, they gave varied responses for the different members of their family.

> S1-2　　*Parents - Finland, Children - England*
>
> S1-37　　*Mother - England, Father - UK, Son - Australia, Daughter - ?*
>
> S1-50　　*1ˢᵗ UK, 2ⁿᵈ Tokyo (doesn't like the UK), 3ʳᵈ too young*

Finally, the three respondents below did not record a definitive response, but made a light-hearted comment, which indicated that they were not perturbed by their inability to name a specific location.

> S1-9　　*Nowhere! But it's OK!*
>
> S1-35　　*Don't know exactly…*
>
> S1-55　　*Planet Earth! Why not?*

It is clear that a sense of 'home' is a subjective, emotional response to a place or community of people. Among international parents, responses fell in two main directions. There were those international parents for whom 'home' was still their homeland or birth place. Others, no longer had a sense of home as a specific geographical location, but rather to those who made-up the immediate family group and home had become wherever in the world they lived. As later discussion will show, the sense of where home was did prove to be influential in the selection of schooling for the transnational children.

5.5 Language socialisation

5.5.1 Language(s) proficiency

International parents. The most proficient languages recorded for the parents were: Arabic, Chinese, Dutch, English, Finnish, French, German, Italian, Japanese, Korean, Spanish and Swedish. When considered as a couple, two-thirds had the same most proficient language as their partner (58%, n = 32), less than half differed in their most proficient language (40%, n = 22), and one couple S1-9 indicated that they were equally proficient in two languages, whereby one language was the same as each other.

With reference to Table 5.8, the language most often claimed as the most proficient for mothers was Japanese (41%, n = 23), followed by English (39%, n = 22), and then a small fraction of French and German speakers. For fathers, the pattern was reversed with English most frequently claimed as the most proficient language (61%, n = 34), followed by Japanese (23%, n = 13), and to a much lesser extent Dutch, German and Swedish speakers. In terms of the parents combined, the language with the highest frequency was English (50%, n = 56), followed by Japanese (32%, n = 36), and then Dutch and Swedish. S1-9 were the only couple who considered themselves to be equally proficient in two languages (M = French-English and F = English-Dutch).

From the 22 couples whose most proficient languages were different, there were 13 cases of a mother with Japanese as her most proficient language and a father with English as his most proficient language (S1-19, S1-24, S1-35, S1-36, S1-38, S1-39, S1-40, S1-43, S1-44, S1-46, S1-49, S1-53, S1-54). There were three cases of the opposite scenario, that is, a mother with English as her most proficient language and a father with Japanese as his most proficient language (S1-5, S1-15, S1-30). There were no cases of a Japanese national married to a NESB spouse.

Table 5.8   Stage 1: International parents' most proficient language

language	mother (M)	father (F)	MF frequency
English	22	34	56
Japanese	23	13	36
German	2	2	4
Dutch	1	2	3
Swedish	1	2	3
Chinese	1	1	2
Finnish	1	1	2
French	2	-	1
Arabic	1	-	1
Korean	1	-	1
Spanish	1	-	1
Italian	-	1	1
TOTAL	56	56	112

Notes: Totals were greater than 55 and 110, as one respondent (S1-9) indicated that both parents were equally proficient in two languages.

Of the 29 couples where both mother and father were non-Japanese, six had a mix of foreign languages between them. They were: S1-6 (M = English F = German); S1-8 (M = Korean F = Swedish); S1-10 (M = Arabic F = Italian); S1-13 (M = Spanish F = English); S1-25 (M = German F = English); and S1-41 (M = French F = English).

In addition, some parents' most proficient language was not necessarily the same national language as their citizenship or at least one of their citizenships in the case of dual holders. For example, two mothers spoke a different language from their citizenship. They were S1-20 (citizenship Japan, most proficient language Chinese) and S1-55 (citizenship Malaysia, most proficient language English). One father S1-20 spoke a different language to his citizenship, that is, his citizenship was Japanese while his most proficient language was Chinese.

In addition, the questionnaire asked parents their other language(s) proficiency in terms of Speaking (S), Reading (R) and Writing (W) with a rating of Beginner (B),

Intermediate (I) or Advanced (A). Twenty-two per cent of mothers recorded only their most proficient language (n = 12); 44% listed some functional ability in two languages (n = 24); 20% in three languages (n = 11); and 14% in four languages (n = 8).

Of the 11 mothers who recorded some skill in three languages, six mothers indicated all three categories of S R W above a rating of Beginner (B). From the same group of mothers, there were two parents with all three categories of S R W above a rating of Intermediate (I). These respondents were S1-41 (most proficient language French; English Speaking-A Reading-A Writing-A; German Speaking-A Reading-A Writing-A) and S1-42 (most proficient language German; English Speaking-A Reading-A Writing-A; French Speaking-A Reading-A Writing-A).

Of the eight mothers who recorded some skill in four languages, there were five mothers with all three categories of S R W above a rating of Beginner (B). Each of these five mothers indicated that they had Advanced (A) skills for S R W in a second language, with Intermediate (I) skills in another two languages. While the two mothers described above (S1-41, S1-42) did not have the ability to speak a fourth language, they had the ability to function in three languages at a more advanced level than four of the mothers in this grouping. The mother with the greatest ability to exercise multiple languages was S1-32 (most proficient language Dutch; English Speaking-A Reading-A Writing-A; German Speaking-A Reading-A Writing-A; French Speaking-I Reading-I Writing-I).

Twenty-five per cent of fathers recorded only their most proficient language (n = 14). Another 44% of fathers listed some functional ability in two languages (n = 24); 20% in three languages (n = 11); 9% in four languages (n = 5); and 2% in five languages (n = 1). Of the 11 fathers who recorded some skill in three languages, eight recorded all three categories of S R W above a rating of Beginner (B). From the same group of eight fathers, two possessed Advanced (A) levels in one other language. They were S1-41 (most proficient Language English; German Speaking-A Reading-A Writing-A) and S1-

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42 (most proficient language German; English Speaking-A Reading-A Writing-A). The standout parent from this subgroup was S1-20, who spoke his second and third languages at an Advanced (A) level (most proficient language Chinese; English Speaking-A Reading-A Writing-A; Japanese-speaking-A Reading-A Writing-A).

Of the five fathers who recorded some skill in four languages, all indicated Advanced (A) levels in their second language, but only two recorded Advanced (A) levels in their third language. They were S1-13 (most proficient language English; Japanese Speaking-A Reading-A Writing-A; Indonesian Speaking-A Reading-A Writing-A) and S1-2 (most proficient language Finnish; English Speaking-A Reading-A Writing-A; German Speaking-A Reading-A Writing-A) who also recorded intermediate levels of S R W in his fourth language—Swedish.

Father S1-32 recorded knowledge of five languages. His most proficient language was Dutch, with Advanced (A) levels of S R W in both English and French, and Intermediate (I) levels of S R W in German and Spanish. Despite S1-2 and S-32 having equal competency in four languages, S1-32 remained the stand-out for multilingual competence not only amongst the fathers, but across the entire parent cohort.

In terms of the parents' combined language speaking capabilities, those couples with a total of three native or Advanced (A) levels between them were: S1-2 (English Finnish German); S1-9 (Dutch English French); S1-20 (Chinese English Japanese); S1-25 (English German Gujarati);[57] S1-41 (English French German); and S1-42 (English French German). The three couples with four native or Advanced (A) levels between them were: S1-8 (English Japanese Korean Swedish); S1-13 (Indonesian English Japanese Spanish); and S1-32 (Dutch English French German).

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57   Gujarati is an Indo-Aryan language spoken by about 46 million people in the Indian states of Gujarat, Maharashtra, Rajasthan, Karnataka and Madhya Pradesh (Krishnamurti, 1986: 108).

Transnational children. The most proficient languages recorded for the children were: English, Dutch, Finnish, French, German, Japanese and Swedish. Respondent S1-55 with two children, placed a question mark in the answer space so that the responses for the children totalled 107. The majority of parents indicated that their children's most proficient language was one language (87%, n = 95) and the remaining 11% indicated that their children were equally proficient in two languages (n = 12).

With reference to Table 5.9, parents indicated that the most proficient language for 77 children was solely English, while another 12 children were equally proficient in English and another language. Hence, a total of 83% of children had English as their most proficient language (n = 89). Parents indicated that for 12 children, the most proficient language was solely Japanese, while another five children were equally proficient in Japanese and English. Hence, a total of 16% of children had Japanese as their most proficient language (n = 17).

Table 5.9   Stage 1: Transnational children's most proficient language

language	frequency
English	77
Japanese	12
Swedish	4
German	2
English and other language	7
Japanese and English	5
TOTAL	107

Notes: The total was less than 109, because one parent with two children did not answer this question.

The seven cases of equal proficiency in English and a non-Japanese language were S1-2 (two children: Finnish-English), S1-32 (three children: Dutch-English), and S1-41 (two children: French-English). The five cases of equal proficiency in Japanese and English were S1-5, S1-15, S1-16 (two children) and S1-50.

Five children were found to differ on the three variables of (a) birth country, (b) citizenship and passport country, and (c) most proficient language. They included: S1-9 (Japan, France/Holland, English); S1-10 (Germany, Italy, English); S1-34 (Hungary, Japan, English); S1-35 (Hong Kong, Japan, English); and S1-50 (Hong Kong, UK, Japanese).

In addition, parents were asked to list other languages in which their children had some level of proficiency. This was based on the same scales of Speaking (S), Reading (R) and Writing (W), with a proficiency rating of Beginner (B), Intermediate (I) or Advanced (A) as for parents. When there were two or more siblings in the family, a significant number of the parents did not distinguish between the languages spoken by different children. Importantly, the majority of children were of a young age where Reading (R) and Writing (W) could be considered 'non-applicable'. With respect to both these factors, rather than consider 109 children individually, 54 questionnaires were evaluated as one respondent (S1-55) did not record an answer.

As previously stated, seven parents indicated that 12 of the children had equal proficiency in two languages (Table 5.9). From the remaining 47 questionnaires: 33% of parents indicated that their child(s) spoke only one language (n = 18); 51% of parents indicated a second language above a B level (n = 28); and only one parent indicated that apart the most proficient language, her child(s) could speak two additional languages. Family S1-8 had a Korean mother, a Swedish father, and both children attended a prominent English-speaking 'fully' international school in central Tokyo. According to respondent S1-8, the language proficiency for her child(s) included: most proficient language Swedish; English Speaking-A Reading-A Writing-A; and Korean Speaking-I Reading-I Writing-I. Considering the fact that the eldest child was 11 years old and at the age to be able to read and write, she could be regarded as the most multilingual of all the children.

5.5.2   Language(s) spoken at home

Parents were asked to record the language(s) spoken at home. Slightly less than half of the respondents indicated that their home-setting was a monolingual speaking environment (49%, n = 27). From these 27 families, the large majority spoke *English* at home (n = 19), four spoke *Japanese* (S1-12, S1-18, S1-22, S1-47), two spoke *Swedish* (S1-7, S1-8), one spoke *Finnish* (S1-2), and one spoke *German* (S1-42).

Two or more languages in this section have been listed in the same sequential order as respondents recorded on their questionnaires, which may or may not have indicated a language preference. Almost an equal number of respondents indicated that their home-setting was a bilingual speaking environment (44%, n = 24). From these 24 families, the large majority conversed in both *Japanese and English* at home (n = 19). Two families conversed in *English and German* (S1-6, S1-25), one in *Dutch and English* (S1-32), one in *English and French* (S1-41), and one family spoke both *Chinese and Japanese* (S1-20).

Three respondents indicated that their home-setting was a trilingual speaking environment. They were S1-9 (English French Dutch), S1-10 (Italian Arabic English) and S1-13 (English Spanish Japanese). Parent S1-55 recorded that his family spoke four languages in the home-setting: English, Japanese, Chinese and Indonesian. Three languages (English Chinese Indonesian) corresponded to the cultural background profile of the parents, while Japanese related to the host country they were residing at the time of data collection.

Table 5.10   Stage 1: Cultural ecology of respondents' only or eldest child

three groupings of international families in Tokyo	stage 1 (S1) respondent identification	M = mother's cultural background	F = father's cultural background	R = residential country culture
Japanese families	S1-1	Japanese	Japanese	Japanese
	S1-11	Japanese	Japanese	Japanese
	S1-12	Japanese	Japanese	Japanese
	S1-16	Japanese	Japanese	Japanese
	S1-18	Japanese	Japanese	Japanese
	S1-21	Japanese	Japanese	Japanese
	S1-22	Japanese	Japanese	Japanese
	S1-28	Japanese	Japanese	Japanese
	S1-34	Japanese	Japanese	Japanese
	S1-47	Japanese	Japanese	Japanese
GROUP ONE subtotal = 10				
Japanese intercultural families	S1-5	American	Japanese	Japanese
	S1-15	Canadian	Japanese	Japanese
	S1-19	Japanese	British	Japanese
	S1-24	Japanese	American	Japanese
	S1-30	American	Japanese	Japanese
	S1-35	Japanese	British	Japanese
	S1-36	Japanese	Australian	Japanese
	S1-38	Japanese	British	Japanese
	S1-39	Japanese	American	Japanese
	S1-40	Japanese	American	Japanese
	S1-43	Japanese	British	Japanese
	S1-44	Japanese	American	Japanese
	S1-46	Japanese	American	Japanese
	S1-49	Japanese	American	Japanese
	S1-53	Japanese	American	Japanese
	S1-54	Japanese	British	Japanese
GROUP TWO subtotal = 16				

three groupings of international families in Tokyo	stage 1 (S1) respondent identification	M = mother's cultural background	F = father's cultural background	R = residential country culture
Non-Japanese families	S1-2	Finnish	Finnish	Japanese
	S1-3	American	British	Japanese
	S1-4	Canadian	American	Japanese
	S1-6	American	German	Japanese
	S1-7	Swedish	Swedish	Japanese
	S1-8	Korean	Swedish	Japanese
	S1-9	French	Dutch	Japanese
	S1-10	Syrian	Italian	Japanese
	S1-13	Panamanian	American	Japanese
	S1-14	Australian	Australian	Japanese
	S1-17	Australian	Australian	Japanese
	S1-20	Chinese	Chinese	Japanese
	S1-23	American	American	Japanese
	S1-25	German	American	Japanese
	S1-26	Australian	Australian	Japanese
	S1-27	Australian	Australian	Japanese
	S1-29	American	American	Japanese
	S1-31	Australian	Australian	Japanese
	S1-32	Dutch	Dutch	Japanese
	S1-33	New Zealander	Australian	Japanese
	S1-37	British	British	Japanese
	S1-41	French	American	Japanese
	S1-42	German	German	Japanese
	S1-45	Australian	Australian	Japanese
	S1-48	British	British	Japanese
	S1-50	British	British	Japanese
	S1-51	New Zealander	New Zealander	Japanese
	S1-52	British	British	Japanese
	S1-55	Malaysian	Indonesian	Japanese
GROUP THREE subtotal = 29				
TOTAL = 55				

5.6　　Stage 1 families and their child's cultural ecology

From the questionnaire results presented thus far, it was possible to construct a family cultural ecology for each Stage 1 respondents' only or eldest child. The three proximal environments of mother's cultural background (M), father's cultural background (F), and the residential country culture (R), were the contexts under investigation. The results are presented in Table 5.10.

In Table 5.10, cultural backgrounds (M F R) were given explicit specification. According to Stevenson-Hinde (1998: 700), 'we cannot assume cultural homogeneity even within a particular area, let alone an entire country'. With this in mind, this study moved beyond sweeping generalisations or broad cultural stereotypes—Westerners and non-Western, Asians and non-Asians, and Europeans and non-Europeans—to more complex and nuanced understandings. While British and American culture, as well as Australian, Canadian and New Zealander, could be collectively termed an 'English-speaking Western cultural background', the tendency to describe the cultural backgrounds in uniformist terms was avoided.

5.7　　Parental school choice

5.7.1　　Parents' highest educational level and the educational aspirations for their children

As was described in Chapter Three section 3.3.1, studies have shown how parents' educational attainment often influences their children's educational continuation. According to Rumberger (1983: 210), '[h]igher educated parents might simply serve as better role models, influencing their children's' aspirations for more schooling… may also spend more time with their children, increasing their academic ability'. For example, parents who read well may be likely to buy and/or borrow books and read to their children. Conversely, parents who have reading problems may be unlikely to

expose themselves to much literacy, so that their children are reared in a less literate environment.

With reference to Table 5.11, three quarters of the international parents in this study had university qualifications. A quarter held bachelor degrees and up to half possessed a post-graduate qualification; one-third at masters level, while four parents possessed PhDs. More specifically, the level of education with the highest frequency for mothers was a bachelors degree (24%, n = 14), followed by a masters degree (22%, n = 12) and then an honours degree (11%, n = 6). The level of education with the highest frequency for fathers was a masters degree (38%, n = 21), followed by a bachelors degree (22%, n = 12) and then graduation from high school (13%, n = 7).

The level of education with the highest frequency for couples was a masters degree (30%, n = 33), followed by a bachelors degree (47%, n = 26), and in equal third with a significant drop in percentage was graduation from high school or technical college. These findings suggest that Stage 1 respondents were highly educated, which may help to explain the concerns about their children's schooling and the high level of educational and professional aspirations parents held for them.

Table 5.11   Stage 1: International parents' highest educational qualification

educational level	mother (M)	father (F)	MF frequency
masters degree	12	21	33
bachelors degree	14	12	26
high school graduation	5	7	12
technical college	9	3	12
honours degree	6	3	9
post-graduate certificate	3	4	7
post-graduate diploma	4	3	7
doctor of philosophy degree	2	2	4
middle school	-	-	-
TOTAL	55	55	110

Parents were asked to comment on the 'educational' aspirations they held for their children. The majority of respondents (84%) recorded a response, from one word answers to sentences that extended beyond the space provided, and the remaining 16% left the box blank (n = 9). Of the 46 parents who provided a response, 7% wrote a comment that related to what might be called their children's own state of mind (n = 4). Those remarks were as follows:

S1-11 *To learn about the world and themselves*

S1-33 *The best of their ability*

S1-40 *Be happy*

S1-53 *Totally their decision*

Eighteen per cent (n = 10) responded with the location of where they hoped their children would continue or complete their education. Although in most cases the level of education was not explicitly stated, most of them were presumably referring to the immediate future and thus primary and secondary schooling.

S1-2 *Finland*

S1-7 *High school in Sweden*

S1-8 *Sweden*

S1-20 *Finish school in Japan*

S1-26 *Finish school, any country is OK*

S1-29 *Attend school in Japan for a few years and then the US*

S1-32 *In the Netherlands*

S1-45 *Australian schooling from Grade 1*

S1-51 *Complete school in NZ*

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> S1-52   *Australia*

From the remaining 32 families, 33% of parents (n = 18) recorded *university, degree* or *tertiary* with no indication of the preferred location or level of education. On the other hand, 25% (n = 14) were more explicit in their answer and indicated the preferred location, but not level. Responses included *Singapore* (S1-16), *Australia* (S1-17), *Japan* (S1-21), and the *UK* (S1-37, S1-43). Eight respondents indicated that they preferred a university in the *US* and within this group, two also indicated the academic level.

> S1-12   *Graduate school in the US*

> S1-25   *Masters degree in the US*

One respondent did not indicate the location she preferred her only child to be educated, but responded with a *PhD*. She possessed this qualification herself.

5.7.2   Parents' current occupation and the professional aspirations for their children

Of the mothers who recorded their current occupation, 66% wrote *homemaker* (n = 36), 27% recorded some form of employment (n = 15), and 7% had no response to this question (n = 4). From the 15 mothers who indicated some form of employment, four wrote *teacher* (S1-1, S1-7, S1-15, S1-16). Other occupations included: *marketing* (S1-3); *editor* (S1-5); *coach* (S1-6); *real estate agent* (S1-11); *trader* (S1-20); *speech therapist* (S1-26); *interpreter (*S1-28); *human resources* (S1-45); *dentist* (S1-47); *journalist* (S1-50); and *product manager* (S1-55). Foreign mothers who possessed a dependent visa are not legally permitted to seek employment from which an income can be produced. Four of the mothers who claimed to possess a dependent visa also indicated employment (S1-3, S1-6, S1-7, S1-45).

In relation to the fathers' current occupations, 75% of respondents answered the question (n = 41) and 25% gave no response (n = 14). Four parents recorded *IT* (S1-19, S1-49,

S1-53), and five recorded *chairman/director* (S1-6, S1-11, S1-16, S1-21, S1-35). Six parents recorded *manager* (S1-2, S1-5, S1-8, S1-10, S1-34, S1-37), and seven recorded *banker* (S1-3, S1-13, S1-29, S1-41, S1-45, S1-50, S1-52). Additional occupations included: *engineer* (S1-7); *chartered accountant* (S1-28); *lawyer* (S1-30); and *doctor* (S1-47). The remaining 16 fathers covered an array of predominantly business-type positions, such as:

S1-15   *Sales executive*

S1-25   *Business leader financial services*

S1-42   *Strategy consultant*

S1-44   *Brokerage EQ sales*

S1-55   *Analyst*

Interestingly, the two careers that did not fit the 'business' norm were *concert promoter* (S1-12) and a *motorcyclist* (S1-22). And, one father indicated that he possessed a dependent visa and yet held an employment position in *IT* (S1-19).

As was described in Chapter Three section 3.3.1, many studies have shown how parents' professional attainment may influence their children's professional ambitions. A rich and varied environment of opportunities afforded by the family will provide children with the possibility of becoming the best they can be. The findings above suggest that Stage 1 parent respondents were largely professional persons, which again, may help to explain the concerns about their children's schooling and the high level of educational and professional aspirations they held for them.

Parents were asked to write a comment pertaining to the 'professional' aspirations they held for their children. Whereas nine parents did not respond to the former question regarding educational aspirations, 42% of parents left this question blank (n = 23). From

the remaining 33 families, 18 parents wrote a comment that related to the children's own feelings. Those remarks were as follows:

S1-13   *To excel and have passion for the career of their choice*

S1-15   *We respect whatever aspirations she may have*

S1-17   *Involved with something they love*

S1-33   *Whatever they are happy doing*

S1-41   *As long as they are happy in whatever they want to do*

Five parents referred to their children's future 'financial' stability as a key factor in the professional aspirations they held for their children.

S1-23   *To get a secure, high-paying and interesting job*

S1-25   *Sufficient income*

S1-31   *Anything that they are happy with and pays well*

S1-35   *The opportunity to enter a well-paid job*

S1-37   *To have enough money not to struggle*

Five parents referred to something 'international' as a key factor in the professional aspirations they held for their children.

S1-11   *Something international*

S1-16   *A cultural and international position*

S1-20   *International environment*

S1-28   *International anything*

S1-44   *International and challenging*

Four parents explicitly stated their professional aspirations for their children's future. S1-12 wrote *music industry*, which related to the father's employment position of concert promoter. S1-21 wrote *take over the family business*, which related to the father's employment position as director of his own company. S1-6 wrote *probably engineering or with computers* and S1-8 wrote *engineer or research*, although neither response appeared to be related to parents' employment position.

5.7.3   Parental choice of children's schooling

Schools in Tokyo range along a continuum from national to international. Parents were asked to name their children's school, but rather than identify and record confidential data, schools were classified into one of four broad groupings as described in Chapter Two. With reference to Table 5.12, the groupings were: Japanese national schools, non-Japanese national schools, Japanese international schools, and non-Japanese or 'fully' international schools (see section 2.7, Typology of schools in Tokyo).

Table 5.12   Stage 1: International parents' school choice for their transnational children

school type in Tokyo	frequency
Non-Japanese 'fully' international school	44
Non-Japanese national school	39
Japanese national school	6
Japanese international school	3
TOTAL	92

Notes: The number of children was less than 109 for several reasons, including (a) parents did not answer the question; or (b) parents did not specify the school; or (c) siblings were babies and not yet attending school.

The questionnaire listed 10 potential reasons for parental school choice, with an eleventh 'other' option that enabled non-listed factors to be recorded. Research has consistently shown that most parents reject a single option and look at a number of characteristics in combination. Hence, to make their choice, parents focused their attention on certain

elements and the instructions signalled that they could tick more than one criterion (see Appendix A, Children Information Part – D).

With reference to Table 5.13, 27% of parents ticked one option (n = 15); 31% ticked two options (n = 17); 18% ticked three options (n = 18); 15% ticked four options (n = 8); and 9% of parents ticked five options (n = 5). The criterion given the highest frequency was *location* (21%, n = 29), followed by *other* reasons (17%, n = 23) and then the *recommendation of expatriates* (15%, n = 21).

Table 5.13   Stage 1: International parents' school choice criteria

school choice criteria	frequency
location	29
other	23
recommendation of other expatriates	21
school tour	18
national curriculum	11
internet research	10
specialist lessons	10
recommendation of employer	5
school prospectus	5
extensive extra-curricular program	4
TOTAL	136

Notes: Next to 'other' was a space for respondents to record a non-listed reason(s) for school choice. The total was more than 110 as parents were permitted to tick more than one criterion.

While the majority of the 23 parents who indicated 'other' reasons for school choice made no comment, nine respondents wrote something in the adjoining space that gave an insight into non-listed factors that played a role in the selection of their children's schooling. Interestingly, all nine remarks listed below were noticeably different.

S1-4   *Philosophy of the school*

S1-5   *Bilingual studies*

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S1-6	*It has a great mixture of international students*
S1-9	*Primary Years Program (PYP)*
S1-20	*Japanese language*
S1-28	*Alumni*
S1-30	*Good fit with my children*
S1-37	*Facilities*
S1-49	*English language*

The next item on the questionnaire asked parents to identify the extent to which their employment package assisted with the payment of their children's school tuition. Several parents did not answer this question (7%, n = 4), almost half indicated that their children's school tuition was included (47%, n = 26), a small percentage indicated that their children's school tuition was partially included (9%, n = 5), and 36% indicated that their children's tuition fees were all their own expense (n = 20).

