The Education and Cultural Adaptation: Experiences of Japanese Children in Foreign Cultures

Akiko Namiki

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THE EDUCATION AND CULTURAL ADAPTATION: EXPERIENCES OF JAPANESE CHILDREN IN FOREIGN CULTURES

by

Akiko Namiki

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in partial fulfillment of the
requirements for the
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Department of Sociology

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1997
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Akiko Namiki
THE EDUCATION AND CULTURAL ADAPTATION: EXPERIENCES OF JAPANESE CHILDREN IN FOREIGN CULTURES

Akiko Namiki, M.A.
Western Michigan University, 1997

This thesis explores the experiences of Japanese children and adolescents who reside in the United States as a consequence of their parents' jobs and examines how they adapted to a local society and how their cultural identities were affected by living in the United States before establishing stable identities. This study was completed by relating existing literature to interviews with a sample of Japanese children and adolescents, their mothers, and their teachers who reside in a Midwestern urban area.

Experiences of the Japanese children and adolescents were examined in terms of their English language skills, Japanese language skills, family lives, school lives both at local schools and Japanese supplementary schools, cultural identities and adaptation problems.

The conclusion was that half of the Japanese children and adolescents among respondents adapted well to the local society, and half of them did not adapt well to the local society. The problematic point is that they have to return to Japan and re-adapt to the Japanese system with American identities. In addition, certain problems with Japanese cultural values related to diversity and Japanese education were revealed from this research.
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<td>Japanese Supplementary School</td>
<td>48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Group B</td>
<td>Parents' Priorities for Children (Japanese-Oriented or Local Society-Oriented)</td>
<td>49</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Group B</td>
<td>Adaptation Level</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Group B</td>
<td>Problems</td>
<td>52</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Group C</td>
<td>English Ability</td>
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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

The purpose of this research is to explore the experiences of Japanese children and adolescents who reside in foreign countries, especially in the United States, because of their parents' jobs. Now, a large number of Japanese children and adolescents reside in many countries. They are struggling with the difficulties of living in foreign countries. Two issues face them: they are expected to adapt to foreign societies and then to re-adapt to Japanese society. Understanding their situation is necessary in efforts to reduce their difficulties, both in foreign countries and in Japan.

The purpose of this research is to report on the different cultural experiences and problems of Japanese children and adolescents who reside in the United States because of their parents' jobs, and explore how their personalities are affected by living in the United States. Specifically, the focus will be on the factors which are related to their identities and their difficulties in adapting to different cultures before establishing a stable personality. This research will include a review of existing data and interviews of several Japanese children and adolescents who reside in the United States, their mothers and their teachers. The target respondents of this research are Japanese children and adolescents who reside in the United States as a result of their parents' jobs. Therefore, in this
research, Japanese adolescents who came to the United States to study abroad are excluded, since there is a big difference between the two groups. The children and adolescents who reside in foreign countries because of their parents' jobs have to remain in foreign countries regardless of their wishes.

For more than twenty years, Japanese companies have operated on a global scale. As a result, many Japanese children and adolescents reside in foreign countries because of their parents' jobs. The number of children affected has slightly decreased because of the recession in the Japanese economy for the past few years. However, in 1995 the number of these children and adolescents increased again. Almost 5 million Japanese children and adolescents stay in countries outside of Japan (Kaigai-shijyo Kyouiku, 1996, January).

Many of them are exposed to the difficulties of education in foreign countries and socialization to different cultures. The word 'Company Warrior' sometimes is mentioned in Japan. That means the person works for a company that he or she belongs to and not for his or her own personal ambition. The Japanese children and adolescents who reside in foreign countries because of their parents' jobs are 'Company Warriors' because most of them have to stay in foreign countries regardless of their wishes. Not only their parents, but also they are representatives and advocates for Japanese companies and the Japanese economy. Sometimes they become sacrifices for Japanese companies.

Two major issues have been brought up regarding Japanese child-
ren and adolescents who reside in foreign countries. First, they have to adapt to foreign cultures. At this stage, many children and adolescents require enormous support, not only to socialize to new situations in foreign countries but also to keep their Japanese culture because they are expected to go back to Japan. This is the big difference between them and Japanese immigrants.

A second issue is that the children and adolescents have to re-socialize to Japanese culture after finishing their residence period in foreign countries. Studies of this issue have been done by many researchers. Japanese government and many schools support the children by offering special programs to re-socialize them into the Japanese system. For instance, the children and adolescents can attend high schools and universities without taking the same entrance examination as other students. Formerly, most of the children and adolescents who experienced different cultures were expected to completely re-assimilate into the Japanese systems, and they were only expected to retain their skills in foreign languages. Recently these kinds of traditional ideas have changed. Gradually, the children and adolescents have been treated with more respect due to their valuable experiences in foreign countries because they are the people who will become leaders to connect Japan and many countries in the future. However, Saito points out that some people still think that the children and adolescents who have different cultural experiences have sometimes become selfish and non-cooperative persons (Kenji Tamaki, 1996). To express their feelings directly without
thinking of other people's feelings is not a Japanese value; on the other hand, some countries, such as the United States place a great value on self-assertion. There are still problems for the children and adolescents who came back to Japan. They suffer in re-adapting to the Japanese system, although their situations have slightly improved.

In comparison to the issue about the children and adolescents who came back to Japan, there is less existing research on the issue of the children and adolescents who reside in foreign countries now. Therefore, this research is significant in that it explores the actual situations of Japanese children and adolescents in the United States in detail. To grasp their actual situations will help to improve their situations. In addition, unlike previous studies, this research is valuable because data is collected in the area where few Japanese children and adolescents reside. Most of the respondents in previous studies are Japanese children and adolescents who live in the area where many Japanese reside.

Finally, in this research, specific Japanese terminology 'Kaigai-shijyo' and 'Kikoku-shijyo' are used. Kaigai-shijyo refers to the Japanese children and adolescents who reside in foreign countries as a result of their parents' job. Kikoku-shijyo refers to those Japanese children and adolescents who experienced different cultures and came back to Japan after residing in foreign countries because of their parents' jobs.
Three School Types for Kaigai-shijyo

Foreign cultural experiences are deeply dependent on what kind of education kaigai-shijyo receive in foreign countries, although the main theme of this paper is not the study of the school system for kaigai-shijyo. School types for kaigai-shijyo in foreign countries assume several forms, but will be categorized into three types: Japanese school (full-time), Japanese supplementary school (part-time), and local school.

For instance, the cultural experiences of kaigai-shijyo who attend full-time Japanese schools are restricted compared to the experiences of kaigai-shijyo who attend local schools. Commonly, in Japanese schools, students are taught by Japanese teachers who use Japanese school books authorized by the Ministry of Education of Japan. The students who are members of Japanese supplementary schools also attend local schools, because most of the supplementary schools offer classes only on Saturdays or Sundays.

According to the Ministry of Education in Japan, the number of kaigai-shijyo is 49,703 as of May 1995. Of those, 37.3% attend Japanese schools, 37.3% attend both Japanese supplementary schools and local schools, and 25.4% attend only local schools (Tamaki, 1996). The ratio of the three types of schools are different in each area. The Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Japan reported the ratio in each area as of May, 1993 (See Table 1).

In the case of North America, 74.2% of Japanese children and adolescents attend supplementary schools; 22.1% of them go to local
schools and only 3.7% of students attend Japanese schools.

Table 1
The Number of Kaigai-shijyo and School Types

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country</th>
<th>Japanese School</th>
<th>Supplementary School and Local School</th>
<th>Local School</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(School and Local School)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>North America</td>
<td>792</td>
<td>15,771</td>
<td>4,698</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(3.7%)</td>
<td>(74.2%)</td>
<td>(22.1%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Europe</td>
<td>4,349</td>
<td>4,291</td>
<td>4,213</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(33.8%)</td>
<td>(33.4%)</td>
<td>(32.8%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asia</td>
<td>10,724</td>
<td>161</td>
<td>1,096</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(89.5%)</td>
<td>(1.3%)</td>
<td>(9.2%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Latin America</td>
<td>1,188</td>
<td>109</td>
<td>458</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(67.7%)</td>
<td>(6.2%)</td>
<td>(26.1%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Africa</td>
<td>243</td>
<td>83</td>
<td>272</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(40.6%)</td>
<td>(13.9%)</td>
<td>(45.5%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The near and middle east</td>
<td>311</td>
<td>70</td>
<td>94</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(65.5%)</td>
<td>(14.7%)</td>
<td>(19.8%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oceania</td>
<td>531</td>
<td>322</td>
<td>1,066</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(27.7%)</td>
<td>(16.8%)</td>
<td>(55.5%)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In Europe, the proportion of kaigai-shijyo who attend Japanese schools is 33.8%, Japanese supplementary schools 33.4%, and local schools 32.8%. In Asia, 89.5% of kaigai-shijyo attend Japanese schools, 1.3% supplementary schools, and 9.2% local schools. In Latin America, 67.7% attend Japanese schools, 6.2% Japanese supplementary schools, and 26.1% local schools (Toyama & Nakamura, 1994).
Most of the full-time Japanese schools are located in developing countries, while most of Japanese supplementary schools are located in developed countries. As Table 1 shows, in developed countries such as Europe and North America, the number of kaigai-shijyo who attend both local schools and Japanese supplementary schools is large. On the other hand, in developing countries, such as Asian and Latin American countries, most of kaigai-shijyo go to Japanese schools. The reason for this is that the education level of some developing countries is low, compared to the education level in Japan. Therefore, Japanese schools are established because parents do not want their children and adolescents to attend local schools in developing countries.

However, there are some exceptions in cities where a large number of Japanese children and adolescents live, such as New York, Los Angeles, Chicago, London, Paris, Dusseldorf and Amsterdam. Although those cities are located in developed countries, full-time Japanese schools are operated in those cities. Kaigai-shijyo in those cities have a choice of schools they can attend among the three types because both Japanese schools and Japanese supplementary schools exist in those areas (Kenji Kato, 1983). On the other hand, in many areas, only Japanese schools or Japanese supplementary schools are operated because of the number of Japanese. In some areas where few kaigai-shijyo reside, they do not have access to both a Japanese school and a Japanese supplementary school. Therefore, the only choice for the kaigai-shijyo is to attend a local school. For the Japanese children
and adolescents who have no access to Japanese education, the Ministry of Education offers self-instruction correspondent courses, and 16,000 students take these courses in many countries (Kaigai-shijyo Kyouiku, 1996 January).

Japanese School (Full-Time)

The number of Japanese schools outside of Japan was 92 as of May, 1995 (Kaigai-shijyo Kyouiku, 1996 January). Most Japanese schools are located in developing countries. The schools try to offer the same level of education that Japanese students receive in Japan. Usually, Japanese schools are open Monday through Friday or Saturday and use school textbooks approved by the Ministry of Education.

The first Japanese school was established in Bangkok, Thailand in 1956 for children and adolescents of the embassy staff. At the beginning, the Japanese school was operated by wives of the embassy staff. As the number of Japanese who reside in foreign countries increased, Japanese communities and corporations that operate in foreign countries strongly demanded that the Japanese government create a way for their children to receive a proper education. Three years later, the Japanese government decided to rent a school building and the government sent certified teachers to the Japanese school in 1962 (Tetsuya Kobayashi, 1981).

In the 1960’s and 1970’s, many Japanese schools were established all over the world. In 1964, Japanese schools were operating in Rangoon, New Delhi. In addition, in 1965, the government estab-
lished Japanese schools in Tai-pei and Karachi; in 1966, schools were operated in Calcutta, Bombay, Kuala Lumpur, Singapore, and Johannesburg (Kobayashi, 1983). In the United States, three Japanese schools were established in New York, Chicago and Guam. In addition to the three Japanese schools supported by the Japanese government, several private Japanese schools operate in New York, New Jersey, and California (Kaigai-shijyo Kyouiku, 1996 January).

Dispatch of teachers and preparation and maintenance of school buildings are supported by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. The Ministry of Education provides guidelines for school curriculum and methods of teaching. In addition, the Kaigai-shijyo Educational Foundation was established in 1971 with the support of the Japanese government and the Japanese business circle. The Kaigai-shijyo Educational Foundation also offers services to Japanese schools and Japanese supplementary schools, such as financial assistance for training teachers who will teach in the Japanese schools and aid for personnel expenses of office workers. The Foundation also distributes Japanese books and video tapes as educational supplements to both Japanese schools and Japanese supplementary schools (Ikuo Arai, 1983).

The main purpose of the Japanese school is to offer the same level of education that Japanese students receive in Japan to Japanese children and adolescents who reside in foreign countries. However, some researchers and educators came to think that one of the problems for Japanese schools is exclusiveness. There is no possi-
bility of exposing the students to different cultures in a Japanese school, even if Japanese children and adolescents stay in foreign countries. They believe that to live in foreign countries provides a good chance to learn a different culture for kaigai-shijyo and to ignore those chances is a problem. They question placing the emphasis on re-adapting to Japanese society in foreign countries. Sekiguchi (1983) shows a typical case of the problem of kaigai-shijyo in Japanese schools in Manila and Singapore.

