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JAPANESE OVERSEAS CHILDREN'S AMERICAN SCHOOLING EXPERIENCE:
A STUDY OF CROSS-CULTURAL TRANSITION

The Ohio State University

Ph.D. 1983

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JAPANESE OVERSEAS CHILDREN'S
AMERICAN SCHOOLING EXPERIENCE:
A STUDY OF CROSS-CULTURAL TRANSITION

DISSertation

Presented in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements
for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy
in the Graduate School of
The Ohio State University

By
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The Ohio State University
1983

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In memory of

DR. TORAO HAYAO
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CHAPTER 1
INTRODUCTION

In recent years there has been a dramatic increase in the number of multinational business ventures and corporate mergers, especially between American and Japanese companies. These mergers have brought about close cross-cultural interaction among the various elements within the respective parent companies and within the communities and school districts housing the corporation plant sites and their employees. Such multinational mergers have brought large numbers of Japanese children into local school systems in a number of areas around the country, and have challenged both urban and rural educational systems to respond to the needs of their cross-cultural educational adjustment.

Marysville, Ohio represents such a plant site, where Honda of America Inc., a Japanese-American joint venture, has located headquarters and opened automobile and motorcycle manufacturing assembly plants. The build-up of this operation has resulted in an influx of a large number of children of Japanese employees into
nearby school systems, including those in Marysville, Upper Arlington, Worthington and Kelley. In the Kelley Local system alone, the number of Japanese children in attendance has increased from less than ten in 1981, to over thirty-five in 1983, with an increase in one building from five children during the 1981-82 school year, to twenty-two during the 1982-83 school year.¹

When the local school systems of the host country are suddenly faced with the task of educating children of another country, whose language and cultural heritage are dramatically different from its own, educators are challenged to meet a wide range of needs. They find themselves in the midst of rich cross-cultural interactions and opportunities for mutual learning.

Japanese overseas children are also in a unique situation. Unlike refugee children, or other non-English speaking immigrant children who enter American schooling as a matter of course in the process of taking up permanent residence in this country, these children will eventually return to Japan. They come from a highly competitive and academically rigorous educational system. Some stay in the United States for as little as nine months, others as long as five years or more. However, all anticipate reentry into the Japanese educational system upon their return to Japan. This means that in
nearly every case, their experience with American schooling is destined to be temporary and time-bounded.

Japanese overseas children are in a very real sense, temporary immigrants. Like other foreign students who stay for any length of time, they are assimilated into the American culture to some extent during the course of their stay in this country. They must contend with the acquisition of a second language, often with little formal support, and must make the cultural transition that their bilingual, bicultural situation demands. Yet, unlike other immigrant groups, their residence in America will not be permanent. The fact that they are only temporarily in the American educational system may impact on the adjustment process itself, and may also dictate that some effort and preparation be made for their eventual readjustment back into the Japanese schooling system.

The presence of Japanese overseas children in American schools constitutes a unique educational challenge. Teachers and administrators working with these children are faced with a bilingual and bicultural situation, often for the first time. Japanese students experience enormous change in coping with new cultural demands and the learning of a new language. An adequate understanding of this unique educational situation begins
with a careful examination of the adjustment process these children encounter, and an understanding of the American schooling experience through the eyes of the Japanese children themselves.

Japanese overseas children attending American schools afford educators a unique opportunity for learning about the Japanese culture within the context of the American cultural experience. The potential for cross-cultural study in this area and for mutual learning afforded by the presence of these children is both rich and varied. No research has previously been undertaken to examine the educational experiences of Japanese overseas children. More significantly, such a study would afford educators the opportunity for self-reflection and self-examination from the vantage point of another's perception. To see ourselves as others see us is indeed a difficult task to accomplish without the vision and insight that only an outsider can offer. In other words, these Japanese overseas children can tell us not how we see ourselves or how we view our educational system, but rather, something about how they perceive our system, and how they interpret life within our schools. Such information may well influence educators in their attempts to help bridge the cross-cultural barriers that are an inevitable result of
such cross-cultural education encounters.

Such are the primary goals of this research: to examine the experience of a small sample of Japanese overseas children in our schools, and to examine how Japanese children perceive their experiences in our schools. From this, insights and suggestions as to how best to accommodate these children can be generated. Before educators can adequately plan for the educational needs of Japanese overseas children, it seems only logical that the optimum starting point for assessing their needs lies with an understanding of the experience of those children as they enter and participate in the American education process. The experience and perceptions of Japanese overseas children attending an American elementary school will be the focus of this emergent, exploratory study.

Purpose of the Study

The purpose of the study is to attempt to articulate the American schooling experiences and perceptions of Japanese elementary children. Because the study is preliminary and descriptive, the end product should generate heuristic notions - notions which must then be adjusted for application by educational practitioners. The study should also
generate assumptions and hypotheses for further study. Because the nature of the study is exploratory and must be viewed from the start as such, the following suggests the variety of purposes the study will serve:

1. To discover, analyze and describe the American schooling experiences of a small sample of Japanese overseas children.
2. To identify factors which facilitate the cross-cultural educational adjustment in the bicultural classroom setting.
3. To identify factors which impede the cross-cultural educational adjustment in the bicultural classroom.
4. To generate suggestions that may be helpful to children, parents and teachers in similar settings.
5. To further cross-cultural education understanding.

Statement of the Problem

This study is an analysis of Japanese elementary overseas students' educational adjustment in an American school setting. More specifically, the following questions suggest the central focus of the study:

1. How do Japanese elementary school children attending Lincoln Elementary School perceive their American schooling experience?
2. What are the stages of their cross-cultural transition?
3. What factors facilitate the cross-cultural adjustment of the Japanese children?
4. What factors impede the Japanese children's cross-cultural educational adjustment?

Significance of the Study

A study of Japanese overseas children's perception of their educational experience in America will benefit educators by helping them understand the cross-cultural interactive process. It should be pointed out that it is not the intention of this researcher to be prescriptive, or to generate solutions to specific problems, although some general suggestions may be appropriate. This would be presumptuous, in view of the complex nature of the human interactive process and the limitations of this study. Sanders suggests that an investigation should,

aim...not at the identification and verification of universal, law-like scientific generalizations, but at naturalistic generalizations which illuminate — with strong internal validity the regularities present in a given case.9

The study should provide educators with valuable information regarding the nature of the educational experiences of Japanese overseas children attending school in America. It will identify factors that impede and factors that facilitate the process of cross-cultural
educational adjustment, and as such will provide practitioners with valuable information for optimal decision-making and educational planning for accommodating this population. The analysis of Japanese overseas children’s experiences will yield a set of tangible propositions applicable to this study that may help administrators as well as teachers to assist these young visitors in their cultural transition, and to maximize the opportunities that their presence affords for mutual intercultural learning and cooperation.

An understanding of the experience of Japanese overseas children in American schools may also serve to better enable multinational businesses to assist their employees where overseas relocation is necessitated. The practical applications of research findings from this study for business may be particularly significant for Japan-based organizations whose operations involve temporary residence in the United States for employees with children of school age.

Finally, this study is significant in that no similar research has been undertaken to date. Although some research exists regarding the nature and process of second language acquisition and other research focuses on bilingualism and biculturalism, no study has been done to
examine the experience of American schooling as perceived by Japanese overseas children and their families.

Overview of the Study

In Chapter 1 of this study the researcher provided an introduction to the problem, a statement of the purpose of the study, a statement of the problem, and an explanation of the significance of the study. Chapter 2 presents a review and analysis of related literature including a section focusing on Japanese education and a section focusing on the cross-cultural transition process. Chapter 3 provides a description of the research methodology used and the means of data analysis employed. Major findings of the study are presented in Chapter 4 and Chapter 5. Chapter 4 includes background information about the setting, a section on the Columbus Japanese Language School, and parent questionnaire responses, analysis and commentary. Chapter 5 provides three case studies, and presentation of the cross-cultural transition process of Japanese overseas children, and presentation of several emergent themes. Finally, Chapter 6 presents a summary and the conclusions of the study, along with recommendations and implications for further research.
Notes of Chapter 1


2. The term "Japanese overseas children" was originally coined by the researcher for this study. The term refers to Japanese children of compulsory schooling age, who are residing temporarily abroad. The Japanese Ministry of Education defines compulsory schooling as grades 1 through 9 inclusive.

CHAPTER 2

REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

Introduction

In this chapter, two major topics are presented for literature review. In the first section of this chapter, literature pertaining to Japanese society and education is presented. The emphasis will be upon sources of stress within the modern Japanese educational system. The inclusion of a brief summary of major historical influences will provide pertinent background for understanding the present status of Japanese education. A general overview of Japanese education is presented. This is followed by an analysis of specific concepts such as the notion of shiken-jigoku or "examination hell," and the emergence of the juku or "after-school schools," and how these impact on the education of Japanese overseas children.

The second section presents a review of literature pertaining to the process of cross-cultural transition, and draws from a variety of academic fields. The literature reviewed in this section is especially helpful for understanding the individual, experiential aspect of Japanese children attending school in America.
Significant Historical Influences

Schooling in Feudal Japan

During the pre-Western Tokugawa era (1603-1868), schooling in Japan was limited mainly to the male dominated Samurai military class. According to Tetsuya Kobayashi the Samurai were, by the early nineteenth century, "no longer a military class in the strict sense although the military outlook was never entirely forgotten as a discipline and as a symbol." Tokugawa Ieyasu, the powerful founder of the Tokugawa House promoted "literary learning on the left hand, and military arts on the right hand." 1

Fundamental to the Samurai schooling was an emphasis on moral education, upbringing, or guidance. Ronald Dore points out that even the terminology for schooling used, kyoka, kyodo, kyovu, etc., all carry the connotation of moral instruction or guidance. For
the illiterate peasant class this translated into the ability to read, while for the aristocratic or ruling class Dore suggests it meant "philosophical speculation." This moral instruction was accomplished chiefly through a careful study of the Chinese classics which comprised the major activity in most early schools. Rote memorization was the dominant learning style.

Thus it came to be that early emphasis was on discipline through study of Confucian teachings, and the martial arts. Later on in the eighteenth century, subjects such as mathematics and medicine were included in the curriculum. The emphasis of han schools, or the hangakko as the Samurai schools were known, was a combination of cultural refinement in the form of lessons in brush writing and reading, and physical development through military arts techniques. Besides the Samurai youth, young boys of the non-military aristocracy were permitted to attend. In other words, relatively early in the history of Japanese education, there was a move towards a widening of the population who could receive schooling.

Education During the Meiji Era (1868-1912)

With the Meiji Restoration in 1868, Japan turned quickly from its former isolationist policies and sought
learning and expertise in every area from the European
countries and from the United States. Foreigners were
employed to assist with this new turning outward and they
enjoyed great privilege and prestige in this new era.
Elementary schools were patterned after the French and
later the American systems. Science and medicine were
studied according to the German system, and this period
was characterized by a sudden rush towards
industrialization and modernization. The early emphasis
on discipline and rather rigid teaching methods were not
lost during this period of modernization.

In 1871 the newly formed government established
the Education Ministry which stressed (1) loyalty to the
Emperor-state, (2) productive ability, and (3) military
training, according to the Minister of Education Arinori
Mori's ordinances. 4

Foreign borrowing was a highly selective and
conscious process, and the new ideas, especially in
education, were superimposed upon the basic Confucian
model. Ronald S. Anderson describes the educational
theory of this period to be egalitarian "as opposed to
the elitist schools of the feudal period." 5 This
was a significant factor and contributed to the
development of an unusually high rate of literacy by the
turn of the century.
Teragoya or Temple Schools

Another important pre-modern influence on Japanese education was provided by the Teragoya. Teragoya were originally intended for the training of religious leaders by teachers from the Buddhist temples or tera. During the 16th and 17th centuries these temples, along with the Shinto shrines, represented the only formal learning centers. They soon lost their religious orientation and became networks of small schools that were open to all. Teragoya provided elementary education for all classes of people, and were attended by both boys and girls. Besides Buddhist temples and Shinto shrines, even private homes were used to house the Teragoya. This schooling was looked upon as a charity or a benevolent activity on the part of the community on behalf of its youth. This attitude, a strong sense of community responsibility for the education of the young, is still prevalent in Japanese society today.

Ronald Dore explains the difference in nature between the Teragoya and the Samurai schools in terms of both origin and function:
The education of the non-samurai masses, by contrast, was relatively free from the incubus of educational theory. The schools developed, though partly from charity, largely in response to an effective economic demand. And they served practical vocational ends. They provided a training in the practical skills of writing, reading and arithmetic, together with a certain amount of useful information and some of the accumulated practical wisdom needed by the ordinary citizen to get along in a closely regulated feudal world. It was not an idealistic education, and it did not usually cater to those who wished to 'improve themselves.' It was, rather, a delegation by parents to professional teachers, of the task of preparing their children to succeed them in their hereditary occupation.

There was much informality about the Teragoya. Tuition consisted of voluntary contributions, often in the form of a daily rice allowance, according to the family's ability to pay. Teachers included the Shinto or Buddhist priests, ronin or masterless Samurai, and commoners who were literate. Classes were irregular as was attendance and were often conducted in a tutorial manner. Students would "go to the teacher as soon as they arrived and then settle at their desks to practice what they had learned." In spite of the informality, the great respect for
education and the educational process was not diminished.

According to Makoto Aso and Ikuo Amano in *Education and Japan's Modernization*, besides providing a rudimentary education in the academics, the *Teragoya* also taught "the moral rules necessary for commoners to live in the severely restrictive feudalistic society of the time." 8

As in the *hangakko* the morality stressed in the *Teragoya* was primarily Confucian. Filial piety and respect for elders, parents and teachers were basic. Texts were used, but many teachers preferred to develop their own teaching formats. Although moral teaching and the inculcating of values were important, the *Teragoya* were primarily concerned with "the practical aspects of the commoners' life." 9

The emergence of the Samurai schools and then the spread of the *Teragoya* provided an important background and foundation for the development of modern education in Japan. Furthermore, Kobayashi suggests that the "development of popular education, regardless of its original intention, awakened the popular consciousness of the masses." The *Teragoya* contributed significantly to the "general rise of cultural standards" during the nineteenth century." 10 Also, in spite of the considerable social rigidity of the Tokugawa period,
education did provide for at least a limited degree of upward mobility.

In the view of this researcher, the two most significant features of the pre-Meiji period of Japanese education that were to have a lasting influence on the development and nature of the modern system, were first, the heavy emphasis on inculcating of moral values primarily in the form of Confucian moralism and secondly, the widespread availability of elementary education, which cut across all levels of social and economic class. It was the schools that were to be the means of communication and the vehicles for new ideas as Japan moved abruptly away from isolation, self-sufficiency and feudalism, into an era of rapid Westernization, industrialization, radical change and growth. The sociologist Tadashi Fukutake also attributes Japan's ability to produce a "modern industrial labor force" to the existence of its educational system at the turn of the century. "This education emphasized moral training in the Confucian virtues of filial piety and loyalty," states Fukutake, and he credits the educational system as being crucial to Japan's exceptional economic development. 12
The Ie System

As stated above, Japanese education reflected the Confucian notions of filial piety and loyalty. These virtues of filial piety and loyalty arise from the fundamental structure of vertical organization of the ie system. Ie literally means household and provides a framework within Japanese society upon which all relationships are formed. According to Chie Nakane,

The relationship between two individuals of upper and lower status is the basis of the structural principal of Japanese society. This important relationship is expressed in the traditional terms oyabun and kobun. Oyabun means the person with the status of oya (parent) and kobun means the status of ko (child). 19

This superior-inferior, parent-child frame is carried over into school relationships and brings with it well defined conventions for appropriate attitudinal and behavioral responses. Thus the teacher has an obligation to personally invest in the well-being of students, and students are conversely expected to respect and obey their teachers in the cooperative educational effort. This, at least in part, accounts for the relatively low incidence of disciplinary problems in Japanese schools,
and for the reputation for docility and diligence among Japanese school children. Even within groups of children the oyabun-kobun relationship exists as older children look after or pick on younger children, who in turn must be submissive to their seniors.

Characteristics of Modern Japanese Education

Modern Japanese education benefits from diverse and varied influences both intrinsic to that of the traditional society, and those superimposed from Western models. William Cummings summarizes the distinctive characteristics of the modern Japanese educational system and states that these explain, at least in part, the overall success of Japanese education as an agent for transformation within that society. According to Cummings these characteristics can be described as follows: 14

1. "Diverse interests in Japan are concerned with education."

Japan recognized early in her history the potential of education for national development, and to this end the post-war era especially has been characterized by cooperative efforts on the part of
government, business and education. Outside of the immediate realm of education there "emerges an impressive level of interest in education." 15

2. "Japanese schools are inexpensive."

On the national scale, a recent study comparing expenditures of Japan, the United States, England and France revealed "Japan's relatively small proportion of national income devoted to public education." 16 In part this is accounted for by the fact that Japanese students and their teachers perform some tasks and services delegated to special outside personnel in other countries, such as lunch service, operation of libraries, and the cleaning of classrooms and buildings.

3. "Japanese schools are equal."

Parental pressure was largely responsible for post-war regulations by the central government to insure as far as possible an equality of educational instruction and teacher preparation. Allowances are made in favor of disadvantaged areas so as to increase equity for all. "The system of finance for Japanese education greatly facilitates the realization of equal expenditures" 17 and school districts draw from large area tax bases. In addition, the central government expected to provide up
4. "Japanese schools are demanding."

The central government provides very detailed courses of study, and local districts are required not only to follow those curriculum guidelines, but to follow them in the approved sequence. This curriculum "is demanding," and "...covers a wider range of subjects and pursues these in greater depth than is the case for the curriculum of a typical U.S. school district." 18 As detailed later in this chapter, Japanese children attend school for many more days per year than in any other country.

5. "The school is the educational unit."

Both teachers and students identify with the school as a whole rather than an individual class and level, and this group orientation lends both a sense of stability and an element of continuity to the overall educational program. The faculty meeting, rather than the centralized governmental body, has decision-making responsibility as well as program implementation. Regular weekly school assemblies provide another format for reflection and communication within the school.
6. "Japanese teachers are secure."

Teachers in Japan have the benefit of financial security in the form of adequate salary compensation, and the respect of the role that the profession enjoys. The very strong Japan Teacher’s Union functions as an internal support mechanism for teachers and "teachers do not fear the governments that employ them." 19

7. "Japanese teachers are conscientious."

Many teacher meetings throughout the school week afford teachers maximum opportunity for program planning, development and evaluation. The J.T.U. as well as local school boards arrange for frequent professional growth opportunities in the form of workshops and seminars. Also, teachers and parents maintain close communications through conferences and phone calls. 20 One kindergarten teacher expressed envy and disbelief that this researcher could leave her elementary teaching position behind her when she left the building at 3 p.m. Her Japanese counterpart reported arriving daily at the school by 7:30 a.m., dismissing the kindergarteners at 1:00 p.m., and then settling in to work until 5 p.m. every evening. For this reason she explained, few teachers remained active once they had married and had young children to raise.
8. "Japanese teachers believe in 'whole-person' education."

Recognizing the demands of an exam-ridden system, teachers in Japan nevertheless attempt to address the needs of the "whole person," and not just the intellectual aspect of schooling. For this reason we find in Japan considerable commitment of teachers to sponsor and direct special-interest activities such as sports and music clubs after school hours. Much attention is also given to emotional adjustment and moral values. This is most evident in the early primary years when teachers focus attention more on order and the learning process as a whole than on "making progress through the curriculum." 21

9. "Japanese teaching is equitable."

The Japan Teacher's Union has resisted efforts by the central government to reform class structures to reflect ability-grouping on the basis that this would amount to discrimination. Further, Cummings concludes that Japanese teachers "show an impressive concern for eliciting the participatin of each pupil, thereby building up a positive orientation to school work." 22

Little favoritism exists and teacher-pupil
relationships reflect the emphasis upon group dynamics so evident throughout Japanese society. Teacher training is fairly uniform and this too lends itself to equitable delivery on the instructional level.

Sources of Tension in Modern Japanese Education

Education in modern Japan is held in tremendous esteem by many for its relevance to modern day needs, its contribution to Japan's rapid industrialization, for the extremely high rate of literacy it has afforded its people, and for its notably high standards of academic excellence. The anthropologist Harumi Befu states emphatically that "education is accorded prime importance in Japan," and that it is viewed as a "a highly desirable goal." 23

In Japanese society, public education is recognized as an important vehicle for upward mobility. Although it is not the only means to achieving success, Thomas P. Rohlen states that it is a widely applied measure of character, ability, and modern virtue. According to Rohlen, one of the foremost scholars on modern Japanese education, the formula "ability + hard work = educational achievement = elite status" is a "powerful one in Japan. Its power hinges on the assumption that public education provides a very high
Shiken Jigoku

One aspect of Japanese education that is both uniquely characteristic in its intensity, and pervasive throughout the system, is the great emphasis upon entrance examinations, especially at the college entrance level. This in turn has resulted in a phenomenon known as shiken jigoku or literally, "examination hell." Shiken jigoku refers to intense efforts required for the individual Japanese student to prepare and take entrance examinations to the various academic levels, but especially college entrance examinations. The term also refers to the actual examination process and experience which can, in itself, be quite grueling. Shiken jigoku implies long years of preparation for the test-taking event, and the tremendous study demands that must be met if one is concerned with passing the entrance examinations at the various stages of schooling. It also refers to that time of year between January through mid-March when students are making last minute efforts to prepare for entrance examinations. It evokes images of stiff competition, sleepless nights and tremendous stress both for the student and for the entire family.
Ezra Vogel describes the uniquely intense pressure of the Japanese entrance examination experience and relates the importance of school success with prospects for successful employment. He compares the ritual of the entrance examination to a "rite of passage." He states,

No single event, with the possible exception of marriage, determines the course of a young man's life as much as entrance examinations, and nothing, including marriage, requires as many years of planning and hard work. Because all colleges and high schools, and many private junior high schools, grade schools, and even kindergartens use entrance examinations to select only a small proportion of the applicants, and because examinations are open to all, the competition is fierce. 25

This emphasis on examinations and rigorous academic excellence has resulted in both criticism and praise for the Japanese educational system. Edward Beauchamp terms Japan's literacy rate "virtually universal," her youths' accomplishments on international tests as enviable, and her "highly skilled work force" a tribute "to the excellence of the Japanese educational system." But, he adds that "beneath this apparent success story...lies a number of educational blemishes." He states that "none
is more severe, or potentially more damaging to the social fabric, than the Japanese university entrance examination system.* 26 No issue causes more anxiety for Japanese families, even for those stationed abroad, than the issue of entrance examinations and the need to educate and socialize for this event.

In theory, the pressure to perform, to succeed in school, and especially on high school and college entrance tests arises from competition for entrance into formal employment. Because the employing firm makes an extended commitment to its incoming employees, and because of the competitive nature of contemporary business in Japan, companies are placed in a position affording them maximum selectivity when it comes to choosing from many highly qualified applicants. In other words, companies can afford to be extremely choosy in their hiring practices.

Another factor adding to the competitive nature of the system is the overall increase in school attendance in recent years. Many more Japanese, both male and female, are matriculating to the universities than in previous decades. During the 1950's attendance for compulsory age schooling (ages 6 to 15 years) had already reached nearly 100%. Kanichi Ishii states that the ratio of entrance to the university in 1920 was
By 1979 this ratio had climbed to 37:100 or over one third of graduating senior high students. By 1979 this ratio had climbed to 37:100 or over one third of graduating senior high students. Between 1960 and 1970 the percentage of 18 years olds entering universities and colleges rose from 10% to 24% of high school graduates. According to William Cummings, by 1977 an impressive 80% of all Japanese youth were completing senior high school. In Tokyo, the figures were even higher, up to 96% by 1977 according to Rohlen.

This increased demand for higher education places pressure on the system which has a trickling effect reaching down from the universities and colleges, to the high schools, junior high schools, elementary schools, and in turn, even the kindergartens. For elementary students it means endless effort and energies directed towards the great test-taking events. These take the form of countless practise tests, a great emphasis on test-taking skills, and almost daily test-related drills.

Socialization for Competition

Socialization for competitive education begins very early for the Japanese child. Beauchamp points out that it is at the start of middle school that the intense activities in preparation for high school entrance begin.
He cites a survey published in The Japan Times in revealing that high school students studied on the average over eight hours a day, and elementary and junior high students slightly less. On the other hand, the survey conducted in 1975 also showed that college students studied an average of little more than four hours a day. More effort is expended at the high school and junior high levels than at the college level. This lengthening of the period of competition far beyond that of merely the pre-examination interval, results in increased pressure "on those who fail the examinations to study harder for another year (or more) and to try again to pass the examinations for a pretigious school." 31 According to Kondo "it is generally thought that a student who waits until middle school or high school before he starts outside lessons may lose out in the race for a first-rate university or company." 32 These ronin, literally masterless Samurai or "students without a school" as Beauchamp refers to them, are students who have failed to gain entry into their chosen school and are then recycled through the process, providing in turn, more pressure on those taking the entrance tests for the first time.
School Prestige Equals Job Prestige

At the core of the dilemma of this overemphasis on competition and test success is the belief that school achievement has a direct and crucial bearing on status attainment. Mamoru Iga states that "the severity of the university system is intensified by the hierarchy of educational institutions" which are ranked according to the "number of graduates admitted to 'better' universities." This ranking directly corresponds "to the expected career success of graduates, because more prestigious employers hire graduates only from highly ranked institutions." 33

Rohlen explains the relationship of competition to the desirability or prestige of the school:

Actual competition ratios for average to good schools...ranged from a low of 4:1 to around 12:1 with medical schools often achieving a spectacular 25:1 and up. The ronin were, and continue to be, aiming at the best schools. 34

The direct link between the most prestigious government positions, for example, and graduation for the top ranking university in Japan, Tokyo University or Todai, is illustrated in the following table:
TABLE 1
LINKING SCHOOL PRESTIGE TO JOB PRESTIGE

Tokyo University graduates serving above the rank
of section chief in the bureaucracy

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Office</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>Tokyo U. graduates</th>
<th>Percentage of Tokyo U. grads.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ministry of Justice</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>60.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ministry of Foreign Affairs</td>
<td>104</td>
<td>79</td>
<td>76.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ministry of Finance</td>
<td>105</td>
<td>93</td>
<td>88.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ministry of Education</td>
<td>80</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>60.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ministry of Health &amp; Welfare</td>
<td>74</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>48.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ministry of Agriculture &amp; Forestry</td>
<td>187</td>
<td>121</td>
<td>64.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ministry of International Trade &amp; Industry</td>
<td>146</td>
<td>93</td>
<td>63.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ministry of Transportation</td>
<td>124</td>
<td>85</td>
<td>68.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ministry of Postal Services</td>
<td>122</td>
<td>62</td>
<td>50.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ministry of Labor</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>61.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ministry of Construction</td>
<td>80</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>67.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Autonomy Agency</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>70.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prime Minister's Office</td>
<td>74</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>45.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Administrative Management Agency</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>40.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Defense Agency</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>57.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Economic Planning Agency</td>
<td>70</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>60.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Science &amp; Technology Agency</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>44.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Environment Agency</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>55.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>National Land Agency</td>
<td>68</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>73.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>National Police Agency</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>44.9%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Total: 1606 1001 62.3% (avg.)

* Figure for the Ministry of Agriculture & Forestry includes the Forestry Agency and Food Agency.

Source: "What Does A University Mean to the Japanese," Business Community 18 (Spring, 1978) 56.
The figures indicate a predominant number of higher government officers as graduates of Todai. Thus it can be understood how intense competition for entry into top ranking schools results from the projected and realistic chances for success that can be anticipated upon graduation from such institutions.

The notion of "examination hell," editorialized in the Japan Quarterly in 1973, is described in terms of more than a serious problem. Successful entrance into a prestigious school requires consistent excellence "right through from the primary level to higher secondary school." Further, the system is criticized for the downward pressure that ensues:

It is an accepted convention that to enter a first class university one must first have attended a leading high school, access to which can only be gained by those who graduated from well-known lower secondary and primary schools. The warped system of university entrance examinations has thus distorted the whole of Japan's current educational system and transformed it into a deformed 'education in the passing of examinations.'

In a cry for reform against what was seen as a disproportionate emphasis on testing, the system has been
accused of typifying an "overindulgence" of the Japanese people, and of being at the heart of "urgent problems facing Japan's education." On the other hand, recent statistics published on comparative cross-cultural achievement test scores have led some educators to hail the system as a whole. Among the reasons E. Paul Torrance cites for his labeling Japan "a nation of 115 million overachievers" are mentioned the success of Japanese children in ranking first in international tests of mathematical and scientific achievement, and the fact that "Japanese high school and college students are more knowledgeable about foreign languages than those of any other foreign country." Juliana Gensley describes Japanese children as the "most academically talented in the world in the fields of science and mathematics," and quotes Tamotsu Sengoku as characterizing Japanese children as working "harder than other children in foreign countries because of parent pressure."

Parental Aspirations

A high rate of economic growth has resulted both in a sharp rise in living standards and a strong middle-class ethic. These, in turn, lead to a desire by greater numbers of people for higher education. "Even shop keepers and small-business owners are anxious to
give their children a good education, whatever the cost."
Here the suggestion is made that efforts to meet the
needs of the student whose goal is successful
matriculation at college entrance tests causes "regular
schools to become 'prep' schools." 39

Beauchamp also cites the 1974 NHK (Japan National
Broadcasting Corporation) survey on parental expectations
for their children's schooling. Of the 4,243 adults
responding to this survey, less than 3% stated
aspirations for their children extending only to minimum
state required education, or completion of third year
junior high school. For senior high attainment, the
sexes were sharply divided with 17.1% for boys and 42.3%
for girls. This tendency was balanced out, however, on
the higher level with 64.1% of parents anticipating
college education for their boys and only 21.7% for
girls. The study was divided into three categories: all
respondents, respondents who themselves had only
completed the basic education, and finally, respondents
with a university education. In each category Beauchamp
concludes, "a heavy majority plans for their male
children to receive a university education." Even given
the bias against higher education plans for women, the
figures show that two out of three categories "plan some
form of higher education for their daughters." 40
Attempts at Reform

What is most discouraging for educators and parents alike is the apparent increase each year in the number of young people aspiring college entrance. In 1979 the method for college testing was reformed to alleviate the predicament of "examination hell." Instead of candidates selecting their school prior to test taking, with each school administering its own separate test as in the past, a "preliminary round of nationwide multiple choice exams (is) administered to those applicants who indicated a government or public university as their first choice." 41

In an interview with Yoshiko Saito, a Japanese educator, Miss Saito states that the attempts at reform had in actuality compounded the problem of the stress on entrance examinations, rather than alleviating it. The emerging trend since the 1979 institution of a unified college entrance examination, she explained, was for schools to heighten their standards even further. This resulted from schools tending to predetermine at what score level they would consider candidates. In other words, schools tended to decide ahead of time which candidates they would allow to take their entrance tests on the basis of scores from the unified college entrance
examination. The more elite schools simply began to establish higher cutoff levels and by so doing could delimit the number of applicants qualifying to take their school's entrance test. Thus the unified entrance examination in some cases, at least, was used to further heighten entrance standards rather than to alleviate the stress created by the former system.

Such misuse was anticipated by some educational critics prior to recent implementation of the unified entrance tests. Suzuko Murata predicted that "the problem of Entrance Examination Hell (would) not be settled merely by a technical reform of the method of entrance examination." She does however admit that such efforts can certainly "lay the foundation for a just and equitable access to higher education." 43

Murata describes the situation in terms of both an individual and a societal problem. The employment system based on a concept of lifetime employment causes students to "face intense pressure from parents, teachers and peers to get into the 'right' university." She indicated further that this pattern is not limited to college entrance:

As a fact of life...the pattern of "Escalator Education" begins even in kindergarten or elementary school.
Parents want to get their children into the best schools as "invader" children entering schools long distances from the school district in which they live. The reason of course, is that some schools are better or have more prestige than others and give their children a better chance of getting into a good school when they reach the next stage of their education. Therefore, for young people in Japan, "Examination Hell" is a fact of life from the moment they enter kindergarten until they succeed in getting into university.  

This researcher recalls the emotional tension that accompanied anticipation within her own family when, in the mid 1960's, two of her siblings prepared to enter Japanese kindergarten. The private kindergarten her brothers were testing for at age four years was quite open with applicants about the number of spaces available and the number of children applying. That ratio was stated as 90:128+, so clearly this would necessitate some eliminations. The family was informed prior to the test and formal interview dates that successful matriculation would include correct verbal responses to questions involving recitation of numbers through 20, name, address, phone number, and members of family. Social maturity would be measured in part by whether or not the child (applicants ranged in ages from 3 to 5) cried upon separation from their parents for their personal
interview. For weeks preceding the test dates, everyone in the family was involved in drilling and teaching these facts which suddenly had taken on the air of critical importance.

The actual test itself was conducted in such a formal manner as to increase the level of anxiety of parent and child alike. Much time and effort was made to consult neighbors and friends whose children had successfully passed these tests in the past, and there was an element of pre-exam empathy for those who would not succeed, perhaps a natural defense mechanism against the fear of being included in those ranks.
Impact on Parents and Children

The burden from the competitive nature of Japanese education on children is obvious in terms of time, effort and energy that must be expended towards educational fulfillment, and the negative consequences of failure have traumatic repercussions for the entire family. Burden on the parents is also heavy in terms of both the financial output, and in terms of the discipline that must be exercised in directing the child's efforts from a very early age, towards educational advancement.

Beauchamp cites Ezra Vogel's description of kyoiku-mama or "education mama" as the mother "who works very hard to ensure that her child passes the entrance examinations for "good preschools and kindergartens." 45 Lebra defines kyoiku-mama as those "mothers obsessed with education who constantly press their children to study, especially in preparation for entrance examinations. 46 It is this researcher's contention that the pressure to function as kyoiku-mama lasts far beyond the period of kindergarten entrance, and that in fact, although the term can be critical or derogatory in connotation, this is also one of the most important roles that the mother is expected to perform. In other words, while there is
sympathy both for parents and children faced with the
ominous challenges of the educational system, at the same
time failure to support the child in his efforts can
bring criticism and disapproval to the parents.
Beauchamp states,

This kind of situation exists, at
least in part, because the typical
mother lacks the opportunity for
achievement outside of her family.
Working to ensure her child's success
enables her not only to satisfy her
duty as mother, but also to achieve
position and prestige in the
neighborhood and among her friends
and acquaintances. 47

The child's life is devoted almost exclusively to
education and study efforts. In 1972 a survey of fifth
graders showed that "80% of the boys and 86% of the girls
were taking outside lessons." 48 These outside
lessons were aimed at increasing the possibility or
likelihood of success on entrance examinations. The
proliferation of juku or cram schools, and the
popularity of commercially prepared drill and exercise
books that emphasize test-taking skills also result from
this exam-consciousness and concern.

The school year in Japan runs from April 1st to
March 31st of the following year for all schools,
kindergarten through university. Thus February has come
to be recognized as the "examination season." According to Ronald S. Anderson, the minimum number of school days each year is 210, "but most schools are open from 248 to 250 days." He further points out that compared with the 180 minimum days in the United States, "Japanese schools provide one or two months' more schooling each year than do American schools." He suggests that by the end of the ninth year of formal schooling this amounts to "nearly an extra two full years." Anderson concludes that this may account at least partially for the fact that, at least to many observers, "Japanese youth are ahead of their comparable age group in other countries, particularly in the skill subjects." 49

Midyear vacations carry with them the requirements of home assignments due upon return to school, and the end of the year vacations are dominated by the final push towards preparation for the entrance examinations.

Herbert Passin, in his comprehensive analysis of Japanese education, provides a graphic description of the present system. (See Figure 1) This graph makes clear the critical transition periods in the individual's education which normally occur at the time of entrance into kindergarten, grade school entrance, middle school entrance at about age 12, high school entrance at about
age 15, and for those continuing on to college and universities around age 18 years of age. For Japanese children who live temporarily outside of Japan, an added critical period occurs at the time of their return to Japan and their reentry into the system. Vogel states that children returning from schooling abroad can generally anticipate finding themselves two years behind their peers. Because of the tremendous pressure to push ahead at every level of Japanese education in preparation for the next level, there is little room for remedial or catch-up work for those who for any reason find themselves not up to par.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>AGE</th>
<th>SCHOOL YEAR</th>
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<tr>
<td>23</td>
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<td>4</td>
<td>K</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>K</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


Figure 1. The Modern Japanese School System
Ezra Vogel, in his book entitled Japan as Number one, summarizes the criticisms against the system of entrance examinations. He states:

Entrance examinations are much maligned for causing excessive tension, rote memorization, and one-sided intellectual development, and for the eliminating extra-curricular activities and destroying the joy of youth of preexamination students. 51

Yet he points out that because the entrance tests are predictable, both students and teachers alike can effectively prepare for these tests. Further, he suggests the danger of a teacher's personal judgment of a student heavily influencing that student's future is virtually eliminated by virtue of the examination system. Responsibility for success and the motivation to strive towards success lie with the individual student, and Vogel suggests that both parent and teacher become the allies of the student trying to prepare for the entrance tests. He credits the examination system with Japan's high level of academic achievement, and considers the phenomenon as a natural outcome of the emphasis in Japanese society upon the notion of group responsibility. 52
It should be stated that this researcher finds little evidence to substantiate such a positive viewpoint, and the reality of shiken jigoku remains a dominant and profoundly influential facet of modern Japanese education. In fact, some favoritism does exist even within the confines of such a competitive framework. For example, each year, the most prestigious universities set aside a small percentage of space for students with vested interest connections who will be admitted in spite of entrance examination outcomes.

Examinations and Stress

Stress related to examination is intensified by the fact that it is a one time opportunity. Entrance is determined by the results of a single event, the entrance examination and the examination alone. Also, the problem is compounded by the fact that many universities and colleges offer their entrance examinations on the same day, thus precluding the possibility of candidates testing for numerous schools in a given year.

Beauchamp states that Vogel found that many anxiety related physical illnesses as well as emotional disturbances were associated with examination
preparation. Although Vogel admits that exams were not the sole cause for these problems, he states that "the severity of the disturbance and the particular form it took did seem to be related to the examination period."53 These illnesses included such complaints as persistent stomach aches, gastric and duodenal ulcers, and other stress-related diseases.

According to Ronald Dore "in the 1950's Japan had one of the world's highest rates of adolescent suicide."54 Dore suggests that suicide is just one manifestation of what he terms the "diploma disease," or the over-emphasis on educational preparation and qualification. More recently, Mamoru Iga found that "among the more advanced countries, Japan is near the top of the list in suicide rates." In the age bracket of 15 to 24 years, he found that Japan's suicide rate was fourth in the world. Iga also points out with great concern, that when other forms of self-destructive behavior are included in the analysis, the overall trend is presently in a downward shift age-wise. In other words, the greatest proportion of self-destructive acts including suicide is occurring in an increasingly younger age group than previously. This is cause for concern among educators as well as health professionals and social scientists in Japan.55
Suicide is perhaps more associated with entrance examinations in the minds of Japanese people than in the stark reality of statistical information. Every year as examination time approaches, newspapers carry stories of the quiet, diligent, straight-A student who takes his life out of desperation prior to or shortly after the entrance examinations. Dore calls the examination period "one of the annual journalistic festivals." Besides writing detailed accounts of tragic suicide notes found after the fact, he states that, "photographers can always count on finding one old lady kneeling outside the examination hall with her rosary to pray for her grandson's success." 56

On the other hand, the actual incidence of entrance examination related suicides is by no means insignificant. Beauchamp quotes the Ministry of Education statistics on examination related suicides. These statistics indicated that between 1972 and 1974 there were "approximately 300 suicides a year involving junior high and senior high school students, while Welfare Ministry figures show that there were seven suicides a year during the same period at the elementary school level." 57 The reality of these tragic events, the folklore surrounding their accounts, and the predictability with which they occur and are dwelt upon
by the media, add to the pressures experienced by the young Japanese person preparing for the examinations.

