School of Languages and Intercultural Education

Japanese Families in Diaspora: Child-rearing Practices.
A Comparative Study of
'Stayers' and 'Sojourners' in Western Australia

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ABSTRACT

This thesis investigates and analyses the child-rearing patterns of two groups of Japanese parents living in Perth, Western Australia. The first group, the 'Stayers' have migrated to Australia as a couple with the intention of making Australia their home and occasionally visiting Japan with their children. The second group, the Sojourners' are in Australia for a fixed period of time, generally 4-5 years, as a result of the company requirements expected of the husband/father. Their time in Australia is an interlude, an experience, an opportunity for the whole family.

The research compares a number of case studies of families in both groups. In depth interviews following detailed questionnaires provide the data about the child-rearing practices as expressed by mothers and fathers in the two groups. Parental expectation of children's private and public behaviour, as well as their relevance to gender and age are explored.

The findings from the survey suggested that the qualities held to be the most important for the Stayer group were those qualities that would be useful for their children to be successful in Australia. Qualities such as independence, assertiveness and using initiative were rated as being more desirable to develop for the children in the Stayer group than those children in the Sojourner group. Some Stayer families with older children had socialised their children to operate successfully in both cultures. The findings also suggested that the qualities held to be important for the Sojourner group were consistent with the qualities that the Japanese view as being valued for Japanese in Japan.

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CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

The purpose of this research is to examine the socialisation process of two groups of Japanese families in Western Australia and the ways in which they negotiate a diasporic situation. I have named the two groups the Stayers and the Sojourners. With regard to parenting and the socialisation of the children, the two groups have very different needs. The first group faces the challenge of the fine balance between encouraging their children to maintain an interest in and regard for the parents' culture, as well as enabling the children to develop a sense of themselves that will allow them to act in 'Australian ways'. The experience of diaspora is relevant to the Stayers group. The second group is aware that their children will need to fit back into Japanese society. Research of this nature has the potential to raise interest in all cultures as well as one's own. The world is becoming much more aware of cultural heritage and ethnic diversity; cultural analysis provides an opportunity to dismantle entrenched stereotypes. This chapter will look briefly at how I came to be interested in pursuing the research, the notion of diaspora and cultural identity, as well as the benefits and limitations of the study. While it is the aim of my research to investigate the issues involved for Japanese parents raising their children in Australia, research into this area will also contribute to a growing body of awareness of different parenting practices that will become increasingly important as our society becomes more ethnically diverse. As long as communities have choices available, individuals can more easily maintain flexibility and the possibility to question, rather than to follow tradition unreflectively. Without options our opportunities for reflection, change and growth are limited.

My research examines the values placed on the fundamentals of the socialisation process for both the Stayer group and the Sojourner group, the degree to which the new culture is being negotiated, accepted and incorporated into childrearing, as well as what is being rejected. It is important to discover what the parents' daily struggles are in interpreting their experiences. I wondered whether Japanese families living in Australia found the experience of childrearing enriching, or whether they found their identities fragmented by multiplicity, contradiction, and ambiguity. Under such circumstances how do they shape and reshape their concept of self?

According to Habermas (1981) socialisation is a process through which a *self* is formed. The self reflects the structure of the generalised attitudes of the members of the society, in other words, the self 'reflects' the attitudes of others (1981:106). There is a focus on interaction, seen as an interpretative process through which actors seek to understand one another. In doing so, the actors establish 'negotiated orders' through the constant construction and reconstruction of transient shared meanings. These negotiated realities are 'diffuse, fragile, continuously revised' (Habermas, 1981:100).

According to Bessant and Watts, socialisation is the term given to the process of becoming a member of a particular society. It is said to involve a lifelong process of learning to think, feel and behave in regular, predictable ways that are seen to be appropriate to the demands and interests of society (1999:107). According to Parsons (1966) the social system contains the 'integrative' processes through which co-ordination, cohesion and solidarity are secured. Parsons believes that this is the core of the social system, as it creates a sense of 'community' among the members (Parsons,1966, in Scott 1995:58). Those processes of socialisation that Parsons saw as being especially concerned with pattern maintenance are focussed in the institutions of the family and education (Parsons, 1966, in Scott, 1995:59).

> It is through their socialisation as children in families and in formal education that individuals learn the basic expectations that others have of them. These expectations define specific roles, and socialisation consists of the learning of the various social roles that will be played or encountered in a person's life (Parsons,1966 in Scott 1995:45).

The aspect of the socialisation process that I will focus on in my research is the childrearing stage. Specific areas of interest cover discipline, public and private behaviour, favoured personality traits as well as experiences and views held by parents with regard to parenting in diaspora. The diasporic situation for the Japanese families in my research is their experience of parenting in Western Australia, in other words rearing their children in a culture that is not the culture in which they were reared. The concepts of diaspora and identity to which I refer in this chapter are discussed in detail in chapter 4.

Until we develop a body of knowledge and awareness, a deeper understanding of the issues involved in socialisation, with regard to specific communities, we will not be able to make sense of other people's behaviour nor have an opportunity to reflect on our own choices. Transformation of knowledge is vital in constructing other ways of speaking about identity, a concept implying sameness and continuity.

> The self is a distinctively human capacity which enables people to reflect on their nature and the social world through communication and language. The concept of identity is used in reference to one's sense of self, and one's feelings and ideas about oneself. It is sometimes assumed that our identity comes from the expectations attached to the social roles that we occupy and which we then internalise, so that it is formed through the process of socialisation (Marshall, 1998:84).

Bessant and Watts describe identity as aspects of our self which are related to aspects of other people, involving a variety of social connections and relationships. These markers are used in constructing a sense of self and help to shape the ways people act, think or feel in a given situation (1999:112). In rearing their children, the Japanese families involved in my research have to rely on a set of 'markers' different from those which were part of their own socialisation experience while growing up in Japan. Their capacity to reflect on the way in which they parent their children is challenged by living in Australia, as the dominant patterns of socialisation in Australia are different from those in Japan, given that the expected outcomes of child-rearing differ in the two societies.

The social forces that shape everyday life are crucial for understanding the experiences and practices of life for all groups of people. The struggles that produce different people's lives, and the ways in which they make sense of their experiences, are vital elements in the making of national and cultural 'imaginaries'.

> Strangely enough, stories about the nation often depict different cultural realities and negotiations of identity in limiting ways. Some stories reinforce the need to critically engage with the social relations and understandings of identity in contemporary cultural contexts (Zournazi, 1998:9).

Zournazi argues that having more than one language and perspective offers individuals the possibility to imagine language and cultural identities differently. She also maintains that the creation of multicultural societies seems to be a very difficult experiment, one that will involve the difficulties of negotiating cultural differences, and that this sense of difference (of integrity) needs to be recognized (1998:9).

> We are becoming more sensitive to relativity, difference and otherness. The issue that outsiders need to grapple with is the need to be true to all the issues inside yourself, without sacrificing too much on one side or the other. You are dealing with a duality at all times, a 'paradox of identification'. So it is difficult to find your place. The question is how to reconcile this with some cohesion and sense of commonality (Zournazi, 1998:47).

The notion of how people negotiate the expectations of different cultures is of particular interest here. In my research I will examine how the Japanese families experience diaspora and the ways in which the two groups live their experience of ethnicity with regard to childrearing. It is likely that some aspects of their parenting style may not be readily found in the community in which they now reside. The Japanese families' experience of Australian culture and social structure with regard to child-rearing will to some degree affect not only the identity of the Japanese children, but also their parents.

On observing a Japanese playgroup in Perth for a period of five years, combined with the experience of being a parent in Japan, I noticed that there was much in common in the situation of parents in the two countries. In both countries, parents had been conditioned by their culture to believe that certain combinations of circumstances called for certain responses. We were quite unaware that we had choices in the matter. I realised that in some situations I could benefit from 'unlearning' some of the assumptions that were part of my socialisation experience. Attending the Japanese playgroup and my experience of living in Japan forced me to address broader unquestioned premises upon which my own culture founded its view of socialisation, generally, and parenting, in particular.

Zournazi maintains that conflicting 'imaginaries' are often experienced in diaspora, and in my research I am interested to see if the Japanese families experienced such conflict. (1998:157). There is a notion that one can refer back to a certain point of origin that determines where one is from, as this influences one's subjectivity and cultural identity. However, it is not simply the case that identity is influenced by origins. Identity is something that is continuously in process, and it is influenced by the context in which one moves and by one's location (Zournazi 1998:157). The processes of negotiating multiple cultures, and the ways in which individuals make sense of their experiences, are connected to this notion of a shifting identity, often described as dynamic and multifaceted.

While there has been some research undertaken on the socialisation process of Japanese infants and children in Canada and the United States, there is little research on Japanese families in Australia. Furthermore, no comment is made on the kinds of personality traits that are encouraged and discouraged, and the differences between Australian children and Japanese children. There are some very significant differences in the types of behaviours that will be of assistance in performing well in Australian and Japanese society.

As social change takes place, succeeding generations of mothers and fathers will care for their children in different ways and this will result in significant shifts in the behaviour of new generations of children. There is no single correct way of rearing children; different human groups bring up their children in different ways. It appears however, that each group considers its own method of child rearing to be the appropriate one.

> Since other people's methods of child rearing can sometimes be seen but not the attitudes and assumptions underlying them, most people probably never realise that differences in the treatment of children arise from differences in attitudes and assumptions about the nature of children (Kearins, 1993:2).

If two cultures for example, expect quite different things of their adults, the ways in which they rear their children can also be expected to hold significant differences. Furthermore, if the Stayers and Sojourners are aware of what is expected of adults in

the society in which they envisage their children participating in the future, then this is likely to influence the way in which they parent their children.

A recent surge in parenting courses, the advertising of parenting phone help lines and parenting books, may indicate that Australian parents today are floundering in their roles, torn between more traditional expectations of child behaviour and the demands of parenting children with skills that will equip them to deal with life in today's world. Bessant and Watts (1999) assert that a key feature of globalisation is a shift towards a post-industrial style of living, which sees the traditional family shrink away. Parents in many of these forms of family are required to take more responsibility for the economic, emotional and cultural socialisation of children. In Australia since the 1960s we have seen considerable change in the ways we form families and questions are arising about what 'real' families are or should be (1999:128). Research into the ways in which other groups of people parent can provide opportunities to reflect on our own choices. To be progressive and open to change, rather than closed can be liberating for both parents and children of all cultures.

The main beneficiaries of this research I would see as community and government organizations with an interest in childrearing, as well as those organizations that train child health nurses and early childhood educators. There is a need for more specific information on the socialisation practices of diverse ethnic communities. International researchers in the fields of sociology and anthropology with an interest in child socialisation may be interested in comparative case studies from Australia. Japanese families parenting in diaspora in other parts of the world may find it interesting and helpful to discover how Japanese families have negotiated various cultural situations in Western Australia. Apart from these specific benefits there is the benefit of equipping future generations with the capacity to understand, participate within and assist in shaping perspectives on the constructs of world cultures so as to minimise fear and facilitate the search for contrasts rather than uniformity. Families residing in foreign cultures are the human embodiments of a worldwide trend toward internationalisation.

Child health nurses, who are available for all parents from all backgrounds have a responsibility to provide culturally sensitive advice, not limited to purely Western notions of 'wise' parenting. At present the Ethnic Communities Council is offering 'multi-cultural packages' which involve videos and written material in the form of a 'cultural training package'. It is interesting to speculate on the implications of the kind of advice offered to the Japanese community with regard to the ways in which they are parenting. The manual available at present provides advice to teachers and health nurses on the childrearing practices, as well as the political history, beliefs, traditions of a number of different ethnic communities residing in Australia. The list is constantly being updated. However, at present there is no information available regarding Japanese practices. It is important for communities parenting in diaspora to have the support of community services that are aware of some of the more fundamental cultural practices of these groups of people. It is particularly important because often these families cannot rely on an extended family for advice. They are often isolated from their own culture.

> Cultural isolation includes all those factors related to an individual being unable to gain access to the widely shared patterns of learned behaviour transmitted in his [sic] society from one generation to the next. These factors include linguistic, customary behaviour and value judgement forms of action and belief (Moloney, 1979:108).

My intention in this research is to explore the process of socialisation focussing on the childrearing practices of two groups of Japanese families living in Perth. I acknowledge that these groups will not be representative of current Japanese trends in parenting as such but provide a step in painting a picture of the issues that the two groups, the Stayers and the Sojourners, experience with reference to their own interpretation of these experiences. The two groups have a share in Japanese culture. However, there may be little else in common as their age, class, rural or urban background, education, length of time in Australia and their own upbringing will play a role in their individual attitudes and perspectives. The literature review covers the period from 1973 to 1999. It is during these earlier years that the younger mothers and fathers in my research were being reared in Japan, their ages being between 25 and 45 years. The older parents were born after the end of WW2 during a

period of social change highlighted in the controversial account of Japanese culture by Ruth Benedict (1946).

Originally I intended to have two groups of families of equal size, the Stayers and the Sojourners with 10 interviewees in each. However, Sojourners were more difficult to locate and a total of 7 Sojourners were found compared with 13 Stayers. Seven fathers were eager to participate, (4 Stayers and 3 Sojourners) the other 13 were, according to their wives, 'unavailable' due to work demands. Some of the mothers were reluctant to be interviewed but were happy to fill in the questionnaire and post it back to me; others agreed to be interviewed but were reluctant to be recorded on tape; some wanted to chat and were reluctant to fill in all the sections of the form. In some cases small children were present at the interviews and this made interviewing difficult due to children's demands and noise. However, when there were children present this provided an additional opportunity to witness first hand some of aspects of child socialisation within the home.

In conclusion, while the main purpose of my research is to examine two groups of Japanese parents and how they negotiate childrearing in a diasporic situation, there may also be benefits for those people interested in learning about Japanese families in Western Australia, and some of the issues that they must address in rearing their children. This kind of information may be helpful to child-health nurses, and other personel who interact with parents and their children in cross-cultural contexts.

CHAPTER 2: LITERATURE REVIEW

The literature review covers two main areas of research. Firstly, I examine literature on the child socialisation process in Japan, including childrearing, desired personality traits, the place of public and private behaviour, and the roles of mother and father in the socialisation process of the child. The second area will cover diasporic and cross-cultural dimensions, as these relate directly to the research that I have undertaken with the Japanese families in Perth. Most of the comparative literature on Japanese childrearing practices is North American; however, there was one study comparing Japanese with German families. This study (Kornadt, 1990) presents the view that lay theories of socialisation are increasingly recognized as important factors in bringing about differences in individual development. In this study 62 Japanese and 98 German mothers of preschool children were interviewed. The researchers argue that respect, intercultural differences of behaviour and attitudes are very likely to be caused by similar influences. Another study compared Israeli and Japanese mothers of kindergarten children in an attempt to explore their views on the separateness and independence, as well as the obedience and disobedience of their children (Osterweil, 1991). Australian and Japanese comparative studies look at respect and leadership qualities (Mann, Mitsui, 1994). A further study (Ban, 1995) compared characteristic features of moral socialisation of Japanese and Australian children. As yet, there is no available literature on Japanese families parenting in Australia.

With a sample of 20 American and 20 Japanese children Caudhill (1969) was able to demonstrate meaningful and consistent cross-cultural differences in the behaviour of children and their caretakers, which persist from infancy through early childhood. The cross-cultural differences in child behaviour found by Caudhill seem to parallel many of those behaviours, which distinguish Japanese from American adults. Caudhill's work marks an important step in demonstrating the early and persistent effects of culture on personality through the socialisation process (1969:73).

Hendry (1986) maintains that the raising of children is regarded as a vital investment in the future and the only effective means of ensuring continuity of Japanese culture and that 'the creation of people is seen as a skill to be cultivated with a good deal of time and careful attention' (1986:14). The roles of both mothers and fathers is

therefore vital for the continuity of Japanese identity. Japanese families parenting for periods of time in countries other than Japan will no doubt confront different realities from those families that raise their children in Japan. If the raising of children is regarded as a vital investment in the future and the only effective means of ensuring continuity of the Japanese culture, as Hendry asserts, then returning children from sojourner families will either influence the course of Japanese society or struggle to suppress new found ways of being in the world. According to a study by Minoura (1993), Japanese children who live in the United States for several years internalise American meaning systems and feel out of place when they return to Japan. The cultural part of their personalities (values, beliefs, and commitments) often seems 'carved out.' This affects cognitive appraisal, which influences and is influenced by motivational and emotional states. These in turn affect behavioural manifestations, especially emotional expression (1993:47). Minoura's study found that one returning Japanese student reported incongruities in relating to other people while another reported increased self-assertion. An earlier study by Minoura (1992) of Japanese children growing up in the United States, found that some of the children internalised American meaning systems about interpersonal relationships so deeply that, on return to Japan, they were no longer comfortable with Japanese ways. The study explored how and when culture-specific meaning systems are acquired as part of the developmental process and found that the sensitive period, during which cultural meanings acquire the power to activate the affective system, appears to be between the ages of nine and fifteen (1992:322). Takahashi's slightly earlier comparative study of Japanese and American group dynamics (1991) found that early developmental modes of mother-child interaction are responsible for determining how individuals deal with basic human needs. Both *amae* (the presumption of others' benevolence) and *gaman* (self-discipline and perseverance) were foremost in the Japanese style of childrearing, compared with 'competitive individualism and narcissistically pursued self-fulfilment' in the United States. Takahashi asserts that the Japanese mode of childrearing promotes group cohesiveness but curtails individualism (1991:43).

Amae is a Japanese psychological concept which has been made famous by Takeo Doi in The Anatomy of Dependence (1973). Doi defines *amae* as 'the desire to be passively loved' or the expression of the wish to be dependent, to be taken care of

unconditionally (Doi, 1973, in White, 1987:21). Doi draws many examples from his psychiatric practice, and thus gives life to the concept from his experience with pathologies of insufficiently expressed or gratified *amae*. Doi does not claim that this kind of dependency is unique to Japan, but rather that everyone has need for it. White asserts that the existence of *amae* is universal, but that it is stressed differently in different cultural environments (White, 1987:22). White also examines the concept of *amae* in the parenting situation. 'The most important cultural difference, which also crucially affects any child's development, lies in the place given to human relationships and interdependence' (1987:21). In Japan human relationships are both means and ends in successful childrearing, which is predominantly the responsibility of the mother. Accordingly, it has been argued that the central human relationship in Japanese culture is between mother and child. According to White, the mother believes that her male child possesses the potential for great success. In her eyes, he is born with no innate ceiling on his ability, and, with proper encouragement, he will be motivated to perform at high levels of achievement. Success results from a child's relationship with a devoted mother, and that relationship is created through *amae* (1987: 22). It could be argued that the usage of the male gender term 'he' by White further reinforces male and female distinctiveness. Most of the literature comments on the mother-son relationship. There is virtually no mention of mother-daughter, father-daughter or father-son relationships.

In many cultures, concepts of personal development from earliest childhood stress separation and there is an acceptance of individual personalities. The Japanese concept of *amae* seems to support the permanence of human relationships, where indulgence can be freely given and received. Smith's view regarding the process of socialisation of the Japanese child is that it produces a self that is not independent of the attitudes and expectations of others, making the individual highly sensitive to insult or slight. The pressing need for personal accomplishment, which by definition will never be great enough, causes the adult individual to invest a high degree of identification with and involvement in whatever role he or she is playing. Japanese achievement and motivation, are based not on training for independence and self-reliance as in the 'West', but rather on the instilling of dependency needs (Smith,1983:71). Further, the total dependence of a newborn infant upon its mother is viewed by Japanese people as the purest form of human dependence. It is seen as

pure because it is seen as being without cunning calculation involved in the relationship. The infant's life is completely in its mother's hands, and its needs are affectionately fulfilled by her. In the early days the infant is not even conscious of being a self, physically apart from its mother. Its life is saturated with the mother's love. At the same time, the mother derives an immense pleasure from the child's total dependence upon her care. The joy of her giving love is no weaker than the joy of the child's receiving it. There is a reciprocity of happiness - the happiness of the infant comes from total dependence, the mother's from being depended upon (Smith, 1983:182).

DeVos (1985), presents another aspect of the relationship between mother and child that is less glamorous. The personality of the individual is essentially completely formed during the process of early childhood socialisation within the family. There the child is given unlimited gratification by the mother, instilling in it dependency needs. Parents, especially mothers, teach the child that it has the power to hurt them grievously by failing to live up to their hopes for it. Because the child soon realizes that it can never in fact fully repay its debt to the parents, the adult goes through life saddled with an enormous burden of guilt. At the same time, the child's aggressive impulses are stifled from infancy, and the individual thus avoids aggression throughout life (Smith, 1983:71).

A Japanese mother sees her baby as a being who, having separated from her and become independent, needs to learn how to become dependent upon her once again. Smith contends that the American mother wants to see her child develop as a fully separate person, prepared to discern and select among choices life will offer, to maintain the value placed on the concept of 'freedom'. The Japanese mother wants to cement a bond, to merge with the child, to raise 'him' prepared for other interpersonal linkages in life. Besides the welfare of her child, the American mother must also constantly protect her own independence. The Japanese mother needs the validating bonds, and thus, to protect her own identity, works to reinforce a dependent relationship with her child. This is not only a model for other relationships, which the child will develop, but is the stuff of life itself for both mother and child (Smith,1983:182). Tobin (1987) on the other hand, describes the place of dependence in the socialisation process of the child as 'strange'. He argues

that there is something strange, something amiss, something in need of explanation, about the attention Japanese mothers give their children. Tobin asks whether Japanese children are unusually, strangely, or dangerously indulged, or just more indulged, or indulged in a different way, than Western children (who may after all be the strange ones)? It needs to be pointed out, that 'indulgence' and 'spoiling' are poorly defined concepts, hard to identify and measure even within one culture (1987:22). According to Tobin,

> Japanese children are asked not to reject their desire to receive *amae* as infantile, but instead to learn to seek satisfaction of their dependency drives in relationships beyond the boundaries of the family and to cultivate a sense of self not only as a son or daughter in a family but also as a person in society (1987:23).

White (1987) suggests that an important part of the socialisation process of the Japanese child is not only cognitive development, but also social and psychological development. Cooperation, mutuality, and sensitivity to others rank high on the list of desired social characteristics of children, but cannot be taught explicitly within the intensity of the mother-child relationship as it exists in modern urban Japan. While extended families, or nuclear families with large numbers of children, traditionally provided a natural arena for learning to cooperate and share, children today have little opportunity to interact in this way within the family. The average number of children in a Japanese family is under two, and the attentiveness of the mother prevents even siblings from learning valued social skills by trial and error. The mother tends to intervene and orchestrate relationships between children; at the playground or other public places, she feels hesitant about her child's interactions with non-kin, since bad behaviour will reflect on her, and she cannot admonish or reprimand a child not her own. Cooperation that used to be taught in the family is now taught later, at school (1987:42).

Mitake (1984), argues that raising children is like running a business. The foundation of the business, which determines success or failure later on, is built during the first few years. Likewise, the success of children's later lives is built before they go to school. Mitake criticizes mothers who work and send their children to day-care centres as being selfish and lazy. Through such statements women, are manipulated

into staying out of the workforce, feeling guilt and judgement. In contrast, Fujita (1987), points out that, 'What is so powerful and even insidious about the emphasis on mother-child bonding is the extent to which the mother is expected to make herself available to the child's needs' (1987:75). Mother is expected to sacrifice her life and personal choices, if she is to be considered the 'wise mother'. The physical and emotional closeness of Japanese mothers to their children is well documented and mothers play a very important role as disciplinarians, often completely replacing their husbands as the authority figure. In urban homes, particularly, the Japanese father seems to have become insignificant. According to findings reported by Imazu (1979) human relationships in urban areas have become increasingly weak. Undue emphasis on the achievement of personal desires as opposed to self-sacrifice for the state is also noted as a problem. The 'social underpinnings' of the family are said to be weak, leading to a fragile and isolated family where suicide is common and the 'natural' order of the traditional community and the extended family has been destroyed (in Lock, 1991:46). A later study by Kitara suggests that, the enforced absence of the father in the nuclear family due to work has led to an 'undue' strengthening of the mother-child bond so that the mother is inclined to over-protect and /or dote on her child (1989:64). An earlier study by Lebra (1976) reveals similar findings. For the Japanese, it is not conjugal ties that claim priority in family relations; the strongest bond within the family is that of parent, particularly mother, and child (1976:109). According to Fujita (1987) we should pay particular attention to how this emphasis on mother-child bonding in early childhood transforms itself into a normative rule that affects mothers and shapes their lives. It is stated that whether or not the child can later build successful relationships with others, depends on how much time, affection, and love the mother has given to the child. In other words, the mother is made solely responsible for the personality development of the child, excluding the father from that responsibility (1987:74).

Increasing numbers of Japanese women now feel that, 'the prospect of raising kids of a workaholic dad who rarely comes home before 10pm, a common Japanese predicament, is what is really scaring a lot of women,' while, 'men who look after children are seen as a failure in Japan' (Butler,1998:42). These views reinforce commonly held perceptions regarding the roles of mothers and fathers in Japan. For

as long as men who look after children are seen as 'failures' in Japan, it is little wonder that women struggle to receive their support.

According to Fujita (1987) men had strong reservations regarding dual parenting in which both the mother and the father participated in childcare. The men said that women should take care of children because 'women have a natural aptitude for raising children' (1979:79). With these kinds of beliefs, it is easy to see how the importance of mother-child bonding is shaped to make the mother solely responsible for childcare. According to Fujita, Japanese mothers do not form a co-operative baby-sitting group whereby the mothers take turns watching all of the children. Mothers rarely help unless they are specifically asked to do so. Other mothers do not ignore other people's children, they often talk to them, hug them, and give sweets to them. What they do not want to do, however, is discipline other people's children. This reluctance to take responsibility, which inevitably involves disciplining, for other people's children, accounts for the absence of communal care (1979:85). Fujita contends that not only is the cultural ideology of the 'wise mother' powerful, but it works most strongly not to praise mothers for taking good care of children, but as a weapon to blame them. The mother-child pair is a unit to be evaluated and to be put in competition with other such pairs. In short, Japanese culture idealizes 'wise' mothers as the best and most suited caretakers of children. Yet, when the welfare, wellness, and happiness of children are all put upon the mothers' shoulders, they are also held responsible for everything that happens to the children, leaving no mother blameless (1979:91). Condon (1992) expresses a similar view by emphasizing that the structure of the family is based on the central core of mother and children. Thus the core of the Japanese family, ancient and modern, is seen to be the mother-child relationship, not the husband and wife relationship (1992:13).

Miyaji and Lock (1994) assert that the idea that a mother and her child are very close and cannot be conceptualised as independent individuals is commonly accepted. A mother bears the total responsibility for the wellbeing of her child. However, children are understood as belonging not only to their mothers but also to the family and society (1994:87). The authors report that, in theory, mothers are protected and supported by society and by their own families as long as they stay in their maternal role. Tanaka also stresses the importance of the mother's devotion for the

development of the child (1979:47). After their children are born, working for young mothers is nearly out of the question, leaving them dissatisfied. Not only do they find it difficult to continue work, but also to develop hobbies, hence they are frustrated and dissatisfied, then putting all the blame on to their children (1979:75). Like Tanaka, Mitake (1984) does not see a mother's work or hobbies as legitimate needs for her own growth or even mental health. The mother is expected to put off all these activities for the sake of the child.

According to a study by Kumagai (1994), mothers compensate for frustrations in their relationships with their spouses by intensifying the close-knit tie with their children. This research suggests that the mother-child relationship is so intense that Japanese mothers come to conceive of their children as their personal property. In this way Kumagai contends that a brief examination of family dynamics in Japan today reveals that the nuclear family does not place emphasis on the horizontal husband-wife relationships as is the case in 'Western' society. Instead, a strong generational tie still persists (1994) In a recent study on women and motherhood, Watanabe (1999) asserts that,

> The Japanese concept of self is formulated with motherhood inhibiting individualism. The discourse of motherhood allows for immaturity and dependence of both male and female children as well as for grown men who are ready to be cared for and protected by mother. Japanese men seldom reject their mother as do Western men in their process of growth (1999:699).

While there is sufficient research on the mother-son relationship, I have not been able to find any literature on the relationship between mothers and daughters. For as long as a mother takes responsibility for her children, preventing them from doing things for themselves, she is keeping them 'stuck' and needy of her, robbing them of important opportunities to learn. Denied these opportunities, children are handicapped in attaining independence and maturity.

Kojima (1990) discusses the importance of achieving a harmonious relationship of the growing personality with other members of the family, with society, and with itself. Kojima maintains that the means by which this is to be achieved is by

providing good examples, caring responsive guidance, and a social environment that favours desired goals. This philosophy is based on the principal assumption that the character of a child is naturally good, but that it is necessary to create conditions under which good and desirable behaviour is favoured compared with the many possible negative outcomes (1990). Likewise, Boocock (1991) asserts that Japanese perceptions of infants and children emphasize their specialness and innate goodness, while Americans view children as a mixture of good and evil tendencies. Furthermore,

> In Japan, the child is encouraged to reflect upon the consequences of his actions for others, as well as to expect from them the same kind of consideration. In the end, Japanese childrearing develops a sensitivity and inclination to respond to the subtle states of other people (White, 1987:81).

The motivation for such behaviour, while being taught that it is desirable in itself, is also influenced by the fear of disapproval and rejection.

While most studies on the infant enculturation process compare the United States with Japan, there is little research comparing Australian and Japanese children, and certainly none observing a random group of Japanese families with regard to socialising Japanese children in Australia. There is also little comment on the topic of gender differences and expectations in the broader context of socialisation of Japanese children in Australia.

Maloney (1979) asserts that infants who have been managed by tense, excitable, nervous, and insecure mothers are more likely to produce emotional disturbance in their children. The author claims that the upset behaviour of the child seems attributable directly to the emotional conditioning of the adult. 'The mother's frame of mind provides the child with the basis for its own orientation' (Maloney, 1979:59). With regard to these comments, it would seem important that new mothers attempting to socialise their children in circumstances different from the ones that they were parented in, may be in need of a reference group. If the child or mother are denied access to or cannot fully participate in the enculturation process, as they

perceive to be important for their own situation, they may become limited in their ability to make full sense of their sense of self in the new culture.

