Student Careers of Japanese Returnee Children:

Implications for Social Reproduction[1)]

MINAMI Yasusuke

[Mr. Honda 0202 53M48S]

"Mr. A has graduated from the engineering department of Waseda University and is currently working for NEC (one of the leading manufacturers of electronic products in Japan). He came to S City when we were in the second grade. We have been best friends since then. These days we see each other almost every weekend. I haven't heard about Mr. B. I guess Mr. C is in the States. I sometimes see him when I go back to the States. Mr. D is American, too. He is working for an advertising agency in New York. Well, I guess nobody knows better than me about who lives where and doing what among my former classmates. But I don't know about Mr. E. His stay in S City was very short. Well, I still see Mr. F occasionally. He goes to the Faculty of Commerce at Keio University as I did. Probably he will graduate this spring. I saw Mr. G when we were college students. We had a reunion. He was going to Doshisha University. Ms. H, she should be in the States. So is Mr. I. Mr. J went to UC Riverside, I guess. His major was computer science. I don't remember Ms. K. Ms. L went to Ritsumeikan University. I just saw her once at a reunion. I saw Ms. M once at a reunion, too. Well, I often hear from Ms. N these days. She is working for a corporation as a so-called office lady. Mr. O graduated from UCLA, majoring in electrical engineering. He is now in Japan, working for Toshiba (a major electric and electronic appliances manufacturer). We sometimes see each other. Mr. P majored in economics at Keio University. He went to graduate school at Hitotsubashi University. He is working for Nihon Yusen (a major cargo ship company) now. Ms. Q attended Keio Fujisawa campus. I do not know what she is doing now. I have not heard from Mr. R recently. He was working for Kyocera. Ms. S went to Keio High School in New York. She went to Keio Fujisawa campus as well. Mr. T graduated from Keio University. His major was economics. Well, Mr. U is now in Japan, too. I sometimes talk to him. Mr. V went to a national teachers college and is now teaching at a junior high school. Well, what about Mr. W? He and his twin brother

went to Berkelee College of Music, I guess. Ms. X graduated from Sophia University. Ms. Y went to Dartmouth College. Mr. Z went to a college in Korea.

1. Introduction

Above is part of what Mr. Honda, who is in his mid-twenties, told me about his former classmates at Nagisa Gakuen. Nagisa Gakuen is a Japanese supplementary school in S City, located on the West Coast of the United States. The school meets once a week, on Saturday, 42 days a year. The students are exposed to the Japanese national curriculum using Japanese textooks. On weekdays they attend local American schools. They are leading a dual school life, that of America and of Japan. Most of the students stay in the States for several years while others were born in the States and stay there for their whole life.

Mr. Honda was born in S City to Japanese parents. His father owns a trading company. He went to the supplementary school from the first through tenth grade. When I interviewed Mr. Honda in the spring of 2002, he was working for a computer software company as a system developer. He went to Keio University. After graduating with bachelor's degree in commerce, he got a job at a manufacturing company. After one year, he moved to the current company.

He has been active in organizing reunion parties of Nagisa classmates. Above is an abridged translation of the part of the interview, in which Mr. Honda talked about who is doing what among his classmates. His cohort consists of people born between April 2, 1976 and April 1, 1977. They entered Nagisa in April 1983 as first-graders. They became seventh-graders in 1989 and tenth-graders in 1992. The cohort graduated from Nagisa high school course in March 1995.

It can be speculated that about 100 children studied at Nagisa in his cohort all in all. According to my research of the cohort, seven

years junior to Mr. Honda's, the total number reaches 131. Length and age of stay in the States vary from child to child a great deal. Some stayed just for half a year while some stayed from the first- through twelfth-grade.

In the above, material names of 26 people are mentioned. Adding Mr. Honda himself and Ms. Negishi, who I interviewed just before Mr. Honda, and considering the Ws are twins, 29 people are mentioned. Excluding 11 people whose college is unknown to Mr. Honda, we know which colleges 18 people attended and probably graduated from.

Five people attended American institutions, UC Riverside, UCLA, Berkelee College of Music, and Dartmouth College. Thirteen people went to Japanese universities, six to Keio, one each to Waseda, Sophia, Doshisha, Kwansei Gakuin, Ritsumeikan, Tokyo, and National Aichi Kyoiku College.

British anthropologist Roger Goodman, in his monograph based on his fieldwork at Fujiyama Gakuen, argued that a new elite class of "international youth" are emerging in Japan. The school is a private full-time secondary school accommodating students from seventh through twelfth grade. Fujiyama Gakuen School received some returnee students, who have been abroad.