Of the 20 parents who did not receive financial support for tuition fees, nine of the 10 Japanese couples fell into this category. The only Japanese couple who did not have to pay their children's tuition fees were the US Green Card holders (S1-11) who had lived abroad for over 12 years. The father's employment was listed as *Vice-President at the Tokyo branch of an American company*. Despite being Japanese, this family was afforded the same privileges as foreign expatriates despite being Japanese nationals.

Although some parents indicated that their children's tuition fees were not directly covered by their sponsor, some may have had the fees 'cashed-out' and allocated to them as part of their salary. Foreign hired employees may receive different allowances as part of their overall 'compensations for alleged hardships' (E. Cohen, 1977: 21). To ease the burden a company may experience in having to issue a number of payments as part of an employee's package, costs may be reimbursed as a lump-sum salary payment. In this

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case, parents may have felt as though they were personally making the school tuition payments, but in actuality, this was through compensation from their sponsoring employers. The questionnaires did not distinguish such financial matters.

5.8   Chapter summary

The aim of this chapter was not to assess the relative importance of specific ecological determinants, but rather to systematically understand the questionnaire data in terms of (a) the family cultural ecology of transnational children in this study and (b) how this related to the parents' choice of schooling. Analysis of the data presented here in Chapter Five provided a basis for identifying similar themes and patterns in the Stage 2 interview narratives, which are discussed in the next chapter.

Stage 2 interview results

6.1   Introduction

Chapter Six presents the results of Stage 2 interviews. A total of 17 parents engaged in dialogue individually, and on behalf of their spouses and children. Each interviewee was assigned a participant number for identification purposes. This comprised the prefix S2 standing for Stage 2, followed by a letter from A to Q according to the chronological order of the interview timetable. The open-ended interview guide used to collect interview data was presented in Chapter Four (section 4.3.1). Nine Stage 2 participants were also Stage 1 questionnaire respondents. Parents ranged in age from 29 to 57 years; mothers (n = 9) made-up 53% and fathers (n = 8) made-up the remaining 47%.

6.2   International family profiles

As presented in Chapter Two, a division of the three main types of international families in Tokyo who needed to confront choices about the education of their transnational children included: Japanese parents who wanted their children to have an international education (S2-D, S2-E, S2-J, S2-O); Japanese intercultural parents where either the mother or the father was Japanese (S2-G, S2-I, S2-K, S2-L, S2-N, S2-P, S2-Q); and non-Japanese parents (S2-A, S2-B, S2-C, S2-F, S2-H, S2-M).

Information about the families' cultural backgrounds were derived from preliminary interview discussion. *International Family Profiles* as presented below, provide a snapshot of each Stage 2 interviewee. The order in which each profile is discussed and the specific details mentioned are a reflection of the particular flow of the interview process with each participant. Since only one person per family was interviewed (except in the case of interviewee S2-Q), the data collected was limited to that parent's perspective on all issues.

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Profiles are largely based on factual information, but in relation to parental school choice and aspirations in particular, they do include statements reflecting the personal thoughts and judgements of interviewees. Any expressions of feeling and/or judgment within a profile have its origin in the words of participants and were not imputed by the researcher. The record of all interview narratives is available on request and Appendix I provides three transcripts in full.

6.2.1   Japanese parents

Interviewee S2-D. This Japanese mother was divorced from her Japanese husband, but maintained amicable relations with him for the sake of their two daughters' education. The eldest daughter had recently graduated from a prestigious all girls' boarding school in England, yet her most proficient language was considered to be Japanese. In contrast, the youngest daughter had attended non-Japanese 'fully' international schools in Tokyo all her life. Despite the fact that she had never officially studied abroad, her most proficient language was considered to be English. This Japanese mother, a professional Japanese-English interpreter, communicated with her daughters in either Japanese or English, depending on the social situation. The father, although unable to speak English, had continued to support his daughters' international education to the combined value of approximately USD $100,000 per annum.

Interviewee S2-E. This Japanese mother's family business meant that her Japanese husband frequently travelled abroad and required him to communicate in English on a regular basis. Initially, both parents decided to put their two sons in an international school and change them over to a national school after several years of English language immersion. The boys had never attended Japanese schooling, apart from *kumon* classes, and were currently enrolled in the largest of all Kindergarten to Year 12 (K-12) non-Japanese national schools on the outskirts of Tokyo. The parents had great admiration for the education their sons were receiving and were debating whether to change them

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over to the Japanese national system. This mother believed her sons' personalities and style of communication was distinctly different from typical Japanese students, because they had become critical learners, outspoken and independent. The boys communicated in English to one another and in Japanese to their parents. It was reported that the father was deeply concerned that his sons needed greater Japanese immersion, despite both parents being ethnically Japanese and residing in Japan all their lives. The parents were already contemplating which Japanese university to send them to in order to gain increased exposure to mainstream society.

Interviewee S2-J. This Japanese mother stated that the traditional way of thinking between Japanese couples is to send their children to a well-ranked private school, especially in Tokyo. However, when their eldest son was born with a cleft palate and severe speech impediment, the parents re-evaluated their options. After extensive research, this mother, the director of her own Japanese language school for foreigners, concluded that the Japanese language was not conducive to improving her son's ability to speak as the alphabet consists largely of 'simple' syllables. Additionally, she believed that Japanese society was harsh on individuals with disabilities and she did not want her son to endure discrimination. This mother had attended preschool in New York when her Japanese father had been transferred there for employment purposes, and her research, coupled with fond memories of that experience, contributed to her decision-making. However, despite having spent several years in the US, she chose a British school as she had also discovered linguistic challenges surrounding the American pronunciation of words, which again, she did not want for her son. Their second son was following in the footsteps of his elder brother, as the parents were most satisfied with their choice of school.

Interviewee S2-O. This Japanese mother, together with her Japanese husband, had not been impressed with the Japanese education system over the previous decade. They

believed that the Japanese Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science and Technology (MEXT) had created a somewhat dysfunctional curriculum and had failed to deal with the widespread issue of bullying. These factors had influenced them to avoid any Japanese national schooling. After evaluating more schools than any other interviewee, the mother decided on a prominent international preschool in central Tokyo. Through the school community, she became close friends with a British woman who had invited the family to spend their summer vacations in the UK. The father remained in Tokyo, but the mother and daughter accepted the invitation, which was repeated over many years. For the most part, both mother and daughter associated with non-Japanese friends and spoke only English to one another. Her daughter's most proficient language was unquestionably English and this was beginning to cause a family feud, as her limited Japanese embarrassed some members of the extended family. The parents had recently separated and, as they were experiencing financial difficulties, the mother secured employment at her daughter's school as a Teaching Assistant (TA), which enabled her to receive subsidised tuition fees.

6.2.2   Japanese intercultural parents

Interviewee S2-G. This American father had been on active duty with the US military and based in a station south of *Hiroshima* when he met his non-English-speaking Japanese wife. After many months of struggling to communicate with one another in either language, they decided to marry and continue their life together in Japan. In order to remain in the US military and stationed in Japan, the father had to revert to minimum local wages. After eight years, he realised that his peers with lesser employment status were faring better and he decided to initiate a transfer to neighbouring Korea in order to regain international employment benefits. After he had had several years there, the US base in Tokyo had experienced a restructuring and recalled him back to Japan with the same employment conditions he had enjoyed in

Korea. As a result of promotion, however, he was relocated back to Korea and had only recently repatriated to Tokyo where he hoped to remain indefinitely. He had three daughters who had been schooled in English-speaking Korean international schools and while they spoke Japanese with their mother, their Japanese was underdeveloped. His plan was to educate his daughters in the Department of Defence Dependents Schools (DoDDS) and not actively seek an overseas transfer until his youngest child had graduated from senior high school.

Interviewee S2-I. The youngest of all interviewees, this Canadian father had a one day stopover in Tokyo, but decided to miss his return flight to board with English-teaching foreign friends. Within a short period of time, he met his older Japanese wife who wrote the subtitles for Hollywood movies. According to her husband, she was feeling enormous societal pressure to have children and she had assumed that conception would be difficult. This proved not to be the case and they recently had a baby daughter. It was reported that his wife, although an avid traveller, had no desire to relocate overseas. While he would love to remain in Tokyo, he had anticipated that he might need to return to Canada to resume his tertiary studies and attain an official teaching license to be appointed to preferred employment positions within Japan. At the time of the interview, this couple was contemplating sending their baby daughter to a public Japanese elementary school and then transferring her to an English-based international school beyond the 6th Grade.

Interviewee S2-K. This American father of Caribbean descent had a one year university exchange experience to Japan in the early 1980s. After graduation from his studies in the US and following seven years of employment in the computer industry in Tokyo, he met his Japanese wife who was working as a simultaneous Japanese-English translator within the same corporation. Their daughter had been attending one of the prominent all girls' K-12 international schools in Tokyo, until an issue of racial

discrimination surfaced. According to the father, the school did not appear to address the issue and the parents sought to transfer her to another international school. However, with reciprocal agreements related to student enrolments between many of these institutions, an immediate transfer was not possible. Fortunately, with the introduction of a new international school on the outskirts of Tokyo, established to cater for long-term foreign residents, their daughter was accepted and reported to be much happier socially and educationally.

Interviewee S2-L. This British mother had met her Japanese husband while vacationing in Tokyo. They maintained a long distance relationship for one year, until she decided to return to join him. At that time, her Japanese husband's English language proficiency was extremely limited, but when he obtained an employment position that involved much travel and an international staff and clientele, his communicative skills soared. They were together for 12 years before they married and started a family. Their three year old son had been attending a 'private' Japanese preschool since he was six months old. The mother said it was a loving family-type environment, but she felt that he had been spoilt there by the Japanese staff. She was considering changing him to a 'public' Japanese preschool where he would be exposed to stricter discipline. She anticipated that her family would remain in Japan at least until the end of her son's elementary schooling in the Japanese national system. She and her husband would then re-evaluate his education and she believed that her son would be old enough to contribute to his own educational decision-making.

Interviewee S2-N. This British father had ventured to Tokyo eight years previously on a European Union (EU) sponsored program for young corporate-minded people to learn Japanese language, culture and business practices. During the program's one and a half year duration, he met his Japanese wife. At the conclusion of the program, he wished to remain in Japan and arranged for his sponsor institution to find him

employment in Tokyo rather than the UK. This Japanese intercultural couple had one daughter with Down Syndrome (DS). Because they believed that her exposure and ability to play with other children was fundamental to her development, they had originally placed her in a Japanese Montessori preschool. In contrast to their hopes and intentions, this school severely restricted her attendance, which only served to magnify her differences to the extent that she became increasingly irritated and confused. During the school's vacation period, the parents decided to trial another preschool and discovered that their daughter not only loved her new environment, but that it was proving positive to her social and educational development. The parents perceived that their next challenge would be to identify an equally nurturing public Japanese elementary school for her transition in the next couple of years.

Interviewee S2-P. The oldest of all interviewee, this British father was married to a Japanese wife and had been a resident in Tokyo for over 25 years. They had had two children once they were financially well-established and while their children's international education had been acceptable during the elementary years, they believed that Tokyo offered limited senior school possibilities, primarily due to many international schools offering an American-based curriculum. They decided to investigate boarding schools in the UK and conducted an extensive and methodical process of elimination to find what he called a '100 per cent brand-name educational establishment' for both their son and daughter. The children had been able to sit the entrance examinations at the British Council in Tokyo before they ventured to the UK to participate in Open Days, tours and interviews at the most prestigious boarding schools within close proximity to London. Eventually, decisions were made. However, the waitlists and limited intakes for the schools of their choice meant that while their daughter was able to commence boarding school in 2008, their son had been accepted at another school for 2010.

Interviewee S2-Q. This Australian father was a long-term resident in Japan and had a Japanese spouse. He originally met his wife in 1992 when they had both been English language teachers at the same Japanese senior high school. After eight years together, they married. Their son attended a public Japanese preschool and the mother was pregnant with their second child. They had already decided to relocate to Queensland in 2009 so that their children could be educated in Australia. In order to facilitate relocation, the mother had travelled to Australia in 2008 for a two month period in search of schools. The father had joined her for several weeks when they both needed to be present for joint admissions procedures. Since many of their first preference schools had extensive waitlists, at the time of the interview, they were not yet able to make a decision until they had received confirmation from several schools. The parents stressed that their son's education was their utmost priority and they were amenable to moving anywhere in Queensland so that he could attend a 'decent' Australian school and have a social network of 'mates' near the campus. They were also preparing to put their unborn child's name on school waitlists at the earliest possible opportunity to avoid experiencing the same anxieties in the coming years.

6.2.3 Non-Japanese parents

Interviewee S2-A. This American mother had been born in Israel and her English husband had been born in Zimbabwe. This non-Japanese intercultural couple first met in New York and both had travelled the world for their employment. This was not their first secondment to Tokyo, with the father having been transferred there several years previously. They loved the experience to the extent that they had requested a return to Tokyo at his company's earliest convenience. Since they had resided in Tokyo when two of their three children were infants, selecting schools had posed no obstacle. The mother had already contemplated their return and the preferred schools were those the children were attending. The needs of each child, born across three continents, had been

independently assessed and they were enrolled at three different schools. The eldest child, a son, attended one of the major English-speaking international schools, the middle child, a daughter, attended a private Japanese elementary school and the youngest child, another daughter, attended a public Japanese kindergarten. The son struggled to communicate in basic Japanese, while the older daughter had an English language tutor. The youngest child would be following in the footsteps of her sister by remaining in the national system until the end of her elementary schooling. This family had been living in Japan for the last six years, thoroughly enjoyed their cosmopolitan lifestyle, and considered Tokyo home.

Interviewee S2-B. This young Australian mother was married to an Australian husband from the same local town in rural Australia. Together they had resided abroad for 11 consecutive years, to support one or both of their careers. Dependent on employment opportunities offered to them, they had predominantly transferred throughout different parts of Asia. The father had been transferred to Tokyo for a second time several years earlier and they welcomed the return, despite the expatriate package being less than if they had moved to Hong Kong or Singapore. They had one daughter attending a small private English-based international school. The mother had recently given birth to a son. The father was one of ten children and had a relaxed attitude with regards to the education of his small children. The mother took full responsibility for school selection, but believed that at that point in time their socialisation was more important than their 'academic' education. Their intention was to return to Australia within the next 18 months to two years, as they felt that they had been away from home for an extended period of time and preferred for their children to be schooled in Australia from Grade 1.

Interviewee S2-C. This mature aged American mother was married to a *nisei*[58] [second-generation] Japanese-American husband, whose Japanese mother had kept up the registry, enabling him to be eligible for Japanese permanent residential status. Having achieved success early in both their careers in the US, they had decided to venture to Japan for one year, so that their two young children could have an experience of Japanese cultural and linguistic immersion. This father could not communicate in Japanese and his American wife did the translating, which consistently confused the Japanese public. They had extended their stay for another year and were still investing great time, money and energy in their children's education, hoping that they would achieve bilingualism. They chose public Japanese schooling, but found the socio-cultural and political processes exhausting. They had already planned to repatriate to another region of the US in 2009, which had a reputable Japanese immersion school. In this way, they could continue to promote their children's bilingualism, but be more able to communicate with school teaching and administrative staff.

Interviewee S2-F. This young Mexican father was newly transferred to Tokyo and awaiting the arrival of his Mexican wife and three children who had remained in London so that their children could complete their school year. He had been on the expatriate circuit for a relatively short time, with this being his second international secondment. He had found that his biggest challenge had nothing to do with the demands of his employment, but rather the selection of education for his young children. He explained that although an expatriate lifestyle had advantages, it was essentially difficult and fraught with much instability. As such, his intention was to remain an expat for several more years and then seek a return to Mexico where his family could settle and better

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58   *Nikkei-jin* are Japanese persons and their descendants who live outside of Japan. The first generation to emigrate from Japan are referred to as *issei*, literally meaning 'first generation'. Similarly, *nisei, sansei* and *yonsei* refer to the second, third and fourth generations respectively (Shibata, 2003: 7). Interviewee S2-C was adamant that, despite her husband being a *nissei*, he was 'American' and not 'Japanese'.

appreciate their heritage. The father believed that the experience was a wonderful learning opportunity for them and that they had been exposed to great cultural and linguistic diversity. However, his number one priority was his family and the education of his children, and no exorbitant salary and jet-setting lifestyle would be able to compensate for their well-being.

Interviewee S2-H. This young Australian mother was married to an Australian man from the same city in urban Australia. Her husband was employed with one of the world's largest hotel chains and they had been on the international circuit for several years. As she believed that they would never permanently return to Australia, they had carefully chosen their transfers since the birth of their two children. She stated that when they did not have a family, they would have gladly relocated anywhere across the globe, but now they would not accept localities that could not adequately provide for their children's academic development. She and her husband were not satisfied with their daughter's current primary-level international education in Tokyo and were planning to withdraw her until they accepted another transfer, and had decided to allow her to complete the school year. The father's secondments had tended to be promotions to bigger branches of the hotel chain and hence, the mother anticipated that in order to cope with the frequency of transience they would continue to experience over the coming years, her children would eventually be placed in International Baccalaureate (IB) schools.

Interviewee S2-M. In total, this Australian executive had been an expatriate in Tokyo for 11 years. He was married to a fellow Australian and this was their second secondment to Tokyo. Although they had not anticipated a return to Japan, the mother had worked as a speech therapist at several international schools in central Tokyo, which enabled her to make a relatively easy selection of schooling for their three children. The parents were pleased with their children's education, but as each child had been born

abroad and never experienced Australia apart from holidays, they had recently contemplated the mixed identity of their family. Whilst they would like their children to be educated in Australia, they were uncertain as to 'if' and 'when' they should repatriate. When visiting Australia, the parents had never felt a strong enough pull for them to jeopardise the lifestyle they had become accustomed to and thoroughly enjoyed. They felt that when their children approached high school, that might signal the time to return, but they did not want to be bound by the fear that their children could not be successfully educated in the secondary school years in Tokyo or elsewhere.

Summary. Stage 2 interviews generated seventeen transcripts totalling approximately 60,000 words. The analytic process involved detailed reading of the interview narratives for the purpose of identifying common 'themes'. The four main headings used to interpret Stage 1 data recurred even more strongly in the interviews and have been used as the 'themes' for presenting Stage 2 data. Namely (1) Factors in internationalisation; (2) Location of home; (3) Language socialisation; and (4) Parental school choice. As much as possible, selected quotations under each theme represent the spectrum of responses covered by all international parents—Japanese, Japanese intercultural and non-Japanese—in this study. Some quotations are admittedly long, but as was stated in Chapter Four, rather than looking for meaning(s) in discrete words, my analysis concentrated on pools of information in order to remain as contextual as possible. It must be reiterated that this research has not disclosed any information that could prejudice research participants, and for anonymity purposes, potentially identifiable data within quotations have been replaced by comments or code in brackets.

6.3   Factors in internationalisation

Against a backdrop of rapidly growing internationalisation across continents, the concept of 'international' is one that impinges more and more upon the lives of increasing numbers of people.

Japanese families. In seeking to understand the motivations underpinning the international orientation of the four Japanese families in Stage 2, the following excerpts best summarised each Japanese mother's circumstances. Coincidentally, all four participants stressed that their children's 'education' was the driving force for their internationalisation. The first two Japanese mothers trialled Japanese schooling, but were dissatisfied with the education their children received in the national system.

We originally put my daughter into a very traditional Japanese kindergarten, which was a famous Catholic school that extends through to university. When she was accepted to this kindergarten, everyone jumped for joy, because everything is virtually assured through to university. There are no entrance examinations and you can go straight through. The percentage of children being accepted into that kindergarten was low… I didn't like the school from the beginning, because it was very strict. I didn't like the test she [my daughter] did and in the interview they were very mean to her. But she was accepted and everybody else was so happy that I thought everything must be all right. She started in April and by June I could tell that she was unhappy. The teachers were all nuns and they were forcing her to eat the food that was served and she became very stressed… I went to the school and their attitude was that they are a wonderful school and did I really want to complain to them? I decided to pull her out. They said that I was crazy for pulling her out of 'Our School!' But I did it anyway. Then we had to find another place, a kindergarten. I said to my ex-husband that I had had enough of Japanese schools and that I wanted to put her into an international school so that she could learn English.

[S2-D]

I was rather determined to send them to an international school, but when my eldest son was three years old I thought that in the future he would question, 'Why did you send me to an international school rather than a Japanese school?' I thought I might regret my actions. And the

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second reason was, as I am Japanese and all my family is Japanese, there is a traditional way of thinking between Japanese couples that they should send their children to a good private school in Tokyo - especially Tokyo... I thought we should at least try to see if there was a good Japanese school for my children. But I was sure I wanted to send them to an international school. I decided to visit a Japanese school in Aoyama [place name]. It was a very prestigious school... But one day our son said, 'Mummy, I don't want to go anymore'. So I asked why. He said, 'Because the teacher forced me to colour the picture inside the lines and I cannot make a mess. If I colour at the international school, the teacher allows me to do whatever I like. I feel free and I feel good'. What a relief! It was his choice. Yes, he was only three, but from that point, he could imagine what the Japanese education system would be like even though he was young. He could really see the difference.

[S2-J]

The two other Japanese mothers placed their children in non-Japanese schooling from the beginning.

I decided that my children should attend an international school. My husband was flexible. Japanese school or international school, either was OK. We decided though, that after elementary school our two sons would attend a Japanese school, because we are Japanese. They need to go to Japanese school. But now our planning is uncertain, because we feel that their international schooling is so much better than Japanese schooling.

[S2-E]

When my daughter was one and a half years, she starting kissing everyone. One day we were in a shop and the shop assistant asked me, 'Where are you planning to put your daughter in school?' I was thinking about hoikuen [public Japanese preschool], but the lady said, 'Why don't you think about an international school for her?' And I asked her why she would ask that, because we are a Japanese family. She said there would be no problem if we understood English and

could read an English letter or have a conversation with the teachers. From that point I started to think about it. Also at that time, my husband and I weren't satisfied with Japanese education. The system has not been consistently the same. It seems to be modelling the 'American' system. As you know, Japanese maths and science; numeracy was the highest in the world, but now I don't think so. The Japanese Government or educational experts have created stress. Japanese schools have become less academic. It always seems to be changing. There are no strong educational policies… we couldn't seem to find a good enough Japanese school.

[S2-O]

It should be noted that two of the four Japanese mothers had personally experienced schooling in a foreign context, which may have contributed to their international orientation, although they were the same two interviewees who trialled Japanese schooling in the early days.

There was an idea about sending her to the [School-2], but at that time [School-2] did not take any Japanese students at all. Even though I was an alumna, they still wouldn't take her.

[S2-D]

When I was four or five years old, I was in New York because my father is a doctor and he was sent there to a counselling centre. I was sent to a preschool, so I somehow remember the environment. When I arrived I didn't know any English words, I made loads of mistakes... I stayed there two years and then I returned to Tokyo and Japanese schooling. The things I learned in my school in New York and the things I learned in my school here in Tokyo were totally different. So, I thought that the international atmosphere and the environment would be better for my sons.

[S2-J]

Only one Japanese father appeared to have had a foreign experience studying English abroad.

> *[My husband's] company is becoming international and his English is not fluent. He attended an English school in the US and studied English, but he still needs someone to help continue the business…*
>
> [S2-E]

In summary, all four Japanese mothers stressed their children's education as the primary reason for their international orientation. They all supported the literature which suggested that 'many' Japanese parents have become dissatisfied with the Japanese education system (Nakamura, 2008: 2). To them, the Japanese education system was rigid with a focus on collectivism and presented fierce examination competition. Once their children had been socialised into a non-Japanese school setting it was difficult for them to adjust to a Japanese classroom situation and for that reason, six of the seven children were continuing with non-Japanese schooling in Tokyo and only one had recently graduated from a boarding school in the UK.

Japanese intercultural families. Since the 1970s, the Japanese economy has provided many and varied opportunities for members of the international community (Takao, 2003; Tsuda, 1998, 2003, 2004; R. Yoshida, 2008). The rise in the number of foreigners choosing to live in Japan, particularly in Tokyo, has been due to the fact that foreign employees have been notably young in age and therefore disproportionately likely to marry a Japanese spouse (R. Yoshida, 2008). Supporting this claim, four participants met their Japanese spouse while 'working' in Japan.

> *I met my wife in Japan. I was on active duty with the US Military at the time and I was based in a station south of Hiroshima [place name] and that is where she's from. Her friend was dating my friend and they*

were moving in together. We were helping them move and that's how we met, back in 1994.

[S2-G]

I didn't meet my wife that [first] time. I didn't meet her until I was here for about seven years... I had to go back the first time and finish school [university]… We worked for the same company and she was working close to me until my boss positioned her away and after she was no longer working directly with me we started dating.

[S2-K]

I decided to transfer to Japan in the 80s to gain some international work experience. Within a couple of years I met my Japanese wife and decided that I didn't want to return to England. I had everything I wanted and needed here in Tokyo.

[S2-P]

She [my wife] was my boss and I was her assistant English teacher. We dated for about two to three years.

[S2-Q]

One participant met his Japanese spouse while 'studying' in Japan.

I met my wife in Japan about eight years ago – eight and a half years ago. I was here as part of an executive training program. It was a European Union (EU) sponsored program and sponsored by my company as well. That is one of the criteria for being on the program, so the EU sends over about 40-50 young business people to learn the Japanese language, Japanese culture and business practices…

[S2-N]

Two participants met their Japanese spouse while 'travelling' in Japan. Nitta's (1988: 214) study, which focused on Japanese intercultural couples, found that Japanese women were more likely to meet non-Japanese spouses in Japan.

I first came to Japan four years ago in 2004. I came here [Tokyo] visiting friends and I was supposed to have a day lay over – only one day. I had friends living here [in Tokyo] and instead of staying at the airport, they said to come stay with them. They said to miss my plane, find a job and stay for a couple of months. So, I just didn't catch the connection... I met my wife at my friend's boyfriend's birthday party.

[S2-I]

Nitta (1988: 214) also found that Japanese men were more likely to meet non-Japanese spouses while abroad, though this was not the case for S2-L who met her Japanese husband in Japan.

When I first came here [Tokyo] I wasn't doing anything. I was passing through to see a friend and met my husband almost immediately. I left and came back. I came back to Japan to live about one year after I initially met him [my Japanese husband].