They live almost the same as when they were in Japan. They are surrounded by a strong Japanese community, and they do not have a way to access the local society. They use books, stationary, and toys imported from Japan and attend a Japanese school which offers same school curriculum as Japan. They are quite soaked by the Japanese way in a foreign country. (p. 120)

Therefore, the Central Education Deliberative Council recommends that Japanese schools should not operate in an exclusive way. As a solution to exclusiveness, the Council suggested that schools offer the local language and local news and do cultural exchanges with local people to increase the awareness of the kaigai-shijyo situation in a local society (Arai, 1983). However, Yano and his colleagues' research (1989) showed that education for understanding a local society was not successful. From their study of teachers who teach in Japanese schools, only 20% of the teachers taught society, culture and history of the local society where they lived and only 15% of them led their students to study the local language and organized cultural exchanges with local students.
Japanese Supplementary School (Part-Time)

The oldest Japanese supplementary school was operated in New York in 1962. Recently, in Ho chi Minh (Vietnam), South Bend (the U.S.), San Salvador (El Salvador), Cairns (Australia), and Kuwait, Japanese supplementary schools have recently started to operate. As of May, 1995, 171 Japanese supplementary schools were operating in many countries (Kaigai-shijyo Kyouiku, 1996 January). While many of the Japanese supplementary schools operate in developing countries, most Japanese supplementary schools are in developed countries.

The subjects offered in Japanese supplementary schools are largely dependent on each school. For instance, some schools only teach Japanese for three hours per week; on the other hand, some schools offer math, Japanese, science, and social studies from 9 a.m. to 4 p.m. on Saturdays or Sundays (Kobayashi, 1981). Also the size of Japanese schools vary; some are big supplementary schools which have over one hundred students, while some small schools are operated for only a few students. For example, the big Japanese supplementary schools are operated in New York, San Francisco, Washington DC, Toronto, London, and Hamburg. Most of the big Japanese supplementary schools are in English speaking countries (Kato, 1983). Large supplementary schools are organized as a regular school, while small supplementary schools are like a coaching school. Usually, teachers of supplementary schools are university students who are studying abroad or housewives who have teaching experience in Japan.

It is said that the Japanese school is a buffer between Jap-
Japanese culture and a foreign culture. By attending Japanese supplementary schools, some kaigai-shijyo feel more secure apart from different cultures (Cunningham, 1988). On the other hand, kaigai-shijyo who attend Japanese supplementary schools have the burden of intense study. Because they also attend local schools, they have to study for both schools.
CHAPTER II

LITERATURE REVIEW

The purpose of this research is to reveal the real situations, experiences, and hardships of Japanese children and adolescents who reside in the United States as a result of their parents' jobs. Specifically, how different cultural experiences affect their personality and identity will be revealed. Many researchers conducted studies on the impact of different cultural experiences including sociologists, cultural anthropologists and psychologists. In this chapter, the existing data related to different cultural experiences, especially experiences of Japanese children and adolescents who reside in foreign countries, are reviewed.

Theoretical Perspective About Kaigai-shijyo

The existing data from a theoretical perspective about Japanese children and adolescents who reside in a foreign country, especially in the United States, was done by Yasuko Minoura (1979). This study is the first and only research about the Kaigai-shijyo that provides a theoretical perspective. There are some additional descriptive data concerning kaigai-shijyo.

Adaptation Process From a Symbolic-Interactionism Perspective

Minoura, a psychologist and cultural anthropologist, did a

Minoura noted that to acquire a culture, people need to internalize specific symbolic meanings of the culture, that is cultural grammar. She argued that to understand the process of how people acquire a culture, it is necessary to delineate the subcategories of culture. She identified three elements: (1) behavior, (2) cognition, and (3) affect. Only after acquiring these three elements of the same culture can people internalize the culture. That is, when a person learns the behavior that is appropriate in the culture (cognition element), the person can act in the proper way of the culture (behavior element), and he or she does not feel strange when doing that (affect element).

Minoura states that it is relatively easy for people to learn the behavior and cognition elements of other cultures, but affective elements tend to be dominated by the meaning systems specific to the culture of origin. Minoura (1987) stated:

For example, a Japanese man can imitate the American way of treating his wife courteously, but with a reluctant feeling which his American counterpart may not experience. This type of incongruence between affect and behavior is seldom noticed when psychologists study subjects in their own culture. (p. 3)
a specific culture.

Minoura states that the Japanese realize how much they live in a society which is filled with specific Japanese meanings only when they observe the behaviors of foreigners. According to Minoura, the study about Japanese children and adolescents who have had contact with a foreign culture is a good opportunity to learn the process of acquiring specific cultural symbolic meanings. Both the United States and Japan are technologically developed countries, so there is not much difference between two countries on the surface. Although, differences exist in many points. For example, many Japanese people who stay in the United States point to the differences in personal relationships. Minoura thought that by observing the differences in the personal relationships among people from the two countries, mechanisms for children’s and adolescents’ acquisition of cultural symbolic meanings could be identified.

Minoura (1987) compared and contrasted the grammar for interpersonal behavior between the United States and Japan.

For Americans, the Self is the central point of reference. Regarding this principle, Hsu (1971, p. 443) states that in America individuals are encouraged to value the status of making their own decisions and being their own master. In the American conception the person, as a basic unit of action, has a self or ego with a definite boundary, in which the function of decision-making is considered to be located.

To the Japanese, the Other is the point of reference employed to define one’s position in the world. This is the basis for the Japanese cultural grammar of interpersonal relationships. A key concept used by the Japanese for understanding or relating to the Other is Omoiyari, empathy in English. Omoiyari refers to the ability and willingness to feel what others are feeling, ... and to help them satisfy their wishes . . . . (Lebra, 1976, p. 38). This interdependence between the Self
and the Other is also reflective in communicative modes. For example, in the States, it is the sender's responsibility to compose a clear message, while in Japan if a communication fails, the receiver, not the sender, is apt to be accused of lack of comprehension (Nagashima, 1973, p. 96).

In the Western conception, self is an entity packaged entirely within the individual, while the Japanese conception of self is something which is found between the other and the individual. (pp. 4-5)

In the United States, to express one's feelings clearly is greatly emphasized while the Japanese put greater emphasis on entering into the other person's feelings rather than expressing one's own feelings. According to Eto, in Japan, sometimes the person who states his or her idea too much, is perceived as a deviant person (Minoura, 1991). If one does not respect the other person's feelings, Japanese interpersonal relationships can not be established.

Minoura conducted interviews with kaigai-shijyo and their parents who reside in Los Angeles, and observed the kaigai-shijyo for a long term. By observing the differences between the interpersonal relationships among the two countries, and by using the three elements, (1) behavior, (2) cognition, and (3) affect of each culture, Minoura (1987) analyzed the degree of adaptation of Japanese children and adolescents to the U.S. society. As a result, she identified five types:

Type I refers to those who do not have a clear perception of differences between American and Japanese interpersonal behavior, and whose way of thinking, feeling, and behaving are very Japanese despite their living in the United States.

Type II refers to those who have an articulate perception of differences between the American and Japanese cultural patterns, but whose way of thinking, feeling or behaving show almost no indications of acculturation toward American patterns.
They have a knowledge of how to behave overtly in America, but do not do so. Most of these type children and adolescents have lived in the United States less than three years. Prolonged stay may differentiate them into either Type III or Type V.

Type III refers to those who have two sets of cognitive scripts for behavior, one, Japanese, and the other, American, and use one at a time, depending on the demands of a situation. They appear to preserve the Japanese cultural grammar, which is simply dormant while they are in the United States. At the behavioral and the cognitive level, they are bicultural, but at the affective level they are more Japanese. Most of this type came to America after age nine.

Type IV refers to those who adopted the American grammar for behavior but whose grammar for interpersonal relationships is not apparent. Like Type III they are American both at the cognitive and at the behavioral level, but data fails to indicate the degree of acculturation at the affective level.

Type V refers to those who tend to believe the American ways are the only way. Children at this level are American at all three levels. Most of this type came to the United States before the age of nine. (p. 7)

Minoura then analyzed the demographic characteristics of each respondents, such as age, the length of the stay in the U.S., English skills, friendships with Americans, and so on. Finally, Minoura (1987) concluded that children acquire a culture-specific system of meanings related to interpersonal skills during a period between the age of nine and fifteen. During this period the patterns of behavior develop deep roots on the symbolic level, while shaping the affective domain related to it. Here the prototype of an American or a Japanese, in a cultural sense, is shaped. Children who have crossed a cultural boundary after this sensitive period were basically operating with the semiotics to which they had been initially inducted during that period, although they may have become able to behave in accordance with the host society's norms. (p. 8)

Also, Minoura added three points to her conclusions.

1. In the case of kaigai-shijyo who go back to Japan before the age of nine, they can socialize to Japanese society relatively
easily, because the cultural experiences in the United States before nine were not internalized into their personality.

2. In the case of kaigai-shijyo who stay in the United States for over four years or more and go back to Japan after the age of eleven, they experience disagreement with the Japanese way.

3. In the case of Japanese children who go to the United States after the age of eleven, the kaigai-shijyo feel strange in experiencing American ways.

The Literature About Foreign Cultural Experiences of Kaigai-shijyo

Adaptability of Kaigai-shijyo

Since World War II, especially in the second half of the 1960s, many Japanese started to go to foreign countries (Minoura, 1991). However, much data concerning situations of Japanese children and adolescents who reside in foreign countries because of their parents’ jobs is not available because most researchers prefer researching their re-adaptation to the Japanese society to researching their adaptation to foreign countries.

The oldest research about foreign cultural experiences of kaigai-shijyo was done by Tetsuya Kobayashi and his colleagues in 1978 (Ebuchi, 1983). They studied Japanese children’s adaptability to different cultures by using a questionnaire filled in by the children’s parents. They identified six types of adaptation rates to a foreign country and re-adaptation to Japan. These six types reflect the factors associated with children’s adjustment to a new lifestyle in
foreign countries and whether their adaptation process was successful. The six types are:

1. Rapid Adaptation Type: Children adapt to a different culture relatively quickly;

2. Middle Adaptation Type: Children need from three to six months to adapt to a different culture;

3. Slow Adaptation Type: Children take from six to twelve months to adjust to different cultures;

4. Setback Adaptation Type: Children suffer a setback within the adaptation process;

5. Invariable Adaptation Type: Children adjust to every kind of new situation easily; and

6. Non-adaptation Type: Children can not adapt to a different culture.

According to their research, most of children and adolescents adjust to new surroundings within a three to a six months period; that is, most of them belong to the Middle Adaptation Type. Also, they pointed out that extroverted children and adolescents adapt to changes in their surroundings relatively early, while introverted children and adolescents tend to adapt to new situations at a slow pace. They concluded that adaptation to a new society is deeply dependent on the personality of the children and adolescents. In addition, they reported that the students who had completed over six years of education in Japan can re-socialize to the Japanese system easily after finishing their stay in foreign countries. On the con-
trary, the students who did not complete the second half of elementary school and middle school in Japan find it difficult to re-socialize to Japanese society after residing in foreign countries.

There is no correlation between rate of adaptation to a foreign society and rate of re-adaptation to Japanese society. That is, it is not necessarily that the kaigai-shijyo who adapt to a foreign society relatively early will re-adapt to Japanese society relatively early.

Differences Between Japanese School and Supplementary School in Foreign Experiences

Yano, Kawada, Sato, Toki, Nakanishi, and Hayashi researched kaigai-shijyo supported by Itocyu Foundation (1989). Before they examined how children’s personalities are affected by different cultural experiences, they placed the main emphasis on grasping an actual situation of kaigai-shijyo in many countries.

Yano and his colleagues conducted quantitative research. They sent out questionnaires containing items related to school life, family life, and social life to about 1,500 Japanese children and adolescents who attended Japanese schools, and about 1,800 students who attended Japanese supplementary schools. Also their mothers were included as respondents. Yano’s group tried to find the differences between the cultural experiences among kaigai-shijyo who attended Japanese schools and kaigai-shijyo who attend Japanese supplementary schools.

Yano and his colleagues divided kaigai-shijyo who attended Japanese schools into four types:
1. Unsociable Type refers to the children and adolescents who have many worries in life, and whose scopes of activity are narrow and exclusive. They did not have chances to make contact with a local society. Even if they wanted to have relationships with a local society, they could not.

2. Individual Lifestyle Type refers to the children and adolescents who have some contact with a local society and do not have many friendships with other kaigai-shijyo. They are isolated from Japanese friends, but they have their independent life style.