Personal life style may be drastically affected, and the time is frequently characterized by an air of seriousness. Loneliness is brought about by long hours of isolation in order to study. Some students awaken to study during the night in hopes that the silence of the sleeping hours will enhance the quality of the study invested. The media provides suggestions for parents looking for ways to assist their child in his or her study efforts. As one editorial states, Japan must be "the only country in the world where an article on 'Nutritious Food for the Students Preparing for Examinations' can be found in the family affairs columns of one's daily paper." 58

This author recalls observing one Japanese high school friend preparing for college entrance. During her last year of senior high the student suddenly restricted her socializing to one hour on Sunday mornings, immediately following attendance at a religious service. Furthermore, she would study alone in her room from the time she can home from school in the evening, until bed time, around midnight. The only break was for the evening meal, prepared by her mother and served after the father returned home around 7 p.m. Occasionally the
mother or younger sister would interrupt her studies by bringing her a pot of hot green tea and a nutritious snack in the late evening. The family made special efforts to keep the noise of the television or their conversations down, so as not to disturb their daughter's studying.

When asked how she organized her studying she explained that daily homework came first, then test preparation. Lastly, after she was in bed and the alarm had been set for about 5 a.m., she reported that she would take her English or French dictionary to bed with her, and memorize several pages each night before turning out the light. The same student also reported that frequently prior to major tests, she would stay up all night. "You can always sleep when it's over!" she would say. This student's self-discipline and study ritual appears to be typical if not less rigorous than that of many Japanese young people. 59

Specialized Cram Schools

One formal response to the examination pressures and the emphasis on test performance is the emergence of yobiko, 'drop-in schools' or juku, the private academies and schools. These elementary, high school and college preparatory schools have emerged in the private
sector in response to parent demands to focus extra effort directly on examination preparation and test-taking skills. These schools, whether part-time or full-time, remain outside the mainstream of government sponsored programs, are unregulated, and are geared towards one basic goal, and that is to increase the candidate's chances of success on entrance examinations.

Rapidly increasing numbers of juku represent the proliferation of alternative means towards the common goal of success in competition. Shimahara describes a survey conducted in 1977 by the Ministry of Education which found that there were "nearly 50,000 juku in Japan offering services to middle- and elementary-school students." The report also indicated that 27% of sixth graders and 38% of middle school children were attending juku. The study found further that "in the urban areas with a population of more than 100,000, nearly 50% of middle school students (went) to juku." 60 "Actually," states William Cummings, "the exact number involved in the juku and the high school ronin phenomena is unimportant." The important factor here is that public opinion believes that the number is astronomical, and that the quality of youthful life is in jeopardy." 61

Large juku employ full-time instructors and
offer dormitories where ronin who have yet to gain entrance to college can be accommodated. Some of these schools offer Sunday courses, or crash courses during the holidays, so students can sign up for drill sessions during their time off from regular school. Students attend full-time or commute to the juku several times weekly during the evening hours.

In the case of one juku, Shimahara presents a picture of a regimen that is both physically and mentally demanding. Saigo, the school described in the study, places "95% of its graduates in various colleges, one-third of them in local national universities" every year. 62

Discipline is emphasized in every aspect of the program. Students rise at 6:00 a.m. and go to bed at 11:30 p.m. Teachers explain that the purpose of this schedule "is to build the students' habit of concentration on study for many hours and enduring difficulties related to such concentration." 63 Before the students are admitted to the full-time program they spend several days and nights with their teachers off at some remote mountain resort area in an initiation training sessions that this researcher likens to basic training in the military. During the regular school sessions, students are engaged in much repetitious
learning and are given many tests published by private companies. "At Saigo there is an emphasis upon cramming by way of repeating the same texts over and over again, but drill books are also introduced extensively during hoshu* or the group oriented large recitation sessions. At this particular school, grueling demands in terms of time and commitment were made of the staff as well as the students.

Such Spartan approaches are not uncommon among juku but vary in degree from school to school. Sometimes non-resident students who attend daily or weekly evening classes commute up to three and four hours a day in order to attend juku with high success rates, or juku particularly geared towards entrance examinations at one particular school.

Another unusual case is cited by Cummings in his book Education and Equality in Japan. The particular juku in question specializes in preparing children for medical school exams.

This predoctor juku attempts not only to provide its charges with the knowledge it will need to pass the exams but also with the mannerism appropriate to the profession. Thus, each day the young students, many of whom are still in primary school, wash their hands upon entry to the juku, don white robes and a
stethoscope, and proceed through a routine that may include anything from the review of normal school work to an animal dissection. The typical juku session ends at eight in the evening with the young trainees tired and hungry, just as they can expect to be a few years later if they succeed in becoming interns at a medical school. 

While this represents an extreme example, it does give credence to the notion that in general, Japanese parents simply no longer feel that regular schooling is adequate to meet needs created by the system in which prime importance rests on the ability to compete. The consequence of such intense efforts to better the student’s chances of success, however, contribute to the perpetuation and intensifying of that institution. According to Lynne Riggs, "the juku phenomenon is multifaceted, and one which is tremendously revealing of the problems and potentials of contemporary Japan." Riggs calls the relationship of public schooling to the proliferation of juku a "symbiotic" one, and states,

In providing an alternative to answer needs public schools can no longer fulfill, these myriad educational establishments essentially prop up the gakureki shakai, the society where status is largely determined by an individual’s academic pedigree.
And while the host, the public education system, is thus supported, the symbiotic juku thrive in unprecedented variety and numbers.

Summary
This first section of the literature review has focused on modern Japanese education, with an emphasis on issues most pertinent to the study of Japanese overseas children and their unique educational needs. Modern Japanese education is a product of traditional, historical, and religious influences, and post-nineteenth century modernization and Westernization. Though there are correlations between Japanese education and the American educational system, the present system in Japan remains uniquely Japanese. It reflects to a considerable degree, the institutions and values of Japanese society as a whole. The importance of educational achievement in Japan is uniquely interconnected with the post-schooling world of later employment.

Education in present day Japan is characterized by the duality of uniformly high academic standards on the one hand, and tremendous competitiveness with an overemphasis on testing and achievement on the other. Together with its emphasis on group progress and process
rather than on the individual, this sets the stage for
unique and significant demands on anyone deviating from
the norm, for whatever reason, including temporary
absence from the mainstream of the educational process
due to residence overseas. This situation appears
particularly pertinent to the examination of experiences
of Japanese children acquiring some of their schooling
outside of Japan.

Finally, it should be stated that this researcher
encountered considerable difficulty in researching the
general topic of Japanese education due to the relative
paucity of available literature. Several exhaustive
computer searches were contracted from the Mechanized
Information Center at The Ohio State University Libraries,
and a number of articles were procured through
Inter-Library Loan. Still other information deemed
pertinent to the study was found to be out of print
entirely. Because of the difficulty in obtaining the
necessary information, sources not typically found in
such reviews, for example, a number of editorials from
scholarly journals, have been included in this literature
review.
SECTION TWO

CROSS-CULTURAL TRANSITION: FROM CULTURE SHOCK TO TRANSCULTURATION

In this section, literature relating to the process of cross-cultural transition will be reviewed. While no literature exists describing the adjustment of Japanese overseas children to the bicultural educational setting, related literature drawn from anthropology, sociology and education offering useful insight into the cross-cultural process and experience will be examined.

Adjustment to a new cultural setting, be it educational or otherwise, places unique demands upon the individual. These demands are many and diverse, and just as diverse are the possibilities for response to cultural change on the part of the individual. The cross-cultural transition process has potential for stimulating the individual towards personal growth as well as potential for leading to a multiplicity of problems. During the cross-cultural transition, not only may the verbal means of communicating be unavailable to the individual because of language differences, but also the culturally defined
norms and cues for social interaction and behavior may be totally unknown. Old ways of coping may be applied, sometimes satisfactorily, sometimes with painfully frustrating results. New ways of functioning must be explored which may lead to new psychological and behavioral patterns that are successful within the host cultural context.

Identifying Early Childhood Influences

Spradley describes the range of possibilities for response to the bilingual, bicultural setting as follows:

An individual may respond to a bicultural environment in a variety of ways ranging from total rejection of Western values, or passive withdrawal from either cultural system to creative participation in both cultures. 68

In "Socialization for Bicultural Adjustment: A Case Study," the same author sought to identify early childhood socialization experiences that might lead to a person's "successful, creative adjustment to a bicultural environment," by studying a very well adjusted bicultural Kwakiutl Indian. The subject of the study had achieved a high degree of biculturalism and was able to function very well in both cultures. Spradley found several factors
leading to successful adjustment in this study. These factors included early childhood training for leadership with the Kwakiutl community, the ability to identify with role models from either culture, receiving positive attention from significant models from both cultures, and social isolation from Kwakiutl peers early in life, and close social contact with Western culture. Although the study is individual and group specific, it does shed some light on the nature of successful cross-cultural adjustment. Spradley's study suggests that early childhood influences, especially in terms of positive role modeling, appear to have a powerful influence in the ability of the individual to adjust to the bicultural situation.

Awareness of One's Own Culture

In "Beth Ann: A Case Study of Culturally Defined Adjustment and Teacher Perceptions," Spindler describes the cultural process of adjustment in terms of "actors on a stage...acting out a culturally defined drama." This powerful imagery is useful for examining the process of moving from one cultural set of expectations and rules to another. Individuals experiencing the transition are "products of their (own) culture and live within the framework of values and symbols that are a part of that
"In other words, the individuals are culture-bound upon entering the new culture, and this factor must be recognized from the start. Spindler further states,

By being made aware of what they (that is, adults in the cross-cultural setting) are and do, they can be freed from the tyranny of their cultures; in turn, they will be able to free their children from damaging effects of premature, inaccurate, or prejudiced estimates and interpretations of their behavior that are culturally induced.

Awareness and understanding of one's own culture, thus, can be an asset to coping with a new culture. Yet it should be noted that in the study of Japanese children in an American school setting, the awareness of one's own culture for understanding another culture would apply more to the Japanese parents, the children's teachers and administrators and other adults in the setting, than to the children themselves. It is presumed that such cultural awareness, acquired through learning and experience, would simply not be fully developed in young children. They can gain the awareness, however, that what is different need not be considered bad, or that one's own way of doing things is not necessarily always best."
The Impact of Values and Value Systems

Hallowell points to values and value systems as crucial to coping with cross-cultural adjustment in his study of the Ojibwa and other native American tribes. He describes the process in terms of acculturation, which refers to an adoption and assimilation of some of the second culture's functioning modes and cultural values. For what Hallowell describes as the "most highly acculturated group" he states that "the re-adjustment demanded in the acculturation process did produce stresses and strains in the model personality structure," and he points out that certain individuals seemed far more successful in their adjustment than others. 71 For example, for some groups that Hallowell studied, the sacrificing of old beliefs for a superficial embracing of Christianity was disastrous. He states that "their inner life (had) been emptied of deep convictions, motivation and goals that were all integrated in terms of the older belief system and its concomitant stabilized values." 72 Finally, Hallowell states that "nonintegrative adjustment may be characterized as regression in the sense of a kind of primitivation." 73 This means that rather than being able to fall back to earlier patterns, the individual is left without
any patterns on which to rely, and may find himself unsuccessful in his attempts to function in either of the two cultural environments.

A well developed values system that is coherent, strongly maintained, and tolerant of diversity, however different from that of the new setting's, can be a source for bridging the cultural gap, and for the development of new coping strategies. This same factor can also prove to be a source of conflict and stress. For example, within the families of overseas Japanese children where parents may be well established in their own values systems, but where, in addition to learning the new rules of the bicultural setting, the Japanese children themselves are still in the formative stages of their own cultural system, there may well develop problems and conflicts.

**Experiencing Loss**

Marc Fried describes a broad view of the impact of the experience of loss that is so often associated with any radical form of relocation in terms of the loss of spatial identity. This means loss of identity or loss of connectedness due to removal from familiar locale, from familiar surroundings. In "Grieving for a Lost Home," he describes grief reactions that are "intense,
deeply felt, and, at times, overwhelming" that often follow after a major move. He points to the significance that the loss of a place, with all its familiarity and predictability, can have for the individual. This, he suggests, is due to the fact that place "is so critical for the individual's sense of continuity." Fried suggests that "external stability is...extremely important in interpersonal patterns" and that "dislocation and relocation involve a fragmentation of the external bases for interpersonal and environmental relationships and group networks." Though his study focuses on relocation of working classes from urban slums, the study suggests that crisis involving grief and loss can generally be expected in the initial phase of the international and cross-cultural adjustment process.

Culture Shock

Perhaps the greatest and most visible stress factor in the cross-cultural adjustment process is what is frequently termed the experience of "culture shock." Brislin identifies culture shock as "a term used to describe the impact of a new and different culture radically different from a person's own culture." Feelings of frustration, anxiety and even hopelessness
may be manifested. Brislin terms culture shock "the anxiety that happens when a person loses all the familiar cues to reality on which each of us depend." 77

Going beyond the state of "shock" requires new ways of learning and adapting. According to Brislin the single "greatest impact of culture shock is in learning and confronting one's own culture." Confronting one's own culture leads to an understanding of how behavior "is grounded in cultural assumptions, values, and beliefs."

Through this process of self-reflection the anxieties and frustrations associated with culture shock "can lead to self-understanding and personal development." 78 The taxing nature of the transition requires supportive mechanisms that facilitate rather than impede the process of moving beyond the state of culture shock. Brislin goes beyond the usual notion of culture shock in identifying what he terms the "re-entry crisis." This concept is most useful in understanding the readjustment process that Japanese overseas children might experience upon their return home. Brislin states:

The readjustment back home is likely to be even more difficult that going abroad in the first place, all the more so since this adjustment is frequently unexpected. Not only is the (returnee) changed, but the back-home culture has likewise
changed, making it doubly difficult to readjust. People's expectations for returning may have been distorted in an unrealistically favorable direction by their very absence. When they find themselves unable to pick up where they left off or even to start from scratch at some new endeavor, they are likely to experience a re-entry crisis. 79

Much of Brislin's work is related to the experience of Peace Corp workers and to the development of orientation programs designed to facilitate cross-cultural adjustment as well as minimizing the impact of culture shock and re-entry crisis.

**Defining the Transition Process**

An examination of several models for conceptualizing the cross-cultural transition process is presented below, and similarities and differences are shown. Each contributes to understanding the process of transition and change in the cross-cultural context from different perspectives. Together, they can help to illuminate and define a complex and dynamic human experience. None of the frameworks presented here purports to be the only viewpoint possible, but they can be used to better understand the nature and process of the cross-cultural transition.
Based on his study of Peace Corps volunteers, Sill describes the cross-cultural transition process, in terms of four distinct stages. He terms the process of adjustment, "transculturation," and identifies the stages as "discovery, self-alignment, participation, and devolution." Sill portrays these stages as sequential, consecutive, and fairly predictable.

In the initial stage, the process is characterized by adventure, excitement, and enthusiastic anticipation of the new and unknown. There is, characteristically, a period of fascination with the new culture and a sense of commitment to personal adjustment. This is coupled with feelings of frustration and, not uncommonly, deep felt depression resulting from the inability to communicate satisfactorily, and the sudden realization that established modes of interaction are ineffective and even counterproductive.

The phase of "self-alignment" occurs "when the volunteer decides to cross the threshold between an American value orientation and a host country value orientation." During this phase, much self-reflection occurs and a conscious "alignment" of the self with the "host country view of the situation" is attempted. At this point, the individual also "discovers some way to
participate in his new culture."  It is taken for
granted that, at this stage, there still has not occurred
a mastery of either the new language or the host
country's patterns of social interaction and behavior.

During the third stage of Sill's
"transculturation," there is a settling in that takes
place. A broadening of the individual's perception of
the world, together with a sense of personal growth,
"frees (him) for more complete participation in the host
country culture."  The individual gains new
understanding of the host culture, and with it, new
appreciation for the worth of a different cultural
system.

Towards the end of the usual two year overseas
tour, the volunteer turns his focus towards his eventual
return to his own culture. There is concern for the
value of the investment he has made in the other culture,
as well as an evaluation of his accomplishments and
contributions through his work efforts. Finally, Sills
concludes that "if (the volunteers) decided to join (into
activities) on the host country's own terms, they grew
more personally and became more effective." Successful
cross-cultural adjustment led to "a new synthesis of
values" for the individual. 83
While obvious differences exist between the situation for Japanese overseas children and American Peace Corps volunteers, there are similarities in terms of the time-limited, cross-cultural nature of these experiences. Sill's work offers a framework for describing the underlying stages of the cross-cultural transition process common to these groups.

In describing her profiles for transcultural experience, Maureen Mansell identifies four stages, and goes beyond the seemingly finite stages Sills describes. Mansell describes the four stages as "existential modes of consciousness" through which an individual moves in the process of cross-cultural adjustment. These are "alienation, marginality, acculturation and duality." She notes that these do not necessarily follow in logical time sequence, but are rather in a state of flux. She states that,

shaking the cultural kaleidoscope of images, values, customs, and assumptions produces multiple configurations and diverse response. In some cases, adapting to the new environment means a loss of cultural identity and a sense of alienation, while in others the transition can stimulate personal growth and a heightened appreciation of a contrasting cultural reality. Within
these extremes lie many variations, no less complex than the web of symbolic forms which create culture itself. 85

For Mansell, the four categories in the cross-cultural transition process are overlapping and constantly changing. In other words, one may be experiencing elements of the first stage long after one has moved into the phase of acculturation. Likewise, motivation to move to the next level in the process may be stimulated by energies wrought through the stresses of an earlier phase. After the isolation experienced during the initial phases of alienation and marginality, the individual experiences a "sense of belonging" in the acculturation phase. Beyond acculturation is the advanced level of duality characterized by a "sense of autonomy" when the individual achieves "bicultural independence" and can function successfully in either culture. 86 Not everyone reaches this stage. According to Mansell, this "sense of duality reflects a membership in two worlds of experience, with satisfying levels in both, and results not from adopting the ways of another culture, but from a "willingness to endorse more than one set of premises, and to create new patterns of meaning." 87 These new patterns of meaning grow out of a transcending of normal cultural boundaries.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>ALIENATION</th>
<th>MARGINALITY</th>
<th>ACCULTURATION</th>
<th>DUALITY</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Cultural Identity</td>
<td>sense of loss; separation; monocultural</td>
<td>sense of division split loyalties; double bind</td>
<td>sense of belonging; identification; monocultural</td>
<td>sense of autonomy; bicultural independence</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Creative Enjoyment</td>
<td>use of skills restricted; regressive</td>
<td>ritualistic use of skills; impactive</td>
<td>skills match opportunities; innovative</td>
<td>new skills generated; exploratory</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aesthetic Appreciation</td>
<td>limited; comparisions induce conflict</td>
<td>inconsistent; preferences confused</td>
<td>differences and similarities accommodated</td>
<td>valued and meaningful contrasts</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Interpersonal Relationships</td>
<td>mainly co-national interaction</td>
<td>acquaintances in both cultures</td>
<td>more close friends from new culture</td>
<td>close alliances with both cultures</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Levels of Commitment</td>
<td>incompatibility; desire to return</td>
<td>paradox of gain and loss; uncertain</td>
<td>long-term goal to remain permanently</td>
<td>finds purpose in both contexts; flexible</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

From "Transcultural Experience and Expressive Response" by Maureen Mansell in *Communication Education* Vol. 30, April, 1981.
Moving beyond "the sense of being in a double bind" situation to fully adjusting requires what Mansell refers to as the "creative response." The author suggests that "creative activity is a crucial factor in construing a meaningful reality in both states of acculturation and duality." She explains that this transcendence leads to a "sense of control," and the "knowledge that one has the ability to direct significant areas of life experience, broadens the boundaries of self in relationship to environment." In a sense, this enables the individual to feel a part of something greater than self, and greater than the constraints of either one's home culture or one's newly embraced culture.

Finally, Mansell suggests that change need not necessarily "produce the stress of alienation or marginality," but that such disruption usually occurs when a person is ill-equipped, that is, "when inner resources and creative skills are not matched to the new cultural circumstances." Further, she states that "during the adaptive process, the individual is thrown back on creative resources and the aesthetic patterns of response associated with his or her cultural identity." An openness to drawing upon these resources enables one
to bridge the cultural gap most effectively. Mansell suggests that it is through the artistic, aesthetic processes that awareness can be expanded "and self-actualization can be resumed, and the conscious and unconscious levels of cultural learning can be integrated." 89

In "The Transitional Experience: An Alternative View of Culture Shock," Peter S. Adler defines culture shock in the following manner:

Culture shock is primarily a set of emotional reactions to the loss of perceptual reinforcements from one's own culture, to new cultural stimuli which have little or no meaning, and to the misunderstanding of new and diverse experiences. 90

Adler goes on to describe the transitional experience as "a movement from a stage of low self- and cultural awareness to a state of high self- and cultural awareness." 91 Five phases of the transitional experience are identified: contact, disintegration, reintegration, autonomy an independence. These phases "delineate a progressive depth of experiential learning," though "it is not assumed that subsequent stages in the process of transition automatically require preceding ones." 92 In other words, depending upon the
individual, these stages may or may not occur in sequence. Again, as Mansell suggests, Adler states that the "transitional experience begins with the encounter of another culture and evolves into the encounter with self."  He suggests that through the transitional process, the individual moves away from initial curiosity and possible subsequent withdrawal or depression, towards the assurance of independence and the fulfillment of creative actualization.

Adler points to the potential for personal growth that the transitional experience can offer, and terms the process "a journey into the self." But he also suggests the tremendous potential that the transitional experience offers for going beyond self:

As interactions across barriers of human existence increase, and as the world comes closer to the physical realities of 'the global village,' new understanding of change experiences will hopefully broaden the challenges to ethnocentrism, chauvinism, and nationalism.  

Daniel B. Lee studied stresses and coping patterns of Asian-born spouses of transcultural marriages, many involving military servicemen. He too, identifies stressors associated with three psychosocial phases that the Asian spouses typically experience. They
are, "The phases of cultural transition, accommodation, and transculturation." Lee suggests that the first phase "social alienation is primarily imposed by external realities," implying circumstances over which the individual may have little control. 95

Lee's cultural transition phase can be likened to Mansell's first two stages, for it encompasses characteristics from both. There may be the desire to integrate, to cope, to adjust, and at the same time, there is the sense of loss, sadness and confusion. In the accommodation phase, "psychological alienation may become more poignant and destructive." It is during this critical phase that the author suggests the greatest need for assisting the individual exists. This may be in the form of "existing mental health and community resources as well as programs specially designed for their unique accommodation needs." He further suggests that the reason for failure among many transcultural marriages is, among other factors, an "inability to achieve a constructive transcultural synthesis." 96

The transcultural phase requires the individual to "establish effective intrafamilial communication and mutual sharing of personal, and cultural strengths." Furthermore, "unresolved transcultural issues" must be resolved." 97
This model differs dramatically from that of Sill's in that the transition is seen in terms of a life-long commitment and a permanent adjustment. Sill is concerned with a limited time commitment, and a very specific population - American Peace Corps volunteers. Lee focuses on intercultural, international marriages, involving a quite different population, and long-lasting commitment. Clearly, stressors in this frame of reference would vary greatly from those of the two-year Peace Corps volunteer. The "transcultural synthesis" that Lee addresses becomes the basis for the fully-functioning individual in the transcultural context. Lee suggests that this is best accomplished in a warm and accepting emotional environment, where respect is mutual and authentic.

Finally, Lee asserts that those "helping professionals...dealing with transcultural families, must assist the resolution of identity and loyalty issues," as well as develop "an enduring social support network." Here he differs from the above mentioned authors, who focus on the struggle within the individual, when he calls for positive and effective intervention in the social context.

In his development of a transculturally valid conceptual model of the therapeutic transformation
process, Edward R. Canda draws upon the literature regarding models of rites of passage, and ritual in general, with a focus on those involving healing. Canda's model for therapeutic transformation has implications for understanding the process of cross-cultural adjustment, because it provides for a higher level of conceptualization for the process of change regarding transition that is not restricted to the process of cross-cultural adjustment. It analyzes the phases of periodic major changes in the process of human growth, through spontaneous as well as therapeutically assigned experiences. This model, when applied to the process of cross-cultural transition, is especially useful for understanding the multidimensional, interactive nature of the various stages.

Canda identifies five stages that are not linear, and may not even be sequential. These are, "preparation," "separation," "limen," "aggregation," and "congregation." Each phase or stage of the process is, according to Canda, dynamic and interactive, and at every level there is potential both for beneficial personal growth and for detrimental effects upon the individual. Within each of Canda's stages, there is a tension between the potential for "chaos" and "order," with possible outcomes leading to either "degenerative" or "generative"
consequences for the individual. 

In the cross-cultural transition process one is challenged to go beyond the security of well known, familiar operational norms, and to explore the possibilities offered by new ways of interacting and relating. Again, such psychosocial transformation can be growthful, or it may have negative, sometimes devastating, effects on the individual. A transformation takes place within the individual, and in his environmental context, and can lead to functioning on the level of transculturation.

Because of the potential for applying Canda's transcultural model for therapeutic transformation to the process of cross-cultural adjustment, a thorough understanding of the model may provide educators with a tool both for understanding the process and for effectively intervening so as to assist the individual in the transitional process.

Table 3 attempts to illustrate, by means of comparison, the basic phases or stages inherent in the above mentioned conceptual models. A synthesis of these models can be used to reach a more wholistic understanding of the transition process, and will be used to present some of the research data in this study. A synthesis of these concepts, applied to the understanding
of the transitional experiences of Japanese overseas children, will be presented in Chapter Five.

Summary

In this section of the literature review, a variety of literature pertaining to the general process of cross-cultural transition was reviewed. The researcher's analysis and comparison of models useful for conceptualizing the stages or phases in the transition process was presented. While no literature exists pertaining specifically to the adjustment of Japanese overseas children, a review of related literature, drawn from a number of fields, was presented.
## TABLE 3

**COMPARISON OF MODELS FOR CONCEPTUALIZING THE CROSS-CULTURAL TRANSITION PROCESS**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Author</th>
<th>Focus of Study</th>
<th>Stages</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>SILLS</td>
<td>Peace Corps Volunteers</td>
<td>Preparation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ADLER</td>
<td>Foreign Students</td>
<td>Contact</td>
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<tr>
<td>MANSELL</td>
<td>Cross-Cultural Transition</td>
<td>Alienation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LEE</td>
<td>Intercultural Marriage</td>
<td>Cultural transition</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CANDA</td>
<td>Growth and healing process</td>
<td>Preparation</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Universal
Notes for Chapter 2

17. Ibid., p. 9.
18. Ibid., p. 10.
19. Ibid., p. 11.
20. Ibid., p. 12.


32. Sumio Kondo, "Off We Go to Our Lessons," The Japan Interpreter vol. 9, no. 1 (Spring 1974), p. 77.


42. Yoshiko Saito, Interview held at Ohio Dominican College, Columbus, Ohio. October 15, 1982.


44. Ibid., p. 42.


48. Kondo, "Off We Go to Our Lessons," p. 15.


51. Ibid., p. 164.

52. Ibid., p. 163-164.


56. Dore, The Diploma Disease, p. 49.


59. Mrs. Tomoko Nishibe Yokotani, Interview held in Okayama, Japan, July 1980.


63. Ibid., p. 557.

64. Ibid., 558.


67. Ibid., p. 542.


69. Ibid., p. 2.


72. Ibid., p. 741.

73. Ibid., p. 742.


75. Ibid., p. 153.

76. Ibid., p. 157.

78. Ibid., p. 15.

79. Ibid., p. 16.


81. Ibid., p. 247.

82. Ibid., p. 266.

83. Ibid., p. 267.


85. Ibid., p. 93.

86. Ibid., p. 101.

87. Ibid., p. 103.

88. Ibid., p. 104.

89. Ibid., p. 105.


91. Ibid., p. 15.

92. Ibid., p. 16.

93. Ibid., p. 18.

94. Ibid., p. 22.

96. Ibid., p. 4.

97. Ibid., p. 4.

98. Ibid., p. 4.


100. Ibid., p. 172.
CHAPTER 3
METHODOLOGY

Introduction

This chapter provides an outline of the methodological procedures employed in this qualitative research project. An introduction to the naturalistic approach is given. This is followed by a presentation of the various data collection techniques employed, along with a sample and translation of the questionnaire that was used. The data analysis section provides an explanation of analytical procedures that were applied. Also included in this chapter is a section on gaining entry to the research site, and a presentation of the informant selection process. An account is given of the external audits that were conducted in order to verify the reliability of translations, since most of the interviews were conducted in Japanese and later translated into English by the researcher. Finally, a description of the role of the researcher is presented.
The Naturalistic Approach

The focus of this research is the experience of Japanese overseas elementary children attending an American school, as perceived by the children themselves. Because the study examines highly complex, interactive and multifaceted phenomena, the researcher has adopted a naturalistic paradigm as the logical underlying orientation for investigation and analysis. The naturalistic paradigm relies on field study as the fundamental orientation for data collection, and demands sufficient immersion in the experiential aspect of the phenomena under investigation to yield "inevitable conclusions about what is important, dynamic, and pervasive in the field." ¹

Furthermore, this research is intrinsically emergent in nature. Guba and Lincoln state that "the naturalistic paradigm assumes that all phenomena are characterized by interactivity." ² In other words, the subject under study is not static or finite, but rather is in a state of constant flux and change. It is important to note that this factor was recognized from the outset. While some fundamental assumptions and tentative procedural decisions may have been made by the researcher prior to entry into the setting, the refining of both the focus of the study and the research questions
were not determined a priori. To do so would have amounted to the imposing of too simplistic and restrictive limits on the subject. Rather, the questions framed and the direction taken were constantly subjected to re-evaluation, refinement and reconsideration as the study progressed. This helped to assure that the existing reality might be appropriately and adequately assessed. It also helped to guard against biasing on the part of the inquirer. In other words, the study was conducted in light of the emergent context of discovery.

According to Glaser and Strauss, this approach to research, which moves from the data at hand to discovery, can lead to what they term "grounded theory". They contend that "such...theory fits empirical situations, and is understandable to sociologist and laymen alike." Furthermore, they state that "most important, it works -- provides us with relevant predications, explanations, interpretations, and applications." 3

Guba and Lincoln concur with Glaser and Strauss on the advantages of the grounded theories approach, namely, that they "fit" the "empirical situations" under scrutiny, and that they provide for "meaningful communication with professionals and laymen -- better than a priori theories, while also serving all the usual functions of theory: prediction, explanation, and the
The naturalistic paradigm affords further advantages to the present study because it allows the researcher to "take an expansionist stance." Such a perspective "will lead to the description and understanding of phenomena as wholes or at least in ways that reflect their complexity." In the study of Japanese children's experiences in an American school, this holistic approach, implying a need for multiple means of data collection, is essential to adequate interpretation and communication of the problem.

The very complex nature of the problem under consideration and the openness of the approach afforded by the naturalistic orientation implied that the design had to remain incomplete in advance of the study. Guba and Lincoln state,

To specify in detail would be to place constraints on the inquiry that are antithetical to the stance and purpose of the naturalist. The design emerges as the investigation proceeds; moreover, it is in constant flux as new information is gained and new insights are achieved.

For this reason the investigator is left with many decisions and choices upon commencement of the investigative process. This can lead to false starts and overlapping of data collection efforts, as indeed,
happened in the initial phase of this study. At the same time, this emergent feature has the implicit advantage of flexibility and adaptation to the demands of the setting and the findings, as also was found to be the case. The approach, the focus, the questions, the design, all must be made to accommodate the phenomena or to "fit", and not vice versa.

This study attempts to lead to an understanding of some deeply human perceptions regarding the experience of children in a situation that is both challenging and demanding. Wolf and Tymitz particularly emphasize the appropriateness of the naturalistic approach to the understanding of complex "social realities and human perceptions that exist untainted by the obtrusiveness of formal measurement or preconceived questions." They state that,

It is a process geared to the uncovering of many idiosyncratic but nonetheless important stories told by real people, about real events, in real and natural ways. The more general the provocation, the more these stories will reflect what respondents view as salient issues, the meaningful evidence, and the appropriate inferences...Naturalistic inquiry attempts to present 'slice of life' episodes documented through natural language and representing as closely as possible how people feel, what they know, and what their concerns, beliefs, perceptions, understandings are.
The naturalistic orientation to investigation of this research problem allows the inquirer the advantage of employing multiple means of data collection, any one of which would, by itself, prove too reductionistic and, therefore, inappropriate to the study. Such a multidimensional approach to data collection is more than suited to the subject under investigation as it involves entry into a unique and special culture.

DATA COLLECTION

In keeping with the naturalistic, field method approach of this study, a variety of means for data collection was employed. Specifically, data was collected from the following sources:

1. Audio-tape recorded interview translation transcriptions.
2. Observation notes.
3. Post-observation recordings.
4. Parent questionnaire.
5. Record of research events.
In addition to the above mentioned means of data collection, Japanese elementary education materials were obtained from the Government of Japan's Department of Overseas Correspondence Educational Foundation. Several student audio-tape recorded lessons were translated and transcribed for use in the study from this source.

School records were utilized for obtaining demographic information on Japanese elementary children in attendance, and Kelley Local Schools records were used for procuring information relative to school population. They were also used to cross-validate parent questionnaire responses. Additionally, census-tract records were obtained from the Mid-Ohio Regional Planning Commission. These secondary sources are mentioned here to emphasize the holistic approach to the study that the researcher maintained throughout the research effort.

Each of the primary sources of data is considered of value in itself, and in terms of its complementary value. It should also be pointed out that, as Schatzman and Strauss state, "field method is not an exclusive method in the same sense, say, that experimentation is." Rather, they explain that "field method is more like an umbrella of activity beneath which any technique may be used for gaining the desired information, and for
processes of thinking about this information."  

The most important data was derived from elite interviewing of Japanese students attending Lincoln Elementary School. These interviews, conducted by the researcher in Japanese, were audio-tape recorded and later translated and transcribed. Because of the relative linguistic immaturity of some of the informants and the bicultural nature of their situation, it was felt that interviews alone might not provide sufficient means for exploring the perceptions of these children or for adequately describing those perceptions in a holistic manner. Therefore, from the start of the project, a conscious effort was made to maximize opportunities for alternative data sources. Besides multiple interviews for each informant, the researcher conducted numerous observations in a variety of settings, including different classes, (homeroom, lunchroom, gymnasium, etc.) tutoring sessions, the Japanese Language School, and the home setting. Extensive post-observation recordings (process recordings) were made following every visit to the research site. These included descriptions of events, conversations, interactions and interpretations. A questionnaire was sent to Japanese parents of children attending Lincoln Elementary. A daily record of research events was kept to provide a chronological
framework to document the research process.

Finally, a reflective journal was kept by the researcher to record personal reflections and interpretations as the study progressed. This journal also served as a means for recording anecdotes and incidents that may have occurred between visits to the site such as telephone calls, etc., that were not included in either process recordings or actual observation notes.

Observation Notes

As Guba and Lincoln contend, "observation (particularly participant-observation) maximizes the inquirer's ability to grasp motives, beliefs, concerns, interests, unconscious behaviors, customs, and the like." It offers the further advantage of allowing the researcher "to see the world as his subjects see it.." and also "provides the inquirer with the emotional reactions of the group introspectively," as well as "to build on tacit knowledge, both his own and that of members of the group" he is studying. 9

Observations were conducted both at Lincoln and at the Japanese Language School. The purposes of direct setting observations can be enumerated as follows:
1. To provide a complementary source of information to taped interviews, and to serve as a holistic background to the complex problem.

2. To provide information to fill in the gaps or blanks arising during the interviews.

3. To document significant events as they occurred.

4. To provide information on interaction with peers and teachers not otherwise available.

5. To validate information obtained during interviews, thus establishing credibility through triangulation.

Descriptive notes were taken during observations focusing on behavior and activities of the child being observed. At least one time-sampling observation was conducted for each primary informant. The descriptive observations were included in the primary data source for evaluation and formal analysis. Observations were increased for informants who were less verbally responsive during interviews, and were decreased for those informants who proved most verbal during interviews. As Schatzman and Strauss explain, "Observational notes are statements bearing upon events experienced principally through watching and listening. They contain as little interpretation as possible and are as reliable as the observer can construct them."
Post-Observation Notes

Process recordings, or notes recorded after leaving the research site are referred to in this study as post-observation notes in order to clearly distinguish them from any on-site observation notes. Post-observation notes were recorded as detailed and verbatim as possible regarding events that took place, and conversations that occurred at the research site. They included the personal reactions and reflections of the researcher. As Wilson explains, these recordings are useful because they "contain a wealth of information for the professional researcher seeking to gather and compare data" regarding both the social setting, and the people and events being investigated. 11

Post-observation notes were recorded immediately following visits to the research site and provide a richly descriptive chronology of research events that took place. They provide an "ongoing picture of the nature" of the research involvement with each informant, progress on the process of the cross-cultural transitions taking place, and information on the "eventual outcome of the interaction" between the researcher and the institution of the school. 12 It
is in the post-observation notes that information regarding the many informal interviews and conversations with members of the teaching staff, and encounters with Japanese parents visiting the school, were recorded. Another purpose served by the post-observation notes was to fill in gaps of information in other collection sources. One example of this is the post-observation note entries regarding an interview summary. These allowed for recording observations of interactions and events occurring during interview sessions that would not appear on the audio-tape recording transcriptions such as many non-verbal cues. These served both as a data source and as a means of validating data from other sources.

Recordings made of all home visit interviews are included in the post-observation notes. This decision was made during the first home visit. Although note taking during interviews and audio-tape recording of sessions might have been more convenient for the researcher, they were not seen as conducive to gaining the confidence and trust of informants. Since some Japanese parents were interviewed only once, the comfort of informants was considered to be an essential factor to the gathering of information through these home visits.

Post-observation recordings were composed in descriptive narrative form and thus provided an important
framework for the analysis of all available data as a whole. Again, these recordings provided both a data source in and of themselves, and also a complement to other forms of data collected in this study. Like the observation notes, the post-observation notes represent as nearly as possible what the researcher saw and heard while present at the research site. For purposes of accuracy every effort was made to record these post-observation notes as soon as possible after leaving the research site, to allow for maximum detail through immediate recall.

**Parent Questionnaire**

As stated earlier in this chapter, a parent questionnaire was developed and sent to all parents of Japanese children attending Lincoln Elementary School. The purposes of this questionnaire are as follows:

1. to inform Japanese parents as to the nature and purpose of this research project involving their children, and to clarify the researcher’s role and presence in the school.

2. to open channels of communication between researcher and Japanese parents, and to invite parent participation in the study.

3. to gain essential demographic information on the Japanese student
population as a whole.

4. to gain information regarding the students' attendance in Japanese schools prior to their temporary move to the United States.

5. to provide information to assist in the informant selection process.

6. to gain information regarding the extra-curricular school involvement of Japanese children both while they were in Japan and since they had arrived in the United States.