According to findings by Kobayashi-Winata (1989) in a study of discipline, attempts were made to discern cultural differences in the influence of parental childrearing practices and child compliance. In this study it was reported that Japanese parents relied less than Americans on external punishments and more on verbal techniques alone. For Japanese families, the length of exposure to US culture was associated with predictable shifts in parental childrearing practices and children's behaviour. In a later study by Power (1992), it was found that mothers in the US are more rule-orientated, more willing to listen to their children's thoughts, and more likely to punish misbehaviour with material and social deprivations than are mothers in Japan.

In an earlier study on the topic of socialisation Smith (1983) says that, 'There is abundant evidence that in the conduct of their daily lives, the Japanese are at pains to avoid contention and confrontation. Much of the definition of a 'good person' involves restraint in the expression of personal desires and opinions, empathy for the feelings and situations of others...' (1983:45). According to Smith, another very different aspect to be considered in the comparison of the socialisation process between Japanese and 'Westerners,' is the value and place of verbal instruction. As Smith suggests,

> Japan's preference for nonverbal communication is inseparable from her traditional family consciousness. The need to use words implies a lack of understanding. It is important to be able to read other's minds quickly and correctly (1983:45).

Matsumoto (1988) claims that the Japanese have been brought up to avoid coming to the point too quickly. The result is that the Japanese are past masters at reading between the lines. The author says that, 'Americans are just the opposite. They get anxious when they don't know what someone else is driving at. They are taught to get to the point quickly. It is not just the words, but the patterns of silence has meaning' (1988:15).

Ruth Benedict's 1946 publication of The Chrysanthemum and the Sword: Patterns of Japanese Culture has also proven to be a controversial study of the Japanese. The book has remained important and numerous scholars have drawn heavily on this work; Takeo Doi's work has been largely influenced by Benedict. It is important to note that while the book has continued to influence scholarly and popular opinion both in Japan and in the West, the fact that Benedict was never in Japan and did not speak a word of Japanese has baffled Japanese Studies scholars. An immense success in its time, the book was an attempt to 'explain' the contradictions in Japanese character. According to Benedict, Japanese people interact within a complex web of social relations and responsibilities. This burden of social responsibilities is instilled very early on in childhood through strict toilet training and the realisation of the child's position to others. 'Dangerous', 'bad', and 'dirty' are three most frequently used words of admonition in the course of child-rearing (Benedict, 1946:260). Thus, from childhood, an individual's needs are suppressed in the interests of maintaining 'face' or preserving harmony within this intricate web. This sense of social obligation is maintained and perpetuated by uniquely Japanese concepts such as *on* (obligations one has to someone, to one's parents, for instance), and *giri* (the duty one has to repay this *on*). Thus throughout his or her life, the behaviour, thoughts and actions of a Japanese person would constantly be regulated by this *on-giri* interplay.

From this overview of the literature it is evident that there are many different aspects to the socialisation process of the Japanese child prized by different authors and researchers. What makes my research significant is to examine the reference points employed by Japanese families engaged in childrearing in Australia. Literature and studies on child socialisation in Japan seem to emphasise the importance of *amae*, or dependency in childrearing. Perhaps the potential threat of having *amae* removed, of withholding affection, plays a crucial role in gaining compliance. It might also be argued that to some degree, childrearing in Japan is in part a face saving exercise for adults. Upon examining the literature, we can identify two rather different messages with regard to the role of the mother. While some authors emphasise the importance of the mother being totally present in order to enhance her children's well-being (Harue 1975, Tanaka 1979, Mitake 1984, Condon 1992), others suggest that this produces less independent, well rounded offspring (Smith 1986, Fujita 1987, Kitara

1989, Kumagai 1994, Tobin 1998, Watanabe 1999). While research in this area (Lebra 1976, Imazu 1979, Miyaji and Lock 1994) proves to be controversial, it would seem that according to the authors, at present, the relationship between husband and wife is still secondary to that of mother and child, it can be argued that this bonding is a natural consequence for mothers to feel valued in a culture which holds the 'wise mother' in high esteem.

Assimilation of English and American child rearing theories into Japan began in the 1870's. New theories contributed to the construction of a new version of theories and practices (Kojima, 1990:327). Based on more than 60 documents on child-rearing the experts began to reconstruct for the general public the theories of the times. Almost all of the works were written by men. As late as the 1870's interest in English and American child rearing techniques and theories of child development were beginning to grow in Japan. Up to that time the Japanese had developed their indigenous theories and methods of child rearing based on Chinese literature. The authors addressed themselves mainly to fathers because the literacy rate among men was considerably higher than that among women. Another reason for this was that fathers were expected to decide on the family's policy for their children and the children's education. There was no mention in the literature of how women were instructed into motherhood.

According to studies done by Wagatsuma (1977) on the disciplining of children, the importance of father and mother seems almost equal, with a slight tendency for the father's role to become more important as the child grows older. In other studies the mother was found to be the main disciplinarian (1977:192). It was found that despite the fact that the mother does most of the disciplining the children still seemed to be more obedient to their father. As the child grows up the father tends to play a more important role as disciplinarian. Wagatsuma's results indicate that mothers apparently play a very important role as disciplinarians, often completely replacing their husbands as the authority figure. The Japanese father seems to have become insignificant. This tendency was found to be particularly evident in urban homes. In the rural community the father was frequently still the disciplinarian. It was also found that the higher the education and income level of the father the more frequently the mother was the disciplinarian. The study revealed that modern fathers

were more affectionate, more understanding, more companionable and helpful and less punitive toward their children than their fathers had been with them. With regard to physical punishment it was found that mothers were more often punitive (55 per cent) than were fathers (49 per cent), stating that they occasionally punished their children physically. 51 per cent of the fathers and 45 per cent of the mothers said they did not punish their children physically at all (Wagatsuma, 1977: 196).

The literature on diaspora and cross-cultural studies is particularly relevant to my research. The Stayers and Sojourners are parenting in a culture that is not the culture in which they themselves were raised. While parenting for any family is challenging, parenting in a foreign culture is difficult because the support networks that we often take for granted are often not there. In times of uncertainty, with regard to child-raising issues, advice given is often very different, if not in complete contrast to the ways that things were done in the homeland. While in retrospect issues such as sleeping, breast-feeding, introduction of solids, discipline and so on can seem inconsequential for experienced parents, for first time parents, they can be vital to a family's sanity and a mother's sense of self-worth.

Appadurai (1996) points out that as families move to new locations, or as children move before older generations, or as grown sons and daughters return from time spent in strange parts of the world, new commodity patterns are negotiated, and rumours and fantasies about the new setting are manoeuvred into existing repertoires of knowledge and practice (1996:68). These comments are relevant for both the Stayers and the Sojourners group, although in different ways. The Stayers have their children attending Western Australian schools, where their children's friends are often other Asian children. They work as lecturers, restauranteurs, travel agents, cooks, researchers, art dealers, and diplomats. For these families, there is less need for their children to retain their 'Japaneseness' as they are being socialised to 'fit in' and feel comfortable in Australian society. Their occasional visits to Japan give them opportunities to reflect on aspects of Japanese culture and behaviour, which do not necessarily come automatically, but which they may need to adopt for their period in Japan in order to 'fit in' or keep their parents 'happy' and save face. The Sojourners, on the other hand, have maintained steady points of reference that connect them to the culture to which they will return and into which they hope to fit their children

smoothly. The Japanese school in Perth is one such reference, as well as many Japanese friends in Perth. To provide them with guidelines the Sojourners have brought with them Japanese parenting manuals and attend Japanese play-groups.

Hannerz (1990) suggests that there is a world culture now which is being created through the increasing interconnectedness of varied local cultures, and that rather than being easily separated from one another like 'the hard-edged pieces in a mosaic', they tend to overlap and mingle (1990:75). The Japanese families in Perth that I have chosen to research are a small and diverse group of people who have either chosen, or have been required to work in Western Australia. These families are an example of the human aspect of the world culture that Hannerz refers to. They leave various impressions on 'Australian' neighbours, friends, teachers and acquaintances. In the same way they are also influenced by their neighbours and friends. The children can be the benefactors of these experiences, absorbing difference, like over-lapping colours in a painting. Depending on the length of time they have lived in Australia, and whether their children have attended Japanese or Australian school, they demonstrate varying degrees of adeptness within both cultures. For them

> There is the aspect of a state of readiness, a personal ability to make one's way into other cultures, through listening, looking, intuiting and reflecting. And there is a cultural competence in the stricter sense of the term, a built-up skill in manoeuvring more or less expertly with a particular system of meanings and meaningful forms (Hannerz, 1990:75)

Hannerz holds the view that we have arrived at a time where the individual picks from other cultures only those pieces which suit himself or herself. People can now construct their unique personal perspective out of an idiosyncratic collection of experiences (1990:75). More than a decade earlier Green had indicated that the question for students of national cultures is not whether global cultural influences can penetrate the national cultural space but how far they can actually take root (Green, 1977:172). It would seem then, that cross-cultural activity, accidental to the globalisation of business and the activities of other international organizations as well as travel, has led to an increased need for understanding other cultures. More

recently, and reflecting the rapid social and cultural changes, Longley points out that 'mainstream' is becoming a word of diminishing force and that people, having lost the big narratives with all their unquestioning certainties, are looking for new meanings to depend on and link their lives to, and that these are being made and found in an array of more personal and individual expressions of what could even be called faith in the significance of the small-scale, the local, the fragmentary, the inconclusive, the unverifiable (1999:216).

Eming-Young (1996) discusses the cultural complexity involved with increasing migration and highlights the way in which child care services are affected and how their needs will alter, as well as the importance of child health services and their ability to foster reassurance for migrant families without reference groups or extended families to fall back on. Eming-Young maintains that 'parent-empowerment' programs enhancing childcare and family support will be important if we are to be successful in integrating families from other cultural backgrounds. 'Early childhood development strategies and programs will have to be culturally sensitive and appropriate to local situations', according to Eming-Young (1996:326). Policies and programs resulting from circumstances and childcare needs of families in any given society need to be carefully designed to meet the needs of the people utilising them. She maintains that the programs will be shaped by mediating cultural influences such as religious beliefs and family values. These comments are particularly relevant to the situation of my two Japanese groups in Australia, considering our multicultural society.

In recent years the Western Australian government has provided migrant families of kindergarten children with bilingual speakers at the centres until the children develop language skills. Some members of the local Japanese community have this resource available to them. For the Sojourners group of Japanese families, these support systems have sometimes been necessary as the Japanese school starts at the equivalent of our year 2, which means some of the Japanese children have commenced year 1 in Australian schools and then began Japanese year 1 subsequently. A number of the Japanese families also use day care services, which means that children with limited English may have some difficulties with communication. The Sojourner group have been able to validate many of their values

through the Japanese school community while the Stayer group in comparison may have felt a greater degree of cultural isolation.

> Cultural isolation includes all those factors related to an individual being unable to gain access to the widely shared patterns of learned behaviour transmitted in his society from one generation to the next. These factors include linguistic, customary behaviour and value judgement forms of action and belief (Moloney, 1979:108).

In other words, without access to a common group of parents, migrant families may not have access to the dominant cultural patterns of their home countries, while in one's own culture there is a wide opportunity for children to learn from and observe many people acting in the ways that are thought to be desirable for successful adult behaviour. Kinship and kin groups are important for children to access life long models for relations with others in their society and to gain other perspectives of their culture, as there are some critical periods in infancy and childhood that appear to be causally related to particular kinds of adult behaviour (Williams, 1972:121).

Many authors have commented on the Japanese sense of 'self', (Smith 1983:81, Lebra 1990:6, Rosenberger 1992:43,). Lebra describes self-awareness as being generated and fostered through self-other interaction on the one hand and the symbolic processing of information on the other.

> Put another way, self-awareness as a universal feature of self is a product of social participation and cultural representation. To the extent that social and cultural diversity in the human world is inevitable, the quality and content of self-awareness as well as the boundary condition of self are destined to vary from one social-cultural group to the next (Lebra, 1990:6).

Another view of the development of self is presented by Rosenberger (1992).

> Through relationship and language, self originates and develops by means of its socio-cultural world. Emotionally invested in its

> world through action and language, self reconstitutes that world, albeit with various personal re-interpretations. Self is born and reborn through positioning in various sets of cultural ideas and practice. Self's meaning derives from its position in relation to other meanings- meanings of other selves, other relationships, other groups, and so on- and from its movement among these positions Non-Western societies require a strong collectivity for cohesion and control of people enmeshed in the immediacy of relationship (1992: 67).

Notions of how a sense of self develops and is shaped, need to be considered in this research because the families in my research are developing new understandings of themselves as they continue to raise their children in a setting that does not always hold the same values and morals as the culture in which they were raised themselves. Developing a sense of self enables the development of one's identity. Zournazi states that, 'Identity is dynamic and multi-faceted. The place of identity is a place of radical multiplicity, and the question is no longer: Who am I? Or What language should I abide by? But which self? Which language? When, where and how am I?' (1998:74). According to Zournazi, foreignness is both a space of 'confinement and a space of non-conformity' (1998:74). It is also possible to argue that,'competence with regard to alien cultures itself entails a sense of mastery, as an aspect of the self. One's understandings have expanded, a little more of the world is somehow under control' (Hannerz, 1990:86). These comments are particularly relevant to those families where the children have learnt to become adept in both the Australian and Japanese culture.

Ohnuki-Tierney (1980) argues that 'anomalous beings are disturbing to others, but because they occupy a middle position, they can obtain information otherwise unavailable' (1980:37). Ohnuki-Tierney describes her feelings from an anthropological point of view with regard to returning to Japan after working and parenting in America. She describes herself as a cultural 'anomaly', or an 'intermediary being who belongs to two worlds but not exclusively to either one' (1980:37). For some of the Japanese families this was seen as being an advantage for their future as citizens of the world. Others acknowledged the reality of these comments, but did not see it as a problem.

> We are now moving toward a world culture, marked by an organization of diversity rather than by a replication of uniformity. No total homogenization of systems of meaning and expression seems likely to appear soon, but the world has become one network of social relationships and between regions there is a flow of meanings as well as people and goods (Hannerz, 1990:237).

In this way, there are now opportunities for families to enable their children to experience ethnic diversity within their children's socialisation. 'Cultural particularisms are more globally visible and present greater diversity of cultural options' (Green,1997:151). With regard to parenting, the following notion may be soundly based if we accept Green's view.

> When mothers understand the biases inherent in our current conception of good mothering, and become aware of the areas in which other groups of people may parent with success they may learn to select among the rules and begin to create their own philosophy of childrearing despite limitations presenting themselves within the structure of their society (Thurer, 1994:300).

Many of us parent the way that we were parented without comparison or internalizing its effectiveness. 'Because we are inevitably caught up in our own cultural vortex, we fail to question our most basic suppositions' (Kearins, 1993:2).

Appadurai (1996) explores the notion that the world now consists of 'global cultural flows', landscapes that are 'fluid and irregular'.

> These landscapes are not objectively given relations that look the same from every angle of vision but rather, that they are deeply perspectival constructs, inflected by the historical, linguistic, and political situatedness of different sorts of actors: nation states, multinationals and diasporic communities (1996:63)

Appadurai calls these 'imagined worlds', or 'multiple worlds' that are constituted by the historically situated imaginations of persons and groups spread around the globe.

Pollock and Van Reken (1999) discuss the concept of the 'Third Culture Kid' (TCK), defined as 'a person who has spent a significant part of his or her developmental years outside the parents' culture' (1999:19). Pollock and Van Reken maintain that the TCK builds relationships to all of the cultures, while not having full membership in any. Although elements from each culture are assimilated into the TCK's life experience, the sense of belonging is in relationship to others of similar background.

In an era when global vision is an imperative, when skills in intercultural communication, linguistic ability, mediation, diplomacy, and the management of diversity are critical, global nomads are better equipped in these areas by the age of eighteen than are many adults. These intercultural and linguistic skills are the markings of the cultural chameleon, the young participant-observer, who takes note of verbal and nonverbal cues and readjusts accordingly, taking on enough of the coloration of the social surroundings to gain acceptance while maintaining some vestige of identity as an 'other' (Pollock and Van Reken, 1999:91).

The literature review has provided an overview of numerous perspectives held on the socialisation of the Japanese child. Many of the findings discussed by the authors in the literature review I have found to be relevant to the parents in my research in as much that little has changed. The most recent literature that I have found to be the most interesting and insightful is that of Pollock and Van Reken, as it is this area of the 'third culture kid' that presents a view of a more long term development for children raised in diaspora.

CHAPTER 3: METHODOLOGY

The focus of my research is the process of primary socialisation and childrearing. The notion of identity is also raised as it is within this area that many of the issues with regard to raising children in diaspora are relevant. These families are undertaking childrearing at a distance from their families and current Japanese ideas and practices relevant to socialisation processes. I am interested in looking at the way in which Japanese families have been able to achieve their goals for their children and how they have found the process of rearing children in Australia challenging, as well as rewarding. I was interested to discover the aspects of 'Australian' childrearing that we take for granted portrayed through another's eyes. Also I was interested in hearing about their experiences and observations of Australian neighbours, children and community that might provide me with new insights and opportunities to reflect on what is happening in the broader community.

Two groups of Japanese families living in Western Australia were interviewed for this research. One group I named the Stayers; these are Japanese families who have migrated and made Australia their home, although they may periodically return to Japan for brief holidays. The other group I called the Sojourners; these Japanese families will stay in Australia for a limited period of time, usually 4 or 5 years and then return to Japan. The Japanese families (both husband and wife had to be Japanese born with children aged between 2 and 18) were sought from local playgroups and the Japanese school. As I had attended a Japanese playgroup with my son for some time I firstly made contact with several of the mothers whom I already knew. Subsequent participants were introduced through a 'snowballing' technique where similar families were introduced by previous interviewees. Occasionally some of the mothers would suggest friends for me to interview and on occasion I would ask some of them if they could recommend anyone that they thought may be interested in participating. Initially I had hoped to have 10 families in each group. However, I found the Sojourners were harder to locate and while I completed interviews in 20 families, of those, 13 were Stayers and 7 were Sojourners. Of the Stayers group, 6 husbands volunteered to be interviewed and there were a total of 22 children ranging in age from 4 years to 16 years. 10 of the children were boys and 12 were girls. The Sojourners group included 3 husbands and a total of 12 children, 7

boys and 5 girls ranging in age from 8months to 9 years. In total there were 34 children between the ages of 8 months and 16 years; 17 boys and 17 girls about whose socialisation data was being collected. The parents' ages ranged from 25 to 45 the oldest being born in the early 1950's, after the end of WW2, while the youngest were born in the early 1980's, a further period of socio-cultural change. In total 20 mothers and 9 fathers were interviewed, making 29 interviews in all.

The Stayers group included the owners of a popular Japanese restaurant in Perth, a lecturer at a University, a couple who ran a popular Karaoke bar in Northbridge, a couple where the husband worked in Antarctica and was based in Perth, a couple where the husband was working for a computer company and undertaking a PhD, another couple where the husband was undertaking a PhD, and a couple with a diplomat husband working for the Japanese consulate. There was also a couple where the husband was an international art dealer and another who was a businessman. Two families ran travel agencies, and one woman was divorced and teaching Japanese at a high school. Some of the children attended Japanese school, some attended day care and others attended Australian schools. It is important to note that one of the mothers in the Stayer group was the daughter of Korean migrants to Japan. While this mother was born in Japan she was raised to recognise and celebrate her Korean heritage while growing up in Japan, hence some of her responses are likely to have been influenced by her Korean background. The Sojourners group included mostly businessmen whose families had accompanied them to Australia. Two families were teaching temporarily at the Japanese school in Perth.

The style of interviewing that I chose is based on a feminist approach where the process of interviewing aims to be supportive and open. Honest sharing can be effective with a large degree of trust and sensitivity to the respondents. In keeping with a feminist research style, my goal was to see the respondents' experiences from their perspective and to represent these as clearly as possible. My intention was to give voice to the mothers and fathers whom I interviewed and these voices have been given prominence in italics in chapters 4, 5 and 6 so that they can be listened to directly. In order for the respondents' interpretations to emerge freely it was important to build a degree of rapport with each one of them. I consciously used culturally sensitive behaviour to develop and maintain rapport, such as appropriate

expressions in Japanese when calling to make appointments and when entering the home, also presenting small gifts as is common in Japan when being in a situation of indebtedness. Part of feminist research practice is the rejection of distance and acknowledgement of subjectivity in the research-researched relationship. As Ramsay reminds us 'from a social constructionist perspective not only is the world which we study as sociologists constructed through interaction and negotiation; we as researchers are involved, with our research subjects, in this process' (1996:132). Steier (1991) argues that 'the research process itself must be seen as socially constructing a world, or worlds, with the researchers included in, rather than outside, the body of their own research' (in Ramsay, 1996:132). Sandra Harding (1987) affirms that placing the researcher on the same critical plane as her/his research subjects breaks down the false distinction between 'subject' and 'object' in research (in Ramsay, 1996:132).

I divided the Japanese families into two groups because I wanted to examine the degree to which the families' style of childrearing was influenced by where their children would eventually reside. I wondered how important it was for the Sojourners to 'protect' their children from behaviours and attitudes that would not be popular in Japan. I also wondered how difficult this might have been for them and in what ways they tried to keep their children 'Japanese'. I was also very interested to examine the ways in which the Stayers had 'let go' of some of the 'Japanese' expectations for their children in order for them to fit into Australian society. I wondered what aspects of personality characteristics they might now favour in comparison with the Sojourners group.

As this sample group was a small number, (7 Stayer families and 13 Sojourner families) they should not be seen as representative of Japanese families parenting in Australia. However, the aim was to uncover some of the assumptions and expectations that were held by these two groups with regard to their experience of childrearing in Australia. Adopting a qualitative style of research meant obtaining more complex information about fewer people. Open-ended questions aimed to capture more diverse information. The interviews were taped, transcribed, and then translated into English. Some of the respondents were shy and found it difficult to

say what they thought, while others had a lot to say and enjoyed the opportunity to share their thoughts.

To ensure confidentiality of results the Japanese interviewees were presented with a consent form in both English and Japanese (see Appendix A) where they were able to request the use of a pseudonym if they preferred. It was also noted that the taped interviews and transcripts would be stored for 5 years at Curtin University and then destroyed. Information obtained from the questionnaire (for samples in English and Japanese see Appendix B) would also be coded to ensure anonymity and then destroyed when no longer needed for the writing up of the thesis and verification of results. Participants were presented with an explanation of the nature of the research proposal and they were informed that they could withdraw from the project at any time.

Where possible, both mother and father were interviewed; however, it was often difficult to interview fathers due to work commitments. When calling to arrange interview times, most of the wives responded that their husbands were too busy and would not have time to participate. However, nine husbands agreed to participate. Parents were mostly interviewed separately although due to time constraints, some of the participants preferred to be interviewed at the same time.

Each interview began with a standard section asking for demographic information such as the parents' age, education, composition of the household, ages of children and overseas living experience. Following this, the interview was taped, beginning with questions about the types of behaviours that are encouraged and discouraged in public and at home, and the ways in which children were disciplined. The next section of the interview contained more formal questions regarding personality traits considered desirable in their children.

Subsequent questions asked for information regarding the kinds of advice received from child health nurses', as well as from teachers regarding the children's performance at school. Respondents were also asked to comment on how easy or difficult they felt it was to rear their children in Western Australia, as well as comments on aspects of 'Australian' ways of parenting that they may have observed,

and those they felt comfortable with and uncomfortable with. The final questions asked respondents to comment on aspects of their children's behaviour when they went back to Japan, expectations of home duties and responsibilities, and, lastly, about positive aspects of parenting in Western Australia. Opportunities for discussion followed a series of more structured questions, which provided respondents with material to express themselves and their attitudes in more depth. In adopting this style it was anticipated that Japanese families would be given an opportunity to reflect on their child-rearing practices and values. The way in which parents lead their daily lives, experience their children and perceive child-related issues was accessed through statements by the parents in an informal atmosphere. Open-ended questions offered access to the respondents' ideas and thoughts. Current literature indicates that attitudes regarding parenting in the diaspora have seldom been examined by academic researchers and perhaps not at all involving Japanese families in Australia. A high degree of cultural sensitivity was necessary to enable respondents to express their feelings. Sequencing of the questions allowed for closed and open-ended responses, each providing material for further expression of thought. As I was uncertain at the onset what particular experiences would be relevant for each family and how each interview would vary according to the introduction of additional issues, it was difficult to predict time allocation to each question. However, a maximum time limit of one hour was allowed for each interview in order that the interviews did not lose their focus.

It was important for me as a researcher to utilise reflective listening skills in order to encourage the participants to share and disclose with a degree of confidence. Open-ended questions allowed the respondents' stories and ideas to communicate meaning in an individual way.

The methodology needed to consider Japanese cultural practices as it was necessary for me to enter homes and private lives to collect my data. I wanted to minimize the intrusive aspect and conduct the interviews in a style with which Japanese people are comfortable. I felt that my experience of living in Japan was a tremendous asset at this point of the research. I was able to negotiate the cultural difference with sufficient knowledge to approach each family with confidence. This meant firstly calling the families to arrange times that suited the respondents. A gift was purchased

for each family ranging from small boxes of chocolates, biscuits to bottles of wine. On arrival it was necessary to remove my shoes on all occasions and enter the homes using appropriate greetings. Most of the respondents seemed genuinely interested and curious to be part of the research, so I never really felt the need to overcome the sense of being an intruder. I was greeted warmly and enthusiastically by all of the respondents, who generally then served tea and cake or biscuits. At this point I explained the research project to them and then provided the consent forms for them to sign.

The study was mainly conducted in the homes of the participants; however one Stayer mother and one Sojourner mother preferred to meet in coffee shops, another Stayer mother and Sojourner mother preferred not to be interviewed at all, but completed the questionnaire and posted it to me. One Stayer mother preferred to come to my home.

For the most part, interviews were scheduled for a time when children were not present as interruptions affected continuity, audibility and caused time delays. However, this was not always possible and sometimes the background noise of children, television and music made the tape a little difficult to hear. Sometimes having children present provided additional opportunity to observe parent-child interaction although obviously my presence would have influenced the behaviour to varying degrees.

Interviews were conducted either in Japanese or English depending on which the respondent felt more comfortable with, sometimes jumping from one to the other. The success of this style of interview relies on a degree of openness, engagement and genuine interest on the part of the researcher and I felt that it was appropriate at times for self-disclosure regarding my children and experiences, although I had to be careful that the respondents were not influenced by this to answer in a certain way. This style was not to be viewed as trying to forge a friendship, but rather to be utilized as a back up if participants seemed uncertain or self-conscious in providing data. By adopting a non-hierarchical approach with respondents, it was hoped that real dialogue would ensue (Reinharz, 1992:32). However, it is clear that as the

researcher I controlled the interview situation and held the power to direct the way in which the questions unfolded.

The survey was designed to elicit information regarding the ways in which the two groups, the Stayers and the Sojourners differed with regard to rearing their children and their attitudes towards parenting in Western Australia. It was important to have the two different groups as they might provide a contrast with regard to childrearing and the socialisation of their children. The two groups are likely to have very different goals. I hypothesized that the Stayers group is likely to face the challenge of the fine balance between encouraging their children to maintain an interest in and regard for the original culture, i.e. the parents' culture, and affording the children opportunities to develop a sense of themselves that allows them to act in Australian ways that would perhaps be regarded as 'un-Japanese'. The Sojourners group is ever aware that their children must fit back into Japanese society.

These thoughts captured by Pollock and Van Reken in The Third Culture Kid, provide a sense of how we may view the situation of the Stayer children.

> Third culture kids are raised in a neither/nor world. It is neither fully the world of their parents' culture nor fully the world of the other culture in which they were raised. This neither/nor world is not merely an amalgamation of the various cultures they have known. In the process of living first in one dominant culture and then moving to another one TCK's develop their own life patterns different from those who are basically born and bred in one place. Most TCK's learn to live comfortably in this world, whether they stop to define it or not (1999:6).

While Pollock and Van Reken make the point that the Third Culture Kids are raised in a neither/nor world, it is important to examine the view that the children also operate in an either/or world. In other words, their capacity to adjust to the society that they are moving in should not be underestimated. The general objective that I began with as a basis for the questionnaire was to examine the similarities and differences between the Stayers group and the Sojourners group in Western Australia and to examine their attitudes on childrearing, providing a comparative perspective between the two groups on child rearing practices in a diasporic situation.

Some of the broader ideas that were to form the more specific objectives were to examine whether there were difficulties in establishing a strong sense of identity in a diasporic parenting situation, to examine possible problems inherent in integration such as the absence of a supporting group, to examine the sorts of issues anticipated on returning to Japan for the Sojourners group, to examine the issues that the Stayers group might need to address on brief trips home, to identify whether or not the two groups could achieve what they wanted for both boys and girls, to examine the ways in which the respondents have been influenced by child health nurses with regard to parenting advice, to ascertain the style of discipline used in socialising children and to investigate the range of personality traits that were encouraged or discouraged in families.

From these general concepts a broader list of objectives were developed which were to form the basis of the survey. I wanted to examine the emphasis placed on various aspects of childrearing as a tool for the development of the kinds of behaviour useful for social adaptation. For example, it has been suggested that certain traits encouraged in Australian children, such as being outspoken, direct and using initiative, are not considered to be assets in Japan and work against children fitting into society. Some of the issues that I wanted to look at were the value that the research groups placed on different character traits depending on whether they were staying temporarily or eventually planning to return to live in Japan. I was also interested to examine the style of discipline used and to investigate the sort of advice that the research groups had received from local child health clinics regarding childrearing and to assess the value of this for the research groups.