In order to make the argument that the retunrees are favorably treated, Goodman mentions several features. Among them are the existence of reception schools and the tax money spent on them. In comparison with other "minorities" such as Koreans in Japan, Ainu, burakumin (Japanese untouchables), and Okinawa people, the favorable treaments given to returnees looks very huge, Goodman argues.

He also refers to their success on gaining entry to top universities. His conclusion reads: "There is little doubt, therefore, that *kikokushijo* [returnee children] are achieving some way above the national average in terms of university entrance" (Goodman 1990: 184).

Goodman is probably correct. According to the statistics assembled by the Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science and Tech-

nology (*Monbu Kagakusho* in Japanese), there were some 2.38 million (2,377,169) students enrolled in four-year day-time undergraduate courses in all the colleges in Japan as of May 1, 2001. They go to 99 national, 74 public, and 496 private colleges. 580 thousand (579,803) started college life in 2001, 17.2% (99,726) at national universities, 4.0% (22,929) at public, and the remaining 78.8% (457,148) at private universities. By the way, public schools are founded and operated by prefectural or municipal governments.

It is estimated that in 2001 there were about 1.51 million (1,511,845) 18-year-old people who were eligible to apply for colleges, which is the number of students who graduated from junior high schools three years before. (By the way, 1.33 million students graduated from high schools in 2001.) The equivalent of the 38.4% (579,803) entered day-time four- or six-year courses and the 8.4% (127,597) entered day-time two-year courses. (I am using the expression "equivalent" because some people were 19 years old or older, not the ones counted in the statistics three years before). It is estimated that about 45 thousand were enrolled in the first year of night or correspondence courses or in the forth year of the five-year courses of institutes of technology or *koto senmon gakko*, which combine high school and junior college. All in all, almost half (49.7%) of the 18-year old started college education, without considering those who spend extra years preparing for entrance examinations.

In Japan, the rankings of colleges are closely related to the difficutly of gaining entry to each institution, which is measured by simulation tests (*mogi shiken*) conducted by prep schools. Since the national and public universities and private universities differ greatly in tuitions and the number of subjects required to take in the entrance examinations, they constitute distinct hierarchies. I will restrict my arguments here to private universities.

Keio and Waseda are the most prestigious private institutions in Japan. Recently Sophia and International Christian University were ranked very closely to these top two private institutions. There were

19,223 freshmen at these four institutions in 2001. The above four shools are located in Tokyo metropolitan area. There is another hierarchy of private institutions in Kansai area, the second largest urban center in Japan. The top has been occupied by four schools, Doshisha, Kwansei Gakuin, Ritsumeikan, and Kansai. The total number of freshmen at these four institutions in 2001 was 22,912. There were 42,135 freshmen combined, accouting for 9.2% of all the freshmen at private universities.

We have seen that 13 people who belong to the cohort of Mr. Honda at Nagisa Gakuen attended Japanese colleges. Just two of them attended national institutions. The remaining eleven children went to one of the top eight private universities in Tokyo metropolitan and Kansai areas.

Of course, there are other hierarchies. For example, medical schools at less prestigious universities are frequently ranked higher than the other majors at top universities. To begin with, it is almost impossible to compare the difficulty of gaining entry to humanities and social science majors and natural science majors. In brief, we cannot assume that 1.5 million youths equally aspire to enter one of the top eight private institutions.

Still, we might be able to argue that returnee students "are achieving some way above the national average in terms of university entrance" as Goodman argues. All of Mr. Honda's cohort members who went to Japanese private universities studied at one of the top eight. Of course, there may be some children who did not come to reunions because they were not so successful in college entrance. It is inferred that some one hundred children studied at Nagisa in Mr. Honda's cohort. We just have information about the colleges of 29 people, which constitutes just about 30%. It should be also noted that the families of those children are not from a random sample of Japanese households. Many fathers were working for big corporations. The status of family is one of the intriguing issues of returnees. I will treat the issue at the end of this paper.

My research findings show that many Nagisa graduates are studying at top universities both in Japan and the United States. In this paper, I will discuss how this is achieved and its social and academic implications.

I conducted participatory observation study at Nagisa Gakuen in 1990 to 1991. In the spring of 1991, I followed some returning families and interviewed them in Japan. The study completed in 1993 became my Ph.D. dissertation (Minami 1993), which was later published in Japanese (Minami 2000). In 2001, I started the follow-up study. I contacted 11 families who participated in my previous research. Four of the families are still in the States and I will not mention them in the paper.

Table 1 shows the student careers of ten returnee children from seven families, who went to or were going to Japanese universities. In the following discussion, I will describe the cases and draw implications from them.

One basic question I am interested in is the following: should Japanese students in the States like Mr. Honda choose a Japanese or an American college? It is too a large and complicated question to give an answer in a short paper. My limited goal here is to enquire into how to proceed in order to organize a research project to address this question.

