

# Internationalization of Japanese Children Overseas: Literature Analysis

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## 海外子女の国際化を巡って —文献分析—

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### Abstract

It has now been over 20 years that Japanese children in significant numbers have been educated overseas. The research about this issue has also accumulated, particularly among the people in cross-cultural education. However, the literature analysis of this research has just started recently. Thus, it is now time to study this body of research thoroughly. In this paper, all documents were divided into six groups according to the writers' backgrounds: governmental departments, industrial circles, educators dispatched overseas, children who have been overseas, their parents, and researchers of cross-cultural education. "The structure of knowing" was used as methodology when analyzing the documents. One of the results of this research analysis revealed that a gap exists between the image and the reality of Japanese children educated abroad. Furthermore, the analysis revealed the ways the images of Japanese children overseas were formed by the concerned parties.

**Key words:** Education for the children overseas, Literature analysis, Structure of knowing

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### 抄 録

戦後における海外子女教育の歴史も20年を越えるようになり、今はその見直しの時だとの声最近在よく聞かれる。同問題に対する研究も異文化間教育学会を中心に相当の蓄積がなされている。しかし、同問題におけるリタレチャー（文献）の研究は、まさに途に就いたばかりである。ある意味では、現在に至ってやっと、それが可能になったと言うべきかも知れない。本研究では、6つのパーティーからなる海外子女を巡る文献を、知識社会学の援用によって分析するものである。6つのパーティーとは、行政、経済界、教師、親（父親・母親）、研究者そして、子供達自身である。同時に、海外・帰国子女像が現実とどう乖離し、かつイメージ化が図られたかという、「知の構造」にまで考察できればと考えている。

キーワード：海外子女教育、文献分析、知の構造

(1995年8月25日 受理)

## 1. INTRODUCTION

The steady increase which has built up since 1970's of Japanese temporary residents overseas, has shown no sign of slowing down in the last few years. (According to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, those, who are overseas for more than three months, are officially classified as overseas residents.) In 1977, the number of these residents was just less than 200,000 and this has increased to more than 500,000 in 1993. The rate of increase has remained constant at about 20% a year (Gaimusho Ryoji-Iju-Seisaku-ka, 1993). It is expected that the overall population of Japanese taking up overseas residencies will continue to climb in future years – especially as Japanese businesses continue their global expansion (Monbusho Kyoiku Joseikyoku, 1989).

The number of Kaigaishijo (Japanese children overseas) has subsequently increased from 19,489 in 1979 to 47,118 in 1989 (ibid). However, this number only includes the children in primary and junior high schools. Most of these students are the children of employees of a company which has expanded into foreign countries. The average length of their stay overseas is about 3 or 4 years, although it may vary depending on: the countries in which they relocate; the nature of the particular company, for example trading, manufacturing etc; and the actual position held within the company. Lately these combined areas of business

expansion and larger number of temporary overseas residents has seen an increase in the Kaigaishijo and Kikokushijo (returnees) Kyoiku problem. Issues associated with the problem currently receive wide coverage in the mass communication media.

Their problems, particularly those of the students, start when they have to live in foreign countries where to varying degrees the climate, culture, language and customs are different from those in Japan. Presently there are 84 full-day Japanese schools and 136 so-called weekend schools throughout the world. Both types of schools attract 40% of the total overseas student population of 47,118. The remaining 20% attend local schools. Although it is said that some Japanese children spend their time entirely in the Japanese schools and local Japanese communities (Mainichi Shinbunsha, 1984), living overseas and the accompanying culture shock must be one of the most significant events in the lives of the children and their parents. Furthermore, both schools and society (in Japan) can be thought of as enclaves; and to be separated from the intense competition which is an integral part of both systems leads many to fear that they will not be able to re-enter these enclaves. The famous "entrance exam hell" is an excellent example of this. This problem, referred to as the Kikokushijo problem, has in turn created a second culture shock for Japanese settling overseas; and it is this "second wave" problem which has become

an important concern in Japan.

Basically there are two different tasks faced by Japanese children and their families overseas (Efuchi, 1982). The first of them is of course to maintain and develop academic standards equivalent to those of Japanese children in Japan, and at the same time to keep their identity as Japanese people in order to make their re-adjustment as smooth as possible when they return to Japan. The primary concern when establishing any kind of Japanese school overseas should be to enhance this process. The nature of training for overseas teachers by government; the provision of correspondence materials for the children overseas; extensive research into the development of learning materials particularly for those Japanese schools whose circumstances vary markedly from those in Japan and famous special supplementary schools called "Juku" and computer-analyzed exams run by private education companies are all steps which have been undertaken in pursuit of this ideal.