Initially interviews were recorded and then transcribed into fairly lengthy documents. This allowed for participants to express themselves freely and in a relaxed manner. The survey was broken up into two sections. The results from the open-ended questions were recorded separately under the headings, Stayer Mothers, Stayer Fathers, Sojourner Mothers, and Sojourner Fathers. Questions which required the participants to select among choices of answers were tabulated into separate tables for each category. For example, there is a table for Stayer Mothers, Stayer Fathers, Sojourner Mothers, Sojourner Fathers, Mother Total, Father Total, Stayers Total and

Sojourners Total. This data is located in Appendix C in 8 separate tables, and is discussed in Chapters 4, 5 and 6.

20 questionnaires were completed, 13 questionnaires by Stayers and the remaining 7 by Sojourners. Of the 7 questionnaires from the Sojourners, 3 were completed by a couple and the remainder were completed by mothers only. Of the 7 interviews, 5 were completed and recorded in the respondents' homes. The other 2 interviews were delivered and received by post; one respondent was too busy to be interviewed, and the other stated that she lived too far away. After explaining that I was quite prepared to travel the distance, this mother insisted that she lived too far away. I interpreted this response to be a Japanese way of politely declining, as to outrightly say 'no' is not something that Japanese people are comfortable with. Again I felt that my understanding of the subtleties of Japanese culture was an asset in interpreting the degree of comfort or in this case discomfort of my proposition.

Of the 13 interviews of Stayers, 6 were completed by both husband and wife, while 7 were completed by the wives only. 9 interviews were recorded, one was sent by post as the mother said that she was too shy to be interviewed, one was not recorded due to an error with the tape, another was not recorded due to meeting in a crowded coffee shop and one respondent requested that the interview not be recorded. In the latter cases I relied on notes for my data.

In conclusion, this style of methodology I found to be particularly suited to my research. Taping the interviews provided me with some very genuine and useful information that I was able to later listen to and reflect on at home. All of this data is the basis for my detailed discussion in the following chapters.

CHAPTER 4: PERSONALITY TRAITS IN PRIVATE AND PUBLIC BEHAVIOUR

This chapter will look at the Japanese concept of *ura* and *omote*, that is, private and public behaviour. The Japanese parents in my study were asked to discuss the kinds of behaviour expected of their children at home and in public; hence I will explore some of the personality traits that the Stayers and Sojourners believe to be valuable for their children to develop in order to act appropriately in public and private. Based on the literature review I selected a variety of personality traits that would reflect the values held by the Japanese parents for their children.

As private and public behaviour are important issues in Japanese life, from a very early age children in Japan are socialised to behave in distinctively different ways according to whether they are with family and friends, or with people whom they do not know so well, including people in higher positions, such as teachers and employers for example. A well socialised Japanese child should gradually learn to be able to move easily back and forth between control and emotionality. In Japan it is in preschools where Japanese children have their best chance of starting to develop and integrate a twofold sense of self, a sense of self capable of fusing *ura* (private behaviour) and *omote* (public behaviour) (Tobin,1987). These features include the large class size, the hands-off approach to dealing with children's misbehaviour, the fluctuations between structure and chaos during the school day, the use of language and even the ordering of space and time. These features of the Japanese preschool contribute to the creation of an environment structured to help children learn to feel themselves, to be themselves, in front-door, formal contexts as well as in interactions which are back-door, informal, and spontaneous (Tobin, 1987:38). It is this area of the private and the public self, and what the Japanese term, *kejime,* the ability to shift between the two, in which I have also been very interested. All of the Japanese families with young children in Perth are sending their children to Australian kindergartens and playgroups and so this notion of the private and public self interest me as these children do not have the opportunity to learn about public and private self with the same emphasis that they would have in the Japanese educational system.

Bachnik defines *kejime* as consisting of the decision of how much *omote* versus *ura* one wishes to convey. 'The participants must decide on the appearance they want to project versus what they also feel but cannot say; or what is going on behind the scenes, which they do not wish to reveal' (1978:157). Bachnik believes that the 'inner' is related to the spontaneous and even asocial *kokoro* (heart, sentiment, spirit) while 'outer', is related to *seishin* or social disciplining acquired by spiritual strength (1978:154).

From another standpoint, Lebra considers the 'inner' self to be more highly valued precisely because it provides a means of anchoring the interactional self away from the demands of the social world and allowing for a self which can resist, rather than simply mirror the outside world (Lebra,1976 in Bachnik, 1978:154). According to Lebra, it is the inner self that provides a fixed core for self-identity and subjectivity, and forms a potential basis of autonomy from the ever-insatiable demands of the social world (1976:112).

At the centre of the inner self is the *kokoro* which stands for heart, sentiment, spirit, will or mind. The *kokoro* claims moral superiority over the outer self in that it is a reservoir of truthfulness and purity. Thus words and speech as means of expression are often regarded as potentially deceptive and false, and silence as indicative of the true *kokoro* (Lebra,1976:112). Bachnik states that for the Japanese, appropriate personal and social behaviour is identified, not as a general set of behaviours which transcends situations, but rather as a series of particular situations which generate a kaleidoscope of different behaviours which are nonetheless ordered and agreed upon. Because of this, the ability to shift successfully from spontaneous to disciplined behaviour, through identification of a particular situation along an 'inner' or 'outer' axis, is a crucial social skill for Japanese, which must be learned in order for one to function as an adult (1978:155). Tobin maintains that the Japanese do not view social conformity as a sign of weakness of character, joining the group as a betrayal of individuality, or ritualised public discourse as hypocrisy. Japanese value the *omote,* formal dimension of the self, as well as the *ura,* more spontaneous dimension (Tobin, 1987:24). According to Tobin, on the road to adulthood Japanese children must learn how to step back and forth across the gap dividing *omote* from *ura.* As Doi suggests, *omote* and *ura* are complementary rather than opposing. In even the

most formal, public interactions there is the potential for experiencing real human feeling. In even the closest of relationships there is always a hint of *omote*, an unspoken awareness of the chasm that separates all human beings and that makes a degree of restraint necessary even among family members (Doi in Tobin, 1987:24). Tobin states that, 'without an opportunity to integrate the *omote* and *ura* dimensions of the self, Japanese children might grow up to be spoiled and impulsive at heart, externally overcontrolled' (1987:25). In order to become a person in Japan, one must learn to be comfortable in each of these worlds, *(omote* and *ura)* to be able both to receive and to give satisfaction in each of these kinds of relationships (Tobin: 1987:36). Tobin's research into Japanese *yoochien* (kindergarten) and *hoikuen* (nursery schools) suggests that the primary function of the Japanese preschool is to help children add a more group-oriented, outward-facing sense of self to the interdependent sense of self learned at home in the first three years of life (1987:38).This second level of self, which Doi calls the *omote* (front) dimension, complements rather than displaces the *ura* (rear) dimension of self that developmentally precedes it (1987:38). In The Anatomy of Self (1986), Doi explains that the paired terms *omote* and *ura*, which mean, literally, front and rear, are used in common phrases to distinguish that which is presented to the outside world from that which is hidden from public view. Doi suggests that the Japanese self is two-tiered, with *omote* and *ura* dimensions. *Omote* is the front-side of the self, the side of the self one shows in public; *ura* is the private side of the self, the side one shows only to family and friends (1986:23).

The Japanese parents in my study were asked to comment on the kinds of behaviour that they would encourage and discourage in public, and in private (at home) (see Appendix C: table 5 and 6). The Stayer Mothers preferred that in public their children *use polite language, show respect for elders, mix gently with all people, use correct greetings with others and share toys.* They did not like their children to be a nuisance or bother other people nor make others feel uncomfortable. The Stayer Fathers were intent that their children know the importance of *greeting older people and using language properly.* Using language properly can refer to using the more formal expressions for people outside the family or not using language without thought.

Kondo maintains that there is a high value placed on silence and verbal repose; the expression *fugen jikko,* meaning actions - no words, is also a culturally valued trait (1987:49). On the topic of communication and self expression, Ozaki presents the view that the Japanese place a good deal of emphasis on the shades and aftertastes of their conversation. In choosing words and manner of expression they prefer delicacy and suggestion to the open and direct. A great conversationalist in Japan is a person with an agreeable disposition and a soft voice, whose remarks are filled with tastefulness. S/he does not speak straightforwardly and s/he avoids rough and 'naked' words (1987:236). Similarly, Lebra echoes that 'words and speech as means of expression are often regarded as potentially deceptive and false, while silence is deemed indicative of the true *kokoro* (heart) (1976:112). Hendry points out that Japanese mothers and other caretakers try to anticipate through careful observation the baby's needs and attend to them before the baby has a chance to get anxious. This is a principle which continues, and children, in return, learn to read their mothers' and other people's facial expressions and understand their reactions to approved and unacceptable behaviour without having anything put into words (1986:131). Matsumoto states that, 'the Japanese have been brought up to avoid coming to the point too quickly. The result is that the Japanese are past masters at reading between the lines' (1976:15). 'It is not just the words but the pattern of silences, *ma,* has meaning' (1976:16). Matsumoto claims that Western conversationalists listen to the words between pauses, whereas Japanese listen more attentively to the pauses between the words and gestures (1976:51).

Ozaki claims that,

> Japan's preference for nonverbal communication is inseparable from her traditional family consciousness. The need to use words implies a lack of understanding. To the Japanese fascination they hear young American mothers scolding or explaining things, all in adult language. It is important to be able to read others' minds quickly and correctly. Latent in the Japanese mind is the conviction that the ultimate truth of life cannot be revealed or grasped by words. They see that language can be an artificial device, classifying things under a more or less arbitrary set of rules and doing so only to the extent of man's perceptive capacity. At best, words may build a mirage of the thing to be grasped: yet they can only present an approximation of what is presumed to be the truth (1987:231).

The kinds of behaviour that would be encouraged in public (see Appendix C: table 5) according to Sojourner Fathers included *having good manners, being polite and being active*. Sojourner Mothers also argued for *having good manners,* and added *being quiet and thinking of other people.* With regard to the qualities of respect and sensitivity, White maintains that these traits are,

> not seen as repression of the individual's will, but as generating direct and positive input into relationships through which the most meaningful individual benefits result. Furthermore, people who can deeply engage together in mutually reinforcing persistence are, by strongly held cultural conviction, good people (1987:43).

The two groups of parents in this study expressed their aspirations with regard to childrearing in terms of the Japanese ideal: good manners, being polite and putting other people's feelings first. Mothers tended to be particularly concerned about the deferential attitude to others by not causing discomfort, while fathers showed additional interest in status-consciousness i.e. using language properly, and correctly addressing older people.

According to White it could be argued that politeness hides a person's feelings, that social harmony results from 'insincere' behaviour, a denial of an individual's feelings. If harmony and getting on with everyone is paramount in Japanese relations then there is little room for individual self-expression if that expression could be seen as confrontational and disturbing. Hence, in this way White asserts that there is a place for the practice of *omote* and *ura* (White,1987:23). According to Bachnik, the priority of developing one's relationship to others over self- development is what creates the value-weighting of self-discipline over spontaneity for the Japanese. It is important to note here that the meaning attributed to discipline and spontaneity is different for Japanese and Australians. In Japan spontaneity may be perceived as loud, boisterous, selfish and thoughtless while in Australia spontaneity may be perceived as creative, liberating, individualistic and genuine. Likewise discipline may be seen in Japan as civilised, thoughtful, sensitive and aware while in Australia it may be interpreted as straight-jacket, harmful, imposed and narrow. In Japan

restraint of self-expression is necessary for the organization of social life; the necessity of relating harmoniously to others, both individually and in a larger context, creates the focus on discipline (1978:166). Bachnik maintains that disciplining one's self for the greater good of the social whole does not destroy, but rather develops the self. When no outside demands are pressing, spontaneity predominates. One gravitates from greater expression of an inner, spontaneous self in informal social scenes, to greater self-discipline in formal scenes (1978:166).

The parents were also asked about the kind of behaviour they wished to discourage in public (see Appendix C: table 5). Stayer Mothers wanted to discourage their children from *being a nuisance or bothering other people, making others feel uncomfortable, ignoring others, hitting and teasing, being pushy, crying, being selfish, fighting, making fun of others, using a loud voice, over-reacting, making others feel uncomfortable, getting over-excited and disturbing adult conversation.* Stayer Fathers pointed out that *being violent, being a nuisance to others, talking in a loud voice, spitting, fighting and hitting other people in class*, were behaviours that they wished to discourage. It is obvious that Stayer parents are interested to avoid behaviour which implies that their children are not properly brought up, this could be seen as a face saving exercise but also indicates that it is important for the Japanese parents to inculcate this style of relating to others in their children in order for them to live with a sense of their own inner peace as well as harmony in relationships. If the Japanese are not adept at being able to state their point of view and be assertive with their own ideas then it follows that in order to avoid the possible confrontation with people with differing viewpoints harmony will be necessary as a means of relating.

Sojourner Mothers discouraged their children from *being a nuisance to others, making people feel uncomfortable, running, fighting, speaking in a loud voice, being noisy and mucking around* while Sojourner Fathers objected to the *use of language that annoys other people, running around, being noisy, crying and speaking in a loud voice*. In fact, the main concern for Sojourner parents was the avoidance of behaviour which could draw attention to the children and show up the parents as inadequate socialisers.

The importance of being aware of other people was equally important for the Sojourner group as it was for the Stayer group. Related to this quality is the fear of parents losing face for lacking skills to socialize their children in a socially acceptable way. According to Tobin, if we put Doi's theories into a developmental context, this would suggest that the years from three to six are focussed on learning *kejime,* the ability to make distinctions. Japanese children begin to learn distinctions at home as infants, beginning under their parents' and siblings' tutelage in learning to bow, to use polite language, and to be polite with, but a little wary of, outsiders (1987:23). For the Sojourner children (age range between 8 months and 9 years) it is the learning of this notion of *kejime* that will enable them to fit back into the Japanese social system with greater ease. The Stayer children (age range between 4 and 16 years) will not need to have these skills developed to the same degree as there will be less need for these skills in the Australian context.

The parents were also asked about the kinds of behaviour that they wished to encourage at home. Stayer Mothers mentioned *tidying up toys, following family rules, respecting older siblings, looking after younger siblings and being co-operative.* All these behaviours incorporate the trait of co-operativeness which Hendry encapsulates in the general idea of harmonious interaction. 'As far as possible the adults encourage the children to put pressure on each other to co-operate in the activities arranged for them, so that stragglers are urged to pull themselves together for the sake of the whole class' (1986: 169). Hendry believes that this is a very effective method of gaining willing co-operation among the children. 'The ideals of co-operation are also advocated in the stories and television programmes which constantly reiterate the theme that co-operation can achieve so much more than individual endeavour' (1986:170). The values of *ura,* and *omote* such as the demonstration of one's own thoughts and feelings versus the face shown to the world, being selfish rather than thinking of others, and being kind and thoughtful are necessary to be drawn upon in order for children to learn co-operation. Stayer Fathers stated that it was important to encourage children *to play and talk with parents actively, act independently, show good table manners, praise them when they got good grades or did well at sport and for doing a good job of things.*

Sojourner Mothers wished to encourage *acting independently, helping the family, eating all their dinner, looking after siblings, using manners, thinking about what they do, challenging things they can't do, initiate tidying up or helping and praising them for doing their best* while Sojourner Fathers mentioned *initiating help, thinking of other people, putting up with things no matter how hard, achieving a goal, waking early, being independent, doing good things for others, getting good grades, doing well at sport, using appropriate language, being kind and helpful and helping with housework* as being desirable behaviour at home and at school. The appropriate use of language here refers to children choosing the more polite terms of expression for formal situations *(omote)* and more colloquial expressions for family and friends *(ura)* It is important for children to learn how and when to adjust their speech *(kejime)*. The main concerns for both Sojourner and Stayer parents relate to co-operation, harmonious interaction and working towards achieving an awareness of others' needs.

With regard to the quality of effort, White suggests that, what we see as compulsive, competitive 'perfectionism,' the Japanese see as a satisfying completion of a set of detailed tasks. When a Japanese child learns to do something, it is taught to do so in tiny steps, each one seen as very important and eminently doable. The mastery of one step is greatly applauded, with the child experiencing a moment of clear accomplishment (1987:100). White continues, 'the way in which a child does something is more the measure of the child's character than the outcome of what he does' (1987:99). White sees this form of dedication as being close to diligence but implies a moral commitment to work, not just a nose-to-the-grindstone series of tasks. You give yourself to the job, but you don't give your 'self' away by doing so (1987:44). For the Japanese child, there are external standards to which everyone can aspire. What counts is effort, the only constraints being physical health or the motivation provided by adults, most notably the mother (1987:183). The expectation is for all children to try their best and to be treated equally in the classroom. Mrs. M. (Stayer) pointed out that,

> *My children are not split into ability groups in Japan unlike the system that operates in my daughter's class in Australia. In my daughter's mathematics class children are separated into distinct ability groups. I don't feel comfortable with this*

> *separation as it is unfair to the children. Maybe they can't feel good about themselves* (May 16,2000).

Mrs. M.'s concern was for the feelings of self-worth that the children who were in lower groups may feel. Consideration for children's feelings is more often than not a stated priority in Japan. Perhaps there is also a subconscious parental concern for losing face if one's children are seen to be less intelligent.

Parents were also asked to reflect on the kinds of behaviour that they wished to discourage at home (see Appendix C: table 6). Sojourner Mothers pointed out that *not using language properly, teasing, hitting, not showing respect, fighting with siblings, not helping, not doing homework, acting without consideration, being violent, telling lies, self-centred or selfish, not doing daily duties* were important for their children to develop. These mothers strongly focussed on behaviours which were not refined and unco-operative. Like their wives Sojourner Fathers discouraged *being noisy, acting selfishly, not doing what they are supposed to do, using bad language, being unkind, repeatedly doing things they are asked not to do, fighting, not tidying room and not doing homework.* It is important to note that Stayer Mothers also wished to discourage *fighting, picking on younger children, being selfish, watching too much T.V., not answering parents, breaking promises, doing what they know they shouldn't, disrespect and having a bad attitude,* while Stayer Fathers suggested *crying all the time, acting without thinking, not thinking of others, fighting with siblings and doing things that they know they shouldn't.* In other words, the Stayers were just as concerned as the Sojourners with behaviours which showed a lack of consideration and self-discipline.

Mrs.F. (Stayer) commented that

> *When we return to Japan for holidays the type of behaviour that I don't like in my children is messing around and talking in a loud voice, playing loud music where people are passing, and talking on a mobile phone in a loud voice on the train* (August 21,2000).

Although there was a range of responses, consideration for others was important for all groups, implying the importance of children complying to adult expectations. For

example, fighting with siblings was mentioned by all groups. However, while the Sojourner parents also mentioned having goals and challenging themselves, this was not mentioned by the Stayer groups. Overall comments were much the same for all groups of parents, however, both the Sojourner Mothers and Fathers mentioned *using language properly* which was not mentioned by the Stayers groups. The importance of using language properly is a high priority for the Sojourners as this would be regarded as important for the children when they eventually returned to Japan. Besides language children also need to learn about the kinds of behaviour that are appropriate for the various groups to which they belong. Hendry maintains that a parallel set of oppositions is being developed during childhood concerning the relationship between the self and the rest of the world. 'Child-training has gradually made it possible for the individual child to define itself as a discrete identity, but it also teaches it about the control it must exercise over the will and behaviour of this being' (1986:176). In fact, the self is becoming a complicated being with a face and appropriate behaviour for each of the arenas in which the child operates. This is evident when one listens carefully to the different speech forms used when a child converses with its mother, its age-mates, slightly older children, its teacher, complete strangers and so on. These distinctions may be made by a child in any society, but in Japan they are institutionalised, and foundations for the institutionalisation have been very firmly laid.

Again, we seem to return to the important basic distinction between the inside and the outside, this time that of the individual being:

Jibun / Self	*Hoka no hito* / Others
Wagamama / Selfish	*Yasashii, omoiyari* / Kind, thoughtful
Honne, kokoro, hara	*Tatemae, kao,kuchi*
Own thoughts and feelings	Face shown to the world

(Adapted from Hendry, 1986:176)

There are various Japanese words used to refer to the inside self as opposed to the 'face' shown to the world. These are translated in various ways, including 'private' and 'public', 'informal' and 'formal' (*honne/tatemae*) and more literally for the

second and third of each set, 'heart' and 'face' (*kokoro/kao*) 'belly' and 'mouth' *(hara/kuchi)*. The outside must be flexible enough to accommodate various situations within groups and in the wider outside world too. In all cases there is an appropriate way to behave. The family is traditionally the unit in which the individual should be able to be closest to his or her own inside core, but here too there are others to consider in order to maintain harmony in interpersonal relations (Hendry,1986:176). The Sojourner families in my study place emphasis on the use of language both inside and outside the home and this is important for children to develop in order that they can maintain the correct use of language when they return to Japan.

In my interviews, parents were asked to comment on the question 'If you have friends for a meal do you, encourage your child to join in, encourage your child to greet the guests and then find something else to do or discourage your child from joining the table' (see Appendix C: table 1). Most parents said that their children joined friends for dinner. All Sojourner Mothers and Fathers encouraged their children to join the table. On the other hand, only 3 of the 11 Stayer Mothers who answered the question reported 'often'. A further 2 mothers reported that they 'often' encouraged their children to greet the guests and then find something else to do, while another 2 intimated that they 'very often' encouraged children to greet the guests and then find something else to do. Only 1 of the Stayer Fathers reported that he 'very often' encouraged his children to find something else to do after greeting the guests and only one father reported that he 'never' encouraged his children to find something else to do after greeting the guests. Stayer Mothers either 'never' or 'seldom' discouraged their children from joining the table. Sojourner Mothers all reported that they 'never' discouraged their children from joining the table. 3 of the 9 Stayer Mothers who answered the question pointed out that it would depend on the age of the children, while only 1 of the 6 Sojourner Mothers reported that it would depend on the child's age. 4 of these Sojourner Mothers indicated that age was irrelevant, while 2 of the Stayer Mothers stated that their decision would 'never' depend on age. 1 of 6 Sojourner Mothers suggested that it would 'often' depend on the age of the child. The majority of fathers in both groups asserted that their decision would 'never' depend on age. It is important to point out that the age range of the Sojourner children was younger than that of the Stayer children.

In summary, both fathers and mothers stated that they would 'very often' encourage their children to join the table. A greater number of Stayers than Sojourners reported that they would encourage children to greet guests and then find something else to do. There was very little difference between Sojourners and Stayers with regard to joining the table, with most parents in both groups saying that they would 'never' discourage their children from joining the table. Most fathers and mothers stated that their decision would 'never' depend on the age of the child while the majority of Sojourners reported that it would 'never' depend on the age of the child, however, in the Stayers group almost equal numbers of 'never' and 'very often' were reported. Eating at the table with guests and friends would provide the children with opportunities to learn and practice appropriate ways of practising the language and behaviour of *omote* and *ura* and the shifting between the two, *kejime.* In the company of friends, relatives and potential caretakers children are able to learn some important principles which come into operation in interpersonal and collective behaviour with others. In Japan these principles would first be established in the neighbourhood and then reinforced more formally in kindergartens and day nurseries; however, for the Sojourner families living in Perth the opportunity to join friends for a meal provides an important environment to practice desired behaviour and language that will be important for the children when they return to Japan.

Hendry maintains that it 'seems possible to summarise some of the important aspects of a child's early upbringing by drawing up a series of oppositions which seem to emerge as important. There is an opposition set up in the early years between the security and trust of the inside of the home and dangers and associated fears of the outside world' (1986:174).

Anshin / Security	*Abunai* / Danger
Shinrai / Trust	*Shinpai* / Fear
Uchi / Inside	*Soto* / Outside
Kazoku / Family	*Yoso no hito* / Others

The most frequent response from the parents in my study was the hope that their children would not cause *meiwaku* or inconvenience to others. Much of the Japanese infant socialisation process is centered around this desire to not cause trouble or draw

attention to oneself. In order to achieve this the notion of being ostracized from or placed outside the group, away from the safety of family and trusted ones, or the inside of the group is often used. The desired behaviour can be achieved through the fear and loss of security that the child may sense from the impending removal.

Habermas (1981) states that in order to negotiate a common definition of a situation, there is a 'reservoir of taken-for-granteds, of unshaken convictions that participants in communication draw upon in co-operative processes' (1981:124). Habermas maintains that this taken-for-granted knowledge, definitions and understandings shape everyday actions, and provide the 'roles' and 'identities' that can be enacted in order to ensure stability and cohesion in everyday social relationships. Habermas defines this as 'a culturally transmitted and linguistically organized stock of interpretive patterns', that is passed from generation to generation through the process of socialisation (1997:242). Without access to these common understandings, Japanese children attending Australian kindergartens and schools are not able to develop the same understanding and reinforcement of the Japanese values that those children attending Japanese education systems will be able to. Social situations also provide opportunities to reinforce cultural behaviour.

I chose personality traits as an area of interest as I am interested in discovering whether the qualities that are generally admired and encouraged in the Sojourners group are different for the Stayers group. Given that families tend to socialise their children in the kinds of behaviour that enable children to function successfully in society, I wondered if there would be very different responses from the two groups. I also wondered if one group would be trying to fit their children back into Japanese society while the other would be more concerned with their children functioning successfully in Australian society. I therefore asked the parents to comment on the importance of a series of attributes for their child to develop; these were independence, generosity, compliance, kindness, compassion, self assertion, initiative, tidiness, intelligence, happiness, industriousness, attitude, helpfulness, awareness of others needs, competitiveness and individualism (see Appendix C: table 2).

These specific traits in my questionnaire were chosen mainly based on my perceptions of what may be useful for Japanese parents in Australia, in addition to traits mentioned by various researchers. For example, White examines some of the terms which are used to describe a 'good child' in Japan.

> Most frequently cited are *otonashii* (mild, gentle), *suano* (compliant, obedient, cooperative), *akarui* (bright-eyed), *genki* (active, spirited, energetic), *hakihaki* (brisk, prompt, clear), and *oriko* (obedient, smart). The first group of terms sets out goals for personal growth, attributes to be encouraged through appropriate socialization. The second group includes terms that describe the means by which a child's development is advanced both personally and socially.
> Among the terms are *gambaru* (to persist), *gaman suru* (to endure hardship) *hansei suru* (to reflect on one's weakness), *amaeru/amayakasu* (to depend/to indulge), *wakaseru* (to get the child to understand) and *rikaisaseru* (to get the child to understand logically) (1987:27).

Similarly, White's study found a similar list of desired traits in young Japanese. From a very early age small children are encouraged to stick at things, to persevere *(gaman)*, to be patient, and to be tolerant of others in their group. Early 'moulding' of the behaviour of the child is designed to lead ultimately to the internalisation of a basic moral style in which one is made highly sensitive to both the verbal and non-verbal cues of other people (White, 1987). The term, *iiko*, a good child is used repeatedly to reinforce good behaviour. Both mother and child are monitored by what is known as *seken,* the surrounding world of neighbours, kindergarten teachers, relatives and so on, who are empowered to be a 'watchful normative presence' (Hendry, 1986:57) and have the policing functions of reinforcing what is deemed to be a wise mother and good child.

Stayer Mothers suggested that **independence** was vital (see Appendix C: table 2). 1 of 13 parents pointed out that it was vital for both boys and girls while 1 indicated that it was 'very important' for girls and more important in Australia, but only 'quite important' in Japan. Stayer Fathers said that it was 'very important'. The quality of independence is seen as important for the Stayer group children. Independence is encouraged by Australian parents and this may be an aspect of child-rearing that has been absorbed for the success of the children in Australia. Stayer Mothers intimated

that **generosity** was 'vital'. 1 of 13 parents noted that it is 'vital' for boys and 'quite important' for girls as well as being 'vital' in Australia and 'quite important' in Japan. Stayer Mothers indicated that **compliance** was 'very important', 1 of 13 noting that it was 'very important' for girls and 'quite important' for boys. 3 stated that compliance was 'vital'. Stayer Fathers responded that compliance was 'vital'. Stayer Mothers suggested that **kindness** was 'very important', 1 noting that it was 'vital' for her child when in Australia but only 'quite important' in Japan. Stayer Fathers indicated that kindness was 'vital'.

Hendry's study found that *yashashii,* which translated into English as gentle, kind, tender, graceful and affectionate, and *omoiyari,* which is a kind of sympathy or fellow-feeling, were often mentioned as desirable traits. 'Both qualities are conducive to thinking of others and avoiding the causing of trouble or discord in relations with other people' (1986:98). With regard to the quality of harmony, Hendry states, 'the ideal of playing harmoniously is a strong one and the resolution of a dispute usually involves one or both participants apologising to the other, who must accept the apology' (1986:147). Hendry believes that all the training in interpersonal relations is geared toward the maintenance of harmony (1986:164), stating that, 'the ideal amongst children playing is that they should be *nakayoku* (on good terms, at peace, harmonious), and able to play smoothly with anyone. This is emphasised by adults as important training for harmonious relations in later life' (1986:164). The most frequently mentioned behavioural trait mentioned in my research was that of not causing inconvenience to other people and getting on with them.

Compassion was 'quite important' for boys and girls, with 2 of 13 Stayer Mothers stating that it was 'vital', particularly in Australia. The majority of Stayer Fathers similarly agreed that it was 'quite important'. **Self-assertion** according to Stayer Mothers was equally 'quite important' and 'vital', particularly in Australia. 1 of 13 respondents noted that it was 'very important' for boys and 'quite important' for girls. Stayer Fathers were divided between 'very important' and 'vital', 1 noting that in Japan self-assertion was 'not important'.

Initiative was reported as being 'quite important' to 6 of the 13 Stayers with 1 noting that it was 'quite important' for boys and girls. 5 of the Stayer Mothers noted that it

was 'very important', while 2 saw it as 'vital', 1 noting that it was 'vital' in Australia but 'not important' in Japan. Stayer Mothers pointed out that **tidiness** was 'quite important' 1 stating that it was 'not important' in Australia while 3 pointed out that it was 'very important'. 1 parent felt that it was 'very important' for girls and 1 stated that it was 'very important' in Japan. Stayer Fathers reported that it was equally 'quite important' and 'very important'. Stayer Mothers responded that **intelligence** was 'quite important', 1 noting equally 'quite important' for boys and girls. 4 felt that it was 'very important', 1 responding that it was 'very important' in both Japan and Australia. 4 of 13 indicated that intelligence was 'very important'.
Equal numbers of 'very important' and 'vital' were reported for **happiness** while 1 respondent noted that it was 'vital' for both boys and girls in both Japan and Australia.