Questionnaires were mailed out to all 17 Japanese families on October 12, 1982, and by December 18, 1982, 100% of the questionnaires had been completed and returned to the researcher. A copy of the questionnaire was randomly selected for inclusion in the appendix. It is immediately followed by a copy of a translation of the same sample. A letter of introduction and explanation was included with each questionnaire, and may be found in Appendix B. The questionnaire was presented in English, with a handwritten translation in Japanese immediately following every item. It should be noted that all respondents completed their questionnaires in Japanese. Each completed questionnaire was translated into English before any analysis was made.
Elite or Nonstandardized Interviewing

According to Dexter, elite interviewing involves interviewing where the least structure is imposed by the researcher on the informant. Elite interviewing is characterized by:

1. stressing the interviewee's definition of the situation,
2. encouraging the interviewee to structure the account of the situation
3. letting the interviewee introduce to a considerable extent...his notions of what he regards as relevant, instead of relying upon the investigator's notion of relevance. 13

One of the obvious advantages of elite interviewing for this study was that the unstructured interview format allowed for the children's exploring of their own perceptions and for the free expression of those perceptions and interpretations. As Guba and Lincoln point out, "it is important to the investigator's own understanding to remember that in an 'elite' or nonstandardized interview, the interviewee knows more about the topic than the investigator does." 14 Elite subjects are, as these authors explain, "subjects who have special status or knowledge." 15 In this
case, the Japanese children possessed special understanding and knowledge about their life experience and perceptions of their experiences as students in an American school. It is this special knowledge that was sought through systematic and carefully planned investigation.

While openended elite interview was seen as ideal, a loose framework or interview topic schedule was designed to use as a guide for conducting interviews. This was done both to enhance the efficiency of repeated interviews and to encourage the informants to focus their attention on discussions related most directly to their schooling experiences.

Although using no schedule might have also been a possibility, it was felt that some structure or list of topics would be especially useful to interviewing informants who were all relatively young children, lacking the more extensive vocabulary and communication skills common to adults.

It should be emphasized from the start that the frame that was developed was drawn upon by the researcher as appropriate and as necessary in actual practice, but that it did not dominate any of the interview sessions.

The following interview schedule was developed after entry to the research site, although some of the
questions were generated ahead of time from a pilot session with American elementary students conducted in the spring of 1982. In this session, students were invited to brainstorm about life in schools and were asked each to generate a list of topics, ideas, thoughts and themes that they would include in a discussion of the life and culture of their schooling experiences. These lists were drawn upon when the interview schedule was developed, but were not used exclusively.

**Interview Topic Schedule**

**Session 1**

**Topic:** School life in America

**Questions:**
- What is school like here in America?
- Tell me all about school.
- What do you do all day in school?

**Session 2**

**Topic:** School life: Comparisons.

**Questions:**
- Can you compare school life in America with school life in Japan?
- How is school in America different from school in Japan?
- How is school in America like school in Japan?

**Session 3**

**Topic:** Daily school schedules.

**Questions:**
- What do you do all day? (repeat from session 1)
- What is your schedule like?
- How does your schedule here differ from the one you had in Japan?
Session 4

Topic: Academic Schedule Subjects

Questions: What courses are you presently taking?
Describe the courses you are presently taking.
How are your courses similar to those you took in Japan?
How are your courses different from those you took in Japan?
What assignments do you have?
How are your assignments similar to those you had in Japan?
How are your assignments different from those you took in Japan?

Session 5

Topic: Recess, lunchtime and playtime activities.

What do you do for fun after school?
How do these activities differ from those you did in Japan?

Session 6

Topic: School likes and dislikes.

Questions: What do you like about school in America?
What do you like about school in Japan?
What do you dislike about school in America?
What do you dislike about school in Japan?

Session 7

Topic: Memories of the Beginning.

Questions: What do you remember about your very first day in an American school? Your very first week?
Your very first month?
How is your experience different now from when you first arrived in America?
School supplies
School clothes
School rules
Transportation
Homework
Getting ready
Extra duties: Patrol, etc.
Cleaning up
Conferences

The schedule reflects both the focus of the research questions and the flexibility and wide range of discussions possible within this frame of reference. It should be repeated that in many instances no direct reference to this framework was necessary.

Spradley suggests that, "Children usually make good informants and they have adequate time." 16 In the case of this study, many of the children looked forward to time out of class, and everyone invited to participate responded positively and with enthusiasm.

A series of interviews was planned, and was conducted over a period of several months. (See Table 5) The advantage of multiple interviews over time afforded opportunity for the researcher to develop rapport with each informant, with the added advantage of being able to
observe the children in the process of cross-cultural transition and with it, change over time.

Interviews were conducted during school hours at Lincoln Elementary School. Each interview was held in the privacy of the teachers' conference room, or in an extra room set aside for tutoring purposes. All interviews were recorded on audio-tape cassettes in full view of the informants. Except for interviews with the classroom teachers and two Japanese boys who had lived in the United States for some time, all interviews were conducted in the Japanese language.

DATA ANALYSIS

The primary method of qualitative data analysis employed by the researcher was an adaptation of the constant comparative method of data analysis explained by Glaser. 17 The constant comparative method offers a logical and adequate means for analysis of large quantities of qualitative data. As Ilg suggests, "Glaser-Strauss' procedural marriage of a phenomenological mode of analysis with a hypothesis
generating and revising technique (enables) the researcher to record, classify, and generalize a large body of testimony with a high degree of empirical certainty." 18 In the study of Japanese children's perceptions of their experiences in an American school, no direct hypothesis generation is required. The analysis method employed provided more than adequate means for both management and interpretation of the various forms of data collected.

As stated in the first chapter, the constant comparative method of analysis involves several procedural stages or steps. In this case the analysis involved (1) comparing and contrasting events and items in as many applicable categories as possible; (2) integrating those categories and their properties, as Dyck explains, by "comparing events," emergent patterns and themes, "with properties of the categories until related theoretical sense occurs for each comparison;" 19 (3) cross-matching and recoding of categories to delimit the range to fewer, broader and more abstract generalizations, and (4) using the resulting coded categories and broader generalizations to identify and describe patterns of children's perceptions and patterns of cross-cultural transition as they emerged, to interpret the meaning of patterns within the transition
process, and finally, to write a common and generalizable framework for such cross-cultural transition experiences.

Initial categories for the first step in the constant comparative analytic procedure did not exist prior to the commencement of the data collection. These were created in phases as data became available and were generated from the dominant emergent conceptual themes presented in terms of frequency and repetition. For example, in the early phase of the interviewing, informants frequently spoke of "anxiety" and "fear," of "being scared of" people and things and about "worrying." Also, there were many complaints regarding feelings of frustration brought about by the inability to communicate verbally, and of the isolation resulting from the language barrier. Hence, two general categories were created, one labeled "fear" and one labeled "language barrier." Categories were added as interviewing and analysis progressed.

Additionally, at the onset of the research process, case study files were opened for all of the primary informants. Data for such files was drawn from all of the data collection procedures.

All together, thirty-seven categories emerged. By applying the constant-comparative method of analysis, and by sorting multiple copies of data into the various
categories, then refining each of the categories, the major themes and patterns began to emerge.

A master file, organized in simple chronological order provided means for observing individuals over time, and also provided a rich descriptive narrative background for examining the key incidents, concepts and themes. Each entry was coded and dated to allow for identification of the data source and to facilitate retrieval. An abbreviated index to the master file was created, again to facilitate identification and retrieval of data, and to allow for expanding any section of the file at any time. This was necessary, especially since transcripts of interviews had to be added after they were translated, usually several weeks after the interviews.

Gaining Entry

Six months prior to entry to the research site a formal request for permission to conduct the study was submitted through The Ohio State University College of Education to the Kelley Local Schools' Office of the Superintendent. This was initiated after approval of the research proposal was received from the Human Subjects Review committee of The Ohio State University. After approval from the school board was received, the researcher arranged to meet with the Principal of Lincoln
Elementary School. Detailed information regarding the number of Japanese children enrolled at that time and projected enrollment figures for the 1982-1983 academic school year were sought. The tentative number and frequency of proposed interviews was negotiated. At that time it was estimated that the school would be accommodating approximately six to eight Japanese children for the 1982-1983 school. In actuality, when school opened in the fall, a total of 22 elementary Japanese children were enrolled, including a carry over of a few children from the previous school year. It should also be noted that preliminary classroom observations were conducted at this time.

Numbers for the anticipated enrollment provided basis for selection of this particular site. The anticipated enrollment of six to eight children represented the largest number of Japanese children for any given building within the Kelley System. Obviously, the numbers anticipated fell far short of the figures realized. This factor was seen as an asset to the purposes and goals of this research project.
Selection of Informants

For the purpose of selecting informants, a system of non-random purposive sampling was employed. It was determined that five out of the twenty-two Japanese children attending Lincoln would be selected for the in-depth interviewing and that this number represented a reasonable number in terms of the feasibility of confining the data-collection process of the study to approximately six months of one academic year, and of obtaining a broad range of information.

The most important criterion for selection besides willingness to participate in the study, was that the sampling represent maximum variety from within the total Japanese student population in attendance. It was determined that the sample should represent a wide range of diversity in terms of the following:

1. gender
2. age
3. grade level
4. whether or not the only Japanese child in the class
5. family size, i.e. siblings or no siblings
6. length of residence in the United States
7. relative adjustment initially observed.

For the latter item, a general impression was sought at the onset of the study to identify children who seemed to
be coping well with the demands of the cross-cultural adjustment process, and those who seemed to exhibit overt signs of conflict or stress. For example, such behaviors as physical complaints, crying, and absenteeism were considered indicators of the possible presence of stress, while overt verbal enthusiasm for new experiences and active participation in group activities were seen as indicators of relative ease of transition. The primary factor used for elimination of potential informants, aside from duplication within the above stated criteria, was researcher perceived sociolinguistic introversion, or lack of willingness or ability to converse freely with the researcher. Pursuit of interviews with excessively reticent children was seen as counter-productive to the purposes and limitations of this study.

It should be noted here that the adjustment rankings above represent tentative and subjective judgments, many of which were to change as the researcher gained better understanding of the informants and their setting. They are intended as superficial generalizations for purposes of very tentative initial assessment and were used only to maximize the opportunity for observing a specific small group of informants over time. For this reason it was imperative that they be selected as early as possible, in this case by the end of
the first month in the field. The ambiguity of any judgment of linguistic ability or adjustment is obvious, and one is cautioned against improper usage of such labelings by Robinson:

'Linguistic ability' is a widely used, frequently misused, and, above all, ambiguous term in educational theory and second language literature. It is a term commonly used by teachers to refer to the assumed capabilities or achievement levels of certain classes and particular students...The meaning of 'linguistic ability' is defined in terms of the achievement in speaking and comprehending spoken language. On the other hand, the teacher who believes the worthiest goal of language learning is comprehending the thoughts conveyed through literature might define linguistic ability in terms of student performance in comprehending and conveying literary thought. 20
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Sex</th>
<th>Age</th>
<th>Grade</th>
<th>Siblings</th>
<th>No. of Months in U.S.</th>
<th>Only Japanese in Class</th>
<th>Initial Adjustment Impressions</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Machiko</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>poor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shin</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>no</td>
<td>excellent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Naho</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>fair</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tetsuo</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>no</td>
<td>good</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kanae</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>yes/no*</td>
<td>good</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Kanae is only Japanese child in her homeroom, but is grouped with other Japanese children in some of her classes.
Verifying Translations through External Audit

Nearly all of the interviews were conducted in Japanese, thus necessitating the time-consuming task of translation. Translation posed a number of linguistic, stylistic and technical problems. The researcher recognized the enormity of the responsibility of trying to accurately translate the original data. It should be emphasized that where there was room for choice or variety, the researcher sought to convey the original meaning as accurately as possible. This means that for the sake of semantic accuracy, sometimes stylistic concessions had to be made. This was justified by virtue of the purpose of translations: to convey in English, as nearly as possible, the meaning of the original Japanese message. The researcher recognizes that literary translation might require a different orientation.

Two separate audits were conducted in order to establish the accuracy, authenticity, and validity of the translations. The first audit related to the written translations of parent questionnaire responses, all of which were written in Japanese by the Japanese parents, and then translated into English by the researcher. The second audit related to translation transcriptions of audio-tape recordings of interviews that were conducted
in Japanese and also translated into English by the researcher. Each audit was conducted at the request of the researcher by native speakers of Japanese.

In the first audit, the interrater read samples of original Japanese responses, followed immediately by samples of the researcher's translations of the same materials. The interrater's reactions regarding fragmented sentences and apparent missing words in some of the responses were sought. In all cases, the interrater, a bilingual Japanese teacher, expressed satisfaction that meanings had been adequately and accurately conveyed.

During the formal audit of the translation transcriptions of interviews, a sampling of five cassette recordings was selected for study. These were arranged prior to the audit by the researcher so that the translations corresponding to each cassette tape recording could be located from the research master file. This process was greatly facilitated by the fact that both the original cassette tape recordings and all the data file entries had been dated.

During the examination of these translations, another native speaker, a Japanese university instructor, was asked to listen to portions of the original audio-taped interviews, and then examine corresponding
portions of the English translation transcriptions. The interrater determined how much of each sample would be examined. Altogether, over ten written pages of translations were examined. The five recordings represented interviews with four of the five primary informants, and one recording of a class session at the Columbus Japanese Language School.

The interrater stated that the quality of translations was "excellent" and that they had "accurately captured those distinct nuances characteristic of children's language." He stated further that the few discrepancies he did question had to do with "arbitrary choices relating to grammar," but that "in no way did these affect the meaning or content of the messages being conveyed.

Role of the Researcher

For the purposes of conducting a study of Japanese children's perceptions of their experiences in an American elementary school, the researcher assumed the role of participant-observer. As Spradley explains, entering a social situation in this role allows for the accomplishing of two purposes: "(1) to engage in activities appropriate to the situation and (2) to observe the activities, people, and physical aspects of
The role of participant-observer proved to be considerably demanding and time-consuming. At the same time it offered the researcher the benefits of what Spradley refers to as the "wide-angle-lens" approach. "Not only does the participant-observer have a heightened sense of awareness" due to cultural immersion in the setting and the interactive nature of relationships developed in the field, "but he or she must also approach social life with a wide-angle-lens, taking in a much broader spectrum of information." As a participant-observer, the researcher was able to "experience being both an insider and an outsider simultaneously."

The researcher was present in the school on the opening day of classes, for example, and assisted Japanese parents and children to appropriate rooms. She was referred to by some families as a "teacher", by others, a "volunteer", and by a few, as "someone from the University". American students accepted her as another one of their "specials" who included part-time teachers, the school nurse, tutors and remedial instructors. Although an effort was made to define her role as researcher to the immediate teaching staff, (see teacher letter in Appendix E), even here there occurred some
blurring of the role, though no effort was made to disguise her intention or purpose.

To give an example, in one instance when the researcher was having lunch in the teachers' lounge, after spending many lunch periods there eating with and talking with the teachers, she rose to leave. At this point, one of the teachers looked first at her own watch as it was close to the time for playground duty to start, then at the researcher, asking if the researcher had recess duty that day. Someone else chuckled and the teacher realized her mistake. She had forgotten that the researcher was present as an outsider, and not as a regular member of the staff.

Such acceptance as an insider proved to be very advantageous for the data collection process. It is vital to the task of learning the inner social fabric of the research site, as well as for gaining information about attitudes and perceptions of staff towards the Japanese student population in general. As Metz points out, "The field researcher's interpretations are influenced by experience in the field and by the full array of social roles and moral commitments which the researcher brings with his or her person to the task of understanding the reality in question." 24

The fact that the researcher is fluent in the
Japanese language put her in a position of advantage both for communicating with Japanese children and with their American teachers. Her linguistic ability was recognized as an immediately useful asset by the staff, and she attempted to maximize this as a tool of inquiry by overtly extending her availability as informal interpreter to the staff. Serving as an interpreter for Japanese parents, children, classroom teachers and the principal during the first few days of classes served the dual function of validating and confirming her status as researcher, and establishing her status and role as an accepted insider.

The fact that the researcher herself had first hand experience as a student and as a teacher within the Japanese educational system was also to prove useful to the task of defining her role. She was able to answer teacher inquiries about the Japanese system from her own experience, thus further gaining their confidence. She was also sensitive to the differences between the two educational cultures which the Japanese children were themselves bridging through their own experiences. These personal experiences proved of further value in directing the format and flow of interviews so as to draw upon the immediate life experience of the Japanese children in the midst of their cross-cultural transition.
Another factor that proved an asset to her role as participant-observer was her longstanding experience as a classroom teacher. She was familiar with the language and culture of the profession, and therefore could be sensitive and empathetic towards teachers in the building. By the time she approached teachers for individual interviews, for example, she was no longer viewed as a threatening outsider. Here again as Metz points out, "Classrooms are very private places. Strong norms establish them as the territory of single teachers who let other adults in rarely and often reluctantly." For the first few weeks in the field, no attempt was made to conduct any direct in-classroom observations. On the other hand, on the second day of school the researcher boldly offered to tag along as the "specials" went from room to room introducing themselves to the children. It was felt that this action served not only to legitimize her role for the children, but also to define her position for the staff as well. Throughout the study, the privacy, indeed the sanctity, of the individual classroom domain was recognized and respected by the researcher.

As Guba and Lincoln point out, "the posture of the naturalistic inquirer...gives rise not to neutrality, but to a profound responsiveness and interactivity." The
result of this responsiveness can lead to a "situation in which respondents...relate their histories, anecdotes, experiences, perspectives, retrospectives, introspections, hopes, fears, dreams, and beliefs in their own natural language, based upon their own personal and cultural understandings." 26

In the study, the researcher may be seen as an important instrument of the research process. As a human being, the researcher recognizes the potential for variability and fallibility. But as Metz points out, the way to correct for these possible weaknesses is accomplished by "giving full and fair accounting of the instrument and its use so that readers may perceive and allow for the various biases which will inevitably creep into both the field work and the later interpretation of it." 27 In this case, the researcher's experience as a professional educator, along with her bilingual and bicultural up-bringing, was perceived from the start as advantageous to her role was participant-observer and inquirer.

It should also be pointed out that the researcher's bilingualism and biculturalism placed unique demands upon her as an individual. These will be further alluded to later. Suffice it to say that more than once she found herself experiencing something akin to the
initial shock of the transcultural experience. At times she felt like a voyeur when comments came to her attention that were clearly intended for the privacy of one language or the other. At times she found herself smarting from the sting of derogatory prejudices, for example, against the Japanese people by staff members, or against Americans by Japanese children. Not only was she privy to information and comments normally locked within the cultural confines of one or the other language, but the experience of bridging the divides of the two worlds through acting as interpreter, was in itself both challenging and emotionally draining.

In summary then, the researcher entered the site with the intention of purposely defining her role as participant-observer. The researcher can thus be seen as a primary research tool in the interactive process of the emergent qualitative study. Her experience as an educator, her bilingualism and her biculturalism were also seen as essential to the direction and shape of this study. Vidich states that the researcher "studying his own society is, to varying degrees according to the relation between his background of experience and his object of study, his own bridge." Having experienced the process of moving into the foreign world of an unknown language and culture, and having learned to
cope with and to benefit from that experience, the researcher was in a unique position to explore the experiences, to investigate the feelings and perceptions of young Japanese children as they experienced a similar transition. As the study progressed, conscious effort was made to draw freely from the resource of the researcher's own personal experience.

As Singleton states:

> Each observer brings special competencies to a study, just as each setting has certain unique features. If an anthropologist...an educator, or another specialist within the behavioral sciences compare notes on observations of the same educational institution, each will observe and describe a different order of relationships between the school and its setting. The specific questions they ask and their perceptions of observed human behavior will be conditioned by their disciplinary background. This is as it should be. The important error to avoid...is the claim that any one discipline or model can give a complete analysis of a particular situation." 29

Summary

In this chapter, a review of the naturalistic orientation, the methodological and analytical procedures employed in the study were presented. An account of the process for gaining entry to the research site, the audit conducted for verifying translations of original research
data, and an explanation of the researcher's role were also presented.
### TABLE 5

**CHRONOLOGY OF INFORMANT CONTACTS**

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**Visits to the American School**

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XXXXX
XXX
XXX
XX
XX
X=30
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**Visits to the Japanese School**

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XX
XXX
X
X
X=8
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**Key:**

- 0 = Observation (separate from interview)
- 1 = Interview (formal, audio-taped)
- X = Visit to research site

**Note:**

This chronology represents major contacts with primary informants. It does not include interviews with other children, teachers or parents.
Notes for Chapter 3


5. Ibid., p. 71.

6. Ibid., p. 73.


10. Schatzman and Strauss, Field Research, p. 100.


12. Ibid., p. 3.


15. Ibid, p. 166.


22. Ibid., p. 56.

23. Ibid., p. 57.


CHAPTER 4
PRELIMINARY FINDINGS

Introduction

In this chapter, background information will be presented to establish the context in which the study was undertaken. The first section in this chapter includes a general overview of the Kelley Local Schools System and a description of Lincoln Elementary School where the study was conducted. In the second section, a description of the Columbus Japanese Language School and its program is presented, since the vast majority of Japanese elementary students attending the American school were also active participants in the Japanese school. In this way, a more holistic context for the study can be established, in keeping with the naturalistic approach of the study.

In the final section of this chapter, findings of the questionnaire sent to Japanese parents of pupils attending Lincoln are presented, along with an analysis and commentary on those findings. The questionnaire findings provide information about the Japanese student population in general and the young Japanese informants.
in particular. Findings in this section, especially those regarding the demographics of this population, were cross-checked for verification with information obtained unobtrusively through documentation in the school records. Thus, chapter four combines background information with data analysis in such a manner as to provide a thorough and complete context for understanding both the scope and the nature of the study, and for the findings presented in the next chapter.

THE SETTING

The District

Lincoln Elementary School is one of three elementary schools in the Kelley Local Schools District, a suburban district located on the outskirts of the city of Columbus, in central Ohio. The district boundaries include the village of Kelley, and overlap several adjoining counties, encompassing rural portions of a number of counties near Kelley township. Indicative of the relative wealth of the district is one housing development with 400 to 500 units which were selling in 1983 for between two hundred thousand and one million dollars. Another indicator of the wealth in the district is reflected in the small percentage of children
receiving government subsidized lunches. School records show only 6% of Lincoln's pupil population to be in this category at the close of the 1982 school year. The district's close proximity to the city of Columbus coupled with its significant rural area account for the socio-economic diversity in its student population.

Census bureau statistics and census tract figures confirmed the researcher's initial impression regarding the predominantly White racial makeup of the area. According to the 1980 U.S. Population Census for Cities and Townships statistics obtained from the Ohio Regional Planning Commission, the population for Kelley totaled 3,855. Minorities included in this figure numbered 17 Blacks, 3 Puerto Ricans, and 3 Cubans. There were no Asians or Japanese reported to be residing in Kelley as of the 1980 count. In contrast, figures from the same count for neighboring metropolitan Columbus in Franklin county showed a total population of 869,132, with a considerable number of minorities, including 131,016 Blacks and 791 Japanese. Other minorities included 1,372 Chinese, 1,862 Korean, and much smaller numbers for such groups as Filipino, Vietnamese, and Hawaiian. It is evident from the census figures, that the Kelley school district, prior to the arrival of the Japanese student population, had no experience in accommodating any
minority group.

Although no Asians or Japanese were included in the 1980 census count for Kelley, (Japanese are sometimes listed in the more general category of Asian) there were a number of Japanese families residing in the town by the fall of 1982, as reflected in the district's school enrollment figures for 1982-83. School district records showed an increase in the number of Japanese children attending Kelley schools from 11 during the 1981-82 school year, to 35 Japanese children during the 1982-83 year.

According to the school district's financial status report at the close of the 1982 school year, Kelley schools' population totaled 2,928. No breakdown of minorities was given for this year, but the previous year, the minorities count was listed as follows: 14 Black, 11 "Asian American", and 4 Spanish American students. Apparently the Japanese children were counted as Asian American since no separate count is given for Japanese children. The increased number of Japanese children in the Kelley school district was directly related to the influx of Japanese families associated with the Honda of America Inc. manufacturing plant located an hour's drive away in Marysville, Ohio, that officially opened in April of 1983.
The Kelley school system represents a rapidly growing school population. According to figures provided by the school administration, the district's pupil population doubled between 1977 and 1982, and annual report figures project another near 100% increase by 1990. By the spring of 1983, Kelley was among the most rapidly growing school districts in the state of Ohio at a time when many school districts in the state were experiencing sharp decreases in enrollment.

Besides rapid change in terms of population growth, there were unprecedented staff and administrative changes in the Kelley school system prior to and since the arrival of the 22 Japanese children at the Lincoln building. A new superintendent began serving at the start of the 1982-83 school year. This event was regarded as a significant event by the community, since the previous superintendent had held the position, uninterrupted, for twenty-one years. When voters passed a 3.5 mill operating levy and 4 mill bond issue in November of 1982, the principal at Lincoln school was promoted to assistant superintendent, another significant change because it was a newly created position, a first for the district. Other changes at the administrative level included the hiring of a curriculum specialist, another first for the district, at the start of the
1981-82 school year.

With the promotion of the Lincoln principal to the position of assistant superintendent, the principal's position at Lincoln was left vacant until mid January, 1983. Even though the new assistant superintendent was still officially acting principal, there frequently was no administrator present in the building during the interim period. This event occurred during the school's first semester accommodating the new, large number of Japanese children.

Further reflections of rapid change included the opening of two new elementary schools since the fall of 1981, construction of a third new elementary school begun in 1983, and major expansion of the high school complex, completed by the fall of 1982.

In summary, the Kelley school district is a rapidly growing school district with a predominantly White pupil population. The Japanese children in attendance represented the largest minority group ever to be accommodated by the system.

The School

Financial status report statistics showed Lincoln Elementary School with a pupil population of 525 at the end of the 1982 school year, with 96.8% of that
population White and 3.2% non-White. The certified staff totaled 33, of which 15 teachers had been with the system for 11 years or more. The school houses several classes each of kindergarten through the fifth grade, with Japanese children in every grade, though not in every class during the 1982-83 year.

Lincoln is the oldest elementary building of the three elementary schools in the Kelley district, and is located adjacent to the middle school along the main thoroughfare in the village of Kelley. The original facility was built in 1960 with additional classrooms added in 1965. The pupil-teacher ratio was 25:1 with 99.36% of the certified staff female and 100% of the same staff White. In fact, the district-wide racial makeup for the teaching staff, according to the annual financial report for the 1981-82 school year, was 100% White. Included in the figure of 33 certified staff are 27 "regular teachers", 2 special education teachers, several other "special resource" persons, and 1 administrator. The average number of years' teaching experience for teachers in this building was 9.6 years. The racial, cultural makeup of the Japanese students contrasts dramatically with that of the teaching staff, as well as the general pupil population.
The Columbus Japanese Language School is a school for Japanese overseas children residing in central Ohio. Participating in the Japanese Language School are Japanese children who attend American schools full time during the regular school week. All anticipate returning to Japan and the Japanese educational system during the course of their normal academic careers.

Because of the nature and impact of participation in the Japanese Language School program on Japanese children attending American schools, a brief examination of the Columbus Japanese Language School and the Japan Overseas Education Services that support the school's effort will be presented here. It should be emphasized that the program at the Japanese Language School, as well as the correspondence schooling available from Japan, are completely separate from the American schools the children are attending. However, an examination of these educational efforts should prove relevant to attaining a more thorough understanding of the Japanese overseas child's schooling experience in America.

The Columbus Japanese Language School meets
weekly on Saturdays, ten and a half months out of the year to provide instruction in Japanese language, mathematics and social studies in Japanese for children who expect to return to Japan. The school was started in 1980 by a concerned Japanese educator residing temporarily in Columbus, with the aid of a small grant from the Columbus Area Chamber of Commerce. Classes met somewhat informally at first, using church basement space and private homes for classrooms. Prior to the fall of 1982, classes consisted of several grade levels clustered together to make up groups of four or five students. Enrollment fluctuated depending on how many Japanese families were located in the area.

In the autumn of 1982, enrollment figures rose sharply, mainly due to an influx of Japanese families associated with the Honda of America, Inc. plant in Marysville, Ohio. Numerous changes were necessitated by the dramatic increase in enrollment. Arrangements were made to house the approximately eighty students in a public junior high school building in Worthington, a suburb located between Columbus and Kelley. Students are assessed a monthly tuition, and teachers are drawn from the Japanese community living in the Columbus area, many of them affiliated with the Ohio State University.

The Japanese Language School is affiliated with,
though not directly supported by, the Japan Overseas Education Services, an organization that is supported by the Monbusho, Japan's Ministry of Education. The State of Ohio Records of Incorporation state that the purpose for the school was "to enable Japanese children residing in Columbus and vicinity to keep abreast of their peers in Japan in academic subjects required by the Japanese government." According to the school's principal, the Monbusho assumes responsibility for the basic compulsory education of all Japanese children whether residing at home or abroad. To this aim it provides a wide variety of materials and services for overseas children through the auspices of the Japan Overseas Education Services.

A course based on correspondence materials is available for children located in isolated areas where numbers do not warrant forming a school. In very large metropolitan areas such as New York, full time schools are established with administrative staff and assistance provided by Japan Overseas Education Services. A minimum of 100 children in attendance qualifies any given group for one full time administrator provided by the J.O.E.S. at no extra cost to the participating families. Correspondence programs are available to children who attend some sort of Japanese school abroad as well as to
those who do not. According to information from the J.O.E.S., over the past six years the number of Japanese children residing abroad and participating in correspondence schooling rose from 19,489 to 33,333.

Correspondence schooling provides textbooks, exercise materials, workbooks, parent newsletters, a monthly magazine, and monthly audio tape cassettes sent free of charge upon request to families living abroad. The Japan Overseas Education Services recommends that parents attend a parent orientation session before leaving Japan so they can learn how to assist with their children's schooling while living abroad. Parents are not required to have their children keep up with their Japanese education while overseas, but they are strongly encouraged to do so. (See Correspondence School audio tape cassette transcription in Appendix C) The correspondence network also provides monthly mailers for students to mail completed unit tests back to Japan for grading and evaluation. Progress records are kept and honor rolls are published monthly with names of the most successful students.

An examination of correspondence magazines shows regular highlighting of the activities of Japanese children in various schooling situations all over the
world. Articles also abound on how to encourage children to keep practicing their native language at home, and how to motivate students to complete the often time-consuming study units. Still other articles are of the "war story" nature, describing problems encountered by some children upon their return to Japan. Even the advertising focuses on education, with numerous ads for commercially prepared tutorial programs and electronic equipment such as tape recording machines to be used in the educational home study effort. All of the students at the Columbus Japanese Language School are also enrolled in the comprehensive correspondence schooling program.

The Columbus Japanese Language School attempts to do more than merely keep up the child's Japanese language skills. According to the school's principal, the aim is to provide as comprehensively and completely as possible, the basic educational curriculum prescribed by the Monbusho for all Japanese children of compulsory school age. The school presently comprises one class each of elementary grades one through six, and middle school grades one through three. These correspond to grades one through nine in the American system. Classes vary in size from about half a dozen to fifteen children.

Since classes meet only once a week, the pace is intense and the amount of homework considerable. Classes
convene promptly each Saturday morning at 9am and continue with two short recesses until 12:30pm. Once a month, school hours are extended until 2 or 3pm to allow for school-wide group activities. These extra activities have included such events as an art competition and display, a sports field-day that included family participation, a New Year's festive foods preparation, a traditional brush writing lesson, and promotion and graduation ceremonies held in the spring. The school calendar follows the Japanese school year and not that of the host country. For this reason children attending a given grade in their American school may or may not be enrolled in the same grade in the Japanese school.

Course workload and pace are both rigorous, and parents are required to meet in conference with teachers periodically throughout the year, normally following grade cards which are sent home quarterly. The children seemed to take for granted that they will attend the school regularly, and participate in all the activities. More than once, however, children complained to the researcher about both the time and the effort involved in attending this school. For example, one child spoke enviously of her American peers who could sit at home on Saturday mornings, watching her favorite cartoons, while she had to attend classes and work hard at her Japanese
assignments. Other complaints frequently centered on the demands of many homework assignments and frequent tests.

Note the following conversation between the researcher and Shin, a fourth grader who reported that he frequently stayed up after midnight on Fridays, trying to prepare for his Saturday Japanese classes:

R: So, how's the homework been going?
S: Horrible!
R: Horrible? Tell me about it.
S: It's hard.
R: What's hard?
S: Japanese study... (you have) about ten pages to do.
R: Really? Ten? And...?
S: About, um, three pages (of) notebook things. And... (we) have a lot of tests... At least three (tests) every week now...
R: So, how are the tests?
S: Pretty hard.
R: Pretty hard? Do you get finished?
S: Not (with the) reading (tests).

When asked what she thought of the Japanese Language School, another fourth grader replied, "I'm not used to it yet, but... I never get my homework done before Friday night!" The same child reported that, although she was trying very hard in her Japanese studies, she was discouraged because, since coming to America, her "grades (had) really gone down."

Several children reported that they wanted to get involved in after-school sports activities available at
their American school, but that they were not able to because they had to spend too much time on their Japanese studies each night. One little boy said he wanted to join the Boy Scouts with his friends, but that his mother would not allow him to, because she thought his Japanese studies might suffer. He had begged her to let him join, but she had stood her ground, reminding him of how important it was for him to keep up his Japanese studies in preparation for his return to Japan.

Another boy said he and his family could never travel on weekends because he would fall so far behind if he ever missed so much as one Saturday session. He explained that when someone did miss, he still was responsible for completing all the missed assignments, and he thought keeping up was bad enough as it was.

During a short recess one day, a group of six girls gathered around the researcher, who had taken a seat at the rear of the classroom. They were looking over the researcher's written notes when one girl commented that she hadn't had much time to study for her Kanji test that particular week, "because we had so much Japanese homework this week, don't you think?" She was referring to assignments other than studying for the Kanji test. She went on to explain that if it were only the American homework she had to do, she could have managed easily,
but, she complained, in spite of her efforts, it was simply impossible for her to finish all the Japanese homework assigned for that week. Now, she was sure she had done poorly on the test because of a lack of sufficient preparation.

Many of the Japanese overseas children spent most of their waking hours on studies of one sort or another. With their regular American schoolwork, the assignments for the Japanese Language School, and the extra private tutoring in English which many children were receiving on a weekly basis during the school year (many children were tutored on a daily basis during the summer vacation) they had little time for outside activities not directly related to their education.

Considerable emphasis was placed on academic achievement. Each week, at the beginning of class, the teacher would pass out the corrected Kanji tests from the previous week. She would personally distribute to each child his own test, thus avoiding any embarrassment for those who had not done well. Then she would post on the board a list of all of the scores received, from the highest to the lowest. In this way, each child could see where he stood in relation to the rest of the class. Sometimes this was followed by silence, sometimes with shouts as to who had gotten the highest grades, or who
had received the lowest grades. After one such posting which showed scores ranging from only 10% to a high of 100%, the teacher commented,

Some of these grades are really too low to even believe, don’t you think? You want to try to shoot for at least 80% overall in your Kanji (tests) in this class. So, I would like to ask everyone to try a little harder, O.K.?

Besides an emphasis on grades, the teacher tried to motivate her students by explaining to them why it was important for them to be studying Japanese while they were living away from Japan:

Now, the things that you are learning right now in the fourth grade...you are able, at this age, to easily remember lots of things. So, it is very important to memorize (learn) just as much as you possibly can. What you learn right now will still be stored away, up in your head, all the way to when you’re grown up. And those who learn things the wrong way, will remember those things in their incorrect form...

When you are in Japan, if you walk around town, you’ll see lots of advertisements all over the place, written in Kanji. And, here and there, you’ll see writing on bus stops and places like that, and they have Kanji all over the place, wherever you go. But since you’ve come to America, you just have fewer and fewer chances to even see Kanji. So at the very least, you need to be
practising the Kanji that appears in your text books.

The teacher then went on to urge her class to try to do well on their weekly tests:

We have a test on over 40 Kanji characters every single week in this class, and on the average, everybody was getting about 80% (up until recently). Now, for sure from next week on, every week I am going to give out the class grades and averages. So, from today's test on, let's try real hard to do well... Those who get below the average are going to have to work very hard to keep up. O.K., now open your books to page 88.

The researcher attended the school at regular intervals throughout the period of formal data collection. For one month class assignments were followed in language, and homework and tests completed by the researcher. Because of the number of new written characters introduced each week, approximately one hour a day was required by the researcher for lesson preparation for just this one subject. Other students in the class reported spending from two to six hours per week on language and reading assignments and test preparation. Even making consideration for a wide range of ability and differences in individual study patterns, it seemed apparent that considerable time and effort on the part of these children were necessitated by the normal course
load. This remains significant because when informants were asked about school or schoolwork and homework, they frequently described both the work they were assigned from their American school and the work from the Japanese school.

Despite the intensity of the classwork and the seriousness with which school work was regarded, the atmosphere in the classroom was congenial and comfortable. The teacher maintained a positive emotional climate, and there was much verbal interaction between teacher and students, as well as among the students themselves. Sometimes students would call out answers or comments to one another, or even prompt each other when someone was struggling for an answer. Sometimes they would tease their teacher about what she had said, or about her handwriting when she wrote on the board. Such comments always brought giggles from the class at large.

Japanese language was used exclusively, not only throughout the morning in the fourth grade classroom, but throughout the entire school. The only exception to this was an occasional exclamation in English, like, "Wow!" or, "Oh, boy!", etc., usually offered as a commentary on someone's performance, or in response to someone's answering a question. Such comments in English would often bring roars of laughter from the rest of the class.
Though there was a good deal of verbal interaction with the noise level rising considerably at times, discipline was never a problem. When the teacher felt that too much time was being wasted, she would simply tell the class to be quiet and move on with their lesson. When this did not suffice, she would sometimes resort to threats, like adding the incompleted classroom assignment to homework for the coming week. This would always result in immediate cessation of the disturbance. Sometimes individual students were punished for incomplete work by being asked to copy the assignment over from the beginning. If they were not paying attention, they might be scolded, or else asked to stand at the back of the room. This appeared to be the most dreaded punishment, for it would invariably bring about a somber mood to the whole class.

Frequently, students were invited to take turns writing answers for mathematics or language up on the board. This would bring an enthusiastic response from the class, with children wildly waving their arms, hoping to be called upon to go to the board. At other times they were called one by one to stand and recite, or to stand and read aloud from the textbook. Sometimes the teacher would lecture while standing at the board, or from her desk, calling on students to repeat what she had
just explained. Such drill was common practice for all of the subjects.

With only fifteen students in the class, opportunities for misbehavior were fairly slim. Yet, there did exist an undercurrent of playful activity that was not always noticed by the teacher. For example, one morning a boy who was sitting near the wall about halfway down his row, spent a good half hour snapping rubber bands at the boy ahead of him. There were two empty seats between the marksman and his target. The boy would pull his body down low in his seat, trying to hide behind his textbook, which he kept propped open with one hand on his desk. Aiming carefully with his other hand, the rubber band stretched over thumb and forefinger, ready to fly, he let the rubber band snap off, usually hitting the boy ahead of him in the neck or on the head. The boy flinched with each successful strike. When the teacher looked in his direction, the boy simply lowered the sling-shot hand into his lap waiting for a more opportune moment. At one point, he looked over at the researcher and grinned, then returned to concentrate on keeping up with the reading assignment while maintaining his efforts to torment his neighbor. The boy ahead of him turned around a few times, but covered for the offender by maintaining his silence, in spite of repeated attacks.
The passing of written notes among students, snapping of rubber bands, poking with pencils, and trading off of school supplies among friends was frequently observed. Yet, none of these activities seemed to be disruptive to any serious extent, and were seen as a normal aspect of the classroom interaction.