On the other hand, especially from the industrial and government levels, there is an expectation for the Kaigaishijo and Kikokushijo to become human resources who know and understand the other culture and language. Also it is natural if the parents of some of these children wish to give them experiences which they are unable to provide for their children in Japan. Now the word "internationalization" is said everywhere, everyday in

Japan. The usage and concept of that word are still under debate. However, it can be said that the second purpose of the education of Japanese children overseas is to assist them to become truly "internationalized".

In 1989, research was undertaken into these two different goals for education of Japanese children overseas (Mabuchi, 1989). It was suggested that a trade-off relationship between these two goals existed. The children in Morwell in Australia were chosen as the sample group for the research. The Japanese children spend half of their school day in the Japanese school and the rest of the day in the local Australian school. The extent and nature of their friendship networks between the Australian and the Japanese children were examined and the effective variables for these friendship networks were studied. The results show that the length of time and the way in which the physical setting is structured, such as amount of time the children spend with their friend daily outside of the school and the length of their stay in Australia are far more important than the children's language competence and the children's and their parents' general views towards the society and the people of the host countries.

Many other documents based on research into the problems of educating Japanese students overseas have already been published (Tokyo Gakugeidaigaku Kaigaishijo Kyoiku Centre, 1990). Examining these documents and looking at the

types of people who have undertaken the research and the variables which they have used, must be very useful and valuable before undertaking any further research.

The paper focuses on the following issues: to identify the concept of the internationalization of Japanese students studying overseas and the variables associated with this process; and to study the social backgrounds which lead the various authors to present their particular views.

## 2. METHODOLOGY

### 2.1 Classification of the documents

Although there are in total quite a few documents concerning the education of Japanese children overseas, some of them only deal with the management of the Japanese schools overseas whilst others focus solely on the development of materials for these schools, especially for the weekend schools, and do not consider the issue of the internationalization of Japanese children. Therefore documents have to be selected carefully and are classified into six different groups. The division is based on the relationship of the author to the education of the overseas children. The six groups are: teachers at overseas Japanese schools; students; parents; managers of the Japanese firms which operate overseas; academic researchers; and people from government departments such as Monbusho. Two documents written by journalists are also examined although they do not fall into these six cat-

egories.

The documents studied came from a number of sources. Those written by the teachers were taken from the reports of teachers who have just finished their three years overseas service, which are issued by the Centre for Education of Children overseas, Tokyo Gakugei University. In particular, these reports came from the chapter entitled "Education For The International Understanding". The childrens' documents are from the winning works of a competition organized by the Japan Overseas Education Services (J.O.E.S.). The parents' documents are drawn from the articles "Papa" and "Mama" in the J.O.E.S.'s monthly magazine. The forward of these J.O.E.S. magazines was the source of the documents by the managers of Japanese companies, and the researchers' documents are from the bulletin of the Centre for Education of Children Overseas, Tokyo Gakugei University No.1-No.4, which are the only current regular bulletins about this issue. Finally those documents from the government departments are selected from the booklets issued by Monbusho and J.O.E.S. In total, 68 documents were analyzed.

### 2.2 Data sheet

The documents were analyzed to determine the views of the authors about the internationalization of Japanese children overseas and the reasons for their holding these particular views. The data sheet which was developed to examine these

issues consists of three parts: Demographic data; Structure of Knowing; and Internationalism vs. Japanism.

#### A. Demographic Data

Demographic data is divided into two parts. The first part deals specifically with the author and includes, where possible: the author: ① name, ② gender, ③ age, ④ academic background, ⑤ occupation, and ⑥ category (i.e. which of the six previously outlined group of writers they belong to). Information about the documents themselves form the second part and includes: ⑦ the title, ⑧ year of publication, ⑨ publisher, ⑩ form (eg. essay, academic paper, book, etc.), and ⑪ target audience. These eleven items are used as the basic data.

#### B. Structure of Knowing

In the first section, two areas have been examined when analyzing the ideological background of the various writers. The first of these looks at the writers views on ethnicity. Some claim that assimilation into the local community overseas is an important goal of Japanese education overseas. Others consider that priority should be given to retaining the Japanese identity of the students. Some stand between these two extreme ideas or just say that both of them are important. The second area examined the writer's view about Japanese people and society in general. The writers mentioned ideas such as: being group orientated, un-

assertiveness, being homogeneous, lack of creativity, unwillingness to volunteer, narrow views, uniqueness, vertical society, not being independent and others. Points were awarded depending on the extent to which the writer emphasized these ideas. The more strongly the author stressed these ideas, the more points he/she was given.

I referred to numerous books and articles about the study of ethnicity and about the arguments concerning Japanology. These were listed in the reference. Of course some writers of the documents did not mention any of these things but such results are also counted as an important part of the data.