The majority of Stayer Fathers (3 out of 4) reported that happiness was 'vital', yet in the vocabulary of the Japanese language, the word 'happiness' occupies a rather weak meaning and is used sparingly. 'This linguistic attribute reflects a persistent belief that the concept of happiness is dangerous and illusory' (Ozaki, 1987:246). The women in my research did not discuss the concept of happiness; one mother, however, mentioned that the ability to be free to hug and kiss her children gave her enormous pleasure. Her eyes lit up and she had a huge smile when she spoke of this. Another mother made it clear that happiness is not personal when she stated that,

> *I would like my son to be able to be happy for other people's happiness. Not to feel threatened by other's happiness nor see it as competition* (Mrs.L. Stayer: June 14, 2000).

Of the 13 Stayer Mothers, 8 indicated that **industriousness** was 'quite important', 1 noting that it was 'not important' in Australia but 'vital' in Japan. Another 2 noted 'vital', 2 noted 'very important'. The 4 Stayer Fathers responded that it was 'vital'. Stayer Mothers pointed out that **attitude** was 'quite important', 1 pointing out that while it was 'quite important' in Japan it was 'vital' in Australia. 3 noted that it was a 'vital' trait to develop. Stayer Fathers reported that attitude was 'very important'. Stayer Mothers reported that **helpfulness** was 'quite important', 1 noting equally so for both boys and girls. 3 of 13 responded that helpfulness was 'vital', one noting

equally 'vital' in Japan and Australia. Stayer Fathers said that it was 'quite important'.

Having an **awareness of others' needs** was reported by 6 of the 13 Stayer Mothers to be 'vital', 1 noting particularly for girls; 5 mentioned that it was 'quite important,' with 2 stating that it was 'very important', 1 noting that it was particularly so for girls. Stayer Fathers indicated equal numbers of 'very important' and 'vital'.

Competitiveness was considered by 3 Stayer Mothers as 'not important'. 7 saw it as 'quite important', 1 noting 'particularly so for girls' and one noting particularly so in Japan. 1 said 'very important', 1 noting 'particularly for boys' and 2 said 'vital', one noting particularly in Australia. Stayer Fathers responded that competitiveness was 'quite important'.

Individualism was considered by 4 of 13 of Stayer Mothers as 'vital'. 5 as 'very important', 1 noting equally so for both boys and girls, 1 also noting particularly in Australia. 2 stated that it was 'not important', 1 noting that it was particularly 'not important' in Japan. 2 of the Stayer Fathers reported that it was 'very important', while 1 of 4 reported 'very important' and 1 of 4 reported 'not important'.

Of the 7 Sojourner Mothers **independence** was rated by 4 as being 'quite important' and by 2 as 'very important'. The 3 Sojourner Fathers were evenly spread between 'quite important', 'very important', and 'vital', 1 noting that it was 'vital' for boys and 'quite important' for girls. The ages of the Sojourner children ranged between 4 and 16. Hendry's study had found that independence was a common desired trait mentioned by mothers of three-to-five year-olds. The ability of a child to do things for itself was considered valuable. Hence self-reliance and autonomy were qualities that were encouraged, for example, eating, going to the toilet, putting away toys (Hendry, 1986:98).

Generosity was considered to be 'vital' by Sojourner Mothers while **compliance** was considered to be 'very important' by Sojourner Mothers. Equal numbers of 'very important' and 'vital' were noted for **kindness** (see Appendix C: table 2). The quality of *sunao* is particularly prized by the Japanese. It is a concept which covers a

range of meanings from meek, submissive, compliant, passive and honest (White,1987:17).

Compassion was slightly less popular with 3 of the 7 Sojourner Mothers stating that it was 'quite important' and 3 stating that it was 'very important'. 1 said that they thought it was 'vital'. Similarly with Sojourner Fathers, compassion was considered to be 'quite important'. 4 Sojourner Mothers responded that **self-assertion** was 'quite important' and 3 pointed out that it was 'very important'. Sojourner Fathers suggested that self-assertion was 'quite important'. In her study Hendry (1986) found that the quality of knowing one's mind was considered quite popular; however, a child with this quality was often criticised for it under 'bad' points' as 'having a 'strong will' (1986:98). 5 Sojourner Mothers intimated that **initiative** was 'quite important' and 2 said 'very important' compared with all Sojourner Fathers rating it as 'very important'. 4 of the 7 Sojourner Mothers indicated that **tidiness** was 'very important', and 2 of the Fathers said 'very important'. 1 Sojourner Mother responded that **intelligence** was 'not important', while another 1 noted that it was 'vital', and the majority seeing it as 'very important'. 3 Sojourner Mothers suggested that **happiness** was 'vital' while 2 of 3 Sojourner Fathers also mentioned the same. 5 of 7 of Sojourner Mothers noted that **industriousness** was 'very important' while Sojourner Father were evenly spread across 'quite important', 'very important' and 'vital'. **General attitude** was considered to be 'quite important' and 'very important' in almost equal numbers, while 1 Sojourner Father responded that attitude was 'vital' for a boy and 'very important' for a girl. **Helpfulness** was fairly evenly distributed between 'quite important' and 'very important' for Sojourner Mothers, while all Sojourner Fathers responded with 'very important'. In a study by Hendry (1986) it was found that 'one aspect of good character which was mentioned frequently was 'being helpful to parents'. Hendry states that this was mentioned more frequently on the public kindergarten forms than on the private ones (Hendry, 1986:98). 5 of 7 of female Sojourners responded that **awareness of others' needs** was 'vital'. Sojourner Fathers noted the same. 2 of the 7 Sojourner Mothers responded that **competitiveness** was 'not important'. 4 said 'quite important' and 1 seeing it as 'vital'. The 3 Sojourner Fathers responded with 1 saying 'not important', 1 stating 'quite important' and 1 'very important'. **Individualism** was considered to be 'quite important' for 4 of the Sojourner Mothers and 'vital' for 1, while Sojourner Fathers

responded with 'very important'. Japanese children are encouraged to limit their individualism and blend into the group. Children are encouraged to be cheerful *(akarui)*, to be like others *(juninnami)*, to comply *(sunao)*, to get on with others *(nakayoku)* and to have fun *(tanoshii)*. When children are not behaving in these ways they are often told that they are cry babies *(nakimushi)*, that they are strange or peculiar *(okashii)*, and they may be ridiculed by parents, teachers or other children (Hendry, 1986:176).

The alternative to the ideal behaviour is discouraged and eventually the alternative becomes so unpleasant that the child becomes more eager to conform to parental wishes. Ultimately, it is not a matter of co-operating with the group or being individualistic, as an Australian view might represent things, it is rather a case of either co-operation or being left out, being happy like every one else or being laughed at, a choice between compliance or ostracism. The only alternative to joining in at kindergarten is to stand outside, either because one has not yet summoned up the self-control and courage to participate, or because one has been sent there for interrupting the harmony of the class. It is a matter of being one of the group, or being nothing at all. In the end it is not really a choice. It is the way of the world (Hendry, 1986:176). Similarly, White suggests that Japanese children are being taught that uniformity is necessary and prized, and are under pressure to homogenize themselves. According to White's findings children who seem to be out of step with the group and in need of discipline may become the target of bullying (1987:139). It is for these reasons that the Sojourners are conscious of the development of their children while in Australia. Maintaining their 'Japaneseness' will assist in protecting their children from 'bullies' on returning to Japan. The notion of individuality is tied in with the public and private face of the Japanese. Bachnik (1978) argues that the priority of developing one's relationship to others over self-development is what creates the value-weighting of self-discipline over spontaneity for Japanese. Restraint of self-expression is necessary for the organization of social life; the necessity of relating harmoniously to others, both individually and in a larger context, creates the focus of discipline. For example, 1 Stayer Father found *self expression in Australian children is too much* (Mr.M. May 16,2000) and advocated restraint.

Many of the parents mentioned that 'using language properly' was important. This may include not only the choice of vocabulary but also the way and how much one self-expresses. Bachnik maintains that 'disciplining one's self for the greater good of the social whole does not destroy, but rather develops the self. One gravitates from greater expression of an inner, spontaneous self in informal social scenes, to greater self-discipline in formal scenes' (1988:166). In contrast to Bachnik's view, however, Hendry asserts that, 'Parents also encourage children to formulate views and express their opinions, although if they are too forceful in this respect it is seen as a problem' (1986:165). Some of the parents in my study noted that one of the qualities that they admired in Australian children is their ability to express their opinions. Lebra points out that 'for the Japanese, individuality lies at the opposite pole from social involvement. The autonomy of the individual is protected and assured not in society, but away from it, where one may legitimately indulge in self-reflection or introspection' (Lebra in Smith, 1983:158-61). In other words there is a place for the individual to be reflective and refrain from self-disclosure. My study found that both mothers and fathers considered independence to be very important, while mothers often considered it to be 'vital'.

Generosity was more popular with mothers than fathers as far as being 'vital' was concerned. Compliance was considered to be 'vital' by a greater number of fathers than mothers. The quality of *sunao* is often translated into English as spoilt but the connotations of this word for Japanese are more positive within Japanese culture. In the Japanese view, giving a small child a lot of attention in the early stages is thought to encourage trust and thereby 'compliance' (1986:98). Hendry suggests that if a child receives enough love from a parent then it will be *sunao*, since reliance and trust will be established so that the child will comply with the parents' directives and advice (1986:96).

Smith argues that 'there are in daily use many words that reflect recognition of the need to accommodate, to endure, to bear, to accept, and to relinquish - *gaman, shinbo, akirame*, among them. All are words in daily use to children, kin and friends whom one is urging to come to terms and thereby demonstrate neither submissiveness nor passivity but true maturity' (1983:98). Matusmoto contends that why-askers tend to be frowned upon as not being *sunao* (non-resistant), a highly

prized virtue in Japan (1986:85). To react *sunao ni* is to react non-critically. To accept a situation as it presents itself (Matsumoto,1986:86) Ozaki maintains that, 'when we translate *sunao* as 'obedient' we project our notions of authority and our idea of an innate capacity for evil on to the Japanese child. He believes that a more accurate translation of the terms is 'co-operative as an act of confirmation of the self'. Hence a *sunao* child is a good participant in group activities, a good listener to adults, a good replicator of society's norms and standards. Being all these things makes him feel accomplished and enhances his identity, his most profound personal 'self' (1986:185). However, in Australia a compliant child may be viewed as a child lacking in character and personality. Both Stayer and Sojourner parents pointed out that compliance was 'very important' for their children, thus voicing their strong support for a Japanese value in socializing their children.

The expectation of kindness did not appear to differ between mothers and fathers. Compassion was also considered to be equally important by both mothers and fathers. Initiative seemed to be more important for fathers than mothers while tidiness seemed to be slightly more important for fathers than mothers. The value placed on intelligence in children did not seem to alter between the parents. Happiness was much the same for both mothers and fathers in the 'very important' 'vital' category. Industriousness seemed to be equally popular with mothers and fathers. Helpfulness and awareness of others' needs did not appear to differ between the parents. Competitiveness was more important for fathers than mothers. Being an individual was important to both parents.

In a 1986 study, the quality of being an individual was mentioned by Hendry as being important for some of her respondents. The respondents hoped to encourage an 'individualistic character' rather than their children being 'ordinary' or average. For some respondents however, this quality of being 'ordinary' or like everyone else was very attractive also. One mother explained that while many Japanese say in public that they want only for their child to be average, in private they would admit higher ideals (1986:100).

With regard to the quality of 'individuality', an article in Japan Pictorial (1993:14) points out that 'individualism', among parents of young children, is becoming

fashionable in ways that suggest a real misunderstanding of the values of independence. Instead of allowing children to find their own ways of spending time, more and more parents are seeking to inculcate creativity.' The article continues, 'many of today's children are faced with a double bind: conformity imposed in the name of individuality'.

Now that signs of greater freedom are appearing in the schools, anxious parents pressuring their children to become 'well-rounded' individuals might do well to recall that individuality, like creativity, is something to be discovered, not taught' (Masuda, 1993:16). Williams and Best argue that in Japan

> One must lose individuality in order to be fully integrated into society. It is difficult to rationalise self-interest. Dependency is culturally acceptable and autonomy perceived as a threat to the social order (1992:193).

With regard to the value of these traits comparing the Stayers with the Sojourners, I found that independence, self-assertion, initiative and being an individual were qualities rated as being more valuable with the Stayers group than the Sojourners group. Generosity, compliance, kindness, compassion, tidiness, intelligence, happiness, attitude and being aware of other's needs were all rated as much the same. The Stayers had absorbed some of the values that would be useful for their children in Australia such as being assertive and forthright while maintaining gentle characteristics of Japanese culture that they still considered important such as being aware of others and compliance. Industriousness was rated as more important by Sojourners than Stayers. The Stayer families, while in Australia had opportunities to recognise options other than academic success for their children. Many of the families had come to value their children's social opportunities and encouraged them to play after school with friends. They also pointed out that with less academic pressure on their children it was possible for them to pursue areas that they were genuinely interested in. The Sojourner families on the other hand had to keep up with the Japanese educational program so that they would not fall behind while they were in Australia.

During the interviews many respondents talked casually about the qualities they hoped their children would develop. They also spoke of character traits that they admired in Australian children. Their children's behaviour towards other children as well as their use of language and 'thoughtfulness' were often mentioned. Not upsetting others or becoming a nuisance, in other words, consideration for other people was paramount for almost all parents.

One father speaking in English to express his views spoke of the relationship between fathers and sons in Australia. He observed that,

> *Compared to Japanese relationship between mother and children and father and child general attitude of Australian parents towards children is less dependent. More independent, more individual based. The relationship between father and son in Australia is quite interesting. So-called mateship. Father calls son 'mate'. Perhaps olden days they called them son, but nowadays they call sons 'mate'. Such a relationship I admire* (Mr.E. Stayer: June 24, 2000).

Both groups reported that it was important that their children grow up to be gentle and kind. Respect was also mentioned.

> *Respect for all people is just common sense*
>
> (Mrs.H. Stayer: July 4, 2000).

> *I prefer my children do not have a rude attitude and speaking not naughty, nor make a noise or loud chasing* (Mrs.K.Stayer: July 9, 2000).

> *I would like my children to be courteous, considerate of others, not to point at people and of course be kind if someone approach you for direction even if it's an Asian looking face* (Mrs.J. Stayer: June 3, 2000).

With regard to the trait of being considerate or aware of others' needs and not causing inconvenience to others, White's claims may be of interest.

> The Japanese child is encouraged to reflect upon the consequences of his actions for others, as well as to expect

> from them the same kind of consideration. In the end, Japanese child-rearing develops a sensitivity and inclination to respond to the subtle mood states of other people (1986:96).

Hendry claims that in a child's relations with adults other than those of its own family, it is taught explicitly how to avoid causing *meiwaku*, inconvenience or trouble (1986:164). This notion of not causing *meiwaku* was cited by both Stayers and Sojourners as being the most desired trait of all. Part of being aware of others' needs involves self-restraint or reserve. This quality is noted as being an asset, and at the same time there is a common expression in Japanese, *enryooshinaide*, literally meaning, 'don't hold back', often used in formal situations to encourage people to be more spontaneous. Benedict (1946) describes the importance of self restraint and responsibility. Restraint is good mental training *(Shuuyoo)* and produces results not attained by freedom (Benedict, 1946:254).

> He must act responsibly for the outcome of his acts. No balance wheel can be better than this virtue in a dispensation which honours individual freedom, and Japanese child-rearing and philosophy of conduct have inculcated it as a part of the Japanese spirit (Benedict,1946:296).

While the work of Benedict is dated it is important to note that the value of self-restraint as good mental training for children seems to be just as valuable to Japanese parents today. The importance of self-restraint, as discussed in chapter 2, is also examined by Smith (1983). There is abundant evidence that in the conduct of their daily lives the Japanese are at pains to avoid contention and confrontation. Reciprocity in human relations is a value taught to children from an early age, and much of the definition of a 'good person' involves restraint in the expression of personal desires and opinions, empathy for the feelings and situation of others, and the practice of civility. Children are also taught that negative sanctions are likely to follow quickly upon behaviour that violates this value, which is reflected throughout the structure of interpersonal and social relations (1983:44).

One of the respondents commented that a trait that he did not feel comfortable with was that

> *Australian children talked a lot. In comparison Japanese children do not self-express to the same degree as Australian children* (Mr.E.Stayer: June 24, 2000).

Over half of the Stayer parents mentioned that self-assertion was vital. The Sojourners did not see this quality as being vital. One mother spoke of the importance of being able to be forthright.

> *Harmony is very important. Thinking about others, not blowing one's own trumpet. When Jun wants to do things in Australia he knows that if he doesn't put up his hand and say 'yes, yes' he won't be able to do anything. He says that if he does things the Japanese way he cannot succeed. Usually in Japan we have to wait until the teacher selects us. In Japan it is not good to stand out and we may be teased, for example, 'that kid always has his hand up for everything' and we think they just want to be the teacher's pet. Able children don't speak up for themselves. They won't volunteer themselves but sit a test. They are quiet and wait silently. We don't speak up about what we can do. Typical Japanese are very shy, they don't promote themselves, they are always quiet. To Japanese these are really good qualities however from the point of view of the Australian teacher he is too shy. But I can't change that, if he becomes too strong here then we won't be able to be accepted into Japanese society. In Australia they say that self-esteem and self-assertion are the most important. But if you're not careful you can increase your enemies* (Mrs. L. Stayer: June 14, 2000).

This mother pointed out that her son aged 16 was able to understand the different values placed on the kind of behaviour that is most socially acceptable and rewarding in Japan and Australia. In middle school in Japan children are taught to reflect on their words and behaviour, to act with prudence and to live an orderly life. Zeal, striving, and self-abnegation are to be combined with cheerfulness and sensitivity to others. In the lower grades the emphasis is on learning to bear hardship and to persist to the end with patience. Children are also taught to listen to the opinions of others and to admit frankly their mistakes (White,1987:17). In this way it seems that the inculcation of character traits is quite an important training even to the point of establishing which traits are to be developed in which stage of schooling. The Sojourner families educating their children in the Japanese school may be able to re-

enforce the character traits that will be important for their children when they return to Japan.

Hendry's study found that a source of parental anger was a 'selfish or thoughtless child' (1986:131). Other frequently mentioned qualities of character which caretakers found difficult to deal with were shortness of temper, impatience, obstinacy, stubbornness and strong will. Some also cited an inability to express an opinion clearly. Qualities most often cited as good points were cheerfulness, compliancy and thought for others (1986:131). Qualities that were found undesirable were, not speaking properly, and not persevering with things, as were an inability to play with other children and an unwillingness to lend toys. 'Shyness, cowardice and a retiring nature were also mentioned quite often as shortcomings, but a rough, wild temperament was also criticized' (1986:131). Although this study was conducted nearly 20 years ago, it would seem that the qualities of being aware of others, thoughtfulness and compliancy are still very important to the Japanese no matter where they reside.

Commonly recurring in all areas were the qualities of character such as thoughtfulness, kindness, the ability to get on with anyone, and the avoidance of being a burden to other people. With regard to different gender expectation, my research found that, for the Stayers group, independence, individuality, compassion, initiative, intelligence, happiness, industriousness, helpfulness and awareness of others' needs were noted by several respondents as being equally important for both boys and girls, however, compliance was seen to be more important for girls than boys, and generosity was noted as being more important for boys than girls. Self-assertion was noted as being more important for boys than girls, tidiness was mentioned as being 'very important' for girls, but not for boys by one respondent and 'competitiveness' was rated as more important for boys than girls.

While most of the authors have mentioned little on gender differences, Hendry's study observed that there were some clear differences in aspirations for boys and girls. 'For girls, in particular, parents frequently mentioned the word *yasashii*, which has translations such as 'gently', 'meek', and 'tender', as well as 'kind', and 'affectionate', and other qualities sought were charm, sensible judgement, integrity,

and understanding of the pain or suffering of others' (1986:161). In general, the list of aspirations for boys was somewhat longer and more varied than that for girls, including qualities of courage, steadfastness, resoluteness, responsibility and manliness' (1986:161).

In my study the most popular areas where parents marked different expectations for boys and girls were independence, compliance and self-assertion. Stayer Mothers saw independence as being 'vital' and 'very important'. One mother pointed out that independence was 'very important' for girls. Another mother suggested that it was important in Australia. While Japanese girls traditionally have been discouraged from being independent, the Stayer families seemed to value and encourage this trait. One Stayer Mother suggested that compliance was more important for girls than for boys, while another mother pointed out that compliance was 'quite important' only in Japan. The traditional value of compliance for girls was still valued by one mother in particular. This group also intimated that self-assertion was more important for boys than for girls. One mother noted that self-assertion was 'vital' in Australia. The Sojourners did not rate the qualities of independence and individuality as highly as the Stayers. Qualities such as compliance and kindness were rated more highly. While the qualities of independence and being an individual were important for the Stayers group one Stayer Father, asserted that the quality of being an 'individual' was 'not important' for his daughters to develop, while another Stayer Father noted them as being 'very important' for his children, including a daughter, to develop. I became aware of the very individual responses to these questions and the diversity in aspirations that the Japanese parents held for their children. The educational background and the reasons that brought the families to Australia were so diverse that it made sense that their individual responses would also be very diverse.

This chapter has examined a number of personality traits considered valuable by both groups of Japanese families. Qualities such as independence, self-assertion and initiative were more important to the Stayers group, as these qualities are perceived to be more useful for their children in Australia. These qualities were noted as not being as important for the Sojourners group. The most important value held by both groups was that of not causing inconvenience to others. Being aware of other people is an intrinsically important part of Japanese culture, which has continued to be

valued by both groups while living in Australia. The most important personality traits for the Sojourner group were generosity, happiness, kindness and awareness of others' needs. The concepts of public and private behaviour have also been discussed, and while distinction is also made in Australia regarding the appropriateness of certain types of behaviour for the outside world as distinct from friends and family groups, it seemed to me to be less formalised. For the Sojourners group, placing their children in a Japanese schooling system has enabled their children to remain in touch with the Japanese way of socialising and that will be important for the children on return to Japan. In fact, it will be vital if they are to fit back into Japanese society without risking being bullied and misunderstood. The Sojourner parents will also want to be seen as 'wise' parents in Japan. While the Stayers group teach their children about public and private behaviour at home through explanation and example, it is not so vital as they will not have the same pressures as the Sojourners to fit back into Japan.

The results indicate that the Stayer group is no longer attaching the same value towards aspects of socialising their children that may be found in the Sojourner group. Independence and initiative were rated as being vital qualities as were generosity, kindness, happiness and awareness of other's needs. For the Sojourner group the traits that were held to be the most valuable were generosity, kindness and awareness of others' needs. Independence and initiative were not seen as important to this group. The Sojourner group has retained many of the values that will be important for their smooth transition back into Japanese society.

CHAPTER 5: CROSS-CULTURAL ISSUES IN THE DIASPORA

This chapter discusses cross-cultural issues relating to the behavioural expectations held by the Japanese families for their children when they return to Japan, making friends in Australia, feedback from school teachers, the positive experiences of rearing children in diaspora in Australia. For the purpose of this study the definition of diaspora in the Oxford University Dictionary of Sociology is used; here diaspora is seen as the

> dispersion of people throughout the world. The term was first applied collectively to the Jews scattered after the Babylonian captivity, and in the modern period Jews living outside Palestine and latterly Israel, but has now been extended to include the situation of any widely spread migrant group. Proponents argue that improvements in transport (cheaper airfares) and communication, have made it possible for diasporan communities, scattered across the globe, to sustain their own distinctive identities, life styles, and economic ties. The rigid territorial nationalism that defines modern nation-states has in this way been replaced by a series of shifting and contested boundaries. New diaspora studies are focused principally upon personal narratives of migrants, and documented mainly the popular culture of the diasporan community (Marshall, 1998:38).

Reinharz maintains that empirical and cross-cultural investigations of the life experiences of parents in the diaspora are necessary if we are to speak of a psychology or sociology of parenting (1992:109).

'Cross-cultural research on child training has generally grown out of an interest in how the typical personality of a people is brought into being' (Barry, 1959:51). Barry asserts that any present feature of culture may influence future child training practices. Thus, in Barry's view child training may be viewed as an effect in a series of cultural events, rather than as cause (Barry, 1959:51). In this way, Japanese children raised in Western Australia are influenced by the society in which they are living as well as the views held by their parents, which have also been influenced by living in Australia. Pollock and Van Reken state that when we are having to learn and relearn the basic rules by which the world around us is operating, our energies

are spent in surviving rather than thriving. It is as if we are still figuring out the fingering scales on the piano while others around us are playing a Rachmaninoff concerto. Being out of cultural balance leaves us struggling to understand what is happening rather than fully participating in the event (1999:42).

Pollock and Van Reken also acknowledge, that some Third Culture Kids (TCKs are defined as children who are brought up in a culture that is not native to either parent) have lived in other places long enough to learn to appreciate the reasons and understanding behind some of the behavioural differences rather than simply being frustrated by them as visitors tend to be (1999:86). In my research I found that the Stayers group with older children (aged between 4 and 16 years: 10 boys and 12 girls) had demonstrated a degree of mastery and comfort in 'Australian' society. Most of the families seemed extremely confident and comfortable as well as proud of their children. The Sojourners group tended to have very young children (aged between 8 months and 9 years: 7 boys 5 girls) and had only spent two to three years in Australia: they still seemed very 'Japanese' in their outlook and expectations for their children, as the data suggested. Furthermore, like any parents of young children, they were still working out what child-rearing was about. One of the mothers in the Stayer group was born in Japan to Korean parents and married to a Japanese man. Despite being born and educated in Japan it became quite obvious that some of the values that she held for her children were a little different from some of the other Japanese mothers.

Appadurai (1996) suggests that as the shapes of cultures grow less bounded and become fluid, the work of cultural reproduction becomes a daily challenge. For some families in diaspora, he argues, the search for steady points of reference is difficult (1998:69). Steady points of reference for the Japanese families in my research included the Japanese playgroup, Japanese friends and the Japanese school. The Sojourners group, who have been in Australia for a short time, were more reliant on these Japanese points of reference than the Stayers group as the data suggests. The children of these families attended Australian schools. For many of them their work environment enabled them to mix with other Japanese. Other families in these groups mixed only with Australians and did not seem to need the reference group as much as the Sojourners.

Some of the families tried to provide their children with an education that would equip them to work across cultural boundaries, as one mother said,

> *to have credibility in Japan my son must know his own culture but also be versed in linguistic and cultural understanding on an international level. I must teach my son to have two faces. In Australia it is important to speak up but in Japan it is not done to insist yourself* (Mrs.O. Stayer: May 28, 2000).

Mrs.O. described the 'thinking' and 'creative' areas within education as being most important for her son to develop while in Australia. She stated that her son *must master facing the world*, that the Japanese way alone would not be sufficient.

> *My son must be able to express the world's words to Japan and he must be adept in both worlds to be credible in Japan* (Mrs.O Stayer: May 28, 2000)

Another Stayer Mother held similar views. She reported that sometimes she is an Australian mum and sometimes a Japanese mum.

> *When I am being a Japanese mum, I guess I am quite traditional. When we are in Australia my son follows the Australian way, and when we go back to Japan I say, 'No, you can't do that'.*
> *Gaining a wider view (of the world) has been a positive aspect of living in Australia. There are many different people from different backgrounds. Countries that have difficult political situations like Indonesia. My son has friends in the same class from Indonesia. He can hear their opinions and realize that the world is not just made up of Japan and the world is not just made up of Australia. They can share.*
> *My son's self esteem has become strong. However sometimes that doesn't help in Japan. For example when we bought a hamburger at McDonalds and the wrong order came, usually we would just leave it but Jun would say, 'excuse me but this order is wrong'. He would say it politely but the Japanese wouldn't like it. It's common sense here though* (Mrs.L. Stayer: June 14, 2000).

In other words, they are rearing their children on what Green terms 'decontexualised cultural capital' where knowledge is less tied to particular others, or to the unique

community setting because they move back and forth (1997:46). Their decontextualized knowledge can be easily recontextualized in a variety of different settings. Common sense, as a contrasting mode of meaning management, comes to rest comfortably with the ambiguous and the contradictory (Hannerz,1990:86). The children are expected to travel to Japan and meet with extended family; they are encouraged to be flexible and to make appropriate adaptations accordingly. The important factor that I was able to discern was that the degree of personal change and accommodation to Japanese culture on return to Japan varied with each family, depending on the parental expectation. Hannerz sees that the transnational cultures are bridgeheads for entry into other territorial cultures. Instead of remaining within them, one can use the mobility connected with them to make contact with the meanings of other rounds of life, and gradually incorporate this experience into one's personal perspective (Hannerz, 1990). What Hannerz is implying here is that once this flexibility is achieved in a socio-cultural sphere, it may then be possible to incorporate the skills learned into one's personal life in a helpful and productive way.

The issue of what happens to children when they are raised outside their parents' home country is at the heart of The Third Culture Kid Experience by David Pollock and Ruth Van Reken. The fundamental difference between a TCK and one who has grown up in the country of the parents' birth is that it has experienced a new culture first hand. This diversity of experience could make this child a marvellous communicator, especially tolerant and accepting of all kinds of other people. Yet, ironically, it is also what sets him/her apart from the less travelled child and makes it hard for him/her to settle in one place for long. The authors, however, are adamant that children gain far more than they lose, growing into open-minded, easy-going adults. Third culture kids turn into cultural chameleons, switching easily back and forth between cultures, developing a sense of empathy for other nationalities (Pollock and Van Reken, 1999). While Pollock and Van Reken are suggesting that the TCK will be a marvellous communicator and will be tolerant and accepting of all kinds of people, there is no evidence to support this. While this may be the case for many TCKs, we cannot assume that it will be the case for all.

Stayer Mother Mrs.F. discusses the difficulties she has encountered in getting her children to make the adaptations back to the Japanese culture when she returns to Japan with them.