[S2-L]

All seven Japanese intercultural couples met their Japanese spouses from previous work, study or travel experiences in Japan. Presumably, communication between these Japanese and English-speaking parents would have been a challenge in the early days. This, however, was not necessarily the case. Notably, four fathers made direct reference to their Japanese wife's outstanding English proficiency as linked to their professional employment.

And, yes my wife speaks English. She does Japanese subtitles for Hollywood movies. She needs to understand all the culture as well... so she was really happy when we met though that's not why we got married, but was really useful… She was half way through her program when we met and she graduated a year into our relationship and found a job. So, she worked for a translating company before she had our baby.

[S2-I]

My wife and I were working together. She is a conference level interpreter. Her English is good… she had gone to college in the US. She is a Japanese-English simultaneous interpreter.

[S2-K]

She was studying quite intensely at the time and working for an [international] bank, so English was always being used. We communicate in English, but at the time, her English was really good. Well, today the situation is that I try to speak in Japanese and she says, 'What did you say?' and then I tell her what I tried to say in English.

[S2-N]

We used to work together in the same high school. We were both teaching English back in 1992.

[S2-Q]

In summary, all Japanese intercultural couples in this grouping had met their spouses in Japan and had chosen either to stay the first time or to return. Four participants explicitly stated that despite living in Japan and their lack of Japanese proficiency, their Japanese wife's English was at such a high level that it made communication in the relationship and life in Japan relatively smooth.

Non-Japanese families. As with the non-Japanese spouses of the intercultural couples discussed above, four out of the six participants in this grouping had prior experience(s) in Japan. Three participants had previous 'work' experience in Tokyo.

My husband was working for a bank in London and they transferred him here [Tokyo]. We came for two years when my son was just a few months, while my middle daughter was born here… But, my husband got a great job offer in New York and so we really tried hard to weigh the scales so that we could stay, but it simply did not make sense, as it was a better opportunity for him to move to New York. So, we moved to

New York, but from the day we arrived he told everyone that would listen that we wanted to move back to Tokyo.

[S2-A]

This is not my first time to Japan. I left Australia in 1997 with my boyfriend and we shifted to Singapore for my job… We lived there for five years. He then got a job offer in Tokyo and by that time we had had enough of living in Singapore… So, we shifted to Tokyo in 2002. We had one year here. My husband got a transfer to Hong Kong… After one year my husband then got another transfer back to Tokyo.

[S2-B]

We came to Japan a long time ago. Well, we first came here 11 years ago and we stayed for four years. Then we went to London for two years thinking that would be the end of Japan and got the shift back here five years ago… We came in July 2003. It has just ticked over five years…

[S2-M]

While no interviewee had moved to Japan for 'study' purposes, one interviewee had visited Japan for 'travel'.

I have been to Japan many times as a tourist.

[S2-C]

The remaining two participants in this grouping were newly arrived international assignees. As reported in the literature, international assignees who may have felt coerced into taking assignments abroad, perhaps for fear that their careers will suffer, could develop a negative attitude towards their new assignment in the host country (Webb & Wright, 1996). On the other hand, international assignees who believed that they had a choice whether or not to accept foreign placements are more likely to be successful.

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The following comments suggested that there was some coercion on the part of employers, but not enough to have made these two participants feel that they had no choice.

> *I came to Tokyo to keep my job. I had options. I could have gone back to Mexico, but then I would cut short my career. I could have said 'No', but it is difficult for people who make the decisions to consider you for the next position. Or the next one...*
>
> [S2-F]

> *This is our first major move, the furthest afield. I guess we had a choice. It was an opportunity we couldn't say 'No' to. While we had a choice, it was an opportunity that would eventually lead to better prospects for us. We would have been silly to say 'No', but yes we had a choice.*
>
> [S2-H]

Face-to-face interaction for the creation of trust is a fundamental requisite in Japanese social and professional networks (Huff & Kelley, 2003; Peltokorpi, 2007). Hence, successfully fulfilling one international assignment to Japan would suggest that an assignee is most likely to be able to fulfil a return placement. All three participants who had visited Japan for work purposes were 'returnee' families. While two interviewee favoured the return, one interviewee was not offered a choice the second time. He explained:

> *Japan is still very 'foreign' to a lot of people and it can be hard to attract employees. So, companies might be thinking that if someone has gone there and survived, they should be able to go back. However, the second time I had no choice. When we were in London, I got sent back here. The situation was, 'How would you like to go back to Japan?' And I was thinking, 'How should I feel about going back to Japan? The*

response was 'You should feel very enthusiastic about going back there!' There was no choice.

[S2-M]

Smooth adjustment of the 'trailing spouse' to an assignment abroad enhances expatriate productivity, performance and morale (Harvey, 1995, 1997, 1998; Harvey & Wiese, 1998). A spouse's positivity helps to establish a mutually supportive family and all three trailing and returnee wives supported their husband's relocation to Japan.

We were here for two years and we didn't want to leave! His [my husband's] boss who was based out of London had some great opportunities for him there, but we didn't want to move anywhere except Tokyo.

[S2-A]

After one year my husband then got a transfer back to Tokyo. I was really excited about returning, because it honestly took about one year to feel like home. I liked Hong Kong, but I thought if I had to move back anywhere, I was more than happy to return to Japan.

[S2-B]

However, the participant who had no choice the second time noted that his wife's initial feeling was one of disbelief.

My wife cried. She was like, 'I don't want to go back'. It was a shock. A week later we were fine and very happy to have returned here.

[S2-M]

Whether short or long-term, international families who move abroad must uproot themselves from extended families, friends and other support people in their home country. Without any family ties to the new host country, two participants made explicit

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reference to the hardships associated with international mobility. The first comment came from an interviewee who had been on the expatriate circuit for less than five years.

> *I think that I will do what I am doing for another five years… I don't see myself living like this. Travelling all the time and changing places. We have been from Mexico to London and now to Tokyo. It's not forever. It's not going to last. It is very difficult. A lot of people say that being an 'expat' is wonderful. It has some benefits, but it also has its downside. You never establish yourself with friends. You have friends everywhere, but no real friends. You spend two years and then move...*
>
> [S2-F]

His sentiments were reiterated by another interviewee who had been on the expatriate circuit for over ten years.

> *I feel as though we have moved so many times. This may sound terrible, but it gets more difficult, because you need to make new friends and get set-up all over again… My view is that you can live an expat life, living in an 'unreal' world and think I'll just do another two years, we can earn more money and buy a house and go on a holiday and then before you know it, it is 20 years. I think some people fall into that trap.*
>
> [S2-B]

Two participants and long-term residents in Tokyo, recognised that through such a transient lifestyle, a cultural or environmental 'bubble' appeared to evolve (E. Cohen, 1977; Joslin, 2002). They explained:

> *…it is only through observation, there seems to be a real element of the kids not living in the 'real world'. They are in a foreign country and they do this great stuff, but may be I am old-fashioned. I do know of some kids who go crazy because they are living in a 'bubble' and if*

they ever leave they wouldn't know how to cope in the real world. You need to keep it real when you're living in Tokyo.

[S2-B]

Another thing on the downside is that it is a bit of a 'bubble'. The kids live in a bubble. Everyone's got cash and it's probably an artificial environment. That's one of the things I worry about more than any thing. If they had to go back into a tougher and grittier school in Australia then 'How would they survive?' And in society Japan is safe and the kids don't have a lot of street smart. So, I wonder a bit about that.

[S2-M]

Due to the brevity of some participants' stay in Japan, transiency may have reduced their opportunity for adaptation to, and integration into, a cultural or environment 'bubble' (E. Cohen, 1977). Two participants and both short-term residents in Tokyo had no knowledge of the duration of their sojourn to Japan and their underlying uncertainty was made apparent.

There is always the chance to return to London, because that is where the headquarters are. I don't know? I cannot see them planning to send me back… I've been told by the company that I am going to be here two to three years. That is the plan, but the plan was also to go to London and then return to Mexico. Now I'm here. So, you never know how things work out.

[S2-F]

After we move to [place name in Japan], it will most likely be somewhere like Bangkok or Kuala Lumpur. I don't know? May be Hong Kong?

[S2-H]

The literature suggests that two-thirds of employees who refuse an international assignment cite their child's education as the reason for declining to relocate (Cadden & Kittell, 2009). All seven participants in this grouping, however, appeared to be amenable to a transfer to Japan rather than certain other locales. One short-term interviewee, who confirmed that her and her husband had a 'choice' whether or not to relocate to Japan, pointed out that not all expatriate offerings were automatically accepted.

> *Opportunities come up all the time with my husband's company. He could have taken a manager position in China, regional China, but we don't want to live there for the children. If it was the two of us by ourselves that would be completely different, but we have two children.*
>
> [S2-H]

One long-term interviewee emphasised the merits of living in Tokyo from her own perspective, but made particular reference to her children's lifestyle.

> *Tokyo is great! It has everything that a city has to offer. And it's safe. It is amazing. My son who is 11 years, takes the subway by himself so that he can go and play ice hockey at the rink. My two daughters, six and nine years, walk to school by themselves… they can go to their friend's house… if I need something, say we run out of milk or eggs, I can give them money to go to the store. I don't have to worry about anything. Where can you have that kind of freedom and independence as a child, which they can have? And I love restaurants, museums – total 'city' living. I have the city and they have this great situation.*
>
> [S2-A]

In summary, Tokyo appeared to have a positive reputation among non-Japanese international assignees. Not only did it present career and financial rewards, but it offered agreeable social and educational benefits for their children. Dependent on the duration of the assignment and the degree to which the family became involved in the Japanese host culture or the foreign 'expat' culture, family members may have

experienced a cultural or environmental bubble that was unique to their lifestyle. While this bubble may have provided comfort, after several years of immersion, non-Japanese parents needed to choose whether or not to stay, relocate to possibly another international bubble, or repatriate to their homeland.

6.4   Location of home

A sense of belonging is an integral part of feeling at home and can be attached to a place(s) or significant relationship(s). A study by Nette and Hayden (2007), asked internationally-mobile youth to identify a specific place of belonging, which many of them did by using concrete or tangible indicators that pointed to the places where they had some sort of physical link. In this study, many 'parent' participants appeared to adopt the same tactic.

Japanese families. As none of these four Japanese families represented international 'returnees' the question of where the family considered 'home' was considered non-applicable. Though they all were internationally-oriented and regularly ventured abroad, at the time of the interviews and as expressed by each Japanese mother, no couple had intentions to relocate as a family unit outside Japan.

Japanese intercultural families. One of the first decisions for any intercultural couple from different countries of origin is to determine a place of residence. According to Itoh (1996: 236), in general, Japanese people treat foreign visitors politely, but always as outsiders. Perhaps this was the underpinning reason why, for one interviewee, home was his 'home' country despite having lived in Tokyo since 1992 with his Japanese spouse.

> *I live here, but I have never really considered this place home. I'm Australian. I'm not Japanese and I will never be accepted into society.*
>
> [S2-Q]

This question was considered void for interviewee S2-P who had lived in Japan for over 25 consecutive years. However, two other participants, one short-term and one long-term, responded that home had become the 'host' country.

> *Yes, home is here in Tokyo.*
>
> [S2-I]

> *Home is Tokyo. I have been here 15 plus years now.*
>
> [S2-K]

One interviewee responded that home was Japan for his Japanese spouse and his original country for himself.

> *Home? For my wife it's Tokyo. For me? I sometimes go back home to my hometown in England...*
>
> [S2-N]

Another interviewee considered home to be dual locations; both home and host countries.

> *Home is England. And here... Hmmm, I have two homes. I have a strong family connection in England, plus the family home is still there… When I return I stay with my parents. It is home. But my home is also here. When I go home there, I will say, 'I am going home tomorrow'. That means back here to Tokyo. I don't feel pulled between the two. I am comfortable the way things are now.*
>
> [S2-L]

The concept of 'home' was difficult to define for one interviewee, as his own childhood had been filled with much transience. Despite being a member of the US military, he eventually replied that the host country Japan was his 'easiest' answer.

I moved so much as a young kid that I don't feel a sense of home for any place I lived. My family lives in [place name] in the US, but the longest I ever lived there in any given time was six years straight. So, that's not enough to build a sense of home. I moved repeatedly, so I have no sense of home at all… I think when I get homesick the place I get homesick from is [place name in Japan]. I lived there for six years, which is as long as I have lived in any one place. That's where I met my wife and where I consider were the best years of my life… that is the easiest answer for me.

[S2-G]

In summary, whether short or long-term residents in Japan, the location of home was a subjective reality. Moreover, the literature suggests that decision-making about the location of 'home' for intercultural couples is not limited to the couple (Adams, 2004; Crippen & Brew, 2007). There are many other parties contributing to the process, including family (children), friends and community networks, although interestingly, none of the seven participants in this grouping made mention of 'home' from the perspective of these other parties.

Non-Japanese families. As with many of the comments from the Japanese intercultural parents, non-Japanese parents in this study had similarly mixed responses. For three participants, home was their 'home' country. The first mother did not take long to answer this question.

Well, we are going to go back to the United States… We are American.

[S2-C]

While home was the 'home' country for the other two interviewee, they expanded upon their experiences and related observations.

I know so many British people where the last place on Earth they want to live is London and don't want to make that their permanent home.

Whereas I am happy to return to Australia eventually, because I think it is a great place to live. My husband and I are both from [place name in Australia]. Our families are both from there, so for us the question 'Where is home?' is very easy. Situations where someone is American, their partner is German, and both are based in Tokyo, I completely understand that here is probably home. That makes it difficult, but for us it is easy in that regard because we both want to go back to Australia.

[S2-B]

Home will always be Mexico. For us it is very clear. Now, 'Where in Mexico?' that is the question. We moved six times in Mexico and we had been married eight years, so if you averaged it out, we changed homes almost every year. My wife was very happy in [place name]. She loved it. So, I think it will be there. It is just a matter of when…

[S2-F]

None of the six participants in this grouping identified home as the 'host' country or a combination of home and host countries. However, two interviewees, albeit hesitantly, identified home as being the 'home' country for themselves and the 'host' country on behalf of their spouse who was originally from the same part of Australia.

[Place name], Australia. I suppose... well yeh. Hmmm. I guess? It's home because that's where our family is… I think my husband would say that home is here in Tokyo. His friends have all moved on and he is happy to go back for two weeks at Christmas and that's about it.

[S2-H]

Home is [place name] in Australia. Well... that's where we're both from... Is it home? I don't know. My hometown is [place name]. I haven't really lived anywhere else in Australia and I still consider myself to be Australian. I go back there once a year at least. It's kind of still my 'hometown'. My wife would probably say Tokyo.

[S2-M]

For one interviewee, the concept of 'home' was difficult to define. Her family represented the only polycultural scenario and her response was indicative of her family's lived experience.

> *My husband is Zimbabwean and he has a British passport. We meet in New York and then he was transferred to London where we moved for close to five years. Thereafter he was transferred to Tokyo where we stayed for two years and then we returned to New York for two and a half years, finally to be transferred back to Tokyo where we have been for six years straight. So, there is no obvious place that we would say, 'This is home' such that we would have to go back. My parents are in the US and my mother-in-law who was living in [country name] moved to [country name] a month ago. We don't have a house. We have friends in lots of places. We are home in Tokyo.*
>
> [S2-A]

Without cultural norms to use as a base for interacting with the Japanese host culture, several parents in this grouping made reference to their children's sense of 'home'. The 15 transnational children in this grouping may have found that both home and host cultures offered significant input, but their development was influenced by the patterns of international life (Cameron, 2003; Schaetti, 2000).

> *My children understand that my work is here and this is where we live. They have never lived at home in Australia and so they don't know what it is like to live there. They have this odd situation where they are Australian, yet they have never lived there. They go to Australia for one month once a year and visit their grandparents and their cousins and that kind of stuff, but this is all they've ever known. This is normal for them. This is the way life is. My daughter once said to my wife, 'You know Mummy, some people actually live in the country they were born'. I am pretty sure my daughters would say their home is in Japan.*

If we eventually moved back to [place name in Australia], it would be like us moving to London or New York.

[S2-M]

It has been suggested that a confused identity may ensue, particularly when an individual reaches adolescence (Pollock & Van Reken, 2001), but in most cases the children in this study were too young to fully comprehend their situation. A sense of confusion, though, was best described by the following interviewee.

I think my daughter understands that grandma and grandpa, aunties and cousins are in [place name], Australia. She understands that we need to catch a plane to [place name]. We couldn't open up a map and say we are here. When her cousin was having a birthday party and planned to go pony riding she said, 'I am going pony riding with [cousin's name]…' But I had to tell her, 'No, she is in Australia. We have to catch the plane'. She understands 'holiday' and then we go back to [place name] in Australia. Recently we had a nephew visiting and I had to explain to her that, '[cousin's name] is getting on the plane to go back to Australia'. Then on Monday morning she asked me, 'Is [cousin's name] in Australia now?' And my helper is from the Philippines. When we go on holidays, she usually goes on holidays. My daughter will say, 'Can we go to the Philippines today?' She knows it's not here, but…

[S2-B]

In summary, for some non-Japanese parents, home was most definitely their original 'home' country and they had every intention of returning to there. However, these parents were originally from the same location in their respective countries and so the issue of home location was essentially a non-contentious one. Positioned in the middle of the spectrum were those couples where one parent considered home in one location, while the other parent considered home somewhere different. However, this did not seem to be causing any complications at the time of the interviews. At the other end of

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the spectrum was the only non-Japanese intercultural and polycultural family, who appeared content to continue leading an international and transient lifestyle, and had no obvious place to call home. Both parents and all three children had been born across three different continents and family members were also scattered across the globe.

6.5   Language socialisation

How family members converse between and among themselves can have ramifications for children's social and educational development. Through interactions with parents, other family members and peers, children acquire the knowledge and practices that are necessary for them to function and be regarded as competent members of their communities (Garrett & Baquedano-Lopez, 1986).

Japanese families. Within the immediate family and home-setting, communication for the four Japanese families in this grouping took the following forms:

> *To me [the mother], mostly English… My youngest can express herself more in English than Japanese. My eldest may be Japanese, even though she has been in England for so long. My oldest started English at four years old, whereas my youngest was born hearing English. They were in different situations. She was hearing English from when she was a baby, because my eldest daughter was attending [School-7]. When the family is together we speak Japanese because my ex-husband cannot understand English.*
>
> [S2-D]

> *Yes, they speak Japanese to me, but a conversation to the mother is usually the same things. It's time to go... Clean your room... What are you doing?*
>
> [S2-E]

> *At home my husband and I speak only Japanese. At the dinner table it is only Japanese… When my sons are speaking English to each other,*

my husband doesn't understand at all. But now he is starting to learn English. Sometimes he asks the boys how to say something.

[S2-J]

I speak to her [my daughter] of course in English. My husband and I speak Japanese to each other. My husband speaks Japanese or English to my daughter.

[S2-0]

Apart from interviewee S2-0 who only had one child, for the siblings in the other three Japanese families, communication took the following forms:

The two girls speak mostly English to each other, sometimes Japanese, but mostly English.

[S2-D]

My sons always speak English at home and to each other… My sons didn't even attend a Japanese preschool – never.

[S2-E]

From last year I think, my sons started speaking English to each other in the home… Especially when they play, without thinking they will speak English. Sometimes, yes of course, when they are referring to a Japanese book where all the characters are Japanese, they will speak Japanese. When they are talking about school or having an argument they will use English, because may be they know the more difficult words in English. It is more natural for them.

[S2-J]

Overall, there was little mention of the communication that took place among members of the extended family, except from one interviewee who had recently experienced family tensions. These tensions stemmed from her daughter's English language proficiency surpassing her Japanese to the extent that she could hardly understand or

communicate with certain members of the family, particularly her Japanese grandmother.

> *My eldest sister loves English and she was very good. She is an open-minded person. She realised that my daughter was speaking English, not merely learning English... My second sister has always been jealous of me. My daughter cannot speak fluent Japanese and that gives her more reason to be nasty. About my daughter, she would say, 'She can't speak Japanese. That's not Japanese. Why can't she speak Japanese? It's your fault! Why don't you teach her?' My mum [grandmother] was living with that sister and so she was a huge influence. She was very accepting through the years, but she was becoming saddened and thinking I can't speak Japanese with my own grandchild. She was becoming more like that from the time my daughter reached seven years old.*

[S2-O]

Characteristically, *kikokushijo* [Japanese returnees], especially those who have lived in Western cultures for an extended period of time, are assertive and individualistic (Miyamoto & Kuhlman, 2001). Only one of the seven children in this grouping was a *kikokushijo*, having recently returned from boarding school in the UK. Kashti (1988) has suggested that students who attend boarding schools may experience demands and responsibilities there that are unlike those within their usual family setting. The Japanese mother recognised the likelihood of her daughter's five year foreign experience having made her somewhat 'Japanese on the outside and foreigner on the inside' (Kanno, 2000: 363). She commented:

> *I am going to let her [my eldest daughter] play with her friends for a while and get used to life back in Tokyo. Let her get her Japanese back, because she is not visiting. In the past, she would stay for two months in the summer, but she always knew she was going back to England. This time that's not happening so I am going to give her time to adjust*

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to my rules and she is living with my father [grandfather] in a big house. She has been away from the family so long and is very independent, so may be she has some selfish behaviour that she needs to adjust in order to live with the family.

[S2-D]

From the perspective of the other three Japanese mothers, they suggested that their children's social skills were unlike typical Japanese children. It would seem that these children had acquired their assertive and individualistic tendencies from attending non-Japanese schooling. With influence from the school's cultural background, these five children had developed interpersonal styles that their mothers recognised as distinct from Japanese 'manners of speaking' (T. Yoshida et al., 2002: 430).

Of course they [my children] live here and they have Japanese friends, but it is not the usual situation… My eldest son plays baseball for a Japanese baseball team, but he is very quiet there. Even my other son is very quiet. Their Japanese is not so natural and their speaking and communication style appears to be different… My [eldest] son's character has changed. He is outspoken [in English], but in a very confident way… [School-2] encourages students to become critical learners, outspoken and independent.

[S2-E]

I have noticed that both my sons express themselves very clearly to adults. They are clear. However, I think they are more 'direct' and quite different from typical Japanese children. Also, I want my sons to use proper language. I prefer certain words. Japanese kids have a special language that is like the fashion and I don't like it. Luckily, my sons haven't been exposed to all that. They haven't had the chance to speak to other Japanese boys and they haven't learnt those fashionable or trendy words.

[S2-J]

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My daughter's English is a native speaker's level and she has no accent. Her tone is native. Even the headmistress of her preschool, who was from Liverpool, said that my daughter's English was perfect and unlike other Japanese children. She is different in that way. I don't know why, but her friends by chance have always been native English speakers…

[S2-0]

Bilingual speakers are known for their ability to mix languages and one of the most apparent manifestations of biculturalism in Japan is code-switching (Yamamoto, 2002). While these four families experienced frequent exposure to both Japanese and English languages, they each recognised that intrasentential switches, that is, the mixing of linguistic units within sentence boundaries (Bhatia & Ritchie, 1999), was not good practice.

I speak to my daughter of course in English. My husband and I speak Japanese to each other. My husband speaks Japanese or English to my daughter. Sometimes he speaks Japanese and sometimes he speaks English. Not a mixture... Not a mix. I don't like mixing!

[S2-0]

A frequent explanation of why bilingual children intrasententially code-switch is that they are compensating for a lack of language proficiency in one of the languages (Heredia & Altarriba, 2001). One Japanese mother provided an example of such intrasentential code-switching and her parental response.

They don't really mix the languages. When they [my children] mix different words within a sentence it means that don't know that word, in which case I will teach them immediately. For example this morning my eldest son said, 'Boku ga POUR suru yo' [I will pour it]. The Japanese word for 'pour' is actually quite difficult. So, I taught him the Japanese expression and there are two different types, the casual and

the polite. I told him to 'please remember' it so that he can expand his
vocabulary.

[S2-J]

In summary, during the interview process, only one Japanese mother (S2-J) appeared to be concerned that her children's English proficiency may be more advanced than their Japanese. She made the single comment that suggested that she had a preference for her native language—Japanese.

> *I consider their first language to be Japanese, even though at this point in time their English is better. I have to communicate with them in Japanese, because my first language is Japanese. So, if there is ever a serious problem in the future, for me it will be easier to communicate with them in Japanese and reach the 'sensitive' points. I cannot express the same things in English. I hope their first language is or will be Japanese...*
>
> [S2-J]

On the other hand, the three other Japanese mothers did not indicate the same concerns and directed their attention to their children's social and education development and achievement in their non-Japanese schools.

Japanese intercultural families. According to Yamamoto (2001; 2002), the number of families in Japan in which more than one language is potentially involved in communication is increasing. The same studies also found that the vast majority of Japanese and English-speaking intercultural couples living in Japan were in favour of raising their children bilingually. In the absence of extended family members to help care for their children, however, six of the seven Japanese intercultural parents recognised that there tended to be a lack of exposure to the non-Japanese language, usually English, in the family.

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My mum and dad came to Japan to visit and my father [grandpa] was sitting in an armchair, and our daughter went over to him and said, 'Something... something... grandpa' all in English. He didn't think anything of it and simply answered her back. My wife and I looked at each other and that was the first time she had spoken to anybody in English. It was as though she had recognised – nobody had told her – that grandma and grandpa didn't have a clue about Japanese and the only way she was going to communicate with them was with these 'other' words. She spoke English, which she had never done before.

[S2-P]

In contrast, one interviewee was more concerned about his child's lack of exposure to the Japanese language rather than English, despite having a Japanese spouse and residing in Japan.

I don't speak Japanese. I might throw in words as I learn them, but we speak English all the time. When I first came to Japan, I had no idea and now I can speak a little, but this is a recent thing… I am thinking, if my daughter is only going to be hearing English around the house for the first six years at least and then we occasionally go and visit some of my wife's friends' homes and she speaks Japanese there, I am wondering how her Japanese will be affected. I don't want her to be a gaijin [foreigner] kid who has no idea what is going on. I am hoping that it is true what they say that kids absorb languages just like that. I am more worried about her Japanese than her English… I think the English is going to come easy for her. Though I think it is much easier to be based here in Tokyo learning English, than to be based in Canada trying to learn Japanese.