The second area in the Structure of Knowing relates to the methodology of each writer. The purpose of the writer, whether to present facts only, to propose some concrete action or to simply propose changes of attitude, was examined. Then the method of collecting the data was checked, to see if it came from: their own experience, the stories from other people; the mass-media such as newspapers; conducting surveys, or academic research.

The final area in this section is about the actual subject of the documents. It is divided into three subcategories. The first of them is the kind of school which the writer mentioned, i.e. full-day Japanese schools, weekend Japanese schools or only the local schools. Secondly, the ages of the children studied by the writers was divided into pre-primary, primary, junior

high and senior high school upward. Finally, whether or not the author wrote only about the children who were just sojourning, was examined. If the result was not clear in any cases, this was also recorded.

### C. Internationalism vs. Japanism

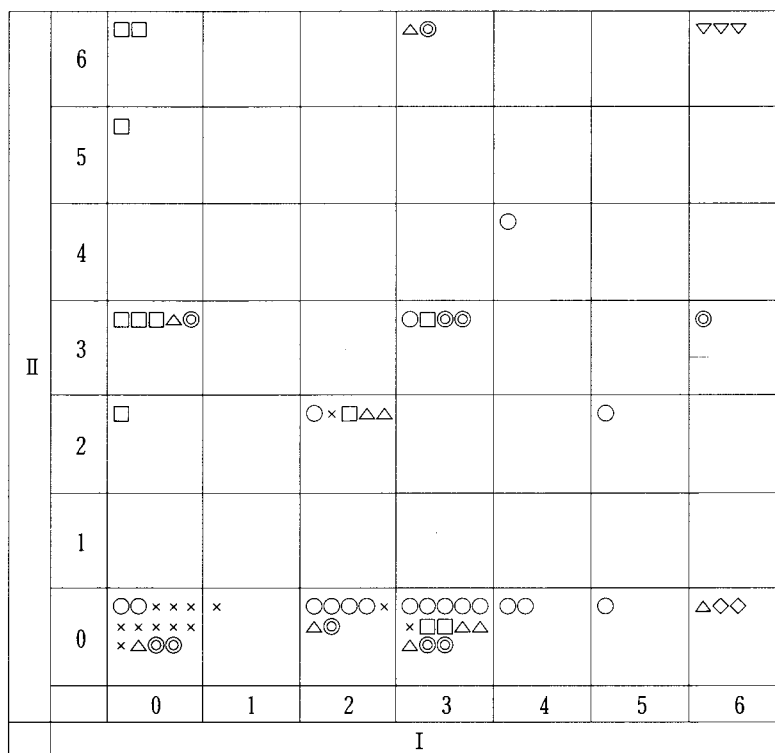
The third content area of the data sheet, which may be the most important area, is about the views of the writers regarding Internationalism and Japanism. The writers' responses to question 18 of the data sheet ("What is the most important thing for the children while they are overseas?") were divided according to three basic views. The first of these is the belief that Internationalism and mixing with the local community are more important than other outcomes. These two attitudes (internationalization and mixing with the locals) are not always regarded as being the same thing. For instance, there were some cases in which Japanese parents are keen to put their children into American schools, yet are reluctant to have contact with the locals where English is not the mother language of the host nation. However, the differences between so-called internationalization and mixing with the local people, will not be researched in detail in this paper. The second attitude is that it is most important to maintain the academic standard and Japanese identity of the students while they are overseas; and the third one is that learning the foreign language (although

only English is regarded as the foreign language in many cases) is the most important. These three different attitudes are labeled I, II, and III, and points were given according to the degree of importance the writer placed on each attitude. Then graphs I-II, II-III, and I-III were made in order to determine the correlation between these three views.

The next question looked at the variables which the writers considered important in order to achieve Internationalization and mixing with the local community. The variables listed in data sheet were determined prior to reading the documents. They are: friendship network, cultural exchange program between the Japanese school and other schools, language (English) ability, attitude of the parents, attitude of the Japanese school teachers, attitude and policy of the Japanese companies overseas, kinds of schools (full day, weekend etc.), age of the children while they were overseas, length of overseas stay, country where they stay, natural environment. Any other variables raised by the writers were also noted.

Finally the important variables for the maintenance of the academic standards and the Japanese identities of the students examined. Again the variables were pre-determined and are: increasing the number of and improving the facilities of Japanese schools overseas, quality of the teachers, development of the learning materials and program for the Japanese schools overseas, parents' attitude, the

GRAPH I-II



I : internationalism and mixing with the local community

II : maintaining the academic standard and Japanese identity of the students

- Teachers    × Students    □ Parents
- △ Executives of the Companies    ◎ Researchers
- ▽ Government Departments    ◇ Others

amount of information about education in Japan. Once more any other variables raised by the writers were also noted.