3. Japanese Community Type refers to the children and adolescents who persist in Japanese ways and Japanese community in a foreign country. They do not have many contacts with a local society, although the Japanese community there is well established. They are satisfied with their life in the isolated Japanese community. Most of this type have a strong will to go back to Japan as soon as possible.

4. Local Society Type refers to the children and adolescents who make an effort to have contact with a local society. They do not have much trouble in a foreign society, and they are satisfied with their life. Kaigai-shijyo in this type have experienced a foreign culture much more than any other types.

From the perspective of area differences, kaigai-shijyo who attend Japanese schools in North America tend to be categorized into the Individual lifestyle type, kaigai-shijyo in Northern Europe tend to be categorized into the Unsociable Type. Kaigai-shijyo in Asia,
Latin America, the Middle East, and Africa tend to belong to the Japanese Community Type. Kaigai-shijyo in Oceania and Western Europe tend to belong to the Local Society Type.

As a result of analyzing the mothers' personal characteristics, Yano's group noted the importance of the mothers' role in foreign experiences in the case of Japanese schools. For instance, the children and adolescents whose mothers have social relationships with a local society tend to be categorized into the Local Society Type, while those whose mother do not have such relationships tend to be categorized into the Unsociable Type. Also, if their mothers have high foreign language skills, the children tend to be categorized into the Local Society Type. On the other hand, the case of the mothers with limited language skills, the children tend to be categorized into the Unsociable Type.

Yano's group also divided students who attended Japanese supplementary schools into four types: (1) Assimilation Type, (2) Adaptation Type, (3) Complication Type, and (4) Non-adaptation Type.

Assimilation Type children and adolescents acquire the knowledge of how to act in a proper way in a foreign country and do so. They adapt to a local school and they do not have a desire to go back to Japan. In addition, they have a strong cultural identity to the foreign culture, so they do not disagree with the behavior in the foreign culture and its mode of expressing feelings. Their lifestyle pattern is similar to a foreign culture. This type of kaigai-shijyo assimilate to a foreign society.
Adaptation Type children and adolescents do not assimilate but adapt to a foreign society well. They are interested in a foreign society and its culture, adjust to a local school, and enjoy both school life and social life, but they still identify with the Japanese ways. Although they can behave in a foreign way, they disagree with the behavior. They feel a little strange in a foreign setting.

Complication Type children and adolescents experience disagreement between the foreign culture and Japanese culture. They have a strong disfavor of foreign behavior, therefore, they behave in the Japanese way. Because of the lack of language skills, they cannot adapt to a local school and a foreign society. They are uncomfortable in a foreign culture.

Non-adaptation Type children and adolescents cannot adapt to a foreign society. They cannot keep pace with classes of a local school, and they suffer from anxiety. They want to go back to Japan, even if they try to adapt to a new situation in a foreign country.

By analyzing the four types, Yano and his group pointed out the attributes of each. They found that the length of stay greatly affects assimilation and adaptation to a foreign culture; three years is a key period to adapt to a foreign society. According to them, the length of stay does not influence the cultural identity of kaigai-shijyo. The variables that affect the change of cultural identity are the age of kaigai-shijyo and their mothers’ attitudes toward a foreign society. For instance, kaigai-shijyo who have not achieved a 3rd or 4th grade education and stay for a long time have a tendency to
belong to the Assimilation Type. Complication Type tends to refer to kaigai-shijyo who stay for under three years and whose mothers do not have contact with a local society. Non-adaptation Type tends to refer to kaigai-shijyo who stay for approximately three years and whose grade is around 8th. Adaptation Type tends to refer to kaigai-shijyo who reside in a foreign culture over three years and whose mothers have much contact with a local society.

In their conclusion, Yano and his colleagues divided both the kaigai-shijyo who attend Japanese schools and kaigai-shijyo who attend Japanese supplementary schools into four types. Although 80% of both students are satisfied with school life, kaigai-shijyo who attend Japanese supplementary schools are limited in their experience of foreign cultures. In addition, Yano's group noted that 70% of the mothers whose children attended Japanese schools emphasized the importance of their children keeping their Japanese culture, while 70% of the mothers whose children attend Japanese supplementary schools emphasized the importance of their children adapting to a local school.

Research Clues From Literature

In the existing literature, kaigai-shijyo are categorized into the specific types identified by researchers. Therefore, it may be possible that each kaigai-shijyo in this research can be categorized into the specific type, although the purpose is not just to understand the adaptation type of each respondent. In this research, each
respondent will be divided into Minoura's categories to know the adaptation level of each respondent.

Literature shows that age and the length of stay are important factors for kaigai-shijyo to adapt to a local society well. Kobayashi also thinks that the personality of kaigai-shijyo is an important factor to adapt to a local society. Therefore, these factors will be examined in this research.

In addition, existing research demonstrates the importance of the mothers' attitudes on the impact of a foreign cultural experience on the kaigai-shijyo. Moreover, the data from the mothers of kaigai-shijyo is also useful for understanding the situation of kaigai-shijyo. Especially if the age of a respondent is low, the data from his or her mother is essential to analyze the situation of the kaigai-shijyo. Therefore, in this research, mothers of some kaigai-shijyo are selected as respondents.
CHAPTER III

METHOD

This research used a non-standardized interview as a method. Recruiting was done in the Japanese supplementary school in a Midwestern urban area in the United States. Respondents are Japanese children and adolescents who attend the Japanese supplementary school, their mothers, their teachers, and university students who came to the United States several years ago, because of their fathers' jobs. Interviews were conducted in the Japanese supplementary school and the researcher's home.

Importance of the Research

Former studies about kaigai-shijyo were mainly conducted using large scale quantitative methods; therefore, this qualitative research is useful to explore the situations and problems of kaigai-shijyo in greater depth. In addition, most of the respondents in the previous studies were kaigai-shijyo who were students of a Japanese school or relatively large Japanese supplementary school (Japanese schools are usually operated in areas where many Japanese reside). On this point, this research is valuable because data will be collected in an area where relatively few kaigai-shijyo reside. The Japanese supplementary school where recruiting was done in this research, is the one of the smallest Japanese supplementary schools in
the world.

Subject Selection

The Japanese supplementary school where respondents were selected is located in an urban Midwestern region. The number of students attending the supplementary school is only six; three 2nd grade students, one 7th grader, one 9th grader, and one 11th grader, and three teachers. Every student, their mothers, and their teachers were selected as respondents. The number of students' mothers is five, because one mother has two children in the supplementary school.

In addition, two respondents were added in this research. One is a university student who previously attended a Japanese supplementary school. The other is a university student who did not attend a Japanese supplementary school, although she was a kaigai-shijyo. They were recruited because they are my acquaintances. They shared their past experiences as kaigai-shijyo.

One Japanese Supplementary School in the Midwestern Area

The Japanese supplementary school where recruiting was done is located in a middle-size city in the Midwestern area of the United States. The school was established in 1989 by a Japanese business circle consisting of five Japanese companies. At the beginning, the number of students was over 10. However, the number of Japanese residents decreased because of the recession in the Japanese economy. Currently, the size of the school is the smallest of any Japanese
supplementary school in the United States. Two teachers in the suppleme­ntary school attend a university as international students in the Midwestern area. Although they do not have a teaching certifica­tion, they completed university education in Japan. The other teacher is a housewife who had teaching experience in Japan.

The school is operated by funds from the Japanese business cir­cle ($1, 500 per student per year) and monthly fees from students. Because the base of the supplementary school is the Japanese busi­ness circle, children whose parents do not belong to Japanese compan­ies within the business circle, can not attend the supplementary school. The Japanese supplementary school is not open for every Jap­anese child in the area. In this sense, this school is very exclu­sive. Therefore, there are some Japanese children in the area who do not attend the supplementary school.

Interview Setting

Interviews were conducted at the Japanese supplementary school and the researcher’s house. Six students who attend the Japanese supplementary school, five of their mothers and one teacher of the supplementary school were interviewed in the office of the supple­mentary school. Two university students who were kaigai-shijyo and two teachers of Japanese supplementary schools were interviewed at the researcher’s house. Each session was from 10 to 60 minutes. In the cases where the respondent’s age was low, the session was done within a relatively short time. Interviews were conducted from De-
December 16, 1996 to January 31, 1997. Every interview was conducted in Japanese.

Finally, all names of kaigai-shijyo in this research are fictitious.
CHAPTER IV

FINDINGS

Foreign Cultural Experiences of Kaigai-shijyo

Group A

Akira, Hanako, and Masao are 2nd grade students. Although their situations are different, they all have adapted to a new lifestyle relatively well in the United States.

English Ability

English skills are key issue for kaigai-shijyo to adapt to a local society in the United States.

Akira: He came to the United States in April, 1996, almost 6 months ago. His English ability is not enough to communicate. However, he does not take E.S.L. (English as a Second Language) classes because his teacher in a local school suggested that he need not take it. He started studying English and attended an English language school for a month in Japan. Even though he does not have the English ability, he does not suffer much as a result.

Hanako: About 4 years have passed since Hanako came to the United States. Before residing in the Midwestern area, she lived in Atlanta, Georgia for 3 years. She can speak English well, and she does not take E.S.L. classes.
Masao: He has stayed in the United States for 6 years. Masao can speak English, although he still has some problems in reading and writing. He is taking E.S.L. classes.

Japanese Ability

Akira has stayed in the United States for six months, so his Japanese ability is still at a 2nd grade level. Hanako and Masao has stayed over three years, therefore, their Japanese has not achieved the same level as other 2nd grade students in Japan. They can speak better in English than in Japanese.

Masao's mother says,

I thought that Masao's Japanese was enough as the 2nd grade because there is no other students to compare. . . .then, we went back to Japan temporarily for summer. And let Masao attend a school in Japan. I can not explain it well, but his words are very few, and his way of speaking and his expression in Japanese is very poor compared to other Japanese children. . . . I feel Masao stopped growing up since he was in a kindergarten.

Family Life

For children, family life is the core in their lives. Yano (1989) states that "comparing to children in Japan, kaigai-shijyo are limited to living place. So, for kaigai-shijyo, family life is more important than children in Japan" (p. 22). The bond of family becomes close because of residing in a foreign country.

Conversation in the Family. Existing data show that the amount of conversation between children and their parents increased when they reside in foreign countries, compared with when they lived in
Hanako and Masao have stayed in the United States since they started kindergarten. Therefore, it is difficult to compare the amount of conversation between the family in Japan and in the United States. In the case of Akira, he had much more conversation with parents than he had in Japan. In Japan, Akira’s father was busy with his work and came back home late at night. Therefore, Akira and his father did not have much time to communicate with each other. Now, his father comes home early, so the amount of conversation has increased tremendously. In addition, Akira has more time to speak with his mother, too. Although Akira’s mother had a job in Japan, she can not work in the United States.

Language in the Family. In Akira’s family, everybody speaks in Japanese. Hanako speaks to her parents in Japanese, while she speaks to her younger brother in English. In addition, when she talks to herself, she uses English. In the case of Hanako, she feels that it is easier to speak in English than in Japanese. Hanako’s parents do not mind Hanako using English at home. In contrast, Masao’s parents forbid Masao to use English at home. Masao uses Japanese when he communicates with his parents. He tries to use Japanese when he speaks to his younger sisters. However, sometimes, he uses English without being conscious.

Masao’s mother:

If they (Masao and his sisters) are completely absorbed in playing a game, they speak almost all in English. At first, I absolutely tell them not to use English, . . . absolutely. But,
I do not want to scold so often. When they play games, their atmosphere arouse, I do not want to interrupt them. But I tell them not to use English. Sometimes I am worried that they are going to an English world.

Masao’s mother thinks that language in the family plays an important role in maintaining Japanese culture, therefore, she tries to make Masao speak Japanese in the family. Akira’s mother also thinks that the family is an important place to maintain Japanese culture, and Akira’s parents use particularly difficult Japanese words that Akira does not know to broaden Akira’s new vocabulary. On the other hand, Hanako’s mother does not attribute special importance to language in family.

Local School Life

Satisfaction With a Local School. Akira, Hanako, and Masao are satisfied with the local school life. All three of them answered "yes" when I asked whether the local school is interesting or not.

Hanako’s mother:

When Hanako caught a cold and she had to be absent from school, she said "I want go to school. I want to go to school. It’s too boring to stay at home." She really likes to go to local school.

However, Akira sometimes says that he does not want to go to school.

Akira’s mother:

Akira is usually looking forward to going to school. But, he said that he did not want to go to school two or three times before. When he was playing, he was left out by other students. At that time, Akira realized that he could not speak English well. . . ., Usually, little children can play with each other, even if they can not speak well. But, when Akira asked the other students to join the group, they rejected him. Then, Akira could not say in English why Akira could not join. He
came back home and said "I want to go back to Japan, I can not understand Americans and American language." But, the next day, he forgot and he went to school, because Akira is a person who does not mind everything too much.