[S2-I]

While it is often assumed that children born and raised in families in which parents have different native languages will spontaneously grow to become active bilinguals, the majority of interviewee in this grouping indicated that parental care was in no way a

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panacea for their children to develop bilingual capabilities. They recognised that they needed to establish a home environment conducive to bilingual language development. With this is mind, the majority of Japanese intercultural parents employed strict rules for the languages spoken in their home-setting. The clearest evidence of this came from one father who explained:

> *The house rule was that my wife would speak Japanese and I would speak English. As parents, we agreed to balance out the exposure and we would both use our native languages in front of the kids, as long as they could understand. If they couldn't understand and you really needed to communicate something, we would switch, but they were the house rules. We talked to each other in whatever was easiest at the time, whatever us grown-ups wanted. But for the kids, we made it very clear…*
>
> [S2-P]

In support of the example above, a typical approach was to develop an intrafamily 'one-person-one-language' (OPOL) policy, meaning that each parent would speak their most proficient language to the children (Barron-Hauwaert, 2004; King et al., 2008).

> *I have a daughter who is three and a half years old. I speak to my daughter in English and my wife speaks to her in Japanese.*
>
> [S2-N]

Approaching bilingual childrearing without any forethought could potentially promote semilingualism or 'broken' language skills. Two participants made specific reference to having read pertinent information related to this issue.

> *In our family environment, I try to speak to him only in English and my husband tends to mix. Technically that's probably not good. You read the books on bilingualism and they all say not to do it.*
>
> [S2-L]

I read somewhere that you should speak your native language to your children and I wouldn't want to see him speaking a broken language. I am not going to have him translate my broken Japanese, which is pointless.

[S2-Q]

There was consensus that for young children, confusion may arise in relation to differing grammatical structures between Japanese and English, especially when one parent has attempted to converse in their less proficient language.

When we were living in Korea my [Japanese] wife was trying to work on her English. So, she would often speak English to my daughters and I keep telling her to 'Stop'. My eldest daughter was trying to say something once and she was reversing the word order somehow, in a habit that my wife does and I was like, 'See, they pick it up'.

[S2-G]

Equally concerning was that the children might develop non-native accents.

Before when we were living here, if I knew the Japanese phrases I would use them with my daughters and then my wife and I would talk about it. I thought I don't want to ruin their accents and give them strange sounding Japanese. So I had to force myself to stop.

[S2-G]

According to Heredia and Altarriba (2001), the ideal bilingual switches from one language to another according to appropriate changes in the speech situation and not within a single sentence. Contrary to the assumption that code-switching is evidence of linguistic deficiency, one mother recognised that her son's code-switching was a strategy to be better understood and not a sign of vocabulary uncertainty.

Our son is perfectly communicative and it's not that he doesn't know the word. For example, he will say a word like 'abunai' [dangerous]

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and if he puts it into a sentence he might say, 'We shouldn't do that mummy, because it is abunai'. That is because at home we use the word 'abunai' a lot, out of habit really. So, I will ask, 'How do you say abunai in English?' and he will answer, 'dangerous'.

[S2-L]

Another parent, however, became deeply concerned when at one point in time his son was mixing Japanese and English in such an unlikely fashion that he struggled to communicate in either language.

He was miserable about two years ago, because he could not speak Japanese properly. He would mix up the two languages and his school teacher became worried about his language. The teachers asked me what was wrong with him and I became really worried. I took him to a Speech Therapist, but they said there was no problem and it was just a case that his development was a little slow compared to others. I was relieved. Now he speaks a lot.

[S2-Q]

While code-switching was not encouraged by Japanese intercultural parents, in many cases, the children in this grouping were required to code-switch as a matter of necessity in school and certain other interfamilial settings.

When I pick my son up from nursery he switches to English and he has done that since he started talking… He is quite pragmatic about it. He knows at nursery we speak Japanese…

[S2-L]

In summary, a glimpse of these particular Japanese intercultural families and the minutiae of everyday life within them, afforded insight into the complexities of how two cultures can become integrated. Japanese intercultural parents commented that parental care was in no way a panacea for bilingual childrearing. Parents in this grouping

recognised that if they left the situation to chance, their children could develop broken language skills and non-native-like accents. They endeavoured to create a home environment conducive to their children's Japanese and English language development. That is, in general, each parent spoke only their most proficient language to their children, though between parents and between siblings, their rules were less defined.

Non-Japanese families. For three out of the six families in this grouping, language issues were virtually non-existent. These three couples were both native English speakers and their children were sent to English-speaking schools. These participants made no mention of communication challenges and/or coping strategies in the home, school or residential settings.

Two participants from this grouping, however, had chosen 'Japanese' national schooling because they believed that immersion in the early years would provide their children with the optimal opportunity to develop linguistic and cognitive flexibility. While communication in the home-setting was English, these children faced the Japanese language in their school setting. One mother gave the following validation for her and her husband's school choice:

> *We really want our children to be bilingual. As adults we have struggled to learn a second language and I don't want my children to have to go through that. If we could just do another five or six years of school immersion, they might have a good shot at it. Then they would be able to come back to Japan and work if they wanted or college and they would have options. They could choose.*
>
> [S2-C]

The other mother who had chosen national schooling made reference to her children developing a sophisticated diplomacy and multiple perspective-taking (Cameron, 2003; McLachlan, 2003; Pollock & Van Reken, 2001).

I think my daughters are learning to pick up social cues and the way you behave across different cultures by attending Japanese schools. My daughters can't see it now, but when they are older they will say to themselves, 'I integrated at some level into a very difficult society'.

[S2-A]

In spite of these perceived advantages, sending their children to national schooling had created the situation where these two participants, both English-speaking mothers, found it difficult to assess their children's Japanese language proficiency. This was best summarised in the following passage.

We put her [my daughter] in Japanese schooling since she was four years old and now she is in the 4th Grade, so she is reading, writing and speaking Japanese. And, she has learnt all her subjects – mathematics, music and art – in the Japanese language. I cannot really evaluate my daughter's Japanese, but from what people say, it's excellent.

[S2-A]

The same two mothers recognised the potential for their children's ability to communicate in Japanese to surpass their English to such an extent that they employed other educational strategies to keep their children at American grade-level should their respective families repatriate to the US.

She [our daughter] has an English tutor twice a week, so we are doing English as a secondary thing.

[S2-A]

We send her [our daughter] to English school on Saturdays. That's where she is today.

[S2-C]

The interviewee who represented the only polycultural family had chosen three different schools for her three children. Her son attended international schooling and her two

daughters attended Japanese national schooling. After several years of school attendance, her children had developed different language capabilities despite being members of the same family.

> *I think my daughter's Japanese will stay at a high level, but my son has attended [School-17] since kindergarten, six years, and he can hardly string a [Japanese] sentence together. He will ask his sister to help with his homework…*
>
> [S2-A]

The sixth family in this grouping represented the only NESB family.

> *Everyone in my family speaks Spanish together.*
>
> [S2-F]

This father wanted his children to learn Japanese when they arrived in Tokyo and was making great efforts himself to facilitate his family's smooth transition to their new host environment.

> *Yes, I want my daughters to learn Japanese. I am trying to learn Japanese as fast as possible for two reasons. First, for their arrival to not be so complicated, so at least they have someone who can help them out. And second, because when we leave I would love to speak with them in Japanese, to keep up their language practice... I am taking classes and I am also studying during the week myself. I bought six books and I am reading them. Every time I go to class, my Japanese teacher gets surprised. I learned to read Hiragana [1st alphabet, 46 characters] and Katakana [2nd alphabet, 46 characters] by myself. Employees who only take the 40 hours really don't learn very much; 40 hours is not a lot. And, it is 40 hours over about three months. Japanese is not easy to learn. French OK, but Japanese is tough!*
>
> [S2-F]

While this participant's children spoke Spanish at home, upon their arrival to Tokyo, they would be required to function in English at their new international school.

> *My daughters will not be together in [School-2]. I think there are only one or two Mexicans or Spanish speakers and they are in different grades, so my daughters won't be able to use their Spanish.*
>
> [S2-F]

This father was adamant that his children should be proficient and bilingual Spanish and English speakers, and deliberately practised intersentential code-switching with his eldest child.

> *If I speak with her [my daughter] in Spanish, she will answer in Spanish. If I suddenly switch to English, she will answer in English. She knows which words to use and can switch automatically.*
>
> [S2-F]

In summary, the only non-Japanese parents who appeared to have had cause for concern with respect to their children's language development were those who had deliberately chosen schools with a different language of instruction. Despite the fact that the residential community language was Japanese, parents did not make any reference to communication issues in the host-setting. In contrast, parents made clear reference to their children being able to successfully function in their school environment and were prepared to employ external language and learning support mechanisms when one language was perceived as potentially underdeveloped. Compared with Japanese intercultural parents, code-switching was not as big an issue for parents in this grouping. Apart from one interviewee who deliberately tested his child's language comprehension skills via a process of intersentential code-switching, all other parents spoke the same language between and among family members.

Table 6.1   Stage 2: Cultural ecology of participants' only or eldest child

three groupings of international families in Tokyo	stage 2 (S2) participant identification	M = mother's cultural background	F = father's cultural background	R = residential country culture
Japanese families	S2-D (S1-28)	Japanese	Japanese	Japanese
	S2-E (S1-21)	Japanese	Japanese	Japanese
	S2-J (S1-16)	Japanese	Japanese	Japanese
	S2-O (S1-1)	Japanese	Japanese	Japanese
GROUP ONE *subtotal = 4*				
Japanese intercultural families	S2-G	Japanese	American	Japanese
	S2-I	Japanese	Canadian	Japanese
	S2-K	Japanese	American	Japanese
	S2-L	British	Japanese	Japanese
	S2-N	Japanese	British	Japanese
	S2-P (S1-54)	Japanese	British	Japanese
	S2-Q	Japanese	Australian	Japanese
GROUP TWO *subtotal = 7*				
Non-Japanese families	S2-A (S1-3)	American	British	Japanese
	S2-B (S1-45)	Australian	Australian	Japanese
	S2-C	American	American	Japanese
	S2-F	Mexican	Mexican	Japanese
	S2-H (S1-31)	Australian	Australian	Japanese
	S2-M (S1-26)	Australian	Australian	Japanese
GROUP THREE *Subtotal = 6*				
TOTAL = 17				

Notes: The nine Stage 2 participants who also responded to a Stage 1 questionnaire have that identification presented in brackets in the left column.

6.6 Stage 2 families and their child's cultural ecology

As in Chapter Five, from the interview narratives presented thus far, it was possible to construct a family cultural ecology for each Stage 1 respondents' only or eldest child. The three proximal environments of mother's cultural background (M), father's cultural background (F), and the residential country culture (R), were the contexts under investigation. As per Stage 1 data analysis, all cultural backgrounds were given explicit specification. This study moved beyond sweeping generalisations or broad cultural stereotypes to more complex and nuanced understandings. The tendency to describe M F R cultural backgrounds in uniformist terms was avoided. The results are presented in Table 6.1.

6.7 Parental school choice

Research has consistently shown that most parents reject single school choice criterion and look at a number of characteristics in combination (David et al., 1994; Goldring & Hausman, 1999; Gorard, 1999; Maddaus, 1990; Tomlinson, 1997). As detailed in Chapter Two, Gorard's (1999: 31-33) study provided a concise classification model for parental school choice comprising five key criteria (i.e., academic, situational, organisational, selective and security). These criteria will be utilised in the presentation of data pertaining to Theme Four on parental school choice.

Japanese families. Schooling in Japan is believed to be an all-encompassing role for Japanese mothers [*kyoiku mamas*] from when their children reach the age of three years (Dickensheets, 1996; Saito, 2006; H. W. Stevenson, 1991). Japanese mothers tend to be significantly more involved than Japanese fathers primarily due to the heavy workload of typical Japanese 'salarymen'. All four mothers corroborated this claim.

> *He [Japanese father] threw all the responsibility to me... I felt as*
> *though I was doing everything for the school and he never came to any*

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of the events – that's very Japanese. I had to handle it. He knows I am
logical and reasonable.

[S2-D]

The following quotation not only concurred with the one above, but also added how Japanese fathers who leave home early in the morning and return home late in the evening (Miyamoto & Kuhlman, 2001), tended to be 'briefed' on day-to-day happenings.

I put in countless applications. After I did that, I would discuss my
progress with my husband. I looked at everything. May be it is

Japanese culture, but Japanese husbands leave the education of their
children to the mothers. It is a mother's job. I did everything.

[S2-E]

All four Japanese mothers appeared to be aware of the importance of education and assisted their children in whatever ways possible. The first example stems from one mother's dedication and commitment to helping her son overcome a speech disorder. What was of utmost importance to her was finding a school that provided a strong base in which her son could develop his communicative skills. She turned to research.

Because my eldest son was born with a disorder, his functional ability
to pronounce words is difficult… I started reading books about raising
children. The main reason I chose [School-7] was because the number
of 'HELTS' in British English is up to 13,000… this relates to speech
pathology. Japanese has a very low range of sounds[59] due to the low
number of syllables in the alphabet system a i u e o, ka ki ku ke ko, sa
shi su se so and so on... Japanese have one consonant mixed with one

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59   For information on the phonetic nature of the Japanese orthography, refer to Tamaoka, K. (1991). Psycholinguistic nature of the Japanese orthography. *Studies in Language and Literature, 11*(1), 49-82.

vowel and it is a very flat language – simple and monotonous unfortunately. English has a very high... not sure of the correct terminology, but even between British and American English, there is a big difference. British English is higher.

[S2-J]

One mother took measures to improve her own English language proficiency skills to better enable her to help her children with their English-based homework.

I even studied English. I took lessons. The way I studied English was to meet a native English speaker at a cafe and practice talking. No textbooks, just conversation. My children need their mother to guide them with their homework. But I think I need to study more...

[S2-E]

Now, reflecting on Gorard's (1999) five key criteria, all four Japanese mothers focused on 'academic' reasons and agreed that the Japanese national system had weakened over the last decade (Bjork & Tsuneyoshi, 2005; Y. Sato, 2006) and become vastly different from other non-Japanese school curricula.

[School-2]'s goal is to develop their academic skills, but it's also to develop their independence. Each student must be independent. That is their target in the middle school and in the high school there is a return to more academics… And the curriculum is very effective. I have been impressed. Overall, I also think they have a better appreciation of other countries and their cultures, religions and beliefs, learned through the curriculum.

[S2-E]

All four mothers focused on 'situational' reasons, with one interviewee adding support to the literature which suggests that Japanese parents often believe that their children will be 'unjustifiably academically disadvantaged' (Fry, 2007: 132) by the interruption of leaving Japan.

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Whatever the case, the British system is preferred, but not in England because it is too far. You do not send your children away in Japan. That doesn't really happen...

[S2-J]

All Japanese mothers focused on 'organisational' reasons in the Japanese landscape.

During the summer, they are creating an extra playground for the elementary school. This area is for this... This area is for that... They already have playgrounds and yet they are still expanding and extending the facilities within the campus. They are clearly thinking about the children's environment.

[S2-E]

In the single case of a child who attended boarding school in the UK, the Japanese mother made reference to 'organisational' reasons in the foreign context.

[School-6] is the school that [Royal family member] attended. Sometimes my daughter says, 'The Duke of X is coming today'. It is a very traditional school located in [place name] in the UK. You cannot see the end of the property. It has a lake, cows and sheep. They just rebuilt the cafeteria, the swimming pool...

[S2-D]

The same mother made note-worthy reference to 'selective' reasons for choosing her daughter's boarding school.

And then we went to [School-4], which was a very free 'hippy' school. When we went to the reception they were girls with crop tops and pierced bellies and everything... When they took us for the tour, two guides may be 16-17 years old, said to us that they could do anything in the school that wanted except smoke and sex, but 'We all do that anyway!' My daughter was only 12! I think they were trying to be trendy... The boy taking the tour had hair down to his shoulders. So

anything could happen... My daughter is more conservative than that. [School-6] was totally different... As soon as we entered, the very posh admissions lady said, 'We have been waiting for you'… I was thinking WOW this is a really nice school!

[S2-D]

Both socially and academically, behaviour management was important for these mothers. They all focused on 'security' reasons and sought schools with caring staff who were sufficiently authoritative to guide their children. Interestingly, one mother considered there to be similarities between Japanese and British approaches to discipline.

At [School-7] the discipline is quite strict and the teachers treat the students as adults. I think the teachers give great respect to the students and they never treat them like little children. I never actually considered [School-2] as a choice, even though I went to school in New York. I didn't even visit, because there is a lot of freedom there. I think Japanese and British people have some similarities when it comes to discipline. The British system seems to have freedom within the strictness. You know what I mean? There are boundaries. There is a hard frame, but within that frame they give freedom to the children.

[S2-J]

Looking toward the future, these four *kyoiku mamas* [Japanese mothers] had aspirations for their children in the short-term, but predominantly in the very long-term. A prime example of this was one mother speaking of her and her husband's desire for their eldest son to attend university when he had not yet completed elementary schooling.

I hope that my sons will go to a Japanese university here and in the US. I am not sure which one first. I have to look more into it. I want to keep their options open. I am not worried, but my husband would love them to go to a Japanese university in Tokyo. He believes that my sons need more exposure to Japanese society. My husband is hoping that

Japanese universities will become more open to international school graduates over the coming years.

[S2-E]

In summary, Japanese mothers considered more schools for their children than parents in the other two groupings combined. Their interview transcripts were saturated with school names and school selection criteria. The only Japanese mother to have had employment, worked as a Teaching Assistant (TA) in her daughter's international school. In addition, as will be evidenced below, the data suggested that being married to a Japanese husband made them more education conscious than the Japanese mothers married to non-Japanese husbands in this study.

Japanese intercultural families. To enhance their children's biculturalism and bilingualism, many Japanese intercultural parents sent their children to Japanese national schools in the early years and then to non-Japanese schools from junior high school onwards. Only one child in this grouping was studying beyond the 6th Grade and she was attending a boarding school in the UK. Whether this related more to enhancing their children's bicultural heritage or as a choice made to avoid the test-centred educational philosophy inherent of the Japanese national schooling system (Greer, 2007), was not entirely clear.

Two parents had particularly strong objections to sending their children to Japanese schools beyond the 6th Grade, although their comments were precautionary and not from personal experience.

I don't want my daughter to be going through the Japanese high school system. I don't want her to commit suicide because she is under so much pressure... I am happy for her to do her elementary schooling in the Japanese system, but that's it.

[S2-I]

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Everyone who knocks Japanese schooling is knocking the later years when it becomes like an army. That is the impression I get. Everyone is expected to so the same thing and if they are different they get slapped down.

[S2-N]

Reflecting on Gorard's (1999) five key school choice criteria, all seven Japanese intercultural parents focused on 'academic' reasons. The following parent and only representative of a military family provided this insight.

The curriculum on base is strictly an American curriculum. They need to follow the 'No Child Left Behind'[60] and all the standardised testing. They also have a great program of local stuff. They have Japanese culture classes, Japanese language classes. In a Bush initiative, when they realised how horrible Americans are at learning foreign languages, how pitiful we are at having any speakers of 'critical' languages such as Arabic and Mandarin, there was a push that said, 'We are going to introduce these critical languages into our school system', and the military schools fully embraced that. They introduced Mandarin as low down as junior high school level, so they offer good language programs and good culture programs too...

[S2-G]

All seven Japanese intercultural parents focused on 'situational' criteria in Tokyo, as well as in the foreign context, as in the case of the following excerpts:

We were thinking that if we weren't in the UK, the school needed to be accessible. It had to be within an hour of Heathrow [London] airport,

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60   In the US, the *Elementary and Secondary Education Act* (ESEA) reauthorised as the *No Child Left Behind Act* (NCLB) of 2002, is the main federal law affecting education from kindergarten through to high school. This Act is built on four principles: accountability for results; more choices for parents; greater local control and flexibility; and an emphasis on doing what works based on scientific research (US Department of Education, 2010).

no more than a couple of hours. Scotland was out and so on... Places that were out there – were out!

[S2-P]

We are going to find a great school [in Australia] and move there... You need to put yourself relatively central to the schools you want to go. Probably at this point we will go public and we don't want to live far from there. Our son needs a social network of mates around that school and it is best that we don't have a 30-minute commute.

[S2-Q]

Similarly, all seven Japanese intercultural parents focused on 'organisational' reasons. Unsurprisingly, what was lacking in Tokyo and consistently mentioned, was 'space'.

Well, the only thing I am not happy about is that it [the school] is in an office building and my son doesn't have an outdoor playground. But, they are taken out every day. In the summer they are outside in the street, in a little narrow street playing with water and they also go to the park every day. Ideally, I would like him to be outdoors for most of the day.

[S2-L]

Japanese intercultural parents focused on 'selective' reasons. The military father, who was not compelled to send his children to a Department of Defence Dependents School (DoDDS), commented:

If you think about it, you don't have the issues there are in the US of kids coming from terrible families, dad is in jail... mum is... you're on an insulated military base. Everyone is employed, everyone is making a decent salary, kids aren't going hungry, and kids aren't arriving to school without proper clothing... It is sort of like an ideal little system. And the parents are so involved. It's like 1950s America in some way; a

middle or upper middle working neighbourhood where everybody works.

[S2-G]

In the case of the child attending boarding school in the UK, the father made several memorable comments pertaining to 'selective' school choice reasons.

First, 'brand-name'. If someone is going to pay all this money, if there is a brand-name factor you may as well benefit from this – go to the one people have heard of rather than no one knows it… Second, when my [Japanese] wife looks at the brochures, she looks for 'oriental' faces – Is this a white Anglo-Saxon Protestant school or not? Does it have any sense of internationalism? Is it even trying any sense of that? Brochures should also tell you what the foreign ratio is and that is something we definitely looked at… So, amongst our criteria, was a reasonably high penetration of foreign or international students. Reasonably high being about ten per cent.

[S2-P]

As previously stated, all but one child was beyond the 6th Grade. Hence, when Japanese intercultural parents focused on 'security' reasons, their focus was predominantly directed at their children's socialisation in the early years, rather than the academic-side of their education.

We looked at a number of different schools. Lots. Looking at all the options… We want a really healthy happy kid.

[S2-Q]

Beyond those five school choice criteria, Japanese intercultural parents attempted to replace *haafu* with the 'additive' term of *daburu* from the English word 'double' (Cornwell et al., 2007; Greer, 2007; Kamada, 2005). These parents valued the provision of a supportive school environment that focused on their children's learning and

celebrated the differences they experienced at home. However, when their expectations were not realised, interviewees did not hesitate to make alternative school choices.

> *My daughter came home one day and she was told by this other girl, 'You can't come to my party, because you are brown-skinned'. And she said, 'I am brown-skinned because my daddy is chocolate and my mummy is white'. My daughter was like, of course I am because of my mummy and daddy, so...? She didn't understand the 'You-can't-come-to-my-party' bit. She started to think that being brown-skinned might be bad... So, we chose another school...*

> [S2-K]

Not only was one child bicultural, but she also had Down Syndrome (DS). The father recognised his daughter's unique situation and was dedicated to adequately providing for her social and educational needs.

> *My daughter's situation, having DS and being half gaijin [foreigner] makes her special... We originally sent our daughter to a Montessori school, which I have now labelled as 'Monte-Sorry'. The school we sent her, they restricted her hours because of her DS. My daughter is different, and then she was made to be even more different by coming in later. They were reinforcing that negative... effectively labelling DS. The school said, 'Well we can't look after her, she needs to come in later and leave earlier'. And I was thinking, hold on a second, the whole idea of schooling and children, is allowing them to interact with their peers... Our daughter had finished the term and there was a gap where we could trial another school to see whether she liked it. And we found that she loved it. We then postponed starting the Montessori school by a term to give us a few more months to determine how she was and we could take her back to the Montessori school if she didn't like the new one... Our daughter was interacting with the other kids all the time. She was playing with them and they were playing with her. So, we changed.*

> [S2-N]

Half of these Japanese intercultural parents sent their children to supplementary tutoring. Japanese intercultural parents' attraction to *kumon*, in particular, was exemplified by the following comment:

> *My wife and I talk about the education of our children on a weekly basis. It is something that is really weighing heavily on my mind right now. It really is. They started kumon this month. My oldest daughter is taking math and Japanese and my middle girl is taking just Japanese. It is fun and they like it. Kumon is off base. My wife put them in only two weeks ago and she told me that when you go there, almost 'every' kid is half Japanese from the base. My co-worker whose wife is Japanese does the same. All the Japanese wives seem to have the same concerns.*
>
> [S2-G]

In terms of the future, for two participants, the option of relocating to their home country was plausible, particularly in relation to finding suitable schools to educate their children in the upper years.

> *If worse came to worse and our son was having real problems with schooling here, I could move back to England with him for a couple of years.*
>
> [S2-L]

> *The real issue is, do we stay here or go to another country? I think the school at the moment, the level of support, really helps her. If we find that the next phase of her education is not really helping her, then we will move to another country. We will try it, but... The focus is on my family and the focus is on my daughter's development and I have no issues, no qualms, moving anywhere…*
>
> [S2-N]

In summary, all but one of the mothers in this grouping was Japanese. Perhaps it was because the non-Japanese fathers were interviewed and provided a different perspective,

but these mothers did not seem to embody the stereotypical image of *kyoiku mamas* [Japanese education mothers] as presented in the literature and as apparent in the mothers in Group One. The education of the children did not appear to be the sole responsibility of the Japanese mothers. The fathers shared great interest, insight and involvement in the education of their children, and were dedicated to selecting and fostering suitable social, educational, physical and emotional environments with which their intercultural children could engage.

Non-Japanese families. For non-Japanese parents who seek employment in another country, school choice may turn out to be more complex than usual. Non-intercultural and non-Japanese parents are often faced with arranging education for their children in the host country from their home country. For two international returnees, however, school choice was relatively straightforward for the reasons outlined below.