All results from the data sheet are classified into the six author groups outlined in Part 1 of the Methodology in order to establish the distinguishing characteristics of the authors. These findings are analyzed and discussed in the next chapter.

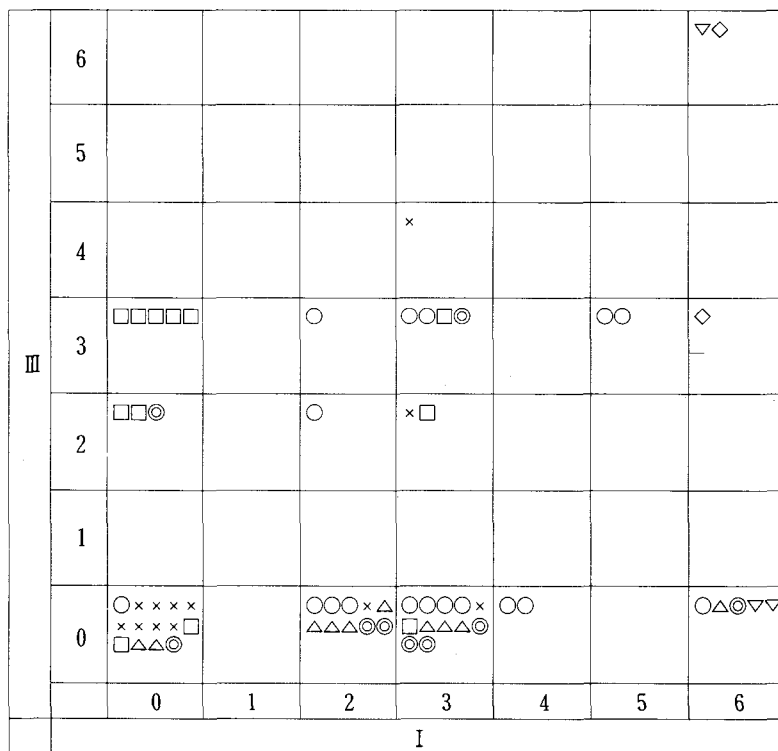
### 3. FINDINGS

#### 3.1 Different interest groups

Before entering into a detailed examination of the material, I will provide a brief description of the 6 groups of writers and some of the outcomes of my research.

The first group is the teachers. They are the people who so often use the word "internationalization" but when they are

GRAPH I-III



I : internationalism and mixing with the local community

III : learning foreign language

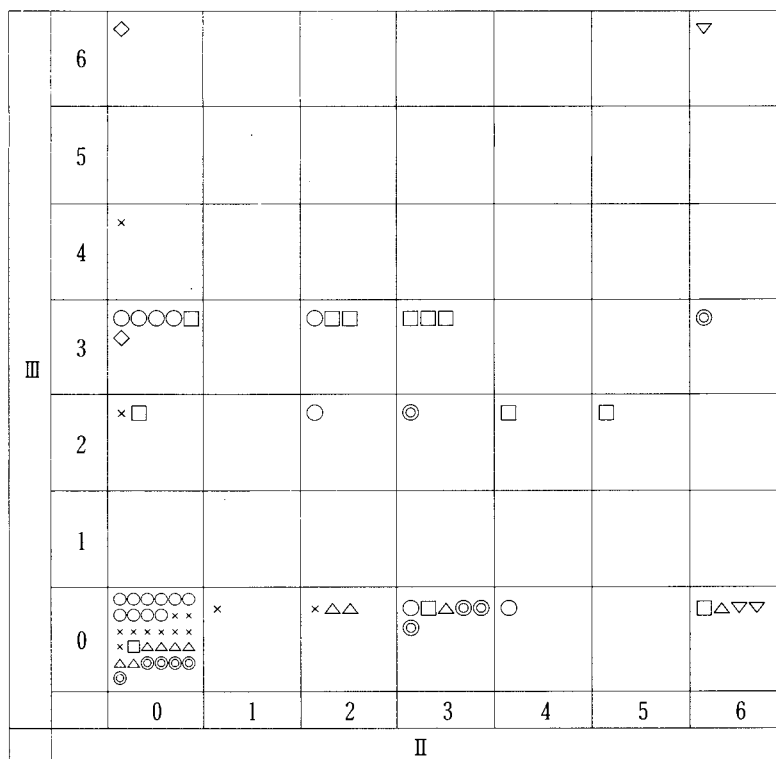
- Teachers    × Students    □ Parents
- △ Executives of the Companies    ◎ Researchers
- ▽ Government Departments    ◇ Others

asked how they can provide or achieve this for the Japanese children overseas, they simply rely on the programs in their schools. The teachers documents are based mainly on their own experiences but includes many proposals. Because most of the teachers are dispatched to full-day Japanese schools their reports also concentrate on these full-day Japanese schools.