**Degree of Understanding in Classes.** Akira can not keep up with his classes, except mathematics. He has studied hard since he was in Japan. Therefore, he received a good score on a spelling test recently, even though he can not speak English well. Akira is proud of himself because he is good at mathematics in his class. His mother thinks that his successes in math help him to adjust to the local school.

Hanako and Masao have not had many problems in classes because of the length of stay. Although Masao is still taking E.S.L. courses, he can catch up with his class. However, their reading and writing skills may be inferior to other American 2nd grade students.

**Friends in a Local School.** To have friends in a local school is also important in adapting not only to a local school, but also to a local society in foreign countries. To see the social network of kaigai-shijyo in a local school is to know how well they are adapting to a local society.

Hanako has many friends in the local school, and she goes out with them after school. She lives in an apartment where many other students live. After coming back from school, she always plays with the other American students who live in same apartment complex. On the contrary, Masao and Akira can not play with other American students much. Unlike Hanako, Masao and Akira do not have much time to
play with other American students, although they have some American friends in school. In the case of Masao, because he has to study so much, he does not have time to play with his American friends. Akira’s mother wants Akira to play with his American friends, but unlike Hanako, Akira needs a ride to go out. Akira’s mother started to contact the other American mothers, but she can not contact them often because she thinks that she does not have enough ability in English to speak with the other American mothers. Therefore, Akira can play with his other American friends only two or three times a month.

**Discrimination and the Problem of Bullying.** Because of their age, they probably do not understand the meaning of discrimination and they do not feel racial discrimination. Therefore, I asked their mother whether they were bullied or not. Some data show the problem of bullying against Japanese children in the United States (Minoura, 1991; Cunningham, 1988). Fortunately, they are not suffering from bullying.

**Japanese Supplementary School**

**Satisfaction With a Supplementary School.** The three kaigai-shijyo like Japanese supplementary school because they can meet other Japanese students and speak in Japanese. Although they do not like to do homework, they are satisfied with Japanese supplementary school.

**Educational Achievement.** Akira exceeds Hanako and Masao in
both mathematics and Japanese. Akira came to the United States only 6 months ago, and his mother makes a large effort to keep Akira's achievement level in Japanese subjects high. Therefore, even if he resides in the United States, Akira maintains the same academic skills as 2nd grade students in Japan. Teachers in supplementary school approve of his educational achievement in the Japanese supplementary school.

On the other hand, Hanako and Masao have some problems, especially in Japanese. Both of them dislike writing essays in Japanese and can not write essays as well as a 2nd grader. They can not compose a sentence well in Japanese. Also, they do not know and can not write as many Chinese characters as a Japanese 2nd grade student would know. In addition, because of the lack of knowledge of Chinese characters and Japanese words, their reading skills in Japanese are poor.

Their teacher:

Hanako and Masao sometimes use English when they do not know the word in Japanese. Also, they write English, if they can not write the word in Japanese. Sometimes, they can not understand questions written in Japanese. At that time I pronounce the question in Japanese and explain in oral Japanese, then they can solve the question. Hanako and Masao are having difficulty to catch up with Akira.

Amount of Study

Because the three kaigai-shijyo have to study for both American school and Japanese supplementary school, they study a lot. Especially, Masao and Akira. Masao's mother thinks that he needs much
more time to study because he can not concentrate well. Hanako studies about one hour a day, while Masao and Akira study over one and a half hours a day. Hanako and Masao feel the burden of intensive study, especially doing homework from a Japanese school. Although Akira studies hard, he also studied hard when he was in Japan. Therefore, he does not mind studying a lot.

Cultural Identity. Masao’s mother says that when Masao saw an Asian person, he asked me whether he is Japanese or not. I answered that he is Chinese. But, he can not understand it well in his mind. He said, 'Am I Japanese, because I was born in Japan? But, Ayaka was born in America, but she went back to Japan. Which is Ayaka, Japanese or American?' Masao likes airplane, and he is also interested in passports. So, I said to Masao "I think I am Japanese. But if people who are born in America, they can receive an American passport, too. Then, when they become adult, they can choose which passport they want to take," and Masao replied me "I prefer being an American, I want to be an American." Maybe, I always makes him study the Japanese subjects hard. I always said him "If you go back to Japan, you will not be able to catch up with other Japanese students. You have to go back to Japan, so you study hard." So, Masao told me to be an American.

The three kaigai-shijyo have not established a stable cultural identity because of their age. However, as Masao’s comment shows, Masao’s cultural identity is close to an American identity.

Masao’s Japanese teacher says that "When I let Masao write an essay, he wrote something like that, 'It’s too boring to read Japanese books. I do not like Japanese, because it is difficult. I prefer English.'"

Masao’s mother states that "when Masao went to Japan, and I saw that he was playing with other Japanese children. He seemed not to be familiar with other children. I think he became an American child."
On the other hand, until now, Akira is more familiar with the Japanese way than the American way. The reason is probably that his stay in the United States is not long, compared to Hanako and Masao.

Akira:

Americans are too rough. I am shocked. When they cut paper, they cannot do it neatly. They tear roughly and crumpled up. My teacher put toys in order, but she did in a rough way. It is not neat. I do not like that.

In the case of Hanako, she is a well-adapted child. When she went to Japan during summer vacation, she attended a Japanese school temporarily. She adapted to a new school in Japan and made many Japanese friends quickly, while Masao could not adapt to a school in Japan easily. Usually, the children who have experienced foreign cultures have difficulty in re-adapting to Japanese school. However, she can adapt to both American school and Japanese school well. Therefore, it is difficult to say which culture is more suitable for Hanako. She said that it does not matter which school (in the U.S. or in Japan) she goes to, while Masao prefers school in the United States and Akira prefers school in Japan. However, Hanako's personality and identity seems to be affected by residing in the United States. In addition, Japan is a foreign country for Hanako because Hanako can stay in Japan during summer vacation only.

Hanako's mother:

Hanako changed her personality since she came to America. Before coming to America, maybe her personality was not established well. But she was a relatively quiet girl. Now, she expresses her will clearly. She says "yes" or "no" clearly. When I met a mother of Hanako's American friend, she said to me "Hanako states 'no' clearly, if she does not need something. That kind of character, usually Japanese do not have." To ex-
press "yes" or "no" is good in the U.S., but if she goes back
to Japan, she will be said by other people that her personality
is severe. I do not think that it is good or bad whether she
expresses her will clearly. But, Japan is a society where peo­
ple do not express their will clearly. But, it's no use, be­
cause that is her character.

Hanako's Japanese teacher says that "Hanako and Masao know
that they are Japanese, but they talk about Japan like it is a for­
eign country."

Parents' Priorities for Children (Japanese-Oriented or Local
Society-Oriented)

For kaigai-shijyo, parents' attitude toward a foreign culture
and Japanese culture is a key point in adjusting to a foreign so­
ciety. In this paper, putting the highest priority on adjusting to a
local school and a local society is called local society-oriented.
Putting first priority on keeping Japanese culture in a foreign coun­
try is Japanese-oriented. Hanako's parents are local society-orient­
ed, while Masao's parents are Japanese-oriented. Akira's parents are
both local society-oriented and Japanese-oriented.

Hanako's mother:

Hanako absolutely falls behind other Japanese students in Jap­
an. But, I am reconciled to the fact. . . . Every day, Hanako
studies for a local school, and plays with American friends and
does homework for both local school and supplementary school.
Time is limited, so it is impossible to let Hanako do every­
thing. . . . When we came to America, we decided that the lo­
cal life and local school take precedence over Japanese style.
Hanako will go back to Japan. She will catch up with other
students in Japan because she will be back before being in 4th
grade.

Masao's mother:

To be honest, I desperately make an effort to make Masao study
Japanese subjects. At home, we do not put the importance on studying English. If we decided to live in America, we try to absorb in American society and do not study for Japanese school. But, the person who goes back to Japan has to study Japanese subjects. Masao will go back to Japan. My family adopts Japanese style.

Akira’s mother:

In our family, it is main issue to catch up with Japanese culture and Japanese subjects. But, while we are residing here, we want to get the good points of the American way. I want to let Akira study the great things of America. I hope he adapts to a new school. But, at least Japanese and mathematics. . . . I make Akira study Japanese and mathematics, he is not necessarily willing in studying Japanese subjects. But, I feel sorry for Akira, but if I am not relentless for studying, Akira will have troubles in Japan.

Adaptation Level

Masao and Hanako have adapted to a foreign culture, while Akira is in the process of adaptation. The three of them could not communicate in English when they arrived in the United States. Now, Hanako and Masao can almost achieve the level of English of a 2nd grader, although, Hanako and Masao are a little inferior compared to the American children. To speak English fluently at the same level as her age, Hanako needed about one year and Masao required three years. At this stage, Hanako has adapted to the local society in the United States very well. She has many American students as friends and does well in the local school. Masao also adapted to the local school. Akira recently talks a lot about his American friends at home. This shows he is gradually adapting to the local school. Probably Akira will need one or two years to communicate in English without problems. Both Hanako and Akira are extroverted. They adapted relatively
easily to a new situation, while Masao has difficulty in adapting to a new situation. Since Masao is not an extrovert, he needed more time to adapt to the local society in the United States.

Masao's mother:

Masao needed much more time to adapt to the local society than other kaigai-shijyo. In general, it is said that young children is relatively easy to get English. But, Masao wasn't. At first, he was always said to me "I don't like English because I don't know." Probably his character is related to it. He is a relatively introvertive child. But, fortunately he could adapt to the local school. To tell my truth, sometimes I think that I do not want to go back to Japan, if I think about Masao. Because Masao is probably a child who has difficulty in adapting a new situation. Masao could adapt to the local society with great difficulty. To tell my feelings honestly, I do not want do such a hard effort any more to let Masao re-adapt to Japanese society.

If the three of them are categorized into the types identified by Minoura, Hanako and Masao fall into Type V which refers to those who are American at all three levels; cognitive, behavioral and affective level. Akira falls into Type II which refers to those who know the difference between American and Japanese, but act as Japanese. Akira is in the process of adapting to the local society. Therefore, there is some possibility that he will move to the another type, as he continues to reside in the United States.

Problems

From the interviews, it seems that the three kaigai-shijyo have the burden of too much studying. Usually, Hanako does homework on Saturday for the Japanese supplementary school. On Saturday, Hanako often tells her mother that she has a stomachache. She feels the bur-
den of studying Japanese subjects. Although Akira’s mother manages to grant time for Akira to play with other Americans, Akira’s schedule is filled with studying. Akira attends a cramming school for Japanese subjects and he has a tutor for English twice a week. However, Akira does not complain about intense studying. Masao also has to study a lot. Masao can not do things that he wants to do because of studying.

Masao’s mother:

I want to let Masao do sports, he says he wants to join a sports club. It was said by my friend “It’s important to select things, sometimes you need to cut and take. If you let Masao do everything, he will die. So, at some degree, you have to throw away something for him and let Masao concentrate on the most important things.” Anyway I want to let him do sports, but it’s not time now. Recently there is no time to play. I want him to play, but he is very busy with studying.

Group B

Yukio is a 5th grade student, and came to the United States in 1995. Tomoki and Emi are brother and sister. They came to the United States in May, 1994. Tomoki is in the 9th grade and Emi is in the 12th grade. They have an older sister who went back to Japan last year, because their sister could not adapt to the American ways.

English Ability

Yukio has been in the United States for one year and a half. Yukio started to learn English when he was four years old and attended an English language school once a week in Japan. Therefore, before coming to the United States, he knew some words. Yukio is taking
E.S.L. classes. He thinks that he can speak and listen in English well, but he can not read and write English well.

Two years have passed since Tomoki came to the United States. When he came to the United States, he could not understand English at all. Tomoki did not study English at all in Japan. Now, his English is gradually improving. However, still he can not express his feelings and understand well in English. He is taking E.S.L. classes every day in a local school.

Like Tomoki, two years have passed since Emi came to the United States. Emi studied English for three years in Japan because English is a required subject in Japanese junior high schools. However, the English that Emi learned in Japan is not practical, she only learned reading and writing. Therefore, she has a hard time in a local high school because she cannot use English well. She is taking E.S.L. classes every day.

Yukio can speak English best among the three.

Japanese Ability

Yukio does not have a problem with his Japanese apparently. Although he has studied Japanese as a subject in the supplementary school, Yukio’s Japanese teacher thinks that his Japanese ability is gradually declining, especially his writing skills. The teacher thinks that Yukio’s writing skills and reading skills in Japanese are not at the same level as a 5th grader in Japan. According to his teacher, he cannot construct sentences well and sum up the readings
Tomoki’s Japanese was established before coming to the United States. According to his teacher of Japanese, Tomoki keeps the same level of Japanese skills as others of the same age in Japan.