> *Because we had lived here before and I had my babies here, I had friends from whom I heard about one school. I really didn't research it. Those were the two schools I heard about, that's where we applied and that's where they ended up going.*
>
> [S2-A]

> *My wife chose the schools, because she is a Speech Therapist and she had already worked in quite a few of the international preschools and schools around Tokyo and so she had a pretty good idea about where she wanted to go and what she wanted to do. And that is how all three kids ended up in a preschool called [School-27]. She had done some work there and was comfortable with the school's philosophy. Similarly, she had worked at [School-17]. In fact, she had been on staff a couple days per week.*
>
> [S2-M]

Fortunately for one expatriate, the sponsoring organisation had arranged for him to do preliminary house and school hunting in Tokyo prior to the arrival of his family.

> *I came to Tokyo for three and a half months to choose the school. The first thing I did when I arrived was check the schools. I went to [School-2] and had an interview, as well as at [School-3]. I was planning to go to [School-7], but after going to [School-2] and seeing the physical campus, I was thinking that if she [my daughter] gets accepted, we were going to send her there.*
>
> [S2-F]

Reflecting on Gorard's (1999) five key criteria, all non-Japanese parents in this grouping focused on 'academic' reasons.

> *Academically, [School-17] is challenging. A kid has to be right for that sought of academic challenge. Our oldest child is. Our middle child… we'll see how we go, because she will eventually go there too. But for our eldest daughter, she loves that hard academic challenge.*
>
> [S2-M]

Tokyo is an enormous metropolis and if one parent is a Japanese national, 'situational' reasons such as the distance and time it takes to get to a select school may not be a major issue. When both parents are non-Japanese, however, distance from home in a foreign context can be daunting and a factor that receives more consideration than usual.

> *I chose [School-18] purely because of the convenience of being close to my work. I need to get up in the morning, drop her off and go to work and the preschool is located right behind [place name], which is where I am based. I did check out other schools. I compared several schools, but I got the map out and asked myself – What are the schools close to my house? I looked at [School-18, School-1, School-27, School-14 and School-10]. I heard good things about [School-15], but it was too far. [School-15] looked great, but it was just too far… My husband has*

commented that he is really glad she goes to [School-18] because on Mondays, which is a slow day at work, he will pick her up from school and I will meet them and we all have lunch together. We could never do that if she attended another preschool. When I mentioned that I was thinking about sending her to [School-12] he said, 'I won't be able to have lunch with her'.

[S2-B]

As with Japanese intercultural parents, these parents focused on 'space' as a prime organisational criterion for school choice. The difference between parental comments in these two groups, however, was that Japanese intercultural parents referred to the issue of a lack of 'space' as a 'long-term' hindrance, rather than as a 'short-term' bother.

I think the downside is the space within the school… Tokyo is a big city with not much space and I think you've just got to accept that.

[S2-M]

Interestingly, with regards to the same issue about 'space', the same father suggested that he was fortunate to have three daughters, because boys tend to need more space.

I think girls and boys are a bit different… Boys go kick a footy or whatever and if they can't kick a footy they are going to get teased in the playground, whereas girls might be a little easier for us. We've talked to parents here [in Tokyo] and they worry more about their boys often because of the space. Boys need more room to move and in Tokyo there's obviously not that much room to move. Girls in general, not all the time, but in general, require less space. They don't need to run around so much and do stuff. So, people who have 12-13 year old boys tend to worry...

[S2-M]

Few parents in this grouping focused on 'selective' reasons, with the other four of Gorard's (1999) criteria given notably more weight. The only comment to be found was:

I didn't want my daughter in the American system and I was thinking if she is going to develop an accent I would rather a British accent than an American one. Though there is nothing academic about that part of the decision-making...

[S2-H]

Indeed, non-Japanese parents focused on 'security' reasons. In circumstances where the children were young infants, their socialisation was certainly of more concern than their education.

School is academic, but it is also a lot of different things. The kinds of experience they have here, the independence, the kinds of people that they meet, all the exposure that they have... And really the self-reliance that they have must weigh against the academic. 'Academics' is one thing, but there are other things.

[S2-A]

Where the children were attending primary schooling, concerns about behaviour management were addressed.

I think that the principal has recruited predominantly young teachers from public schools and that's not bad, but I think that he's not bringing teachers with enough life experience and I don't want it to come across as sounding snobby, but people with enough manners so that they can teach the children... I wrote in my report, that 'There are a lot of over-indulged, undisciplined children and they are not getting disciplined at school'. You need it at home and at school, but if you are not getting it at either place, it becomes rather unruly...

[S2-H]

In this group, non-Japanese parents were either expecting to be short-term expatriates, long-term residents, or had already considered repatriation. In terms of their children's social and educational development, parents' internationally mobility was a key variable,

as well as the age of their children. This would determine the way these parents may choose to cope with issues of school choice.

> *Depending on what age my children are when we actually leave Tokyo… if it is before they enter kindergarten in Australia, I'd probably have no concerns, because we could go back and blend in and that would be fine. But if it was half way through primary school or definitely high school, I would be really worried…*
>
> [S2-B]

In summary, non-Japanese parents in this grouping did not consider as many schools as families with at least one Japanese spouse. This in no way suggests that these parents were less concerned with the socialisation and education of their children. Parents with preschool-aged children placed emphasis on the socialisation of their children, while parents with children attending primary schooling incrementally increased the focus on their children's academic pathways. Overall, non-Japanese parents appeared to limit their school search to establishments in close proximity to their homes or in the case of one child attending a school on the outskirts of Tokyo, access to private 'school bus' transportation. Despite being internationally-mobile and experienced travellers in the host country setting, they preferred to have a somewhat tighter family unit, perhaps due to the fact that they did not have the extended social networks of Japanese spouses.

6.8   Chapter summary

In Chapter Six, interview narratives were grouped into four prominent themes that were most salient within the issues that the 17 parents shared. In their conversations parents shared stories of life with their families past and present, the experience of choosing a school for their children, the satisfaction derived from their choice, and their future hopes and dreams related to children's educational and professional endeavours.

This chapter reported the international parents' accounts of both the direct and indirect effects on transnational children of patterns of relations within the family and the school, as well as the process of establishing or rebuilding links in the new community. Indeed, their experiences were multidimensional and complex. In the next chapter, I bring my understandings—literature-based and data-based—to a conclusion, clarifying what those understandings might imply.

Findings & recommendations

7.1   Introduction: Thesis overview

The purpose of this chapter is to provide the reader with the conclusions to this study. At this point, however, it is opportune to briefly restate the structural and informational contents of this thesis.

Chapter One described how I arrived at this topic by recounting the personal experiences that gave impetus to pursue this study on international families and the education of their transnational children in Tokyo. I presented the broad context and direction of the research by elucidating key terms and delineating the aim, objectives and significance of this study.

Chapter Two pooled together the relevant literature, which embodied information pertaining to four main topics: (1) Cosmopolitan Tokyo; (2) International families; (3) Transnational children; and (4) Parental school choice. The literature was used to refine the research question, had important links to the conceptual framework detailed in Chapter Three, and informed my analysis of the data in Chapters Five and Six.

Chapter Three introduced the conceptual framework, which was an original adaptation of two ecological perspectives effective in conceptualising the influence of family, school and community partnerships on the development of transnational children. Amalgamation of Bronfenbrenner's (1979) *Ecological Systems Theory* and Epstein's (1987) *Overlapping Spheres of Influence,* offered promise for investigating the growing phenomena of transnationalism. The four environments chosen as the focus were mother's cultural background (M); father's cultural background (F); school cultural background (S); and residential country culture (R). In light of the new conceptual framework, the research could be formulated in terms of two specific questions:

Q1.   What is the nature of the cross cultural influences within the international families of the transnational children in this study?

Q2.   To what extent could international parents' choice of school for their transnational children in Tokyo be considered a partnership in terms of the overlap between the school's cultural background and the ecology of the family?

Chapter Four provided a detailed explanation of the research design derived from the conceptual framework. This exploratory study involved two distinct stages. Stage 1 was described as the backgrounding phase, which made possible the identification of potential issues of interest from the distribution of questionnaires in 2007. Stage 2 involved face-to-face semi-structured interviews with a subset of Stage 1 respondents, together with some new parents, approximately six months later in 2008.

Chapter Five documented the results of Stage 1 questionnaire data, with results tabulated to present demographic information such as birth country, citizenship, passport ownership, and languages spoken. Data were organised under four headings: Factors in internationalisation; Location of home; Language socialisation; and Parental school choice. Chapter Six used the layered thick detail of the Stage 2 interview data to develop family profiles for all participants and presented their in depth views based on the same four headings or 'themes' used in the arrangement of Stage 1 data. In both Chapters Five and Six, it was possible to develop a table summarising each international family's cultural ecology.

The following section of this concluding chapter analyses the relationship between the two main sets of findings: (a) each family's cultural ecology and (b) international parents' choice of schooling for their first or only transnational child. The significance of this study is then considered through a discussion of its intellectual and practical

implications, its limitations, as well as recommendations for further research. Chapter Seven concludes with a final reflection.

7.2 Synthesis of findings

For this purpose of synthesising the findings, the division of participants into three groupings has been retained (Table 7.1), with the family's cultural ecology summarised in terms of the cultural background of the mother (M), the father (F), and the Japanese residential country culture (R).

Table 7.1   Stage 1 & Stage 2: Pattern of ecology for three family groupings

family grouping	M = mother's cultural background	F = father's cultural background	R = residential country culture	M F R = family's cultural ecology
Japanese families	Japanese	Japanese	Japanese	monocultural
Japanese intercultural families	Japanese	Other 1	Japanese	bicultural
	Other 1	Japanese	Japanese	bicultural
Non-Japanese families	Other 1	Other 1	Japanese	bicultural
	Other 1	Other 2	Japanese	tricultural

7.2.1   Correlating family ecology and parental school choice

As outlined in Chapter Two, the school options available for international parents were categorised as four main types: (1) Japanese national schools; (2) non-Japanese national schools; (3) Japanese international schools; and (4) non-Japanese 'fully' international schools. In order to conclude the analysis of data, the cultural ecology of each international family, as summarised in Chapter Five (Table 5.10) and Chapter Six (Table 6.1), was graphically correlated with the international parents' choice of school for their only or eldest transnational child.

Table 7.2[61] below, is discussed in two important ways. First, in terms of the families from the different groupings and their choice of school, and second, in relation to the various types of school and the clientele they attracted.

Japanese families. The conscious rejection of Japanese schooling by Japanese parents from this grouping was made clear in the interviews and they were unanimous in their choice of schooling. As compared to Japanese intercultural and non-Japanese parents whose school choice was spread across three of the four school types, the Japanese parents in this study chose only non-Japanese national schooling. Furthermore, in nine of the ten cases, Japanese parents chose the British school, with the remaining family (S2-E) selecting the American school.

This common outcome is all the more surprising given the accounts in the interview narratives of the amount of time and effort Japanese *kyoiku mamas* [education mothers] expended in the process of selecting a school for their children. It is noteworthy that none chose the international school options available, either the Japanese or the non-Japanese 'fully' international schools. This provides a clue that the school experience they wanted for their children was an immersion experience in English and the culture of a specific English-speaking nation.

Japanese intercultural families. Among the Japanese intercultural parents in this study, where either the mother or father was Japanese, the most frequent choice (nine out of 21 families) was a non-Japanese national school. From the rest of the Japanese intercultural parents, equal numbers chose either a Japanese national school or

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61 Appendix C provides a breakdown of the four cultural dimensions for each Stage 1 respondents' transnational child in the Tokyo study.

Appendix D provides a breakdown of the four cultural dimensions for each Stage 2 participants' transnational child in the Tokyo study.

Appendix E provides a summary of the four cultural dimensions for all 61 Stage 1 and Stage 2 international parents' transnational children in the Tokyo study.

a non-Japanese 'fully' international school. Of the six families who chose to send their children to Japanese national schools, it is worth mentioning that five of these children were at the preschool level, with the remaining child at elementary school (refer to Appendix E). Another six sets of Japanese intercultural parents preferred non-Japanese 'fully' international schools, even though half of the children were at the preschool and elementary levels.

As indicated in the literature (Chapter Two, section 2.7.1) and by many Japanese intercultural parents in the Stage 2 interview narratives (Chapter Six, section 6.7), they may have valued a Japanese immersion experience in the early stages of their child's formal learning, but many intended to move their children out of the Japanese national system before junior high school level.

Non-Japanese families. The non-Japanese parents in this study were also split between three types of schools. Over two-thirds opted for non-Japanese 'fully' international schools, emphasising the high priority they gave to the international dimension of their child's education. In many cases, their interview comments made it clear that this had been the obvious or only choice for them; they had not needed to make school choice a long and protracted process (e.g., S2-A, S2-B, S2-M).

Seven of these parents preferred to send their children to non-Japanese national schools, with six children attending the British School and the remaining child at the American school. In these cases, there appeared to be a relation between the parents' sense of home and future intentions to repatriate with their school choice. For example, the comments of S2-B, S2-F and S2-H all indicated that they had firm intentions to return to Australia in two cases and Mexico in the third. In this situation, it was appropriate for the child to be sent to the school that was the closest culturally to the homeland—British school for the Australians and American for the Mexican family.

The most unusual school choice in this grouping was a family where the mother was French and the father was American (S1-41). They selected the British school for their child. In the Stage 1 questionnaire, the parent respondent indicated that they had a strong sense of home being in the UK to which they eventually hoped to return, and thus their choice of the British school.

Summary. In terms of the overall pattern, a total of five of the correlation cells were blank—three for the Japanese families and one each for the other two family groupings. The most frequent correlation (representing a third of the total participants) was between the non-Japanese families and the non-Japanese 'fully' international schools. Two other correlations, between Japanese families and non-Japanese national schooling, and between Japanese intercultural families and non-Japanese national schooling, each represented about one-sixth of the participants. There were three other correlations that each represented about one-tenth of the total. They were between Japanese intercultural parents and Japanese national schooling, between Japanese intercultural parents and non-Japanese 'fully' international schooling, and between non-Japanese families and non-Japanese 'fully' international schooling. Only two families were represented in the correlation between non-Japanese families and Japanese national schooling at the preschool and elementary levels.

The sections that follow discuss Table 7.2 from the perspective of the schooling chosen and the clientele that each type attracted.

Japanese national schooling. Japanese national schooling was the choice of just over a quarter of the Japanese intercultural families, as well as two non-Japanese families (S1-20, S2-C) for their preschool or elementary children. The Japanese schooling system is geared to the needs of the local Japanese community and, for the most part, would see no justification in developing programs especially for transnational children.

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Non-Japanese national schooling. The non-Japanese national school option appealed to parents from all three of the family groupings—all of the Japanese parents, almost half of the Japanese intercultural parents, and one-third of the non-Japanese parents. In all but four cases who chose the American school (S1-46, S2-E, S2-F, S2-G), the British school was the preferred choice. Interview comments suggested that there were a number of factors which contributed to the British school being a more attractive option, and prime among them was its central and convenient location. Interestingly, this breakdown of results indicated that the British school had three types of international families as clientele and their differing needs and intents would seem to merit some consideration by the school if it wished to maintain this range of support.

Japanese international schooling. Japanese international schooling attracted none of the 61 families in this study. Japanese parents specifically rejected any form of 'Japanese' schooling in their pursuit of a more 'international' form of education for their children. The non-Japanese parents did not see it as a valuable immersion experience in the Japanese language and culture, comparable to many Japanese parents' choice of the British school as an immersion experience in the English language and the British culture.

Non-Japanese 'fully' international schooling. Non-Japanese 'fully' international schools were the choice of just over one-quarter of the Japanese intercultural families and a substantial majority of the non-Japanese families. It would appear that these international parents preferred their children to be educated with others from culturally diverse backgrounds and many of those parents were strongly committed to the principles they saw such schools as embodying.

Table 7.2   Stage 1 & Stage 2: Correlating the family's cultural ecology with parental school choice

family's cultural ecology	Japanese national schooling	Non-Japanese national schooling	Japanese international schooling	Non-Japanese 'fully' international schools	TOTAL
monocultural (Japanese families)		S1-11, S1-12, S1-18, S1-22 S1-34, S1-47, S2-D, S2-E S2-J, S2-O			
GROUP ONE subtotals	*-*	*10*	*-*	*-*	*10*
bicultural (Japanese intercultural families)	S1-15, S1-53, S2-I, S2-L S2-N, S2-Q	S1-19, S1-30, S1-35, S1-36 S1-38, S1-43, S1-46, S2-P S2-Q		S1-5, S1-24, S1-39, S1-40 S1-49, S2-K	
GROUP TWO subtotals	*6*	*9*	*-*	*6*	*21*
bicultural & tricultural (Non-Japanese families)	S1-20, S2-C	S1-2, S1-17, S1-41, S1-50 S2-B, S2-F, S2-H		S1-4, S1-6, S1-7, S1-8 S1-9, S1-10, S1-13, S1-14 S1-23, S1-25, S1-27, S1-29 S1-32, S1-33, S1-37, S1-42 S1-48, S1-51, S1-52, S2-A S2-M	
GROUP THREE subtotals	*2*	*7*	*-*	*21*	*30*
TOTAL	8	26	0	27	61

Notes: Data were collected from 55 Stage 1 questionnaires and 17 Stage 2 interviews = 72 parents total. However, (a) respondents S1-44 and S1-55 did not specify their children's schooling and could not be classified in this table, and (b) nine Stage 1 respondents participated in Stage 2 and were not counted twice. These nine parents have been classified under Stage 2 only. Hence, the number of different participants in this study totalled 61 parents, representative of 61 families.

Summary. The two most frequently chosen schooling options were the non-Japanese national schools and the non-Japanese 'fully' international schools. Overall, both of these school-types attracted just under half of the families represented. National Japanese schools, at the preschool and elementary levels, were chosen by about one-twelfth of the parents, while the option of Japanese international schooling failed to attract any of the 61 families in this study.

7.2.2   The cross cultural scenarios of the transnational children

When the school's cultural background (S) was added to the other three cultural backgrounds (M F R) that comprised each family's cultural ecology, it was possible to develop a set of *Cross Cultural Scenarios*. The school cultural background (S) has been categorised in terms of the national cultural background it represented. That is, Japanese for Japanese national schools, British and American in the case of the two non-Japanese national schools, and 'fully' international for those schools without the dominance of any single particular culture, but with an inclusive global outlook.

The designations of the *Cross Cultural Scenarios* used in Chapter Three (Table 3.1) have been retained, but the order of their presentation has been determined by the data, rather than the logical order of possibilities, as was the case in the earlier table. Table 7.3[62] therefore, is presented in three parts; one part for each of the family groupings that have been used as the basis for analysis of the data so far. It should be noted that only 10 of the 14 possible *Cross Cultural Scenarios* occurred in this study. Focus on these scenarios was nonetheless important, because the framework helped to draw attention to the extent of partnership or 'overlap' between the school's cultural background (S) and

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62   Appendix F provides a frequency count of the cross cultural scenarios among Stage 1 respondents' transnational children in the Tokyo study.

Appendix G provides a frequency count of the cross cultural scenarios among Stage 2 participants' transnational children in the Tokyo study.

Appendix H provides a frequency count of the cross cultural scenarios among 61 Stage 1 and Stage 2 international family's transnational children in the Tokyo study.

that of the other environments in the family's ecology, along the lines of Epstein's (1987) *Overlapping Spheres of Influence* (refer to Figure 3.5). This aspect is the focus of the discussion that follows.

Japanese families. The Japanese international families in this study all fell under the category of *bicultural scenario C.* That is, the school's cultural background (S) was different from that of the mother (M), the father (F), and the residential country culture (R). Here, the overlapping spheres of Japanese culture from both parents and the society stood in great contrast to the school's British culture for nine of the transnational children (S1-11, S1-12, S1-18, S1-22, S1-34, S1-47, S2-D, S2-J, S2-0), and in the remaining case, the school's American culture (S2-E). There would appear to be only one point of overlap for these children between the life of their home and the surrounding society, on one hand, and the life of the school on the other. This was the international orientation of the Japanese parents who greatly valued things British or American as their child's way into an international lifestyle.

These Japanese parents' international orientation could have resulted in them promoting such things as English-based resources for their children, as well as holidays abroad, as strategies to strengthen the partnership between school and home. But, in the day-to-day life of the home, the language spoken, the patterns of relationships within the immediate and extended family, the food, activities and celebrations, would have been overwhelmingly Japanese. These features would have been distinct from the language spoken, the patterns of relationships with staff and students, the food, activities and celebrations, of the non-Japanese national schools the children were attending.

Japanese intercultural families. For the transnational children of Japanese intercultural families, five different *Cross Cultural Scenarios* emerged. Four of the families had chosen a Japanese school for their child (S1-53, S2-I, S2-N, S2-Q), thereby creating three overlapping spheres among the Japanese cultural background of the

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mother, the school, and the local residence for their child. The child's overall ecology was bicultural, because the father represented another cultural background, thus reflecting the pattern of *bicultural scenario A*.

Similarly, in the case of two families (S1-15, S2-L), three overlapping spheres were among the Japanese cultural background of the father, the school, and the local residence for their child. The child's overall ecology was bicultural, because the mother represented another cultural background, thus reflecting the pattern of *bicultural scenario B*.

Where Japanese intercultural parents had chosen a non-Japanese national school for their only or eldest child, the overlap of spheres was between the father's culture, which was British in five cases (S1-19, S1-35, S1-38, S1-43, S2-P) and American in two cases (S1-46, S2-G), and the culture of the school. The ecology of the child was bicultural, because the Japanese background of the mother overlapped with the local residence, as outlined in *bicultural scenario E*.

Eight of the Japanese intercultural parents chose a school that did not directly overlap with either parent, thus creating a tricultural ecology for the children. In *tricultural scenario A*, the mothers were Japanese, while the fathers were either American or Australian background. In the five cases where the father was American (S1-24, S1-39, S1-40, S1-49, S2-K), parental school choice was the non-Japanese 'fully' international school-type. In *tricultural scenario B*, the two fathers were Japanese and the mothers had an American cultural background. One of these families chose a non-Japanese 'fully' international school. Six out of the eight children in these two scenarios were attending a non-Japanese 'fully' international school (S1-24, S1-39, S1-40, S1-49, S2-K, S1-5), where the overlap between the family context and the school lay in the international dimension, which was valued by both family and school over and above the transmission

of any specific culture(s). There was, however, no direct overlap of any of the cultural spheres with the school.

In the other two cases, one with an Australian father (S1-36) and the other with an American mother (S1-30), the school of choice was the British school, although none of the parents concerned was of British background. It is likely, however, that these parents felt that it was a suitable school for their child. Although not overlapping, the British culture of the school had similarity with both American and Australian cultures. In addition, there could have been other factors such as convenient location, type of curriculum and recommendations from other international parents, to reinforce their school choice.

Non-Japanese families. Among the non-Japanese families, two bicultural scenarios were to be found, reflecting the situations specific to a total of three families. A Chinese couple (S1-10), who had become naturalised Japanese citizens, sent their child to a Japanese national school. An American couple (S2-C) also selected a Japanese national school for their child. Both children were at the elementary school level. These were the only non-Japanese parents who chose a Japanese immersion experience for their children. In these two families, the Japanese culture of the school overlapped with the Japanese culture of the wider society in which they lived, but had no overlap with the cultural background of either parent according to the pattern of *bicultural scenario D.*

In family S1-50, the British cultural sphere of both parents directly overlapped with the culture of the British school their child was attending. For this transnational child, the only non-British context was the surrounding Japanese society, according to the pattern of *bicultural scenario G*. It would seem that the potential for this type of scenario to lead to the cultural 'bubble' phenomenon described in Chapter Two (section 2.3.3), was greatest.

Twelve of the non-Japanese families where both parents shared the same cultural backgrounds chose to send their children to a non-Japanese 'fully' international school (S1-7, S1-14, S1-23, S1-27, S1-29, S1-32, S1-37, S1-42, S1-48, S1-51, S1-52, S2-M). Since the surrounding culture was Japanese, the pattern of these children's ecology was *tricultural scenario D.* Four other parents in this category (S1-2, S1-17, S2-B, S2-H), preferred to send their child to the British school, even though the parental background was Finnish or Australian in three cases. The Mexican family (S2-H), perhaps not surprisingly, preferred to send their child to the American school.

The ecology of ten of the transnational children could be seen to fit the pattern of *polycultural scenario*. Typically, they were the offspring of a non-Japanese intercultural marriage (S1-41, S1-4, S1-6, S1-8, S1-9, S1-10, S1-13, S1-25, S1-33, S2-A), living in the Japanese society and attending a non-Japanese 'fully' international school. The diversity of the family contexts could be seen to overlap in a meaningful way with the experience of many of the other students at their school, as well as the school's positive orientation to internationalisation.

The one exception in the polycultural grouping was the family discussed earlier (S1-41), where the mother was French and the father American. The school chosen for their child was the British school, because of the cultural overlap they desired to create between the school and their anticipated and eventual repatriation to the UK.