Among the students' documents, quite a few were written by children who attend week-end schools. Issues raised by children from the full-day Japanese schools may not seem unusual to readers in Japan due to the similarity in the educational environment of these students and those back in Japan. The children overseas didn't use the word "internationalization" very often, but wrote from a much



GRAPH II-III



II : maintaining the academic standard and Japanese identity of the students

III : learning foreign language

- Teachers    × Students    □ Parents
- △ Executives of the Companies    ◎ Researchers
- ▽ Government Departments    ◇ Others

wider range of experiences than their teachers; especially mentioning friendship networks and activities outside of their schools.

The parent group provides the only documents about children who attend local schools or who are outside of the compulsory education system. As a whole, the parent group shared their anxieties openly and their works focused on

their concern for their children's academic standards. They also placed more emphasis on the importance of learning English, than any other group.

The next group is the executives of the Japanese companies. They recognize the necessity for internationalization at every level but their ideas about internationalization for the children stand on the premise that the children would eventual-

ly return to Japan. Their documents didn't include concrete proposals about how to provide the internationalization for students as they often have no direct contact with education system. Another feature of their writing was that many of their descriptions were about Japanese people and society.

More than any other group, researchers discussed Japanology. They were the only group to use academic research or to consider the length of stay as a variable in the internationalization of Kaigaishijo. Their documents leaned towards students in North America due to the accessibility of: language, prior research, and the student population.

The last group of writers were from the government departments. They uniquely emphasize the importance of many factors for internationalization, including mixing with locals, maintaining academic standards and Japanese identity, providing different experiences from those available in Japan and so on. Yet their greatest concern is that the children maintain and develop their identity as Japanese people.

In the following sections these groups are discussed in more detail, particularly from the aspects of the structure of knowing and Internationalism versus Japanism.

### 3.2 Structure of Knowing

The first area of study in this section deals with the ideology of background of each writer, in particular their views on ethnicity and towards the Japanese people

and Japanese society. The government departments were the most conspicuous. Whilst these various departments claim to support the internationalization of Kaigaishijo, their real concern seems to revolve around their often repeated slogan: "First establish their identity as Japanese". Yet when they are asked to define concepts relating to this slogan they are unable to give any concrete or specific guidelines. The researchers were the group which most often emphasized the characteristics of the Japanese. All of the characteristics of Japanese people and society listed on the data sheet were mentioned by them, especially: unassertiveness, lack of originality, uniqueness, and homogeneous nature. The fact that these four areas were stressed may be due to the fact that most of the researchers work in the areas of education and psychology rather than sociology. Quite a few executives of the Japanese companies also emphasized the Japanological argument. On the other hand there was little mention of ethnicity and Japanology among students, parents and teacher groups.

In the overall context of education for children overseas, researchers, company executive and government administrators are the people who are expected to be the policy makers. It is the teachers, children and parents, however, who actually deal with the issues on a day-to-day basis. The fact that there was such a significant difference between the responses of these two groups, with the first stressing the

TABLE I-A: Writers' Structure of Knowing

	○	×	□	△	◎	▽	◇
Views on ethnicity							
assimilation	0	0	1	0	0	0	1
retaining the Japanese identity	0	0	3	1	2	3	0
mixing with both of above	0	1	1	2	6	0	0
M.V.	18	11	7	7	2	0	1
The purpose of the writer							
to present fact only	3	11	9	0	4	0	0
to propose some concrete action	5	1	2	5	5	0	1
to simply propose changes of attitude	10	0	0	5	1	3	1
The method of collecting the data							
their own experience	14	11	10	1	3	0	1
the stories from other people	2	1	2	9	3	1	1
referring to the Mass-media	1	1	0	0	3	1	1
simple surveys	4	0	0	0	1	0	1
academic research	0	0	0	0	8	2	1
Sojourners or permanent residents							
only sojourners	12	9	12	10	9	3	2
including permanent residents	6	1	0	0	1	0	0
M.V.	0	2	0	0	0	0	0

○ Teachers      × Students      □ Parents  
 △ Executives of the Companies      ◎ Researchers  
 ▽ Government Departments      ◇ Others

ideological aspects and the second virtually ignoring them, should lead us to further careful analysis.