Emi’s Japanese was also established before coming to the United States. However, Emi’s Japanese as a subject is perhaps inferior to the other Japanese students in Japan because she has not studied Japanese seriously since she left Japan. In the Japanese supplementary school, she does not study Japanese.

Family Life

It is said that each family member has to cooperate to overcome many of the difficulties in a foreign country. Some literature shows that the bonds of some families become stronger in a foreign country (Yano, 1989). As literature shows, Tomoki and Emi’s mother states that their family bond is strong and cooperation is necessary to live in a foreign country.

Conversation in the Family. The amount of conversation has not changed in Tomoki and Emi’s family compared to their life in Japan. When they were in Japan, they talked a lot in their family. Yukio also talks a lot with his family. Yukio is really glad to have much more time to talk with his father in the United States than in Japan. When they lived in Japan, they did not have time to communicate with each other. Yukio’s father came home late because of hard work in Japan.
Yukio’s mother:

Since his father came to America, he can have more extra time with the family. When we were in Japan, my husband was really busy and came back late. He only saw Yukio’s face when Yukio was sleeping. But, now that we came here, my husband comes home around six. So, they always say that they are really happy to have much time to spend together.

Language in the Family. They talk in Japanese in both Yukio’s family and Tomoki and Emi’s family.

Local School Life

Satisfaction With a Local School. Yukio is satisfied with the local school; Tomoki and Emi are not fully satisfied with the local school. Yukio enjoys the local school life. The reasons are that Yukio can communicate well in English and has many American friends in school. Yukio is not an outgoing type; however, he could make many friends in the local school. Yukio said that he did not like the local school when he could not understand English and did not have many friends.

Yukio:

Recently I can almost understand English and express my feelings in English. So, I can play with other students. They treat me as a good friend and they are very kind. I like going to school and I think I am lucky because I could come to America.

Tomoki and Emi do not like the local school. They think that they absolutely prefer schools in Japan to schools in the United States. They state that they prefer schools in Japan because they do not have a language problem and have many friends. Tomoki and Emi do
not have friends who go out together after school and their English skills have not reached a level where they can communicate without problems.

**Degree of Understanding in Classes.** Yukio said that he can almost understand what his teacher is saying in classes. And he can express his ideas in English. However, he thinks that his reading skills have not kept pace with the other students. Yukio wants to finish his E.S.L. programs as soon as possible because Yukio prefers attending regular classes with his other American friends to attending the special E.S.L. courses.

On the contrary, Tomoki and Emi prefer attending the E.S.L. classes to attending the regular classes with the other American students. In the E.S.L. classes, they feel relaxed. E.S.L. classrooms are important places for Tomoki and Emi to escape from pressure of the English world.

Tomoki and Emi's mother:

Sometimes I am listening to English conversation tapes for practice in my car. And I pick my children up. When they got in the car, they stop the tape. "That's enough. I don't want to listen to English any more. Stop the tape, please. Now, I don't need English" said to me. Probably, they feel relax after finishing school and going out of the school building. Maybe, also in the morning, they become nervous just as they enter the school building.

**Friends in a Local School.** Recently, Yukio has begun to go out with his American friends after school. Tomoki and Emi have friends in the local school, although they do not meet outside of the school. Emi sometimes worries about friends in the local school.
Emi:

I have some friends. But, when I can not speak well with the friends, I really want to go back to Japan. I'm chagrined at not expressing what I really want to say. If in Japanese, I can say anything without thinking.

Tomoki and Emi's mother thinks that because their personality is not the outgoing type, they have a hard time to make good friends in a foreign society.

Discrimination and the Problem of Bullying. The three of them do not feel that they are discriminated against and bullied by the other students.

Yukio's mother:

Twice or three times, Yukio had his personal belongings taken away. He did not know the suspected others. So, he said that he probably lost them somewhere. Then I asked the other mothers about it, they said that his personal belongings were taken. Yukio does not want to think that his things were stolen. So, I did not tell him that his things were stolen.

Cunningham states that some Japanese children have their personal belongings taken because some Japanese students have specific things such as novel stationary made in Japan (1988). Yukio's case is not a special case for a kaigai-shijyo. Emi and Tomoki are not discriminated against and do not have nasty things said about them because of their race. However, Emi told that her feelings were hurt by American students because of their unconscious behavior.

Emi:

It was unpleasant, when I was laughed at by American students. Sometimes I did not understand English well and could not say what I wanted to say. When I could not express well in English, they laughed me. At that time, I was very hurt and wanted to go back to Japan.
Japanese Supplementary School

Satisfaction With a Supplementary School. The three of them feel bothered by going to a supplementary school every Sunday. They think that they lose one holiday because of the Japanese supplementary school, although they do not hate going and studying Japanese subjects. They think that to attend the Japanese supplementary school is a duty.

Emi:

I have to go to supplementary school. But, it bothers me in going. Actually, I would have two days off. To attend the supplementary school is troublesome for me. Especially, before exams in a local school or when I have many assignment for the local school, I really don't want to go.

Tomoki says that "sometimes, going to supplementary school is bothersome. But I know I have to go, because I will go back to Japan. Supplementary school is like a cramming school."

Educational Attainment. In the case of Tomoki, he can keep the same level of Japanese as students in 9th grade. Emi can keep up with the Japanese mathematics level. However, in other subjects that she does not study in the supplementary school, she may fall behind students in Japan. Yukio's teachers thinks that he is gradually falling behind 5th grade students in Japan; especially, his writing skills.

Amount of Study. The three kaigai-shijyo think that the amount of study is not much, compared with the amount of study of students in Japan. At first, Emi studied six or seven hours a day to catch up in classes and do assignments for the local school. But now she stu-
dies only two or three hours a day. She explained that the amount of study decreased, as she increased her ability to study in English. Yukio studies one hour a day and Tomoki studies two hours a day. They think that if they were in Japan, they would have to study much more to prepare for the entrance examination. One major difference from group A is that the three of them do not feel the burden of intense and prolonged study.

Cultural Identity. Their cultural identity are Japanese, especially Emi and Tomoki. Before coming to the United States, their identify was established as a Japanese. They think that their country is Japan, and they are Japanese. Recently, Yukio prefers American books and American videos to Japanese ones, while Tomoki and Emi still have deep attachment to Japanese things. Tomoki and Emi read Japanese books and comics imported from Japan and play with Japanese games.

Parents’ Priorities for Children (Japanese-Oriented or Local Society-Oriented)

Tomoki and Emi’s parents are local society-oriented in their children’s education while Yukio’s parents are Japanese-oriented.

Yukio’s mother:

We do not know when we can go back to Japan. But, we do not mind that Yukio’s English is halfway. When we go back to Japan, Yukio needs Japanese and Japanese subjects much more than English. To be honest, I want to go back to Japan, if I think of Yukio’s education.

In the case of their mothers’ preferences, Yukio’s mother prefers
associating with the local people in the United States, while Tomoki
and Emi's mother prefers associating with Japanese people. Their
mothers' attitude about friends in the United States may affect
their children.

**Adaptation Level**

Yukio adapts more easily to a foreign society, while Tomoki and
Emi do not adapt as well. Yukio does not want to go back to Japan,
while Tomoki and Emi want to go back to Japan. Although the three
kaigai-shijyo are attempting to establish their lifestyles in the
United States, Yukio adapts to the local society best among the
three.

Yukio adapts to the local society well, as the comment "I am
glad to come to America" shows. To adapt to the local society, he
required almost one year and a half.

Yukio's mother:

He endured a lot when we just came to the U.S. Yukio did not
say anything. But his parents can guess from his face that he
had a hard time until he was able to speak in English and have
friends.

Although Yukio is not an extrovert type, his age when he came to the
United States was nine years old. Therefore, Yukio adapts to a for-
eign culture and society relatively well. He also became able to
speak in English well. Improvement of his English also helps him to
adapt to the local society.

On the contrary, Tomoki and Emi have not adapted to the local
society as easily in their efforts to establish their lifestyles in
the United States. The reasons that they do not adapt well are their ages and their characters. They came to the United States at relatively old ages. According to Minoura, the age range is from nine to eleven for those who adapt to a foreign society well. Tomoki came to the United States at 13 years old and Emi at 15 years old. In addition, they are introverts. Although Tomoki and Emi do not have much contact with the local society, they may establish a comfortable lifestyle in the United States. Their mother said that Tomoki and Emi came to laugh recently, although they did not laugh at all for the first year they were in the United States. Their mother thinks that before being familiar with the local society and the local school, they had a hard time mentally.

Tomoki and Emi can not explain the difference between American and Japanese cultures in detail, while Yukio can recognize the difference between two the countries in terms of personal relationships.

Yukio:

There is a difference between Japanese and Americans in the way of playing. If I play with my Japanese friends, they are playing with one thing for a long time. On the other hand, my American friends can not keep playing with the same thing for a long time. They always change their toys. For example, they play with a card game for ten minutes, and play with a radio-control model car for fifteen minutes and then change to another game. I prefer the Japanese way of playing.

Yukio's mother:

In the United States, the students who are physically handicapped attend regular schools, while in Japan these students can not attend regular schools. Yukio become a good friends with the student who uses a walker. When Yukio came back from his house, he said me "Mom, it is great, his house is great. His house has an elevator for him. The house is built for himself. It is great, mom. It is impossible to build such a kind
of house in Japan."

Tomoki says "in the United States, there is a lot of nature and the prices are low, compared with Japan."

Emi responds that "I am not sure of the difference between American and Japanese."

As these comments show, Yukio is adapting best to a foreign society among the three kaigai-shijyo. If they were divided into Minoura’s categories, Yukio falls into Type III which refers to those who have both American and Japanese patterns of behavior and are close to Japanese at the affective level. Tomoki and Emi are categorized into Type II.

Problems

If kaigai-shijyo can not make friends in a local school, they are in a situation where is difficult to have contact with the same generation. Yukio was in this situation, while Tomoki and Emi are still in this situation. Without contact with the same generation, their experiences in life are limited and their family life occupies their time.

In the case where a Japanese supplementary school is large, it is possible to have friendships with the same age group in the supplementary school even if kaigai-shijyo do not have friends in a local school. However, the Japanese supplementary school that Yukio, Tomoki and Emi attend is very small and it is like a coaching school. Therefore, unlike large supplementary school, they do not have a
chance to have contact with the same aged students.

**Group C**

Taro and Mayumi are university students who came to the United States as kaigai-shijyo several years ago. Taro attended a Japanese supplementary school, while Mayumi did not attend a Japanese supplementary school. They shared their past experiences as a kaigai-shijyo.

Taro was born in the United States and went back to Japan before he became two years old. He came to the United States again, when he was in 8th grade. He needed two years to acquire hearing ability in English, and three years to speak English. Taro attended a Japanese supplementary school. Now, Taro can speak English fluently, although his ability is not perfect. He is a college student in the Midwestern area.

Mayumi came to the United States when she was in 12th grade. She did not attend a Japanese supplementary school because of her father's local-society-oriented policy. After graduating from high school, she decided to go to a university in the United States. Now, she is a sophomore in a university in the Midwest and 21 years old.

**English Ability**

When Mayumi attended a local high school, she suffered from a lack of English ability. Though she still has some problems with her English, she is doing well at her university in the United States.
Taro’s English was poor, when he first arrived in the United States. Taro required a few years to communicate in English fluently. Now he can speak English very well.

**Japanese Ability**

Mayumi did not have problems with other Japanese people. However, with Japanese as a school subject, she thinks that her Japanese ability is inferior to other Japanese students because she spent her last year of high school in the United States. Mayumi did not study Japanese for the entrance examinations for Japanese universities. That is one reason that Mayumi attends a university in the United States and not in Japan.

Taro states that he has some problems in reading and writing in Japanese, although he can speak Japanese without problems. Specifically, Taro does not know many Chinese characters. She states "when I read a textbook for 9th grade students in Japanese, there are some Chinese characters that I can not read. I lack the Chinese character ability in Japanese."

**Family Life**

**Conversation in the Family.** The amount of conversation increased in both Mayumi’s and Taro’s families after coming to the United States.

Taro:

When I was in Japan, I did not talk with my parents at all. If I spoke to my mother in Japan, I only said "I’m home." Only
this. Probably only once a day, I spoke with my father or mother. Then, I came to the U.S., I came to speak with my parents because there was no one who I could speak to in the local school at the beginning. The amount of conversation with parents greatly increased.

Taro needed somebody whom he could speak with because he did not have friends in the local school at the beginning. Therefore, he became to speak with his parents, although he did not speak with his parents at all in Japan. He was not necessarily happy in having much time to speak with his parents. Mayumi also did not have friends in the local school, therefore, she became to speak with her parents a lot. She required somebody with whom she could talk.

Language in the Family. In Mayumi’s family, everybody speaks in Japanese. On the other hand, Taro speaks in Japanese with his parents and his older brother. Taro speaks in English with his older sister, because she feels that she is an American. American culture is more familiar to Taro’s sister than Japanese culture.