The educational program at the Japanese Language School appeared to provide much in terms of emotional support for many of the Japanese overseas children, as well as providing a comprehensive academic curriculum. Because classes met with great regularity, were conducted entirely in Japanese, and were attended only by native speakers of Japanese, there tended to develop a real sense of comradeship among children within any given class. Where children were isolated among their American peers and struggling to learn English during the week at their regular schools, on Saturdays they were able to participate with ease, to interact, to work, study and play where they were understood and where they did not stand out as being different or special. Even the principal of the school felt that this positive emotional support was as vital for the children, as the academic program they were receiving. He felt that for some, it provided an opportunity for success at a time when, especially for children experiencing the initial impact
of moving abroad, many might be suffering enormous
frustrations resulting from the language barrier they
experienced in their American schools. It also provided
a means for Japanese parents from a variety of
professions, residing in and around the central Ohio
area, to find support in their shared experiences through
participation in the schoolwide activities.

In short, the Japanese Language School was seen
as unique both in its purpose and function. In some
cases, it facilitated the individual child's adjustment,
providing a positive and supportive emotional climate
where the child could feel at home, interact with
friends, and experience some success. At other times, it
appeared to impede the adjustment process, because of the
heavy demands imposed by the instructional program, and
because of the great stress placed on individual
performance and grades. In any case, was significant in
the child's schooling experience in America because of
the emphasis placed on this educational effort as an
investment in the child's future. The basic underlying
assumption influencing both Japanese parents and teachers
alike, is that the greater the effort and success in
Japanese studies while abroad, the lesser the educational
handicap upon returning to the rigorous demands of the
Japanese educational system.
PARENT QUESTIONNAIRE RESPONSES AND COMMENTARY

As mentioned in Chapter 2, a letter of explanation and a questionnaire were sent to all parents of Japanese children attending Lincoln School in mid October, 1982. All 17 questionnaires were returned to the researcher by mid December, 1982.

Tables 6 shows responses to the first twelve items of the survey. After presenting an analysis and commentary of these items, an analysis of the open-ended responses, (items 13 through 15) will be presented.

Item 1: Age, Gender and Grade

A total of 17 families were surveyed, with a return rate of 100%. The 17 families included 32 children, 22 of whom were in attendance at Lincoln School. The remaining 10 children not attending Lincoln included 3 pre-schoolers, 5 children of middle school age, and 2 children of senior high school age. Table 7 shows a profile of the Japanese children attending Lincoln School by grade level and sex.
**TABLE 6**  
**PARENT SURVEY RESPONSES**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Family Case #</th>
<th>Item 1 age</th>
<th>Sex</th>
<th>Item 2 grade</th>
<th>Item 3 Attended school in Japan?</th>
<th>Item 4 Type of Japanese school attended?</th>
<th>Item 5 Attended Juku if so, for what?</th>
<th>Item 6 Now takes after-school activities?</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>+ 7 F</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>grd.1 Public</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>+ 10 F</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>grd.4 Public</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>B,E</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>+ 11 F</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>grd.3 Public</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>B,C,D</td>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>15 M</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>grd.9 Public</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>A,H</td>
<td>F</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>7 F</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Kindgtn Private</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>9 M</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Kindgtn Public</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>M</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>7 F</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>grd.1 Public</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>M</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>8 F</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>grd.3 Public</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>G</td>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>12 F</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>grd.5 Public</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>C,D</td>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>9 M</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>grd.3 Public</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### TABLE 6
PARENT SURVEY RESPONSES (cont.)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Family Case #</th>
<th>Item 8a Mother's Education</th>
<th>Item 8b Father's Education</th>
<th>Item 9a Arrived USA</th>
<th>Item 9b # months in USA</th>
<th>Item 10a # months US school</th>
<th>Item 10b # months US school</th>
<th>Item 11 Projected length of US stay</th>
<th>Item 12 Attend Japanese Language School</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Sr. High</td>
<td>Sr. High</td>
<td>8/27/82</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>8/30/82</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3 yrs.</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Sr. High</td>
<td>Sr. High</td>
<td>8/21/82</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>8/30/82</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2-3 yrs.</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Sr. High</td>
<td>Specialty School</td>
<td>8/25/81</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>8/31/81</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>½ yr.</td>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Sr. High</td>
<td>Sr. High</td>
<td>8/13/82</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>8/30/82</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4-5 yrs.</td>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Sr. High</td>
<td>Sr. High</td>
<td>4/3/82</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>7/7/82</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>2 yrs.</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Sr. High</td>
<td>Sr. High</td>
<td>7/79</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>9/79</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>1½ yrs.</td>
<td>Yes</td>
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<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Sr. High</td>
<td>Sr. High</td>
<td>9/17/82</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>9/21/82</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4 yrs.</td>
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<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Sr. High</td>
<td>Sr. High</td>
<td>6/18/82</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>8/30/82</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3-5 yrs.</td>
<td>Yes</td>
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<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>Sr. High Specialty School</td>
<td>8/27/82</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>9/1/82</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2-3 yrs.</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Family Case</td>
<td>Item 1</td>
<td>Item 2</td>
<td>Item 3</td>
<td>Item 4</td>
<td>Item 5</td>
<td>Item 6</td>
<td>Item 7</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-------------</td>
<td>-------</td>
<td>-------</td>
<td>-------</td>
<td>-------</td>
<td>-------</td>
<td>-------</td>
<td>-------</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>10 M 5 Yes</td>
<td>grd.4 Public</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>No</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>12 M 6 Yes</td>
<td>grd.6 Public</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>H, I</td>
<td>Not Yet</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>7 F 2 Yes</td>
<td>grd.1 Public</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>D</td>
<td>G</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>10 F 5 Yes</td>
<td>grd.5 *</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>A,D,G,H</td>
<td>A,E</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>8 M 2 Yes</td>
<td>grd.2 Public</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>H</td>
<td>No</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>14 M 8 Yes</td>
<td>grd.7 Public</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>A,D</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>8 M 3 Yes</td>
<td>grd.2 Public</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>No</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>14 M 9 Yes</td>
<td>grd.4 Public</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>B,D</td>
<td>K</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>9 M 4 Yes</td>
<td>Kindergarten Private</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>B,D</td>
<td>K</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Family Case #</td>
<td>Item 8a</td>
<td>Item 8b</td>
<td>Item 9a</td>
<td>Item 9b</td>
<td>Item 10a</td>
<td>Item 10b</td>
<td>Item 11</td>
<td>Item 12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---------------</td>
<td>---------</td>
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<td>---------</td>
<td>--------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Mother's Education</td>
<td>Father's Education</td>
<td>Arrived USA</td>
<td># months in USA</td>
<td>Started US school</td>
<td># months US school</td>
<td>Projected Length of US stay</td>
<td>Attend Japanese Language School</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>Sr.High</td>
<td>Sr.High</td>
<td>5/82</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>6/2/82</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>3-5 yrs.</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>Sr.High</td>
<td>Sr.High</td>
<td>7/30/82</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>8/31/82</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3 yrs.</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>University</td>
<td>University</td>
<td>12/1981</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>1/1982</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>5 yrs.</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>Sr.High</td>
<td>Sr.High</td>
<td>8/27/82</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>8/30/82</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5 yrs.</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>Sr.High</td>
<td>Specialty School</td>
<td>7/30/82</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>8/30/82</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1 yr.</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>Sr.High</td>
<td>Sr.High</td>
<td>8/27/82</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>8/30/82</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3-4 yrs.</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>Sr.High</td>
<td>University</td>
<td>7/30/82</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>8/30/82</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3-4 yrs.</td>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>Technical</td>
<td>Technical</td>
<td>4/20/79</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>4/25/79</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>*</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Key: * = No response

- Primary Informant:
  - A: English
  - B: Swimming
  - C: Abacus
  - D: Brush Writing
  - E: Gymnastics
  - F: Soccer
  - G: Piano
  - H: Math
  - I: Jr. High Prep
  - J: Social Studies
  - K: Sports
  - L: Art
  - M: Flute

- Not applicable:
### TABLE 7

**JAPANESE CHILDREN ATTENDING LINCOLN SCHOOL**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>GRADE</th>
<th>MALE</th>
<th>FEMALE</th>
<th>TOTAL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>K</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TOTAL</strong></td>
<td><strong>9</strong></td>
<td><strong>13</strong></td>
<td><strong>22</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Boys and girls totalled 9 and 13 respectively.

The largest number of Japanese children was in the fourth grade, while the fewest were in grades kindergarten and one. This information was validated from information obtained unobtrusively through school office files.

Most of the grade-level placements were made prior to the opening day of school from information provided to the school by the parents, or in some cases by the father's company. Because of the difference in the starting times for the academic year in Japan and America, some children in this study were placed (in September) at the start of the grade they had already begun (in March) in Japan. Other children moved up a grade level after having completed only a few months of the previous grade before coming to America. In more than one case, parents requested their child automatically to be placed ahead. Some reported to the
researcher that they heard that American schools were lagging behind Japanese schools in academics. One parent told the researcher it was his opinion that the American first grade was more like kindergarten in Japan. His wife enthusiastically affirmed this notion. Because of this he felt that for his son to repeat even a portion of the first grade would amount to a serious waste of time. On the first day of school he asked the principal to consider reassigning his first grader to the second grade. The principal agreed.
Item 2: Attending School in Japan

All of the Japanese children old enough to have attended school in Japan before coming to America had done so. This was considered important, in that perceptions of their experiences in the American school could be based at least in some part upon comparison with previous experiences in Japan.

Item 3: Length of Attendance in Japanese Schools

Of significance in Item 3 is that all of the Japanese children serving as primary informants for this study had themselves attended schools in Japan before coming to the United States.

Item 4: Type of Japanese School Attended

All of the Japanese children who had reached elementary school age or above before coming to the United States had attended public schools in Japan. Of the 4 who had only entered or completed kindergarten in Japan, 3 had attended private kindergartens and 1 had attended a public school kindergarten.
Items 5 & 6: *Juku* Attendance and Extra-curricular Subjects Studied

Of the 17 Japanese families surveyed, 14 reported that their children attended *juku* (see Chapter 2), or some form of after-school supplementary education, available on a private tuition basis while in Japan. Others indicated that their children had been enrolled with a private teacher for such instruction as piano lessons, small group brush writing class, gymnastics or mathematics.

The number of extra-curricular activities taken by any one child varied from none to a maximum of four, with one fifth grade girl having taken English, brush writing, piano and mathematics classes before moving to the United States.

The types of classes or courses taken in Japan are typical of those generally available to children of elementary school age. One child had been enrolled in a junior high school preparatory course.
Item 7: Current After-school Activities

Of the 32 children identified in this survey, only 12 were identified as being enrolled in extra-curricular activities at the time of the survey, a slightly lower number as compared to the 14 out of 32 who had taken after-school courses while in Japan. This figure may be slightly misleading for a number of reasons. First, none of the parents included attendance at the Japanese Language School in their responses to Item 7. Then too, it should be noted that the survey was sent out in October, a mere two months after many of the families had arrived in America. One parent indicated in response to this item that her child had "not yet" started lessons. Another parent wrote that they were looking for swimming lessons, and could the researcher suggest "a good place?" Moreover, since the mailing, a number of mothers mentioned to the researcher that they were looking for English tutors for their children. Still another mother announced that her two children were the top instrumentalists in their respective school bands. She attributed their achievement to regular private lessons with a noted community musician. Yet, no mention was made on any of the surveys of such
instrumental lessons.

Because of the above mentioned reasons, it is assumed that the number 12 for children participating in extra-curricular activities may be considerably lower than in actuality. Note also that of the 32 children profiled, 3 are pre-schoolers whose ages may precluded involvement in extra-curricular activities.

Table 8 shows the distribution of children taking extra-curricular lessons both before and after coming to America.

**TABLE 8**

**DISTRIBUTION OF JAPANESE CHILDREN TAKING EXTRA-CURRICULAR ACTIVITIES BY GRADE LEVEL**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>grade level</th>
<th>IN JAPAN</th>
<th>IN AMERICA</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>K</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
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<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
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<td>5</td>
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<td>9</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| Totals      | 14       | 12         |

Number of children
Item 8: Parent's Education

Table 9 shows the distribution of educational level attained by responding Japanese parents.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Level of Education</th>
<th>Mothers</th>
<th>Fathers</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Senior High School</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Technical/Specialty</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>University</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Totals</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Of the 17 mothers, only 2 had completed schooling beyond the high school level. Out of 17 fathers, 6 had gone beyond senior high school. This may come as a surprise to those who might assume that Japanese overseas families are coming from only the highest educational echelons of society.

The researcher admits to just such a judgmental bias upon entry to the research site, and erroneously assumed that because of the sophisticated dress of the Japanese mothers encountered, the refined level of Japanese language used, and the active interest in their children's education, that Japanese parents she met and spoke with at the school must have been college graduates. (See section on Japanese Correspondance School
Items 8 & 9: Date of Arrival, Months in U.S., School Starting Date, Months in School

Figure 2 indicates the length of stay completed in the United States at the time of completion of the survey, that is, calculated as of December, 1982.

It is significant to note that at the beginning of the school year when the researcher entered the site, one family had not yet arrived from Japan, nine families had arrived only a few weeks or in some cases days prior to the opening of school, and only three families had been in the United States for one year or more.

Item 11: Projected Length of Stay in U.S.

Projected length of stay varied from six months to five years, with twelve families anticipating a stay of three or more years. Figure 3 shows a distribution of anticipated length of stay in America.

Sixteen of the families surveyed provided responses to Item 11. In cases where an approximation such as 2-3 years was given, the higher figure has been
used. Many families indicated uncertainty about projected length of stay in America by qualifying their figures with such remarks as "about", "I think" and "maybe". This uncertainty seemed to persist for many families even after they had been in the states for some time. When asked how long they intended to be in America, many children responded with "I don't know", or "around 3 to 5 years." Parents also expressed some uncertainty about dates of return. One father stated that they would be informed once they were within 12 months of the end of their assignment, but not necessarily before that. Some parents expressed anxiety about making plans for their children's continuing education in light of the uncertainty over their anticipated date of return.
Figure 2: Length of Residence in United States for Japanese Families of Elementary Pupils

* Indicates length of stay for primary informants.
Figure 3. Anticipated Length of Stay in U.S. for Japanese Families
Item 12: Attendance at Japanese Language School

It must be mentioned that the Columbus Japanese Language School limits its enrollment to children of compulsory schooling grades, or to children who qualify for first through ninth grades. (See section on Japanese language school.) This accounts for the lack of attendance by preschool aged youngsters, and by high school children for whom no classes are offered. Of the 20 Japanese children enrolled in grades one through five at Lincoln School, 16 were reported to be participating in the Japanese language school and 2 were reported not to be in attendance. Again, none of the respondents listed the Columbus Japanese Language School as an after-school, or extra-curricular activity. This could be due to the fact that the survey provided a separate question specifically relating to the Japanese Language School. It could also possibly reflect the unique nature and role of the school and participation in its activities that attendance implies. It is not viewed by families as an "extra" or enrichment activity, but rather, as a necessary part of the child's regular education. The significant information, however, that is provided by responses to Item 12, is that the
overwhelming majority of Japanese overseas elementary children attending Lincoln School were also enrolled simultaneously in the Columbus Japanese Language School.

Item 13: Parents Report Children's Feelings Regarding American School

Responses to items 13 through 15 varied in length from a short phrase, to itemized lists, to several paragraphs. In items 1 through 12 an occasional response was written in English. However, in every case, items 13 and 14 were written entirely in Japanese. Translations were verified for accuracy by a native speaker before analysis was undertaken.

Language Barrier

In response to the open-ended question in item 13, six out of the seventeen respondents made reference to difficulty arising from the language barrier their children were encountering or had encountered upon entry into the American school system. These included such comments as,

"Aside from the language handicap, they are enjoying their life..."

and,

"It's no fun because even if she wants to say something, she can't because she doesn't speak any
Another parent was more speculative regarding the language barrier,

They say they really enjoy their studies the best. I think this is probably because they can’t understand English yet!

What she meant was that the children were having a great time because they did not have to do any of the regular school work, since they could not understand the language. Still another parent wrote,

In the beginning it seemed they had troubles due to the fact that they couldn’t understand the language. But now, their friends have been very kind in showing them all sorts of things, and compared to (being in) Japan, they can freely move right along. Still, we won’t really be able to tell until more time has passed.

Comments regarding kindnesses shown the children and the developing of friendships was a recurring theme. Six people mentioned friends or kindnesses shown through friendships. One respondent listed his child’s comments verbatim:

- friends are kind.
- it’s a shame there is no pool at school.
- especially for an elementary school, there are so many female teachers.
Small Class Size

Small classes as compared to the average class size for elementary classrooms in Japan, was referred to by several respondents:

"The number of kids in each class is so few!"

And another wrote,

"She hates it that there are so few girls in (her) morning class."

One child even complained that, because there were "so few" children in each class, he was constantly "under the watchful eye" of his teacher.

Classes and Teaching Methods

Some parents were less specific and made general statements such as that their children enjoyed school, or thought school in America was fun.

Criticism towards the school included concerns about scheduling and class format, with occasional reference to actual course content. One person wrote,

The gym and music classes seem less frequent than in Japan, and the lessons themselves appear (to be) inadequate.

Others simply recognized that differences existed:

Class teaching method, the way of doing things in the classroom, is different from in Japan and she is a bit bewildered by all of this. Still,
there are some things she finds interesting.

**Homework**

Homework was mentioned by a number of respondents. Some compared the quantity of homework with that given in Japan, indicating they felt there was less homework assigned to their children since coming to America. Several parents also mentioned the fact that in America there were only five school days per week as compared to the six per week that they were used to in Japan.

Kids go to school just five days a week, and they don’t have much homework, and compared to Japan, these children are not really burdened where their homework is concerned.

In a similar vein, another parent stated that,

The children are happy that Saturdays and Sundays are holidays, and there’s very little homework.

**Behavior**

Discipline and behavior in the classroom were mentioned by several respondents. These comments were generally blunt and to the point,

"The group behavior of children in school is not good."

"The attitude in the class is not very good."
Summary

Parents reported that children seemed surprised by relatively small classes, and were delighted by lighter workloads in terms of assignments and homework, and fewer days of school days each week. Praise was given for the thoughtfulness shown by teachers and new American friends alike. Complaints tended to be either very specific or so non-specific as to be almost meaningless. It was also evidenced by the manner in which different parents answered the survey, by various verb endings and other linguistic conventions that indicate status or gender, etc., of respondent, that some were answering for their children. In a few incidences, it was clear that parents had asked their children for their input, and had recorded those responses verbatim.

Item 14: Parents Report Their Feelings Regarding Their Children’s American School Experience

Several areas of concern emerged in the parent responses to item 14 on the questionnaire where they were asked, "How do you feel about your children’s American schooling experience?"
Language Barrier

Out of the 17 respondents, 7 mentioned a concern regarding the language barrier. No other concern was mentioned as frequently. Some parents wrote that with time, the initial stress created by the language barrier had eased somewhat. Several mentioned they had started their children in tutoring with English as a Second Language Instructors. One parent expressed frustration that no assistance was available through the school to help with the language problem. Another parent, however, expressed empathy for teachers and children alike, saying,

I think the fact that they can't understand the language is hard on the children and hard on the teachers.

Someone else suggested a way in which teachers might be of more help in this area:

I wish the teachers would talk more, and more directly with these children. Don't you suppose that in this way they would learn more, bit by bit?

Another parent chose to highlight the positive in spite of the language difficulty, saying,

The school lessons are in incomprehensible English! But I
breathe a sigh of relief because they’re attending school without any major complaints.

Adjustment Stress

Besides the childrens’ struggling to learn English, a few parents wrote of the stress in general that seemed to result from the experience of the sudden total immersion in a foreign culture. For example,

In the beginning he was so terribly anxious, so I was awfully worried waiting every day for him to come home from school. But with each passing day it seemed like the kids cooperated in trying to get used to it (here). And since it seems like now they’re happy to go off to school (each morning), at this point I just don’t feel so worried anymore.

Transcultural Viewpoint

Some saw the give and take of life in America as not so different from that in Japan. Three parents mentioned how much they valued the first-hand cross-cultural experience their children were encountering. For example,

Because we feel we want our children to have all sorts of first hand experiences and opportunities, living in a different culture will be a wonderful enriching experience (literally,"mental fortune") for them in the long run.
And in a similar vein,

I think that it is a wonderful experience... to come to know a country other than Japan so early in life, to make friends among the people who live there, to learn the language of that country and to learn about the daily life customs of that country. I see it absolutely as a real plus for her in terms of the rest of her life.

Still another parent expressed hope that the experience would enable her child to "think internationally" after their return to Japan.

Life in School

Finally, there were a number of comments regarding life in school itself. These included appreciation for the thoughtfulness shown by classroom teachers, and delight in the many meaningful friendships that were developing. One parent had high praise for the American approach to education:

Looking back over her first 7 months in an American school, and comparing Japanese and American teachers, Japanese teachers only appreciate the results of their students' studying. In American schools, the teacher thinks it's important to look after their students throughout the learning process. I am satisfied with the American way of developing individual respect. I respect the teacher's emphasis on the individual. The child is allowed to behave freely, just being herself.
Another parent was pleased with the relative ease that he perceived American children experience in schools, mentioning the amount of free time, the earlier dismissal time in America, the well-equipped "air-conditioned" classrooms, and saw these things as making life easier and better for children, yet not without some reservations:

This bias against the relative ease of life in the American classroom as compared with that of the Japanese classroom was reflected by others in similar comments. One parent worried whether his child would be able to manage after returning to Japan because he saw Japanese education as "much more academically oriented."

Prejudice

Only one parent wrote openly about discrimination, saying,

As for his social life, he has experienced some real emotional problems because of his American friends. For example, he is made fun of just for being Japanese.

Summary

In summary, Japanese parents gave fairly positive, though somewhat mixed reviews to the education their children were receiving. It must be reiterated
here that the questionnaire came to parents, for the most part, very early in their stay in America. Keeping to very general or somewhat noncommittal responses may have been a tactful device for avoiding more specific responses which might, in turn, have brought criticism to the parents or the Japanese community. Yet a number of parents did remark that they felt it was simply too soon for them to judge with any degree of accuracy just what impact the experience might have on their children.

Many parents mentioned English as a challenge, or handicap, and several cited potential solutions they were turning to, namely in the form of seeking private tutoring. In general, parents wrote lengthier responses to item 14 than to any other item. There was some overlapping of ideas and repeating of themes in response to items 13 and 14, in some cases, even by the same respondent. A number of parents completely filled the paragraph-sized space provided for item 14 on the questionnaire, and a few even turned to the back of the same sheet to finish writing what they wanted to say. This was interpreted both as a sign of interest in the questionnaire, and as a need for expression in response to this particular item.
Item 15: Parents' Willingness to Meet with Researcher

The final item on the parent questionnaire asked, "Would you be interested in meeting with me later on to discuss your children's educational experiences?" A simple "yes" or "no" answer was anticipated. However, in most cases, considerably more was offered. Out of the 17 respondents, 16 answered item 15 in the affirmative and one parent left the answer blank. Two parents wrote "yes" in English, and several wrote phone numbers where they could be reached. A few questioned their ability to be of any assistance, but assured the researcher of their support for the study.

One parent wrote,

I really don't know that I'd have anything to contribute, but I certainly would love to meet with you.

And another stated,

If we can set up a meeting, any time would be just fine. P.S. Please accept my apologies for the delay in (mailing back) my reply!

Someone else wrote,

We would love to meet with you! We have some real concerns regarding our child's education at school and
his (adjustment to) daily life.

A number of parents wrote comments thanking the researcher for the study.

To sum up item 15, the response was overwhelmingly positive. It was felt that these comments reflected parent interest in the matter of education beyond the mere purposes of this study. It appeared that Japanese parents were very interested in their children's education while in America, and that there was a willingness on their part to assist in that educational effort. Such unanimous interest and concern tended to affirm the conception of the Japanese parent as committed to his child's education. The strong response to item 15 also left the researcher feeling frustrated because time would not permit interviews with all of the Japanese parents.

Finally, either through signing their names at the end of the questionnaires as some did, offering phone numbers, naming their children on the first page of the questionnaire, or by some other indicator, many of the respondents chose to identify themselves to the researcher. This was neither suggested nor implied (see Parent Letter in Appendix B), but did serve as further means for triangulation to validate data from other
sources. In focusing on the experience of the children who became primary informants, this information proved particularly useful, especially for examining the relationship between parent's attitude towards the child's experience in the American schooling situation, and the child's reported perceptions of that same experience.

Chapter Summary

This chapter included an in-depth review of the school district and the school where the study was undertaken. A description of the Columbus Japanese Language School and an analysis of the school's program was presented. Finally, an analysis and description of the findings of the questionnaire sent to Japanese parents of children attending Lincoln Elementary School was presented.
Notes for Chapter 4


CHAPTER 5
MAJOR FINDINGS

Introduction

In this chapter, a continuation of the presentations of major findings is provided. These findings are presented in three separate sections.

The first section of this chapter includes three case studies, along with the rationale and explanation of the sources of evidence for these case studies. A summary of significant themes that emerged from the case studies is also given.

The second section provides an analysis and presentation of the cross-cultural transition process experienced by Japanese children attending the American school. An explanation of the various stages of transition identified by the researcher is given, and each stage is presented with evidence drawn from the research data.

The third section deals with several emergent themes and patterns. These themes are presented separately so as to maximize for in-depth analysis.
The first section deals with the experience of individual children. The second draws from the experience of one child in particular, but also draws from data relating to many other children, in order to most accurately reflect the transition process of this population. Finally, several themes are presented that emerged as recurrent, persistent, and significant. This format helps to afford a more holistic analysis of the research findings.

SECTION ONE
THREE CASE STUDIES

Introduction to the Case Studies

In this section, three separate case studies, each focusing on a different Japanese child, will be presented. Following the case studies, a summary of significant patterns, common elements among the studies, and conclusions will be presented.

Subjects for the case studies were selected from the five children who served as primary informants for this research project. Selections to be presented in case study format were based on the criteria of maximizing for variety. In other words, an average or typical case was not sought, but rather, from the given population, the most variety in terms of age, sex, grade, etc., would be
presented. Therefore, it was desirable that both sexes be represented, that children be of various ages, and be attending different grades, and that all three should be at different stages in terms of their lengths of stay in America. To these ends, the cases include two girls and one boy, children in grades one, four and five. One child had just arrived in America at the start of the study, and the other two had been in the United States for one year and three years respectively. In addition to variety in terms of the above mentioned variables, the three cases represent diversity in terms of the individual's response to the experience of cross-cultural adjustment in the overseas educational setting.

It is important to mention that in order to mask the identity of all individuals involved in this study, the names of informants, teachers, and all others mentioned have been changed.

Rationale for the Case Studies

The purpose of presenting a number of contrasting case studies is to provide an overall context from which the later, in-depth analysis that follows can be better understood. It also provides an ideal method for examination of the transitional dimension of the cross-cultural experience, when viewed over the period of
an entire school year. Furthermore, these should prove helpful in illustrating the very complex nature of the experience of Japanese overseas children attending an American school.

As Stake suggests in his examination of the case study method for social inquiry, knowledge "in the field of human affairs is better approximated by statements that are rich with the sense of human encounter". 1 To this end, case studies are intended to be suggestive of both the complexity of the problem under study, and demonstrative of the wide variety for individual response within that context. At the same time, certain trends and patterns emerge from these examples that provide for generalizable expectations for similar situations, and, in fact, reflect some commonalities evidenced elsewhere in the study. Knowledge gained through the case studies takes the form of what Stake terms, "naturalistic generalizations". These are "arrived at by recognizing the similarities of objects and issues in and out of context and by sensing the natural covariations of happenings." The use of case studies and the generalizations drawn from this means of data presentation are most appropriate and germane to this study and, as Stake explains, the findings they generate are "both intuitive and empirical." 2 In themselves,
the case studies presented in this chapter, provide both meaningful context and background for the study as a whole, by focusing on the experiences of individual children and circumstances.

Finally, Stake suggests that the "naturalistic generalizations" are derived from "the tacit knowledge of how things are, why they are," and "how people feel about them." These generalizations can be suggestive of "how things are likely to be later on or in other places," and they "seldom take the form of predictions, but lead regularly to expectation." 9 These resulting "expectations" can only be derived from in-depth, detailed knowledge of specific incidences and circumstances. They can not be drawn from cursory conclusions, or conclusions drawn outside of the context of substantiating information.

Evidence for the Case Studies

Data for the case studies were drawn from virtually every possible data source available to the researcher. These sources included interviews with the informants, formal interviews with their parents, formal and informal interviews with each of the teachers involved, observation notes, post-observation or recording (field) notes, official school records,
informal interviews with Japanese parents of other students, interviews with the teacher of the Columbus Japanese Language School, the research journal, and finally, the interpretations of the researcher. Cross-checking of data among several sources was used to validate and verify the observations and findings.

The First Case Study
Machiko: A Story of Success

When Machiko started school on August 30th, 1982, she had been in America less than ten days. Machiko, age seven, had one older sister who was ten. Her father had arrived a good three months ahead of the rest of the family in order to get settled in his new job, rent a house, and make other preparations for the family's arrival in America. This was in keeping with company policy designed to facilitate the family's adjustment, a policy criticised by Machiko's mother as creating more of a hardship than a solution by separating parents at such a crucial time of transition. Machiko and her older sister were among the many "new" Japanese families to arrive that August and in fact, together with their mother, the three had arrived on the same flight with at least two other of the company's families.

Machiko turned seven just days before school
began, but with all the commotion of the move, the celebration she had been looking forward to had been lost in the shuffle. Machiko complained about this lost birthday on a number of occasions, and later on when asked about her first experiences in America, she would recall this sad circumstance. She came to associate her arrival in a new land with a sense of grief over this missing event. For Machiko, the memory of her coming to America was not a pleasant one.

This little girl had completed the first of three terms of the first grade in Japan. She had entered first grade at the start of the Japanese school year in March of the same year. At her father's request, the American school had placed her in the second grade. This request may not have been formal, but rather had evidently resulted from decisions made by the school on the basis of information provided by the father on the school's standard entrance form earlier in the summer. At any rate, this placement was to cause some controversy later on.

Machiko was slight for her age, with straight black hair that she often wore tied up in bright bands. She had a quiet, shy smile, and an almost childish demeanor those first few weeks. Later her mother was to report how strange and out of character this withdrawn
behavior had seemed since, of the two girls, Machiko had always been the more out-going, spunky, noisy, prankish one. But she was relieved to find herself in a class with two other Japanese girls. Both, conveniently for Machiko, had been in the states for several months. Her teacher was a bright, young, supportive woman, who seemed particularly sensitive to the needs of her young pupils from abroad. Machiko was assigned a desk right between the two old pros, an arrangement her teacher thought would help make her most comfortable.

It did - at first, that is. Machiko was delighted with this situation and seemed to feel safe and secure, sheltered from the frightening world of English that loomed beyond the protective barrier of her young interpreters. The three chattered happily in Japanese, with Machiko turning frequently to her neighbors for direction, advice and assistance.

However, the honeymoon was not to last. Late that very first week, Machiko began showing signs of stress, for all was not well in this threesome. Unbeknownst to Machiko, she had intruded very literally into a tight-knit relationship, and was disturbing the even keel that these two girls could maintain only in her absence. When the novelty of playing teacher's assistant wore off for them, it was a hindrance to be constantly interrupted
from what they wanted to do or were supposed to be doing, by her need for assistance. She complained that they not only stopped helping her, but often hurt her feelings by giving her the cold shoulder, or worse, tormenting her quietly in Japanese. Their rejection was subtle but sure. On several occasions they were observed whispering in Japanese, ignoring Machiko’s repeated pleas for help. They also carried on finger play games with erasers and pencil boxes, carefully reaching around Machiko, ignoring her attempts and requests to join in. For Machiko the impact of culture shock was to hit hard.

At first Machiko’s teacher was unaware of the friction developing within the trio at such an early stage. The two other girls viewed her with disdain at times, both because she was a newcomer, and because they knew she was younger than they and had not had to suffer through the first grade on her own as they had had to do. There was an air of real snobbishness that one of the girls in particular, would display when asked for her help. She would turn her face up in the air, pretending not to hear at all. Machiko’s linguistic dependence also seemed to tax the girls’ patience, and soon the teacher decided a change of seats was in order. Machiko would have to go it alone. Even after the move, though, the teacher would often hand assignments to the most
bilingual of the two, asking her to translate or explain the directions to Machiko.

By the second week of school, Machiko’s frustrations were reaching new heights. She would cry if the teacher spoke to her, or after she was given an assignment or, sometimes, even after being handed a piece of paper. She cried softly at first, then louder and louder, then softly again, sobbing into her arms with her head bent over onto the desk. At first, her teacher and classmates responded with compassion and concern, talking softly to her and showering her with much attention, trying everything they could think of to ease her distress. But the crying continued.

Machiko’s acting out did not diminish. One morning during the second week of school, the researcher was summoned to intervene. The teacher was greatly concerned because after several days of Machiko’s crying on and off all day, she had begun sobbing uncontrollably, and could not be consoled. No amount of soothing words could comfort her, and the teacher was genuinely worried, to say nothing of the disturbance this commotion was causing the rest of the class.

Machiko willingly left the room with the researcher, and immediately stopped crying. She began talking merrily, as if nothing at all had been out of the
ordinary. She said that she was scared of things in this new school, and that she "didn't know anything." She complained that the other Japanese girls wouldn't help her and worse yet, wouldn't include her in their play. She said her sister was attending school in the same building, but she had no idea where she was at. After walking about the halls for some time she began to relax. She told the researcher all about herself, the stuffed animals she loved, how happy she was to unwrap their shipped belongings and find her long lost Snoopy dog, how her sister had made up a clever nickname for her, meaning "second little piglet in command", a funny play on words using part of Machiko's name together with her position in the family of second born, and asking where all the strange looking doors led to. She settled down in the tutoring room, content to stay there forever. Here the two were joined by a Japanese mother who was in the building that morning to tutor several other Japanese children in English. She had heard, as most of the school community had, about this little girl's problems, and was eager to offer her understanding and encouragement along with a pep talk. The mother also appealed to Machiko's sense of shame, telling her she didn't want Americans to get the wrong impression about Japanese people from all her fuss. This mother thought
Machiko's own mother should be summoned, but that it might be out-stepping her bounds to be the one to call. When asked why she had been crying, Machiko said she had had a stomach ache. Further inquiry revealed she had been having tummy aches with increasing severity and that her mother had taken her to a doctor. The physical had shown no abnormalities, but, she said, the doctor had prescribed some medicine to make her feel better. Still, she said she kept feeling ill, and really didn't want to come to school. In fact, she had begged her mother to let her stay at home.

Some time had passed since she had left the classroom, and she was feeling much better by now. It was at this point that the Japanese mother began talking to Machiko. She told Machiko that her anxieties were understandable, but that all the Japanese kids had felt the same at first. It was a painful time, but things would get better. She also told her that if she tried very hard to learn English as soon as possible, she would be able to cope much better at school. Machiko listened in silence. Machiko did seem to be reassured when Tomoko, the Japanese mother, told her that there was nothing to be scared of or worried about, because she would be quite "safe" here at school.
The next week the crying continued and at one point when Machiko refused to go out to recess, she had to be dragged out of doors, struggling, crying, and physically resisting the whole way. The teacher had reported this incident to the researcher with great alarm. With this event, the formerly subtle rejection of the other two Japanese girls in the class turned to an outright shunning. More and more, the girls would not even answer when spoken to by Machiko. The incident of her physical removal from the classroom was followed by several absences, which worried the teacher even more. She wanted to call the child’s home, but was afraid the mother would not understand English. When Machiko did start coming to school again, the crying started all over again, only this time, in her teacher’s words, the “howling” was more intense than ever. Now, Machiko was effectively alienating all of her peers, and totally disturbing any semblance of order in the class. Her dramatic outbursts had also drawn negative attention from the rest of the staff, and from the Japanese mothers who came to the building for tutoring on a regular basis. The teacher felt she had tried everything, and finally admitted she was running out of patience. At this point, after investigating the school records, she realized how
young Machiko was, and that she had not even completed the first grade in Japan. This angered her, for she felt she was being pressured by the home to push the child ahead, beyond her means. Still, there was a reluctance to call in parents because of the fear of causing undue embarrassment and of being misunderstood. At the same time, the teacher was convinced that the biggest problem was that the coursework was simply too hard for the child, and that a move to the first grade was both justified and warranted. She began to work towards this end.

After trying unsuccessfully to call the mother directly, the assistance of a Japanese American, a long-time resident of the area, was sought. The teacher had presented the problem to the mother, but understood the mother to say that the father was reluctant to have his daughter moved down. After more phone conversations through the go-between, the teacher was told that the school had the family’s permission to move Machiko to the first grade. That same day she was placed in her new class, a first grade with no other Japanese children among its ranks. Interestingly, when the mother spoke to the researcher, she emphasized how grateful she was that the school had finally put Machiko in the first grade where she belonged. It was the fifth week of school.
The transformation was immediate and dramatic. By six weeks into the school year, Machiko reported things were going extremely well, and that she "had no problems". She had lots of friends and had found ways to communicate. She said that American school was fun and that she liked it very much. Her pronunciation in English was unusually precise, and her new teacher was very pleased with the remarkable ease of the adjustment she was making. By the end of October, she was reading words easily, could manage many of her worksheets, and could follow many of the teacher's directions without assistance. She was especially pleased about the new friends she had made. Her one big complaint at this point was that some heartless soul had taught the Americans how to say "jackass" in Japanese, and now one boy was calling her that all the time.

Machiko continued to progress at a rate that both surprised and delighted her new teacher. When asked how her older sister was doing after two months in the states, she explained,

"Well, see, my sister has one Japanese girl right there with her, so the two of them play together...I have never seen her play with any Americans!"

She also said she had heard that her sister had been fooling around and was being "naughty" in school.
This she attributed to the fact that her sister couldn't understand any English.

Sometimes Machiko complained because she felt no one was helping her any more. Even her next door neighbor who had helped her out so much in the beginning, taking the girls to the bus stop, lending Machiko her bike, seemed to have cooled. It did not occur to Machiko that the fact that the girl was four years older would have had anything to do with this apparent dwindling of interest.

Throughout her transition into life in her new environment, Machiko had taken great comfort in her toys, and was especially fond of the Peanuts character, Snoopy. She had been thrilled when her favorite stuffed animal, Snoopy, had arrived from Japan amidst their belongings, and even more delighted to find that Snoopy could also be found in American stores. One day, she reported how she had been home in the evening, feeling very lonely and sad, when she happened to turn on the T.V., and there, to her astonishment, was her favorite, Snoopy himself, complete with all his cartoon friends. She ran, screaming this terrific news to her sister, who joined Machiko for the rest of the program, thanking her profusely for sharing this marvelous discovery. She said she thought it a real waste that the cartoons were all in English,
but at least it was the real Snoopy!

She related how, earlier in the year, when she had convinced her mother to keep her home because of her tummy ache, her mother had had to go out for the morning. Machiko said she had been terrified to be left alone in this strange, new, scary place. She had survived, she explained, by staying in bed, curled up in a corner, clinging for comfort to her animals, protected by her faithful Snoopy dog.

By Christmas, it was hard for Machiko to remember much about her first few weeks of school. She was philosophical about the physical symptoms she had experienced. She explained it simply this way: she "didn't have any tummy aches any more" because now she was "used to it over here." This observation she had offered the researcher in a casual, matter-of-fact way. Machiko said she "loved school" and had "no problems". She liked her American teacher because she was "so kind" and also, because when she did get mad at the class, "she never threw erasers at the kids".