Next the methods of data collection and the purpose of writing were examined in order to understand the methodology of each writer. What was found was that each group had very distinguishing characteristics. Looking firstly at the students and their parents, it became clear

that they tended to write about this issue drawing only on their own experiences. Whilst they clearly presented the facts from their time overseas they rarely put up any proposals. This result may simply be a natural and, therefore, predictable consequence of their position, yet the difference from the other groups is still significant. Teachers also write mostly from their own experiences but did present a

few concrete proposals. This can be accounted for by the fact that their documents were taken from a collection of their reports on their service overseas. Such proposals were an expected part of their contribution from the time the teachers were dispatched for service overseas. Whilst the views of teachers should be taken into account, there is a danger that they may become self-opinionated because the basis to their views was – even in better cases – simple surveys which they conducted. The executives of the companies also made many proposals which showed their clear expectations for the children overseas. These children are regarded as the human resources of the future, especially since they (the managers) are required to better prepare their companies for internationalization and face pressure both in and outside of Japan. However, their views are mainly derived from stories exchanged in their companies or industry circles.

It is obvious that the people who have done some serious research were found among academics and government departments. In this regard the documents by the academics must be studied in more detail. However, one thing has to be mentioned. Most of the research has been confined to English speaking countries, where Japanese academics have some degree of language proficiency. Very little research has been in areas such as Asia, where many Japanese people are relocated, because of the language dif-

ficulties.

People from government departments presented quite a few concrete proposals, which differentiates them from the academics. This was against my hypothesis. These proposals mostly dealt with the parents and teachers. Furthermore, they encouraged maintaining the Japanese identity of the students. Both of these characteristics clearly display the ideological attitudes of the government.

Another aspect of Methodology looks at the target children which each writer focuses on. The following things are examined: the type of school which the children attend; the children's ages whilst overseas; and whether the children who have permanent residency are included or not.

There has been considerable debate about which schools are better for the education of Kaigaishijo: full-day Japanese schools, or weekend Japanese schools. In the latter case of course the children go to the local schools on week days and quite a few of the children's documents are written by students who attend these schools. One can say that their works are based on a wider range of experiences than the writings of Kaigaishijo who attend full-day Japanese schools. On the contrary, teachers' reports are dominated by those from full-day schools, for most of the teachers are only dispatched to these schools. Of the total student population, about 20% attend neither full-day Japanese schools nor weekend Japanese sch-

TABLE I-B: Writers' Structure of Knowing

	○	×	□	△	◎	▽	◇
The kind of school which the writer mentioned							
① only full-day Japanese school	18	3	1	0	0	0	0
② weekend Japanese school	0	7	7	0	0	0	0
③ only the local schools	0	0	2	0	0	0	0
① + ② + ③	0	0	1	0	8	0	1
① + ②	0	0	0	0	0	3	0
① + ③	0	0	1	0	0	0	0
M.V.	0	2	0	10	2	0	1
Age of the children							
① pre-primary	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
② primary school	4	7	0	0	0	0	0
③ junior high school	1	5	0	0	0	0	0
④ senior high school	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
① + ② + ③	0	0	3	0	0	0	0
② + ③ + ④	0	0	3	0	2	0	0
① + ②	0	0	2	0	0	0	0
② + ③ (compulsory education)	13	0	3	2	4	1	1
③ + ④	0	0	1	0	0	0	0
① + ② + ③ + ④	0	0	0	1	1	2	0
M.V.	0	0	0	7	3	0	1

○ Teachers      × Students      □ Parents  
 △ Executives of the Companies      ◎ Researchers  
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ools, and study entirely in local schools. The only reports which dealt with these children were those written by their parents; simply because their children attend these schools. Since there are some difficulties in conducting the research, no researchers studied these children. It seemed that both the researchers and the government departments had no interest in students other than those in full-day or weekend Japanese schools.

The children mentioned in the docu-

ments were mostly between primary schools and junior high schools, in other words the age of compulsory education. Again, any reports about pre-school and especially post-junior high school students, came only from the parents of those students. Since the government seeks to establish its control over students in Japan during the years of compulsory education, it is natural that they also concentrate on these years of education for students overseas. The rate of the children

entering senior high schools is tremendously high in Japan (more than 90%), yet, this group seems to be virtually neglected as far as overseas students are concerned. This is a time when students develop their personalities and the government wishes to build on the control established during earlier education to ensure that the students who graduate from senior high schools have qualities valued by the government—rather than those adopted through foreign education.

These ideological point of views will become even clearer when the third question is considered. There is no document which mentions the children who held permanent residence, except a few by those teachers who accidentally came across such a child.

Therefore we can conclude that views about education for Kaigaishijo was limited at this stage in all groups of people by three beliefs: that it was primarily for the sojourning children who would go back to Japan someday; that hopefully they would go back to Japan before they entered senior high school; that they must study either in full-day or weekend Japanese schools.