Local School Life

Satisfaction with a Local School. Mayumi had a really hard time in the local high school because she could not communicate well in English and keep up with classes. Like Emi and Tomoki, for Mayumi, E.S.L. class was a place that she could relax apart from American students.

Mayumi:

I attended to classes and just sat down in classes. I felt pressure strongly because I did not understand at all. But, I did not think that I did not go to school. I had to go to
school. I had no choice whether I was willing or not. If I did not go to school, I thought that I could not catch up with my classes more and more. If I am absent from school only one day, I did not catch up with absolutely. Not "I did not want to go," but "I have to go"... My father seemed also to feel tired mentally. We, our family, came to the U.S. and my mother, my sister and I could not speak English... In addition, my mother always said that she wanted to go back to Japan. I thought that I should not let my father be troubled, so I had to go to school.

Taro also thought that he was not satisfied with the local school, especially the middle school.

Taro:

I didn't tell my parents that I did not want to go to school. There's no helping it. For my parents, they knew that I did not catch up with classes, even if I did not say anything. Even if I did not want to go to school, I had to go. The reasons that I did not want to go to a school were that I could not understand classes at all and I could not express what I wanted to say. And, I felt that I could not become a company with American students. American saw me as a different person.

Degree of Understanding in Classes. Both Taro and Mayumi stated that they did not catch up classes at all for first several months. Gradually, they learned how to study in English. However, they were behind except in mathematics compared to American students. One of the main reasons that Taro hated to attend school is that he could not catch up with classes.

Friends in a Local School. Mayumi explains her difficulties making friends in the local high school.

Mayumi:

I am not an outgoing person. Difficult, it is difficult to make friends. So, I did not have friends. My sister, she was young at that time. She was thirteen years old. So, she could have many friends, and she always went to a shopping mall with her
friends. I was thinking why she could make friends. May be the age and personality. But, even if my personality is outgoing. it is difficult to make friends with Americans unless Americans accept me. For example, the people who are interested in Japanese, they take a positive attitude toward Japanese. Otherwise, they do not care at all and they think of us as just Asians that stay in the U.S. In addition, I could not help thinking that Americans think that I am a different race, "I am an Asian." For example, when I was taking a driving class, my partner was an African American boy. The teacher divided students into couples at random. I know that my partner does not care about such a thing. But I also could not help thinking that he was displeased to be my partner.

Taro also states the same things as Mayumi.

Taro:

When I was a middle school student, I did not understand the classes at all. For example, in a science class, there was some work done in a pair. At that time, I always felt sorry for my partner because I felt that I was a burden to him. Even if the partner asked me to be his partner, I felt sorry for him. I know he did not mind, but . . . , I could not help thinking he was sorry.

These feelings are very typical of Japanese. Japanese sometimes do not understand the words directly because Japanese try to search for the real meaning behind what is said or the contextual interpretation. For instance, if one person says "yes," it does not necessarily mean "yes." Sometimes the meaning is "no," even if the person said "yes." The person can not say "yes" because he or she respects the other person's feelings. The person guesses that if he or she says "no," the other person will be hurt by the word. Japanese try to understand implicit meanings from their behavior, facial expression, tone of their voices and so on. This skill of understanding implied meanings is a tradition in Japanese culture and an important skill for communicating well in Japanese society. Usually, Japanese
learn this skill during the socialization process. This skill is related to interpersonal behavior among Japanese. Donald Keene (1987), Japanologist, stated that

I came to be able to understand the real meanings outside of the words, and I almost can guess what the other person wants to say when he or she say vague words. In Japan, it is true that there is indirect communication made up for over several hundred years. (p. 10).

This difference in interpersonal relationships between the United States and Japan makes it difficult for Japanese students to have friends in local schools in the United States.

When Taro became a high school student, he could have friends in the local school. At that time his English improved, although he still had a complex about his English.

Taro:

Character is very important in making friends in the local high school. If a person is not an outgoing type, it is very difficult to make friends. Usually, before 12th grade, peer groups are already established. If Japanese come to a local school at a high grade, it is very difficult to have friends unless the person is an outgoing or outstanding for something.

Discrimination and the Problem of Bullying. Both Taro and Mayumi were not discriminated against as Asians or as Japanese in the school, although Taro was sometimes looked down on for being Asian.

Taro:

I was sometimes looked down upon. For example, "Haa choo" was said to me. Probably some Kung fu sounds. Suddenly some students said loudly to me "Sumo" and some words which did not make sense. Sometimes I felt hurt by their making fun of me, but I never was bullied by the other students.
Japanese Supplementary School

Mayumi did not attend a Japanese supplementary school, because of her father's policy. On the other hand, Taro reflected on his supplementary school days.

Taro's supplementary school was a relatively large school in the United States and the number of students was over one hundred. The Japanese supplementary school is located in the Midwest and Taro attended the school every Saturday.

Satisfaction with a Supplementary School. Taro:

Supplementary school was only place where I could romp about in Japanese. At home, there is no playfellow, so I could not make merry in Japanese. I did not play with my parents, so, in this sense, the supplementary school was the heaven where I could speak and make merry in Japanese. I could say everything that I wanted to say in Japanese, make fun of others in Japanese, and be mad in Japanese. Supplementary school was a playing place, so I went there only to play.

Taro thought that the supplementary school was the only place to play with other Japanese that were the same generation. However, he felt the burden of going to supplementary school.

Taro:

Painful, it was really painful to go to the supplementary school. It was much more painful to go to the supplementary school than to go to the local school. At that time, I had already decided to go to university in the U.S. not in Japan. I did not care what a Japanese supplementary school was. I went to supplementary school, only my parents wanted me to attend a supplementary school. . . . I was very foolish, I could not keep pace with mathematics at all. And Japanese neither. I could not read Chinese characters at all. So, the supplementary school was not interesting.
Amount of Study. Mayumi:

Until six months passed since I started to attend the local school, I could not afford to have free time mentally. After my finishing school, my mother sometimes told me to go shopping with her. But I always said "No, no, I do not have time," although I had time to sleep. I don’t know why I studied so much. Anyway I studied a lot at that time. After six or seven months passed, I could afford to have spare time. Then I could go shopping. I did not know the point how to study in English.

Mayumi studied for six or seven hours or more a day to catch up with her classes and Taro also studied hard until he learned how to study in English.

Cultural Identity. Mayumi’s identity is Japanese because she came to the United States after she established her stable identity.

Mayumi:

I have never listen to American music by myself. Usually, the person who came to the U.S. to study abroad is interested in American culture very much. For example, they know many American music and singers. They came to the U.S., because they like the U.S. But, I am the opposite. I love Japan and Japanese music. I came to the U.S. without knowing any American music.

Taro thinks that he is Japanese, although he thinks he can not live in Japan. Because of the length of his stay in the United States, he thinks that to re-socialize to Japanese society would be difficult for him.

Taro:

I came to have a deep attachment with Japanese culture since I came to the United States. After three years passed since I came to the U.S., I went to Japan temporarily. At that time, I had interests in Japanese trends. I realized that Japan is interesting, although I did not think that I wanted to live in Japan. But, I always think that I want to go to Japan as leisure. Since I came to the U.S., I came to like Japan and Japanese culture. Whenever I was asked about Japan by Americans, I felt embarrassed not knowing Japanese culture. I started to
read Japanese novels and books and watch Japanese videos.

Taro:

I do not have any plans to go back to Japan unless I can find a good job in Japan. Anyway, even if I go to Japan, maximum is two or three years. It's impossible to live in Japan over three years. I can not live in Japan for a long time.

Taro does not have much conflict about his identity, although he had a conflict before.

Taro:

I am Japanese, so there is no use in being seen as Japanese by others and determined as a different person by Americans. But, when I was with American friends, I did not want to be seen as a Japanese and a special person. While hanging out with American friends, I did not want to be recognized as a Japanese. It was really sad things, but I was ashamed being Japanese. I wanted not be Japanese. After all, if I am with an American, I did not want to be Japanese. So, I realized that I feel easy with Japanese, after graduating high school. There is no use in thinking about my nationality, because I am Japanese. Fortunately, I could have an identity as Japanese, while some kaigai-shijyo can not have a Japanese identity. So, after entering a university, I realize strongly that I am Japanese, and I came to appeal to Americans that I am Japanese.

As Taro's comment shows, some kaigai-shijyo are suffering from their identities. Their conflict is serious. Because of the length of stay, some kaigai-shijyo think that their way of thinking and acting are close to American ways, and they come to have an American identity. However, apparently they are determined to be seen as a Japanese person in the United States. In addition, if they go back to Japan, they feel uncomfortable with Japanese ways because their way of thinking is close to American ways. They assimilate into American culture. Fortunately, Taro can act as an American, but his way of thinking is close to Japanese. If I explain Taro's case by using
Minoura's theory, Taro is bicultural at the behavioral and cognitive levels. At the affective level, he is more Japanese. Therefore, he did not suffer from an identity conflict much. He has a Japanese identity.

Taro:

I just happened to feeling much more relaxed with Japanese than with Americans. But, the kaigai-shijyo who feel easier with Americans than with Japanese, have a conflict of identity. They think that "I feel easier with Americans, but I am not recognized as an American." Their culture that they grow up is the United States, and their way of thinking is almost American. But they are recognized as a Japanese by Japanese. Even if they think they are not Japanese, Americans also do not think they are Americans.

Mayumi:

I know a Japanese boy who came to the United States, when he was five or six years old. At that time, he had stayed in the United States for nine or ten years. He does not want to think that he is a Japanese. At the school bus, I asked him in Japanese "Can I sit there?" Then he ignored me and he shooed away me by his hand. He thinks he is an American, so he hated that he was asked by me in Japanese. . . . And his sister said me one day, "I think you are better than me, because I am non-committal and rootless. As a Japanese, my Japanese is not established well and I can not become an American. I am closer to an American mentally, but I am not an American."

Parents' Priorities for Children (Japanese-Oriented or Local Society-Oriented)

Both Mayumi's and Taro's parents are local society-oriented.

Adaptation Level

While Taro adapts to a foreign culture, Mayumi does not adapt to a foreign culture well. Mayumi could establish her lifestyle in the United States, although she does not adapt to the local society.
Now she attends a university in the United States as an international student.

Taro adapts to the American culture and the American way. He can behave as an American, and he is a bicultural person. His identity is Japanese, although it is difficult for him to live in Japan.

Taro falls into Type III and Mayumi falls into Type II in Minoura's categories.

Problems

Taro and Mayumi's cases show the difficulties of re-adapting to Japanese society. Mayumi resided in the United States for only the last year of high school. However, she felt the difficulties of re-adapting to Japanese society because she lost the education needed to pass the entrance examinations for universities in Japan. In the case of Taro, he thinks that it is difficult to live in Japan because the length of his residing outside of Japan. These two cases reveal the exclusiveness of Japanese society.

Mayumi:

My situation is vague. I spent the last one year of high school in the United States. I lost one important year as Japanese. Although I attend local high school for one year in the United States, one year is too short to get something. The one year was vacuum. So, even if I go back to Japan, I would have felt in vain and would have felt difficulty of re-adapting to Japanese society. So, I decided to keep staying in the United States, and to go to university in the United States to gain something meaningful.

Taro has spent over ten years in the United States. He thinks
that he does not want to live in Japan, although he does not dislike Japan. He knows how difficult Japanese society is for him to live in. Japan is a society which does not accept the people who have different backgrounds from Japanese, even if those differences are slight. While some schools and companies may value the multicultural experiences of kaigai-shijyo, the larger society of Japan still prefers conformity to Japanese behavior.
CHAPTER V

ANALYSIS

Adaptation to Local Society

If kaigai-shijyo acquire English skills and have a social network in a local society, it is likely that they will adapt well to the local society. The age of kaigai-shijyo and their personality is related to successful-adaptation to a local society in the United States because age and personality are strongly related to acquiring English ability and making friends in the local society.

Acquiring English ability and having friends in the local society are key issues in adapting to the local society. In this research, if kaigai-shijyo had sufficient English language skills to communicate and establish Americans friendships within the local society, the kaigai-shijyo were judged as having successfully adapted to the local society. In this sense, four out of eight (50%) kaigai-shijyo in this research; Masao, Hanako, Yukio, and Taro adapted to the local society in the United States. They had enough English skills to communicate and build a social network in the local society.

To acquire English skills and make friends in American society, the age when kaigai-shijyo come to the United States and the personality of kaigai-shijyo, whether extrovert or not, are significant factors. If the age when kaigai-shijyo come to the United States is
very young, the kaigai-shijyo adapts relatively well to the local society. On the contrary, if the kaigai-shijyo is older, he or she finds it difficult to adapt to a foreign society well, although he or she can establish a lifestyle in the foreign country. According to Minoura, the boundary is from ages nine to eleven for adapting to a foreign culture well (1987). In addition, if kaigai-shijyo are extroverted, they adapt relatively well to a foreign society. If kaigai-shijyo are introverted, it is relatively difficult to adapt well.