Her parents were delighted and greatly relieved by the rapid transition she had made, and attributed it to the help she had received from the school, and Machiko's own outgoing personality. Her mother explained that both parents had been so worried and confused by
Machiko's behavior at first, and had serious concerns about the long range effects the move to America would have on the family. It had been particularly alarming to them, since Machiko had always been the more outgoing of the two girls. They simply had not been prepared for her response to the move. But now things were much better.

Machiko continued to blossom in the first grade, and was experiencing much success, both academically and socially. She was one of the better readers in her reading group, and was actually reading and comprehending materials that were at grade level. According to her teacher, she was functioning better than a number of her American peers. Her teacher also boasted about how well she got along with the other children and how many friends she had in the class. When asked to reflect on the unusual ease of the adjustment into the first grade, her teacher explained that she felt most of the credit should be given to her young American classmates. They had had experience with someone coming in from overseas, and they understood, she said. In September, a little boy had arrived from Holland, and had spent a painful first two weeks, crying every day and begging to be allowed to go home. The class had rallied around the boy, and had gone out of their way to help him feel more at home. When Machiko arrived, they were experienced
hands at easing newcomers in, and gave her constant attention and help. The teacher had encouraged them in their efforts, correcting their technique only once when someone decided that babytalk would serve as an effective shortcut for Machiko. The teacher thought the class had really made a difference.

Then too, Machiko was a willing learner. Away from the pressures of second grade work and the stress of not being accepted, she was free to begin to find her own way, to adjust and adapt, and she did.

At the end of the school year, the class was doing a unit on Japan. All listened patiently as Machiko stood before them, reading aloud to them from a book of fairy tales, Japanese fairy tales in Japanese. She was delighted when the last field trip of the year was to a big Japanese restaurant where she took great pains to help her neighbors with their first pairs of chopsticks.

In short, her adjustment, though severely traumatic to start, had been rapid and successful. In fact, her dramatic, negative, almost violent behavior in the beginning, had effectively pushed the adults around her to make changes not normally made, changes that were to facilitate her cross-cultural transition. Her age was also in her favor, and she had become quite proficient in English by the end of the year. She also had the benefit
of an older sister, someone she could relate to, especially in the very beginning. Her mother confirmed that the two had grown much closer since the move to America. Finally, Machiko was fortunate to have an understanding and committed teacher who was willing to go out of her way to assist her new pupil.

The Second Case Study
Kanae: A Story of Failure

Kanae was born in Japan in the summer of 1971 and came to the United States with her parents in time for her tenth birthday. An only child, Kanae had attended public elementary school and had completed half of the fourth grade in Japan before entering Lincoln Elementary School.

From the start, Kanae was impressed with her new surroundings. She enjoyed the attention of being the only Japanese in her class, one of three in the school at the time of her arrival. Kanae was especially impressed with the bigness she found all around her in her new culture: the large rooms filled, she thought, so sparsely with beautiful desks and a seemingly endless supply of wonderful materials; the huge, spacious gym and the wide
open playground so many times the size of those back home in Japan. This bigness extended far beyond the reaches of the immediate school environs. Kanae was amazed at the gigantic shopping centers where, under just one roof, one could find everything imaginable. And she was still impressed, even after a year, at the seeming vastness of the suburbs where she lived. She thought of her house, a two-storied, two-bedroom condominium in a brand new development within walking distance from the school, to be the epitome of luxury housing in America. She said she had heard, before coming to America, that the houses were enormous, but it had been hard to picture, coming from the overcrowded cities and towns of Japan. Kanae still could not get over the fact that, here in America, it was always necessary to drive. People drove to the park to get exercise, to the store, even for very small purchases, and they even had to drive in order to visit with friends. Life was indeed, very different in this big, new land.

Kanae felt that being overseas was akin to being in, what she termed, "a magnificent dream", a dream from which she feared she might one day have to awaken. But, for the moment, she would savor the dream.

In the early phases of her relationship with the researcher, she kept up this bright and cheerful facade.
She boasted of the many audio tapes she liked to listen to from Japan, of the many American friends she had made, especially her best friend, Jessica, and of her life of relative innocence and ease. She said she liked schooling in America because "they did not keep pushing you" all the time "to do this and that." She felt a lot less pressure to study. She felt that life was to be enjoyed, and this was definitely the place to do that best. She spoke of how she might as well take advantage of the benefits that life overseas had to offer, because upon her return, she just might be in for a rude awakening.

At the start of the interviewing, the researcher asked which language Kanae preferred, English or Japanese. She said that although English would be fine, she thought Japanese would be better, since it would provide the researcher with an opportunity to "practice" her Japanese. In fact, Kanae did not want to admit, that after more than twelve months in America, she would be hard pressed indeed, to try to carry on a conversation of any substance at all in English. And so the deception began. It was some time before the researcher was able to move beyond Kanae's cheerful, undaunted show of competence, to the sad and burdened child she struggled so hard to keep hidden from view. Even written "diary" essays and drawings the researcher invited Kanae to write
accentuated the glamor and attractiveness that Kanae kept
focusing on, with pictures of wide-eyed smiling girls in
front of lovely, large buildings. Most of the earlier
interview sessions comprised of Kanae's singing loudly
the praises of this marvelous life in America. Whenever
asked how things were going, she would brag about how
"easy" American school was, never mentioning her
consistently failing grades or her many unfinished
assignments. In short, everything was rosey.

Slowly, her story began to change. She began
bringing homework to the interview sessions that had not
been completed. She complained about her teachers. One
kept expecting too much out of her, and another was just
downright "scarey". She resented the fact that Mr.
Matter, in her estimation, was giving far too many
concessions to the newly arrived Japanese children in the
other fifth grade class, while at the same time expecting
full participation from her. This was unjust and, she
felt, showed a real lack of consideration on his part.
She was forced, she explained, to begin copying both
homework and class assignments from Kazuhiro, that smart,
new boy from Japan. She said that what with all the pages
and pages of correspondence homework she was expected to
complete in the evening, there was no way she could
manage to get everything done. One day, while frantically
copying the last night’s homework from Kazuhiro, she commented that it was, after all, all right for her to be doing so because basically, he "owed" her, for all the help she had been giving him lately. These new kids could really be a pain.

She admitted that she was not doing very well in science, however, she explained, the science was very different from that taught in Japan. Here, she said, you had to actually do real experiments and manipulations, whereas in Japan, the science was mostly book learning. Repeating experiments over and over was another problem, she said. She felt that instead of doing one thing and then moving on to the next part of the assignment with the rest of the class, she was being held back by having to explain, over and over to the new comers, just what was going on:

Mr. Matter was giving me a spelling lesson, and I was thinking about that. He asked me if I could translate for them (the new Japanese students). My teacher told me to...so I do it but when we finish, they want me to do something else. The other subjects are (supposed to be) separate, you know, and after the teacher asks me to help I do, but they still keep asking more. It ends up in a long discussion and it takes forever. It’s horrendous!
Kanae also implied that the others leaned on her unnecessarily at times:

I had to do it (a science experiment) over and over, countless times. But with those kids, that wasn't enough! When I finally said, 'If you (still) don't get it, then I give up!' And then, suddenly, they tell me they understand!

In this way, she complained, her own work was being sacrificed because her teacher kept asking her to help the other Japanese kids, or they themselves would "beg", sometimes crying if Kanae refused to help or in any way tried to force independence on them. It did not seem to occur to her that she may have simply found a rather convincing excuse for not completing her own assignments.

This brought her to another dilemma. Things had been just fine before the number of Japanese had grown so enormously. She resented the new arrivals and felt that they should be forced to survive on their own, as she had had to do, and not rely on one another and on her for so much help:

When I first got here, there was not one other (Japanese) kid in my class. See, I was the only one in my class...I tell (the new kids) they should go off and play with Americans, and they just complain,
saying, 'Oh! We don't want to!' In fact, Kanae resented their dependence on her, but even more than that, she felt jealous of their close dependence on one another, often to the exclusion of herself. She complained bitterly of the growing rivalry over friends that she considered hers. She had to go it alone. The new Japanese students had arrived in a group and were leaning heavily on one another, isolating themselves further from the strange new culture surrounding them. Their common experience had bound them together. It was obvious that Kanae was not to be automatically admitted to this exclusive group.

The newcomers, she complained, just stuck together all the time, and in fact, were reluctant to let Kanae into their clique at all. She criticized them for "clinging together" on the playground, but felt even more threatened when they began getting friendly with Jessica, with whom she felt she had first dibs. It was a matter of territorial invasion. Not only were these newcomers infringing on her turf, but without her realizing it, they were providing her teachers with a basis for immediate comparison of her own marked lack of academic progress.
Kanae told the researcher that she was not doing too well in reading or spelling, because English was simply not her native tongue. Besides, she complained, everyone knows how tough fifth grade can be, even when you understand the language.

Her homeroom teacher saw things quite differently. She complained that Kanae was very lazy. She felt angry that, although Kanae had been in the States well over a year, she was being passed up in reading by Kazuhiro, who had just arrived at the start of fifth grade. He had been steamrolling ahead with amazing speed. The teacher mentioned that his parents had already been in to see her more than once, whereas Kanae's had never come, not even to the school's open house. She said that other newly arrived Japanese kids were nearly all managing to get perfect scores on their weekly spelling tests, but that, despite constant urging on her part, Kanae was failing consistently.

Kanae's teacher complained that in reading class, for example, Kanae would not even try to concentrate unless she hovered right over her. But as soon as she would walk away, Kanae would revert to reading magazines or generally just filling in time. She felt strongly that Kanae was actually capable of achieving much more.
Once when the researcher was observing in Kanae's classroom, Kanae looked up from her book and told the teacher she could not do her social studies assignment because she did not understand. "Well then, get out your dictionary and look it up!" her teacher had said. At this, Kanae had pulled out her English-Japanese dictionary from her desk and began looking things up.

On more than one occasion, Kanae’s teacher voiced her concern to the researcher, over Kanae’s apparent lack of "motivation". She also implied that Kanae’s behavior was not in keeping with her expectations - expectations she based on her first-hand experience with Japanese students she had previously, and her experience with Kazuhiro and the other newcomers. She asked the researcher about Kanae’s performance at the Japanese Language School, and when informed that Kanae did not attend, she exclaimed emphatically, "Oh! I thought they all had to go!" She concluded that part of the problem was simply that Kanae "really was having a lot of fun, and didn’t seem to have anyone pressuring her from any direction."

Even her music teacher complained about Kanae’s lack of effort. She said that Kanae did not often join in the activities, and that if she was asked to take a turn with a song, or a rhythm instrument, she would decline
saying, according to her teacher, "'No Sankyoo!'" This usually caused giggling among the other students. Kanae, the music teacher reported, appeared to enjoy the attention her lack of participation would bring and, therefore, the teacher said she had taken to avoiding calling on Kanae during class. When the researcher observed this class, Kanae spent the entire period leaning up against a table at the back of the room, behind the rest of the class, watching, but not joining in at all.

Her homeroom teacher also mentioned the fact that Kanae had had a new baby sister, born to the family during the summer. Before school had ended in the spring Kanae had approached her teacher, quietly boasting that as soon as the baby was born, she had plans to dump it in the garbage can! She had gone off laughing, after dropping this bombshell on her fourth grade teacher. Kanae had made the effort to convey this message in English, even though she had only been in America for a few months at the time. This is suggestive of the intensity of emotion she was expressing. Though the teacher was shocked, this display of resentment seems not entirely inappropriate, given the nature of the situation, for, Kanae had been an only child for over ten years. It was not only a big adjustment to begin sharing
her family with a new sibling after such a long time on
her own, but the fact that this event occurred so shortly
after the tremendous upheaval of moving to America only
added to the problems facing Kanae.

Her mother's pregnancy and the birth of her new
sibling had been hailed with much support and enthusiasm
from the small Japanese community, according to another
Japanese mother. She added how fortunate indeed, for the
family, was the mother's favorable response to the
family's move to America. Though the event was welcomed
with great joy by Kanae's parents, for Kanae this change
demanded an even more radical adjustment than did her
coming to America. It meant a complete realigning of the
family's internal structure, a structure that had
previously provided stability. Kanae needed this
stability and coherence to see her through the initial
phase of the move and subsequent adjustment period. The
family she needed so much for her own emotional security
during a time of extreme change and transition, was
itself undergoing a very fundamental and pervasive
change. In spite of the joy of the occasion, it was as if
the rug were being pulled out from underneath the young
girl.

The new baby came, not only as a new member to
this family, but almost as a convenient distraction from
the worry the parents had over Kanae’s education. A new baby, a Japanese baby born in America, the center of so much energy and attention, with all its demands on the family, was interrupting the focus of the parent’s concentration on Kanae and her future, with an immediacy that only a newborn can demand.

Kanae’s parents were enthused about coming to America, though from the start, they had concerns about Kanae’s schooling. They said they saw it as a tremendously valuable opportunity to learn first hand about another people and another culture. They had done some traveling and kept a carefully documented picture album of the many places they had visited. Late in the fall, they had even taken Kanae out of school for ten days so they could drive down to Florida and visit Disney World. This action had been frowned upon by the classroom teacher, who was feeling frustrated in her efforts to help Kanae with her studies and unsupported by the parents. Shortly after this trip, the family returned to Japan to attend a family funeral, and Kanae was to miss another two weeks of school.

Kanae’s parents expressed a deep concern to the researcher about Kanae’s lack of progress, though it seems they were perhaps not fully aware of the extent of her failure. Her mother spoke of her initial efforts to
Keep Kanae on a regular schedule of correspondence schooling homework, and of how difficult it had grown for her to make the child study. Kanae, she said, was not cooperative, and just didn’t seem to see the need to keep up with her studies in Japanese. She would argue or complain, or beg to go outside to play when asked to do her studies. The mother thought this lack of concern was perhaps due, at least in part, to Kanae’s age. Kanae, now eleven, was growing by leaps and bounds and less interested in studying than ever. Perhaps her parents were trying to console themselves when, each on separate occasions, remarked that Kanae’s failure to succeed academically was “not so bad” because, “after all, she is a girl.” They suggested that academic failure for a boy would have far more devastating consequences.

Interestingly, prior to the home visit, Kanae had made a similar remark herself.

Kanae was also in the minority among her Japanese peers, for her parents were not requiring her to attend the Columbus Japanese Language School on Saturdays. (See Parent Questionnaire, Table 6) They felt that such part time efforts could not possibly measure up to the rigors of education back in Japan, and therefore considered the investment of time and effort to be of dubious value. At the same time they expressed concern over the apparent
lack of academic demands in the American system.

Of deepest concern though, was the downward direction they felt their daughter's education had taken since coming to America. Her father expressed his dismay at discovering, after helping Kanae with some of her correspondence homework, that she was not only not progressing in her American school, but she appeared to be forgetting much of her earlier learning, acquired back in Japan. Her father reported with alarm, that she was even forgetting her basic mathematics facts, mastered back in the second and third grades. This concern, however, apparently was not translated into any firm course of action or efforts to improve the situation. Then too, the family anticipated only an eighteen month stay in the United States. This may have reinforced their reluctance to seek special help or tutoring for Kanae.

In spite of her grim academic standing, Kanae was a most willing informant. She was always eager to meet with the researcher and more than willing to talk. On one occasion, she told the researcher how very glad she was to be getting out of class for the interview session. She said she liked to talk, and that she "loved getting out of class." When the researcher voiced concern that the time out might be a problem for her, she reassured
her saying, "It never matters what I miss!" Sometimes, after the interview, she would ask to stay longer, so she could miss a math class or a science quiz.

And so it appears that Kanae was indeed, resisting the pressures surrounding her, pressures that came as a natural course, given her situation. Yet, she was not oblivious to the reality awaiting her upon her return to Japan, and spoke of her concerns on more than one occasion. She told the researcher of what terrible shame and humiliation students who did not achieve had to suffer in Japan. She said she remembered one kid who had to be sent down a grade to sit there among the younger ones, and that this severe punishment had come just because the child had fallen a day behind in his work, just one day behind! Kanae said she expected that she would find herself behind her peers when she did go back to Japan, but that she thought she would probably get a private tutor to help her catch up. Although she said she was not worried about going back, when she spoke of the punishments awaiting those who fail, her concern seemed very real indeed.

Kanae complained that most of what she was expected to do here in America was "boring" and far too easy for her. She said that in art class for example, they were always "drawing pictures" and "doing silly
little projects", and that in Japan they had "learned all that stuff two years ago, back in the second grade."

Kanae's overall educational adjustment could be termed neither smooth nor successful. Shortly after moving to America, the family had had a second child, thus upsetting the status quo in terms of the family's internal structure and dynamics. Kanae functioned far below grade level in her American school, did not attend the Japanese Language School, and made only sporadic efforts to keep up with her Japanese studies through correspondence coursework. Consequently, she began to forget many of the basic skills and concepts she had acquired before leaving for the United States.

Kanae's short career in the American educational system was punctuated by frequent absences due to family travels. An unanticipated visit to Japan for a family funeral served to further erode the continuity of her educational experience. At the end of the 1982-83 school year, Kanae returned with her family to Japan, to face a very uncertain academic future.
The Third Case Study

Shin: A Story of Struggle

When Shin started the fourth grade in the fall on 1982, he had been attending Lincoln school for over three years and, together with his older brother, had been among the first Japanese children ever to enter the Kelley schools. As his mother recalls, his arrival brought him much unexpected attention which, she felt heightened the trauma of the move to America. The family was not pleased that his arrival was greeted by a number of articles in the local news media. At any rate, by now his teachers considered him to be as fluent in English as his American peers, and were not aware that any significant language or academic problems existed.

He was a bright, spunky, boyish child, with a real sense of humor, and he had made many friends among his classmates. He was well known in the building, by the staff, as well as by his classmates. He was one of the crowd. Shin was a leader among his peers, especially when it came to having fun.

Before moving to America, Shin had attended private kindergarten in Japan, and although so much time had passed since his coming to America, he still retained vivid memories of school life in Japan, and of the
classmates he had left behind. In fact, just before school had started in the fall of 1982, Shin and his family had gone back to Japan for a visit, and during this three week stay, Shin had attended school with his old classmates, thus refreshing his memory of school life there, and renewing his many school acquaintances. Upon his return to the States he still spoke of these friends as his classmates, in the present tense, indicating a strong identification with his peers back in Japan.

Shin’s teachers liked Shin, and reported that he was a good student. He was in the "top" math group, and although he was not considered to be at the top of the class at large, his homeroom teacher said that in most of his subjects he was "above average".

Attention towards Shin seemed to increase when, after having been the only Japanese in his class for so long, he suddenly found himself among a large group of newly arrived students from Japan - a change of events that coincided with his entrance into the fourth grade. Moreover, there were lots more Japanese throughout all the grades. There were even new Japanese children in his own fourth grade class as well as the other fourth grade classes.

Shin did not enjoy the extra attention that being Japanese had brought to him. He did not like being
singled out and wanted to be treated as an equal with his American peers, but with the advent of so many new Japanese students right at his own grade level, he would indeed have difficulty maintaining a low profile among his peers. He was immediately identified as someone who could translate or interpret for the new kids or for their teachers because he had been in America for so long, and could supposedly manage equally well in either English or Japanese. So his help was indeed solicited, but this was not to be such a simple task.

From the start of the interviewing, the researcher noticed that Shin preferred to speak in a sort of linguistic shorthand, abbreviating phrases, and frequently answering questions with one word responses or with abrupt and fragmented sentences. (See Transcription in Appendix C) He also demonstrated some difficulty with grammar, a weakness often masked by virtue of his flawless pronunciation in English. Sometimes he would pause, grasping for vocabulary. Sometimes he would simply pause, waiting for the listener to draw conclusions or go on with the conversation. For example, when asked to describe his school, he responded, "In this school, or in Japan?" Further discussion revealed that he was referring not to school in Japan but to the Japanese Language School he was attending in America when he said, "or in
Japan?" Such ambiguities arose often and were indicative of the hidden language handicap that Shin was struggling to cope with, a subtle handicap none of his teachers had recognized, a handicap he seemed almost unaware of himself.

At first glance it seemed that Shin's life had vastly improved since those early days in America and problems that might have existed back then, were now certainly long gone. When asked to compare his present life with life when he first arrived he had said, "The beginning is really...you know...You don't know anything...I was the only one...It was really...I couldn't do anything. I couldn't understand." After all, he had worked up to grade level in all of his subjects, and had made lots of friends, both at school and in his neighborhood. He participated fully in all school activities, and seemed aware of being well liked. Compared to those first days and months in America, life seemed relatively comfortable and easy for Shin...or was it?

At first, the arrival of so many Japanese children seemed like a real windfall for Shin. He could step in and out of the two cultural contexts with relative ease, and now he lots had of opportunities to speak Japanese. This turn of events was hailed as a real
boost to parents who feared their children would forget their native tongue through lack of frequent contact with the language. (Also see Correspondence School Tape Transcription in Appendix C) Even at the end of the school year Shin talked about how nice it was just to have these Japanese friends here in America.

He was discouraged however, over the demands that were being made of him. In the beginning, the new students relied heavily on Shin for help with their work. Tetsuo especially, since he sat near Shin in most of their classes, relied almost exclusively on Shin to help him out, explain directions, and translate materials. Sometimes Shin would take advantage of Tetsuo, telling him to do things that were forbidden or causing him to embarrass himself. The art teacher complained that once, very soon after Tetsuo’s arrival, Shin told him to stand up on his chair, that this was the custom when classes were finished. Of course, that class had broken into laughter at the sight of Tetsuo standing there, all alone, on top of his chair. Yet, for the most part, Shin was supportive, and soon the two boys had become close friends. They seemed unconcerned that teachers viewed them as a somewhat troublesome twosome when they were together.
Not only were new comers like Tetsuo relying on Shin, but he found that his teachers were increasingly turning to him to help out with the new students. He was often asked to explain things to them in Japanese, to interpret, and also to intervene whenever there were language difficulties. Especially at the beginning of the year, he was often pulled from class and asked to assist with teachers from other grades, since it was common knowledge that Shin had been in the building for several years and could speak English very well.

Sometimes, however, this put Shin on the spot. For example, as the researcher observed on one occasion, an irate teacher was trying to determine why one Japanese boy had not finished an assignment. She raised her voice and was barking commands at Shin, who was then told to relate all her messages to the child. Both boys froze, apparently unsure of what they should do. Then Shin began awkwardly to pass on the teacher's messages, yet constantly avoiding eye contact with his friend. The teacher seemed further angered by Shin's reluctance to translate directly and insensitive to the dilemma that such situations caused for Shin. It was so painful for Shin to pass along the anger and chastizing of the teacher that for the most part, he just stood there in
silence, looking down at the desk in front of him. His
dilemma was compounded by strong cultural norms that
prohibit any direct expression of anger toward another.
Shin's discomfort seemed so obvious to the outside
observer, but equally obvious was the teacher's dismay
at not being able to communicate, and Shin's inability to
escape from the situation of the double bind.

Eventually, Shin did react in a way that would
bring relief, at least to himself. Shin began to deal
with the stress of these situations by playing hard to
get. That is, when teachers would come to him for help,
since he did not feel free to simply say no, he would
roll his eyes back, or shrug his shoulders emphatically,
or very slowly drag his body from his chair, giving the
clear impression that he was not a willing volunteer.
This brought him criticism and even scolding from his
teachers. They were angry at his reluctance to use his
Japanese to help them out. They were desperate, and felt
that it had been so convenient for them to have Shin
around but now, suddenly, he was making it increasingly
uncomfortable for them to ask him, and they did not
understand why he was being so difficult. His reaction
to their requests for assistance grew so consistently
negative they finally related to the researcher that
they were forced to turn to another child in the third
grade for help. This child was also fluent in English and "always so willing" to do what he was asked. So they began to consciously avoid asking Shin for assistance. His attitude was interpreted as being "bullheaded" and "stubborn".

About six weeks into the school year, one of Shin's teachers asked the researcher to observe Shin in her classroom. She stated that he had been fooling around in class, wasting time and generally "acting like the class clown". She said that he had been quite disruptive, especially during math class. Not surprisingly, during an observation made shortly after this report, Shin's behavior was impeccable. He paid close attention to the teacher throughout the entire period. Not once was he observed to be acting out or disruptive. He seemed to have put on his very best behavior. Still, the teacher continued to complain about Shin's "attitude" and of his frequent misbehavior, throughout the entire year.

His reading teacher felt that Shin was suddenly overwhelmed by the more difficult academic demands of the fourth grade in general and that any difficulty he might be having could certainly not be attributed to the fact that English was his second language. She pointed, for example, to the increased difficulty and quantity of vocabulary in reading and in the other content areas as
The same teacher, at the close of the school year, speculated that so much of the vocabulary was that much more "technical" than before, and she felt that Shin would have had no background or knowledge of this, even in Japanese, and he was, therefore, experiencing difficulty. She felt that Shin was experiencing increasing frustration with all of his studies. She said that he "wasn't doing that badly" grade wise, but that his behavior was getting a lot worse, and his studies were somewhat of a struggle for him. Overall he was "not doing very well" at all. His teachers expressed a reluctance to be candid about this situation with Shin's mother, perhaps because his mother was doing so much for the newcomers and therefore, at least indirectly, for the teachers too. She was tutoring a group of students in the building on a regular basis, and in many other ways had always been very helpful around the school.

In his Japanese studies things were even worse for Shin. From the start of its operation, Shin had been attending the Japanese Language School in order to keep up with his Japanese studies. According to his Japanese teacher, he was the only student in his fourth grade class "for whom Japanese was more difficult than English." She said he was struggling very hard, but was not experiencing success. She explained that not only
was everything a struggle for Shin, but that he was simply not trying very hard. She felt that if the motivation was there, he could do better. Once, while the researcher was observing at the Japanese school, Shin had been called upon a number of times, and each time did not know where the class was in the reading exercise, because he had not been paying attention. Finally, after fumbling yet another time, Shin was sent to the back of the class, where he had to stand until the lesson was over. When called upon to read, he giggled awkwardly, and seemed reluctant to read aloud, obviously embarrassed by the punishment. On another occasion, much later in the year, Shin expressed the same reluctance to read, only this time he had been paying attention and had read accurately from the correct place in the reader. After finishing he declared, "that wasn't very good", even though he had made no errors. This time he was reassured and praised by his teacher. Shin seemed self-conscious and hesitant to read aloud in Japanese.

His Japanese teacher felt that his reluctance to help out at school probably stemmed from the fact that he was "not as great at Japanese as the American teachers might assume." She also pointed out that the teachers were probably not aware of just how difficult the art of interpretation is. She also speculated that, like fourth
grade in America, fourth grade in Japanese school was similarly very demanding. This difficulty was compounded by the fact that Shin had been away from constant contact with the language for a number of years now.

Shin complained that school was very hard. For him, both schools were really "tough". At one point, he said that he was spending, on the average, "about five hours a day on homework" for his two schools. He said that his grades had dropped in the Japanese school since he was in third grade and he felt badly about that. Sometimes Shin appeared to be genuinely worn out, fatigued, and would yawn during interview sessions. He seemed unconscious of his own pervasive sense of discouragement. When asked what he'd like to do if he could change anything, he said he thought life would be much easier if they could only go to a Japanese school full time. He thought thing would be simpler for the Japanese kids that way.

In general, Shin felt that school was hard and getting harder, with no solution or relief in immediate sight. Sometimes he would hang his head and speak wistfully about going back to Japan. Often he sounded depressed when asked to talk about how things were going in school. Shin seemed like a doomed prisoner whose two worlds were demanding too much for him. Instead of
reacting to the demands with determination and energy that might have lead to an improvement in his situation, he withdrew from the challenges closing in on him, and his lack of effort made things seem so much worse. After a while it seemed as if there was no point in trying to do his best. There was always so much more to be accomplished, too much more, and it was weighing him down. At the same time, he seemed more than content with much of life, and seemed to escape from the pressures around him by concentrating on having fun and on involving himself with his friends.

Still, by the end of the year, he even confided to the researcher that he was really worried about whether he would be promoted to the fifth grade in the American school. His grades were more than satisfactory, but had dropped from the beginning of the year, and he himself sensed things were, as his teachers reported, "sliding". At this point his teachers felt that, more than anything else, Shin was suffering from a real "lack of confidence". With his family scheduled for a somewhat indefinite stay in America, a stay that would at least keep them in America for two more years, maybe much longer, there was no immediate end in sight for this young fourth grade boy.
Conclusions

The above case studies are illustrative of many of the situations and problems encountered by other Japanese overseas children and at the same time, are indicative of the uniqueness of each individual's experience. Obviously, the child's perception of schooling in America will depend upon his or her actual circumstance and experience which, in turn, is dependent upon a multiplicity of complex factors.

Emerging from these case studies are a number of notable factors or patterns influencing the child's experiences and impacting on the cross-cultural adjustment of the individual. Some of these factors are facilitative of the adjustment process, while others impede, to a greater or lesser degree, the overall adjustment process.

In summarizing those factors which appear to be most pervasive, the following are noted. It is important to keep in mind that these are neither the only, nor necessarily the most obvious of factors emerging from the case studies. Rather, they are highlighted here because they are representative of other incidents and situations evidenced elsewhere in the course of the study.
Lack of Communication

Communication gaps and breakdowns existed in all of the above studies. Perhaps most graphic of these was the incident involving Machiko, her parents, and her first classroom teacher. Although the language barrier obviously compounded the lack of communication, and perhaps prolonged the problems involving her initial adjustment, the language barrier itself did not appear to be the overriding impediment to progress, but a simple lack of communication did. So much was accomplished and so much suffering was alleviated when the teacher actually made contact with the parents. Both the teacher, and Japanese mothers tutoring in the building expressed a desire to communicate with Machiko's parents well before any attempt was made to do so. This incident, thus, also points to a lack of communication between Japanese parents in the building and Japanese parents not involved in activities at the school. It further illustrates the personal anxiety on the part of Machiko's parents that might have been alleviated much sooner had the parents tried to communicate their concerns with the school. In fact, the parents' distress was never expressed to the school, but was revealed to the researcher during the home visit, well after the child had been moved from the second to the first grade.
Significance of Class Placement

It appeared that there were significant differences in adjustment progress relating to whether a Japanese child was placed in a class with other Japanese children or was isolated solely among American peers. Again, the case of Machiko illustrates this as a factor contributing to the child's adjustment experience. After leaving a class where she could rely on other Japanese children for assistance, her linguistic progress in terms of second language acquisition seemed to be greatly enhanced. Her language progress was rapid and her pronunciation was remarkably accurate. Both Japanese parents and American teachers mentioned to the researcher how much more rapidly they felt children isolated from other Japanese seemed to adjust. When the school year was over, one Japanese mother stated that, although "it seemed a bit cruel for the child at first," she thought it was "much better in the long run," to isolate newcomers from other Japanese, and to avoid placing groups of Japanese children together in one classroom.

Of relevance here also, are the demands placed on the child by the presence of other Japanese children in the class when this results in the child being asked to act as interpreter for the newcomers or the American
teachers. Examples of this are cited both in the studies of Kanae and of Shin. What was most significant was not that the child may have been ill at ease with the task itself, but the ramifications of this activity on interpersonal relationships with other Japanese peers. Shin's reluctance to express his teacher's rage to his good friend is a good example of this cultural dilemma.

Length of Stay in America

Anticipated length of stay in America appeared to have an impact both in terms of parental commitment to and involvement in the American schooling experience. An example indicative of this factor can be drawn comparatively from the cases of Kanae and Shin. Kanae's parents, who anticipated less than a two year stay abroad, seldom appeared at the school, and by the same token, frequently took Kanae out of classes in order to travel around the country. Shin's family, on the other hand, never absented Shin from school for purposes of travel and his mother was very much involved in tutoring other Japanese children at the school and in assisting classroom teachers in other ways during the course of the school year. His family had been in America over three years, and they anticipated that their assignment would keep them in America for at least several more years.
Internal Family Structure

It appeared that whether or not a child were an only child, and stability of the internal family composition, tended to influence the child’s experience especially in the initial adjustment phase. An example of the latter can be illustrated by the dramatic upheaval that resulted in Kanae’s family from the arrival of her baby sister, again, within the span of a relatively short stay in America. Then too, Machiko spoke often of her big sister, and her mother commented on how close the two sisters had grown since coming to America.
SECTION TWO
TRACING THE CROSS-CULTURAL TRANSITION PROCESS

Introduction

In this section, four stages of the cross-cultural transition process that emerged during the course of this study are presented. They are referred to as 1) alienation, 2) marginality, 3) accommodation, and 4) transculturation. Transitional stages reviewed in Chapter 2, especially those of Canda, Mansell and Lee, have been useful in the conceptualization of these stages. In order to clarify the various transitional changes that were experienced by Japanese overseas children, the presentation focuses on the experience of one child, but also draws upon information regarding other children. For each stage, a discussion of the nature and characteristics of the phase is presented, followed by an examination of the one child's experience at this stage. Then, observations of other children at the same stage are presented.

In this manner, an in-depth examination of each phase of the transition can be made, and at the same time, a more holistic description of the overall transition process can be presented. It must be emphasized that, although the researcher has drawn from
existing literature on cross-cultural transition for conceptualizing and descriptive purposes, the stages in this section are limited to what actually emerged from the study. This will become evident as the stages are presented. No attempt was made to form any framework a priori. The stages are used here as an operational tool for presenting the findings regarding the dynamic and interactive nature of a highly complex process, that of the cross-cultural transition of Japanese overseas elementary pupils.

The methodological procedures used for identifying and defining the various stages of transition were similar to those described in the data analysis section of Chapter 3. The constant-comparative method of data analysis was applied to the categories of raw data, and the resulting persistent, recurring phrases and themes gave rise to the conceptualization of the model for describing the transition process. Such phrases as nareru, nareta and naremashita, all referring to the idea of "getting used to it", and phrases like saisho no toki and hajime wa, meaning "at first" or "in the beginning" when used by informants relating their experiences soon after arrival in America, alerted the researcher to the notion of chronology, sequence and change over time. Cross referenced concepts and phrases,
such as the aforementioned were also appearing, after further analysis, in other categories like those relating to "fear" or "stress" or "coping strategies", thus providing evidence for discovering and describing precisely what the informant related regarding the idea or stage of "in the beginning" or "since I've settled in".

Another important source for validating the concept of change over time was the master file which, as stated earlier, was arranged in chronological order. This provided a means for examining all available data sources for any given point in time. By turning to a given date, for example, the researcher could examine the transcript from an interview with one of the children, transcripts of what the child's teacher had reported at that time, observation and post-observation notes for the given period, and even reflective journal notations made at that time. In this manner, a strong case was made for confirming the concept of changing phases or transitional stages, and an adequate and feasible means was employed for identifying the various characteristics of each of those stages.
The First Stage of Cross-cultural Transition: Alienation

The transitional phases or stages are presented within a loose, chronological context. However, any reference to time or duration should not be considered finite. These is great individual variation within the stages, and much overlapping of the stages as well. The first stage, alienation, represents the initial phase of the cross-cultural transition process, and for many children in this study, this occurred during the first month in school.

This period is characterized by keen interest in the new surroundings, a sense of excitement, and exhilaration brought on by the sudden change of environment and the myriad of new experiences. It is also characterized by complaints, physical symptoms, and various signs indicative of stress. Feelings of chronic exhaustion and signs of fatigue, such as yawning or stretching are not uncommon. For some, the initial reaction to the culture shock is marked by both social and emotional withdrawal. The initial stage is often characterized by extreme anxiety, frequent feelings of frustration, and many fears. Even feelings of depression are not uncommon.
At this stage there is a heightened sense of awareness, especially of immediate physical surroundings, resulting from the barrage of new sights and sounds. This concern for and attention to detail, along with a multitude of worries and fears, leads some to have feelings of being overwhelmed or to experience a sense of confusion. For many, the intensity of the initial stage is exaggerated by the exhaustion resulting from "jet-lag," the body's physical reaction to the sleep deprivation and time change resulting from air travel. Some children complained of awakening at night and not being able to sleep properly. Some complained of not being able to eat properly because of fatigue during the day. Others adjusted very rapidly to the actual time change, and were eager to channel their energies towards exploration and discovery.

Finally, although one might expect a focus on the language barrier, or preoccupation with the inability to communicate verbally at the initial stage, for these children, concern over language was not paramount. Rather, there existed a diffuse sense of frustration regarding language, with few overt moves to overcome the barrier through individual effort. Japanese parents expressed much concern about the language barrier, and about the need to master English as rapidly as possible,
but for children this concern appeared to be rather abstract, almost intangible, and definitely not a priority. Generally speaking, Japanese children were preoccupied with the more immediate concerns of survival and discovery.

Naho During The Alienation Stage

Naho entered grade four in the autumn of 1982 and was placed in a classroom with no other Japanese children. To her teacher, she appeared to be the ideal student. Naho was well behaved. She sat very quietly at her desk, and, in the words of her teacher, "was no trouble at all." Naho, an only child, had arrived in America just two weeks prior to the opening of school. In Japan, she had completed the first quarter of fourth grade. Now, she expressed resentment at having to start all over again.

During her initial interviews, Naho took great pains to avoid eye contact, and spoke so softly that the researcher frequently had to ask her to repeat herself. She appeared to be withdrawn and depressed, never smiling, hanging her head down, offering no self-initiated conversation, and often responding in whispered "yes" and "no" answers when she did speak. Even when the classroom teacher asked the researcher to
go over a math placement test with Naho, she resisted interaction, turning her head away from the researcher, and making no effort to look at the math sheet. When she was told that if she performed well on the test, her teacher had promised to place her in the "top math group" with other Japanese children, she seemed totally uninterested.

When Naho did speak of her first few days in school, she said that she thought school was "horrid", and it had all been "too much" to cope with. Here is how she described her first day of school in America: "See, I was the only one (only Japanese) in my class." In a very soft voice she added, "So I was kind of anxious."

A week later she was observed playing with scraps of tissue paper, pins and an eraser, which she kept hidden from her teacher's view, just under the open table top of her desk. When asked how things were going, she simply replied, "Same as always -- boring!" Naho's teacher was more than sympathetic to her situation. She had said, "I just wish I could make it a little more meaningful for her...in her class subjects, I mean."

During the first month, Naho seemed isolated, lonely, and very cautious. She complained about her new school, and all its shortcomings. She said her new friends "were pretty stupid compared to Japanese kids,"
and that in math class they would "drag on and on, and then not even get done!"

Naho missed Japan and she greatly missed her old friends. She had many criticisms of her new surroundings. Nothing was the same. For Naho, nothing was as good. She was critical of everything. There were no gym uniforms to change into. There were no bells to signal the start of each new class. Nobody ate lunch in the classrooms, and she could not even walk the short distance to school -- she had to ride the bus! With so little exercise, she complained, how could she possibly retain her physical strength? She seemed disappointed that even the music was not satisfactory. Though she was able to participate when the class began playing recorders, even this brought her pain, because she said it would remind her of her flute lessons back home in Japan and that made her homesick. Now, she said, music classes just left her feeling sad.

Later the same month, her teacher complained that Naho had been stubborn and uncooperative when the children had to line up, and go behind a big black curtain in the gym, one by one, to have their school pictures taken. When Naho resisted, her teacher worried that perhaps the family could not afford the extra photo fee. She just could not figure out why Naho had had to
be dragged in for her turn. When asked by the researcher about the incident later on, Naho confided that she had been terrified. It was she who could not figure out what was going on, or what was going to happen to her behind that curtain. She had simply been overwhelmed by fear of the unknown. She laughed sheepishly after relating her side of the story to the researcher.

All in all, Naho’s earliest phase of transition had been dominated by feelings of loss and grief, resentment, depression and boredom. It appeared that life in an American school was destined to be a bleak experience, and she wanted more than anything to turn right around and go back to Japan.