### 3.3 Internationalism

The initial task in this section is to examine the distinguishing characteristics of each group of writers, which are shown in graphs I-II, II-III and I-III.

Most teachers seemed to place a great deal of importance on internationalism,

often using that term in their writings. This may be accounted for by the fact that many of their documents had been taken from the chapter "Education For International Understanding". We can at least say that the majority of teachers are aware of the need to provide internationalized circumstances for students overseas. This in turn may be largely due to the nature of their employment. However, when we examine the actual contents of this supposed internationalization, several areas appear which need further consideration. For instance, a teacher, who had been in Pusan in Korea said: "Since last year, the school has offered English conversation class by the American teachers for two hours a week, which had been the school's long-cherished desire. This was the epoch for the Pusan Japanese school to proceed to international education." We must not fail to notice that quite a few teachers, just as in the example above, are seemingly enthusiastic about internationalization, but see this only in terms of mixing with western students, culture and language; in no way do they aim to mix with the local population. In addition, most of the teachers try to achieve their goal of internationalization only through programs run entirely within their schools and in some cases exchange programs with other international (which means American) schools in the area.

The stance taken by most parents was at the opposite extreme to that expressed

by the teachers. They clearly mentioned that their main concern was to maintain the academic standards and Japanese identity of the children for the time when they returned to Japan. Their views are not based on any ideological principles, but rather on the realities of the situation as they see them. It is interesting to note however, that they also emphasize the importance of learning English but not the local language. The fathers must recognize the importance of learning English through their daily business dealings and its role in their opportunities for promotion. On the other hand the mothers know the importance of English for entrance examination for the good universities and companies back in Japan. Therefore even as far as learning the language was concerned, their motivation came not from the benefits of language as a communication tool but from their hopes for academic and business advantages for their children.

The executives of the Japanese companies overseas are in the position of being superior to those parents. Japan is criticized in various ways for not being sufficiently internationalized and many conflicts have occurred between the Japanese companies and the local communities. Under these circumstances internationalization is one of the most important themes. However, as is seen later on, the executives did not present much in the way of concrete ideas about issues such as: how to achieve it; and how to

provide circumstance for the internationalization of the children.

Generally the positions presented by researchers showed a good balance between the importance of internationalism and Japanism. The children themselves placed no real emphasis on either of these areas. It seems odd that those who are most directly involved (the students) are the group which displays the least concern. Subsequently, the position of the parents, who only stress the importance of the maintaining academic standards and Japanese identity, becomes very distinct. They speak very frankly in spite of the nature of the documents in which the writers are expected to emphasize internationalization in order to appeal to the readers. It may be that the pressure of domestic education is too intense for the parents and that they see little room for themselves to seriously consider internationalization.

Finally the unique stance of the governmental departments must be considered. Surprisingly, they require almost 100% success for both Internationalism and Japanism. They seem to want the best of both worlds. However, when we look more closely at their statements about what the children are expected to do overseas, and notice that the people in governmental departments are not keen to have Japanese students educated in a foreign language but emphasize the importance of educating only in Japanese, it becomes clear that their main priority is

TABLE 2-A: Variables which writers considered important in order to achieve internationalization and mixing with the local community

	○	×	□	△	◎	▽	◇
Friendship network	6	6	8	0	4	1	0
Cultural exchange program between the Japanese school and other schools	16	0	1	2	1	1	0
Language ability	7	2	5	1	3	1	1
Attitude of the parents	5	0	3	0	4	2	1
Attitude of the Japanese school teachers	11	0	5	0	4	1	1
Policy of the Japanese companies overseas	0	0	0	5	0	1	0
Kinds of schools (full-day, weekend etc.)	1	0	2	0	6	2	0
Age of the children (while they are overseas)	0	0	3	0	5	0	0
Length of overseas stay	1	0	0	0	3	0	1
Country where they stay	6	2	2	1	4	0	1
Natural environment	0	1	2	0	0	1	0
Others	1	4	2	6	3	1	2

○ Teachers      × Students      □ Parents  
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 ▽ Government Departments      ◇ Others

Japanism and not internationalism.

Next thing is to look at the variables stressed by each of the six groups for achieving the internationalization of Japanese children. One clear thing is that many groups pointed to the importance of their own attitudes as a significant variable. These groups were the teachers, parents and executives.