Among the respondents of this research, Masao, Hanako, Akira, and Yukio came to the United States when they were relatively young. Masao and Hanako came to the United States when they were in kindergarten; Akira was 7 years old and Yukio was 9 years old. Three of them; Masao, Hanako, and Yukio adapted to the local society well, although, their situations of adaptation were different. Akira is in the process of adaptation because the length of his stay in the United States was only six months at the time when the interview was conducted.

On the other hand, Tomoki, Emi, Mayumi, and Taro came to the United States at older ages. Tomoki came to the United States when he was 12 years old; Taro was 13 years old; Emi was 15 years old; and Mayumi was 17 years old. Tomoki, Emi and Mayumi did not adapt well to the local society, although they established their lifestyles in the United States. They had difficulties adapting to the local society. They can not communicate well in English and do not have friends in the local school. However, Taro adapted to the local society in the
United States although he came to the United States at an older age. Taro adapted to the local society because of the length of his residence. He has resided in the United States for over ten years.

The personality of kaigai-shijyo is one factor in adapting to a local society. Kobayahi (1981) stated that the personality of kaigai-shijyo is related to successful adaptation to a local society. He states that extroverted persons adapt much more easily to a local society in foreign countries. He did not define the meaning of extroverted persons or introverted persons in precise terms. According to Kadokawa Dictionary of Japanese, extrovert and introvert were defined as follows (Hisamatsu & Sato, 1982): "Extrovert: The person whose personality is positive, active, and sociable. The person whose interests go to the outside world" (p. 156). "Introvert: The person whose personality is passive, sensitive and unsociable" (p. 759).

Taro and Mayumi also stated that personality, whether extroverted or not, is an important factor in establishing social relationships in local schools in the United States. Taro thinks that he was able to build social relationships in the local school because of his character. On the other hand, Mayumi thought that she did not have friends in the local high school because she is not an active sociable person.

Hanako, Akira, and Taro are extroverts. Hanako and Taro adapted to the local society in the United States and Akira is in the process of adaptation. On the contrary, Tomoki, Emi, and Mayumi are intro-
verts and did not adapt to the local society. While Masao and Yukio are introverts, they have adapted well to the local society. The reason is that they came to the United States at a relatively young age. Moreover, Masao has resided in the United States for over six years. Therefore, the age when kaigai-shijyo come to the United States and the length of stay are more decisive factors than the personality of kaigai-shijyo.

Three factors are important to adapting to a local society: (1) age of arrival in a local society, (2) length of stay, (3) personality type.

Adaptation Type of Kaigai-shijyo

At this stage, the respondents of this research can be categorized into the specific adaptation types identified by Minoura, although some kaigai-shijyo are in the process of adaptation. These categories were created by using value differences influencing interpersonal relationships between Americans and Japanese.

Masao and Hanako are categorized into Type V which refers to those who are American at all three levels: cognitive, behavioral, and affective.

Yukio and Taro are categorized as Type III which refers to those who have two sets of cultural patterns (both American and Japanese) and whose affective level is Japanese.

Akira, Tomoki, Emi, and Mayumi are categorized into Type II which refers to those who know the difference between American and
Japanese, however, behave as Japanese.

Masao and Hanako adapted to the local society in the United States very well. They are highly acculturated to the U.S. culture. They can behave in American ways and their ways of thinking are close to Americans. Therefore, they fall into Type V. They are Americans at all three levels: cognitive, behavioral, and affective.

Although Yukio and Taro also adapted well to the local society in the United States like Masao and Hanako, Yukio and Taro fall into Type III. Yukio and Taro have two sets of cultural patterns; American and Japanese patterns. They are bicultural, but their ways of thinking and feeling are closer to Japanese, not American. They are acculturated to the local society in the United States and can act as Americans. However, their affective levels are Japanese and their cultural identities are Japanese.

Akira, Tomoki, Emi, and Mayumi are categorized into Type II. They had difficulties adapting to the local society, and behave as Japanese. They know the difference between Americans and Japanese behavioral expectations, however, they prefer acting as Japanese in the United States. Their three levels are Japanese.

Although eight kaigai-shijyo in this research can be categorized into specific types, some of them could change their types as they continue to stay in the United States. For instance, Akira may move from Type II to Type III or V because he is on the way to establishing his identity and his stay in the United States will continue.
Mothers' Attitudes Toward a Local Society and Parents' Priorities for Children's Education

Yano and his colleagues' data demonstrate the relationships between the mother's attitude toward the local society and children's adaptation to the local society (1989). Kaigai-shijyo whose mothers have established social relationships with a local society tend to adapt to a local society well, while kaigai-shijyo whose mothers do not have social relationships with a local society tend not to adapt to a local society well. In addition, they state that parents' priorities for their children's education, whether Japanese oriented or local society-oriented, is related to the children's adaptation to a local society in foreign countries.

Table 2 shows the relationship between the children's adaptation, their mothers' social networks and their parents' priorities for the children's education. In the column "mother's social network," Japanese means that the mother prefers having relationships with Japanese as opposed to with Americans, while American indicates that mother prefers having relationships with Americans as opposed to with Japanese. Except Masao and Hanako, adaptation of the five kaigai-shijyo is in accordance with their mothers' preferences about social relationships. From this data, it is difficult to say that there is a relationship between the mother's attitude toward the local society and their children's adaptation because their adaptation is also related to other factors, such as their age, their personality and their length of stay. However, their mothers' attitudes may af-
fect children's attitudes toward a local society.

Table 2

Children’s Adaptation, Mothers' Social Networks, and Parents’ Priorities

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Adaptation</th>
<th>Mother's Social Network</th>
<th>Parents’ Priority for Children</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Masao</td>
<td>Adapt</td>
<td>Japanese</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hanako</td>
<td>Adapt</td>
<td>Japanese</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Akira</td>
<td>Adapt</td>
<td>Americans</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yukio</td>
<td>Adapt</td>
<td>Americans</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tomoki</td>
<td>Non-adapt</td>
<td>Japanese</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Emi</td>
<td>Non-adapt</td>
<td>Japanese</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mayumi</td>
<td>Non-adapt</td>
<td>Japanese</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Taro</td>
<td>Adapt</td>
<td>Americans</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In this research, the relationship between children’s adaptation and parents’ priorities for their children’s education, was not found. Only Hanako’s and Taro’s cases correspond between their adaptation and their parents’ policies. Therefore, their parents’ policies does not necessarily affect their children’s adaptation in this research.

Difficulties of Kaigai-shijyo

Kaigai-shijyo put forth a great effort to adapt to a local society and experience many difficulties. In this research, in the case of small children, they felt the burden of intense study. They had to study both for the local school and Japanese supplementary school. To maintain their Japanese culture, they were required to study twice as
much as normal students.

On the contrary, the kaigai-shijyo who are not elementary grade children do not feel the burden of intense studies. Before they learned how to study in English, they studied quite intensely in the United States. However, they feel that the amount of studying in the United States is less than the amount of studying in Japan. They think that they would have to study much more to prepare for entrance examinations in Japan. But, they have another problem. The seven kaigai-shijyo, except Taro in this research, reside in an area where the number of Japanese is low. If the kaigai-shijyo who live in an area where there are not many Japanese do not have friends in the local school, they fall into the situation where they can not have contact with the same Japanese generation. Tomoki and Emi fall into this situation now and Mayumi was in this situation when she was a high school student. Yukio has a social relationship with the same generation, however, he also did not have a relationship with the same generation for several months before establishing a social network in the local society.

Taro and Mayumi had difficulties in re-adapting to Japanese society. Taro thinks that he can not adapt to Japanese society because of the length of his stay (over 10 years) in the United States, even if he has a Japanese identity. Mayumi thinks that she lost important learning years as a Japanese, which makes it very difficult to enter universities in Japan. Therefore, she decided to continue to stay in the Untied States. Other kaigai-shijyo do not think that the
difficulties in re-adapting to Japanese society are serious. However, their mothers recognize the future difficulties in re-adapting to Japanese society. To reduce their children's difficulties, most of the mothers make their children study Japanese subjects. And they are worried about the re-adaptation of their children to Japanese society.

Advantages of Living in the United States

Whether they want to reside in foreign countries or not, kaigai-shijyo have to stay in foreign countries for some period of time. They are exposed to difficulties in adapting to foreign societies. However, there are some advantages to living in foreign countries. Although experiencing different cultures is one of the advantages for kaigai-shijyo, respondents in this research state the advantages in a more specific sense.

As one of the advantages of living in the United States, some kaigai-shijyo think that they have much free time. They did not have spare time because of the intense study, until they reached the point where they could study in English. However, after they reached that point, they enjoyed much free time in the United States. If they were in Japan, they would have studied much more. This advantage does not apply to young kaigai-shijyo like Hanako, Masao, and Akira.

In addition, the family bonds become stronger and some kaigai-shijyo have much more time to communicate with their family in the United States than in Japan. The existing literature pointed out
these advantages (Yano, 1989), and the respondents in this research acknowledged these advantages. To live in foreign countries, researchers think that each family member needs to cooperate.

Some respondents think that living in foreign countries increases their confidence. The kaigai-shijyo and their mothers think that living in the world where people do not speak Japanese is very difficult. But, at the same time, they think that this is also a good experience and they acquire a sense of confidence that they can survive anywhere.

Finally, no one thought that the acquisition of English ability is an advantage of living in the United States, although they think that the decline of Japanese skills is one of the big disadvantages of living in the United States. According to respondents, speaking English is not a big advantage in Japan because many people can speak English.

Personality and Identity Affected by Living in the United States

It is said that Japanese children who reside in the United States tend to state their opinions and feelings clearly without respecting other person's feelings (Tamaki, 1996). As for the features of kaigai-shijyo's personality, some Japanese think that they are not cooperative, are selfish, and are severe. These features are determined from the fact that the kaigai-shijyo tend to state their feelings distinctly. On the other hand, some Japanese believe that they are independent because the kaigai-shijyo have clear opinions and
feelings. Sometimes, strong points (values) becomes weak points in different cultures that have different cultural heritages, and vice versa.

The kaigai-shijyo's mothers in this research also think that the features of personality affected most by living in the United States are saying feelings clearly without hesitation. According to Hanako's and Masao's mothers, their children state their feelings distinctly. Therefore, the mothers think that their children's personalities are affected by the U.S. culture. Although they know that this feature for kaigai-shijyo is sometimes perceived as selfishness, severity, and a strong personality in Japan, they did not express much concern about their personalities. Mothers admit their children's personalities have these features. Fortunately, they did not feel there was a cultural dilemma related to personality between the American and the Japanese.

The identities of kaigai-shijyo are also affected by living in the United States. Among the respondents of this research, the identities of Hanako, Masao and Taro were affected by living in the United States. Hanako's and Masao's personalities and identities were highly affected, and Taro seemed to have suffered some identity problems.

Masao knows vaguely that he is a Japanese, but he wants to be an American. Masao acts similar to Americans and his feelings are very close to Americans. Hanako also knows she is Japanese, but her way of behaving and feelings are similar to Americans. Although Taro
could establish a stable identity as a Japanese, he confessed that he was ashamed of being Japanese when he was a high school student. He suffered from identity conflict. In the case of identity, Masao’s mother is afraid that Masao might lose his Japanese identity, while she does not mind that Masao’s personality is affected by the U.S. culture. Through the interview, the mothers of kaigai-shijyo do not worry about their children’s personalities being affected by U.S. culture. They admit that the personality is affected by the surroundings. On the other hand, an identity problem is a much more severe problem for mothers.

Akira’s, Yukio’s, Tomoki’s, Emi’s, and Mayumi’s identities and personalities were apparently not affected. However, there is the possibility that their identities and personalities will be affected by continuing to live in the United States.
CHAPTER VI

CONCLUSION

Assimilation to the U.S. Culture

Minoura’s theory is a specific theory focusing on Japanese children and adolescents who reside in the United States because of their parents’ jobs and their adaptation levels to the American culture. Her theory is a very specific theory applied specifically to only kaigai-shijyo in the United States. Although kaigai-shijyo in the United States are different from Japanese immigrants in the United States, they share similar stages in adapting to a local society in the United States. To generalize my data in a broader sense, Milton Gordon’s assimilation theory must be examined and compared with Minoura’s adaptation theory.

Gordon delineated seven dimensions of adaptation: (1) cultural assimilation, (2) structural assimilation, (3) marital assimilation, (4) identification assimilation, (5) attitude-receptional assimilation, (6) behavior-receptional assimilation, and (7) civic assimilation (Feagin, 1996). The phases of assimilation do not necessarily occur in order.