Although other children in the study also expressed many fears and concerns during alienation, none expressed as many or as strongly the negative feelings that Naho shared with the researcher. In spite of her seeming reluctance to talk, this nine year old girl did manage to make a very strong statement concerning her initial experience, perceptions and reactions to her new way of life.

Others During Alienation

The initial adjustment was not as traumatic for everyone as it had been for Naho. Tetsuo, the fourth
grader placed among other Japanese children, could not have been more enthused about his new school. He was delighted with everything he was experiencing, and expressed a sincere desire to make the most of his stay in America. But, for many other children, the beginning of the transition experience was characterized by fears, and by a sense of the thrill of the unpredictable. For Kanae, whose case study was presented earlier, the beginning brought back feelings of inadequacy as well. She said she had been particularly frightened during lunchtime, not knowing what to expect. She said she was shocked that there was no prayer or saying before eating, as is the custom in Japan, and that even after observing her neighbors start eating, she was afraid she might do something wrong. And so, she had waited and watched, afraid to start eating at all. For Kanae, doing the wrong thing was not the big problem. What had worried her most she reported, was what her new American friends would think of her if she erred. Several times she mentioned that, during those first few weeks, "more than not knowing (what to do), the fear of ridicule" from the other students was her "greatest anxiety." She also expressed frustration over not being able to communicate with language, but again, it did not seem to have been her greatest concern.
A number of children in the study expressed concern over the appearance of Americans. Machiko said it was frightening never knowing what color hair the next person might have. Another boy said he was "scared" in the beginning, "because, you know, in Japan, everyone has black hair. And here, you know how it is...there's all kinds of different colors." This he found to be quite unnerving.

The following conversation with Machiko reveals something of the influence of others' attitudes on her initial experience:

R: Do you remember your first day here, the very first day?
M: No, I don't remember.
R: You don't remember it?
M: That's right.
R: What did you think about it at first?
M: It was awful! (I hated it!) In the very beginning, before I had even started, my big sister said she hated it. So, that's why...and once we started, it wasn't any fun.

Many children spoke of keeping up their correspondence with friends left behind in Japan, of mailing presents back home, and of waiting anxiously for replies to letters recently sent. Others spoke of boredom from not being able to participate in school work. Kanae had mixed emotions:
In the beginning, when I came, it was really overwhelming and stifling for me, but I did enjoy going to school. And you do wonder, 'Whatever are they saying?' And, I tried saying, 'Can I play with you?' But, you don't even know how to say that right in the very beginning!

The alienation stage encompasses a myriad of confusing impressions, needs, and feelings. Symptoms of culture shock may be acute, and the individual is suddenly aware of the extent of the changes surrounding him. These changes often seem too many and too diverse for the individual to cope with. Basic survival takes on more importance that any need to solve long term problems wrought by the cross-cultural move. This is not to say that the initial phase is entirely negative. It is not. For many, the thrill and novelty of so much change, of so many interesting experiences is both stimulating and exciting. Often the reaction is more an intense mixture, a confused mixture of emotions and moods, than a purely exhilarating or purely overwhelming experience.
The Second Stage of Cross-cultural Transition:

Marginality

A number of characteristics distinguish this stage from that of the initial alienation. For the first time, there is a sense of relief and comfort resulting from the growing familiarity of surroundings and routines. Some children are almost smug about their new setting, as they talk about the progress they have made. This progress is facilitated and enhanced by improved communications, even though little progress has been made with second language acquisition. For a number of these children, communications between teachers and parents via written notes resulted in a sense of appreciation and of mutual support.

As for the language barrier, it is during this second phase of transition, that the child may come to realize that personal efforts indeed have the potential to pay off. Perhaps as a result of this, among the Japanese children there develops at this stage an almost competitive spirit regarding language acquisition as children reinforce their own efforts by the meaningful successes they are experiencing.

Gone are the terrors of not being able to ask where the bathroom is. Gone, too, is the feeling among
the younger children of being lost or abandoned. Still, the enormity of the tasks that lie ahead is just beginning to be felt by the children, and a sense of looking out for oneself sets in, one can observe a variety of different creative techniques developing in the form of coping strategies, strategies designed to meet immediate, pressing, personal needs during the adjustment experience. Attempts were made to cope, for example, with the pain of long hours of boredom by indulging in activities such as paper folding, or doodling or, for some, by hiding Japanese comics inside opened American texts. Though some teachers were critical of such self-entertainment efforts, even these efforts resulted in a sense of mastery and control that did not previously exist.

Most dramatic of all, the concern over physical ailments, headaches, stomachaches, etc., had vanished, and the outward signs of depression and withdrawal seemed, suddenly, to give way to more and more active participation. With this change came a sense of contentment not previously in evidence.

Interestingly, in this particular school, a number of Japanese children seemed to have made the transition to this second stage almost simultaneously, about midway through the second month of school. The
changes were noted by researcher and teachers alike.
This was hailed with great enthusiasm by teachers, who
spoke of the great "progress," and even "breakthrough"
that their new Japanese students were achieving,
emotionally, socially and linguistically. Teachers were
especially delighted with the increase in outgoing
behaviors and the subsequent decrease in docility and
passivity.

Naho During the Second Stage

The difference in Naho's personal style of
relating during the transitional stage of marginality was
her most telltale sign of change. Earlier, it had been
difficult to carry on a conversation with her, due to her
withdrawn, almost fearful stance. To this point, she had
maintained a marked physical distance from the
researcher, and had only been willing to whisper short,
one-syllable utterances.

Suddenly, all this changed. Note the following
entry from the researcher's journal:

I asked her to think back to how she
felt when she first came to school
six weeks ago, and to tell me how she
felt differently now. She said at
the end of August, she felt like she
wanted to go right back to
Japan...that she wanted to return
immediately and she wished she could. Now, she says she doesn’t feel that way and it’s o.k. that she’s not going right back...Her mood seemed markedly brighter than on our previous encounters.

When invited to meet with the researcher, she had smiled and quickly tidied her desk, then had led the way down the hall to the conference room. During the subsequent interviews, Naho was much more lively and active in her role, sat very close to the researcher, leaning even closer and tapping the researcher’s arm for emphasis. Now she was talking much more, and with great animation, offering far more than asked for, often toying playfully with the tape-recorder.

Her teacher no longer referred to her as the "model student," or as docile and submissive. Instead, she mentioned words like "head-strong," "stubborn," and even "pushy." Naho had cried a number of times in class, once when her arm hurt from numerous inoculations, once when someone had made fun of her art, saying, "Why do people in your pictures look Japanese?" Even the crying seemed indicative of her increasing trust and confidence, despite the fact that both times she had been unable to communicate the cause of her distress to her teacher or to anyone in the class.

Naho had developed a number of strategies to help
her pass the time during the many hours of classes that she could not understand. A small window on the classroom door allowed for observing Naho, and since desks were arranged such that her back was to the door, this could be accomplished without her knowing. Her two latest techniques for passing the time included thumbing endlessly through an English-Japanese dictionary, looking for words from her textbooks, and designing intricate little buildings from scraps of paper and fringes off notebook covers. Usually, these were kept out of sight, but sometimes she would work on these sculptures quite openly, placing them on her table top. Creativity and self-entertainment were especially necessary during the full week in October that normal classes were suspended for standardized national testing, when the entire class was engaged in silent, individualized testing for three hour stretches each day.

Her hostility towards the things and people around her disappeared, and her concerns were changing too. Of language, she explained, "If I see a word, sometimes I can say it. But when people talk to me, I can't understand!" She was very conscious of her language difficulties, and seemed determined to take action to remedy this situation. Her tutor reported that she was working very diligently during their small group
sessions.

Her one greatest worry now seemed to focus on the question of how long her father might be assigned to America, and the implications of the length of stay for her future. She mentioned, at several meetings, that the family's plan had been made. If her parents were not sent home by the time she turned eleven, then she would simply be sent back to live with relatives:

N: If we don't go back (in three years), then I will be going back by myself.
R: Really?
N: Or else, see, I'll fall behind in my studies. So I'll have to go back ahead. (We have a relative who) is a teacher, and she's married a teacher too. So, there are two of them. So, that's where I'd go.
R: That is, if your Dad's work here is not finished? How do you feel about that?
N: I think...that when I get bigger, it will really be very lonely.

When asked specifically about her thoughts regarding the American schools, she now expressed ambivalence, and in spite of her complaints, things were looking up:

R: What do you like about American schools?
N: I don't like them much at all. Because I just can't understand anything. I hate it.
R: That must be hard.
N: But I do have friends. So it's a little bit fun.
Actually, Naho was already comprehending some spoken English. Her teacher reported how delighted she was in Naho's progress. Even Naho admitted, "If I am listening carefully, then sometimes I can understand a tiny bit."

The greatest burden she was struggling with appeared to be feelings of inadequacy because she could not yet do her class assignments. She said she felt ashamed about not being able to understand directions, and not being able to do what all the other students were doing. Yet, in complaining, she was expressing a very strong desire to get involved, to do the work the others were doing. She was no longer critical of the "stupid" Americans or the work that she considered far "too easy."

There was also a strong sense of optimism and determination. Naho was learning that trying to learn English brought immediate rewards. She was making friends, and speaking much less about how things were back in Japan. It was as if the focus of her attention had finally shifted from the loss of the past, to the reality of dealing with her immediate situation.

There were still vestiges of insecurity and fear, and a strong desire to conform. This was evidenced by her description of how she was coping during class. For example, she said she liked the songs the class was
learning, and that she had tried to join in, but was frustrated that she still could not read the words. "It's so weird. Sounds like they're saying some kind of crazy mixed up thing in Japanese." Then she explained that in order to appear to be singing, she had taken to mimicking the singing, mouthing the words with her lips. She had whispered her technique to the researcher: "I just move my head and move my lips." In this way, Naho could also avoid drawing attention to her inability to participate. During this stage, Naho wanted to be accepted, and began making active efforts to gain mastery over her new surroundings.

Others During Marginality

The transitional stage of marginality appeared to be somewhat of a peak for many of the newcomers. Throughout the building, the intensity of the early weeks had given way to an atmosphere of determination, hope, hard work, and dramatic progress in terms of language acquisition. The crises of the early weeks, such as Machiko's crying tantrums, had disappeared, and teachers and Japanese children alike experienced a sense of relief. In short, things were settling down into a sense of routine.
Japanese children, more comfortable with their new environment, were taking an active part, at least in some activities, especially during recess and in art and gym. Many had learned the names of friends and teachers, and had memorized enough emergency phrases to alleviate the anxiety of linguistic isolation. Some had even relaxed to the point of pulling pranks, or behaving in a less-than-perfect manner during class.

The language barrier was met, not with despair, but with a dedication and determination that was admirable. The period, though somewhat short lived for some, was marked by a commitment toward learning, and an eagerness to adjust. One boy expressed his enthusiasm for becoming more fluent in English by pointing out what he would have access to once he mastered the language:

There's so much more that I want to remember! Words, that is. See, I, for one, really liked Japanese history and stuff, I'd love to get to know the history over here too.

Needless to say, not everyone had made as much progress as Machiko and Naho by mid October, but enough children had made enough strides as to capture the attention and support of the teaching staff. A number of Japanese mothers were volunteering regularly to give English lessons to small groups, and these mothers, too,
were delighted with the transformations they were witnessing. There was an urgency about their efforts, as reflected in one mother's comments:

When it comes to these kids learning English...Well, if they can just keep going and stick it out until they get used to it, even if they feel they (can't). They progress step by step, and their studies progress, till they get used to it. And, really, no matter what they do, this stage right now is really...crucial.

This mother also suggested that if parents would worry less about what their children might be "falling behind in" academically, and give more support toward helping them to adjust and "get used to" their new life, then, she felt, the children would be much better off. This sensitivity to the adjustment needs was seen by the researcher as a facilitating attitude, an attitude reflective of an appreciation for both the complexity and stressful nature of the transition process.

The Third Stage of Cross-cultural Transition: Accommodation

If the second stage is short in duration and is characterized by relatively positive emotional experiences, rapid learning and rapid change, the third stage, accommodation, is by contrast, far longer in
duration, and is marked less by excitement and optimism than by long-term struggle and frequent discouragement. The rapid learning slows down, although this apparent retardation of progress is probably more a perception than a reality. What actually is happening is slower but steady progressive transition, and cumulative learning, especially where language acquisition is concerned. This stage is also characterized by a growing sense of familiarity with the new culture and a growing sense of identification and belonging.

During this third stage, increasing linguistic fluency occurs and, more significant, the individual is able to participate more and more in all events and activities. This means he or she is less ostracized or isolated and also is attracting less and less attention to himself as being different or as an outsider. There is a marked sense of belonging. Also, there is a sense, in the words of the informants, of having "gotten used to" the new life style, and the new culture. With this comes a sense of familiarity, a feeling of "being at home." There are fewer cultural surprises, and the novelty of dramatic changes, gives way to a comfortable new status quo.

There appeared to be two major sources for frustration or transcultural tension among the Japanese
children during this stage. First, early in the accommodation phase, discouragement arose from the growing realization of the enormity of the task of new learning that still lay ahead of the individual, before bilingualism could be achieved. There was also a sense that, unless some conscious effort was made, the child's native language, Japanese, would begin to suffer. Therefore, besides investing time and energy in the mastery of English, the individual now was required to devote effort where previously none had been required, in order to maintain his fluency in Japanese. The second source of tension resulted from the increasing preoccupation with the eventual return to Japan, and subsequent reentry into the Japanese educational system. Conflicts arose within some families where children resisted efforts directed towards the eventual return, or, in some cases, openly expressed a desire not to return to their homeland at all.

Conflict arising from the anticipation of the eventual return may be unique to this group. It appears to be compounded for some children because of the unspecified length of stay. During the typical three to five year assignment, the young child may very well lose appreciation for the immediacy of the return, a necessary requirement for devoting energies towards that event.
Parents, however, were ever conscious of this problem, and were frustrated at times over their children's inability to appreciate the dilemma, or their unwillingness to cooperate in efforts to prepare for their return. On the other hand, the third stage is also a period of increasing bilingualism and biculturalism, and for most children, it marks the last stage of transition before their return to Japan.

Naho During Accommodation

Naho's teacher marveled at her progress and ability to adapt and change. She noticed that Naho, who had remained either isolated or with other Japanese children during recess at the start of the school year, was, by mid November, very much involved in free play with her American peers. The "stubborn streak" her teacher had spoken of was now directed more towards an expression of independence rather than resistance. Naho was rapidly gaining autonomy over her situation. She was participating more fully in all her school related activities, and had made great strides with her English language skills.

By early January, five months after her arrival in America, Naho was reading at the second grade level,
and was able to complete her comprehension and writing assignments with ease. Her reading teacher was especially pleased with this progress in view of the fact that, prior to her arrival, Naho had never studied any English, and had not yet even been introduced to the Arabic alphabet, much less the sounds that the letters represent.

Even Naho's outward appearance was changing. She was beginning to wear some American clothes, and had begun to try out some different hair styles, evidently influenced by peer trends. When she first arrived, she had often mentioned how much she liked her own clothes and shoes, all of which she had brought with her from Japan. Now, it seemed, she no longer wanted to appear different. Her willingness to dress more like her peers was a further indication of her desire to conform, and her need to be accepted. This contrasted sharply with her attitude earlier, of actively remaining aloof, and of frequently criticizing her new friends, their lifestyle, and their very different ways.

Most striking about Naho at this stage, was her happy, lively, and very outgoing manner. Instead of sitting in silence, or following meekly behind a line of children filing into the lunchroom, she was actively moving about the classroom, skipping in the hallways, and
even asserting herself to the researcher. For example, at the end of the interview sessions, instead of obediently returning to her classroom right away, she would sometimes tease the researcher, or beg to be allowed to stay out of class until time for recess. Earlier, there had been no such signs of initiative or independence.

Her teacher reflected on Naho's interaction with her peers, noting that at first, Naho had been "taken under the wing" of one little girl in particular. The teacher had expressed concern that Naho might be feeling "smothered" by this child's persistent attention. Now, she was making very clear what her own preferences were, even at the risk of offending others. This was seen by the teacher as a very big change. The teacher noticed other benefits from having Naho in the class:

The kids have always been very...they've always wanted to help her. Ever since the first day she came. And I don't think they think of it as being patronizing. They're really interested and they like learning Japanese things. She was writing...like, she took Ryan's name and wrote "Ryan" in Japanese. And so, the kids are benefitting. It's not just that Naho is. The other kids are benefitting from the interaction with her.
During the accommodation stage, Naho's English language tutor (the volunteer Japanese mother) decided to discontinue her small group sessions because Naho, and the others in her group "no longer needed the help". The mother explained that she had "taken them as far as" her skills could help them. She said that, in the beginning, she felt that, even though she considered her English to be inadequate, she had something useful to offer the children. But, she remarked, they had, in the course of a few months, "caught up to" her own ability. She was very pleased with the strides Naho had made and said that at least some of the credit for Naho's successful transition was due to the child's own diligent efforts, her strong desire to learn, and her own determination.

Others During Accommodation

In general, this phase was marked by the same sense of settling-in and return to normalcy for other children as Naho had experienced. Many children had developed innovative ways to increase their English vocabulary through the use of dictionaries. Some were observed generating long lists of new words, usually copied from text books, often totally out of context.
Gone was the isolation and boredom that had dominated the early stages.

During this stage, there was increased participation in after school activities such as sports and private music lessons, and children reported that they were taking an active role in such neighborhood events as 'trick-or-treating' and birthday parties. Some children began expressing their preference for the American way of doing things, and Kanae even remarked that, "I just think it's better over here." She actually was becoming critical of Japanese life, and made her complaints most specific:

They have lots of neat things over here. And, I really think that my friends over here are a lot nicer. In Japan, we're always having arguments a lot. See...Japanese girls are really nasty, you know.

Many of the Japanese children were now fluent enough in English that they were competing in various academic areas with their American peers. Naho won a poster contest, and others were increasingly able to demonstrate their academic talents and capabilities. Many were now excelling - especially in math and spelling. The ability to melt into the crowd or to be identified as an individual rather than simply as one of the Japanese children, increased during this phase.
For some children, this period was marked by an increasing sense of frustration and even resentment over the burden of having to keep up with the Japanese language studies, while trying to absorb English as fast as possible. Shin, for example, fantasized over establishing a full-time Japanese language school so he would not have to worry about keeping up with Japanese homework assignments. For the most part, these complaints were voiced only in passing, and few overt signs of resistance were evidenced.

The Fourth Stage of Cross-cultural Transition: Transculturation

Transculturation may be characterized by biculturalism and bilingualism, and by what may be termed a global perspective, an ability to see life in more global terms than the mere confines of any given culture permit. Transculturation is an outgrowth of the accommodation stage, and is characterized by the individual's transcultural orientation. This means that the individual is not only able to function linguistically in either culture, but that he or she has acquired a mastery of the subtle social and cultural norms that allow for maximum functioning and acceptance, given age, gender, role status, etc., within the context
of either culture. One’s native language skills may, in fact, be diminished with time, but an understanding of the basic cultural patterns for interrelating can make up for any linguistic inadequacies that may develop. On the other hand, fluency in the second language does not necessarily mean that transculturation has been achieved, not is it necessarily a requirement for transculturation. A Japanese child who speaks English fluently, but attracts negative criticism from parents or the Japanese community for behaving in too outgoing and therefore "unJapanese" a manner while in the company of other Japanese, has not achieved transculturation. At the same time, transculturation implies more than simply following the accepted rules of behavior for any given cultural context, more than mere acculturation implies.

Transculturation is further characterized by the ability to follow the social and cultural norms of either culture, with ease and with grace, and to be sensitive to the cultural differences. There is no sense of charade or affectation about behavior, although the different cultural settings may, indeed, dictate very different behavioral patterns. To the outsider, such radical behavioral changes may seem inconsistent. They are not. They are simply indicators of the person’s ability to behave appropriately for the given context. Also, there
is no sense of cultural manipulation regarding different modes of behavior. Rather, the essential element is awareness that differences exist, and with that awareness, a sensitivity and respect for what is required in either context. This transculturalism allows the individual to experience culture in terms of a broader perspective than what may normally be understood. This, in turn, may increase the individual's receptivity to differences, to change, and to norms other than those to which one may be accustomed.

Creativity, cultural sensitivity, an ability to be flexible, an ability to encounter change as a positive, growth-encouraging stimulus, and an accepting emotional climate, all enhance the individual's potential for moving beyond the accommodation stage to the transculturation stage. It should be noted that none of these guarantees that transculturation will occur. Values and beliefs may be internalized, thus allowing for a minimum of ethnic ambiguity within the individual, and the broad-based cultural perspective allows one to experience emotional and social satisfaction, again within the context of either culture. Bilingualism alone does not indicate transculturation, for it is possible that bilingualism could be achieved on a purely technical, cognitive level with little regard for the
rich cultural context of language.

Finally, transculturation is characterized by a strong sense of cultural identity. Cultural dissonance resulting from differences or conflicts is minimal. The individual is aware of and accepting of the existing differences. Furthermore, he or she is able to understand, and therefore transcend those differences. This grows from the understanding of the contexts from which the conflicts may have arisen. The person may be motivated to facilitate cross-cultural understanding for others by lending insight to meaningful contrasts rather than giving in to cultural paralysis wrought by the barriers of misunderstanding. One is no longer locked in by the dictates of either culture, but can function with ease, confidence and independence in either cultural setting. The capacity to derive emotional, social and cultural benefits that both cultures have to offer is maximized at this stage. As the word suggests, transculturation means "going beyond" the boundaries and dictates implicit in the normal culture-bound context. This does not mean that the individual will not experience ethnic ambivalence or encounter frustrations brought on by cultural differences, or for that matter, difficulties characteristic of earlier transition stages. But the person will be able to accommodate changes better,
and to cope with the demands of either culture because of the flexibility and experience gained through living within the various limitations of different cultural contexts.

Examples of Transculturation

By the end of the present study, Naho had entered the accommodation stage, but had not achieved transculturation. In fact, although there may be indicators of this stage after an individual child has been in the cross-cultural transition for as little as nine months or a year, most do not reach this stage in the fullest sense, even if their stay extends well beyond three years. Length of stay abroad is simply not an accurate indicator of this level of transition, and individual differences vary greatly throughout the entire process. Naho, at the close of the study, had made tremendous strides linguistically, emotionally, and socially in adjusting to her new environment, and she was very much engrossed in the task of adapting to her new situation. She was assimilating much from her learning environment, and was determined to continue with the progress she had made. Yet, she was operating within the normal limits of the accommodation stage, and had not yet
experienced the broader based functioning patterns inherent in transculturation.

Of the primary informants in this study, Shin had been in the United States the longest, yet even he had not completely transcended the boundaries or norms defined by the accommodation stage. Again, because the cross-cultural transition is highly individual it would be very difficult to predict one's likelihood of reaching the transculturation phase, even though there appear to be some clear indicators. There were signs, for example, indicating that some of the Japanese children attending the American school were beginning to function on a transcultural level in some areas, and for purposes of clarification, these are cited below.

Mieko, a second grader, had lived in America for a year when the family was transferred, requiring Mieko to leave Lincoln School. Her class farewell party offered an unusual opportunity for the researcher to observe her in a truly transcultural setting. The researcher had also observed this same child seven months previous to this incident, when she had visited the school in the spring of 1982 to negotiate entry with the principal.

Mieko was an unusually bright child, according to her teacher, and within six months of arriving in
America, had been reading at grade level. Her teacher was delighted with Mieko's ability to adapt and adjust, and remarked at how sorry she was to see the child leave. At age seven, Mieko was frequently asked to serve as interpreter for her teacher, as well as for other staff members. This had been particularly helpful since the teacher had recently accepted new Japanese students into her class. Even aside from losing her interpreter, her teacher seemed genuinely sorry to see her go.

Mieko and her mother had prepared Japanese candy treats for the occasion, and Mieko had learned a Japanese dance to present to the class, "to show her appreciation and gratitude", as her mother had explained. During the preparation for the party, the class was engaged in regular classroom activities. Mieko was a natural leader among her peers, and interacted with ease and an obvious sense of belonging, helping one neighbor with a worksheet, giving another advice on how to check workbook answers from the teacher's manual. She was also very well liked as her teacher remarked. As one girl explained, she had not been able to sleep well the night before, because she was "so sad" about Mieko's impending departure. Someone else had brought a going away gift, and still another child asked about how he could contact Mieko after her move. The display of affection was warm
and sincere.

When the time came for her dance, Mieko changed into her formal kimino with her mother’s assistance. As she stepped to the front of the classroom and turned on her cassette tape recording accompaniment, a hush fell over the class. They were seeing Mieko, as Japanese, in a way they had never seen her before. It was as if she had suddenly become Japanese for the first time. Her gestures were simple and her posture reflective of her ability to internalize some of the more subtle aspects of culture.

Mieko’s mother remarked that she felt the child’s adjustment had been greatly facilitated by her very supportive teacher, and that the family had been very happy to be assigned to the United States, because they valued the opportunity to learn first hand about how other people live. She said she felt that this benefit far outweighed any negative aspects that the move might have brought to their lives. She said that her daughter liked living abroad, and valued the friends she had made. Her mother was pleased with her successes, both in school and in outside activities.

Mieko’s classroom teacher said that the family had been very supportive of the school’s efforts, that Mieko’s mother was a volunteer tutor for newly arrived
Japanese children, and that there seemed to be ideal communications between the parents and herself. She said that they had had some difficulties understanding one another, but that these difficulties had not stopped the family from coming into the classroom and keeping in close contact with the teacher. Her teacher had accommodated other Japanese children and felt that Mieko’s ability to be creative and flexible had greatly enhanced her rapid adjustment. She said the child was clearly above average in intelligence, and that she had had the child tested, confirming this suspicion. She also had noticed Mieko’s ability to be at ease in either cultural context.

Another child who had shown signs of transculturation, was another fourth grade boy, Shigeru, whose family had been one of the original Japanese families to reside in the Kelley school district. Although the boy had been placed one grade below grade level in the Japanese Language School, his Japanese teacher said that all of his school work, and his Japanese writing in particular, was excellent for that grade level placement. She explained that it was unusual to find children retaining their writing skills at such a high level after being in the United States for as long as Shigeru had been, over three years. His English was
fluent, and his teachers reported that, at least in the American school, Shigeru was "all boy", a "real pistol". He was active in extra-curricular activities, loved sports, and was kept very busy with the demands of both his schools. His mother reported that he was more cooperative about devoting time and energies to studies than his older brother and that she was very pleased with his bilingualism and biculturalism. She explained that, unlike some children she knew, Shigeru had been able to adjust, but that he was "still Japanese".

**Summary**

Four stages in the cross-cultural transition process experienced by Japanese overseas children were identified. They are alienation, marginality, accommodation and transculturation. This conceptual model is useful for understanding the dynamics of the transition experienced by this unique population. Stages may vary greatly in characteristics and duration among individuals, and may also overlap to a large degree. They are not necessarily experienced in sequential order. Because the final stage defined as transculturation represents a higher level of functioning it is not
surprising that it occurs with much less frequency than
the other stages and may require a longer residence
abroad than many of the children in this study
experienced. The notion of a time-frame for each of the
stages is tentative and must be recognized as such.
Although suggested time-frames are indicated on the chart
of characteristics as they emerged in this particular
study, they may not hold true for all Japanese overseas
children.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Alienation</th>
<th>Marginality</th>
<th>Accommodation</th>
<th>Transculturation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Physical</strong></td>
<td>Symptoms of culture shock and &quot;jet lag&quot;. Fatigue and exhaustion. Sleep disturbances, appetite disorders, and even illness may occur.</td>
<td>Physical symptoms resulting from radical change are less intense and less frequent.</td>
<td>Adjustment symptoms disappear. Well-being restored.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Social</strong></td>
<td>Cultural curiosity. Docility, withdrawal from interpersonal interaction. Isolation frequently interpreted as rejection.</td>
<td>Desire to establish relationships. Interpersonal communication increases. Cross-cultural successes boost social confidence.</td>
<td>Much interaction and increasing ability to participate actively.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Greatest Needs</strong></td>
<td>Physical, psychological, emotional.</td>
<td>Linguistic, social, psychological and emotional.</td>
<td>Linguistic and social.</td>
</tr>
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<tr>
<td>MARGINALITY</td>
<td>Language barrier and language frustrations paramount. Energies directed towards gaining mastery over environment. Strong focus on life and relationships left behind. Problems less diffused. Emotional turmoil still frequent, but counterbalanced by cross-cultural successes. Marked by rapid learning. Occurs 1-3 months.</td>
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<tr>
<td>ACCOMMODATION</td>
<td>Sense of settling in, identification, and belonging dominate. Linguistic progress slows but becomes cumulative. Reassurance from familiarity and growing predictability of surroundings. Decreasing ethnic ambiguity. Less turmoil regarding eventual return. May occur after 6 months.</td>
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<tr>
<td>TRANSCULTURATION</td>
<td>Bilingualism, biculturalism and global perspective evident. Emotional, social and cultural flexibility. Strong bicultural identification and sense of independence. Internalization of cultural values and norms. Sense of cultural fulfillment derived from either cultural setting. May begin after 9 months.</td>
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* Time frames may vary greatly among individuals.
SECTION THREE

Introduction

In this section, two emergent themes are examined. First, an analysis of perceptions of Japanese children regarding their American schooling experiences is presented. This is followed by an analysis of the major problems in communication which emerged during the study. Problems regarding communication existed on many levels and in many cases were identified as the most impeding factors to the cross-cultural adjustment of the Japanese children. These problems were categorized and analyzed from a number of varying perspectives so as to portray most accurately, the complexity of their nature and impact.

CHILDREN’S PERCEPTION

Japanese children interviewed for the study had many distinct impressions and feelings about their experiences in the American elementary school they attended. In exploring these experiences, often the children would base their judgments or opinions on a comparative perspective. That is, they would compare their American schooling experiences with those they recalled from attending schools in Japan, prior to coming
to America. What emerges from this comparative viewpoint is information regarding both experience in the American system and experience in the Japanese system. Sometimes clouding these two experiences and sometimes clarifying them is the added dimension drawn from experiences in the Japanese Language School of Columbus. In a sense, the Japanese Language School served as a kind of cultural hybrid for these children, sometimes seeming to be closer to the Japanese educational reality, and at other times closer to the American educational reality, yet always unique in and of itself.

Many of the children easily recognized the Japanese Language School as distinct and different from schools in Japan, but sometimes in conversation, especially with the younger children, distinction became vague and unclear between the two. At times the researcher had to check to make sure which "Japanese school" was being referred to in the discussion. For purposes of describing the Japanese overseas children's perceptions of their comparative schooling experiences, any reference to "Japanese schools" in this section will refer to Japanese schools in Japan, unless specifically indicated.
Class Size

Both Japanese parents and children were impressed with how small the classes were in the American school, as compared to the average class size for elementary classrooms in Japan. A number of parents commented on this in their open-ended responses in the parent questionnaire. During interviewing several children remarked that their first reaction to American schooling was surprise at the spaciousness and "empty appearance" of large rooms that all held so few students. Tetsuo said he felt "lonely" in a class with only twenty-two students. He said the nice thing about the "cramped" classes back in Japan was that there he had enjoyed the company of so many good friends.

Class Subjects

Class subjects in the American school that the children generally preferred included mathematics, physical education, and art. These three areas were also areas where the overseas newcomers were able to participate most fully, especially at the beginning of their stay in America. Not surprisingly, these subjects emerged as favorites among the Japanese children. In these areas, children could participate, at least at some
rudimentary level, even without command of English, and for many these classes broke the boredom of sitting through hours of lessons that the children could neither understand nor participate in. When asked to rank favorite class periods, one child offered, "recess" and "lunch" as first choices, followed by "art" and "gym" and "math." Even Shin, who had been in the American school from the end of kindergarten through the fourth grade, said that the subjects that had gotten easier for him recently were "math...and gym...(and) art," whereas "reading (was) hard. And English spelling too."

The subjects dreaded most were all subjects that required much language usage: social studies, science, language arts and reading. On the other hand, many of these children found that they were able to excel where rote memorization was required. For example, soon after the start of the school year, many teachers reported their Japanese students were getting 100% on spelling quizzes, even though, in most cases, the youngsters had little or no understanding of the meanings of the vocabulary they were committing to memory.

Mathematics in America

Naho, in the fourth grade, complained that, while she could do the American math, she really felt it was
"far too easy" and "boring." She said that "all they were doing in math class was simple addition and subtraction," and that they were "not doing anything very interesting." She felt that the material was "terribly easy" when compared to the mathematics she had been doing back in Japan.

Naho's impression of the math level was typical of what the Japanese children were experiencing. Kanae, even though she was not keeping up in her math classes, agreed with this viewpoint saying, "The math is really easy...I mean, we had already done multiplication (back in Japan). Then you just do the reverse of that stuff for division. It's like this: two divisors into three digit numbers." She also added, "The math I had for homework was really easy. I would only take a minute to do it."

Tetsuo, too, could not get over how much easier the mathematics classes were in America. He said, "See, Japan is way ahead when it comes to math calculations...So that's why math (in the American school) is so easy. It's incredibly hard in Japan."

This notion seemed to be reinforced for the children by the teaching staff, who placed all of the Japanese fourth graders in the "top math group." In fact, nearly every Japanese child in the building was in a "top math group."
Those who were not stood out as seeming almost not Japanese to the staff. This included two brothers who eventually returned to Japan before the year was out because of their inability to progress at all. They became somewhat of a topic of conversation among the teachers who repeatedly commented on how "unusual" it seemed to have "slow learners" among Japanese students. Several teachers commented to the researcher about how well prepared and even above grade level the Japanese children seemed to be in their mathematics. It appeared that the reality of better math preparation had led to very definite stereotyping.

Formal Structure

Japanese children found less in the way of formal structure in the American school system than in the Japanese system. They pointed to the lack of bells at regular intervals and the apparent lack of rigid weekly schedules they were so accustomed to while in Japan as indicative of this. Some viewed the difference as a welcome relief, while others were critical of the more loosely structured day. When asked to compare American schools with Japanese schools, one child observed,
They are not entirely different, but, like, in the Japanese school, say like for language, they have very definite starting and cut off times. But here, it's like they just dawdle messily, without any real cut offs (stopping points), and I never know what (textbook) I'm supposed to be getting out next.

Both Tetsuo and Kanae spoke of the lack, in the American school, of regular weekly assemblies, a hallmark of the routine they were used to in Japan. Kanae also observed that, whereas in America one frequently saw films right in one's own classroom, in Japan these were reserved solely for special annual assemblies. Both of these children noticed the lack of weekly assembly talks. Assemblies are frequently the means for fulfilling the mandate for moral education in Japan, and often take the form of a lecture by the principal or some other school official. Here, the lack of such gatherings was viewed as one example of the differences in structure between the two systems.

Discipline and Rules

Discipline in the American school was viewed by Japanese children as considerably less harsh than in Japan. Machiko complained about how scary it was when her teacher, back in Japan, would get angry and would
throw erasers at the offender. She seemed quite pleased with her American teacher’s preference for putting an offender’s name on the board as punishment, or simply giving a verbal correction:

R: (In Japan) the erasers...get thrown at the kids?
M: That’s right! She didn’t throw them at me, but some of the boys got it because they were noisy when she was trying to give an explanation.
R: ...so they don’t throw erasers here, huh? So what do the teachers do when they get mad? The American teachers.
M: They say, "Be quiet!"

Shin reflected on discipline in this manner:

R: Which (system) do you think is more strict?
S: Japan.
R: Even more strict than Mrs. Blaire?
S: Yeah!
R: ...you were talking about spanking in Japan...You finish lunch and then you clean up, and then what?
S: Then you clean the halls. And like...you have to use your hands, you have to wax the floors and everything. And you really use your palms like that. But if you do it with your feet, the teacher comes up, and if he sees ya, he tells you to turn around. And he says, "Close your eyes." And he spanks you there. (Shin slaps his thighs.) Sometimes when we forget our homework, he spanks your palms and stuff like that.

Even though Shin’s art teacher kept a paddle
displayed prominently above the chalkboard, and had threatened to use it on occasion, the presence of corporal punishment in the American school seemed much less worrisome to him.

When asked to reflect on the issue of discipline in the American schooling system, Tetso summarized the situation thusly: "Japanese education is very strict. If you just so much as talk during class, they have a stick...you get slapped. Or else, sometimes you get sent out into the hallways." Compared to these tactics, Tetsuo thought that the discipline in the American school afforded a life of relative safety and comfort.

Actually, Tetsuo had gotten into trouble in the American school, for bringing in a slingshot. His father was given a note from the teacher, and both father and son had come in to apologize to the classroom teacher the next day. The father, bowing very low, had apologized profusely, assuring the teacher that his son would never cause such a disturbance again. Later, Tetsuo commented that in Japan he was never allowed to bring anything in the way of personal toys to school. Since he had seen his American peers bringing in various toys, he had thought the slingshot would be alright. Machiko was also pleased that here in America one could bring in toys from home, and she reported, much to her delight, that on a
number of occasions she had brought in a favorite stuffed
animal from home.

Kanae was amazed one could bring roller skates in
to school. She complained that she was not allowed to
skate in Japan because "it was so crowded" and therefore
"dangerous to skate anywhere except at a roller rink."
She said that "kids weren't allowed to skate" in Japan,
and that there was a rule against it. She had cited this
as what she considered to be one of many restrictions
placed on children in Japan, restrictions which she said
she really hated.

Even lunch time provided room for comparisons,
and again, the American experience appeared less rigid
and fixed as compared with the Japanese:

R: So, how do you find the American
lunches?
T: They have real good things!...Pizza, and (things) like that. Now, when
you go to Japan, you don't pay
everyday, but (rather) the price is
already included (in tuition). So
then, everyone has lunch...Well, in
Japan, well see, the Japanese have
likes and dislikes...a lot of them.
But still, everyone has to eat it.
R: So, you mean, when you're in school,
everyone has to eat it all?
T: Yes.
R: Even if you hate it?
T: Yes!
In his new American school, Tetsuo enjoyed knowing the menu ahead of time, and deciding when he would carry a lunch from home, and when he would buy school lunch. This was, as Tetsuo saw it, a very desirable feature of the American system.

**Homework**

Japanese overseas children found themselves deluged with large quantities of correspondence homework assignments and Japanese Language School homework, but for the most part, they were surprised and pleased that the American school they were attending required very little in the form of outside homework. Evidence of this is drawn from comments like the following:

R: And what about homework?
N: We don't have any! But if you don't get done with your math, then that becomes homework.

This same child concluded that "when you don't have any homework, you have lots of time to play!"

Among the Japanese families, there was a consensus regarding the priority of homework assignments. Both parents and children reported that when children had homework for the American school and the Japanese Language School or correspondence schooling, then the
homework for the American school had to be completed first. This was true even if it meant not completing an assignment on time for the Japanese school. Even the Japanese Language School teacher thought this was as it should be, since the children were, after all, "living in America."

Some children spoke as if they had anticipated that there would be little or no demands made of them in terms of homework once they got to school in America. Tetsuo and Shin made the following observations:

R: And (tell me about the) homework (in Japan).
T: Yes, there's really a lot.
R: And here?
S: There's not that much! (Both boys giggle.) That's why they all said, you know, when you get to America, "it's really fun." You don't have any studies!