Table 7.3a   Stage 1 & Stage 2: Cross cultural scenarios of transnational children in Japanese families in Tokyo

cross cultural scenarios	M = mother's cultural background	F = father's cultural background	R = residential country culture	S = school cultural background	stage 1 (S1) respondent	stage 2 (S2) participant	TOTAL
bicultural scenario C	Japanese	Japanese	Japanese	British	S1-11		
	Japanese	Japanese	Japanese	British	S1-12		
	Japanese	Japanese	Japanese	British	S1-18		
	Japanese	Japanese	Japanese	British	S1-22		
	Japanese	Japanese	Japanese	British	S1-34		
	Japanese	Japanese	Japanese	British	S1-47		
	Japanese	Japanese	Japanese	British		S2-D	
	Japanese	Japanese	Japanese	British		S2-J	
	Japanese	Japanese	Japanese	British		S2-O	9
	Japanese	Japanese	Japanese	American		S2-E	1
GROUP ONE subtotal = 10							

Table 7.3b   Stage 1 & Stage 2: Cross cultural scenarios of transnational children in Japanese intercultural families in Tokyo

cross cultural scenarios	M = mother's cultural background	F = father's cultural background	R = residential country culture	S = school cultural background	stage 1 (S1) respondent	stage 2 (S2) participant	TOTAL
bicultural scenario A	Japanese	American	Japanese	Japanese	S1-53		
	Japanese	Canadian	Japanese	Japanese		S2-I	
	Japanese	British	Japanese	Japanese		S2-N	
	Japanese	Australian	Japanese	Japanese		S2-Q	4

bicultural scenario B	Canadian	Japanese	Japanese	Japanese	S1-15		
	British	Japanese	Japanese	Japanese		S2-L	2
bicultural scenario E	Japanese	British	Japanese	British	S1-19		
	Japanese	British	Japanese	British	S1-35		
	Japanese	British	Japanese	British	S1-38		
	Japanese	British	Japanese	British	S1-43		
	Japanese	British	Japanese	British		S2-P	5
	Japanese	American	Japanese	American	S1-46		
	Japanese	American	Japanese	American		S2-G	2
tricultural scenario A	Japanese	Australia	Japanese	British	S1-36		1
	Japanese	American	Japanese	International	S1-24		
	Japanese	American	Japanese	International	S1-39		
	Japanese	American	Japanese	International	S1-40		
	Japanese	American	Japanese	International	S1-49		
	Japanese	American	Japanese	International		S2-K	5
tricultural scenario B	American	Japanese	Japanese	International	S1-5		1
	American	Japanese	Japanese	British	S1-30		1
GROUP TWO subtotal = 21							

Table 7.3c   Stage 1 & Stage 2: Cross cultural scenarios of transnational children in non-Japanese families in Tokyo

cross cultural scenarios	M = mother's cultural background	F = father's cultural background	R = residential country culture	S = school cultural background	stage 1 (S1) respondent	stage 2 (S2) participant	TOTAL
bicultural scenario D	Chinese	Chinese	Japanese	Japanese	S1-20		
	American	American	Japanese	Japanese		S2-C	2
bicultural scenario G	British	British	Japanese	British	S1-50		1
tricultural scenario D	Finnish	Finnish	Japanese	British	S1-2		
	Australian	Australian	Japanese	British	S1-17		
	Australian	Australian	Japanese	British		S2-B	
	Australian	Australian	Japanese	British		S2-H	4
	Swedish	Swedish	Japanese	International	S1-7		
	Australian	Australian	Japanese	International	S1-14		
	American	American	Japanese	International	S1-23		
	Australian	Australia	Japanese	International	S1-27		
	American	American	Japanese	International	S1-29		
	Dutch	Dutch	Japanese	International	S1-32		
	British	British	Japanese	International	S1-37		
	German	German	Japanese	International	S1-42		
	British	British	Japanese	International	S1-48		
	New Zealander	New Zealander	Japanese	International	S1-51		
	British	British	Japanese	International	S1-52		
	Australian	Australian	Japanese	International		S2-M	12

	Mexican	Mexican	Japanese	American		S2-F	1
	French	American	Japanese	British	S1-41		1
polycultural scenario	Canadian	American	Japanese	International	S1-4		
	American	German	Japanese	International	S1-6		
	Korean	Swedish	Japanese	International	S1-8		
	French	Dutch	Japanese	International	S1-9		
	Syrian	Italian	Japanese	International	S1-10		
	Panamanian	American	Japanese	International	S1-13		
	German	American	Japanese	International	S1-25		
	New Zealander	Australian	Japanese	International	S1-33		
	American	British	Japanese	International		S2-A	9
GROUP THREE subtotal = 30							
TOTAL = 61							

Notes: Data were collected from 55 Stage 1 questionnaires and 17 Stage 2 interviews = 72 parents total. However, (a) respondents S1-44 and S1-55 did not specify their children's schooling and could not be classified in this table, and (b) nine Stage 1 respondents participated in Stage 2 and were not counted twice. These nine parents have been classified under Stage 2 only. Hence, the number of different participants in this study totalled 61 parents, representative of 61 families.

Summary. The discussion above indicates some of the benefits of applying the model of *Cross Cultural Scenarios*. The model provided a systematic and in depth understanding of the cultural dimensions across the full range of participants. The richness of the interview data helped in understanding the thinking, the choices, and the behaviours encapsulated in the model, as well as the recognition of exceptional individual cases, whose scenarios were quite different from any others. In between were the equally important possibilities of small clusters or subgroups of international parents whose experiences were similar, but rather different from the rest. The use of the *Cross Cultural Scenarios* model thus proved particularly appropriate in understanding the range of complexities to be found in the cultural ecology of transnational children.

7.3   Implications

This study advances understanding of family, school and community partnerships for transnational children in several intellectual and practical ways.

Intellectual implications. From the available literature surveyed throughout the research period, it was difficult to isolate specific material on international parenting and transnational children from the tangentially related literature. The preponderance of available readings pertained to US missionary kids with little Japan-based and even less related specifically to Tokyo. However, there appeared to be a growing interest among those involved in international schooling to improve the understanding of transnational children's developmental ecology in order to aid parents, teachers and others interested in their nurture. This thesis adds to that growing body of knowledge.

A significant outcome of this research was the presentation of the cross cultural scenarios of transnational children. In attempting to work ecologically, I was conscious of how the traditional ways of organising and reporting research had been predominantly linear, which made it difficult to take account of the multidimensional qualities

necessary for an ecological approach. Investigating more thoroughly the dynamic three-way connections among the family, school and community—beyond a one-dimensional assessment of partnerships—continues to hold great promise for enhancing the social and educational development of transnational children exposed to an international lifestyle by their parents.

Practical implications. The framework developed in this study may be productively applied in other culturally diverse contexts. The validity of the conceptual framework was supported when Stage 1 questionnaire respondents (n = 53) covered ten of the 14 scenarios, and Stage 2 interview participants (n = 17) covered eight scenarios. Developing appropriate methods and theories with which to understand cultural contexts and a language to articulate cross cultural complexities in an attempt to enhance well-being in society, may help to raise awareness and curiosity in order to facilitate better acculturation to a truly global environment.

The research outcomes of this study could guide intervention for the purpose of aiding parental school choice and assisting families to better manage their transient and/or cross cultural lifestyle. This approach does not negate current knowledge about the direct effects of child and context-related predictors, but sees that international families are involved in their children's education in multiple and complex ways. The framework is intended to support the development of educational policy and practice in contexts where transnational children are found. These include the vast and growing number of international schools in Tokyo and worldwide. Schools, colleges and universities, teachers, teaching assistants, school leaders and counsellors, exchange program facilitators and educational psychologists who deal with individuals who come from a background delineated by one of the cross cultural scenarios can benefit from the findings presented in this thesis. In the corporate sector, multi-national corporations, recruitment agencies, embassies, healthcare professionals and social workers can also

benefit from this systematic understanding of the potential cross cultural complexities in international families.

Such findings do have clear implications for the marketing of schools. The whole concept of marketing rests on the premise that schools do not simply sell what they prefer to manufacture, but rather provide what the client needs. In the school context, matching parental demands with school characteristics is vital. Thus, for 'marketing' and 'matching' to be effective, schools must not only know themselves, but also have a clear view of what parents think, how they make their decisions, and what they look for in a school. The findings of this study can help in these respects. By better identifying their target populations, schools in Tokyo will be in a stronger position to cater more effectively to their particular market and also to ensure that they remain relevant.

7.4   Limitations

Considering this study in hindsight, I have identified several conceptual (as related to Chapter Three) and methodological (as related to Chapter Four) limitations that are worth mentioning.

Conceptual limitations. Four influences—M F S R—embedded within the ecological layers of the transnational children in this study were selected. No claim is made, however, that the conceptual framework proposed or the list of factors incorporated was comprehensive. Rather, the intention was to interpret potential cross cultural scenarios more systematically than was found in the literature. As noted by Cohen et al.:

> [F]or ecological validity to be demonstrated it is important to include and address in the research as many characteristics in, and factors of, a given situation as possible. The difficulty for this is that the more characteristics are included and described, the more difficult it is to abide by central ethical

tenets of much research—non-traceability, anonymity and non-identifiability.

(L. Cohen et al., 2000: 110-111)

There are many and varied types of family arrangements (e.g., extended, step, military and missionary families, as well as home-helpers and nannies) that could have had an influence on the developmental ecology of the transnational children in this study. In spite of this, as Cohen et al. (2000: 110-111) pointed out, if a greater number of dimensions had been selected, then the confidentiality of participants may have been compromised, potentially leading to a much lower response rate.

Additionally, depending on the context, and a range of variable individual and environmental factors, international parents and their transnational children may respond to cross cultural engagement(s) in different ways. Human development is a process of continual change and cannot take into account all the factors needed to explain developmental outcomes. When an individual undergoes a dramatic change, such as an international relocation, that experience can serve as a natural experiment, which may provide insight(s) into processes that are difficult or impossible to capture in the normal pattern of day-to-day living.

Methodological limitations. The process of recruiting international parents was limited to one host location—Tokyo. In both data collection stages, I endeavoured to maintain a consistent approach to my research parameters and focused on a 'category of people who share a similar life experience in a specified time period' (Neuman, 2004: 19). Given the nature of qualitative research, the findings described in this chapter are particular, situated and based on glimpses of attitudes and experiences of certain individuals in a given place and time, and within the natural settings of this study. The research design consisted of only one interview with parent participants. A second or third interview may have extracted richer interview narratives and other important

themes could have emerged. Moreover, because this study was not longitudinal, evidence of changes over time were not explored.

For Stage 1 data, 78% of respondents were mothers (n = 43) and 22% were fathers (n = 12). No mother and father completed a questionnaire together. Hence, the responses reflected more mothers' attitudes and experiences. In Stage 2 data, 53% of participants were mothers (n = 9) and 47% were fathers (n = 8). One interview (S2-Q) was conducted with both the mother and father. In comparison to Stage 1, the attitudes and experiences expressed in the interview narratives were almost equally reflective of mothers and fathers. However, it is possible that a different picture of the family ecology and the choice of child's school could have emerged if it had been possible to use both parents in the two stages of data collection.

Further, it needs to be recognised that committing verbal exchanges to paper results in its 'immediate deterioration' (Poland, 1995: 299). Empathy and other emotional dynamics are inevitably lost or diminished, such that the language becomes rather 'impoverished, incoherent, and ultimately embarrassing for those who may have cause to read back over their contributions' (Poland, 1995: 299). Upon listening to the voice data, I became aware that I had missed several opportunities for follow-up questions, had led the interviewee by the particular way I phrased questions, perhaps had pushed on a topic when it was not necessary or had failed to push on a topic when something invaluable could have been revealed.

7.5   Recommendations for future research

This study has not only provided insights into what is undoubtedly a complex process, but also offers three recommendations for the way researchers approach transnationalism in the future.

(1) Future research should tap into what children have to offer as active agents in their own education. When stake-holders ignore the presence and participation of children in processes of migration, they obscure a central axis of the family. Children actively shape the nature of their families' journeys, as well as their experiences, and in shaping that journey they help to shape their own trajectories. It is important that their perspective is studied and better understood.

(2) Future research should be grounded in the knowledge that parents' beliefs about the role they play in their children's schooling, and their effectiveness in helping them to succeed, are the primary points of entry into increased, and increasingly, effective involvement. Much research on family, school and community partnerships is focused upon the home environment, placing the onus for effective partnerships upon 'parents'. While appropriate in part, school and community outreach to parents relates to strong and consistent gains in student academic performance, but has often been neglected in research studies except when it has been necessary to deal with difficult family issues.

(3) Future research could examine more closely the relationships between and among different ecological variables. That is, comparisons of the perceptions and experiences of parents from different backgrounds is needed to provide a better understanding of how families, schools and communities can work together for the education of children. Parents from different social and cultural contexts may approach schools with quite diverse expectations and interpretations of what it means for them to be socially and educationally helpful when interacting with their children. Other comparisons might include differences between involvement of mothers and fathers, diverse family structures such as single parents, two-parent, and extended families, as well as differences among educational levels of parents and between those who work within or outside the home. In other words,

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research could focus on examining the intricate nature of the interrelationships among family, school and community settings, possible interventions, and outcomes for children from varied contexts.

7.6   A final reflection

I commenced this research with a personal quest to understand the holistic experience of a small group of international families. My goal was to understand the unfolding of their journey; to consider their experience from their motivations to travel, preparations to leave, relocations, repatriations, and the selection of schooling for their children. Having the opportunity to return to Tokyo to undertake this study was both stimulating and challenging. During the two data collection stages, I had the privilege of renewing acquaintances or meeting for the first time different parents who shared a common geography.

The more that parents cultivated an intercultural perspective, the more they discovered that 'challenges' could be reframed as 'opportunities'. I could feel their joy when they talked with enthusiasm about how their children loved going to school. I could feel their anguish when they talked of the pain that their children had experienced at school and how they struggled to make things better for them. Either way, parents did not respond as mere optimists leaving the education of their children to chance. They responded as parents hopeful on their children's behalf, acting to make success happen. The aspirations these parents held for their children were brought to reality by their 'choices'.

These international parents held an integrated worldview that depicted how life for them should be lived—at home, at school and in the community—and they spoke passionately about their unique experiences. Reflecting on our conversations provided me with the challenge of faithfully reporting their thoughts and feelings, and trying to establish a synoptic view of international orientation and/or mobility. This research journey brought

me closer to understanding the monumental thought and action that went into the socialising and educating of children in Tokyo. Despite their busy schedules, many parents reported feeling happy and even grateful for the opportunity to share their stories.

Writing this thesis was an experience in theory building, as opposed to the creation of generalisations about how all international parents educate their transnational children. The process of inquiry taught me much about myself as a novice researcher. During my candidature, I steadily gained confidence in my ability to develop appropriate strategies and to use those strategies to draw meaning from the data. I discovered that conceptual models contribute greatly to my own learning; they are visual tools that I will use in the future when seeking to comprehend complex phenomena that at first glance seem difficult to come to terms with. Beyond this, I came to realise that research can be a highly personal and idiosyncratic process, while needing to satisfy the expectations and standards of the academic community.

In agreement with Schaetti (2000: 268), and as evidenced by this and other studies reviewed in the literature, 'the more that is discovered in the way of answers, the more that is discovered in the way of questions'. As I end this section, I take the last step in ending a lengthy, but rewarding journey. My satisfaction is derived from achieving what I set out to do. That is, to produce something practical; research that educationalists (and others) may find useful as they reflect on the outcomes associated with the complex process of school choice in a globalising world.

Although no text will ever seem to be a perfect prescription for analysis to fit my study, as Shougee (1999: 314) reflected, 'every ending is a beginning'. As a new researcher, I rejoice in the completion of my thesis and in the potential for this study to act as a catalyst for my own continued research in this field.

APPENDICES

Appendix A - Stage 1: Research questionnaire

Education of Transnational Children Project
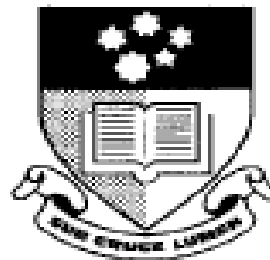
THE UNIVERSITY OF ADELAIDE

FACULTY OF THE PROFESSIONS

SCHOOL OF EDUCATION

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY DEGREE

Donna Velliaris

Donna Velliaris

Faculty of the Professions
School of Education
The University of Adelaide
ADELAIDE SA 5005
Tel: + 61 8 8303 5628
Fax: + 61 8 8303 3604

INFORMATION SHEET - EDUCATION OF TRANSNATIONAL CHILDREN PROJECT

Dear Potential Participant,

My name is Donna Velliaris and I am a PhD Candidate in the School of Education at the University of Adelaide, South Australia. My research project pertains to internationally oriented families and their Third Culture Kids (TCKs). The personal significance and motivation to commence this research project developed during the period 2002-2006, when I was teaching at an international school in Tokyo.

According to the Japanese Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science and Technology (MEXT), there are 121 registered foreign schools in Japan, not including kindergartens, with approximately 80 of them located in Tokyo. This number represents the highest number of international schools in any one city in the world.

With such choice, I am interested in the means by which internationally oriented parents consider the schooling of their children before, during and after relocation and repatriation to and from Tokyo. My research aim is to develop a 'Tokyo' profile of the means by which internationally oriented parents prioritise and evaluate the education of their transnational children and to present an exploratory analysis of their choices and experiences.

In 2007, the first phase of my research will involve the distribution of a standard 4-page questionnaire. The questionnaire will collect demographic information about parents' and children's countries of birth, passport ownership, countries of residence, years of residence in each location, parent occupation and children's schooling. It should take between 10-20 minutes to complete.

In 2008, a second and separate phase of my research will involve interviews with volunteer parent couples who completed an initial questionnaire, so parents can have the opportunity to articulate the impact of their lifestyle, especially as it relates to the education of their children. The significance of my research is to enhance my understanding of this lifestyle as experienced by the parents.

Participation in my research is entirely voluntary and strict confidentiality of respondents' identities will be maintained. Participants will be identified by a respondent number only. You are free to withdraw and discontinue your participation at any time. If you have questions or concerns regarding this research, please email donna.velliaris@adelaide.edu.au.

Thank you

Dr Margaret Secombe	Dr Kate Cadman	Dr Linda Westphalen	Donna Velliaris
Principal Research Supervisor	Co-Research Supervisor	Co-Research Supervisor	PhD Candidate

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Donna Velliaris

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PARTICIPANT-COPY CONSENT FORM

I, _____ consent to take part in the research project entitled:

- CROSSING BORDERS -
HOW INTERNATIONALLY ORIENTED PARENTS IN TOKYO
PRIORITISE AND EVALUATE THE EDUCATION OF THEIR TRANSNATIONAL CHILDREN

- I acknowledge that I have read both the attached (1) Information Sheet and (2) Independent Complaints Procedure Sheet.

- I have had the project, so far as it affects me, fully explained to my satisfaction by the research worker and my consent is given freely.

- Although I understand that the purpose of this research project is to improve educational research, it has also been explained that my involvement may not be of any benefit to me.

- I have been given the opportunity to have a member of my family or a friend present while the project was explained to me.

- I have been informed that, while information gained during the study may be published, I will not be identified and my personal results will not be divulged.

- I understand that I am free to withdraw from the project at any time.

- I am aware that I should retain a copy of this Consent Form when completed, and the accompanying Information and Independent Complaints Procedure Sheets.

_____
(signature)   (date)

2008 INTERVIEWS

I _____ consent to taking part in the second Phase of this Research Project, consisting of Semi-Structured Interviews, several months after completion of this Questionnaire.

Email Address: _____

Contact Telephone Number: _____

WITNESS

I have described to _____the nature of the research to be carried out.
In my opinion she/he understood the explanation.

_____
(signature)   (date)

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Donna Velliaris

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The University of Adelaide
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Fax: + 61 8 8303 3604

INDEPENDENT COMPLAINTS PROCEDURE

The Human Research Ethics Committee of the University of Adelaide is obliged to monitor approved research projects. In conjunction with other forms of monitoring it is necessary to provide an independent and confidential reporting mechanism to ensure quality assurance of the institutional ethics committee system. This is done by providing research participants with an additional avenue for raising concerns regarding the conduct of any research in which they are involved.

The following study has been reviewed and approved by the University of Adelaide Human Research Ethics Committee:

- CROSSING BORDERS -
HOW INTERNATIONALLY ORIENTED PARENTS IN TOKYO
PRIORITISE AND EVALUATE THE EDUCATION OF THEIR TRANSNATIONAL CHILDREN

If you have questions or problems associated with the practical aspects of your participation in the project, or wish to raise a concern or complaint about the project, then you should consult the Project Coordinator:

Principal Research Supervisor - Dr Margaret Secombe

PhD Candidate - Ms Donna Velliaris

The University of Adelaide

Faculty of the Professions School of Education

Adelaide, SOUTH AUSTRALIA 5005

Tel: + 61 8 8303 5628

Fax: + 61 8 8303 3604

Email: donna.velliaris@adelaide.edu.au

Website: www.adelaide.edu.au

If you wish to discuss with an independent person matters related to making a complaint; raising concerns on the conduct of the project; the University policy on research involving human participants; or your rights as a participant; please contact The University of Adelaide's Human Research Ethics Committee Secretary on Tel: + 61 8 8303 6028.

Donna Velliaris

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Fax: + 61 8 8303 3604

RESEARCHER-COPY PARTICIPANT CONSENT FORM

I, _____ consent to take part in the research project entitled:

- CROSSING BORDERS -
HOW INTERNATIONALLY ORIENTED PARENTS IN TOKYO
PRIORITISE AND EVALUATE THE EDUCATION OF THEIR TRANSNATIONAL CHILDREN

- I acknowledge that I have read both the attached (1) Information Sheet and (2) Independent Complaints Procedure Sheet.

- I have had the project, so far as it affects me, fully explained to my satisfaction by the research worker and my consent is given freely.

- Although I understand that the purpose of this research project is to improve educational research, it has also been explained that my involvement may not be of any benefit to me.

- I have been given the opportunity to have a member of my family or a friend present while the project was explained to me.

- I have been informed that, while information gained during the study may be published, I will not be identified and my personal results will not be divulged.

- I understand that I am free to withdraw from the project at any time.

- I am aware that I should retain a copy of this Consent Form when completed, and the accompanying Information and Independent Complaints Procedure Sheets.

_____
(signature)   (date)

2008 INTERVIEWS

I, _____ consent to taking part in the second Phase of this Research Project, consisting of Semi-Structured Interviews, several months after completion of this Questionnaire.

Email Address: _____

Contact Telephone Number: _____

WITNESS

I have described to _____ the nature of the research to be carried out. In my opinion she/he understood the explanation.

_____
(signature)   (date)

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MOTHER: INFORMATION – Part A

AGE	
BIRTH PLACE	
PASSPORT OWNERSHIP	
NATIONALITY	
CITIZENSHIP	
RESIDENCY	
JAPANESE VISA STATUS	
MOST PROFICIENT LANGUAGE	1.

OTHER LANGUAGES SPOKEN		S	R	W
	2.			
PLEASE INDICATE THE LANGUAGE AND COMMUNICATIVE LEVEL AS INDICATED	3.			
	4.			

SKILL LEVEL

S = SPEAKING	R = READING	W = WRITING
A = advanced	A = advanced	A = advanced
I = intermediate	I = intermediate	I = intermediate
B = beginner	B = beginner	B = beginner

CURRENT OCCUPATION	

EDUCATIONAL LEVEL	
PLEASE TICK ONLY THE HIGHEST LEVEL ACHIEVED	o Middle School o High School o Technical College o Bachelor's Degree o Post-graduate Certificate o Post-graduate Diploma o Honours o Masters o PhD

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FATHER: INFORMATION – Part B

AGE	
BIRTH PLACE	
PASSPORT OWNERSHIP	
NATIONALITY	
CITIZENSHIP	
RESIDENCY	
JAPANESE VISA STATUS	
MOST PROFICIENT LANGUAGE	1.

OTHER LANGUAGES SPOKEN		S	R	W
PLEASE INDICATE THE LANGUAGE AND COMMUNICATIVE LEVEL AS INDICATED	2.			
	3.			
	4.			

SKILL LEVEL

S = SPEAKING	R = READING	W = WRITING
A = advanced	A = advanced	A = advanced
I = intermediate	I = intermediate	I = intermediate
B = beginner	B = beginner	B = beginner

CURRENT OCCUPATION	

| EDUCATIONAL LEVEL

PLEASE TICK ONLY THE HIGHEST LEVEL ACHIEVED	o Middle School o High School o Technical College o Bachelor's Degree o Post-graduate Certificate o Post-graduate Diploma o Honours o Masters o PhD

FAMILY: INFORMATION – Part C

NUMBER OF SIBLINGS (STEP-CHILDREN INCLUDED)	
AGES OF SIBLINGS	
LANGUAGE(S) SPOKEN AT HOME	
BEGAN RESIDENCE IN JAPAN *PLEASE BE AS SPECIFIC AS POSSIBLE*	
ANTICIPATED DURATION IN JAPAN	
NUMBER OF RELOCATIONS OR REPATRIATIONS FOR PROFESSIONAL EMPLOYMENT PURPOSES AND THE DURATION	Relocation / Repatriation + Duration _____ _____ _____ _____
EMPLOYMENT PACKAGE *PLEASE TICK ONLY ONE CHOICE*	o Children's school tuition included o Children's school tuition partially included o Children's school tuition all parental expense
LOCATION WHERE MAJORITY OF FAMILY RELATIVES RESIDE	
PARENT ASPIRATIONS FOR THEIR CHILDREN	Educational... _____ Professional... _____
WHERE THE FAMILY CONSIDERS 'HOME' AND WHY?	_____ _____

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CHILDREN: INFORMATION – Part D

BIRTH PLACE AND PASSPORT OF CHILDREN	Birth Place + Passport _____ _____ _____

CHILDREN'S MOST PROFICIENT LANGUAGE	1.

CHILDREN'S OTHER LANGUAGES

PLEASE INDICATE THE LANGUAGE AND COMMUNICATIVE LEVEL AS INDICATED

	S	R	W
2.			
3.			
4.			

SKILL LEVEL

S = SPEAKING	R = READING	W = WRITING
A = advanced	A = advanced	A = advanced
I = intermediate	I = intermediate	I = intermediate
B = beginner	B = beginner	B = beginner

NAME OF CHILDREN'S SCHOOL IN JAPAN	

MAIN REASON(S) FOR CHOICE OF SCHOOLING IN JAPAN

YOU MAY TICK MORE THAN ONE CHOICE

- o No choice, employer decision
- o National curriculum
- o Location
- o Recommendation of employer
- o Recommendation of other expatriates
- o School tour
- o School prospectus
- o Internet research
- o Specialist lessons / Teaching excellence
- o Extensive extra-curricular program
- o Other _____

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Appendix B - Statement of ethics clearance

THE UNIVERSITY
OF ADELAIDE
AUSTRALIA

RESEARCH BRANCH
RESEARCH ETHICS AND COMPLIANCE UNIT

SABINE SCHREIBER
SECRETARY
HUMAN RESEARCH ETHICS COMMITTEE
THE UNIVERSITY OF ADELAIDE
SA 5005
AUSTRALIA
TELEPHONE   +61 8 8303 6028
FACSIMILE   +61 8 8303 7325
email: sabine.schreiber@adelaide.edu.au
CRICOS Provider Number 00123M

24 October 2007

Dr MJ Secombe

School of Education

Dear   Dr Secombe

PROJECT NO: *Crossing borders - how internationally mobile parents in Tokyo prioritise and*
H-134-2007   *evaluate the education of their transnational children*

I write to advise you that I have approved the above project on behalf of the the Human Research
Ethics Committee. Please refer to the enclosed endorsement sheet for further details and conditions
that may be applicable to this approval.