Kaigai-shijyo in this research are acculturated to American culture because they have received some education in the United States and they have resided in the United States for several years. Some of them are highly culturally assimilated to American society.
Masao, Hanako, Yukio, and Taro are acculturated to American society. Therefore, in Gordon's assimilation theory, the four of them pass the first phase of assimilation. On the other hand, at this level, Akira, Tomoki, Emi, and Mayumi, did not assimilate culturally and kept their Japanese culture while in the United States. However, there is also the possibility that some of them will be culturally assimilated to the local society in the United States as they continue to stay in the United States.

Gordon's phases of assimilation occur on a multidimensional scale. Structural assimilation refers to those minority groups which enter into the dominant group, politically and socially. Hanako, Masao, Yukio, and Taro did not structurally and maritally assimilate. However, Hanako and Masao skipped these stages, and both of them are identificationally assimilated to the United States. Their identities are closer to the Americans because they have been educated an education here beginning with kindergarten. Taro did not have an American identity. However, he has stayed in the United States over 10 years and he has a feeling that he can not go back to Japan. Therefore, he will keep living in the United States and will possibly get married to an American. Taro is in the same process of assimilation as a Japanese immigrant. Some of the kaigai-shijyo in this research did not fully assimilate to the American society, however, they are in the process of assimilating to the United States in the same manner as Japanese immigrants.

One big difference between Minoura's adaptation theory and
Gordon's assimilation theory is time. In Gordon's theory, assimilation process is done for several generations. However, kaigai-shijyo is highly-acclimated to the U.S. culture in a relatively short period of time. They are like second generation Japanese immigrants. Because kaigai-shijyo receive an education in the United States, they adapt to U.S. culture relatively easily. This shows that Japanese children and adolescents can assimilate into the U.S. culture in the identification level in a short period of time.

In addition, Japanese immigrants are expected to assimilate to the U.S. culture, while kaigai-shijyo are not expected to assimilate to the U.S. culture. Kaigai-shijyo are just expected to adapt to a local school and society in the United States as they retain their Japanese identity. However, the effect is that some kaigai-shijyo are in the process of assimilating to the U.S. culture, although they are not expected to. Even if kaigai-shijyo assimilated to the U.S. culture culturally and identificationally, most of kaigai-shijyo must return and re-adapt to Japanese society. This point is very problematic for kaigai-shijyo. Some of the returnees can not re-assimilate to Japanese culture and they will be marginal persons in Japanese society.

The impact of temporary residence in the United States for Japanese children and adolescents is strong. Some of them are in the process of assimilating to U.S. culture, although they are not required to do so. As geo-occupational mobility increases, temporary residents from other countries to the United States will also in-
crease. To compare the experiences of the children and adolescents from other nations who reside in the United States temporarily, it will be helpful to our understandings of this assimilation problem for kaigai-shijyo. Children from other nations may share same problems as kaigai-shijyo and they may suffer from identity problems.

Conclusion

The issue concerning Japanese children and adolescents who reside in foreign countries as a consequence of their parents' jobs emerged as Japanese corporations have operated on a global scale. Not only do the children and adolescents have difficulties in foreign countries, but also they have to make a special effort to re-adapt to Japanese society. Researchers have been concerned about their degree of adaptation to local societies in foreign countries. However, the researchers miss the point about kaigai-shijyo's identities. This issue reveals many problems related to Japanese society. Kaigai-shijyo should not be made to sacrifice for other Japanese. This issue represents a challenge to Japanese education and Japanese society.

Some of the children and adolescents who reside in foreign countries because of their parents' jobs have difficulties in adapting to local societies and maintaining their Japanese culture. For instance, young children who attend both Japanese supplementary schools and local schools have the burden of intense study. Kaigai-shijyo who do not have friends in local schools fall into the situation where they can not have relationships with the same generation.
In addition, some of them have identity problems.

The big issue is whether to maintain Japanese culture or to adapt to a local society in foreign countries. Remaining loyal to Japanese culture and adapting to a foreign society at the same time is very difficult. Some kaigai-shijyo who attend both Japanese supplementary schools and local schools suffer intense anxiety. Hirano stated that Japanese children and adolescents do not necessarily study in the Japanese style in foreign countries because being in a different country is a good chance to get to know a different culture and Japanese style education is merely a cramming type education. He recommended that kaigai-shijyo attend local schools in foreign countries. He believes that the kaigai-shijyo who attend local schools can be the persons who build the bridges between Japan and foreign countries. On the other hand, Taneya stated that supplementary schools are not sufficient to maintain Japanese culture, and Japanese full time schools are necessary in order to keep Japanese children and adolescents from straying away from Japanese society (Kato, 1983).

As kaigai-shijyo continue to reside in foreign countries, the identity of kaigai-shijyo who attend local schools is affected by foreign cultures. Some of them come to think that their feelings and identities are not fully Japanese because they receive an education in foreign countries for some period of time. As I see the process of adaptation of the kaigai-shijyo in this research, some of them follow the path towards assimilation in foreign societies. They suffer from
identity problems because they do not see themselves as Japanese. This may create a gap between parents and children. While the parents think that their children are Japanese, their children do not think that they are Japanese. In addition, they will have to make intense efforts to re-adapt to Japanese society. It is sometimes said that attending local schools in foreign countries is valuable in learning different cultures. However, it is not appropriate to consider only the advantages of attending local schools. The risky points also must be considered. Some kaigai-shijyo are in the process of assimilating into foreign countries for several years and then they must suddenly return to Japanese society. When the kaigai-shijyo return to Japan, some of them will suffer identity problems and feel a sense of alienation. Some of the kaigai-shijyo will be marginal persons that do not have an entirely Japanese identity.

In the case of kaigai-shijyo who reside in developed countries, researchers and the Japanese government recommend that the kaigai-shijyo attend local schools (Kobayashi, 1981). Although it is a good chance to experience different cultures, we should know the kaigai-shijyo are exposed to situations where they may lose some or most of their Japanese identities. Even if kaigai-shijyo do not have conflicts about their identities, some of them can not adapt to a local school in foreign countries and lose their social network for some period of time. Japan is primarily a homogeneous country, and Japanese are increasingly required to know and respect other countries due to its economic activities. However, kaigai-shijyo should not be
manipulated for the benefits of corporative economic objectives.

In addition, it is not a necessarily good idea to entrust Japan's children's and adolescents' education to other countries. For instance, 10% (5,000) of all kaigai-shijyo reside in New York and the area around New York, such as Connecticut and New Jersey, and 95% of them attend local schools. Some of the residents and teachers who live in the area state that it is a waste of time and money to educate the Japanese children and adolescents who will go back to Japan (Cunningham, 1992). Even if they do not understand the real situation well, the Japanese government should consider solutions to reduce their complaints. As part of the solution, Japanese government must ask local schools to cooperate and local residents to accept Japanese children and adolescents. The Japanese government should support building more full-time Japanese schools in the area for kaigai-shijyo who do not adapt to local schools. In addition, the Japanese government and researchers should inform the parents of kaigai-shijyo about the risks of children and adolescents who attend local schools.

However, kaigai-shijyo who live in areas where the number of Japanese is low have to attend local schools because it is difficult to build full-time Japanese schools. It should be understood that some kaigai-shijyo do not necessarily adapt to local schools. In addition, even if they adapt to local schools, they may lose their Japanese identities as long as they attend local schools. To improve and know their situations better, counselors who can give the ap-
appropriate advice to kaigai-shijyo and their parents are required.

Japanese government, researchers, and companies that operate in many countries need to know the real situations of kaigai-shijyo in detail. However, now most of the researchers underestimate the problems concerning kaigai-shijyo. Each kaigai-shijyo has a different experience and each situation depends on the length of the stay in foreign countries, the age when they leave from Japan, and the area where they stay. Most of the researchers who study kaigai-shijyo collect the data from an area where many Japanese reside. Therefore, the data from areas where a few kaigai-shijyo reside is missed. I could not get information concerning the kaigai-shijyo who live in areas where the number of Japanese is low in the United States, and in other countries. Researchers should not ignore the kaigai-shijyo’s experiences in those areas because the situations of kaigai-shijyo is dependent on the area in which the kaigai-shijyo reside. In this study, I have explored one of the real situations of kaigai-shijyo who are often missed by researchers.

After finishing residence in foreign countries, kaigai-shijyo are forced to re-adapt to Japanese society. The situations of kikoku-shijyo (when kaigai-shijyo go back to Japan, they are called, "kikoku-shijyo") varies according to age, the level of Japanese, and the level of foreign language. Some of them do not have a Japanese identities and some of them suffer from readapting to Japanese society. The teachers and schools have to understand that their situations vary and they have to offer programs that meet the needs of each kik-
oku-shijyo. In addition, to offer the appropriate care for kikoku-shijyo, research on the re-adaptation process to Japanese society is required as soon as possible. The issue about kaigai-shijyo and kikoku-shijyo is a big and broad issue. However, the research and the data related to this issue is small compared the scale of this issue. Especially, theoretical studies are very few.

After World War II, many Japanese have stated that Japan and the Japanese should become internationalized to deal with many countries. Many Japanese have perceived the kaigai-shijyo as the people who will connect Japan with many other countries. Kaigai-shijyo do experience different cultures and some of them are treated very well in Japan when they are well developed in foreign language skills. However, Japanese should know that they have many difficulties in foreign countries and they need enormous efforts to re-adapt to the Japanese system that still prefers conformity. In addition Japanese usually expect that most kaigai-shijyo have excellent foreign language skills, however we should note that kaigai-shijyo do not necessarily have perfect language skills when they return.

Unless Japanese society develops greater sensitivity to diversity, kikoku-shijyo will be marginal persons in Japanese society. When Japanese society can accept the individuals who have multicultural identities, kaigai-shijyo will adapt to Japanese society more easily. Unfortunately, Japanese society still sometimes excludes the persons who do not have traditional Japanese identities. However, Japanese society must change to be a society that can accept diverse
identity widely, since a great number of Japanese go to foreign
countries for geographical and occupational mobility. The Japanese
economy has adapted to the needs of an international economy. Next,
Japan needs to adapt to an acceptance of international identities,
even among Japanese.

In conducting research concerning kaigai-shijyo in the United
States, I saw the importance of education and the need for reform in
Japanese education. I could not forget the comment of one of the re­
spondents in this research, Taro. He states that he was ashamed of
being Japanese. He received education for 7 years in Japan, however,
Japanese schools did not offer Taro the type of education to lead
him to self-respect and pride in his country. Certainly, Japanese
culture emphasizes modesty and humbleness. Japanese respect these
virtues so much that we may forget about the need to have a pride in
our country.

One of goals of multi-cultural education is to help students
respect both their own culture and other cultures. I hope education
in Japan will be able to offer this idea to the students, so that
they will have the skills to live in a democratic and diverse so­
ciety. The issue of kaigai-shijyo is one of the keys to promote
multi-cultural education in Japanese society. To prevent kaigai-shi­
yo from straying away from Japanese society, Japanese must accept
the persons who have multicultural identity. Most of kaigai-shijyo
go to foreign countries because of Japanese geo-occupational mobil­
ity. I also hope the education in the United States will offer a
global dimension to the students so that they will respect other
nations. Kaigai-shijyo can be a good influence in the American class-
rooms and help improve their education. I believe that education has
enough power to change people and societies, since some kaigai-shijyo
in this research came to internalize the American identity from their
educational experiences.

The issue about kaigai-shijyo is not only a problem about the
kaigai-shijyo and their parents. This issue is strongly related to
the Japanese economy and Japanese society. So long as Japanese com-
panies operate internationally, the Japanese government, Japanese
corporations, and Japanese people have to know the real situations of
kaigai-shijyo in foreign countries. Some of kaigai-shijyo can not
adapt to local schools and some of them have identity problems.
Their situations are various and serious, and we need much more re-
search about kaigai-shijyo. Unless Japanese society becomes suppor-
tive and becomes a diverse society, the kaigai-shijyo will become
marginal persons in both societies.
Appendix A

Protocol Clearance From the Human Subjects Institutional Review Board
Date: 12 December 1996

To: Akiko Namiki

From: Richard Wright, Chair

Re: HSIRB Project Number 96-11-10

This letter will serve as confirmation that your research project entitled "The Situations of Japanese Children and Adolescents: One Case Study of Japanese School in the U.S." has been approved under the exempt category of review by the Human Subjects Institutional Review Board. The conditions and duration of this approval are specified in the Policies of Western Michigan University. You may now begin to implement the research as described in the application.

Please note that you must seek specific approval for any changes in this design. You must also seek reapproval if the project extends beyond the termination date. In addition if there are any unanticipated adverse reactions or unanticipated events associated with the conduct of this research, you should immediately suspend the project and contact the Chair of the HSIRB for consultation.

The Board wishes you success in the pursuit of your research goals.

Approval Termination: 10 December 1997

xc: Douglas Davidson
BIBLIOGRAPHY