The impression of very little or no homework appears to be exaggerated by the fact that these children had to cope with so many hours of homework for their correspondence schooling and for the Japanese Language School. Yet, even without the added dimension provided by these outside homework requirements, the children felt that their American school demanded very little homework most of the time.
Conclusions

Japanese children expressed many impressions regarding their perceptions relating to life in an American school. There were many individual idiosyncrasies. Yet even regarding children's perceptions, analysis revealed several distinctive, recurring themes. These themes centered on physical differences, organizational differences, academic differences, and differences regarding policy implementation such as issues regarding discipline. Most of these themes are intimately related to and influenced by cultural norms. Furthermore, certain concepts were influenced as much by expectation as experience, thus compounding the task of illuminating and identifying them.

PROBLEMS IN COMMUNICATION

A persistent and recurring theme emerging from the research data centered around problems in communication. There was much evidence of communication gaps, or breakdowns and misunderstandings, where better rapport and more open channels of communication might have eased tensions, or eliminated conflicts and anxieties altogether. These instances occurred at many
levels, some more obvious than others. Often, where obvious breaks in communication occurred, there also were indicators of other less obvious, underlying communication gaps leading to difficulties, and sometimes to crises level in nature. This section will present an analysis of several significant areas where problems in communication occurred. It will not attempt to identify every area where problems in communications arose, but will focus on those most frequently occurring or most significant problem areas. Specifically, the following areas will be examined:

Problems in communications:

3. Between school administration and teaching staff.
4. Between school administration and the Japanese employee's company.

Although much interconnectedness existed between and among the above mentioned areas, each category will be identified separately. In many cases, the interrelationship between categories becomes explicit through a careful examination of the various component factors. This is accomplished in the following section where a number of incidents and events relating to these issues are presented.
Identifying Communication Problems

The case study of young Machiko clearly illustrates an obvious example of a lack of communication on a number of levels occurring. This child was reacting to her new environment by persistent crying. Machiko, a first grader in Japan, had initially been placed in the second grade. Though the language barrier appeared as the focal point for frustration, especially in the first few weeks of school, it was a lack of communication that delayed resolution of the initial adjustment crisis. Eventually, active and aggressive efforts to communicate brought about changes that greatly facilitated Machiko's transition. For Machiko, the socially unacceptable acting-out behavior was a highly effective means of communicating. She may not have been able to spell out her needs, but she did succeed in communicating, specifically, that she was experiencing distress and was unable to cope with the situation as it was.

This incident also points to another aspect of the general problem of communicating. There was frequently a lack of adequate information provided for the school regarding incoming Japanese students. Information that was available was provided by a representative from the Japanese company, or the Japanese...
parent, usually the father registering a child prior to the child's arrival. Standard registration forms were used by the school for all incoming Japanese children. From this documentation it was often unclear just what educational level the child had completed prior to arrival in America, and equally unclear what grade placement was being requested. This points to a lack on the part of the school administration, of appropriate means to request sufficient and more precise information so as to adequately assess for each child's grade placement.

In another classroom, a similar debate arose, over the appropriateness of the child's grade placement. On the very first day of the school year, the researcher met with the parents of Tamashiro, a little boy whose name had inadvertently been placed on the class rosters outside of both the first and second grade classrooms. The parents, seeing their son's name on both class lists, requested that the child be allowed to remain in the second grade, rather than be placed in the first grade. With the researcher acting as interpreter, they approached the principal, and asked if Tamashiro could stay in the second grade. The principal willingly obliged, commenting later that "if the parents are happy, my teachers will be happy." The boy's parents were
delighted with this decision.

The child remained in the second grade, but later, the classroom teacher expressed anger at learning that the child had only completed three months of the first grade in Japan. Besides, she felt that his age alone should have dictated placement in the first grade rather than second. She said that she resented the Japanese parents' "pushing" their children, and felt that they were concerned only about having their children excel in areas such as mathematics. She, on the other hand, said she was more concerned about the "whole child," the overall development of the child, emotionally and socially as well as academically and that this obviously was not what Japanese parents were concerned about. Although the teacher complained to the researcher about what she felt was an inappropriate placement, she did not formally request that a move be made, and the child remained in her room. By mid year, she seemed pleased with Tamashiro's progress, and no longer voiced any complaint about the placement. This incident points to a lack of communication between staff, in this case the classroom teacher and the principal. It also is indicative of the lack of communication between teacher and parents regarding the child's education and their respective attitudes and concerns regarding this issue.
What the parents did not tell either the principal or the teacher, was that they had heard that, generally speaking, academic standards in American elementary schools were "much lower" than Japanese schools and that they had been told that the American first grade was "much more like kindergarten" in Japan than first grade. They told the researcher that they were concerned that, if placed in the first grade, Tamashiro would just be wasting his time and would fall behind his peers in Japan. They also confided that they felt the language barrier would be no less challenging if the child were in the second grade, and that therefore it would be to his advantage to start out in an academically more challenging environment.

Neither Tamashiro's parents nor his new American teacher was aware of one another's concerns. In fact, this incident points not only to a barrier in communications, but also, perhaps more fundamentally, to a cultural barrier centering on educational values, beliefs and expectations.

Another incident illustrating a gap in communications between teachers and parents is seen in the case study of Shin. Recall that Shin was considered bilingual by his teachers, who assumed he understood English as well as his American peers since he spoke
without a trace of a foreign accent. During the course of the school year, Shin's teachers became increasingly dissatisfied with his efforts in the classroom. At one point, one of his teachers asked the researcher to visit with Shin's mother to try to determine the cause for his misbehavior and apparent lack of motivation. Yet, to the very end of the school year, never was any formal complaint mentioned to the mother. On the contrary, she reported to the researcher that she had had a positive report from Shin's teachers during the regularly scheduled parent-teacher conference. Even Shin's final report card for the year gave no mention of any problems. In fact, his average for the year was well over a "B+".

In this case, it appears that there was a sharp discrepancy between what teachers really felt concerning Shin's performance in school, and what they were willing to share with his mother. Interestingly, though nothing was ever made explicit, the mother said that she did not trust the grades Shin had been assigned. She said she suspected that the teachers "were rather soft" when it came to grading. She said she just could not be sure if they accurately reflected how Shin was doing. She also said that in Japan, teachers could not make allowances for individual abilities when it came to grading as she said she suspected was happening in the American school.
The school tended to give some support to a rather non-committal approach to pupil evaluation where Japanese students were concerned. During the first quarter, teachers were instructed to leave blank, or to assign an "S" for "satisfactory" grades for academic subjects. Letter grades could be assigned for such subjects as art and gym where, it was assumed, even the newcomers could participate. Prior to this decision, it was rumored that an unsuspecting teacher in another school district, had assigned her new Japanese student "F's" for all those subjects that he had been unable to manage. This, the rumor reported, had resulted in actual suicide threats, and possibly even an attempt, by the devastated Japanese child. Because of this rumor and the very real concern it generated, consensus dictated that teachers should exercise great caution in assigning any sort of formal evaluation to the Japanese children in attendance. Concern among teachers, over the question of giving grades to the Japanese children, was very real.

Whether or not Shin's teachers were directly influenced in their grading policies by such stories remains elusive. What is certain is that teachers did express concern over evaluating their Japanese students, and that at least initially, no explanation of the system they were following was offered to Japanese parents. One
teacher complained that a distraught Japanese parent had returned her child's grade card. The mother, pointing questioningly at the blank spaces after several subjects, had pleaded with the teacher to give their son a letter grade. The Japanese mother was accompanied by a neighbor who happened to be an educator. The neighbor complained bitterly about how unfair she felt it was for this teacher to assign no letter grades when, in fact, the child had been working so very hard. The teacher felt frustrated that the parent was not satisfied with the report card, and felt that too much was being expected of the child who had just recently arrived in America. She also said she felt hurt by the other educator's criticism. She said she was only carrying out the principal's directives, and had felt that the policy seemed both reasonable and compassionate.

Some problems in communications between teachers and Japanese parents seemed more obvious than others. The following incident, drawn from research notes, is illustrative of the more hidden nature of some of the communication gaps.

The following incident also shows the complexity and interactive nature of a number of problems in communication. In November, Mrs. Drummel, a third grade teacher, approached the researcher and said she "was
having trouble with Yuriko," and wondered if the researcher could meet with the child to try to determine the nature of the problem. Yuriko, the teacher explained, "was so eager in the beginning..." and seemed so enthusiastic "and willing to work hard" and "definitely had an edge over the other (two Japanese) girls" in her class. This was reportedly due to the fact that Yuriko" had arrived in June and had English lessons" during the summer. In other words, she had a headstart on the newcomers in her class. Now, the teacher complained, she "appeared to have given up," and was "the only one in the group not doing her work." Yuriko was not completing her class assignments and was sitting at her desk folding Japanese origami figures to entertain herself. She had also reportedly gotten into a fight with one of the other children during the past week and had been crying on a number of occasions since then. Although Mrs. Drummel had sent a note home to Yuriko's mother instructing Yuriko to return it to school, the note had not been returned.

Yuriko was sent from the classroom by Mrs. Drummel to talk with the researcher. When asked how things were going in school, "she grinned and hung her head downward." Yuriko said that school was "fun," but that she hadn't been working very hard lately. When
asked about the teacher's note, "she quickly (replied) that she would bring 'the answer' from her mother the next day." When told an answer was not needed, she appeared confused, and admitted she was wondering what the note actually said. She apparently had not taken the note home because she was worried about its contents. She then explained that "school was hard," that she had been "lazy," and that "from now on (she) would try much harder." Yuriko expressed both shame and anxiety over the situation, and seemed eager to find out how her teacher felt.

Just as the researcher was returning Yuriko to her classroom where she was met at the door by Mrs. Drummel, Yuriko's mother approached and said she wanted to speak with Mrs. Drummel. Mrs. Drummel hurriedly asked the researcher to interpret, and welcomed Yuriko's mother. She said she, too, had wanted to talk to the mother. But as the conversation began, Yuriko's mother was overcome with tears, and began apologizing "for (causing) trouble," bowing deeply and humbly to the teacher. The teacher, responding to the mother's distress, suggested the researcher talk with the mother in the conference room. The researcher was to report back later to the teacher, who had to return to her waiting class. The encounter was a painful one for
mother and teacher, as they struggled to communicate their concerns. Never had the languaged barrier seemed more intrusive.

Yuriko's mother went willingly and eagerly with the researcher to the privacy of the conference room. The conference revealed that Yuriko's mother had been acutely aware of recent changes in her daughter, and was especially concerned because the child's mood had become "so gloomy." She said that that very morning, she had received a phone call from the Japanese mother who was tutoring her daughter at school. The woman had called to express concern because she noticed that Yuriko had changed from "being very energetic and trying so hard in the...beginning," to "acting unconcerned and (even) depressed lately." Her mother confided that Yuriko seemed alright "when she was playing with her friends," but that she just did not seem "enthused about school any more." The mother confided that she was distraught over her daughter's behavior.

Yuriko's mother speculated that perhaps Yuriko had been "feeling pressure." Lately the newcomers had caught up with her in their ability to cope with English. She said she knew her daughter had "definitely (been) ahead of the others in the beginning." Now, suddenly, she seemed to be feeling overwhelmed. When asked if
Yuriko had resisted going to school, her mother replied that she "had not asked to stay home," but that "it (was) almost that bad!" She added that she thought since they had been in the United States for nearly six months, that if Yuriko were to experience any sort of "adjustment shock," it surely would have occurred long before November.

Yuriko's mother seemed relieved to hear that the researcher herself had experienced a similar delayed reaction upon returning to Japan for the second time to reside at age sixteen. When the researcher made mention of her own personal experience, the mother confided that the whole move had indeed been quite overwhelming to her, and she concluded that it was "really difficult for the adults as well as the children." At this, she began to cry once more, and admitted that perhaps this was not so late for her daughter to be experiencing the impact of moving to America or so unusual for the child to be suffering so openly.

Yuriko's mother asked the researcher to translate the teacher's note, which she had found, tucked away, in her daughter's desk. She asked for each line to be read more than once, stopping now and then to discuss what the teacher had written and asking if there were any other "hidden" meanings. She said she was grateful that the
teacher had been concerned and had been aware of the
trouble her daughter was having, and she was determined
to "sit down and talk things out" with the child when she
got home. By the end of the conference, the mother said
that she was feeling much better.

This incident illustrates a gap in communications
between home and school on a more subtle level. In this
case, Yuriko's classroom teacher, her tutor, and her own
mother had all noticed a marked change in her behavior
and performance, but were isolated in their concern until
the encounter at school. Even the teacher's efforts to
reach the mother had been thwarted by a language barrier
that compounded the communication barrier. Yuriko, not
knowing the contents of the letter, had been afraid to
deliver the letter to her parents.

The meeting at school resulted in an opportunity
for sharing of concerns which in turn, lead to a sense of
mutual support and understanding. The mother said at the
end of the conference that she felt greatly relieved,
even though nothing had really been "solved." The
teacher reported the following week that Yuriko seemed to
be doing better, had stopped playing with paper and
comics during class, and was once again trying to do her
school work. Yuriko too, told the researcher that
"things were going much better" for her at school.
Conclusions

The above mentioned incidents, Machiko’s crisis, the question of the grading policy, the issue over Tamashiro’s placement, Shin’s mother’s concerns, and Yuriko’s transition problems, are all indicative of the enormous complexity of the issues regarding communication problems evidenced in the study. They indicate in isolated ways, problems that existed on every level of interaction within the school. They present evidence of gaps or breakdowns in communication between teachers and parents, between parents and children, between administration and teaching staff, between teachers and children, and even between the school system and the Japanese employee’s company. They also indicate how attempts to rectify problems sometimes failed or why they fell short of effecting satisfactory solutions at times. Most importantly, they show how complex, interrelated and even compounding such problems can be. The above mentioned incidents are representative of many similar communication problems that existed within the context of the situation, and can help to illuminate a number of potential remedies, simply by making explicit problems that are subtle, obscure, or hidden in nature.
Summary

In this chapter, three sections have been presented. In the first section, three contrasting case studies were presented, along with an analysis of their major emergent themes. The second section dealt with a model for conceptualizing the four stages of the cross-cultural transition process identified by the researcher. In the final section, an analysis was presented of Japanese overseas children's perceptions of their experiences of American schooling, and an analysis of the major problems in communication that emerged.
Notes for Chapter 5


2. Ibid., p. 7.

3. Ibid., p. 6.
SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS, AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Summary

This study has attempted to examine the experiences and perceptions of Japanese overseas elementary children attending an American school. The population comprised Japanese children of Honda of America, Incorporated, employees residing temporarily in the United States. The research site represented a rapidly expanding, relatively affluent suburban school district that had virtually no experience accommodating any minority group prior to the arrival of the Japanese student population. The study focused on the following questions:

1. How do Japanese elementary school children attending Lincoln Elementary School perceive their American schooling experience?

2. What are the stages of their cross-cultural transition?

3. What factors facilitate the cross-cultural adjustment of the Japanese children?
4. What factors impede the Japanese children's cross-cultural educational adjustment?

A naturalistic orientation was adopted for formulating and executing methodological decisions. Data collection included repeated elite interviewing in Japanese of selected informants during the course of an entire school year. Also included were extensive field observations, home visits to interview Japanese parents, and a written parent questionnaire sent to all Japanese parents of students attending Lincoln School. The researcher assumed the role of participant-observer for purposes of the study. The primary method of qualitative data analysis was an adaptation of Glaser's constant comparative method of qualitative data analysis.

Conclusions

From the study of perceptions and experiences of Japanese overseas children attending an American elementary school, the following propositions emerged. These represent not universally applicable generalizations, but rather, theoretically formulated propositions that are grounded in the findings of the study in question.
Proposition 1

Japanese overseas children attending an American elementary school experience unique and identifiable stages in the process of their cross-cultural transition.

Authors such as Sill, Adler, Brislin and Lee suggest that the nature, purpose, and duration of the overseas stay will greatly affect the cross-cultural transition experienced by the individual. The researcher has extended the existing literature regarding the cross-cultural transition process by identifying cross-cultural stages of transition unique to the population and circumstance of Japanese overseas children attending an American school for a time-limited period.

The stages identified in the course of this study represent tentative and overlapping phases. They are tentative because not every child in the given context will experience every stage, nor will the stages necessarily occur sequentially or separately from one another. At times, many of the children experienced transitions, changes, or breakthroughs simultaneously, thus suggesting identifiable time-frames for certain stages. However, it would be too reductionistic to conclude that the time-frames experienced were finite or could be universally applied. On the other hand, the
conclusion that the transition stages may indeed be
time-bound may serve to enable educators and other
support professionals to meet more adequately the
changing needs of Japanese overseas children. At each of
the four stages there is potential for personal growth as
well as for degeneration. Several sub-propositions are
directly related to the first theoretical proposition.
These are presented below.

Sub-proposition 1-a
Japanese overseas children experience alienation as the
initial stage in the cross-cultural transition.

The first stage in the process of cross-cultural
transition experienced by Japanese overseas children is
called alienation. During this stage the child may
experience symptoms of culture shock, fatigue, exhaustion
and even illness. Positive emotional responses may also
abound. Feelings of excitement, exhilaration and delight
in the myriad of new and different experiences are
common. Fears and worries that seem exaggerated,
irrational or overwhelming are also common. A grief
reaction to the loss of a known way of life frequently
occurs. Alienation, as defined in this study, begins
with the arrival in America and typically may last for
about a month. Encountering the new and radically different cultural system is accompanied by a loss of all the predictable and familiar cultural clues and cues of the life style left behind. Because these occur simultaneously the child may experience both euphoria and confusion or bewilderment. In many cases, the stage of alienation is both short-lived and very intense.

**Sub-proposition 1-b**

Japanese overseas children experience marginality in the second phase of the cross-cultural transition process.

The second stage in the cross-cultural transition process experienced by Japanese overseas children attending an American elementary school is called marginality. During this stage there is a shift in focus from preoccupation with the present, new culture, to a preoccupation with the life and cultural experience that has been left behind. The insecurity brought on by rapid and radical change of surroundings can lead to an emotional clinging to ways of life and memories of people and places left behind, and feelings of grief and loss may be intense. The impact of the language barrier is felt, and may lead to the directing of enormous effort and energy towards alleviation of linguistic isolation,
and feelings of ethnic ambiguity may arise. There may be tremendous learning spurts and a progressive sense of mastery over the new environment. Problems encountered during this stage seem less overwhelming since there is a growing capacity for identifying and overcoming them. This stage may begin early after arrival and may continue for several months. Culture shock related symptoms experienced during alienation may still occur, but are generally less often and less intense.

Sub-proposition 1-c

Japanese overseas children experience accommodation in the third stage of the cross-cultural transition process.

The third stage of cross-cultural transition experienced by Japanese overseas children is called accommodation. This stage is best characterized as a period of settling down, and settling in to the new country, the new culture and the new way of life. Language learning slows but remains cumulative. There is a growing sense of belonging and identification with the new cultural context. Life takes on a sense of routine and familiarity, and this provides a new sense of security not experienced earlier. The sense of loss and
confusion is replaced by feelings of satisfaction and fulfillment derived from increasing participation in all aspects of school life.

Second language acquisition may progress to adequate levels of bilingualism enabling the child to function in both English and Japanese, and feelings of ethnic and identity confusion decrease. Crises relating to the accommodation stage may center upon concerns regarding the eventual return to Japan. This stage is generally the longest in duration and is frequently experienced as the last stage of the transition process before returning to Japan. It may begin to emerge after six to nine months and can continue for months or even years.

Sub-proposition 1-d

Some Japanese overseas children experience transculturation in the final stage of the cross-cultural transition process.

The fourth stage of cross-cultural transition experienced by some Japanese overseas children and identified in this study is called transculturation. This may be characterized by bilingualism and biculturalism that transcends the limitations of either
the Japanese or the American cultural context. There is
growing evidence of a global perspective which, as M.
Eugene Gilliom suggests "recognizes that we are all
members of a single species, enriched by diversity."
Gilliom suggests that this perspective affords the
individual "...recognition and acceptance of the fact
that there are many ways of being human." 1

Transculturation represents a higher level of
cognitive functioning and is not determined merely by
length of stay. It implies strong transcultural
identification enabling the individual to move flexibly
in and out of the different cultural settings of home and
school. Typically, the internalization of cultural
values and norms allows for cultural conflicts to become
challenges rather than crises. Because of this, the
individual is both emotionally and socially resilient.

Transculturation enables one to transcend or go
beyond the limitations of experiential contexts which are
culture bound. A sense of autonomy and fulfillment
result from the ability to function competently and
independently in either cultural context. Although some
signs of transculturation may emerge during the first
year or second abroad, it does not usually develop within
the first few years.
Proposition 2

Japanese overseas children’s perceptions of their American schooling experiences contrasted markedly with their experiences of schooling in Japan.

During the course of the study Japanese overseas children expressed many and varying perceptions of how they experienced American schooling. Most children expressed both positive and negative perceptions of life in an American school, but all expressed perceptions in terms of their experiences of schools in Japan. In other words, correlations and comparisons were made, reflecting similarities and differences between the two countries’ educational systems.

Sub-proposition 2-a

Japanese overseas children perceived differences regarding academic aspects of life in the American school.

Japanese children expressed many perceptions regarding academic subjects. These included preferences, likes and dislikes, and strong opinions regarding the relative academic rigor, or lack thereof, in certain subjects. Preferences centered on subjects such as art and physical education where participation was not
entirely dependent upon fluency in English.

As suggested by various authors in the literature review, Japanese overseas children attending Lincoln Elementary School found themselves to be significantly ahead of their American peers in mathematics concepts, operations and calculations. Perhaps because many newcomers found that they were able to experience success in mathematics early in their transition experience, many expressed a liking for math classes in the American school.

Other preferences included a liking for language and reading. Many children were grouped with other Japanese children for these subjects and were given the extra attention of small groups. Some were also tutored by Japanese mothers for these subjects, again affording an opportunity for individual attention.

Some children expressed dismay over how "easy" the academic subjects seemed, and criticized the American system for its "slow pace" in various academic areas. Japanese children also felt that little or no demands were made of them regarding homework. This was in marked contrast to the large amounts of home assignments required of them in Japan, and from the Columbus Japanese Language School.
Sub-proposition 2-b

Japanese overseas children perceived differences regarding the formal structure, classroom climate, and issues relating to discipline in the American school.

Physical structure and formal structure were perceived as very different from what Japanese children had experienced in Japan. They saw the school's physical plant as large, spacious, well-equipped and uncrowded compared to schools in Japan. They were struck by what they considered to be very small classes. Literature regarding class size in Japanese schools suggests an average in Japanese elementary classrooms of approximately 45, whereas Kelley's school records reflect an average of 24 pupils per class at the time of the study.

As far as formal class structure, teaching method and classroom climate were concerned, the children noticed many differences. Generally, they felt that there was less rigid structure, with fewer bells, fewer rules and fewer restrictions placed on them in the American system.
Proposition 3

A relationship existed between Japanese children's cross-cultural transition experiences and their perceptions regarding their American schooling experiences.

The transitional experience and the experience of the stages within that process had an impact on the children's perceptions of school life in America. For example, during alienation when Naho was experiencing severe symptoms of culture shock, she regarded every aspect of American schooling in an extremely negative way. On the other hand, those who were experiencing much progress in second language acquisition and many cross-cultural successes during accommodation generally expressed more positive views regarding the American educational system. This does not mean to imply that someone experiencing independence and autonomy in the transition experience would have no negative perceptions of American schooling. Rather, there was an underlying relationship between transitional experience and perceptions expressed.
**Proposition 4**

Factors were identified that facilitated the cross-cultural educational transition of Japanese overseas children.

Numerous factors were identified as facilitating the cross-cultural adjustment of Japanese children. Most important of these was the isolation of Japanese children from other Japanese children in the classroom placement. In other words, it was beneficial for Japanese children to be placed in classrooms among American children and away from other Japanese children. Adjustment usually occurred more rapidly where this was the case. Children placed in groups with other Japanese children tended to rely heavily upon one another, and made less rapid progress in acquisition of English than those who were surrounded only by native speakers of English. Japanese parents and American teachers also concurred on this point.

Teacher effort and commitment to assisting Japanese children in their transition was also a facilitating factor. Children benefitted from such teacher efforts as 1) organizing special reading and language lessons and materials tailored to individual
needs; 2) permitting and encouraging parent volunteers (both American and Japanese) to offer English as a Second Language tutoring during school hours; 3) integrating intercultural learning within the curriculum; 4) communicating frequently with Japanese parents.

Proposition 5
Factors were identified that impeded the cross-cultural transition of Japanese overseas children.

The most important factors impeding the cross-cultural transition of Japanese children related to communication. These included the obvious lack of communication resulting from the language barrier, but extended to other areas as well. The following list suggests specific areas where problems in communication were identified:

3. Between school administration and teaching staff.
4. Between school administration and the Japanese employees' company.
Recommendations
For American Educators

- The research findings suggest a need for systematic educational program development, especially in the areas of curriculum and instruction, in order to meet the educational needs of Japanese overseas children. Such program development should provide practical assistance to classroom teachers in the form of appropriate instructional materials in every subject area and on every grade level.

- Teachers expressed a need for bilingual resources, English as a Second Language expertise and educational resources and training. A comprehensive program combining English as a Second Language with intercultural education resources is needed to meet the diversity of educational needs in the school setting.

- A bilingual resource person is needed to assist teachers in accommodating overseas children, especially for purposes of crisis intervention. This need was identified during the course of the study. The need for a bilingual resource person was also repeatedly stated by teachers.

- The use of Japanese children as informal classroom interpreters raises serious ethical questions.
A knowledge of Japanese culture suggests rigid protocol where teacher-student relations are concerned. These norms dictate an almost sacred obedience of student to teacher and unquestioned teacher authority. These notions, coupled with the language barrier in the intercultural classroom setting make it virtually impossible for students to deny teacher requests for translation or interpreting assistance. Students placed in the double bind situation may be forced to act in ways conflicting with cultural conscience. Furthermore, children are often unable to manage the technical skills that interpreting demands, but do not feel free to decline the request for this or any other reason.

- There is a need for teacher knowledge and awareness regarding linguistic and cultural differences. Such information would effectively diffuse many potentially destructive conflict situations. For example, teachers asked Japanese students to rely on English-Japanese dictionaries. Because of insufficient mastery of Japanese characters (the first 1,850 characters are generally acquired over six to eight years of schooling) Japanese children were frequently unable to decipher the Japanese equivalent, or to understand it once the sought-after word was located.
Existing community human support services must be tapped, and supplementary resources developed, to meet the socio-emotional needs of children in transition. Based upon the four stages of cross-cultural transition of Japanese overseas children identified in this study, programs should be geared to meet the changing needs of this population. Existing support services within the school system must be made available to Japanese families. Families need also to be informed about existing human services available in the community and of procedures for making use of those resources. Mental health resources are especially important.

Japanese parents made repeated requests for assistance in locating English as a Second Language instructors. Although such requests were made on many occasions by Japanese parents, cultural dictates prevented parents from approaching the school directly, or from exerting any pressure on the school to provide such information or resources.

School systems accommodating Japanese overseas children need to develop orientation programs for families as a means of communicating educational goals, policies, expectations and practices to parents. Such sessions would greatly enhance communication between the American educational institution and the Japanese
families. Providing interpreter services for regularly scheduled P.T.A. events would also serve to enhance communication between home and school.

- Classroom teachers must be encouraged to seek and to share support from within the institution where matters of instruction and materials are concerned so that duplication and waste of effort are minimized.

- Community based volunteer programs might link newcomers with "host" families.

For Multinational Business Interests

- Multinational business bringing English as a Second Language students into American communities are uniquely able to further intercultural understanding and intercultural learning by virtue of their international nature, their presence and involvement in local communities. Close rapport must be fostered from within such companies between their offices and local educational systems. Establishing close channels of communication would allow for maximum information exchange and improved preparation regarding incoming families with school age children. Thorough preparation of parents for participation and involvement in local educational systems could be accomplished through specific program development directed towards this end.
Such program development must be especially sensitive to the cross-cultural and intercultural transition aspects of the overseas adjustment of both employees and their families.

- Employees may need special orientation programs to familiarize them with local human support services as well as orientation to the educational resources in surrounding communities. Again, such orientation program development and implementation should aim to enhance cultural awareness and thus facilitate successful transition.

- Companies need to support employees in their educational efforts on behalf of their children. In this study the evidence indicated a number of supportive policies in this regard, but these appeared to be inadequate or insufficient when operationalized.

- Company sponsored or company initiated community outreach would also effectively reduce potential friction between the corporation and the educational community.
For Further Research

Finally, there is an obvious need for further research in the area of Japanese children attending American schools. Such research should examine the impact of the American schooling experience on Japanese children after their return to Japan and reentry into the Japanese educational system. There is a need, not only to study the effects of American schools on Japanese children, but also to study the nature of the reentry experience into the Japanese system for returning Japanese overseas children. Much is also needed in the area of research regarding teacher problems, coping mechanisms and effective teacher strategies in this unique intercultural education setting. In-depth study comparing the modern Japanese educational system with the modern American system would greatly enhance the ability of both systems to benefit from the other’s strengths.
Notes for Chapter 6

APPENDIX A
When submitting a proposal to the Behavioral and Social Sciences Human Subject Review Committee, we would appreciate your supplying the following information in summary form. Providing the details prior to reading and reviewing the protocol can expedite the process. Please be as specific as possible so that the reader can have a rather complete and accurate idea of exactly what your subjects will experience when they participate in your research, as well as know the protections that have been included to safeguard the subject against adverse consequences (e.g., are they free to not participate if they choose, do they or their parents know exactly what they are getting into before they are committed to participate, will both their participation and any collected data be completely confidential).

1. In a sentence or two, briefly describe why the proposed project is of interest. The intent of this question is to give the reviewer a brief idea of the background and purpose of the research.

   This study is intended to examine Japanese children's experience of American education in terms of their perceptions. The study seeks to enhance educational understanding through discovery of Japanese children's experience. Presently, this information does not exist.

2. Briefly describe each of the different conditions or manipulations to be included within the study.

   Ethnographic interviews will be made. Classroom observations will be conducted.

3. What is the nature of the measures or observations that will be taken in the study?

   Interviews will be conducted with participants. Focus of these interviews will center on the participants' perceptions of school life. These interviews will be audio-taped for more detailed analysis. Additionally, observations will be conducted within classrooms during the course of the school year. (See p. 7 for focus of observations.)

4. If any questionnaires, tests, or other instruments are to be used, please provide a brief description and either include a copy or indicate approximately when a copy will be submitted to the committee for review.

No questionnaires, tests, or other instruments are planned.
5. Will the subjects encounter the possibility of either psychological, social, physical or legal risk? 
   Yes No If so, please describe.

6. Will any stress be involved in the study? Yes No If so, please describe.
   The study of children's perceptions should generate no stress. Efforts will be made to ensure that interviews are conducted in casual, non-threatening manner.

7. Will the subjects be deceived or misled in any way? Yes No If so, please describe and include a statement regarding the nature of the debriefing.

8. Will there be any probing for information which an individual might consider to be personal or sensitive? Yes No If so, please describe.

9. Will the subjects be presented with materials which they might consider to be offensive, threatening or degrading? Yes No If so, please describe.

10. Approximately how much time will be demanded of each subject? Seven hours.

11. Who will be the subjects in this study? How will the subjects for this study be solicited or contacted?
    Administrators, teachers, Japanese parents and Japanese children from the Local School system. After initial observations in the school, participants will be invited by the researcher to participate in the study. Participation will be voluntary.

12. What steps will be taken to insure that the subject's participation is voluntary? What, if any, inducements will be offered to the subjects for their participation? Potential participants will be contacted by the external researcher rather than an administrator within the system. Participation is entirely voluntary. No pressure will be applied to any person. Faculty members and administrator have already expressed interest in participating. Major inducement is the potential for increased understanding and facilitation of educational adjustment.
13. It is important that a subject be informed regarding the general nature of what he will experience when he participates in a study, including particularly a description of anything he might consider to be either unpleasant or a risk. Please provide a statement regarding the nature of the information which will be provided to the subject prior to his volunteering to participate.

Participants will be told that they will be involved in a study of Japanese children's perception of their schooling experience at school and that observations and interviews will be conducted. Purpose of the study will be reiterated at the beginning of the interviews.

14. What steps have been taken to assure that the subjects give their consent prior to participating? Will a written consent form be used? [ ] Yes [ ] No If so, please include the form and if not, please indicate why not.

The attached consent form will be used.

15. Will any aspect of the data be made a part of any permanent record that can be identified with the subject? [ ] Yes [ ] No

16. Will whether or not a subject participated in a specific experiment or study be made a part of any permanent record available to a supervisor, teacher or employer? [ ] Yes [ ] No

17. What steps will be taken to insure the confidentiality of the data?

Any reference to participants in my dissertation will not use actual names. No discussion will occur about one person's responses with another.

18. If there are any risks involved in the study, are there any offsetting benefits that might accrue to either the subject or society?

The study of Japanese children's perceptions poses no risks. The research process itself has the "risks" normally associated with the ethnographic case study, but the potential for increased cross-cultural educational understanding makes these risks worth taking.

19. Will any data from files or archival data be used? [ ] Yes [ ] No

HS-008D (Rev. 1/82)
I would like to thank you very much for volunteering to participate in this research study. The purpose of the study is to assess Japanese students' perceptions of their schooling experiences in America. An understanding of how Japanese children perceive their American education experience will be very useful for program administrators and teachers involved in facilitating cross-cultural educational adjustment.

You will be invited to share your ideas, your views and thoughts, to speak freely about your experiences.

It is important to remember that whatever is discussed will remain strictly confidential, and that names and identities will not be revealed in the research report. Also, you are not required to answer any questions or to discuss anything that you do not wish to discuss. You are free to stop the interview, or to withdraw from participation at any time, should you wish to do so.

I will be more than happy to share the results of this study with you upon completion of my research.

I would like to ask you to sign the attached form indicating your consent to participate in this study.

Do you have any questions before we begin?
THE OHIO STATE UNIVERSITY

Protocol No. 92B0027

CONSENT FOR PARTICIPATION IN
SOCIAL AND BEHAVIORAL RESEARCH

I consent to participating in (or my child's participation in) research entitled:

Japanese Students' Perception of American Educational Crane
Study at Elementary School.

J. Eugene Gillion / Jennifer Funks
(Principal Investigator)

explained the purpose of the study, the procedures to be followed, and the expected duration of my (my child's) participation. Possible benefits of the study have been described as have alternative procedures, if such procedures are applicable and available.

I acknowledge that I have had the opportunity to obtain additional information regarding the study and that any questions I have raised have been answered to my full satisfaction. Further, I understand that I am (my child is) free to withdraw consent at any time and to discontinue participation in the study without prejudice to me (my child). The information obtained from me (my child) will remain confidential unless I specifically agree otherwise by placing my initials here.

Finally, I acknowledge that I have read and fully understand the consent form. I sign it freely and voluntarily. A copy has been given to me.

Date: ____________________ Signed: ____________________

Signed: ____________________ Signed: ____________________

(Principal Investigator or his/her Authorized Representative) (Person Authorized to Consent for Participant - If Required)

Witness: ____________________

RS-017 (Rev. 11-81) -- To be used only in connection with social and behavioral research.
APPENDIX B
Dear Teachers:

I am a graduate student in education at Ohio State University, and am conducting research on the adjustment process of Japanese children here at Elementary. As an elementary classroom teacher myself, I can well appreciate the tremendous challenge that this cross-cultural situation affords you as educators and classroom teachers. In studying the Japanese children's adjustment, I hope through this research to be able to highlight those coping mechanisms which might be most useful to you in terms of both the theoretical and practical aspects such as planning, programming and suggesting helpful materials.

The focus of my research will not be on you as teacher, but very specifically, on the Japanese child or children in your classrooms. I would like to observe as many Japanese children as possible and eventually will interview several Japanese students.

I would also like to let you know that I myself grew up in Japan, and speak Japanese fluently. If you should like any assistance with interpreting, I'd be delighted to help out whenever I can. Or if you just want to chat about what's going on in your room, I'd be most interested. Your insights and opinions will be most valuable. Please feel free to leave me a note, or call me anytime.

Home 262-6622
Office 422-5381 to leave a message
or 422-1078

I'm looking forward to working with you, and wish you the very best for this school year.

Sincerely,

Jennifer Farkas
Graduate Teaching Associate
Dear Parents,

I am a doctoral student at O.S.U. in the College of Education. I have been getting to know your child/children through my observations and visits at School. I have really enjoyed meeting many of the new students and I look forward to working with them more this year.

Presently, I am engaged in a study of how Japanese children view their American schooling experience. American teachers are eager to learn more about your children and their Japanese educational experience, so that they can better understand your child. They want to know the best ways to assist your child while he is adjusting to the challenges of a new language, a new culture, and a new school. The study that I am doing will be helpful in these areas, as well as in the area of furthering cross-cultural understanding.

I would like to ask for your help. Please complete the enclosed questionnaire and return it in the envelope I am including. Any information you share with me will be kept strictly confidential. Your thoughts, feelings, and opinions are very valuable to this type of research, so feel free to add any comments you wish. Also, because I speak Japanese, you may write in Japanese if you prefer.

I am very grateful to you for your sharing more information about your child. I will be happy to share my observations with you, and the results of the enclosed questionnaires, or any final reports with you, when my research is complete. While the study is in progress, I will be happy to answer any questions you might have.

Again, I thank you for your cooperation, and for the privilege of working with your children.

Sincerely,

Jennifer Farkas
Graduate Teaching Associate

Enclosure
保護者の皆様

私は、九州大学の大学院で教育学の博士課程の勉強をしている学生です。 Riyomark School という学校に在籍しています。そこで、お宅の皆様と知り合いになりました。新しくい、やっただくさんのお家さんたちと会うのは私にとっても楽しく、今年度はもっと一緒に勉強でできそうで、とても楽しみにしております。

私は現在のところ、日本の子供たちがアメリカの学校生活を、どのように感じているのか、研究しているところです。アメリカの先生方は日本の子供たちのことを、より詳しく理解したいものですから、子供たちのこと、日本の学校と、どのような教育を受けてきているのか、知ろうと努めています。先生方は、子供たちが新しい言葉、文化（生活、習慣）を学校に親しんでいいくためには、教師としてどのような方法をとったら一番良いのか、その方法を見つけようとしているわけです。

もちろん、この研究は、私が今、研究していることを、どの問題解決にとまる役立つと思うわれるわけです。もちろん、それは国際交流にもつながっていくことですから。

そこで、保護者の皆様にも、御協力をお願いしたいわけですね。同封いたしましたアンケートにお答えいただきたく、同封の封筒に入れ、私まで、御返送いただけませんでしょうか。お答えは、決して外いきません。

私の研究にとって、御協力のお願い、お気持ち、御意見は、この上なくありがたいものでございますので、どうか質問以外のことで、御意見など、お書きいただいて、ごえんに、お書き下さい。私は、英語も、ただのものですので、お答えは、日本語でも、英語でも、かまいません。

お子さんについて、いろいろ教えて下さいまして、本当にありがとございました。この研究が、終わりましたり、私の考え、含むアンケートの結果、また研究内容も、御協力いただきたく、した方々に分かち合いたいもので、おります。ただのところは、研究途中でですが、どんな御質問にも、お答えして、お答えするつもりで、おります。一度申し上げたいのが、御協力本当にありがとうございました。

フー・デ・ニース エリ
QUESTIONNAIRE

Directions:
Please complete this form and return it to me. Feel free to write extra comments if you wish. Please answer in English or in Japanese. Call me if you have any questions, and thank you so very much for your valuable assistance.

1. Please give the following information on your children:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>AGE</th>
<th>MALE OR FEMALE</th>
<th>GRADE (if in school)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2. Did any of your children attend school in Japan before coming to the United States? Please specify.