> *Because I grew up in Japan I can easily switch back and forth, but my children have no idea at all about being Japanese as they were born here. My [volume] voice is really amazing when I go back to Japan. Here it is spacious so I have to shout when I talk to them but in a Japanese house my [volume] is less. Because my children behave in Japan, as they would as if they were in Australia it is a bit strange for people. I probably wouldn't notice if they sat on the floor in the train here but because no-one does that in Japan I notice. I did ask them to get up, but because I let them do it in Australia they wouldn't listen to me. I realised that I said 'yes' in Australia so I felt I should say 'yes' in Japan. I understand that some people teach two different ways, and I would probably prefer that but I think it is confusing for them* (Mrs.F.Stayer: August 21, 2000).

Perhaps this is a case of children meeting the expectations held for them. In other words, if the mother feels it is too difficult for her child to manage two cultures and expects her children to find it hard then there may be less pressure on the children to make the changes that the culture requires in order to blend with the majority.The same mother also talked about her children's different behaviour when they returned to Japan. She had noticed that,

> *their movement is much bigger than Japanese kids. There are so many cars and buses that they can't run anywhere, we have to be careful because it is dangerous. Also, Japanese kids never sit on the floor of a train, but my kids do and because their faces are 100 percent Japanese looking when they open their mouths and speak English people stare as if to say what is going on here?* (Mrs.F. Stayer: August 21, 2000).

The comments made by Mrs.F. reinforce how important it is for her to be able to blend in, and as her children look Japanese they draw attention to not behaving in ways that Japanese children would.

One of the questions the parents were asked to comment on related to the education that their child was receiving, in particular how they had found feedback from the child's class teacher (see Appendix C: table 3). One of three Stayer Fathers

commented that advice received from his child's teacher had been 'confusing' and one of eight Stayer Mothers found feedback 'confronting'. All Sojourner Fathers and Mothers had found feedback from teachers 'useful'. The differences in responses to this question may be due to the fact that the Sojourners were dealing with Japanese teachers while the Stayers were communicating with Australian teachers. Respondents were also asked to comment on any issues that had been raised by class teachers with regard to their child's progress at school. The mothers in the Stayers group reported that their children were limited in their play with other children due to lack of language ability. This had also affected their ability to make friends. Stayer Fathers also reported that their children experienced difficulties due to language problems.

Mothers in the Sojourners group reported that they were curious as to how their children related to other children. They were concerned about the development of their child's personality and how they behaved with other children as well as their academic ability. Some of the mothers were unsure as to what they wanted from their children's education. They wondered about their children's current developmental stage and if their needs were being met. One mother explained that her son was too independent and could not accept the opinions of others. She worried that her son could not be neat and organized. The same mother worried that her daughter was too quiet and had trouble separating from her. *When I am around my daughter depends on me and cries* (Mrs.Y. Sojourner: June15, 2000).

Other parents were concerned that their children were self-centred and they wanted them to show more kindness to friends. One Father in the Sojourners group also commented that he was anxious that his son was too self-centred and did not think enough about others. He felt that he was too concerned about doing things in his own time. *We want our son to recognise others' needs, be more open-minded and flexible* (Mr.Y. Sojourner: June 15, 2000). Another Sojourner Father commented that his daughter was too spoiled and not able to separate from her mother easily. Their children's English ability as well as their ability to mix with other children were also mentioned by the Sojourner group.

Another mother said that her child's teacher was very strict as several times the teacher had said to her four year old daughter when she was talking to a friend in class, 'if you want to talk you had better go outside.' She asked if this was the normal Australian way for teachers to teach, and commented that she had heard that there is less pressure to do well at school in Australia compared to Japan.

> *In Japan, if you can't do Japanese language or maths etc. you can't progress well, but in Australia if you're not that bright maybe you can excel at art or drawing, is it true? I think this system is great for children's individuality and self-esteem as it encourages and develops their strengths* (Mrs.M.Stayer: May 16, 2000).

One of the reasons that the Japanese families enjoyed bringing up their children in Australia was the perceived absence of pressure to perform academically compared to Japan. Many of the families mentioned this as a positive aspect, as children were more able to pursue hobbies and personal interests as well as develop themselves.

The social forces that shape everyday life are crucial for understanding the experiences and practices of life for all groups of people. The struggles that produce different people's lives, and the ways in which they make sense of their experiences, are vital elements in the making of national and cultural imaginaries.

> Strangely enough, stories about the nation often depict different cultural realities and negotiations of identity in limiting ways. Some stories reinforce the need to critically engage with the social relations and understandings of identity in contemporary cultural contexts (Zournazi, 1998:9).

Zournazi argues that having more than one language and perspective offers the possibility to imagine language and cultural identities differently. Sharon Willmer, an adult Third Culture Kid and therapist for TCKs, spoke at a conference about issues that some adults had developed with regard to having been TCKs and said that one of the greatest challenges she faced among her clients was that few of them had any idea what it meant to be a person. In particular, they had little sense of their own personal identity (Pollock and Van Reken,1999:146). Pollock and Van Reken maintain that,

> while peers in their new (and old) community are internalising the rules of culture and beginning to move out with budding confidence, TCKs are still trying to figure out what the rules are. They are not free to explore their personal gifts and talents because they're still preoccupied with what is or isn't appropriate behaviour. Children who have to learn to juggle many sets of cultural rules at the same time have a different developmental experience from children growing up in one basically permanent, dominant culture that they regard as their own (1999:152).

Some of the parents in my study expected that their children would adapt their behaviour when in Japan and some thought it unrealistic to expect this (this was expected for children aged 13 and 14). The development of identity for the children of the Stayers group is of particular interest to me as these children have not always been able to approximate themselves with other Japanese children in the same way as the Sojourners group. The children in the Stayers group attend Australian schools and could be described more as Japanese Australians rather than Australian Japanese. Many values are transferred to children via local school curricula through stories, poems, rhymes, games and songs. For Japanese children being raised in Australia, many of these opportunities are unavailable if they are being educated in Australian schools. Some of the Japanese playgroups have managed to incorporate traditional songs and rhymes into their programs in order that the children maintain some contact with those aspects of traditional childhood culture. Certainly for some of the families that I have spoken with, mothers have spent time singing Japanese songs at night time when children go to sleep as well as spending a lot of time teaching them Hiragana writing skills in addition to their own schooling program.

When asked how easy it was to rear her child in Western Australia (see Appendix C: table 4) a mother in the Stayers group expressed her concern for her daughter thus,

> *because I only speak Japanese to my three year old I worry that her English language is not developing. Attending playgroup, gym groups and library story time has helped. It has really helped that there have been lots of places for us to go as mother and child* (Mrs.Y.Stayer: June 15, 2000).

Another mother said that she worried about teenage crime and the fact that drugs seemed readily available in Australian schools, not realising that Japanese teenagers

are also experiencing similar cultural difficulties. Many of the families commented on the merits of the abundance of parks, open spaces for play, places to ride bikes, the beach and the fact that many places are free. Other comments included reference to friendly adults who talk to children in a friendly manner, to school as being fun, and the environment as being age-appropriate.

A father pointed out that,

> *there will always be some difficulties in bringing up children no matter where you are, but in W.A. the society is ready to help parents and children to solve problems. This hardly happens in Japan* (Mr.Y.Stayer: June 15, 2000).

Mr.M. (Stayer) reported that *self-expression is a little too much*, while Mrs.A. (Sojourner) reported that as her child is still young she had not had to worry too much about her inability to speak English.

> *It is a great environment with lots of animals and horses. My children love being here and we also think it is a great environment to raise children* (Mrs.A.Sojourner: May 14, 2000).

One father from the Stayer group mentioned that in Japan the bullying problem is a serious one.

> *In Japan people think that it is best to be like everyone else. People feel insecure to be different. Children that return to Japan after being reared in another culture suffer culture shock and are afraid of being bullied. In Australia there are many different children from different cultures so they are used to being with different children and can join in and mix well with everyone* (Mr.Y.Stayer: June 15, 2000).

He is focussing on the positive characteristics for the society he has chosen to live in. The Sojourner Fathers included comments such as,

> *'my oldest son goes to Japanese school so it's much the same. Not much language stress. My daughter goes to local school so she uses English. She may feel stress.' 'Everyone is kind and helpful'. 'The moral consciousness is high in Australia so it suits us.' 'Games are not necessary or*

available so much and there are lots of opportunities to do exercise' (interviews: June15, August 18, May 14, 2000).

The main issues raised by the Sojourner Fathers were related to the presence or absence of stress that their children may have felt, as well as how comfortable they felt themselves as parents living in Australia.

One family had only been in Australia for a year. The mother had made the comment that in Japan too many children were preoccupied with playing computer and television Nintendo games and that they did not want this for their children. It would seem that all groups are predominantly managing with the rearing of their children in Western Australia, with the Stayers expressing a strong liking for the Australian way of life, and the society in which they have chosen to rear their children.

The families were asked to comment on aspects of their children's behaviour that they noticed when they return to Japan for holidays (see Appendix C: table 4). Some of the respondents had never been back to Japan and a few commented that they had not noticed anything. One Stayer Mother reported that she liked the way her children demonstrated their ability to *show their happiness without any hesitation.* Children in Japan do not display spontaneity of emotion such as smiling or laughing easily compared with Australian children. The Japanese children are more controlled in their behaviour and do not readily show emotion in their facial expression to the same degree as Australian children. Other comments included,

the children are much the same though some gestures are different. They mix happily with everyone. They express their emotions (Mrs.J.Stayer: June 3, 2000). *Without hesitation they express their feelings. They sit cross-legged everywhere* (Mrs.F. Stayer:August 21, 2000). *They hug easily* (Mrs.H.Stayer: July 4, 2000).

One Male Stayer responded with,

*my child likes to eat all kinds of food now (*Mr.M. May 16, 2000).

Another commented ,

> *my children are bright and open* (Mr. Y.June 15, 2000).

In fact, all comments highlighted the positive aspects of their children's 'different' behaviour in Japan with the emphasis on self-expression. The families took delight in seeing their children as being open both emotionally and with physical warmth. Mothers in the Sojourners group reported that,

> *there are too many children in Japan playing game boys and T.V. games. I notice my children when they are here like to play outside and make things* (Mrs.G. August 18, 2000).

Sojourners fathers' comments included,

> *they state their opinions clearly. There is nothing in particular for the boy but the girl goes to local school and does everything the Australian way* (Mr.Y. June 15, 2000). *Her thinking is also Australian. We worry about her Japanese language. We want to keep up her English when we return* (Mr.A. May 14, 2000).

In general Sojourners' comments reflected a celebration of the outdoors, nature and creativity. Most Sojourner children attend the Japanese school, however, one family with an outgoing chatty daughter at an Australian school expressed some concern with regard to her developing her Japanese! Another parent commented that on return to Japan, her son often forgot to remove his shoes when entering the home and also often sat on his bottom in public places instead of standing or sitting in a seat.

On observing a Japanese playgroup in Perth for a period of five years, combined with the experience of being a parent in Japan, it occurred to me that there was much in common in the situation of parents in the two countries. In both situations, parents had been conditioned by their culture to believe that certain combinations of circumstances called for certain responses and we were quite unaware that we have any choices in the matter. In the three years that I attended the Japanese playgroup I never witnessed a parent smacking, yelling or scolding their child in a chastising manner. Undesirable behaviour was always dealt with in a civil and quiet tone. I did not see aggressive behaviour, hitting or fighting amongst children. They seemed to

have a greater capacity to sort out passively their own differences. I wondered if this was a direct result of passive parenting, passive in the sense that potential disputes and altercations between children or parent and child are sorted out in a positive, emotionally distanced and gentle manner no matter what state the child was in. The notion of making a 'rod for their back' did not seem to exist for the Japanese mothers.

According to Moloney, cultural isolation includes all those factors related to an individual being unable to gain access to the widely shared patterns of learned behaviour transmitted in his society from one generation to the next. In other words, without access to a common group, parents can become handicapped in their access to the dominant cultural patterns that would perhaps not normally be questioned (1979:108) In one's own culture there is the opportunity for children to learn from and observe many people acting in the ways that are known for successful adult behaviour. However, for the Japanese groups in my research, there are considerations to be made regarding the kinds of behaviour that will be acceptable on return to Japan that may in turn influence the kind of behaviour that will be tolerated in Australia. Some of the families allow their children to be Australian here and in Japan expect them to be different. Williams (1972:121) discusses the importance of kinship and kin groups for children to be able to access lifelong models for relations with others in their society, and to gain other perspectives of their culture. Williams (1972:121) also proposes that there are some critical periods in infancy and childhood that are causally related to particular kinds of adult behaviour.

The Japanese families living in Perth do not have extended family or kinship groups for their children to gain other perspectives of their culture. This was one of the reasons that the Japanese playgroup was formed and why this has become very important for the Japanese mothers. At the playgroup the children play in Japanese, do activities in Japanese, have morning tea in a Japanese way and then finish with Japanese songs and poems. The mothers seemed very happy to work together with the children on crafts and songs encouraging the children to have the right manners and consideration for other children. This aspect of training was much more obvious at the Japanese playgroup than it was at the Australian playgroup where the training encouraged children to be more reliant on their own devices. At the Japanese

playgroup there was a lot more verbal explanation in the form of instructing children how to share and behave. There was less instruction at the Australian playgroup, however children were scolded promptly when their parents found it warranted. Very little scolding seemed to take place at the Japanese playgroup, as the verbal instructions kept children on target with the 'correct' behaviour.

Parents were also asked to comment on the kinds of experiences they regarded as positive experiences of cultural contact. Mothers in the Stayers group made the following comments,

> *children in Australia are encouraged to think a lot. Most Japanese don't care if kids think or not. We can easily get to parks and the beach* (Mrs.L. June 14, 2000). *My husband has watched families in Australia and now takes the children out a lot more. Education is relaxed and there is not much pressure. I like the international environment* (Mrs.K. July 9, 2000). *Nature and the environment here we can't get in Tokyo* (Mrs.M. May 16, 2000). *It's not too materialistic. Children can run in a big garden* (Mrs.H. July 4, 2000). *Children are better able to accept being different* (Mrs.J. June 23, 2000).

The responses from the Stayer Mothers seemed to focus mainly on education and the environment where the families seemed to enjoy the open spaces and nature that cannot easily be found in Japan, as well as the less competitive approach to education. Japan has a very high youth suicide rate and this is often blamed on the stress and competition that children must endure in the quest to succeed academically. Success in entrance exams determine which kindergartens, schools and universities children may enter and for some children the pressure to succeed is too great. It is not uncommon to hear of young children leaping to their deaths either prior to exams, or later when they have not been successful. One of the most favourable aspects of rearing children in Australia according to the parents in my study was the less stressful approach to education. Parents mentioned that there were opportunities for children to pursue their interests and still do well at something even if they were not academically strong. The Australian environment was also very appealing to the families in my study. The abundance of nature and the low cost as well as easy access to fun places was acknowledged by many families. Due to the

high population density of Japan it is not easy to find natural places for families to relax and enjoy doing things together. The large population means that most places are very crowded and family entertainment often means paying for entrance fees to fun parks where children must queue up to enjoy a ride. Fathers in the Stayers group responded with the following comments,

> *compared to Japan life here is relaxed. Children don't need to study so hard for entrance exams* (Mr.M. May 16, 2000). *Sport, especially golf, is cheap. It is a good environment for sport. Living in Australia is good for learning English* (Mr.E. June 24, 2000). *I like the natural international environment. My daughter can play with many kinds of children who have different languages, different ethnic backgrounds and cultural backgrounds* (Mr.H. July 4, 2000).

Stayer Fathers valued the environment, education and the multi-cultural nature of Australia. The families are able to enjoy these aspects of living in Australia as they are not possible in Japan. This quality of life is sought after by the Stayer families and may have been the very reason that the families have chosen to raise their families here.

Mothers in the Sojourners group reported that,

> *we have more leisure time together as a family for the beach and parks. The environment is good* (Mrs.Y. June 15, 2000). *The environment is fantastic. There are lots of chances to get close to animals* (Mrs.A. May 14, 2000). *At the childcare centre there are lots of other children from a variety of countries so they have been easily able to accept people from other countries The children have been able to experience culture other than Japanese culture* (Mrs.G. August 18, 2000).

One of the Stayer Mothers made the following comments regarding education in Australia and highlighted some differences that could be found in Japan.

> *When I am thinking like a Japanese Mum I think that just studying is enough. The most important thing in Japan is study and a child is measured by his grades and they say 'oh study is so hard' but entering University is the most important thing. It is hard to just study for eighteen years but*

> *it is very important. I also studied hard to get into a good university. It's O.K. for children who like to study but there are lots that don't. It's very hard in Japan for the ones that don't. In Australia study is important but so is music and sport and there are lots of other things that a child can develop confidence in. There are lots of possibilities for children to develop as people. This is fun for the parents in Australia* (Mrs.L.Stayer: June 14, 2000).

This mother is aware of a duality of values. On the one hand Mrs.L. admits that when she is thinking like a Japanese mother, prioritising study is the most important thing for her child, however, she is also acknowledging that academic achievement is only one aspect of an education in Australia.

Mrs.H. commented on the environment by saying that,

> *I think the environment is good. There are lots of well maintained parks. Australians use their time in a relaxed manner. Here we can enjoy our weekends together as a family. My husband is able to return home from work earlier so we can relax and eat our meal together. Our time together has increased, we often go to the park and play* (Mrs.H. Stayer: July 4, 2000).

Due to work commitments in Japan it is unusual for husbands to return home to their families until the children have gone to bed. Living in Australia has enabled many families to enjoy increased time together particularly at meal times. Time spent together at meal times is highly valued by many of the Japanese families as it provides an opportunity for getting together and sharing conversation.

Mrs.H. comments on her favourite aspect of raising her children in Australia; learning to receive and give physical affection.

> *My children love hugs and kisses and I also enjoy it. My children can grow more naturally in the Australian environment. She commented that some Australian parents are very strict and others are not. 'I feel a bit uncomfortable when some parents let kids do anything they like* (Mrs.H.Stayer: July 4, 2000).

Mr.M. remarked that what he really enjoyed about Australia was the diversity, particularly of language, linguistic diversity, cultural diversity and religious diversity.

> *Children can enjoy tolerance of diversity. The Australian society encourages social diversity and it is natural state for the children to be raised in* (Stayer: May 16, 2000).

What he really liked about rearing his children in Australia was the fact that they did not have to think too much about study. He continued by asserting that,

> *there is a lot less pressure on our children to study in Australia. We can bring up our children in a much more relaxed fashion here* (Mr.M. Stayer: May 16, 2000).

Overall the respondents seem to value similar aspects of Australian life, namely the environment, the less competitive education system and the multi-cultural aspect of Western Australia. The families have been able to take advantage of these opportunities while in Australia and it is no doubt that for the Stayer families these factors would have contributed to the reasons that they have chosen to raise their children here.

Parents in both groups were asked to comment on their children making friends in Australia, to explain how easy was it for their children to make friends with Australian children. Two mothers in the Stayers group reported that it was difficult at first but now easy; one noted that it was not easy due to language difference. Others found it comparatively easy. Two Stayer Fathers commented that it was difficult to make friends due to language problems. Three Sojourner Mothers commented that it is very difficult due to language problems. Other comments included,

> *Because my son can't speak English it is difficult for him to play, however, he can do the activities. When we came my daughter was just 3 and couldn't speak English so it was hard for her to play but now she understands English and is a little older so there are no particular problem* (Mrs.Y. June 15, 2000). *My younger child was 1 when we came and the younger was born here so we have no problems. They are still too young* (Mrs.A. May 14, 2000*). As the children have got older it has become a problem that they don't speak English. I also worry about incidences of discrimination against non-Australians* (Mr.Y. June 15, 2000).

It is clear that the main perceived difficulties for children of the Sojourner group in making friends were related to the language barrier. This is also claimed by Sojourner fathers who see

> *an inability to speak English is the greatest problem* (Mr.G. August 18, 2000). *My son uses the excuse that he can't play because he doesn't get on with Australian children* (Mr.Y. June 15, 2000).

A mother in the Stayers group sums up the different way the Stayers have decided to live in Australia.

> *After school my son plays nearly every day with other Australian children. He has friends coming to our house or he is going to other children's houses. My son's teacher had said that he should not speak Japanese at home but I don't agree with this. I think it is important that my children speak English together sometimes. Most of my son's friends at school are Asians but it seems easy for him to make friends. My son has lots of friends but my daughter has only one special friend. I think it is easy for us to raise our children in Australia because of the space and we love having a big garden.* (Mrs.H. Stayer:July 4, 2000).

Mr.M. Stayer commented that his children had recently changed to having mainly Asian friends, in particular Chinese, Malays, Iranians, and Vietnamese. Mr.M. also mentioned some Jewish friends as well. This trend in friendships was also found in three of the Stayer families who commented that their children seemed to relate better to Asian friends than they did to Australian children. While the children had acquaintances who were Australian they had developed the closest friendships with Asian children. Mrs.J.(Stayer) the mother of twin girls spoke of the difficulty that her children had experienced at school with friendships.

> *The school didn't treat my girls well. We had a very tough year. Everyone said Australia is such a friendly country and it's a Christian school too. There were some silly girls that would always ask my girls what marks they got for English and I told my daughters to tell these girls that it was their second language not their native tongue. My daughters unfortunately have not been able to find a really good friendship with Australian girls. They are twins so they had*

each other but maybe that was more fun to tease. Sometimes in the dark science room someone would throw things at my daughter when she couldn't speak English properly and the science teacher would take her out of the classroom and never try to discover who threw things, while they were supposed to be watching a science video. The teacher did tell the boy's parents but I said that there should be a formal apology at least from the parents if not from the boy. So I ended up spending the first year writing 660 lines of letters of protestation.
I am going to write a book with one little tiny chapter on sort of what parents can expect to happen for students in high school. It wasn't so much bullying but excluding. One of the girls causing the trouble was Italian and DUX of the school so it was very disappointing. Perhaps they also have experienced being victims. My children never had sleep overs. Only by one girl. She's sweet but not very interested in studies. It's been hard for my twins to pick up English. Their best friends are two Chinese and Indonesian girls. They have a few Australian friends. They know lots of girls but not really special. There is one couple I know and their daughter is so sweet but she's interested in painting her nails. If my children had been surrounded by wonderful Australian girls and boys maybe I would have got to know more Australian parents. They might have been invited out or I could have had them over so I could get to observe and see what I would like to emulate. Through my husband I got to know the minister X (name removed to protect the family) family but I don't know that they would be a very typical Australian family. A wonderful couple, 6 children. I'm not trying to name drop. I got to know many couples in this building but if I were living in City Beach for example, with neighbours with children it would have been different (Mrs.J. Stayer: June 3, 2000).

This mother expressed great disappointment in the way in which her twin daughters had not been able to make good friends. Part of the difficulty was that they had each other as a friend and partly the mother's own disappointment was in not being able to meet other parents had her twins made close friends. This mother, wife of a diplomat, also had expectations of the type of children that would be appropriate for friendship and this may have limited her twins in finding acceptable company.

One Stayer with three children commented that it was tiring to have to drive her children to and from school every day. Most children in Japan ride bikes, walk or catch public transport to school, therefore there is less pressure on parents to drive their children to school each day. Due to the distances in Australia as well as the lack

of public transport compared to Japan, parents in my study found that driving children to school was a necessity.

> *Compared to Japan most children catch public transport, so for families here picking up children after school is a very big job* (Mr.M. Stayer: May 16, 2000*).*

Mr. M. also reported that his children do not really speak their minds as much as Australian children. Some positive aspects of raising his children in Australia included the opportunity to enjoy sport and that sport was very cheap. Mr.M. also liked the international feeling, being in a country of many migrants. One of the Sojourners commented that he would need to fit his boys back into Japanese society when they returned to Japan.

> *Because my children will need to adapt back in Japan I am sending them to the Japanese school* (Mr.G.Sojourner: August, 18, 2000).

Mr.G's youngest child had experienced a little time at the Australian school and Mr.G. commented that it was very different from Japanese school, as

> *the parents come to school in T shirts and thongs, and that's a bit too casual. Also, we didn't get a special welcome when we started at the school* (Mr.G. Sojourner: August 18, 2000).

He also mentioned that the lifestyle was relaxed. Mr.G. on the other hand was puzzled by the Australian way.

> *It seems strange to me. It's not just Australia though, if the system is there mothers just pop their children in. I am opposed to that. I feel that they need to be at home with mum until they enter school* (Mr.G. Sojourner: August 18, 2000).

Mrs.L (Stayer) talked about the fact that there was less pressure on children in Australia from their Australian parents, while Mrs.H.(Stayer) praised the way in which children had access to a variety of inexpensive after school activities to attend, like swimming and gymnastics. The mother pointed out that it was hard for her to communicate with other parents because of her lack of English but that it was fun

trying. Regarding positive points on Australian parenting style, one Sojourner mother commented, *most Australian parents' don't scold their children and don't hit them* (Mrs.Y. June 15, 2000). However, she felt that a negative aspect was that a lot of Australian parents were divorced, and that this was in her opinion not good for the children.

Mrs.F. observed,

> *sometimes I think Australian parents are too kind to their children. They look like they are but I'm not sure. Japanese parents are not so strict and they give their children a lot of games and whatever they want* (Mrs.F. Stayer: August 21, 2000).

Mrs.K thought that Australian children respect their parents much more than Japanese children do. *According to surveys in Japan, Japanese children don't respect their parents* (Mrs.K. July 9,2000).

With regard to the involvement of the father in family life, one Stayer, Mrs..H. suggested that in Japan fathers were not so involved with the family life but here fathers help a lot and do family things. This was seen as the main difference between family life in Australia and Japan. Compared with children in Japan the respondent noticed that when she took her own children back to Japan, they were very confident and bright, and friendly to adults and to everyone. She said that she pointed out that in Japan children are very reserved and shy. '*My children can smile naturally, and they are very open*' (Mrs.H. July 4, 2000).). With regard to education, the respondent felt that there is less pressure here and that the work is easier. However, she intimated that education in Australia is good because until year three or four children still learn by play, writing or talking. Cooking and having grand-parents to visit the school, she felt were the 'right social things' to encourage. By comparison, in Japan, children need to concentrate with paper and just text books.

With regard to the education system Mrs.F. stated that,

> *in Japan there are many rules that start with 'do not' or 'don't'. It seems that in Australia there aren't so many rules, just respecting others. For example, you have to listen to others when they want to say something. I don't know parenting in Japan now, but I used to feel that parents forced*

> *their philosophy onto to their children, children are not given much choice* (Mrs.F. Stayer: August 21, 2000).

The Stayers seem to be positively disposed to the society they have chosen to live in and critical of the society of birth. Most of them have resided long enough in Australia to have come to understand other ways of perceiving and valuing things and hence now have something to make a comparison with.

With regard to schooling Mrs.A. (Stayer: August 8, 2000) expressed the following opinion.

> *In Australia kids at school can* choose *activities. In Japan kids can't choose, they all have to do the same activity.*

Mrs.J (Stayer) reported similar comments to other respondents regarding friendships at school.

> *My children have a few Australian friends but their best friends are Chinese and Indonesian girls* (June, 3, 2000).

She observed that her children had matured more than Japanese girls of the same age and this she noticed when she took them back to Japan for holidays. She said that her children were more discerning and analysed things more keenly than the average child. She also felt that her children had had to confront many psychologically difficult situations while in Australia. Mrs.J. was the only parent who mentioned that her children struggled sometimes with their sense of self. She had twin teenage girls who had a difficult time being accepted at school and making friends. Most of the friends that they had made and had been accepted by were other Asian children.

Kwok argues for the importance of Asian Australians preserving their unique potential, where cultural forces within Australia and in their lives have influence over who they are. While Kwok asserts that being influenced by things is not a bad thing in itself, he maintains that Australian Asians should not permit themselves to be defined in terms of other people's, including their own parents, expectations.

> For many second-generation Asian Australians their ethnicity will be construed purely in terms of local social forces that are beyond their control. By reacting or aspiring to Anglo-

> Australian culture or an imported Asian culture, young Asian Australians are trapping the scope of their potential. There is the possibility that they may expose their self-esteem to the whims of the world's prejudice. We have the benefit of insight into two cultures and thus an embodied capacity for self-awareness and critical judgement with regard to personal identity and mainstream culture. It would be terrible for us to throw away that potential because of artificial social constructs that we feel compelled to follow (Kwok, 2000:13).

Kwok maintains that ethnicity is a category imposed by cultural circumstance upon himself and other Asian Australian. 'The real question is whether we have the temperament to appreciate what is uniquely ours, that being the intersection of two cultures not the ownership of either' (Kwok, 2000:13). Kwok is asserting the importance of appreciating both cultures and working with the understanding and insight into two worlds; a precious gift not afforded to all. Several of the Stayer families with older children had encouraged their children to be aware of maximising their responses to best suit the culture in which they were in at the time. In this way they were learning to become adept at making adjustments to their thinking and responses to certain situations.

Hannerz maintains that competence with regard to alien cultures itself entails a sense of mastery, as an aspect of the self; one's understandings have expanded, a little more of the world is somehow under control. When children are able to accept the new culture and surrender easily to it, it may be that the child has attained a degree of personal autonomy. When this occurs, the culture from where the child originated can often be viewed independently. The child has his/her obvious competence with regard to it, but s/he can choose to disengage from it (Hannerz, 1998:51). Jonietz (1991) gives the name 'Trans-Language Learners' to those individuals who 'move from their maternal language and culture to competence in an additional environment/instructional language and culture and in doing so expand their broader view of the world' (1998:4.27). Some of the children of the Stayers group who return to Japan infrequently are confronted with different sets of expectation from society and their family. It would seem that the degree of competence in the Japanese culture is directly related to the expectation held by the parents. For some, the importance of not losing face is extremely important and hence the child is guided toward the

approved behaviour. For others the pressure is not so great. One interviewee was rather critical of many aspects of Japanese society and seemed to enjoy aspects of her childrens' behaviour that were not in keeping with the expectations of the Japanese society. For example, she talked of her children often sitting on the floor of Japanese trains, something that would generally be unthinkable for the average Japanese, however, when she told me she spoke with a smile. I sensed that she enjoyed this opportunity to thwart the system through approving her children's behaviour. There is the notion of a plurality of cultures as distinctive entities. There is a stance toward diversity itself, toward the co-existence of cultures in the individual experience. It is an intellectual and aesthetic stance of openness toward divergent cultural experiences, a search for contrasts rather than uniformity (Hannerz, 1998:3.87).