Approval is current for one year. The expiry date for this project is: 31 October 2008

Where possible, participants taking part in the study should be given a copy of the Information Sheet
and the signed Consent Form to retain.

Please note that any changes to the project which might affect its continued ethical acceptability will
invalidate the project's approval. In such cases an amended protocol must be submitted to the
Committee for further approval. It is a condition of approval that you immediately report anything
which might warrant review of ethical approval including (a) serious or unexpected adverse effects on
participants (b) proposed changes in the protocol; and (c) unforeseen events that might affect
continued ethical acceptability of the project. It is also a condition of approval that you inform the
Committee, giving reasons, if the project is discontinued before the expected date of completion.

A reporting form is available from the Committee's website. This may be used to renew ethical
approval or report on project status including completion.

Yours sincerely

Professor Garrett Cullity
Convenor
Human Research Ethics Committee

Appendix C - Stage 1: The four cultural dimensions for each transnational child in the Tokyo study

stage 1 (S1) respondent identification	M = mother's cultural background	F = father's cultural background	R = residential country culture	S = school cultural background
S1-1	Japanese	Japanese	Japanese	British
S1-2	Finnish	Finnish	Japanese	British
S1-3	American	British	Japanese	International
S1-4	Canadian	American	Japanese	International
S1-5	American	Japanese	Japanese	International
S1-6	American	German	Japanese	International
S1-7	Swedish	Swedish	Japanese	International
S1-8	Korean	Swedish	Japanese	International
S1-9	French	Dutch	Japanese	International
S1-10	Syrian	Italian	Japanese	International
S1-11	Japanese	Japanese	Japanese	American
S1-12	Japanese	Japanese	Japanese	British
S1-13	Panamanian	American	Japanese	International
S1-14	Australian	Australian	Japanese	International
S1-15	Canadian	Japanese	Japanese	Japanese
S1-16	Japanese	Japanese	Japanese	British
S1-17	Australian	Australian	Japanese	British
S1-18	Japanese	Japanese	Japanese	British
S1-19	Japanese	British	Japanese	British
S1-20	Chinese	Chinese	Japanese	Japanese
S1-21	Japanese	Japanese	Japanese	American
S1-22	Japanese	Japanese	Japanese	British
S1-23	American	American	Japanese	International
S1-24	Japanese	American	Japanese	International
S1-25	German	American	Japanese	International
S1-26	Australian	Australian	Japanese	International
S1-27	Australian	Australian	Japanese	International

stage 1 (S1) respondent identification	M = mother's cultural background	F = father's cultural background	R = residential country culture	S = school cultural background
S1-28	Japanese	Japanese	Japanese	British
S1-29	American	American	Japanese	International
S1-30	American	Japanese	Japanese	British
S1-31	Australian	Australian	Japanese	British
S1-32	Dutch	Dutch	Japanese	International
S1-33	NZ	Australian	Japanese	International
S1-34	Japanese	Japanese	Japanese	British
S1-35	Japanese	British	Japanese	British
S1-36	Japanese	Australian	Japanese	British
S1-37	British	British	Japanese	International
S1-38	Japanese	British	Japanese	British
S1-39	Japanese	American	Japanese	International
S1-40	Japanese	American	Japanese	International
S1-41	French	American	Japanese	British
S1-42	German	German	Japanese	International
S1-43	Japanese	British	Japanese	British
S1-44	Japanese	American	Japanese	-
S1-45	Australian	Australian	Japanese	International
S1-46	Japanese	American	Japanese	American
S1-47	Japanese	Japanese	Japanese	British
S1-48	British	British	Japanese	International
S1-49	Japanese	American	Japanese	International
S1-50	British	British	Japanese	British
S1-51	New Zealander	New Zealander	Japanese	International
S1-52	British	British	Japanese	International
S1-53	Japanese	American	Japanese	Japanese
S1-54	Japanese	British	Japanese	British
S1-55	Malaysian	Indonesian	Japanese	-

Notes: While 55 parents responded to Stage 1 questionnaires, respondents S1-44 and S1-55 did not specify their children's schooling and could not be classified in this table.

Appendix D - Stage 2: The four cultural dimensions for each transnational child in the Tokyo study

stage 2 (S2) participant identification	M = mother's cultural background	F = father's cultural background	R = residential country culture	S = school cultural background
S2-A (S1-3)	American	British	Japanese	International
S2-B (S1-45)	Australian	Australian	Japanese	International
S2-C	American	American	Japanese	Japanese
S2-D (S1-28)	Japanese	Japanese	Japanese	British
S2-E (S1-21)	Japanese	Japanese	Japanese	American
S2-F	Mexican	Mexican	Japanese	American
S2-G	Japanese	American	Japanese	American
S2-H (S1-31)	Australian	Australian	Japanese	British
S2-I	Japanese	Canadian	Japanese	Japanese
S2-J (S1-16)	Japanese	Japanese	Japanese	British
S2-K	Japanese	American	Japanese	International
S2-L	British	Japanese	Japanese	Japanese
S2-M (S1-26)	Australian	Australian	Japanese	International
S2-N	Japanese	British	Japanese	Japanese
S2-O (S1-1)	Japanese	Japanese	Japanese	British
S2-P (S1-54)	Japanese	British	Japanese	British
S2-Q	Japanese	Australian	Japanese	Japanese

Notes: The nine Stage 2 participants who also responded to a Stage 1 questionnaire have that identification presented in brackets in the left column.

Appendix E - Stage 1 & Stage 2: Summary of the cross cultural scenarios for all transnational children in the Tokyo study

cross cultural scenarios	stage 1 & stage 2 identification	M = mother's cultural background	F = father's cultural background	R = residential country culture	S = school cultural background	only or eldest child's school level
bicultural scenario A	S1-53	Japanese	American	Japanese	Japanese	elementary
	S2-I	Japanese	Canadian	Japanese	Japanese	preschool
	S2-N	Japanese	British	Japanese	Japanese	preschool
	S2-Q	Japanese	Australian	Japanese	Japanese	preschool
bicultural scenario B	S1-15	Canadian	Japanese	Japanese	Japanese	preschool
	S2-L	British	Japanese	Japanese	Japanese	preschool
bicultural scenario C	S1-11	Japanese	Japanese	Japanese	British	junior high
	S1-12	Japanese	Japanese	Japanese	British	elementary
	S1-18	Japanese	Japanese	Japanese	British	elementary
	S1-22	Japanese	Japanese	Japanese	British	elementary
	S1-34	Japanese	Japanese	Japanese	British	elementary
	S1-47	Japanese	Japanese	Japanese	British	elementary
	S2-D	Japanese	Japanese	Japanese	British	senior high
	S2-E	Japanese	Japanese	Japanese	American	junior high
	S2-J	Japanese	Japanese	Japanese	British	elementary
	S2-O	Japanese	Japanese	Japanese	British	junior high

cross cultural scenarios	stage 1 & stage 2 identification	M = mother's cultural background	F = father's cultural background	R = residential country culture	S = school cultural background (parental school choice)	only or eldest child's school level
bicultural scenario D	S1-20	Chinese	Chinese	Japanese	Japanese	elementary
	S2-C	American	American	Japanese	Japanese	elementary
bicultural scenario E	S1-19	Japanese	British	Japanese	British	elementary
	S1-35	Japanese	British	Japanese	British	elementary
	S1-38	Japanese	British	Japanese	British	elementary
	S1-43	Japanese	British	Japanese	British	elementary
	S1-46	Japanese	American	Japanese	American	elementary
	S2-G	Japanese	American	Japanese	American	elementary
	S2-P	Japanese	British	Japanese	British	senior high
bicultural scenario G	S1-50	British	British	Japanese	British	junior high
tricultural scenario A	S1-24	Japanese	American	Japanese	International	junior high
	S1-36	Japanese	Australian	Japanese	British	junior high
	S1-39	Japanese	American	Japanese	International	junior high
	S1-40	Japanese	American	Japanese	International	elementary
	S1-49	Japanese	American	Japanese	International	preschool
	S2-K	Japanese	American	Japanese	International	elementary

cross cultural scenarios	stage 1 & stage 2 identification	M = mother's cultural background	F = father's cultural background	R = residential country culture	S = school cultural background (parental school choice)	only or eldest child's school level
tricultural scenario B	S1-5	American	Japanese	Japanese	International	junior high
	S1-30	American	Japanese	Japanese	British	elementary
tricultural scenario D	S1-2	Finnish	Finnish	Japanese	British	elementary
	S1-7	Swedish	Swedish	Japanese	International	elementary
	S1-14	Australian	Australian	Japanese	International	preschool
	S1-17	Australian	Australian	Japanese	British	elementary
	S1-23	American	American	Japanese	International	junior high
	S1-27	Australian	Australian	Japanese	International	elementary
	S1-29	American	American	Japanese	International	elementary
	S1-32	Dutch	Dutch	Japanese	International	elementary
	S1-37	British	British	Japanese	International	elementary
	S1-42	German	German	Japanese	International	elementary
	S1-48	British	British	Japanese	International	preschool
	S1-51	New Zealander	New Zealander	Japanese	International	preschool
	S1-52	British	British	Japanese	International	elementary
	S2-B	Australian	Australian	Japanese	British	preschool
	S2-F	Mexican	Mexican	Japanese	American	elementary
	S2-H	Australian	Australian	Japanese	British	elementary
	S2-M	Australian	Australian	Japanese	International	elementary

cross cultural scenarios	stage 1 & stage 2 identification	M = mother's cultural background	F = father's cultural background	R = residential country culture	S = school cultural background (parental school choice)	only or eldest child's school level
polycultural scenario	S1-4	Canadian	American	Japanese	International	junior high
	S1-6	American	German	Japanese	International	elementary
	S1-8	Korean	Swedish	Japanese	International	junior high
	S1-9	French	Dutch	Japanese	International	elementary
	S1-10	Syrian	Italian	Japanese	International	junior high
	S1-13	Panamanian	American	Japanese	International	elementary
	S1-25	German	American	Japanese	International	elementary
	S1-33	New Zealander	Australian	Japanese	International	elementary
	S1-41	French	American	Japanese	British	elementary
	S2-A	American	British	Japanese	International	elementary

Notes: Respondents S1-44 and S1-55 did not specify their children's schooling and could not be classified in this table.

Appendix F - Stage 1: Frequency of the cross cultural scenarios among transnational children in the Tokyo study

cross cultural scenarios	stage 1 (S1) respondent identification	frequency
bicultural scenario A	S1-53	1
bicultural scenario B	S1-15	1
bicultural scenario C	S1-1, S1-11, S1-12, S1-16 S1-18, S1-21, S1-22, S1-28 S1-34, S1-47	10
bicultural scenario D	S1-20	1
bicultural scenario E	S1-19, S1-35, S1-38, S1-43 S1-46, S1-54	6
bicultural scenario F	-	-
bicultural scenario G	S1-50	1
bicultural subtotal = 20		
tricultural scenario A	S1-24, S1-36, S1-39, S1-40 S1-49	5
tricultural scenario B	S1-5, S1-30	2
tricultural scenario C	-	-
tricultural scenario D	S1-2, S1-7, S1-14, S1-17 S1-23, S1-26, S1-27, S1-29 S1-31, S1-32, S1-37, S1-42 S1-45, S1-48, S1-51, S1-52	16
tricultural scenario E	-	-
tricultural scenario F	-	-
tricultural subtotal = 23		
polycultural scenario	S1-3, S1-4, S1-6, S1-8 S1-9, S1-10, S1-13, S1-25 S1-33, S1-41	10
polycultural subtotal = 10		
TOTAL = 53		

Notes: While 55 parents responded to Stage 1 questionnaires, respondents S1-44 and S1-55 did not specify their children's schooling and could not be classified in this table. For a reminder of the specific cross cultural designations according to the particular pattern of M F S R cultural backgrounds, refer to Chapter Three Table 3.1.

Appendix G - Stage 2: Frequency of the cross cultural scenarios among transnational children in the Tokyo study

cross cultural scenarios	stage 2 (S2) participant identification	frequency
bicultural scenario A	S2-I, S2-N, S2-Q	3
bicultural scenario B	S2-L	1
bicultural scenario C	S2-D, S2-E, S2-J, S2-O	4
bicultural scenario D	S2-C	1
bicultural scenario E	S2-G, S2-P	2
bicultural scenario F	-	-
bicultural scenario G	-	-
bicultural subtotal = 11		
tricultural scenario A	S2-K	1
tricultural scenario B	-	-
tricultural scenario C	-	-
tricultural scenario D	S2-B, S2-F, S2-H, S2-M	4
tricultural scenario E	-	-
tricultural scenario F	-	-
tricultural subtotal = 5		
polycultural scenario	S2-A	1
polycultural subtotal = 1		
TOTAL = 17		

Appendix H - Stage 1 & Stage 2: Frequency of the cross cultural scenarios among transnational children in the Tokyo study

cross cultural scenarios	stage 1 (S1) respondent ID	stage 2 (S2) participant ID	frequency
bicultural scenario A	S1-53	S2-I, S2-N, S2-Q	4
bicultural scenario B	S1-15	S2-L	2
bicultural scenario C	S1-11, S1-12, S1-18 S1-22, S1-34, S1-47	S2-D (S1-28) S2-E (S1-21) S2-J (S1-16) S2-O (S1-1)	10
bicultural scenario D	S1-20	S2-C	2
bicultural scenario E	S1-19, S1-35, S1-38 S1-43, S1-46	S2-G S2-P (S1-54)	7
bicultural scenario F	-	-	-
bicultural scenario G	S1-50	-	1
bicultural subtotal = 26			
tricultural scenario A	S1-24, S1-36, S1-39 S1-40, S1-49	S2-K	6
tricultural scenario B	S1-5, S1-30	-	2
tricultural scenario C	-	-	-
tricultural scenario D	S1-2, S1-7, S1-14 S1-17, S1-23, S1-27 S1-29, S1-32, S1-37 S1-42, S1-48, S1-51 S1-52	S2-B (S1-45) S2-F S2-H (S1-31) S2-M (S1-26)	17
tricultural scenario E	-	-	-
tricultural scenario F	-	-	-
tricultural subtotal = 25			
polycultural scenario	S1-4, S1-6, S1-8 S1-9, S1-10, S1-13 S1-25, S1-33, S1-41	S2-A (S1-3)	10
polycultural subtotal = 10			
TOTAL	44	17	61

Notes: Data were collected from 55 Stage 1 questionnaires and 17 Stage 2 interviews. However, (a) respondents S1-44 and S1-55 did not specify their children's schooling and could not be classified, and (b) nine Stage 1 respondents participated in Stage 2 and were not counted twice. These nine parents have been classified under Stage 2 only. Hence, the number of different participants in this study totalled 61 parents, representative of 61 families.

Appendix I - Stage 2: Three interview narratives

Group One: Japanese family

My daughter never went to Japanese school. When she was one and a half years, she starting kissing everyone. One day we were in a shop and the shop assistant asked me, 'Where are you planning to put your daughter in school?' I was thinking about *hoikuen* [public Japanese preschool], but the lady said, 'Why don't you think about an international school for her?' And I asked her why she would ask that, because we are a Japanese family... She then said there would be no problem if we understood English and could read an English letter or have a conversation with the teachers. And from that point, I started to think about it.

Also at that time, my husband and I weren't satisfied about Japanese education. The system has not been consistently the same, it is constantly changing which can be good, but always following... seems to be modelling the 'American' system. *Following American education.* As you know, Japanese maths and science, numeracy was the highest in the world, but now I don't think so. The Japanese Government or educational experts have created stress. Schools have become less academic. It seems to always be changing. There are no strong educational policies. Of course bullying is everywhere, even the United Kingdom (UK) and Australia, but we couldn't seem to find a good enough Japanese school.

The area I live is very central Tokyo and the people are very Japanese. They are always thinking about examinations and tests. Education is such a competition here and I don't like it. Parents in this area send their children to a school after school. They stay at the normal school until 3.00pm and then they go to another school from 4.00pm and some students even go to a third school from 8.00-10.00pm. And as you can see on the trains, there are students in their uniforms, going home alone after 10.00pm or 10.30pm. That is not good.

Japanese school here is free. I have a friend who didn't want to send her daughter to *juku* [cram school] which you have to pay for. She said she had to, because everyone did. There was great pressure. And there were no children to play with her child. Everyone was busy. Then at the school everyone asks everyone, 'Why don't you go to that school? What are you doing?' She didn't want to send her daughter there.

My husband and I both agreed about sending our daughter to an international school. There was no arguing in the beginning. At the beginning of this decision there were no problems with

anyone in the family. My daughter then moved to England with me when she was three years and we have been back and forth, back and forth, several months of the year. My daughter's summer school holidays are usually from about June to September and we would go to England and stay there the whole time. We did that from the time she was three years and have done so for seven years. Sometimes when we returned to Tokyo, my daughter would forget how to speak Japanese even with her daddy.

When it got to the stage where she couldn't have a good conversation with her grandma and all my sisters, her aunties... My eldest sister loves English and she was very good. She is an open-minded person. She realised that my daughter was speaking English, not merely learning English... The second eldest sister has always been jealous of me. My daughter cannot speak fluent Japanese and that gives this sister more reason to be nasty. That sister would say, 'She can't speak Japanese. That's not Japanese. Why can't she speak Japanese? It's your fault! Why don't you teach her?' My mum was living with that sister and so she was a huge influence. She was very accepting through the years, but she was becoming saddened and thinking *I can't speak Japanese with my grandchild.* She was becoming more like that from the time my daughter reached seven years old.

My situation, I think, is rather rare. *Very rare.* No one has heard about a situation like ours. It may be difficult to understand our lives, but I don't care what other people think. My friend has a house in Hampshire England and she said she had room for both my daughter and I.

When my daughter was attending preschool, I was having difficulties with some Japanese parents. Even in the international school, Japanese mothers in Tokyo are very particular people. They can be elitist and snobby. They choose an international school for the status. With my family, that was not the case. We chose the school because the style fitted my daughter's character. There was a really big gap between me and bicultural mothers; those married to a foreigner. I can't say everyone, but the people I am referring to. They are not Western themselves, but they might think *My husband has blue eyes.* When I tried to avoid these mothers, they became mean to me. They were thinking I was strange.

There was one occasion... My daughter's English is a native speaker's level and she has no accent. Her tone is native. Even the Headmistress of her preschool, who was from [place name] said that my daughter's English was perfect, not like other Japanese children. She is different in that way. I don't know why, but her friends by chance, have always been native English speakers and naturally through her friendships, I developed friendships with their mothers, who are also native English speakers. Japanese mothers became horrible to people. One of the foreign mothers

realised my situation and said to me, 'You must come to England'. She said, 'You need to escape from Japan'. This lady accepted us, one month, two months, three months, every year, no problem.

My husband stayed in Japan. He is a freelance worker and cannot afford to leave for several months at a time. I am freelance too, but I have different conditions. I have private clients and make pocket money. There are no major tax implications. He was OK. The first time he was very pleased, because he knew what I was going through. All those horrible happenings. He said, 'You should go. Her offer is great'. The second and third times were OK too, but then his job starting to take a down turn. It was getting bad. A difficult and hard time began. We had no money... His situation has continued to have an effect on the family, in trying to pay the school fees and all that...

After the horrible preschool, I left for England for the summer and when I came back I needed to find a new school. My daughter attended a lovely preschool in the UK, but we had to come back. When we arrived back in Tokyo, I needed to search for a new school for her. I wanted to apply to [School-27], but they said they couldn't accept her because she was a little old for that school.

They noticed however, that our speaking was very British and my daughter's accent and her expressions were also very British, so they suggested [School-24] that had an English woman as a Director. One Director then rang the other Director and even though my daughter was a little older, she said to come over to [School-24] so she could meet us. I was happy. The Director said that my daughter could call her 'Aunty' and although she was a little older, she was immediately accepted. Of course there were no problems with her English. My daughter attended [School-24] for a while - about one year. It was wonderful. Perfect. Parents were nice. Good academics. My daughter was very happy and I was very happy too! We had lots of friends there.

My daughter's class teacher went to [School-2] herself, then went to America and did her university in New York and then returned here. Her father is Swiss and her mother Japanese. She recommended [School-2] and said that there may be some scholarships and if we wanted we should try. My daughter's best friend's mother took me to [School-2] and we took lots of documents and recommendations.

We met with the Director of Admissions and she was horrible. She folded my documents and started looking down. She asked me, 'Why have you chosen this school? Why don't you go to a Japanese school? You and your husband are Japanese! What is your husband's job?' She then made a really rude comment. 'You started your daughter's education in an international

environment - that's a 'dream' isn't it?' *Dream. Dream. It was not a dream. It was our life! Real life.* She then said, 'Well, I can introduce you to other schools'. I asked her to 'Please see this document. It is a recommendation'. We even had my daughter's work samples. Her writing was wonderful. At six years, she was writing so much and it was a good standard. But the Director didn't see it. After the interview I was crying and the other mother was crying too. And this mother apologised to me and said that the Director woman had been a horrible person to her too.

We returned to [School-24] and I asked for help. My daughter needed to go to school. So I was asking for help to find a suitable school. *Which school is better?* Then someone suggested [School-9], which is a little more country. Out from *Ikebukuro* station [place name], not too far from here. It is a cheaper school, because it is run by missionaries. It is a very difficult school to get in and I asked this lady, how then will it be possible to get my daughter in? But because she was attending [School-24] it would be allowed. The Director of [School-24] didn't actually recommend that school, but my daughter's teacher completed the forms and recommendations and we sent it off. *No answer. I was so surprised. Nothing.* Finally an answer came either to [School-24] or us, and it said there was no space. So anyway, they said there was no space for non-Christians. I couldn't understand, because we visited that school and went on the school tour. *Why we would do all that if there was no space for non-Christians?*

No [School-2], no [School-9] - We have no money... *What can you do?* I was thinking we needed to try a Japanese school, but *How would she maintain her English language?* The Director of [School-24] said that I could speak with my daughter in English all the time and that she would be capable of keeping her English level. *Something like that...* But let's try [School-7] even though there is a long wait-list… We even tried [School-25]. Some people recommended it and some didn't. My daughter's class teacher did not recommend it, because she knew my daughter's character very well. All her friends were native English speakers and she never played with Japanese children, because her communicative level was native.

People tend to think that if you put children all together they will play, but I think that children will find other children who have the same language abilities. That's why Japanese children always find other Japanese children. [School-25] has more non-native English speakers... *Many.* So the teacher thought my daughter wouldn't be happy. She said, 'May be [School-23] would be more acceptable?' Someone also recommended [School-28]. Yes, it is far, but the facilities are brilliant. Great education. They have all the year levels, so my daughter could stay from now until the end. So the Director of [School-24] then gave us a recommendation for [School-28]. So we applied to [School-23] and [School-28].

My daughter had an interview with [School-23] two days before [School-24] graduation. I left my daughter at the school, they didn't really need to interview me, but I ended up having a conversation with the Director/owner of that school and he was lovely. My daughter came out of the session and it all sounded good, but they said to wait until tomorrow for a formal response. When we arrived home, my daughter had a really high fever and I was wondering what had happened. May be she was more nervous than we realised. The follow day we got an answer – Yes. And then the following day after that we her graduation and the Director of [School-24] announced, 'This student is going to this school... This student is going to that school...' She could now announce that my daughter would be going to [School-23]. There was only one student who had no decision.

Then we went to the UK and while we were away, my husband got a letter from [School-28]. That school accepted my daughter as well. So then I contacted the Director of [School-24] and asked her which school was better. I needed to decide. She said that if [School-23] accepted we should go there, because even though she highly recommended [School-28], it was really far. About one hour to and from the school each day. *Every day. Really tiring.* May be if no other school had accepted her, [School-28] would have been perfect, but... We were so happy for one year. The parents were great. My husband was so happy, because the Principal's attitude was really good. Everybody was 'equal'. My husband doesn't speak much English, he can understand, but he doesn't speak a lot. The Director tried to speak to my husband as an equal.

With the uniform, it was all normal stuff. *Nothing fancy. Nothing posh.* All normal people too. Yes, there are many American people, but it is not an American school. It is very international. I felt that the only problem was the curriculum. There was no music and no art until the 2nd Grade. I think that is the most important thing. My husband and I are arty people and we wanted to see that more than anything, especially... When children are little it is so important. I spoke to the Director about that. He has a very open mind. He doesn't just listen, he actions things.

And the other thing, the Japanese lessons were horrible. My daughter is Japanese, but her second language is Japanese. She doesn't understand it, but they always put her in the 'Advance' class. It was so stressful for her. She would bring her homework home and I didn't like it. I believe that the school needs to teach first. I don't want to be teaching her things at home. At home I believe I can support that learning - that is my policy. My daughter would bring *Kanji* [3rd Japanese alphabet, Chinese characters] and she would forget what they represented, so I would have to teach her. I told my daughter to be honest and take it back to the teacher and tell her the situation. The teacher was not happy. She would say to my daughter, 'You are acting like a kindergarten

child, may be you should go back to kindergarten'. Finally, the Japanese class had a test, may be once a week actually, and the teacher said to her, 'Just copy. Copy the writing'. *But that's not studying! I* told my daughter not to do that. I asked her, 'Do you know what you are writing?' She said, 'No'. I went to the school and I spoke with the Principal and I explained the situation. I said, 'Please put her in a middle Japanese class'. They said, 'Japanese people must go into the Advance classes.

So, art and music was often considered extra and we needed to pay extra, like a club. If people had money, OK no problem, but if you didn't have money, the regular lessons did not have art and music. Sometimes I would go to the school to help out, like sport time... Music time was horrible actually. He was still in university and his teaching style wasn't good. They had Japanese for three days a week and no art and music.