3. If yes, how many years of school did they complete in Japan? (Please give specifics for each child.)

Once again, thank you so very much for your assistance.
What schools did they attend? (Public, private, etc.)

Did your children attend extra-schools in Japan? (Juku or Yobiko)

If yes, what did they study? How often did they attend?

Do your children now participate in after-school activities such as music, sports, dance, etc? Please specify.

Parents' education:

When did your children arrive in America?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Mother completed</th>
<th>Father completed</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>School</td>
<td>College/University (Please specify)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
10. When did your children begin school in America?
あたらしいさんは、アメリカの学校に通っていますか。

11. About how long will you stay in America?
お子さんたちは、アメリカに住んでいますか。

12. Do your children attend Saturday Japanese school?
あたらしいさんは、日曜日日本語学校に通っていますか。

13. How do your children feel about their American school experience?
あたらしいさんはアメリカの学校でどう感じていますか。

14. How do you feel about your children's American school experience?
親の立場から、あたらしいさんのアメリカの学校での生活をどのように感じていますか。

15. Would you be interested in meeting with me later on to discuss your children's educational experiences?
あたらしいさんの教育について、後日、会って話し合いもしてもよろしいでしょうか。
## Questionnaire

**Directions:**

Please complete this form and return it to me. Feel free to write extra comments if you wish. Please answer in English or in Japanese. Call me if you have any questions, and thank you so very much for your valuable assistance.

1. Please give the following information on your children:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>AGE (年齢)</th>
<th>MALE OR FEMALE (男/女)</th>
<th>GRADE (if in school) (学校)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>女</td>
<td>幼稚園/幼儿园/Kindergarten</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2. Did any of your children attend school in Japan before coming to the United States? Please specify.

   ⇒ 小学校 1年
   ⇒ 幼稚園 (年中)

3. If yes, how many years of school did they complete in Japan? (Please give specifics for each child.)

   ⇒ 小学校1年生 個別完成
   ⇒ 幼稚園1年間通う
4. What schools did they attend? (Public, private, etc.)

Elementary school

Kindergarten

5. Did your children attend extra-schools in Japan? (Juku or Yobiko)

Yes, I sent them to Yamaha Music School. They went for 2 years. (Class: Piano, 2 classes per week)

6. If yes, what did they study? How often did they attend?

I sent them Yamaha Music School. They went for 2 years. (Class: Piano, 2 classes per week.)

7. Do your children now participate in after-school activities such as music, sports, dance, etc? Please specify.

No, my children do not participate in any after-school activities.

8. Parents’ education:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Mother completed</th>
<th>Father completed</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Jr. High School</td>
<td>Jr. High School</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>High School</td>
<td>University</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

9. When did your child(ren) arrive in America?

April 3, 19__
10. When did your children begin school in America?

あなたたちはいつからアメリカの学校に通っていますか。

開始: APRIL 1, 1974, 休校: Sept. 1, 1974

11. About how long will you stay in America?

お子さんがここにいるのは短いです。

2年くらいです。 (めったに来たくなかった)

12. Do your children attend Saturday Japanese school?

お子さんたちは日本語学校に通っています。

小学校2年生 (フランス補習校)

13. How do your children feel about their American school experience?

お子さんたちは、アメリカの学校についてどのように感じていますか。

⇒ お子さんが学校の環境を好ましくなくて良いのか、嫌い。
* にいづつも来ていて、天気が悪いときの写真を心配しない良い。
* 斉楽が良いので良い (日本では私たちは家出る)

⇒ 非常にクラスで人手が足りないので、困る。
* 音楽をしたり、何でもしたり、おもしろい。
* 日本の学校に比べて劣るかもしれない。

14. How do you feel about your children’s American school experience?

響番親の立場からあなたたるのアメリカの学校での生活をどのように感じていますか。

思うようにも、親にしてもそれぞれの経験があるので、最初は何たれって言うのが難しい。
生活する上で、一番自由を感じます。

学校通う事は、英語の社会に身を入れる事で良いと感じます。

では、英語をマスター出来るかもしれませんか、それまでの教科へ教科

は、基本トレースで大変、講義の上では、最も大きいと思われ、

自身の意見、考え、発表が相性が悪いない思うです。

15. Would you be interested in meeting with me later on to discuss your
children's educational experiences? あなたの子供たちの教育について、

毎日、私と会って話し合いをしていただけますか。

答えて、お戻しします。

子供たちの学校での教育、生活には関心がありません。
QUESTIONNAIRE

Directions:

Please complete this form and return it to me. Feel free to write extra comments if you wish. Please answer in English or in Japanese. Call me if you have any questions, and thank you so much for your valuable assistance.

1. Please give the following information on your children:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>AGE</th>
<th>MALE OR FEMALE</th>
<th>GRADE (if in school)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>2nd Grade</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>Kindergarten</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2. Did any of your children attend school in Japan before coming to the United States? Please specify.

(7 year old) entered the 1st grade, elementary.
(5 year old) had completed one full year of Kindergarten.

3. If yes, how many years of school did they complete in Japan? (Please give specifics for each child.)

(7 year old) entered the 1st grade, elementary.
(5 year old) had completed one full year of Kindergarten.
4. What schools did they attend? (Public, private, etc.)

The elementary school: Public Township school.
The kindergarten: Private.

5. Did your children attend extra-schools in Japan? (Juku or Kobinko)

(7 year old) Completed 2 years of group lessons with the Yamaha Music Classrooms.
Went weekly for 2 years to brush Writing classes.

6. If yes, what did they study? How often did they attend?

Yamaha Music Classrooms: group lessons, organ, singing exercises, music rhythm, and music theory (reading notation) etc.
With music recital once yearly where each child plays something individually.

7. Do your children now participate in after-school activities such as music, sports, dance, etc? Please specify.

No

8. Parents' education:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Junior High School</th>
<th>High School</th>
<th>College/University</th>
<th>Other</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mother completed</td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Father completed</td>
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<td></td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

9. When did your children arrive in America?

April 3rd, 1982
10. When did your child(ren) begin school in America?
あらたに英語の学習に便がつきました。
(7 year old) April 7th, 1992
(5 year old) Sept. 1st, 1992

11. About how long will you stay in America?
大体2年 (6 months have already passed)

12. Do your children attend Saturday Japanese school?
はい
(7 year old) Elementary, grade 2 of the Columbus Japanese School

13. How do your children feel about their American school experience?
あるのは、さすがに囲校でいても、適応しています。
(7 year old) He doesn't have to worry all day long at school, and I'm surprised.

14. How do you feel about your children's American school experience?
御存じの立場から考えると、あるのは、当たり前の生活に感じてもうしょういかな。
Because their days are filled with new experiences, both for our children and for us. In the beginning we could not understand what they were saying. But with time, they are doing well. In the morning, they learn English vocabulary, and in the afternoon, they are learning other subjects. It is a new experience for them, but they are enjoying it. Would you be interested in discussing your children's educational experiences?

We would be delighted to meet with you. We are concerned about the children's education and daily life at school.
October 8, 1982   Interview with Kanae.
Translated from Japanese.

R: Researcher
K: Kanae

R: So you didn't get today's Math homework done?
K: Umhum.
R: And you say that teacher is scary?
K: Really, he is.
R: How so?
K: He really puts you down.
R: He smacks you?
K: No, no. Just scolds you.
R: So what about the grade, has he given you a grade yet?
K: No, see, we haven't had that class yet today, so I was just thinking, 'gee, I'm scared'. You see, the homework that he gave out yesterday, you're supposed to have ready to hand in today...we will have Math class just as soon as that movie they're watching is over.
R: What are you going to do?
K: Never mind. It's ok.
R: Will you get scolded?
K: Gee, I'm always getting in trouble with my mother.
R: So you get scolded from your mom too?
K: Yup.
R: Why didn't you do it?
K: Heck, I left it in the classroom and forgot to take it home.... Hey whose textbook is this?
R: Oh, the Tanaka's.
K: I have one like this. I'll bring it to show you next time. I used one like this when I was in the third grade. We had another one for Kanji drill, and workbooks and stuff. And math drill, and lots of different kinds.
R: You know the tape you brought me the other day? Well, I got to listen to one of them already. It was really interesting.
K: The math I had for homework was really easy. It would only take a minute to do. It was only multiplication. Since I've come here, the Math is really easy.
R: Easy?
K: Sure. I mean, we had already done multiplication. Then you just do the reverse of those for division. It's like this, two divisors into three digit numbers.
R: Then it would take some time.
K: Nah. I've already gotten half the page done since I got to school. That guy is really scary.
R: Mr. Matter? How is he scary?

K: I don't know. I'm going to get it today. You know, see he knows I can do it really quickly. He knows. And they are too easy. And when you move from say one digit to two and to three, they explain it for you. And he thinks that if you know how to carry remainders and stuff like that for division of two numerals, then he thinks you know how to do it with more than two numerals. See I thought I knew what he was talking about, so actually I just wasn't listening. That's how I blew it! He says "Kanae, you listen!"

R: How does he say it in English? Pay attention?

K: No he doesn't say "pay attention." More like "Listen" or "You should look over here at this board." And that's the kind of thing that he says. We've got those new Japanese kids, right? And you know those girls just don't know anything yet, right? So when he's telling us, you do this here, and you do this there, those guys aren't listening at all! They just fool around, playing with their rubber erasers. And yet that teacher does not say anything at all to those kids over there. And yet he does to me. All the time... Isn't that awful?

R: It must be. Why do you suppose he says nothing to them?
K: Well, I guess talking is ok...but they're asking me all the time (mimicks) "Kanae-chan..What's this?"
Sat-chan does that, and along with Tomo-chan. Two of them. Those kids never ever play with any American kids. The two of them are just stuck together, and then they hang around me and you know...
Melissa, Melissa Krai. That girl is my close friend. It's ok, but they don't speak English at all. "What's this and that?" and "Could you please tell her this for me?" But they won't try. They don't try. So then if I won't say it for them, then they say, oh well then, we'll just have to look it up in a dictionary. I try to make them try and I say "Try, try!". And they say, nah! It doesn't matter, cause we'll just look it up in a dictionary. No matter how many times I tell them to go ahead and give it a try, they keep coming back and say, "Just tell us what this means." So I tell them again to try and refuse to answer, and then they say "ok, we'll just have to use a dictionary."

R: Do they feel bad because you won't tell them what they want?

K: Sometimes I'm the one who feels bad. And see there's only about one boy in the fifth grade right now, right? So what about after I leave? They won't be
any good (if I help them). So I just keep telling them to try, and try. And all they can say is "yes" "no" "yes" "no" and "thank you". That's it! Then when I get into a fight they admire me and say, "Wow, you can even do your fighting in English. That's amazing!"

R: (Laughs)

K: So I tell them "You go ahead and fight too. Cause it's more interesting in English!" And they have to get used to it in America, the teacher says that too. Especially in the very beginning, you know you have to get used to it, right. Talking and that, and until you are used to living in this life-style (kurashi) and are able to speak, little by little is ok, and that's how it was for me when I came. In the very beginning when I came it was really stifling for me (kokoro hosokatta) but I did enjoy going to school. And you do wonder whatever are they saying. And I tried saying "Can I play with you?" And you don't even know that right in the very beginning.

R: Yeah. That's understandable.

K: You think, what's this or something and you just point to something, and figure out they want to play. And they say "yes" and you ask again, "Can I play
with you?" and "yes, yes" and that's what you just keep doing over and over again. When I first got here there was not one other kid in my class (who was Japanese). See, I was the only one in my class. And there were only two in the third grade and maybe one other here or there in the first or second grades. And it was awful. But if you just let yourself get used to this class, then you finally stop thinking, "Oh, she's an American." I was really keyed up just about being around (I was very, very scared) Americans. And I thought how beautiful their hair was, you know. People over here have such beautiful colored hair, brown and light blond and everything. And they're always saying, "We wish we had black. We wish we had black hair." I wonder why that is? And they would say, "I love your hair. Won't you trade with me?" And I would say, "I like yours! Want to trade with me?" And if someone would ask us how we'd manage, we'd say, "We'll attach it with glue!" And if someone would say "no" then we would feel disappointed. Now, for me, one whole year has passed. And these new kids have just arrived, and they are always clinging to me....They stick together in the fifth grade. And at play time, they arrange ahead of time to meet at a certain place. You know,
near the end of the jungle gym area. So they say to wait right there. And then that's where they all gather. And then Sat-cha asked me what did they say. And then I tell them they should go off and play with Americans, and they just complain, "oh, we don't want to." And then they tell me, you know Melissa, I like her alot, she is my good friend, but then they say, (in a whiny voice) "There aren't any other kids around here who are so nice like Melissa!" Do you know about nicknames? Nicknames. Anyway, Mr. Matter is always giving each kid a nickname. There's this kid Chris and he's always getting in the way so they call him "bai jama," and these days he's always saying "hi, hi, hi." So now they call him "ba hi-jama." And they twist the words around. If it's supposed to be "bi" they say "hi" and vice versa. And one girl they call "oilman" because she's always saying "oi, oi!" See there are lots of Japanese kids here now, right? Recently, right? So they all come around me. I tell them "Try by yourself. That's what I did." I tell them. And then they say, "Well then you show us how to do this or how that is done."

R: Really.
K: That's not how your supposed to learn, really!
You just really have to think for yourself and give
it a try. But they say they are scared. (Afraid)
Then I say "Well if you're so scared why don't you
just go back to Japan!" and they say "Then we won't
be near our mom and dad." They say things like
that too! And finally, in the end, they start to
cry. That kid is a real weakling. (She is very
weak.) They cry. She was crying yesterday. So
then I say, "ok, ok. I know, so I'll show you how
afterall."

R: That was kind of you...

K: Mr. Matter was giving me a spelling lesson, and I was
thinking about it, and then Mr. Matter asked me if
I could translate for them. My teacher told me to.
So I do it, but then when we finish they want me to
do something else, and the other subjects are separate
you know, and even after the teacher tells me to do
it, they keep asking. And I said "ok." So I did
it. And then it got into a long discussion. It
took forever. It was horrendous. It was for a
science lesson.

R: Which science?

K: Science experiments..... We were doing experiments.
With sugar, and water, and to see what would happen
when we mixed certain things with certain things. There was tons of sugar and piles of stuff, and we were supposed to see if it would get hard, or what, or turn dark, it was an experiment. BUT, but, those guys didn't understand a single thing! So I told them "Why don't you try heating it up?" But if you don't show us the can, how are we supposed to do it, they kept saying.

R: So did you explain?

K: Yeah. The science. And that got REAL long! and took over 30 minutes. Well heck, I had to do it over and over countless times, and try to give them oral directions, but with those kids, it wasn't enough. When I finally said, if you just don't get it I give up, and then suddenly they tell me they understand.

R: Suddenly?

K: That's right. Hey, I really don't like it. See, my work is my work, and if I spend a whole half hour helping them, I can't get my own stuff done! So when I said I just don't know, they suddenly say "We got it." They understood after only one time, those guys!

R: Really?

K: Yup. Isn't that awful? And the whole time I was with them during that half hour, they were talking
about tomorrow, Saturday, and weren't paying any attention at all to the science. It's no good. And they complain about how hard the science is. Actually when it comes to science, the science they have over here is more difficult.

R: Really?

K: Yes. In Japan right now, they are studying fire and heat. What does it do, and I've already done all the science for the fifth grade but, but those kids just don't like science. I love science...So I enjoy it and was doing it, but... but then they take my science time...And whenever I say, 'OK, I'm going now (back to my desk)" then suddenly, they say, 'Wait, how do you do this and that?" So they come asking me again! Then if I just go and take off, they actually could do it! Cause the teacher said something to them. That teacher is really supporting (helping) them.

R: Do you have the same teacher for science and math? Are you scared of him during science?

K: He treats those kids so nicely (gently). It's true!

R: And you?

K: He's ok. But the teachers are pleased with me. They think it's great that in only one year I have learned so much English. And that makes me happy too.
I sure am not happy about those kids. They can't understand a thing for themselves.

R: But they have just arrived, haven't they? About a month?

K: Yes, that's right. But when it was me, I was used to it here after only one month. Because I like it. My dad says kids who like it are fast (at adjusting). So now, my dad says I should just act normally with them (Americans) and act myself, and just smile. And be real nice. And I've made ever so many friends .... One time this kid was chasing this boy, and with his fists he was pounding me on the back. And he said he'd show me how to tease a girl, and I thought I had caught him, and he said "stop," and I had snagged his shirt sleeves with my nails. I thought I had caught something. I meant to just grab his arm with my hand. Then I thought something had caught, and gads, it was awful, a big rip. That happened when I was in the fourth grade. When I first came. It happened during the first month that I was here. Actually I really thought that this place wasn't really very different from Japan at all. And when I think back now, I just don't think of it as that different from Japan. Well, I would like to be able to see my friends back in Japan,
but we are keeping in touch, corresponding. We're sending letters. Since we are keeping in touch, I guess I don't miss them very much. And sometimes I ask this friend to send me all sorts of stuff. Like origami and paper balloons, and things like that. I have her send them. And just little things like dolls, I have her send them. And then I get to give my friends over here something from Japan, like for their birthdays. And one of my friends loves what I gave her, and keeps it, treasuring it, in a little box. A little Sumo wrestler I gave to one kid.

R: I guess I've seen them.

K: A little one that is made out of wood. And they are really popular in Japan right now. Anyway, I gave it to Kathy. I gave it to her, and she was really thrilled.

R: She's taking care of it?

K: Really. She still has it now. She's even brought it to school and then taken it back home again. And then to Casey, I gave a little Japanese thingy for your hair, you know, a little ribbon thing. Anyway, inside it had like a braided part. Casey loves to fix her hair just like the Japanese, just like mine. And then I gave away one of these cute little
tiny notebooks and pencil. A little pencil set. It's got a little place to keep the pencil in. Just about this size.

R: Like a Hello Kitty? Brand?

K: Yep, that's it. And it's got that picture on it. Anyway, I gave that away to one of my friends. And I gave it to this real little kid, and she still has it, and hasn't even used it yet. Not at all. Not for a whole year. Well, actually, she has used the real tiny pencil.

R: And Melissa is your good friend?

K: Yes, and for Melissa, I gave her something that was just my very favorite thing. Anyway I gave it to her. I gave her my tiny savings bank, a real cute one. And it has a darling little rabbit on the front of it. And I gave her some ribbons, a whole bunch, and she just loves them!

End of transcription.
October 13, 1982  Interview with Shin.
Interview conducted in English.

R:  Researcher
K:  Shin

R:  I've seen you at school but I haven't had a chance
to talk to you in a long time. How are things going
this year?
S:  Well, Japan (Japanese school) is well...tough!
    Studying is tough there. America (American school)
    well I'm kind of worried about. Sometimes I forget,
    like, reading words...something like that.
R:  Like homework?
S:  Yeah. I sometimes forget about that. And I'm kind
    of worried about that. And like when we have book
    reports, I don't know what...the teacher means. She
    says these long words. That I've never heard before.
    And I don't know what they mean. So I don't know what
to do.
R:  For your book report, does she give you like a ditto
    or a form?
S:  Yeah. Well, yesterday we had a book report and
    everybody has to sign a sheet...but I didn't because
    I was probably the last one...to get the paper. And
    my teacher said there wasn't any.
R: She ran out?
S: Yeah. She ran out and she said she'd give me a copy.
But she never did.
R: Did you remind her?
S: I'm trying to tell her that today. Or something.
R: So that worries you?
S: Umhum.
R: Did you read a book?
S: Yeah.
R: What did you read?
R: Oh good! Was it in English or Japanese?
S: Japanese. (Laughs)
R: That's nice. So you're going to write your book
report about that?
S: So wried it already.
R: What did you write it on?
S: We had to color a poster or something. And I did
the poster but I didn't get the sheet...
R: You have her (Mrs. Lynde) for Math? And for Reading?
S: Umhum.
R: Who's your homeroom teacher?
S: Mrs. Kenley.
R: What happens if you don't have the work?
S: I don't know. I just keep on calling my 'Teacher!'.
But she just says, "Shin...I didn't get the paper from
you."
S: And yesterday my teacher called me that I was missing a paper but I had never seen that paper before. And she's saying I don't have it.

R: So that was like double trouble?

S: Umhum. Yeah.

R: Does that happen to the other kids too?

S: Yeah.

R: American kids too, sometimes?

S: Yeah.

R: Do they get in trouble?

S: Umm. No.

R: Not really.

S: They sometimes have to stay in to do something.

R: Now you said the Japanese school is...

S: Tough!

R: Pretty tough right now?

S: Because a lot of homework in this school and a lot of homework in the other school.

R: Well, what do you do? How do you do it?

S: Well, I don't know. I just do my American homework first, and then about from 6 o'clock I do my Japanese studies. Till about 9 o'clock.

R: Do you get to watch TV?

S: Well, while I'm eating.

R: When do you eat?

S: Well, my dad comes home about ten o'clock.

R. Wow!
S: So we eat about then. And go to sleep about 11 p.m.

R: Oh Shin, that's late! It seems late to me. Is it late to you?

S: Umhum.

R: Don't you get hungry when you're doing your homework? Do you have a snack or something?

S: Well, when I come home I have some potatoe chips or something.

R: Tell me about the Japanese school. And that work.

S: The Japanese school, I don't know it, kind of. I know a lot of them (Kanji?) but sometimes I don't know. What the teacher's saying.

R: Do you ask her then, or do you just try to listen?

S: I just try to listen.

R: Do you have lots of homework from the Japanese school?

S: Yeah...I think so.

R: What about the tests?

S: week we have one.

R: Do you have one? Are they hard?

S: They have...thirty to forty some problems. And they are pretty tough.

R: I thought they were pretty tough too. I didn't do too well.

S: (Laughs)

R: Maybe this week I did a little better. You really have to put some time in in order to be able to do that stuff.
S: Yeah.
R: Don't you? You can't just fake it?
S: Yeah. (Laughs)
R: So how are your grades?
S: This school?
R: Either one.
S: This school...tough! C's, A's, B's. I got at least four F's.
R: Did you? This year?
S: Umhum.
R: What subjects?
S: I would say... (long pause)
R: Reading?
S: Umhum.
R: How does it feel?
S: Horrible.
R: Well, how is this year compared to last year?
S: Harder. A lot harder.
R: You mean, the American school?
S: Yeah.
R: Lots of homework? It's harder.
S: The teacher got meaner.
R: In what ways? I mean how does she act?
S: Well, my reading teacher and Math teacher has a paddle! If you were bad, she would spank you or something like that.
R: Really? Did you ever get spanked?
S: (Shakes head no)

R: I'd never want to be spanked... in school. Do they spank in Japan?

S: Yeah. (Emphatically)

R: They do? In the Japanese school?

S: Like, they have... six hours of... time (classes) or the subjects, and when it's finished you have recess. And after lunch you have to clean up. You eat. You eat, and then it's recess... (We are interrupted by someone.)

R: OK, you were talking about spanking in Japan... You finish lunch and then you clean up, and then what?

S: Then you clean the halls. And like... you have to use your hands, you have to wax the floors and everything, and you really use your palms like that, but if you do it with your feet the teacher comes up and if he sees ya, he tells you to turn around, and he says "Close your eyes," and he spans you right (slaps thighs) there. Sometimes when we forget our homework he spans your palms and stuff like that.

R: Really?

S: Umhum.

R: Which do you think is more strict?

S: Japan.

R: Even more strict than Mrs. Lynde?

S: Yeah.
R: What things are going easier this year?
S: I don't know. Well, yeah, Math, and Gym. Art.
Reading is...hard! English spelling too.
R: Isn't it real different now that you have more
Japanese kids here?
S: I don't...well, if I play with them they won't
hardly speak English. They won't learn. They won't
learn how to speak English because I know how to
speak Japanese and, and then they will speak
Japanese, I just let them go to play with American
kids. And American people will let them say...
"That is Shin," and like that. And they will learn.
R: Is that what's happening?
S: Yeah.
R: Do they come over to play with you?
S: Sometimes. Well, I kind of play with them.
R: But you're trying to encourage them to not to depend
on you.
S: Yeah.
R: Sounds good. Do they ever complain?
S: Sometimes, yeah. Well, when I come off from the bus,
everyone is waiting for me. And they say, "Oh,
Shin, we were worried maybe you were absent!".
R: So they worry about it if you're not here. That
makes you feel needed? How are you needed?
S: Well, when he wants to go to the bathroom, I just tell him how do you say "Can I go to the bathroom?"
Then I tell him, "May I go to the bathroom?", and they repeat it about ten times. And they ask the teacher and then the teacher lets them go.
R: Sounds like pretty important stuff.
S: Yeah.
R: I bet they're glad you're here.
S: Yeah.
R: Is it ever a problem?
S: Yeah...Kind of.
R: What was it like when you first came?
S: Here?
R: Yeah.
S: Well, first I came here and, and really I should be in first grade but, I went into kindergarten. And that's about the first day of school so, from then I started um...practicing English. Then last of the year, I finally got to learn English. So I passed to first grade.
R: What, after the whole year of kindergarten?
S: Yeah.
R: So have you been here four years?
S: Three and a half.
R: Three and a half. What do you like about it?
S: Here? Well, friends, yeah.
R: You've got good friends? That's great.
October 26, 1982 Interview with Machiko.
Translated from Japanese.

R: Researcher
M: Machiko

R: So how is school?
M: It's fun. (tanoshii)
R: So what are you doing these days?
M: Study (benkyo)...Stuff like 'reading' and that sort of thing...
R: Wow, you're speaking in English, aren't you?
M: Umhum.
R: So how is the English?
M: I am understanding a little, but...
R: Can you do your reading?
M: A little.
R: (Asked her to read a passage and she was able to pick out the words.)
M: I have never read this stuff. I have copied it though.
R: If I were to point out the word, or if I were to pronounce the word, do you think you would be able to point out what I have said, pointing to the picture?
M: I don't know...
(We try a few samples and she is successful on every try. We were given the book by the teacher who suggested I give it a try, because she is so pleased with the progress that Machiko has made.)

R: Your teacher says that you are doing very well indeed!

M: I've studied my English. I've done this stuff at home...

R: So tell what you've been doing in school these days.

M: Once in a while, you know...I am doing some study of English.

R: And are you writing in English?

M: Umhum. And listening.

R: Do you read English?

M: No, not yet.

R: Do you speak English?

M: No, I can't do it!

R: Do you ever have any troubles?

M: None.

R: And what things do you like?

M: Playing...Riding on the teeter-totters and things like that.

R: Do you like playing outdoors?

M: Umhum.

R: Are American Schools the same as Japanese schools?

M: Yes they are...You write, right? and...
R: How's Saturday school these days?
M: It's fun.
R: Just like this school?
M: Umhum.
R: Tell me how.
M: I don't know.
R: Are you doing your homework?
M: I'm doing it...when I get back home from school.
R: Do you have any homework from your American school?
M: Yes, they give you a little. Once they had some. Before, we had some. Once.
R: Do you come to school by yourself?
M: With my sister. (big sister) ...
R: So what does your sister think of school?
M: I don't know. She said it wasn't fun.
R: Does Machiko-chan watch tv?
M: I watched cartoons yesterday...From 8:30 there was something on, and I thought I would wait for it, and when I turned on the tv, Snoopy was on! I called my sister and she was really excited. Cause she really loves Snoopy. And then the other cartoon was a little cat. You know I have a book with that cartoon in it. I have that cat...
R: Tell me, what kind of story was it?
M: I have a book about that same cat. I've got that cat.
R: What's it called? I forget. But I know what you mean...What kind of story was it?
M: I didn't understand it. But Snoopy was more interesting...
R: What kinds of foods do you like?
M: Hmm. I don't know...
R: Do you like sweets?
R: Yes, I like them. I brought some today. I brought them in my lunch. We bought some chocolates.
R: Did you have your birthday?
M: It's over with. When I came here it was over with. See, when we came is when my birthday was. But my dad wasn't home, so we didn't do it. We wanted to do it when he was home...so they didn't give me one. (a party)
R: So this year you didn't have a birthday?
M: It wasn't fair. (It was no fun.)
R: How old did you turn?
M: Seven years old.
R: Well, maybe you could ask your Dad to let you have a birthday since you missed yours this year.
M: I have been asking, but they just say, now it's passed so never mind.
R: It's over with huh?
M: Yeah. So I just keep on waiting.
R: Have you ever been to any friend's birthday here in America?
M: Yup.
R: And what do they do at parties?
M: They eat cake and, and I got to go to my next door neighbor's birthday party.
R: Did you have it here? (the party)
M: No, it was at home. (her home)
R: Was that an American friend?
M: It was with the girl next door.
R: And what did that child do?
M: She had cake...but things have gotten rather bad lately, and now she won't give me back something that I lent to her.
R: What did you lend her?
M: She just won't give anything back. No matter how much I ask her to give them back.
M: My mom said to ask her to lend me her bike, but she won't.
R: I wonder why:
M: I don't know. When I first came, she would show me around and things, but these days she's stopped showing me around.
R: How old is she?
M: She's in 4th grade, but I don't know.
R: So when you first arrived she told you all kinds of things?
M: Yes, she taught me the ABC's.
R: And lately?
M: She won't get on the same bus with me anymore. She goes and gets on at a different bus stop.

R: She goes to your school?

M: Umhum.

R: So you don't have many friends in your neighborhood?

M: I do. There's Christy and Tamari-kun, and them.

R: So what do you do when your friends come to play at your house?

M: Well, with my sister, the three of us play together. And then next door to us and them on either side, they've got such a cute little dog. And her name is Dutchess.

R: And you like Dutchess?

M: No I'm really scared of Dutchess. And if you don't hang onto your papers, she'll get them. And at first I was so surprised and she went and jumped right up on my sister, and she was surprised. So when she went out, she just dashed out...my big sister did.

R: What did you do over the weekend? On Saturday and Sunday? Did you go to Japanese school on Saturday?

M: I went.

R: Did you have tests?

M: Nope.

R: What did you do?

M: I studied. We studied Kanji.

R: What Kanji are you learning right now?
M: "Ki." (Tree)
R: Do you know your teacher's name?
M: No.
R: Is it a man?
M: A woman.
R: Is she nice?
M: Umhum.
R: Is she like the teacher you had back in Japan? Or is it different over here?
M: Since we've come here it's a nicer teacher. (easier on us) When I was in Japan I was scared of the instructor. When you're taking a language test she would up and smack you. She'd throw something -- bang! But (laughs) I got used to that.
R: What did you get used to?
M: To having her throw the blackboard erasers. I was so surprised!
R: Hmm -- the erasers...got thrown at the kids?
M: That's right. She didn't throw them at me, but some of the boys got it. Because they were noisy. Cause they were making noise when she was trying to give an explanation.
R: That's scarey isn't it?
M: Umhum. But since I've come here, they don't do it, so...
R: So they don't throw erasers here huh? So what do the teachers here do when they get mad? The American teachers.

M: They say "Be quiet."

R: They say that in English?

M: In Japanese. At the Japanese school.

R: And that's all?

M: Umhum.

R: That's not so scary is it?

M: Umhum.

R: So do the kids here listen?

M: Really very much, it seems they listen well.

R: And what about the teachers here. Are they scary?

M: No they are not scary.

R: And what do the teachers do here when they get mad?

M: I don't know. I don't know if they are getting mad or if they are not.

R: Do you sometimes understand what they are saying?

M: Umhum.

R: Do you understand most of it?

M: Well, I guess, if they say a lot then I don't understand. You know, sometimes my friend will say it for me nice and slow, but otherwise I don't understand.

R: That's a problem isn't it.

M: Well the girl next to me, we really go at it a lot, and she'll tell me (what they're saying)
R: Your neighbor (in class) helps you out a lot?
    She's kind?
M: Yep.
R: Do you like her?
M: Umhum.
R: Is she your friend?
M: I've made lots of them.
R: Is that so? You have lots of friends. What about your sister?
M: Well see my sister has one Japanese girl right in with her, so the two of them play together.
R: Only with that girl?
M: With that girl and with one more Japanese girl. I have never seen her play with any American.
R: Hm. So you haven't seen her playing with Americans.
M: There was one girl she played with. Her name is Melissa. And she talks away in English with a girl named Kanae. And anyway that kid, Kanae has a friend whose name is Melissa. And she was (my sister) playing with that girl (Melissa).
R: Your sister was. Is she nice?
M: Umhum. She let me play.
R: At home?
M: Not at home. At school. We played. Lunch recess.
R: Recess. And you have lots of American friends here, right?
M: Umhum. They are from my class.
R: You like school?
M: Umhum.
R: What things don't you care for?
M: Nothing.
R: Absolutely nothing?
M: Umhum.
R: Even when you don't understand what the teacher is saying? What do you do then?
M: Hum...but usually I'm listening carefully, so I... get it.
R: You listen as much as you can?
N: Yep.
R: How about your health?
N: I'm well.
R: Well? That great isn't it? Do you have a pumpkin?...
M: No I don't have one. But I like the big orange ones. I've never eaten one though.
R: Soon Halloween is coming, but do you know what that is? That holiday.
M: They go around. Well, we won't be going around, but we'll be at home, and giving out some candy.
R: Why won't you go out?
M: Because we don't know it yet. So we are going to see it once (this year) and then after we've seen it, then (next year) we can go.
R: Oh. It's fun.

M: They have some sort of mask, and after I saw the ones they have for sale, they have some really scary ones. So I really got surprised.

M: And I saw some cute ones too.

R: Yes they have scary ones and also cute ones.

M: They have those scary ones soo...

R: Do you like candy?

M: Yep.

R: Then you can get candy.

M: I'm giving it out.

R: You bought it already?

M: Yep.

R: What kinds do you have?

M: The little round ones.

R: Who did you hear about this custom from?

M: There's this girl near us, and from another person called Odaka-san. But nobody comes over... But it was written about on the back of a piece of paper.

R: Stuff about Halloween was?

M: Yep.

R: So what? So your dad read it to you?

M: No he won't be home. He's gone from this Monday through Wednesday.

R: So he's gone someplace?

M: Canada.
R: He's gone to Canada. On a trip?

M: Yeah. I don't know. He's been there before. And we've seen Niagara.

R: You went and saw Niagara?

M: When we came to America he went to Canada.

R: So this is his second trip?

M: I think this next one will be his fourth trip. He's seen it four times already. He's gone, and then came back to see us, and then he's gone again, and then he's gone again! (laughs)

R: Wow. Does he go to Canada on business?

M: Umhum. Now he says he's sick of it. He doesn't want to go but.

R: Well, let's get together again soon, ok?

M: Umhum.

R: And next time can you tell me about Halloween?

M: Umhum.

(End of transcription)
(Opening orchestration and child singing "Sakura," one of the most famous and well known of the traditional Japanese folk tunes.)

Female voice:
To all the mothers so far away overseas -- Hello!
(Music continues in the background.)

Right now in Japan, it's April, and we're right in the very heart of Spring. I wonder how it is in your country? Perhaps you've not adjusted to the different lifestyle, or more than that, the academic pursuit of your childrens' studies are a concern, and for all these things I'd like to extend my sincere support. ("Gokurō-sama degō zaimasu", "You're doing a great job.") If this tape helps even in the smallest bit, we would be so very pleased.

(Music continues in background.)

So that you can make the very most--make the best practical use of these materials, I'm going to talk about a few things we'd like to ask you to do, and some problems we'd like to ask you to watch out for.
First to have the child not listen all by himself, but as much as possible we'd like to ask that you, Mother, listen together with him. First graders really like to move their bodies around. They are always wanting to do different things (to try new things). At this stage they just don't settle down. Even if they are doing one thing, their attention is quickly drawn away off to something else, and their interests and activities seem to jump rapidly from one thing to another. They cannot sit still at one single task for even 30 minutes. We'd like you to help him by being his companion and help him to listen without getting bored.

Secondly, as much as possible we'd like you to have the rule that at home, only Japanese will be spoken (used). The minute your child slips outside, if he meets up with a friend, when he goes to school, the language he is using is that of the country you are now in. His opportunities to speak Japanese are greatly decreased. Language is the kind of thing where the more you use it, the better you become, and conversely, the less you use it, the faster you begin to forget, to the point where you can't even do it anymore.

Your children, as Japanese, think about things in Japanese, and in order for them to get along well in
their daily life, we'd like you to really try hard to use Japanese just as much as possible at home. Especially during the first grade, during their first semester, speaking becomes a very important school subject. Newly entering first graders cannot read or write great long sentences yet. First, they learn the word, then they progress to the phrase, and then the sentence. So, this tape teaches as far as possible the basic Japanese sentence structure, and in such a way so that it can be memorized. For example, we try to provide fun rhythms, and insert lovely songs, so that your child can be having fun, and singing right along with his learning. (Learning and having fun at the same time.) Then too, we'll be introducing him to the everyday experience of the first grader and at the same time introducing him to the various proper forms of introduction and greeting. We urge you to talk with your child and discuss with him all the things that are going on, and help him to use the new words that he will be learning. And also, when you are talking, try to have him finish his sentences right through to the end as much as possible. For example, when he wants a drink of water, there are some children who will just say "water," but try to make him complete the full sentence, like saying "Please may I have a drink of water?". Be careful too about accenting.
Please have him speak with the correct pronunciation.

(Music begins. It is a quick tempo, a repeated round, with one adult singing a phrase, and a group of children copying the phrase, repeating it immediately. It is a guessing game song about naming the various animals.)

Female voice:

Hello! How are you? April is the month when school starts. April has the most wonderful weather of the whole year. Cherry blossoms, and tulips are all blossoming, along with lots of different kinds of flowers.

(Music begins. "Saita, saita!" It is a famous children's song that describes tulips blooming all in a row.)

In April, you're all in first grade aren't you? If you were in Japan you would be in the first grade. I wonder if first grade starts in September in the country where you are living. (Sounds of children playing outside on a playground, taped from slight distance. Many voices can be heard.) Today is April 7th, and it's the Opening Day Ceremony. You hold your mother and father's hands, and are brought through the entrance gate. All the new students gather in the big hall. We listen to the talk given by the Principal. Let's listen together, ok?
(Voices of children fade into silence in the background.)

Male voice:

Congratulations everyone, on your entrance to school! All you children appear to have really rosey cheeks, and look very healthy, don't you. I noticed that from a while ago, you are all sitting with your hands in your laps, so neatly and quietly, and I thought how grateful I am that we have such a marvelous group of first graders! Your teachers and older classmates, from the second graders on up, have all so eagerly been looking forward to your arrival. Everyone of our teachers, and all the children, are really nice people, so from tomorrow on, you'll be coming here to school all by yourself. There's nothing to worry about!

So now, a few minutes earlier, your mothers and fathers brought you in by the hand, through that school gate, didn't they? Did you notice the two huge trees on either side of that gate? Do you know what they are called? That kind of tree is called a "Himalayan Cedar." That Himalayan Cedar was planted when this school building was first built. This school was built well over forty years ago! I wonder if that's around when some of your mothers and fathers might have been born? They say that when this tree was planted it was only
about as tall as you children are, but now it's grown so tall you can hardly see the top. When it's drenched in the heat of the middle of summer, or hurting from the awful cold of winter, or battered around by a big strong wind, this Himalayan Cedar wasn't giving up, but just kept on growing and growing.

Tomorrow when you come in as new students I want you to try talking to that big tree, and say to yourselves that you won't be outdone by that tree. You'll grow into magnificent people!

All of the teachers, just like that huge Himalayan Cedar, are going to be looking out for you, all with great affection and caring. Come to school tomorrow with real confidence ("Genki ni", "in health"). I congratulate you!

(Tape continues with formal mini-lectures, words of encouragement and welcome, from a number of different elementary teachers, each speaking specifically about his or her particular subject area. These talks are followed by the very first reading lesson, and corresponds to the introductory lesson in the first grader reader.)


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