In conclusion, it would seem that with regard to the Stayers, it is this concept of the cosmopolitan that may be important for some of their children if they are to succeed and develop a strong sense of themselves in both cultures. For other families, they have allowed their children to adopt behaviours that would be considered unacceptable in Japan and knowing that for their children's success in Australia it is important to do so. Some of the families have trained their children to behave in different ways depending on which culture they are in, while others have chosen not to put this pressure on their children and allow them to appear 'foreign' while in Japan.

I wondered if the Japanese families living in Perth struggled with their sense of self while raising their children in diaspora. As identity is socially constructed, it follows that Japanese families living in Australia may to some degree find their sense of self fragmented or enriched. Fragmentation occurs in the sense that there may have been a degree of self doubt in the expectations of their childrens behaviour, the traits to encourage or discourage and the kind of discipline to employ. Enrichment could include feelings of empowerment and liberation at the possibilities of parenting in new and challenging ways. For example the joy received by the mother who felt the pleasure of her child's kisses or those families that felt less pressure for their children to achieve academically and compete in the education system.

The Sojourners group, who are keen to fit their children back into Japanese society successfully, have tended to keep their children in Japanese schooling systems to assist in this. Some of the Stayers have accepted that their children will become individuals within the Australian community and seem to be very happy with their children holding different expectations, as they do not have the pressure of having to be approved of by people in Japan.

This chapter has looked at the ways in which the two groups have experienced and interpreted certain experiences within the education of and the friendships of their children. It has also looked at the ways in which families have generally made sense of parenting their children in a diasporic situation. The various comments made by parents have provided insightful information on their firsthand experiences in socialising their children in Western Australia. Several of the older children in the Stayer group were more comfortable with Asian friendships (aged up to 16 years) while a smaller number (mainly the younger children) seemed to experience little difficulty making Australian friends. It is interesting to note that as the Japanese children got older many of them began to identify more with other Asian children than Australian children. Children in the Sojourner group attended the Japanese school, and being quite young (under the age of 10) the issue of friendships was less relevant. Other general findings discussed in this chapter have identified the stronger role that fathers have been able to play in the family due to less work pressure in Australia as well as the experience of Australian education and the expectation of conformity on return to Japan.

CHAPTER 6: CHILD-REARING

This chapter examines Japanese child-rearing practices and the socialisation of the Japanese child in Japan. It also analyses some of the ways in which the two groups in my research have incorporated and adapted their child-rearing practices while parenting in Australia. Some comparisons are made regarding the two groups. In the course of my research, I found many instances where different value is placed on fundamentals of the socialisation process, because of the complexity of the diasporic situation. In interviewing and researching the Japanese families, the challenge lies in making sense of the degree to which the new culture is being negotiated, accepted and incorporated into child rearing, as well as noting what is being rejected.

> Japanese mothers and fathers usually think that their children are good children when they meet parental social and behavioural expectations and they also do well in school. Because they do well by means of intense personal engagement, we must assume that external pressure is not the only force at work. What makes them such good children? (White, 1987:42).

The idea of what a good child is, of course varies greatly from culture to culture, but there are some notions that span all modern societies, an important one being academic success, as it leads to adult success. Other expectations, mostly social or behavioural, vary more widely.

> To be a good child in Japan is to be strong, and the means by which such strength is developed is self-testing and pushing oneself as hard as one can. Things will be fine, the child is continually assured, if he learns to persevere, to possess sincerity, and to show good cheer. Eventual success in Japan is not assumed to depend on one's innate capacities but on virtuous characteristics that anyone can develop. Hence potential is regarded in Japan as egalitarian, every one has it, but some work harder to develop it than others (White, 1987:20).

In Australia, potential is usually thought to be a bottom-line capacity that varies from person to person and that cannot finally be expected, in other words, you can only do your best.

White believes that this kind of individualism implies a finite and ultimately restrictive notion of capacity.

> Japanese 'potential' is accessible to all, though it may never be fulfilled by even the most able. How the Japanese child's potential is to be maximised is society's responsibility, not the individuals (White, 1987:20).

According to Hendry (1986) mothers, in particular, seem to achieve considerable success, both in creating a pleasant, enjoyable atmosphere for their children, and in setting them a good example in ways to behave. This is partly linked to the way children are made the centre of the home and the caretakers' lives, so that people adapt their own lifestyles to having children around. Children learn many adult skills through observation and imitation rather than by direct instruction, and parents are also described as engaging in 'ceaseless, patient demonstration' for children to imitate (Hendry,1986:42). In contrast to Hendry's evaluation of child-rearing for Japanese mothers the following comments provide another view of child-rearing in rapidly changing Japan.

> Japanese mothers are floundering between their ideals in raising children and the severe reality which is far from the ideal. It is now difficult for them to respect the personality of their children and help children seek the best way in the society where children tend to be asked to conform (English Discussion Society, 1996:17).

Furthermore, for those children who have returned from abroad, according to interviews with women from the English Discussion Society, there have been some problems in adjusting back into Japanese society. Children who have been educated abroad often find a huge discrepancy between their overseas experience and the regulation in Japanese school and society. Mothers of those children often form groups to talk about their problems. At these groups they are able to exchange information about the ways in which other children have adjusted to living back in Japan. 'Kids No Kai' (Returnees Mothers' Group) was formed in Takarazuka in 1988, to help members with their own problems, and they wanted to broaden their

experience using what they had learned abroad and after they returned (English Discussion Society, 1996:52).

The Sojourner families in my research have chosen to educate their children in the Japanese education system as they are aware of the problems that their children will face trying to fit back into the Japanese education system. As White suggests,

> What the overseas Japanese child learns that he/she has missed, upon returning to Japan, is not only more math, Japanese language etc. but forms of behaviour, sets of influences, and social manners - what is often called 'Japanese common sense'- without which his/her competence and identity are deeply flawed. This 'common sense' is a moral construct, and contains both ways of relating socially to others and a 'physical common sense' learned in school (White, 1987:22).

Japanese common sense is taught along with Japanese history and culture, most evident in what is called 'moral education'. In its current manifestation, a child studies behaviour and relationships within the family and community. A 1983 official description of the elementary school course of study states that,

> Moral Education is aimed at realising a spirit of respect for human dignity in the actual life of family, school and community, endeavouring to create a culture that is rich in individuality and to develop a democratic society and state, training Japanese to be capable of contributing to a peaceful international society, and cultivating their morality as the foundation thereof (White, 1987:42).

The parents in this study were influenced by the 'moral education' in their primary school years in Japan. This concept of moral education was mentioned by several respondents during the interviews. One respondent commented that there was no such moral education within schools in Australia.

> *The closest that schools in Australia came to moral education is in the Catholic schools, but this is very different because the morals being taught in these schools are specifically Christian based and not purely 'common sense'* (Mrs.O. Stayer: May 28, 2000).

> *We used to attend the Quintillian school. It's very free there and they seem to educate them to raise them as little geniuses. The parents are all University professors and Doctors. Most of them hold high positions and believe in their children. They give them independent ideas. But there were a few surprising things that happened. I'm sure in the future they will become great people however....we changed to a Catholic school which was a very Christian school. The mums and dads really believe in Christianity. There were people there that I really liked. Also at Christchurch there are a lot of mums and dads that I can relate to. In Japan we have moral education. The teachings are similar to the Christian principles. It's common sense things. In Australia children are not taught this unless they have a Christian background or go to church and then they end up in a mess and these sorts of people don't make friends* (Mrs.L. Stayer: June 14, 2000).

With regard to the importance of explanation in child-rearing methods in Japan, Befu (1983) refers to national opinion surveys in which a majority of respondents prefer 'explaining thoroughly the reason why a child must do what he is told to do' to other methods such as bribes or mild threats. Befu goes on to compare the approach of Japanese and American mothers, noting that the former uses solicitude rather than authority, which the latter might use, pleading with and begging a difficult child to do as he is told, rather than standing firm and meting out punishment if necessary, which he sees as more likely behaviour in the latter case. He adds that an American mother would look ridiculous to bystanders if she begged and pleaded with a three-to-five year-old, whereas a Japanese mother who took an authoritarian approach would be regarded as lacking in human feeling (Befu 1983, in Hendry, 1986:105). Certainly the findings in my research revealed that discipline by means of 'explanation' was the most popular form of discipline in all groups of mothers and fathers.

With regard to the teaching of manners, the tone of voice adopted by the parent is soft but instruction is insistent and unfailing. This does in practice seem to be a very common method used in child rearing. Mothers and other caretakers repeat over and over again the phrases they want their children to learn, without making undue fuss if the child fails to copy (Hendry, 1986:42). Several mothers commented that Australian parents did not teach or train their children in appropriate behaviour but rather left them to their own devices to sort out their own problems. Others

commented that there was no training with regard to morals in Australia, as they saw it.

With regard to discipline, Mrs.L. reported that some Australian children who had come to her house to play had behaved in ways that she had found difficult to accept.

> *For example, children helping themselves to the fridge and taking food without asking. Once we had sweets from Japan that were special. One of Jun's friends wanted to eat them but we said that he couldn't. He climbed onto the table and opened them and they went all over the floor. I have never seen a child behave like this before. This happened soon after we arrived here. When I saw that I was very disapproving even though I know I shouldn't judge based on one incident. I prefer that my son spends time with people that raise their children in the same way that I do.*
> *I need to be able to relate to the way in which they raise their children. You can tell when you talk to the mothers. I get to know the mothers first and then their children can come* (Mrs.L. Stayer: June 14, 2000).

The following account of Japanese child-rearing by White adequately captures my experience of the Japanese families involved in the interviews and at the Japanese playgroup over 5 years.

> One must note the positive tone that suffuses all the interactions with children. Rarely does one hear threats or warnings. Neither teachers nor parents confront children directly. Character denunciations are uncommon. Over the sound of crying children the principal tells them what a happy day it is, mothers cajole and persuade through love not war. Direct punishment is rare. Mothers and teachers express displeasure in subtle ways and work strenuously to create an environment in which the child cannot help but wholeheartedly comply. The approach which may be seen as a sophisticated version of behaviour modification is tied to more traditional practices. There is nothing to rebel if the authorities are passive. Of course parents become cross and frustrated but the model remains, working toward merging rather than separating (1987:109).

The notion of disciplining in subtle ways is captured well in the words of Mr.H., a father older than many of the other fathers in the study. Mr. H. supports a more traditional style of discipline.

> *When Japanese parents are in the wrong they are quick to apologise. Australians don't say sorry very often. They are not quick to apologise. I wonder if it is part of a child's upbringing to apologise. I don't think that children would naturally apologise. Children watch their parents and imitate them so if you see your parents saying 'sorry, sorry 'and 'thank-you', you are more likely to yourself. Japanese especially love saying 'sorry' and expressions like 'thank-you so much'. Japanese always put themselves below their partner when it comes to expressing themselves. Australians or Anglo-Saxons are all equal. When Japanese speak to people older than themselves they often say 'sorry'. I think Australians would find it difficult to understand this area of Japanese culture. Australians to their elders say, 'Jack, John'. In Japan we always say 'san'. We use the family name. Here it is a little too friendly* (Mr. H Stayer: July 4, 2000).

Although Mr.H. had lived in Australia for close to 20 years and raised his children here he has maintained some very traditional Japanese values with regard to interacting with people. On the one hand he praised the freedom and relaxed life-style but on the other found that Australians were a little too familiar in the ways in which they addressed each other. It is interesting to note that his children have formed their closest friendships with other Asian children.

The Japanese word for discussions about child-rearing and early training is *shitsuke* and an analysis of the meanings and associations of this word is quite revealing of general attitudes regarding child-rearing in Japan. The standard English translations of the word include 'breeding', 'upbringing', 'training' and 'discipline', and the examples of usage in Japanese-English dictionaries are indicative of the significance of this concept. Definitions in Japanese dictionaries include the idea of the inculcation of good manners in a child, the passing on of daily customs, and the teaching of correct behaviour. The word is usually written in phonetic script, but there is a Chinese character, which was adapted by the Japanese to refer to this concept. This character is made up of two individual characters which translate to

'body' and 'beauty', which may legitimately give the word an earlier meaning of 'to beautify the body' (Hendry, 1986:11). A definition of *shitsuke* used by Wagatsuma (1977) describes discipline as 'the putting into the body of a child the patterns of living, ways of conduct of daily life and a mastery of manners and correct behaviour' (1977:11). In other words, the person is beautiful when s/he has become socially and culturally apt.

According to Condon, as the children get older, the mother continues to be the disciplinarian (1992:17). This is also asserted by Adams and Hill. There is virtually no paternal involvement in childrearing. An old proverb points out, 'a good husband is healthy and absent' (Hendry, 1986:120). One of the delights that both fathers and mothers commented on in my research was that the fathers were able to spend more time enjoying their family time together in Australia than they would have had they been in Japan. This greater paternal involvement with their children, enables Japanese fathers to make a greater input into child-rearing and will bring about cultural change. Many of the parents in my research were raised in a Japan reflected in the literature and studies carried out in the 1980's. The traditional notion of 'wise mother' has no equivalent for fathers. At this time motherhood was seen as a vital role to woman's identity, while fatherhood was incidental, hence the interviews of fathers in my study are important.

Condon maintains that there is little scolding or corporal punishment. Instead, misbehaving children are excluded from family activities or, as they get older, are simply made to feel guilty because they have disappointed their mothers (1992:15). Adams and Lester claim that the consequence of deliberately fostering dependence in children and then demanding that they perform creates 'protest anality'. They claim that anal protest is the immature cry of the oppressed child yearning to be free, protesting with the only means available by dumping the emotional pollution that repressed hatred generates into containers outside the self, cleansing and elevating the self; it is rebellion against mother, tradition groupism, maturity ego functioning and dependence (Adams and Lester, 1987:104). The Japanese mother's style of child-rearing is predicated on binding the child to her so as to manipulate its behaviour, because she wants to be seen to be a 'wise mother'. The claustrophobic, restricting, binding and imprisoning nature of the Japanese environment impairs

autonomy by intrusive mothering and demands group conformity. This applies to Japanese mothers as well, whose chief interest is perfecting motherhood.

The mother utilizes appeasement and constant attention with the end result that the child's emotional security tends to depend almost entirely on the physical presence of the mother (White, 1987:116). The child's attempt to act contrary to the mother's desire tends to provoke anxiety in the mother, since she may feel that she is no longer needed. Some parents, mothers in particular, easily become fixated on their children as they are often their only satisfaction, their only link to the outside world, in short, their only reason to live, particularly when marriages are not based on romantic illusions. The mother tries to hang on as long as she possible can. The child retains a lifelong nostalgia with more or less suppressed aggression for that early childhood paradise (White,1987:118). This situation was not evident in my research. A large number of the Stayer women were educated and engaged in post graduate studies or working, while a large number of the Sojourner mothers put their children into day care several days a week in order to study English or pursue leisure activities.

The respondents were asked about the ways in which they disciplined their children. Parents were asked the question, 'If your child were to behave in a way that you found undesirable in public would you, smack your child, verbally scold your child, pacify with sweets, pacify verbally, pacify physically or ignore the child' (see Appendix C: table 5). The parents were asked to rate these answers with either very often, seldom, often or never. The results (see Appendix C: table 5) indicated that verbal scolding seemed to be the dominant way in which parents dealt with unacceptable behaviour. This was true regardless of whether the interviewees were male or female, Sojourners or Stayers. With regard to the Stayers on this question, 3 out of 11 Stayer mothers and 1 out of 4 Stayer fathers remarked that they seldom verbally scolded their children while both Sojourner mothers and fathers responded with 'often' and 'very often'. The survey results indicated that Stayer mothers and fathers verbally scolded their children to the same degree. Male data for the Sojourners was insufficient to make a comparison with this group. Overall male and female answers did not seem to differ much with regard to this question. Smacking in public as a form of punishment was unpopular with all groups, both mothers and fathers. Of the Sojourners 4 out of 10 indicated that they 'seldom' smacked while

only 2 out of 17 Stayers reported to 'seldom' smack compared with 'never'. Of the father total, 4 out of 7 reported to 'seldom' smacked, while only 2 out of 18 mothers stated that they 'seldom' smacked compared with 'never'. The results indicate a unanimous approach to child-rearing amongst mothers and fathers.

The majority of parents in both groups claimed that they did not pacify their children with sweets. The one father amongst the Stayers (1 out of 4) who admitted to using sweets, does it 'seldomly', 4 of the 11 mothers from amongst the Stayers group also 'seldomly'use sweets.

The majority of Stayer parents claimed that they 'never' or 'seldom' pacified verbally while 7 out of 16 said 'often' or 'very often'. There was a tendency for mothers to pacify verbally more than fathers. Of the Sojourners group nearly equal numbers responded with 'never' or 'seldom'. In both groups fathers were less likely to verbally pacify children than mothers. Pacifying children physically was unpopular with all groups. However 2 out of 11 Stayer mothers claimed that she 'often' pacified her children physically. Sojourner fathers indicated that they 'never' or 'very seldom' used physical means to pacify their children, while 2 out of the 7 Sojourner mothers stated that they pacified their children physically. All groups reported that they 'seldom' but mostly 'never' ignored their children when they behaved in an undesirable manner. In conclusion to this question, the Stayers were more likely to say that they scolded their children verbally less than Sojourners. Stayers' results indicated that they also smacked less than Sojourners. Fathers tended to smack more than mothers. The results indicated that mothers pacified verbally more than fathers in all groups. The results also indicated that Sojourners tended to pacify verbally more than Stayers.

Verbal scolding seemed to be the most popular way in which parents in both groups dealt with unacceptable behaviour from their children; 8 out of the11 Stayer Mothers and 3 out of the 4 Stayer Fathers claimed to prefer to scold their children verbally in preference to other methods (see Appendix C: table 5). Sojourner Fathers and mothers both claimed that this was their preferred method of dealing with unacceptable behaviour. 3 out of the 11 Stayer Mothers reported that they 'seldom' verbally scolded their children while 1 out of the 4 Stayer Fathers mentioned that he

also 'seldom' scolded his child verbally. Sojourner Mothers marked only 'often' and 'very often.' The data indicated that Stayer Fathers and Mothers verbally scolded their children to approximately equal degrees. Sojourner Father data was insufficient to make a comparison with this group. Overall mothers and fathers in both groups seem to be agreed on the use of verbal scolding as the dominant means of disciplining their children.

With regard to discipline Mrs.G. (Sojourner) remarked,

> *my children are still relatively young however, while it is too hard for them to do the outside rubbish, they do a little inside. When the children do the wrong thing I discipline them with words. Most Japanese discipline with words. Some Japanese smack but most of the people we know don't* (August 18, 2000).

Smacking as a form of punishment was unpopular with all groups both male and female. Of the Sojourner mothers 6 out of 7 claimed to 'never' smack their children while the 3 fathers reported the same. 10 out of 11 Stayer mothers and 3 out of 4 fathers claimed to 'never' smack their children. Regarding discipline Mrs.A. said that,

> *when my husband has to keep requesting certain behaviour repeatedly he has no hesitation in giving our child a smack* (Sojouner: May 14, 2000).

Mrs.F. said,

> *when my children were young I would scare them with a loud voice, but not anymore. I never smack them (*Stayer: June 24, 2000*).*

Mrs.O. reported,

> *I do smack my children but I always explain and discuss things with them also (*Stayer: May 28, 2000). while Mrs.L said, *I scold my son with my eyes* (Stayer: June 14, 2000).

The majority of all groups reported that they did not pacify their children with sweets. 1 out of the 4 Stayer Fathers claimed that he would seldom pacify his child

with sweets while 4 out of the 11 Stayer Mothers reported that they seldom pacify their children with sweets. 1 out of 7 of the total number of father respondents 'seldom' pacified with sweets while 5 out of 18 mothers reported to 'seldom' pacify with sweets. With regard to pacifying the child verbally, the majority of the Stayers reported that they never or seldom pacified verbally while fewer said 'often' or 'very often'. There was a tendency for mothers to pacify verbally more than fathers. Sojourner parents tended not to pacify their children with sweets with approximately equal responses of 'never' or 'seldom' being claimed. In both groups males were less likely to verbally pacify children than females.

Disciplining children physically was most unpopular with all groups; only 1 mother in the Stayers group claimed that she 'often' pacified her children physically while 2 of the Sojourner Mothers claimed that they pacified their children physically. Most fathers indicated that they 'never' or 'very seldom' used physical means to pacify their children.

The majority of parents reported that they never ignored bad behaviour while a small percentage reported that they 'seldom' ignored unacceptable behaviour at home. There was no available literature on this particular aspect of discipline. The notion of ignoring unacceptable behaviour I found to be a particularly interesting area as I often saw behaviour at the playgroup and in the homes when I was interviewing that seemed to me to be unacceptable and was ignored by the parent. Obviously parents at home alone with their children will parent differently from the way that they parent in front of visitors or friends. This area of discipline is significant in my research as there is no available research in this area.

Parents were asked, 'If your child were to behave in a manner that you found undesirable at home would you, send the child to his or her room, explain and discuss the behaviour with the child, smack, use fear to threaten the child, put your child outside in the dark or ignore the behaviour'. Most parents noted that they either 'never' or 'seldom' sent their child to his or her room; however, one Stayer mother claimed that she 'often' sent her child to its room (see Appendix C: table 6). More fathers reported 'seldom' in preference to 'never' while mothers reported 'never' in preference to 'seldom'. Both Sojourners and Stayers seemed to be similar with

regard to this form of punishment at home. The most popular way of dealing with undesirable behaviour at home was to explain and discuss the matter and this was popular with all groups. Only one Stayer Mother and one Sojourner Father reported that they 'seldom' explained or discussed undesirable behaviour with their children. Smacking was unpopular with most parents claiming that they 'never' or 'seldom' smacked their children. Of the total mothers just 1 out of 18 reported that she used physical punishment 'often'. Of the father total, 2 out of 7 claimed that they used physical punishment 'often'. Equal numbers of 'seldom' and 'never' were recorded for mothers. More fathers marked 'seldom' than 'never'. 7 out of 17 of Stayers reported to 'never' smack their children while 4 out of 9 Sojourners reported to 'never' use physical punishment. My findings noted that the fathers in my research tended to smack more than females and the results indicated that females pacified verbally more than males in both groups. The Sojourner group tended to pacify more than the Stayer group. With regard to physical punishment my data does not support the findings by Wagatsuma (see literature review in Chapter 2), however, mothers in my study were the greater disciplinarians compared to fathers as was found by Wagatsuma's study.

Using fear to threaten children was not popular; however, fewer fathers (2 out of 7) than mothers (12 out of 20) reported that they 'never' used fear as a punishment. 9 out of 17 Stayers reported that they 'seldom' used fear while 2 out of 7 Sojourners reported that they 'seldom' used fear. 1 out of 3 Sojourner fathers and 1 out of 7 Sojourner mothers reported that they 'seldom' used fear while 3 out of 4 Stayer fathers reported to 'seldom' use fear. The majority of respondents answered 'never' to putting the child outside in the dark as a form of punishment for undesirable behaviour at home. However, in all categories a small percentage reported 'seldom' inferring that there were occasions where putting their child outside in the dark was an option. Other methods of dealing with unacceptable behaviour apart from the ones mentioned were calling the child's name and scolding them verbally.

Both groups reported that they rarely ignored their children when they behaved in an undesirable manner. However, not giving undue attention to some undesirable behaviour from children seemed to also be a conscious choice as a method of discipline. While all of the parents reported that they never ignored their children's

behaviour I saw many instances of 'face saving' in front of visitors. To choose to pay no attention to some undesirable behaviour is an acceptable method of dealing with some misbehaviour amongst Japanese parents, as Hendry had noted in her research (1986:105).

In conclusion, Stayers were more likely to say that they scolded their children verbally less than Sojourners. If the Sojourners scolded their children more often than the Stayers it is possible to assume that this may be related to the Sojourners returning to Japan. Stayers' data indicated that they also smacked less than Sojourners. Fathers tended to smack more than mothers. The results indicated that mothers pacified verbally more than fathers in all groups. The results also indicated that Sojourners tended to pacify verbally more than Stayers. Most parents noted that they either 'never' or 'seldom' sent their child to its room with only one respondent recording 'often'. This was a female Stayer. More fathers reported 'seldom' in preference to 'never' while mothers reported 'never' in preference to 'seldom'. The overall pattern suggests that the parents in the Sojourners and Stayers groups act in a similar way with regard to this form of punishment.

The most popular way of dealing with undesirable behaviour at home was to explain and discuss, and this was used by all parents. Only one Stayer mother and one Sojourner father reported that they seldom explained or discussed undesirable behaviour with their children. Smacking and other physical punishment was unpopular with most participants responding with 'never' or 'seldom' (see Appendix C: table 6).

Of the female total, only 1 mother reported that she used physical punishment 'often' and of the male total, just 2 indicated that they used physical punishment 'often', while equal responses of 'seldom' and 'never' were recorded for females. 7 out of 17 Stayers reported to 'never' smack their children while 4 out of 9 Sojourners reported to 'never' use physical punishment. Using fear to threaten children was not popular; however, fewer fathers than mothers reported that they 'never' used fear as a punishment. 9 out of 17 Stayers reported that they 'seldom' used fear while 2 out of 10 Sojourners reported that they 'seldom' used fear. Only one Sojourner father reported that he used fear as a punishment. According to a study by White, isolation

of a child in a dark cupboard or storehouse up to a period of 20 minutes was sometimes noted. Withdrawal of love by ignoring the child or refusing to play was also occasionally used as a form of discipline. An extreme form of withdrawal involves separation of the child from the family. A stranger may also be used to frighten children into submission as well as ridicule (1987:122). One mother in my study reported to put her children in the shed at night for brief periods to frighten them into submission. On two occasions she had driven them to a nearby park and threatened to leave them there if their behaviour did not improve. Mrs. L. made the following comment,

> *I say to my son, 'I have rules and I am your mother. I'm doing the best that I can for you.' I don't know if I am frightening him but I say to him, ' if you're not happy with that would you like to go elsewhere and be in someone else's family?'* (Mrs.L. Stayer: June 14, 2000).

Another way of dealing with unacceptable behaviour that was mentioned by parents was calling the child's name and scolding it verbally.

The parents were asked the question, what sort of jobs do you expect your children to do at home (see Appendix C: table 8). There were 22 children in the Stayer group; 10 boys and 12 girls. The Sojourner group had 12 children; 7 boys and 5 girls. Age was a relevant factor in this question as the children in the Sojourner group were much younger than the children in the Stayer group. Generally parents commented on the ability of children from about 4 years of age. 2 out of 5 Stayer fathers claimed that they 'never' expected their children to empty the rubbish or wash dishes, while one father reported that he did not expect his children to set the table or clean their rooms. 1 Stayer mother stated that what she expected and what actually took place were two different things; however, she did expect her children to occasionally wash dishes. In 1 out of 5 families of Stayers, children 'often' emptied rubbish and set the tables while children in 2 Stayer families 'often' washed dishes and cleaned their rooms. In another 2 families, children emptied rubbish regularly and cleaned their rooms. Half of the children regularly made their beds and the children in 4 of 10 families regularly set the table. Other jobs noted were emptying the mailbox and helping with cleaning.

Of the 10 Stayer mothers who responded to the question, 3 mentioned that their child 'never' washed dishes and 2 out of 10 'never' made their beds. Half of the children 'sometimes' emptied the rubbish and 'sometimes' washed the dishes, one of which was a boy. In 4 families children set tables, two of which were boys. In only 1 family were children expected to clean their room 'sometimes' and children in 4 families made their bed. 2 families had children 'often' empty rubbish, wash dishes and set the table, the latter two jobs were only expected of the girls. Half of the children 'often' cleaned their rooms.

Jobs performed regularly were emptying rubbish, (3 out of 10 families) 1 noting that both the boy and girl were required to do this job. Children in 4 families set the table, 1 noting only the girl was required to do this job. Children in 4 families cleaned their rooms, 1 family noting that both the boy and girl were required to do this job. Children in 4 families also made their beds. Additional jobs mentioned were cooking. The data for Sojourner fathers was insufficient to make an assessment. Of the Sojourners, daily or regular jobs included, emptying the rubbish and setting the table, washing dishes, cleaning rooms and making beds. All jobs except making the bed were 'often' undertaken. Children in 2 families 'never' washed dishes and children in another 2 families 'sometimes' emptied the rubbish. Children in 1 family 'sometimes' washed dishes and in 2 families 'sometimes' set tables. Children from 4 families 'sometimes' cleaned their rooms and made their beds. Additional jobs were washing the bath and opening and closing the blinds. Children in this group were much younger (8 months to 9 years) and where the children were too young to perform jobs properly several of the mothers mentioned that they would encourage the children to do the job to the best of their ability.

While the question asked about the expectations parents held for their children a number of parents answered the reality of the jobs that were performed at home rather than what the parent's hoped their children to do. Due to this it was difficult to draw conclusions; however, it would seem that setting the table was the most consistently expected job and washing the dishes the least expected. Besides emptying rubbish, washing dishes, setting the table, cleaning their room and making beds, other jobs that Stayer fathers claimed that they expected their children to perform were emptying the mail box and helping with general house cleaning.

While some of the Stayer fathers claimed that they 'never' expected their children to empty rubbish or wash dishes, others expected their children do these jobs 'often' and others 'daily'. There were very wide differences in the expectations that fathers held for their children. Although some of the parents acknowledged that their children were too young to participate most of the children were of an age where they were able to do these jobs at an age related level. Most parents however, did expect their children to wash dishes, set the table and empty rubbish, while cleaning their room and making their bed were less expected. Cooking was expected in only one family.