The people who raised the largest number of variables were the teachers. Besides emphasizing the importance of their own attitudes, they also mentioned the importance of: the program within schools; language ability (in nearly all cases English); and the parents' attitudes. On the contrary, the children who scarcely said a word about internationalization

often pointed to the importance of friendship networks and this views was shared by the parents. (Parents also mentioned the nature of the countries in which the stayed; ie. it is difficult to develop internationalism in the underdeveloped countries.) The research which I did last year also indicated that the amount of daily contact with the local people is more important than the formal school program or the language ability of the student. I am concerned about the failure of teachers to notice the importance of friendship networks and their concentration on formal school activities.

The researchers were alone in relating the effectiveness of internationalization to the length of the childrens' stay overseas.



TABLE 2-B: Variables which writers considered important in order to maintain the academic standards and the Japanese identities of the students

	○	×	□	△	◎	▽	◇
Improvements to the number of and facility within Japanese school overseas	2	1	2	2	2	1	0
Quality of the teachers	1	0	0	0	0	2	0
Development of the learning materials and program for the Japanese school overseas	1	0	4	0	1	2	0
Parents' attitude	0	1	2	0	3	3	0
The amount of information about education in Japan	0	0	1	0	0	3	0
Others	0	3	3	3	2	3	0

○ Teachers      × Students      □ Parents  
 △ Executives of the Companies      ◎ Researchers  
 ▽ Government Departments      ◇ Others

This also fits in with my previous research. Whilst a close relationship between the two seems to be obvious, thorough research is needed in order to isolate those lengths of stay which produce the best results (in terms of internationalization).

As mentioned before, when the executives pointed to the importance of internationalization, they seldom discussed its contents in detail. Rather they merely requested the government to improve the situation and to increase the number of schools overseas; and to also increase the number of schools in Japan which give priority to returning students. Government departments highlighted the importance of parents' attitudes too.

Therefore these results make it clear that the parents' attitude was regarded as very important by four different groups. Unfortunately there has not been much academic research about the relationship

between the parents' attitude and the childrens' internationalization. It is hoped that such research will soon be carried out.

A study of the priority given by writers to Internationalization or Japanism indicated that parents obviously regarded the maintenance of academic standards and Japanese identity as very important. Their concerns were concentrated on two main areas. The first of these is the need to improve the system for giving special consideration to overseas students when they return to education in Japan. This is natural for them, as their primary concern whilst they are overseas is the academic advancement of their children. The second variable stressed by parents was the ability of their children to learn English although, as previously explained, this view was held largely for the future progress of their children, rather than because of any real support of international-

ism.

The people in government departments also indicated some important variables. They pointed to the parents' attitudes and, in particular, asked them to keep in mind the education and social situation in Japan. At the same time they required the teachers to improve both their own performance and the quality of the materials they developed in order to provide the necessary requisites for retaining Japanese academic and social standards.

#### 4. CONCLUSION

As the "Findings" chapter deals with the details of the document analysis, they are not repeated here. The overall body of information below leads to: several general conclusions, an awareness of the limitation my research; and the expectation that further research will be conducted in the future.

- ① The findings have been analyzed according to the points of view of the six groups. The results show that distinguishing characteristics of these groups are even clearer than expected. However, the corelationships between the groups and their backgrounds (the reasons behind their views and beliefs) must be undertaken in more detail in the future.
- ② There was less discussion than anticipated about ethnicity and Japanology. This may be caused by the fact that most of the documents had been taken from

short essays and reports. The range of documents examined is expected to be widened in the future. At the same time the documents by the researchers, executives of the companies and the government departments, which mentioned Japanology and ethnicity much more than the other groups, have to be analyzed carefully because their opinions and ideas have been and will be the main factors in determining the nature of education for Japanese children overseas.

③ Amongst the documents studied this time, little mention was found of children outside of the compulsory education system, especially if their parents were permanent residents. Although it is simple to say that education for Kaigaihijo is primary education for sojourning children (Gaimusho, 1978), the apparent acceptance of this view, and more importantly the ideological background for this consensus will have to be studied in more detail.

④ The results showed us that the maintaining academic standard and establishing Japanese identities are considered almost as synonymous. On the other hand, as mentioned in the findings, internationalism and mixing with the local people are looked upon as being quite different issues in many cases. Whilst the criterion for describing an "internationalized person" must be fairly sociological and ideological, the huge gap between these two concepts should cause considerable concern. Therefore ques-

tions such as what is the meaning of internationalization these days and how can we achieve it in the context of education for Kaigaishijo must be carefully examined.

⑤ Finally, I could not study a sufficient numbers of documents about each point of view, partly because of the limited time. Comparative research for the education for overseas children in countries such as America, Britain and France has not been

done. Issues related to the education of foreign children in Japan must also be studied, especially since overseas students and foreign labor have recently become significant issues in Japan. By concentrating on these two areas, I hope to extend my research in order to identify more clearly the realities surrounding the internationalization of Japanese children overseas.

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