I asked the Director to think about changing it to Japanese twice a week and more art... or something. The Director's wife is Japanese and she is very good. She is involved in the Japanese Government as a Minister.

I speak to my daughter of course in English. My husband and I speak Japanese to each other. My husband speaks Japanese or English to my daughter. Sometimes he speaks Japanese and sometimes he speaks English. Not a mixture. She has only responded in English for about the last two years. Not a mix. *I don't like mixing.* For many years she could not understand when my husband and I would talk. We could have had lots of secrets. When I spoke Japanese to someone, she couldn't understand. *But now...*

There was a time last year when we went to the park and the other children said to her, 'Don't come here, you are American!' Everyone seems to think that if you are English-speaking, you must be American. Like when you get a taxi and the taxi driver will ask 'Are you American?' So then, my daughter didn't want to go to the park anymore. She was a child herself. But she told them. 'This park is my park too!' And so the first time last year, when we weren't going back the UK, she asked me if she could go to Japanese school instead. 'Are you sure?' I was so surprised. She had a friend at school who was going to go to Japanese school for a couple of weeks and because I didn't know how to apply, I asked her to ask him about the program. So she went for eight days. She still doesn't have so many Japanese friends, but it is getting better and she is trying to communicate with them...

Occasionally my daughter did not want to go to [School-23]. I asked her, 'Why? Why? Why?' She said, 'Because I have no special friends, I hate Japanese lessons, I don't want to go'. That

was terrible. By chance, coincidentally, we had forgotten about the [School-7] application. They phoned us and left a message that they wanted to do an assessment on her. So we went to the school and my daughter immediately said, 'Mummy, I feel free'. *Free?* May be she felt more familiar and she said that she could do anything. It was very busy. At [School-23] she wanted to join her letters for example and the teacher said 'No, you are not allowed. I think she was given more challenges and she liked the style at [School-7].

At the moment, the teachers at [School-7] are terrible, but I don't know why. The children really love it. If the students want a challenge, [School-7] provides that, but [School-23] couldn't. The day my daughter visited the school was excellent, because she was able to see science and art, some art... It was only three hours, but she loved it. 'If I wanted to do something the teacher said I could'. But then I was freaking about the fees. We had to pay the administration fees again. We had just paid that at [School-23] and it is a one-time expensive payment. One year later... My husband and I argued, but we were thinking that we only have one child... I spoke with another friend and she thought that [School-7] was the best school in Tokyo at that time. She told us to not think about it, just do it.

When my daughter transferred over, she was placed in Year 3. She didn't seem to have learnt enough at [School-23] and she had to jump into Year 3. Mathematics was not enough at [School-23]. Timetables were OK, but other things, no... [School-7] is extending to Year 11 and if we are still here in Tokyo, I have done some research on the internet. There are several schools here that accept English speakers. She will need to do an entrance exam, but it is English only. *I think so. I can't say I'm not worried...*

My husband attended an amazing high school, which had a really high level, and he dropped out towards the end. He lost his way. He didn't know what he wanted to do. He quit and found a job. He then decided he wanted to become a designer and attended schooling so he could do that. At the same time, he decided that he wanted to sit the examination to graduate high school and he was able to pass. He is now able to attend university and he passed the examination himself. We feel that if our daughter wants to go to university she can do anything she wants. Of course, her basic academics is very important, until Year 11, and after that, then we will look for other options. If we had money... there would be more choice. At the moment we are struggling financially, so at the moment we are more worried about money. We have no doubt, she will be fine.

END

Group Two: Japanese intercultural family

I met my wife in Japan about eight years ago. Eight and a half years ago. I was here as part of an executive training program. It was a European Union (EU) sponsored program and sponsored by the company as well. That is one of the criteria for being on the program, so the EU send over about 40-50 young business people, so learn the Japanese language, Japanese culture and business - all that kind of stuff. And the proviso is that your company has to sponsor you as well and give you a job when you're finished. You are given time out of your work to come and study in Japan and then you are given a position that would use those skills. So I came over and met my wife almost one month of being in Japan and a year and a half later we got married.

The program was for a year and a half. I came to Japan in January and met my wife a few weeks later. Started dating her a month or so after that and towards the end of the program we got married. They negotiated a job for me in Japan, so I didn't need to go back. I wanted to stay here. Being an Englishman, we are pathetic at picking up languages and I knew that if I went back to the United Kingdom (UK), within a week I would have forgotten the language. I thought I needed to stay here and continue to practice my Japanese. Try to get it to a good level. Eight years later I am still trying to do that!

One of the reasons we got married is because I wanted a family. I wanted a big family. *Well, there are several reasons, but that is one of the main ones.* When it came to the end of the program, I knew I wanted to stay in Japan and she was happy to stay here in Japan or move to the UK. She had been there before, only on home stay for a few weeks. She wanted to live in the UK, but she was happy either way. We were very easy. I wanted to stay in Japan. If there was nothing here, I would've gone back. The real issue was trying to find a job in the company.

My wife was pretty good at English at that time. Obviously over the eight years her English has gone down. Her English is worse. She's just not practicing. We will speak to each other in the evening when I come home from work of course, but not overly long conversations. She was studying quite intensely at the time and working for an [international] bank, so English was always being used. We communicate in English, but at the time, her English was really good. Well, the situation is that I try to speak in Japanese and she says, 'What did you say?' and then, I tell her what I tried to say in English.

I have a daughter who is three and a half years old. I speak to my daughter in English and my wife speaks to her in Japanese. When I speak to her [my daughter] in Japanese, my wife always

tells me off. She will tell me, 'You need to speak in English'. My daughter will ignore us in any language we speak…she seems to be at that age…

My wife does a lot of research into this kind of thing. We originally sent our daughter to a Montessori school, which I have now labelled as 'Monte-Sorry'. The school we sent her, they restricted her hours because of her Down's Syndrome (DS). The school said, 'Well we can't look after her, she needs to come in later and leave earlier'. And I was thinking, *Hold on a second, the whole idea of schooling and children, is allowing them to interact with their peers.* They really need to be there from the beginning to the end. We thought *This is no good for her...*

We tried it for a year and a half. Actually, it was a lot worse to begin with. She was only allowed to attend for a couple of hours and then over time, they said they would increase it to a couple more hours. It still wasn't... My daughter is different, and then she was made to be even more different by coming in later. They were reinforcing that negative... effectively labelling DS. Not many people know about DS and what they don't realise is that these children thrive just as well as other kids, but they need that interaction with other kids. Yes, they are slower... My daughter is talking and babbling in Japanese and English, in her own language, the words are not so well developed, but she is really trying. Singing, dancing, laughing...

My wife was doing some research and found a *hoikuen* [Japanese public preschool] in [place name] and we applied for it at the local ward office and we got her in. She is there the full hours. From 9.00am-4.30pm, a full day so my wife can work. My wife can work now...

I don't know if you know with, but there is a point system with *hoikuen,* or government-run nurseries. It is a catch-22 situation. You need to be working to get the points to get you kid in, but you need the kid in nursery so that you can work. *So how is it possible to work if your kid in not in nursery?* It is one of those crazy things. There are other points you can get through other ways... So if you are unemployed, you are home all day and can look after your kids.

As it turned out the Montessori school charged about ¥30,000/month and we had to pay for registration and the government *hoikuen,* is about ¥1,000/week and she gets meals... and she gets looked after... and my wife can work. *So we have fallen on our feet.*

Our daughter loves it there. She's always playing. She comes home full of energy and so much happier. We saw pictures of her at the Montessori school compared with now, and she looks so stressed out. I think my wife has done an excellent job to find the right path for our daughter. My daughter is three and a half years now and she can stay there until she is at least five years old.

I let my wife do all the work. I am pretty terrible father in that respect. I trust her and I know that she knows my daughter better than anybody. She knows my daughter. The doctors can say things, the teachers can say things, but my wife knows my daughter so well. She knows what's best for her. Things I don't notice, my wife will pick up on. Things my daughter says she knows exactly what she is saying. Me, I have some trouble picking up the words. *The best person to look after my daughter is my wife!*

I am always asking how my daughter was at school today. *Is everything OK? Is she happy?* And in the mornings I take my daughter to the school, so I drop her off and go to work and my wife picks her up. I get to see her and interact with her, see how she is with the teachers.

We actually had a gap between the Montessori school and the *hoikuen*. The Montessori had finished the term and the new term was about to start, but there were a couple of weeks where the *hoikuen* started earlier, so then we could test to see whether our daughter liked it. And we found that she loved it. So we then postponed starting the Montessori school by a term to give us a few more months to determine how she was and we could take her back to the Montessori school if she didn't like the new one. We didn't have to keep paying which was great.

With my wife, yes, they weren't doing the right thing by my daughter, but there was also the interaction with the other mothers. She had friends there and the other children loved my daughter and were friends with my wife. My daughter's situation, having DS and being half *gaijin* [foreigner] made her special and everyone knew that. When she would turn up to school everyone would be really happy and I am sure that that made my daughter feel part of the group. My wife has tried to maintain those friends. Forget the school, the teachers... the friendships with the other mothers is still there.

The school wondered what happened to my daughter. I am sure the school said something that would help them to keep their face. But obviously my wife had to tell them, 'It's a good school, but we found a better school'. I don't know what she said, but I am sure it was very polite. Very diplomatic.

Hoikuen isn't formal education, so in that respect it's pretty good. She's got someone there who, I think is focused on her so that helps. Being disabled the Japanese Government pays for that. The teachers seem to have one eye on my daughter and the other eye on the other children. And there are other teachers watching all of them. It is well staffed. There are lots of games, they have a pool... *If you ever have kids, you should put them into hoikuen, a government one.*

The good points include, she can be there from an early age to about five years. She's got lots of kids to play with. They interact with the community. They had a bit of a parade, a summer *matsuri* [festival], it was the [place name] festival all the companies and schools come together and they dance and stuff. My daughter's *hoikuen* was involved with that and they always are. She is involved with the community, which is a wonderful attribute. The time really gives us more freedom. She's interacting with other kids, which is so important for their development in general. *I am not talking as an expert...* There is always a good and friendly atmosphere. When the kids have fights the teachers know how to handle it and these children's fights can be quite funny...

Everyone who knocks Japanese schooling is knocking the later years when it becomes like an army. *That is the impression I get.* Everyone is expected to so the same thing and if they are different they get slapped down. The preschool thing, the *hoikuen,* they are expected to play and have fun.

I think the bad thing is probably the bureaucracy. In terms of getting our daughter into the *hoikuen,* there's the point system and you need to have enough points... That's not just us, that's anyone Japanese or not. If you're busy, the more chance of getting in. And if you're a low wage earner, that helps as well. In my particular case, I have just been released from my place of employment, have been doing my own thing as a sole trader, doing the odd contract here and there, so my accountant got me a tax rebate and my salary was calculated at virtually nil, so that really helped.

I think the teachers are good. I haven't had any problems at all. They must be qualified. I will have to ask my wife about that. The only English the teachers know or hear is my greeting in the mornings, 'Hello, how are you?' That's the English. May be it's too early for them.

Our daughter is interacting with the other kids all the time. She's playing with them and they're playing with her. She seems to be getting along really well. She is not shy at all. Whereas before she would go up to another kid and slap them, she stopped doing that. That might be kids in general... The funny thing is, we were at this *matsuri* [festival] and another little kid came up and gave her a big sloppy kiss. We embarrassed the boy and said, 'Ahhh boyfriend and girlfriend?'

We have seen her learning through her dancing and her speech. Children with DS, one of the things you should focus on is their 'speech development' and she seems to be talking a lot more. She seems to be demanding her way. Generally, she is there with the other kids, learning from

them, learning from play, and we can see great development there. Whether it's the fact that she is just growing up or whether it's the professionals in the school... *I can't say.*

The real issue is *Do we stay here or go to another country?* I think the school at the moment, the level of support, really helps her. If we find that the next phase of her education is not really helping her, then we will move to another country. We will try it, but... The focus is on my family and the focus is on my daughter's development and I have no issues, no qualms, moving anywhere may be even Australia.

I think in terms of finding the next school, 'acceptability' and treating her 'normal' is essential. It is one of these things where (a) she's a foreigner and (b) she has DS. What we want is for her to be treated like the other kids. *You know?* Not to be singled out. I suppose play is easy, but when she has to focus, focus on lessons, there may be a bit of an issue there. We will come to that later. Hopefully that's not going to be an issue. But that is one of the big worries we have. Local would be better, but it's all a question of the quality of the school. I even wonder about getting a better job and sending her to [School-7] or some international school, but I am wondering... we had a bad experience at the Montessori school, which was a private school, if we sent her to another private school it might be just as bad... *We will see...* My wife goes on all the school tours. It is probably better if she goes because she speaks Japanese and she can ask them all the really difficult questions. *Whereas I just feel like a lemon.* My wife is there to ask all the hard questions.

Home? For my wife it's Tokyo. *For me...* We talk about this. My home is in the country and my wife's home is in the town - the city. We're going to have a bit of a problem when we retire. It will probably be one of those things where I will go off to the country and do my country things and she can stay in the town and do her town things [joking]. And our daughter will do her own things. *For me? I don't know?* I go back home sometimes to my hometown...

END

Group Three: Non-Japanese family

This is my third time to Japan and my husband and I have actually been here before. I taught English in *Kyoto* [place name] a very long time ago. My husband was working for a bank in London and they transferred him here. So, we came for two years, when my son was just a few months, while my middle daughter was born here.

We were here for two years and we didn't want to leave! But, my husband got a great job offer in New York and so we really tried hard to weigh the scales so that we could stay, but it simply did not make sense, as it was a better opportunity for him to move to New York. So we moved to New York, but from the day we arrived he told everyone that would listen that we wanted to move back to Tokyo. His boss who was based out of London had some great opportunities for him in there, but he didn't want to move anywhere except Tokyo.

Tokyo is great! It has everything that a city has to offer. And it's safe. It is amazing. My son who is 11 years, takes the subway by himself so that he can go and play ice hockey at the rink. My two daughters, six and nine years, walk to school by themselves…they can go to their friend's house…if I need something, say we run out of milk or eggs, I can give them money to go to the store. I don't have to worry about anything. Where can you have that kind of freedom and independence as a child, which they can have? And I love restaurants, museums - total 'city' living. I have the city and they have this great situation.

My husband is Zimbabwean and he has a British passport. We meet in New York and then he was transferred to London for close to five years. Thereafter he was transferred to Tokyo where we stayed for two years and then we returned to New York for two and a half years, finally to be transferred back to Tokyo where we have been for six years straight.

When we were in London, I was working full-time and my son was born just before we left. The job I had was in management consulting and I was travelling more than my husband. On the weekends I would fly back to London, or he would come to wherever I was, so we might meet in another destination. In fact, everything has happened at exactly the right time and I could not have planned things better. It worked out that way.

For some jobs, the men are running businesses whereby they have Asian responsibilities so there is the need for them to travel a lot. But I think banking is banking and so the jobs are more similar. My husband's job would pretty much be the same in New York, London or Tokyo. It is

the nature of his job, but it also the way he is. He could do more in terms of wining and dining clients, and various dinners, but he only does what he has to a couple nights a week…nor is he is on a plane all the time. He travels a couple days a month may be, but it is really not that bad. While I know other people where it can be truly hard on the marriage… We have been very lucky!

Because we had lived here before and I had my babies here, I had friends from whom I heard about one school. We only really applied to [School-17], but we also applied to [School-7] because my son has a British passport. We did not apply to [School-2] as it is a 45 minute bus ride and we did not want to do that; so basically that was it.

My husband's company was instrumental in making follow-up phone calls. We came to Tokyo for a 'look-see for an apartment', but we did not come for a 'look-see for schools', because I knew what I wanted and it was easier…

My daughter was three years old. I had heard about [School-24] and so we only applied there. I knew friends. I really didn't research it. Those were the two schools I heard about, that's where we applied and that's where they ended up going. Once we were here that's when we transferred my daughter to a local Japanese school which I think you really need to be here to do that.

At the moment, all my children attend three different schools and it has always been like that. It is not necessarily that I prefer that, but it just worked out that way. I chose what was best for each child at the time. I know some people where that would really bother them, but it doesn't bother me. Eventually they probably will go to the same school, but it depends on the needs of each child at the time and there was the opportunity to go to the Japanese school, which was so amazing. I couldn't pass that up. So that is why we are still in Tokyo at the moment, because Japanese schools do not end until this coming Friday. Japanese schools end later than international schools.

I cannot really evaluate my daughter's Japanese, but from what people say, her accent is excellent. We put her in Japanese schooling since she was four years old and now she is in the 4th Grade, so she is reading, writing and speaking Japanese. And, she has learnt all her subjects, mathematics, music and art, in the Japanese language. She has an English tutor twice a week, so we are doing English as a secondary thing. Her tutor is very good and really knows how to teach English, and so I believe she is at grade level. She will be starting [School-17] this summer even though I really want to keep her in the Japanese school.

People I have talked with who are educational specialists, for example a Speech Specialist, they recommended that she move in the 4th Grade, because that is the way international and Japanese school systems are structured, things start to change a lot. I am really torn, but considering the fact that they are the experts, I feel that I need to refer to that information. I know that they are basing that knowledge on real stuff, but it breaks my heart. In Japanese schools for example, the 4th Grade is when they start preparing for entrance exams for Japanese middle schools…

I do not believe that [School-17] is a bilingual school and I'm not sure why they call it that, but I believe that when it was founded it had one purpose and now it has something quite different. Now, for Japanese students who enter [School-17] they must learn in the English language as the language of instruction is English. Therefore, Japanese students become bilingual. *But foreign students do not become bilingual.* There is no other subject in Japanese besides Japanese language classes.

My daughter is going to be placed in the 'native' Japanese speaker's class. I think her Japanese will stay at a high level, but my son has attended [School-17] since kindergarten, hence six years, and he can hardly string a [Japanese] sentence together. He will ask his sister to help with his homework, but his thing is 'sports' so that is his main priority.

When it comes to have a serious 'sit-down' discussion about our children's education, my husband and I probably do that a couple times a year. If there is a transition period coming up or we are particularly happy or particularly unhappy then I think we do, but it is not every day. I think I am quite involved with my three kids. My youngest is in a private *youchien* [private Japanese kindergarten], and my middle child is in a local *shogakko* [public Japanese elementary school], and my son is in a private international school. I have done a lot of research into all the different schooling options. I think that my husband relies on me, but when we are considering changing schools for example, then we would sit down and think was is the best for the kids. As I stated before, that's perhaps several times a year.

I think there really aren't that many choices. I think there are international schools for 'international' kids and international schools for 'Japanese' kids. They are different. For example, my friend's daughter who went to the same school as my youngest daughter, she is Japanese and her husband is Canadian, put their daughter into the [School-8]. I told my friend that I never even knew about that school and she said that they call it [School-8] and they have a [national] curriculum, but I am not sure how many [national] teachers there are, and there are no [national] children! So, she will be learning in English, but taught potentially by non-native

English teachers with other non-native English students. So to me that school is not a real choice…to me that is no choice.

I honestly believe there is not that much choice. I believe the real international schools include: [School-17, School-12, School-2, School-7, School-20 and School-16]... and may be [School-21], which is a new school. And perhaps [School-22], but which I would not really consider. There are essentially seven schools. It would be an interesting list to see how many international schools are registered with the Ministry and how many are truly what I would consider to be 'international'.

I think that for both of my daughters, the fact that they are in Japanese schools – that's irreplaceable! I think the Japanese school system changes. I know it changes…and I can see big differences between the Japanese schools and [School-17]. But for the younger ages, Japanese schooling is so child focused. The school days are different lengths depending on whether you are 1st Grade, 2nd Grade, 3rd Grade etc. The art program is phenomenal as well as the music program.

We just bought a piano and my daughter can play the piano from what she has learnt at school! They have an instrument called the *pianca* [Japanese children's instrument] as well as recorders. She was watching a friend. She figured out some songs, but it is entirely from what she got at school. She has never had any private lessons. The early years are wonderful, but I definitely think it changes…

And my daughter is very lucky too in that she had an amazing teacher for two years who was a great teacher anywhere you find them. She was an extraordinary woman who loved…she brought fun into the classroom and made learning wonderfully exciting; all the stuff you really want. I can see how the system can be difficult. There are 32 kids in the class, which is a lot of kids! And yet, we can take stuff into school like old styrofoam cups and empty tissues boxes and they come home with a giraffe. It is absolutely amazing what they make things out of! Something out of nothing – all from junk. I still have from four years ago this castle that my daughter made which was constructed from three bottles and play dough!

I cannot compare educational systems, because we were not in an elementary school in the US, and I am not claiming that the US is the best. But when we were living in [US place name] and we were applying to all these private schools, at the end of the day, they choose you. They have so many applicants that the choice is up to them, in terms of who they are going to accept or not. I think there is real competition. I think those schools have to be really good. And here, *I don't*

really know if they are the best to be honest? There seems to be no real competition among the schools in Tokyo. It is a market like any other market and they should be competing on some level.

If you want an American curriculum you go to the [School-2], if you want an IB program you go to [School-19], if you want a girls' school you go to [School-20]. If you want this, that is where you go… So the schools in Tokyo don't really have to be so competitive.

I feel that at [School-17] for example, we have had a disproportion number of not-so-good teachers. My son has had some great teachers, but if I think that [School-17] is a 'private' school and I do think of it as an elite private school which is exactly what we would be applying to in New York, I would expect to have the best teachers. But they are average. I think there are some great teachers at [School-17], but way less than what I would expect. There is no nice way of saying that.

In terms of the environment, Tokyo is a trade-off. The past couple of years, money raised by parents has gone to building playgrounds and playing fields on the roof. Right! It is real urban living. But everyone lives or at least most, within five minutes of the school. After school, you can just go to someone's house and play.

My son plays ice hockey, basketball, baseball…he plays all the sports, but swimming is his least favourite. [School-17] doesn't really start school team sports until the middle school. So the only sport he has been doing for the school has been netball. *Yes, co-ed netball.* One of the teachers has been heavily involved. It is funny…they have a huge netball tournament with [School-7] and other international schools. He has been playing netball since the 3rd Grade and he is now in the 5th Grade. *They all love it! Really love it! And it's co-ed!* Every year [School-17] enters two teams into the major tournament and every year both teams reach the finals - the two [School-17] teams end up in the finals against each other!

But with ice hockey he competes with a Tokyo team, and he does other sports through the Tokyo-America Club (TAC) where he competes against other teams. Once again, [School-17] does not offer school team sports until the middle school.

How do I evaluate their education? That is the million dollar question? You don't really know how well they are doing compared with New York. I had a meeting with the Headmaster of [School-17] a couple weeks ago, because they conduct these tests, which is an American-based exam, and those exams are really important in American schools. When we applied to private

schools back home for my son when he was in kindergarten and four years old, basically it is a type of IQ test, and then they continue to test them each year…

That is the way that parents can evaluate the progress of their children. When I received my son's results, I went to meet his teacher to go through sections of his paper and in a couple of those sections the teacher responded, 'We do not teach to the exam'. Then I went to the Headmaster and said, 'It strikes me as rather odd' because this is an expatriate school where people come and go, and one year there was a mass exodus.

I am not implying that they should totally teach to the exam. Indeed those tests are based on a curriculum and if that curriculum is seen as a 'good' curriculum…if [School-17] feels that that curriculum is not good then that is fine, but I would like to know why? For a few good friends, these exams are so important. Those exams are a key part of their application and as it turns out, some people have missed out on their first-choice schools!

A school like [School-17] needs to go with a curriculum that is recognised, to whoever they are gearing towards. If they are gearing towards the US…if they are gearing towards the UK…wherever they are gearing towards needs to be made explicit. I believe [School-17] is catering towards America. I feel they are doing a disservice to the students... They should also be able to ascertain for themselves, *How does [School-17] compare to private schools in America? Or an American typical independent school?* I think they know, but they are not sharing that information with the parents. So, I had a long meeting with the Headmaster about this issue. I don't know if anything is going to change. The Parent Teacher Association (PTA) has a lot of other issues, but they also brought it up.

I think at [School-17] for example, they do a lot about fostering independence. Starting in the 4th Grade, they do a couple of overnight trips. For some kids that is really challenging as they have never been away from their parents. I think that is something that [School-17] really seeks to do.

My daughters can't see it now, but when they are older they will say to themselves, 'I integrated, at some level, into a very difficult society'. I think my daughters are learning to pick up social cues and the way you behave across different cultures by attended Japanese schools.

However, my daughter who is in the 4th Grade has never done an independent research project, whereas someone her age attending [School-17] would be doing independent research projects all the time. She does do some public speaking in school, but it is different. It is more reciting something they have memorised. It is not something like *Task -> Pick your hero and tell the*

class why you admire them? They are getting some public speaking, but it is very different. It is memorised and rehearsed.

I hope we remain in Tokyo for a while. We have no plans. Since we have been in Tokyo this time, my husband has changed jobs twice. Banking is different. If companies were highly successful, then they would need less and less expats, eventually having one or none. But banking is not like that. He will always be needed. There are certain jobs like that where they will need foreigners here. *I am not sure why?* It is common where people in banking will change jobs, from one bank to another, but everything stays the same. Whereas you don't see that in manufacturing or marketing. We would definitely like to stay.

Unless I discovered that my children's education was low, then that would be another issue. *That would pose a big question.* But I also believe that you can supplement. School is academic, but it is also a lot of different things. The kinds of experience they have here, the independence, the kinds of people that they meet, all the exposure that they have… And really the self-reliance that they have must weigh against the academic. 'Academics' is one thing, but there are other things. I think if you are intelligent then you have the ability to learn the material. If they [the children] needed to sit an exam, then they could get a tutor… yet there are other things that you can't get.

I am American and my husband has a British passport and grew up in Zimbabwe and so there is no obvious place that we would say, 'This is home', such that we would have to go back. My parents are in America and my mother-in-law who was living in [country name] moved to [country name] a month ago. We don't have a house. We have friends in lots of places. *We are home in Tokyo.*

END

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