Sojourner Father results were insufficient to make an assessment however, one father said that washing dishes and setting the table were expected on a weekly basis while bed making was 'never' expected. For Sojourner Mothers, cleaning baths and opening and shutting blinds were also expected in addition to other jobs listed. Several Sojourner mothers 'never' expected their children to wash up, but the majority expected their children to do all jobs 'sometimes'.

In conclusion, there were considerably more responses of 'never' from fathers than mothers. The results indicated that fathers had fewer expectation of their children to do jobs at home than mothers. Setting the table was the most popular job and washing dishes the least expected job. The results did not differ greatly between the Stayers and the Sojourners with regard to jobs at home; however, there was a greater incidence of 'never' reported by the Stayers group.

In her study, Hendry found that some of the mothers claimed not to use praise as a method of training their children, and the answers to the question 'what do you praise your child for?' seemed to suggest that the child should do a little more than is normally expected before praise is forthcoming. Hendry found that praise was not mentioned very much in Japanese child-rearing manuals as an important aspect of socialising children, although she remarks that words of praise to small children abound in the chatter which surrounds groups of adults with one or more small children in their company and for even the barest greeting a child is called 'clever' or

'good boy/girl' and it seems that a child going about in the world is often praised for little accomplishments (Hendry, 1986:106).

It is possible, that it is more the role of outsiders to praise small children for their conformity with normal expectations of behaviour than that of the mother or other caretaker who is responsible for their training. Since the view seems to be strongly held that the child is a white sheet and the colours it displays are those imbued by its caretakers, it would be almost like praising herself if a mother praised her child for doing only what is expected. If it steps beyond those bounds, then she may legitimately praise it, but otherwise it would seem to be up to outsiders, particularly neighbours, but perhaps even only as far outside as grandparents, to comment on the success of her training. This notion would fit in with the general practice in polite language of humbling oneself and one's own family in conversation with others, to whom one accords deferential phrases of respect (Hendry, 1986:106).

A number of parents, especially mothers, commented that what they admired in Australian parents was the use of praise towards their own children. This is illustrated in the interview with Mrs.L. who reported that,

> *sometimes I am a Japanese Mum and sometimes I am an Australian mum. When I'm being a Japanese mum I guess I would praise study ability. In Japan, if you can study and do well then your grades will see you through. If my son gets good grades I would say 'well done' and praise him. When I'm being an Australian mum I guess I would praise Jun in regard to his friends, for example, if his friends get good grades or an award. I would be really happy if he would be able to be happy for his friends achievements* (Stayer:June 14, 2000).

When asked to reflect on Australian parenting, thoughts held by the Stayer mother group included,

> *Australians treat children as people, rather than big babies* (Mrs.M.Stayer: May 16, 2000).

> *I don't know the system well enough yet but I like the way at school that they do projects that really make them think,*

> *making things and doing research* (Mrs.H.Stayer: July 4, 2000).

A couple of parents commented that there was nothing in particular that they had observed that they could make a comment on. One mother felt that in Japan fathers do not get involved in children's education or home-life as much as Australian fathers; she admired the way that Australian fathers were involved in all aspects of parenting. A father commented that the individual is valued. For example Mr.Y. pointed out that,

> *In Japan from a young age, teasing and ostracizing is a problem. My son can't speak English but without any hesitation he is totally accepted by the other children. It is part of the education system to be the same as others* (Stayer: June 15, 2000).

Other comments valued the praising of children for things that they can do.

> *Australian parents are generous in giving compliments to their children* (Mrs.O.Stayer: May 28, 2000).

> *I like the way Australian children are raised with much praise and compliments from their parents* (Mrs. K.Stayer: July 9, 2000).

> *Australian mums praise their children more than Japanese mums. I like that* (Mrs.F.Sojourner: August 21, 2000).

Another mother stated that Australian children were given a lot of freedom to play in parks and playgrounds, while

> *In Japan children are often told don't touch things because they are dirty or dangerous* (Mrs.L.Sojourner: June 14, 2000).

A Stayer mother liked the way that children can engage in a lot of creative activities making things out of candy boxes etc. One Stayer father reported that he liked the way Australians were punctual with time. He also commented that he liked the fact that self-expression was direct. Sojourner mothers commented that they admired the

way Australian parents' encouraged their children to be independent as well as develop their imagination. Other general comments included,

> *I admire the way Australian parents get their children to share jobs in the home. I like the way that Australian children are quiet in public. I like the way that Australian children are raised to be independent and individual* (Mrs.Y. Sojourner: June 15, 2000).

> *I like the way Australian parents encourage their children to state their opinions. I like the custom of sleeping early and waking early* (Mrs.G. Sojourner: August 18, 2000).

Comments by Male Sojourers included,

> *I like the availability of sports. There are great opportunities for students to do research. Australian children have many chances to express their opinions and views (*Mr.E. Sojourner: June 24, 2000).

> *I like the way that Australian children can sit on the floor of the trains. I like the way that Australians deal with situations then and there. I like the way that parents both readily praise and scold. Discipline and rules within education are enviable* (Mr.A. Sojourner: May 14, 2000).

Regarding discipline, Mrs.K. (Sojourner) said that she felt children in Australia in the supermarket were very disciplined while in Japan they run all over the place.
With regard to the fathers' role one Female Stayer commented that

> *Husbands in Australia are good because they help their wives. They go for walks with the baby but in Japan fathers only do this when the child is under one* (Mrs.G.Stayer: August 18, 2000).

All the Japanese parents were asked to comment on aspects of Australian parenting that they had reflected upon. The mothers in the Stayers group commented that,

> *splitting children into ability groups, for example, children who are good at maths and children who are weak creates distinctions between able and less able children* (Mrs.M. Stayer: May 16, 2000).

They commented that this sort of differentiation of ability is not done in Japanese classrooms. The expectation held by the Japanese families was that all children would remain within the same group as the rest of the class regardless of their ability level. While most Japanese children don't appear to have any difficultly with maths as the standard is high in Japan for the same age group, nor did the parents make comments regarding their own children's ability, they did not like the fracturing of the original group into ability levels. One mother said that the *weaker children may not feel good about themselves* (Mrs.M: Stayer: May 16, 2000); perhaps the concern of bullying from other children in the higher group was relevant here. The concept of the group is very important in Japan, especially for friendship; therefore splitting the group into ability levels takes away some of the power of the group by increasing the power of the individual and his/her ability. Of course, the original group can become two splinter groups; however, the issue raised by one mother was one of self-esteem. On the other hand, some mothers praised the flexibility within the Australian system. They commented that *in Japan there are 40 children in a class and they all do the same activity at the same time* (Mrs.K. Stayer: July 9, 2000). Some mothers made the comment that in Australia the children don't tease other children who are in weaker groups as they would in Japan. *The children themselves don't seem to mind* (Mrs.M.Stayer: May 16, 2000). Some of the women felt that it was a problem that at playgroup there was a big difference in the age range of children. Children at Australian playgroups range in age from several months of age to 5 years old (it needs to be pointed out that the Japanese playgroup had the same age range of children). They also commented that *the children were left to chat too much* (Mrs.E. Stayer: June 24, 2000). *When they fought with each other they were left alone to sort it out themselves* (Mrs.F. Sojourner:August 21, 2000).

A Stayer mother also had some opinions on this,

> *Australian adults say that it is the children's problem to sort out their own differences. Australian adults don't pay enough attention to this aspect of the children's socialisation*
> (Mrs.M. Stayer: May 16, 2000).

Another mother commented that the children had too much freedom.

> *Children are left too much alone from a very young age. I wonder if they are feeling if they get enough love and attention. Teenage discipline is not good. They are left alone too much. Teenagers are not old enough to understand responsibility* (Mrs.Y. Sojourner: June 15, 2000).

One parent said that there was nothing in particular that she was able to comment on while another noted, *My child is still young so I can't comment* (Mrs.A. Stayer: August 8, 2000). Another one commented that, sometimes the child is not the first priority for some Australian parents.

> *When Australians move to a new residence they don't really care about educational situation in the new area, or when they meet financial problems, they stop their child going to private schools* (Mrs.L. Stayer: June 14, 2000).

With regard to some points that Mrs. M. had queried, there were two that she had not yet experienced but had heard about and wanted to ask me if they were true. The first was, *if children fall over in Australia do the parents leave them to get up themselves*, and the second was that *if children fail their exams is it true that parents don't care* (May, 16, 2000). Mrs. M. also reported that some Australian parents smack their children a lot. These questions reflect a presumption that it is not O.K. to let a child pick itself up after a fall. This may be because the mother would rather avoid judgement about her ability to be a 'wise mother' and perceived that in Australia, not to take action is equated with not caring. The consequences of children failing exams in Australia is quite different from Japan. Due to less competition for placement in Australian institutions as well as opportunities to pursue non-academic studies means that not passing exams in Australia is not as desperate a situation as it may be in Japan.

Mrs.M. pointed out that in Japan there is too much competition, however she felt a little concerned about the drug culture in Australia that she had heard existed at some schools. Mothers in the Sojourners group reported that *some Australian parents gave their children too many sweets* (Mrs.H. Stayer: July 4, 2000). Climbing on desks with shoes on was also noted as being a problem. Another comment was that *Australian parents' are too laid back, the children too independent with too much self expression* (Mrs.E. Stayer: June 24, 2000). A Sojourner Father commented that

too many sweets are eaten, and that at the Japanese school there is no recess (Mr.Y. Sojourner: June 15, 2000).

Poor diet in Australia children is mentioned by several Japanese parents and for this reason the Japanese families who send their children to the Japanese school are not under the same pressure to allow their children sweets as they are not eaten or available at the Japanese school.

From my conversations with the Japanese mothers both at playgroup and while conducting my research, the commonly held view is that teaching proper behaviour is desirable for its own sake. This may be in order not to be judged and also for the sake of the parents' fear of judgement by their peers, and older Japanese.

> Among the goals of the school syllabus are 'respect for another's freedom' and 'acting according to one's own beliefs'. In the lower grades, one should learn to bear hardship, and in the middle grades, to persist to the end with patience, and in the upper grades, to be steadfast and accomplish goals undaunted by obstacles or failures. Furthermore, in the lower grades, one should learn to listen to the opinions of others and admit frankly one's own mistakes or faults, and to behave unselfishly; where in the middle grades, to live a life of moderation, and in the upper grades, to reflect always on one's words and behaviour, to act with prudence and to live an orderly life. Zeal, striving and self-abnegation are to be combined with cheerfulness and sensitivity to others - all within the context of learning 'to love one's hometown and to protect the land, culture and traditions of the motherland, and to be aware of one's responsibility as a Japanese (White,1987:16).

In all classrooms in Japan variations of these words are printed on sheets of cardboard and pasted on the walls for children to read. In this way it is much the same as an Australian classroom where similar rules such as, 'we wait our turn', we say 'please' and ' thank-you' are also printed and placed on walls for children to use as guidelines in classroom behaviour and interacting with others.

Human relationships and interdependencies form the central focus of many tales told to children to inculcate awareness of possible social dilemmas. A conflict of loyalties, a case of temptation to bad behaviour, a story of strife in a family, are given

to the children to contemplate. Through open discussion, a solution or analysis is developed by the entire class. As in other such instances, the solution is not valued unless it is generated by the class itself, and unless it has unanimous support. The unanimous support of the children would probably not differ from the teachers' as the children are led by the teacher to reach this decision. In other words, the real agenda of the morals class lies not only in the content of texts, but in the means by which the class reaches an understanding. This process, which is slow and delicate, is called *nemawashi*, or 'digging around the roots'. Just as one does not try to pull up a tree stump without accounting for all the roots, one does not try to impose a perspective or solution on a group without eliciting the (wholehearted) consent of each individual. There is a strong value placed on agreement and harmony, on the unity of purpose which is at the very core of Japanese morality (White,1987:16). The most cited comments from the respondents in my research were regarding this notion of harmony. In the classroom, as in the home, the socialised adults impose the perspective or solution. Conforming to group solutions is highly valued.

In answer to the question concerning the sort of behaviour that respondents wished to encourage in their children the following comments were made by the majority of parents in all groups.

> *Not to bother other people, not to disturb other people, not to make other people feel uncomfortable, not to inconvenience others, mix gently with all people, not being a nuisance to other people and not to annoy others* (Interviews, May to August, 2000).

To adhere to this sort of behaviour will ensure that children and parents will not be judged and found wanting with regard to raising their children. While this behaviour is expected and very important to the social fabric of Japan, it is not as important in Australia. Both the Stayers and the Sojourner parents still believed that this awareness of others was just as important for their children to follow regardless of where they live.

Non-Japanese often see competition and the drive for personal achievement as the most significant elements behind academic success; for the Japanese, however, part

of a much broader cultural and psychological environment of learning the incentive to perform well in the classroom has deep roots in indigenous Japanese conceptions of the child and in the human relationships that give meaning to the child's life (White, 1987:21). The factors that White examines here include the cultural values shared by teachers and parents.

According to White the most important cultural value, which also crucially affects any child's development, lies in the place given to human relationships and 'interdependence'. White asserts that in Japan, human relationships are both means and ends in successful child-rearing, which is unequivocally the responsibility of the mother. Accordingly, the central human relationship in Japanese culture is between mother and child. The mother feels that her child possesses the potential for great success. 'In her eyes, he is born with no innate ceiling on his ability, and, with proper encouragement, he will be motivated to perform at high levels of achievement. Success results from a child's relationship with a devoted mother, and that relationship is created through *amae*' (White,1987:22).

The results of my survey indicated a strong preference for independent children in the Stayer group and less independence in children from the Sojourner group. In order to maintain dependence or *amae* in the mother-child relationship the encouragement of independence in children would not be as important.

> 'Etiquette' is one of the objects of overriding concern in the training of small Japanese children, this implies a 'beautifying of the body'. The 'body' part of the character in *shitsuke* (discipline) may also be pronounced *shin,* which is homophonous with 'heart', so that the meaning would then be that the body, including the heart, were being beautified in the process of child training (White, 1987:12).

Wagatsuma interprets the concept of discipline to involve an element of construction, of *tsukuritsukeru, i.e.* 'making up,' and also of *tame,* 'straightening' into a desired personality or character. The phrase used for what is being 'made up' is 'one portion of a social person' or 'one member of society' and this word implies an eventual ability to contribute in an appropriate way to the society concerned. Thus Wagatsuma argues that *shitsuke* (discipline) and teaching, taken together, make up the wider

meaning of general education, which includes specific training in the art of living required by the particular skills, but also in the generally approved ways of life, morals and beliefs (1977:9). The child is thus shaped in the way expected by society and culture.

> Other phrases associated with discipline, are expressions such as *kata ni hameru,* 'to fit into a mould', *kitaeru*, which may be translated 'to discipline', and a phrase which may be translated literally as 'the inculcation of habits without giving reasons' *rikutsu nuki shuukanka saseru.* The first phrase has taken on a rather derogatory meaning close to 'stereotyping' so that caretakers may say that it is something they wish to avoid, but essentially the concern is, like the last phrase, with the formation of habits (Hendry,1986:11).

Hendry asserts that the business of child-rearing is associated with some of the most important elements of Japanese culture, for example *kitaeru* is used in the sense of 'to discipline', but it also means 'to forge' in the case of metal where it involves the heating, beating into shape, and strengthening by subsequent hardening of the object (Hendry, 1986:13).

According to DeVos (1985), Japanese mothers are constantly self-conscious about the possible influence of their behaviour on the future development of their children and avoid direct refusal of demands by ignoring them or distracting them. It is often considered better to give in to a child who insists on some action the mother had tried to discourage rather than create bad feeling by refusing it outright. The reasoning behind this is the belief that too much prohibition before a child can fully understand what adults say hinders the development of their basic trust in other people, thereby making it difficult in adulthood to maintain smooth and harmonious relations with co-workers, friends and business acquaintances. DeVos points out that excessive scolding is linked to unsuccessful results, and that children are thought to develop negative attitudes or become soured if they are punished with severity (DeVos, 1985:116).

Mothers prefer where possible to make as much use as they can of positive diffuse rearing methods avoiding outright disputes and differences and concentrating instead on compliance and harmony in their relationships with their children. In a study by

Caudhill (1969) it was found that Japanese parents are somewhat more likely to attempt to change their children's behaviour through physical distraction alone (1969:334).

> Children should be happy and cheerful; to cry is to be different. At one nursery it was noted that a child who had been hit by another whimpered quietly for a while and eventually controlled the crying, thus achieving self-discipline through experience in a group. Other children are quick to comply and laugh at or ignore the 'strange' child who had yet to achieve self-control (Hendry, 1986:145).

During the years that I attended the Japanese play-group I often heard Japanese mothers use the expression, *naitara okashiiyo*, 'it is strange to cry'. The mothers would often tell their children that the other children would laugh at them if they cried. In this way, children were shamed out of their emotions, and ridicule was encouraged to eradicate difference. Hendry also makes this point by stating that 'a sanction, commonly used is to laugh at a child who is acting up, or to suggest that other people will find him or her ridiculous. Ridicule of unusual behaviour is actually encouraged' (1986:115). From this type of experience it is not unusual for a fear of ridicule to ensue. As a child matures, disciplinary measures tend increasingly to move away from physical punishment and more towards making the child feel ashamed. The earliest form of punishment is a simple smack but as a child matures, threats of isolation, ridicule and ostracism become more common (Hendry, 1986:115).

> Unknown outsiders may also be referred to in order to frighten a child into conforming, and some mention policemen in this respect. The mother comforts and protects the child against frightening things, but does not deny that they are frightening (Hendry, 1986:113).

While the Sojourners and Stayers did not claim to use fear overtly to manipulate their children, one mother did mention that on occasion she would place her children in a dark shed or threaten to leave it at a park. One mother, Mrs. L. mentioned using certain eye contact to instill a type of fear in her son,

when my son is doing something that I disapprove of I scold him with my eyes (Stayer: June 14, 2000).

In the case of nuclear families, a marriage is seen as much more secure once children are born to the union. Hendry states that once a child is born, a husband and wife may see themselves as related more permanently through the 'natural' vertical relationship they each have with their child than they were through the previous 'chosen' horizontal role. This is why they refer to one another more commonly as 'mother' and 'father'. During the course of my interviews I found three couples who referred to each other when they spoke as 'mama' and 'papa'. The words 'mother' and 'father' indicate roles, and thus, the child grows up in an atmosphere of interdependence and collateral relations so that one of the very real psychological struggles for the growing individual is to separate his identity from what he is only in relation to others (Caudhill, 1969: 332). Caudhill's study argues that Japanese infants seem passive. Japanese mothers do much carrying, rocking and lulling of their infants, as they act in ways which they believe will soothe and quiet the baby. Infants seem to have become habituated by 3 to 4 months of age to respond to these aspects of care-taking.

In my interviews I asked the respondents to comment on the sorts of jobs that they expected their children to be involved in at home (see Appendix C: table 8). For the Female Stayers group, responses were varied with three families reporting that while they had no specific gender expectation of their children, their daughters 'naturally' washed dishes and their sons 'naturally' emptied the rubbish without specifically being told to. In some families where there were only boys they were asked to set tables and wash up. This was particularly so for a single mother. In another family both the boy and girl were reported as being required to empty rubbish. Mrs.A. (Stayer) commented that her son not her daughter emptied the rubbish and this was because the son had the strength to do it and that her daughter did not. She said that her son '*wanted*' to do the rubbish.

Both the children depending on their age have different jobs. My son washes the bath. It's not about being a boy or girl, it's because my son is older. Therefore he has the strength (Mrs.A: Stayer; May 14, 2000).

Mrs.A. also commented that she liked her children to cook, especially the boy.

> *When the children leave home, if they can't cook and have to eat out, that's a problem. It's better if they can take care of themselves.*

There were also some distinctions made with regard to preferred personality traits in boys and girls as discussed in detail in chapter 4. Preferred traits for boys tended to be 'independence' 'having a good attitude', being 'competitive' and 'self-assertive'. For girls 'compliance' and 'generosity' as well as 'awareness of others' needs' were mentioned. With regard to gender and jobs at home the father in this home is encouraging female role socialisation through 'mother's little helper' as evidenced by this quote from Mrs.F.

> M*ainly my daughter does the dishes, not my son. This is because Dad likes her to help* (Sojourner; August 21, 2000).

With regard to jobs at home, Mrs.H. reported that her son takes out the rubbish bin every week but her daughter 'loves' to help in the kitchen.

> *This happens naturally. I'm not deciding which is which. Just I said 'do you mind to take the rubbish every week, it's good for you. Mostly my son sets the table (*Stayer; July 4, 2000).

Mrs.K. (Stayer) reported that,

> *I think jobs and whether it is my son or daughter is not about being a boy or a girl but about their age* (Stayer; July 9, 2000).

Mrs.H. (Stayer) commented,

> *I make no distinctions between my son and daughter (*Stayer; July 4, 2000).

Japanese parents raise sons and daughters differently and many parents hold different expectations for daughters and sons. According to women from the Education Discussion Society, parents believe that getting married and having a family will

eventually bring daughters happiness. Moreover, they believe that boys should be strong and intelligent: girls should be lovely and kind. This philosophy seriously affects rearing daughters in modern society where the law encourages equal rights for men and women. Clear differences are made by parents in their attitude regarding education for sons and daughters. Parents expect a boy to become the breadwinner, someone who can support his family. On the other hand, they do not expect a girl to be a breadwinner, but to be independent. They usually do not have as high an expectation for daughters as sons; they think her future will depend on her husband after marriage. They allow daughters to choose either marriage or an independent life. By comparison sons are forced to study hard under increased pressure from parents. There is severe competition in order to gain entrance into universities, while daughters can improve their natural talents and creativity, and think about their own future as they like. Daughters who recognize their own abilities and are full of confidence will face up to the unfair impositions of society (English Discussion Society, 1996:21).

Parents were asked to comment on the kinds of advice that they had received from the child health clinic (see Appendix C: table 7). The majority of all parents found the advice 'helpful'. One of the six Stayer fathers remarked that the advice had been 'confronting or overwhelming', while one out of nine Female Stayers commented that it had been 'confusing'.

Concerning experiences with health clinics Mrs.Y. commented that she did not follow the advice of the nurse.

> *I know the children are individuals and I'm an individual. I don't think that I need to follow the stereotype. My husband and I became parents quite late in life and at first we were a little confused. We have worked things out together. In Japan, Japanese child nurses don't suggest to parents what to do, rather, they 'order' them. By comparison, in Australia I feel that rather than being 'ordered', it is always a suggestion. In Australia I sometimes see parents doing things in a certain way and I think that it probably isn't Australian style but just that individual's style* (Mrs.Y.Stayer; June 15, 2000).

Mrs.Y. had lived in Australia some years before marrying her Japanese husband. She is an independent, intelligent woman and this is reflected in some of her comments.

On relation to her visit to the child health clinic Mrs.F. commented,

> *the clinic sister spoke about sleeping arrangements, feeding and not to always pick the baby up when it cried but I was mainly concerned with my child's rash. Since I started giving my oldest son solid food he ate so much and I was following a text book that my mum sent over from Japan so I tried to follow exactly the same things. For example, at 10 weeks old I should give him this much and he was losing weight. I asked the community nurse what to do with this and probably he needs more food and I just gave him as much as he wanted but she was very very helpful* (Mrs.F. Stayer: August 21, 2000).

Mrs.M. was also told by the child nurse not to sleep with her baby, however, she chose not to follow the advice because,

> *babies sleep much easier if you sleep with them. My daughter loves songs so I like to sing Japanese traditional songs* (Mrs.M.Stayer; May 16, 2000).

The child nurse had told Mrs.Y. that it was important to sleep separately from her children, before they became too accustomed to sleeping with mother. While Mrs.Y. said that she could agree with the nurse's point of view, the fact was that she was quite happy to sleep with them and lie down beside them, as it was an enjoyable part of parenting for her. Consequently, she said, *I didn't follow the advice at all* (June 15, 2000).

Co-sleeping refers to the practice of the family members sleeping together in the same room. This is widely found in Japan regardless of regional or class differences. According to a study by Caudill and Plath, a child co-sleeps with an adult until he or she becomes 10 years old, and between 11 and 15, co-sleeping with a brother or sister becomes more common. Co-sleeping in Japan is interpreted as a reflection of Japanese values emphasizing the family as a unit rather than due to a shortage of space (Kitahara, 1989:54). According to a study by Morioka, in which 28 farm families in Yamanashi were examined, 69 per cent of the married couples had one or

more of their children in the same room. In principle, a child sleeps with a parent until it becomes 11, after which co-sleeping with a grandparent or a sibling, or sleeping alone becomes common, showing a pattern very similar to the Caudill-Plath study (Kitahara, 1989:54).

In conclusion, within the group of Stayers and Sojourners that I interviewed there were significant differences in values and expectations with regard to socialising their children. The parents were from different backgrounds, education and employment however, despite this the notion of harmony and being aware of other people at all times were consistent across both group. There is considerable variation in attitudes within a complex society such as Japan, and views on childrearing in Japan as in other countries are changing. The Korean mother was the first generation of children born in Japan to migrant Korean parents and therefore some of her values and aspirations for her children are perhaps more reflective of her Korean family values than Japanese ones. Compared to some of the other Japanese mothers she seemed to be more adaptable. Certainly her children were much more animated, outspoken and outgoing than any of the other Stayer children and they were much younger.

According to Kojima (1990) a researcher on child-rearing theories, Japanese human nature is seen as fundamentally good, and every child is born with the potential for virtues. With regard to child-rearing, Kojima maintains that most children are similar to one another in their innate moral character and intellectual abilities; individual differences among children can mainly be attributed to environmental factors; children are autonomous learning organisms that learn things, especially through imitation from the earliest period of life and the first habit learned will become dominant within the child (1990: 319). Kojima asserts that a person who has close and harmonious interpersonal relationships with those belonging to the same group is the highly valued end of a successful child-rearing process and both parent (mothers in particular) and child are responsible for any failure to maintain the harmonious interpersonal relationship between them. Harmonious relationships should be developed through mutual accommodation and excessive stimulation, overprotection and over gratification of needs should be avoided; instead, children should be exposed to mild stimulation and frustrations that enable them to increase their

tolerance for future hardships. Kojima outlines the steps to be taken for the child to learn to self-regulate its behaviour. Adults should attend to the operation of the child's 'self' and taking it into consideration, they should direct their behaviour toward the child (Kojima, 1990:321). In other words, Kojima maintains that it is necessary for the parent to know or understand their own child's particular personality and then with this awareness assist the child in its journey to adulthood. Adults should not enforce obedience to their suggestions to children even if the children do not behave according to those suggestions. Adults must try to regulate the child's behaviour through verbal suggestions even if the child neither speaks of the intention to change its behaviour in accordance with the adult imposed goal, or actually change the behaviour. In the second phase, the child may begin to talk about the intended change, but not be able to accomplish it. Finally, the child may become able to modify its behaviour. The process may be characterized as the gradual incorporation of the adults' regulation by the child that finally led to self regulation (Kojima, 1990:321). Through my observation of the Japanese playgroup over a five year period this was certainly the style of behaviour modification that I witnessed. For example, children were never berated or verbally scolded but repeatedly received explanations with regard to sharing with other children, or taking care of equipment. It seemed that there was no limit to the patience extended from the parent (mostly mothers although there were two fathers at the playgroup) to the child. The expectation seemed to be that the child would eventually do the 'right' thing once he or she had internalised the concept, and this would eventually be the case where all children did what was expected of them without conflict. The children met the expectations that their parents held of them. The adults calmly and repeatedly explained things to the children. In those five years I did not witness a parent raise their voice or verbally intimidate their children. While this may not have been reflective of what went on at home this was always the situation at playgroup.

Neither did they display frustration at having to explain things to the children. Children were reprimanded in a civil and quiet tone always, even when the child became frustrated or irritable due to tiredness or not having things their own way the parent still dealt with the situation in an emotionally removed but assertive manner. In the 5 year period of attending the Japanese play-group I did not witness aggressive behaviour, hitting or fighting amongst children. They had developed the skill to sort out their differences in a non-confrontational style.

There were certain similarities between the two groups, the Stayers and the Sojourners. Being aware of other people's needs and not bothering other people seemed to be equally important to both groups, as was limiting sweets and lollies. Verbal scolding as well as discussion and explanation of unwanted behaviour were similarly regarded by both groups as was the disapproval of smacking children. Both groups had reflected on Japanese customs and culture and were able to make perceptive observations both praising and appraising aspects of parenting styles of Australians that they had experienced. There were also some important differences between the two groups. The schooling and education experience was quite different due to the Sojourners opting for the Japanese school. This also influenced friendships of both the children and the parents. The Stayer parents had more opportunities to experience Australian children and parents and were able to provide some interesting insights into some of the ordinary situations that they experienced in the course of parenting their children in Australia. Certainly this group was moved to think a little more deeply about Japanese moral education and reflect back on their own experiences in growing up in Japan.

CHAPTER 7: CONCLUSION

> Through cross-cultural research knowledge should be generated which is likely to enhance the welfare of the community (Jahoda, 1975:45).

Researching a section of the Japanese community in Perth, has provided an insight into some of the ways in which these two groups of Japanese parents socialise their children in diaspora. The two groups have very different priorities that they espouse for their children depending on whether they intend to return to Japan and readjust their children to Japanese society or whether they intend to remain in Australia. The Japanese families who have spent time in Perth socialising their children, have been able to view aspects of their culture from the outside. They have observed new ways to be a mother, a wife, a father and a husband.

The findings from the survey suggest that the qualities held to be the most important for the Sojourners group were consistent with the qualities that the Japanese view as being valued for Japanese in Japan. Girls are expected to be gentle, compassionate and compliant. The Stayers group rated qualities such as independent, showing initiative, assertive as being important for girls as well as boys. These qualities will be useful for their children to be successful in Australia. Parental background was also a factor in deciding which qualities would be important for the children. Generally the more educated parents and the older parents (in both the Sojourner and the Stayer groups) still wanted traditional personality traits in their children, whereas less educated parents (across both groups) were more open to their children developing more Australian personality traits.

While some of the Stayers families with older children had socialised their children to operate successfully in both cultures, others had stated that it was unfair to put pressure on their children to act in different ways when in Japan. Perhaps these parents had less expectation of their children's ability to operate mindfully depending on which culture they were in. It seemed that whatever the parental expectation, the children had met it.

From my research it would seem that many of the Japanese families have received advice from child health services, sometimes assertively, that conflicts with their own experience of parenting. The findings in my research suggested that most of the Japanese mothers have been able to decide for themselves the kind of advice that they will adopt and that which they are comfortable to avoid. One mother mentioned that having a caring and supportive partner to 'run things by' was all she needed to confidently make her own decisions. Some of the Japanese mothers whom I met at the playgroup with Australian husbands and mothers in law to negotiate, lack self confidence, and become confused and depressed parenting in ways that are not part of their understanding of the way in which things are done. In this way it would seem that child health services trained in providing culturally sensitive advice are less inclined to precipitate confusion and identity struggles for new Japanese mothers, and all migrant mothers. This would seem particularly important where there is no extended family to fall back on.

Many of the families commented on the lack of pressure and stress living in Australia. In many ways living in Australia and raising their children here, they have been liberated from some of the dominant value judgements that they may have felt pressure to conform to if they were living in Japan. The Japanese families made many comments regarding the sense of freedom in parenting in Australia. While some of the freedom they felt referred to the sense of space and environment many respondents commented that they particularly liked the international environment. I sensed that they felt a certain kind of freedom from having to 'be' a certain way, and Australia afforded them a place to be truly themselves. A number of the Stayers reported that the many different ethnic backgrounds of children at school in Australia are an asset to their children's education. The ways in which the families in my research have chosen to socialise their children have differed not only as Sojourners and Stayers, but within the Stayers group, parents have adopted very different personal philosophies with regard to the socialisation of their children. Some of the children could be described as Australian Japanese and others as Japanese Australians depending on the degree to which their parents have tried to retain Japanese behaviour for their children. While the Stayers may not return to Japan to live, the Sojourners expect to fit their children back into Japanese society on return.

The comments made by the Japanese respondents during the interviews often address this issue of children being able to fit comfortably back into Japanese society. The children in my research who were required to negotiate with a degree of skill both Japanese behaviour in Japan and more 'Australian' behaviour while in Australia were boys between the ages of nine and fifteen. Several children were required to demonstrate more passive behaviour while in Japan so as not to stand out, and more assertive behaviour while in Australia in order to succeed within the school environment. Some parents were more insistent than others on the degree to which they expected their children to make changes in their behaviour, but this notion of behavioural expectation and loss of face as well as maximising behaviour to obtain what was deemed suitable results were certainly issues that parents with children in this age bracket had addressed.

A number of the respondents in my research have commented on how much more 'family time' is available living in Australia, as husbands do not have the same pressure with regard to work commitments. Husbands are able to come home a lot earlier than they would in Japan, and this has meant that they have been able to spend a lot more time with their children. Most of the respondents commented that they very rarely went out as a couple and would not consider getting baby-sitters. Almost all social activities involve their children. Due to the increased presence of the husbands however, there seems to be less of an intense mother-child relationship. Further, many of the women in the Stayers group work as well as parent, while in the Sojourners group most of the mothers either study English or have active social lives playing tennis and golf.

While some families stated that they made no distinctions between their boys and girls my research indicates that distinctions do exist. These distinctions are mostly with regard to expectations in the home as far as helping was concerned and personality traits. I was particularly interested in this area knowing that certain traits encouraged in Australian children such as being outspoken, direct and encouraged to use initiative would not be considered assets in children in Japan, rather they would work against children fitting back into Japanese society with ease. The qualities of independence, self-assertion, initiative and being an individual were qualities rated as

being more valuable with the Stayers group than the Sojourners group. It appears that the Stayers group have decided that in order to succeed in Australia these qualities will be helpful for their children.

Another area that I was particularly interested in was the way in which the Japanese families made sense of their shifting sense of selves or identity in the integration process of living in Australia. They seemed to possess a self-assuredness and calm centred approach to raising their children in diaspora. For some of the Stayers families it has been important for the parents to have their children equally adept within both cultures, knowing what is appropriate, and what is not and acting accordingly to maximise opportunities wherever they are. According to Pollock and Van Reken, TCKs develop some degree of cultural adaptability as a primary tool for surviving the frequent change of cultures.

> Over and over TCKs use the term chameleon to describe how, after spending a little time observing what is going on, they can easily switch language, style of relating, appearance, and cultural practices to take on the characteristics needed to blend better into the current scene (Pollock and Van Reken, 1999:92).

For other families however, this has not been so important. Some of the respondents commented that they felt that it was unfair of them to expect that their children have to learn one set of behaviour for one place and then another for somewhere else.

One of the respondents in an interview stated that it was important for her to seek out like-minded mothers with similar parenting values as her own. It had taken her a while but through trial and error she had finally realised the importance of this for herself and her son. In our first culture we perhaps do this easily, but in a diasporic situation where language and culture is not as familiar it may take a little longer to locate those people who hold similar values to ourselves.

For the respondents in my research it would seem that cultural balance was essentially what families were striving for. Pollock and Van Reken assert that when we are in cultural balance we have a certain freedom. 'Once we have stayed in a culture long enough to internalise its behaviours and the assumptions behind them,

we have an almost intuitive sense of what is right, humorous, appropriate, or offensive in any particular situation' (1999:42). My findings confirm what Pollock and Van Relken have found; where the Stayer parents in my study have made a choice to live in Australia in a culture that is quite different from the one that they grew up in and therefore they have chosen to adapt certain aspects of child socialisation as well as expectations of their children's behaviour that will enable them to better fit in and feel comfortable in Australia. The Sojourner group do not seem to have made as many changes in their thinking as the Stayer group. For some of the Stayer families it has been important for the parents to have their children equally adept within both cultures, knowing what is appropriate, and what is not and acting accordingly to maximise opportunities wherever they are. For other families, this has not been so important. From the face to face interviews and the information that I gleaned from the parents there was no doubt that these Japanese families both Sojourners and Stayers were quite self-assured in the choices that they had made for themselves and for their children, certainly if there had been any doubt and confusion this did not come across at any stage. For these parents raising their children in diaspora was something that they seemed to be managing confidently and with joy.

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APPENDIX A

SAMPLE CONSENT FORM

ENGLISH

JAPANESE

CONSENT FORM

I,.....

(Full name)

of.....

(Address)

agree to be interviewed on .....,

(Date)

and agree for this interview to be taped.

I understand that I can withdraw at any time.

I agree that this information may be used for the purposes of

.....research only

.....research and publication.

.....I request that a pseudonym be used.

.....My real name may be used.

(Delete those not agreed to.)

Signed.....(Interviewee)

Date.....

Interviewer's Singature.....

会見同意書

私 ----------
（氏名）

（住所）

は ---------- に インタビューを受ける事に同意します。
（日付）

また、インタビューを録音する事も同意します。

私はいつでもこのインタビューを中止する事が出来ると理解しています。

このインフォメーションは下記の為に使用する事に同意します。
：研究
：研究と出版
：匿名希望
：本名を使う
（同意できない事を消してください）

署名 ---------- （被会見者）

日付 ----------

会見者署名 ----------

APPENDIX B

SAMPLE QUESTIONNAIRE

ENGLISH

JAPANESE

CHECKLIST	Mother	Father
Education Highest qualification		
Occupation		
Years in Australia		
Overseas living experience		
No. of children		
Ages of children		
Sex of children		

Questions

1a. What sort of behaviour do you wish to encourage in public?

.....

.....

.....

What sort of behaviour do you wish to discourage in public?

.....

.....

.....

If your child were to behave in a way that you found undesirable in public e.g. A supermarket, would you,

	Never	Seldom	Often	Very Often
a) smack your child.....	1	2	3	4
b) verbally scold your child.....	1	2	3	4
c) pacify your child with sweets.....	1	2	3	4
d) pacify your child verbally.....	1	2	3	4
e) pacify your child physically	1	2	3	4
f) ignore the behaviour.....	1	2	3	4
g) other.....	1	2	3	4

.....

1b. What sort of behaviour do you wish to discourage at home? What sort of behaviour do you wish to encourage in your child?

.....

.....

.....

If your child were to behave in a manner that you found undesirable at home would you,

	Never	Seldom	Often	Very Often
a) send your child to its room.....	1	2	3	4
b) explain and discuss the behaviour with your child.....	1	2	3	4
c) smack your child or use other physical punishment.....	1	2	3	4
d) use fear by way of threats to your child.....	1	2	3	4
e) put your child outside for a period in the dark.....	1	2	3	4
f) ignore the behaviour.....	1	2	3	4

g) other.....

.....

2. If you have friends for a meal do you,

	Never	Seldom	Often	Very Often
a) encourage your child to join in.....	1	2	3	4
b) encourage your child to greet the guests and then find something to do apart from being involved with the friends....	1	2	3	4
c) discourage your child from joining the table.....	1	2	3	4
d) the decision would depend on the age of the children	1	2	3	4

e) other.....

Please use the following numbers to indicate your answers for question 3.

Not important	Quite important	Very important	Vital
1.	2.	3.	4

3. How important do you rate the following attributes for your child to develop.?

	Not important	Quite important	Very important	Vital
	1	2	3	4
a) independence.....	1	2	3	4
b) generosity.....	1	2	3	4
c) compliance.....	1	2	3	4
d) kindness.....	1	2	3	4
e) compassion.....	1	2	3	4
f) self-assertion.....	1	2	3	4
g) initiative.....	1	2	3	4
h) tidiness.....	1	2	3	4
i) intelligence.....	1	2	3	4
j) happiness.....	1	2	3	4
k) industriousness.....	1	2	3	4
l) attitude.....	1	2	3	4
m) helpfulness.....	1	2	3	4
n) awareness of other peoples' need ...	1	2	3	4
o) competitiveness.....	1	2	3	4
p) individualism.....	1	2	3	4

q) other.....

For question 4 and 5 please tick the box or boxes that apply to your experience.

4. If you have visited a child health clinic, G.P. or teacher with regard to your child in Australia, how did you find the advice,

a) helpful..... ☐

b) unhelpful..... ☐

c) confronting or overwhelming..... ☐

d) confusing..... ☐

e) other..... ☐

5. If your child is attending an Australian or Japanese school, please answer this question.

Have you found feedback from your child's teacher regarding his or her performance at school,

a) useful/helpful..... ☐

b) unhelpful..... ☐

c) confronting..... ☐

d) confusing..... ☐

e) other..... ☐

f) What issues have been raised in relation to your child's development?

.....

.....

g) Has it been easy for your child to make friendships with Australian children.If not, what aspects have been difficult?

.....

.....

6. How easy do you feel it is for you to rear your child in W.A.? Please circle your answer.

Very Easy Easy Difficult at times Difficult Very difficult Not sure

Please comment on particular aspects.

.....

.....

.....

.....

.....

.....

..

The following questions require your opinion.

7. What aspects of Australian parenting style would you wish to emulate or incorporate into your own style of parenting? Explain or elaborate on your response.

---

8. What aspects of Australian parenting do you feel uncomfortable about?

---

9. When you return to Japan for holidays, what aspects of your child's behaviour prompt you to reflect on your parenting style?

---

10. Which of the following jobs do you expect your child to participate in at home?

Please circle the answer most appropriate for each question.

	Never	Sometimes	Often	Daily/Weekly
a) empty rubbish	1	2	3	4
b) wash dishes.....	1	2	3	4
c) set table	1	2	3	4
d) clean room	1	2	3	4.
e) make bed	1	2	3	4
f) other...	1	2	3	4

11. What sort of experiences would you regard as positive experiences of cultural contact?

	母親	父親
最終学歴		
職業		
オーストラリア滞在年数		
オーストラリア以外での海外滞在経験		
子供の数		
子供の年齢		
子供の性別		

質問

1－a)

公共の場で子供にどんな態度を心掛けて欲しいですか？

公共の場で子供にどんな事はして欲しくないですか？

あなたの子供が公共の場で、たとえばスーパーマーケットで良くない事をした場合、あなたはどのように、対処しますか？

	しない	まれに	たびたび	いつも
子供をたたく	1	2	3	4
しかる	1	2	3	4
お菓子であやす	1	2	3	4
言葉であやす	1	2	3	4
抱いてあやす	1	2	3	4
無視する	1	2	3	4
ほか	1	2	3	4

1－b)

家庭でどんな事をしかり、どんな事をほめてやりますか？

子供が家の中で悪い事をした時、あなたはどうしますか？

	しない	まれに	たびたび	いつも
子供の部屋に入れる	1	2	3	4
説明して話し合う	1	2	3	4
体罰を加える	1	2	3	4
脅かす	1	2	3	4
暗い所に閉じ込める	1	2	3	4
無視する	1	2	3	4
ほか	1	2	3	4

2)

友達と自宅で食事をする時、あなたはどうしますか？

	しない	まれに	たびたび	いつも
子供も同席させる	1	2	3	4
子供には挨拶だけをさせて、自分の事をさせる	1	2	3	4
子供は一緒に食事をしない	1	2	3	4
子供の年齢によって方法を変える	1	2	3	4
ほか	1	2	3	4

3） 子供の成長過程で、次の事柄はあなたにとってどれくらい重要ですか？

	重要でない	重要	とても重要	絶対的に重要
独立心	1	2	3	4
思いやり	1	2	3	4
素直さ	1	2	3	4
親切さ	1	2	3	4
同情心	1	2	3	4
自己主張	1	2	3	4
独創性	1	2	3	4
整理整頓	1	2	3	4
知性	1	2	3	4
幸福感	1	2	3	4
勤勉性	1	2	3	4
くよくよしない	1	2	3	4
人の役に立つ事	1	2	3	4
他人へのおもいやり	1	2	3	4
競争心	1	2	3	4
個性	1	2	3	4
ほか				

4）と5）の質問は自分の経験に基づいて、該当する答えの（ ）内に印をして下さい

4）診療所や病院、もしくは学校の先生と自分の子供について話し合いをした時、あなたはその人達のアドバイスをどう思いましたか？

a) 役に立った （ ）
b) 役に立たなかった （ ）
c) はっきりしすぎていて圧倒された （ ）
d) 解りにくかった （ ）
e) ほか （ ）

5）子供が日本かオーストラリアの学校に通っている場合、次の質問に答えて下さい。
子供の学校生活での行動に対して、先生の話を聞いて、あなたはどう思いましたか？

a) 役に立った （ ）
b) 役に立たなかった （ ）
c) 威圧的だった （ ）
d) 解りにくかった （ ）
e) ほか （ ）

子供の成長に対して、どんな事が話題になりましたか？

自分の子供がオーストラリアの子供たちと、友達になって遊ぶ事はやさしいですか？
もし難しいなら、どんな所が難しいですか？

6) 西オーストラリアで子供を育てる事はやさしいと思いますか？

とてもやさしい	やさしい	時々難しい	難しい	とても難しい	解らない
（ ）	（ ）	（ ）	（ ）	（ ）	（ ）

特になにか思い付く事は有りますか？

あなたの意見をお聞かせ下さい。

7）オーストラリアの子供の教育方針で、なにか取り入れたいと思う事はありますか？
具体的にお答え下さい。

8）オーストラリアの子供の教育方針で、あまり好きでない点は何ですか？

9）子供と日本に一時帰国した時、自分の子供の行動が日本の他の子供達と違っていると思った事はありますか？具体的にお答え下さい。

１０）　家の中で自分の子供に手伝って欲しい事。

	まったく	たまに	たびたび	いつも
ごみを捨てる	1	2	3	4
皿洗い	1	2	3	4
テーブルセッティング	1	2	3	4
部屋をかたづける	1	2	3	4
寝具を整える	1	2	3	4
ほか	1	2	3	4

１１）オーストラリアに住んで、子供にとって良かったと思う事は何ですか？

APPENDIX C

TABLES

1. Friends for Dinner.
2. Attributes.
3. Schooling and Feedback.
4. Child-rearing in W.A.
5. Behaviour in Public.
6. Behaviour in Private.
7. Advice.
8. Helping at Home.

TABLE 1: Friends for Dinner.
If you have friends for Dinner, do you?

Nos.	Encourage your Child to Join in	Encourage your Child to greet the Guests and then find something else to do	Discourage your child from Joining the Table	Decision would depend on Age of Child	Other
STAYER MOTHERS 13					
Never		2	4	2	
Seldom		2	5	3	
Often	3	2		1	
Very Often	8	2		3	
STAYER FATHERS 4					
Never		2	4	2	
Seldom	1	1			1
Often	1			1	
Very Often	2	1		1	
STAYERS TOTAL 17					
Never		4	8	4	
Seldom	1	3	5	4	
Often	4	2		2	
Very Often	10	3		4	
SOJOURNER MOTHERS 7					
Never		5	6	4	
Seldom		1			
Often				1	
Very Often	6			1	
SOJOURNER FATHERS 3					
Never		1	2	2	
Seldom					
Often		1			
Very Often	2				
SOJOURNER TOTA L 10					
Never		6	8	6	
Seldom		1			
Often				1	
Very Often	8			1	
MOTHERS TOTAL 20					
Never		7	10	6	
Seldom		3	5	3	
Often	3	2		2	
Very Often	14			4	
FATHERS TOTAL 7					
Never			3	6	4
Seldom		1	1		
Often		1	1		1

TABLE 2: Attributes.
How important do you rate the following attributes for your child to develop?

STAYER MOTHERS 13	Not Important	Quite Important	Very Important	Vital
Independence		2 J	5 GA	6 BG
Generosity		J	4 G	9 BA
Compliance		2 B J	8 G	3
Kindness		1 J	7	5 A
Compassion		9 BGA	2	2 A
Self Assertion	1 J	5 G	3 B	5 A
Initiative	1 J	6 BG	5	2A
Tidiness	1 A	7	3 GJ	1
Intelligence		5 BG	4 JA	4
Happiness		3	6	4 BGJA
Industriousness	1 A	8 BG	2	2 J
Attitude		6JBG	3	3 A
Helpfulness		6 BG	4	3 JA
Awareness of others needs		5	2 G	6 BGA
Competitiveness	3	7 GJ	1 B	2 A
Individualism	2 J	1	5 BGA	4

STAYER FATHERS 4				
Independence			3	1
Generosity			3	1
Compliance		1		3
Kindness			1	3
Compassion		2	1	1
Self Assertion			2	2
Initiative			2	2
Tidiness		2	2	
Intelligence			4	
Happiness			1	3
Industriousness		1	1	2
Attitude			3	1
Helpfulness		2	1	1
Awareness of others needs			2	2
Competitiveness		3	1	
Individualism	1		2	1

A= In Australia G=For Girl

STAYERS TOTAL 17	Not Important	Quite Important	Very Important	Vital
Independence		2 J	8 GA	7 BG
Generosity		1J	7 G	10 BA
Compliance		3 BJ	8 G	6
Kindness		1 J	8	8 A
Compassion		11 BGJ	3	3A
Self Assertion	1J	5 G	5 B	7 A
Initiative	J	6BG	7	4 A
Tidiness	1A	9	5 GJ	1
Intelligence		5 BG	8 JA	4
Happiness		3	7	7BGJA
Industriousness	1 A	9 BG	3	4 J
Attitude		6 JBG	6	4 A
Helpfulness		8 BG	5	4 JA
Awareness of others needs		5	4 G	7 BJA
Competitiveness	3	10 GJ	2 B	2 A
Individualism	3 J	1	7 BGA	5

SOJOURNER MOTHERS 7				
Independence		4	2	1
Generosity			1	6
Compliance		1	4	2
Kindness			3	4
Compassion		3	3	1
Self Assertion		4	3	
Initiative		5	2	
Tidiness		2 G	4 B	
Intelligence	1	1	3	2
Happiness		2	2	3
Industriousness		1	5	1
Attitude		3	4	
Helpfulness		4	3	
Awareness of others needs			2	5
Competitiveness	2	4		1
Individualism		4	1	2

A= In Australia
J= In Japan
G=For Girl
B= For a Boy

SOJOURNER FATHERS 3	Not Important	Quite Important	Very Important	Vital
Independence		1	1 G	1B
Generosity			2	1
Compliance			2	1
Kindness			2	1
Compassion		2	1	
Self Assertion		3	1	
Initiative			3	
Tidiness		1	2	
Intelligence		1	1	1B
Happiness			1	2
Industriousness		1	1	1
Attitude			1 G	1B
Helpfulness			3	
Awareness of others needs			1	2
Competitiveness	1	1	1	
Individualism			3	

SOJOURNERS TOTAL 10				
Independence		5	3 G	1 B
Generosity			3	7
Compliance		1	6	3
Kindness			5	5
Compassion		5	4	1
Self Assertion		6	4	
Initiative		5	5	
Tidiness		3 G	6 B	
Intelligence	1	2	4	3
Happiness		2	3	5
Industriousness		2	6	2
Attitude		3	5 G	B
Helpfulness		4	6	
Awareness of others needs			3	7
Competitiveness	3	5	1	1
Individualism		4	4	2

A= In Australia
J= In Japan

G=For Girl
B= For a Boy

MOTHERS TOTAL 20				
Independence		6 J	7 GA	7 BG
Generosity		1J	5 G	15 BA
Compliance		3 BJ	12 G	5
Kindness		1 J	10	
Compassion		12 BGJ	5	3 A
Self Assertion	1J	9 G	6 B	5 A.
Initiative	1J	11 BG	7	2 A
Tidiness	1A	9 G	7 BGJ	1
Intelligence	1	6 BG	7 JA	6
Happiness		5	8	7 BGJA
Industriousness	1A	9 BG	7	3 J
Attitude		9 JBG	7	3 A
Helpfulness		7 BG	7	3 JA
Awareness of others needs		5	4 G	11 BJA
Competitiveness	5	11 GJ	1 B	JA
Individualism	2 J	5	6 BJA	6

FATHERS TOTAL 7	Not Important	Quite Important	Very Important	Vital
Independence		1	4 G	1 B
Generosity			5	2
Compliance		1	2	4
Kindness			3	4
Compassion		4	2	1
Self Assertion		2	3	2
Initiative			5	2
Tidiness		2	5	
Intelligence		1	5	1
Happiness			2	5
Industriousness		2	2	3
Attitude			4 G	1 B
Helpfulness		2	4	1
Awareness of others needs			3	4
Competitiveness	1	1	4	1
Individuallsm	1		5	1

A= In Australia G=For Girl
J= In Japan B= For a Boy

Table 3: Schooling and Feedback.
How have you found feedback from your child's teacher regarding his or her performance at school ?

RESPONDENTS	Useful	Unhelpful	Confronting	Confusing	Other
Stayer Mothers	7		1		
Stayer Fathers	3			S	
Total	10	0	1	S	0
Sojourner Mothers	7				
Sojourner Fathers	2				
Total	9	0	2	2S	0

S=Sometimes

TABLE 4: Child rearing in Western Australia.
How easy is it to rear your child in Western Australia ?

RESPONDENTS	Nos.	Very Easy	Easy	Difficult at times	Difficult	Very Difficult
Stayer Mothers	13		4	4		
Stayer Fathers	4		3	1		
Stayer s Total	17		7	5		
Sojourner Mothers	7		2	2		
Sojourner Fathers	3		1	1	1	
Sojourner Total	10		3	3	1	
Mothers Total	20		6	6	1	
Fathers Total	7		4	2	1	

TABLE 5: Behaviour in Public (*omote*).

If your child were to behave in a way you found undesirable in public, would you ?

	Smack your Child	Verbally scold your child	Pacify with Sweets	Pacify verbally	Pacify your Child Physically	Ignore	Other
STAYER MOTHERS 13							
Very Often		6		2			
Seldom	1	3	4	4	3	3	
Often		2		2	1		
Never	10		7	3	7	8	
Total	11	11	11	11	11	11	0
STAYER FATHERS 4							
Very Often		2					
Seldom	1	1	1	3	2	1	
Often		1					
Never	3		3	1	2	3	
Total	4	4	4	4	4	4	0
STAYERS TOTAL 17							
Very Often		8		2			
Seldom	2	4	5	7	5	4	
Often		3		2	1		
Never	13		10	4	9	11	
Total	15	15	15	15	15	15	0
SOJOURNER MOTHERS 7							
Very Often		3					
Seldom	1		1	2	3		
Often		4	1	4	2		
Never	6		5	1	2	7	
Total	7	7	7	7	7	7	0

SOJOURNER FATHERS 3							
Very Often		2					
Seldom	3				1	1	
Often		1		1			
Never			3	2	2	1	
Total	3	3	3	3	3	2	0
SOJOURNERS TOTAL 10							
Very Often	0	5	0	0	0	0	0
Seldom	4	0	1	2	4	1	0
Often	0	5	1	5	2	0	0
Never	6	0	8	3	4	8	0
Total	10	10	10	10	10	9	0
MOTHERS TOTAL 20							
Very Often	0	9	0	2	0	0	0
Seldom	2	3	5	6	6	3	0
Often	0	6	1	6	3	0	0
Never	16	0	12	4	9	15	0
Total	18	18	18	18	18	18	0
FATHERS TOTAL 7							
Very Often	0	4	0	0	0	0	0
Seldom	4	1	1	3	3	2	0
Often	0	2	0	1	0	0	0
Never	3	0	6	3	4	4	0
Total	7	7	7	7	7	6	0

TABLE 6: Private Behaviour (*ura*).

If your child were to behave in a manner that you found undesirable at home, would you

	Send your Child to Their Room	Explain and Discuss Behaviour with child	Smack or use other physical punishment	Use fear to threaten child	Put Your Child outside in the dark	Ignore the Behaviour	Other
STAYER MOTHERS 13							
Never	6		5	6	9	7	
Seldom	5	1	6	5	2	3	
Often	1	5					
Very Often		6					
Total	12	12	11	11	11	10	0
STAYER FATHERS 4							
Never	2		2	1	3	3	
Seldom	2		1	3	1	1	
Often		3	1				
Very Often		1					
Total	4	4	4	4	4	4	0
STAYERS TOTAL 17							
Never	8	0	7	7	12	10	0
Seldom	8	1	7	8	3	4	0
Often	1	8	1	0	0	0	0
Very Often	0	7	0	0	0	0	0
Total	17	16	15	15	15	14	0
SOJOURNER MOTHERS 7							
Never	4		4	6	7	6	
Seldom	3		2	1		1	
Often		2	1				
Very Often		5					
Total	7	7	7	7	7	7	0

SOJOURNER FATHERS 3							
Never	1		1	1	2		
Seldom	1	1	1	1	1		
Often		1	1	1			
Very Often		1					
Total	**2**	**3**	**3**	**3**	**3**	**0**	**0**
SOJOURNERS TOTAL 10							
Never	5	0	4	7	8	8	0
Seldom	4	1	3	2	2	1	0
Often	0	3	2	1	0	0	0
Very Often	0	6	0	0	0	0	0
Total	**9**	**10**	**9**	**10**	**10**	**9**	**0**
FATHERS TOTAL 7							
Never	3	0	2	2	5	3	0
Seldom	3	1	2	4	2	1	0
Often	0	4	2	1	0	0	0
Very Often	0	2	0	0	0	0	0
Total	**6**	**7**	**6**	7	**7**	**4**	**0**
MOTHERS TOTAL 20							
Never	10	0	9	12	16	13	0
Seldom	8	1	8	6	2	4	0
Often	1	7	1	0	0	0	0
Very Often	0	11	0	0	0	0	0
Total	**19**	**19**	**18**	**18**	**18**	**17**	**0**

TABLE 7: Advice.

If you have visited a Child Health Care Clinic, G.P. or teacher with regard to your child in Australia, how did you find the advice ?

RESPONDENTS	Nos	Helpful	Unhelpful	Confronting or Overwhelming	Confusing
Stayer Mothers	13	8			1
Stayer Fathers	4	2		1	S
Stayers Total	17	10		1	2
Sojourner Mothers	7	5	1		
Sojourner Fathers	3	2			
Sojourners Total	10	7	1		
Total Mothers	20	13	1		1
Total Fathers	7	4	0	1	1

TABLE 8: Helping at home.
Which of the following jobs do you expect your child to participate in at home.

	Nos	Empty Rubbish	Wash Dishes	Set table	Clean Room	Make Bed	Other
STAYER MOTHERS	13						
Never			3			2 BG	
Sometimes		5	5 B	4 B	1	4	
Often		2	2 G	2 G	5		
Daily/ Weekly		3 BG		4 G	4 BG	4	cooking
Total		**10**	**10**	**10**	**10**	**10**	**0**
STAYER FATHERS	4						
Never		2	2	1	1		
Sometimes			1				
Often		1	1	1	2	3	empty mailbox cleaning help
Daily/ Weekly		1		2	1	1	
Total		**4**	**4**	**4**	**4**	**4**	**0**
TOTAL STAYERS	17						
Never		2	5	1	1	2 BG	
Sometimes		5	6 B	4 B	1	4	
Often		3	3 G	3 G	7	3	
Daily/ Weekly		4 BG		6 G	5 BG	5	
Total		**14**	**14**	**14**	**14**	**14**	**0**
SOJOURNER MOTHERS	7						
Never			2				
Sometimes		2	1	2	3	3	
Often		1	1	1	1		wash bath do blinds
Daily/ Weekly		2	1	2	1	1	
Total		**5**	**5**	**5**	**5**	**4**	**0**

SOJOURNER FATHERS	3						
Never						1	
Sometimes					1		
Often		1					
Daily/ Weekly			1	1			
Total		1	1	1	1	1	0
SOJOURNER TOTAL	10						
Never			2			1	
Sometimes		2	1	2	4		
Often		2	1	1	1	3	
Daily/ Weekly		2	2	3	1	1	
Total		6	6	6	6	5	0
MOTHERS TOTAL	20						
Never			5		1		
Sometimes		7	6 B	6 BB	3		
Often		3	3 G	3 G	3	3	
Daily/ Weekly		4	1	6G	3	2	
Total		14	6	0	10	5	0
FATHERS TOTAL	7						
Never		2	2	1	1	1	
Sometimes			1		1		
Often		2	1	1	2	3	
Daily/ Weekly		1	1	3	1	1	
Total		5	5	5	5	5	0

G=girl
B=boy