In the next section, I will focus on reception schools and special admission procedures, which are formally and explicitly designed to facilitate returnees' chance of gaining entry to prestigious universities in Japan. Then I will discuss the role played by their command of English. Japanese children acquire basic foundation of English while in the States. Many returnee students build on that foundation and use it to further their student career. Next I will focus on so-called motivational aspects. Hard work has been considered one of the basic virtues of the Japanese and having helped Japan become a major economic power. Fierce competition in college entrance exmas has been

said to help inculcate an ethic of hard work. On the other hand, it is said that returnee students need special motivation. They do not study hard what is not interesting to them or something about which they do not see any reason for learning. Now that Japanese employment systems are changing because of the long depression after the economic prosperity which was called the bubble economy and broke in early 1990's. Many youths are not working on a regular, life-time employment basis. An enquiry into the socialization process of an ethic of hard work can have an important social implications.

Finally I will mention the family background of those returnees. Their fathers have stable jobs. Many work for big corporations. They can afford sending their children to Japan on a temporary basis or for college. Most of all their parents care the children's educational outcomes. In my conclusion, I will look for any expressions of social or cultural reproduction.

2. Reception Schools and the Student Careers of Returnee Students

Special treatment for returnee students can be divided into two types. One is the supplementary lessons provided in reception schools. A few reception high schools, for example, offer ability groupings in subjects such as English and Japanese in order to meet the needs of returnees with excellent command of English and/or underdeveloped command of Japanese. In Japan, tracking usually takes the form of differences among schools, not within schools. Tracking within a school other than age-grading is a rare exception in Japan. (However, there are some changes emerging.)

The other type of special treatment takes place in the selection process. Many Japanese universities have special quotas for returnee students and conduct selection in another way than for ordinary students. Ordinary Japanese students take written entrance examinations. They are selected almost solely on their performance on these tests.

Students who finished the twelfth grade and stayed overseas at least two years are eligible for the quota. They turn in high school grades and test scores such as SAT and TOEFL. After the screening based on these submitted forms, students take the examination. What constitutes an examination differs greatly from college to college. Some just assign essays and conduct interviews while others have written tests of such subjects as English, mathematics, and science. Natural science majors and national universities tend to ask for more.

One prep school sets the minimum test score for who can take its courses. The course for students aiming top national universities such as Tokyo, Kyoto, and Hitotsubashi is for those students whose TOEFL score is 620 or higher and SAT1 score is 1200 or higher. The same scores are required to enroll in the preparation courses to apply for humanities and social science majors at private universities such as Waseda, Keio, and Sophia.

As the word "examination hell," or *juken jigoku* in Japanese shows, competition in gaining entry to good, prestigious universities is fierce. It can be seen in the fact that 19.8% freshmen at some 100 private universities had spent at least one additional year solely to gain entry. The ratio is 25.7% at the top eight private universities. On the other hand I have heard of no case among returnees spending an extra year in gaining entry.

A famous and typical, and perhaps an extreme life of an exam warrior is the following: a child starts going to a prep school in the third grade. He works very hard to prepare for the entrance examinations of famous six-year secondary schools, including Kaisei, Azabu, and Nada. An English description of Nada can be found in the work by Thomas Rohlen (Rohlen 1983). High schools in Japan are ranked according to the colleges their graduates gain entry to. Kaisei and other schools are ranked at the top of the hierarchy because more than half of their graduates enter Tokyo University or other top medical schools.

Note that prep schools in Japan are not counted as part of formal education. However long you attend one, you cannot put that on your vitae. It just helps formal aspects of schooling. Prep schools are not under the direct supervision of the Ministry of Education.

Criticism of "special treatments" for returnees should be understood in this context. Some children start working very hard in the third grade in order to enter top universities. Selection of returnees based on different standards can undermine the legitimacy of the system (cf. Tsukada 1991).

Mr. Honda and Ms. Negishi gained entry through the special admission procedure. Both of them had never gone to school in Japan, except for several short stays during the summer. Mr. Honda was born in the States while Ms. Negishi went to the States when she was one year old. They learned Japanese language and school subjects at home and Nagisa. They went to school in Japan in June and July after American schools broke into summer vacation.

After finishing American high schools, both Mr. Honda and Ms. Negishi studied to prepare for the entrance examinations of Japanese colleges. Ms. Negishi went to a prep school in Japan. Mr. Honda went to a prep school in the States while attending UCSD. Ms. Negishi gained entry to Keio University Medical School in the fall and Tokyo University Medical School in the following spring, both of which are considered the most difficult to gain entry to in Japan. By the way, please note that the organiation of medical education is different in Japan. Students enter a medical school, or a faculty of medicine (as a literal tranaslation) directly after high school. The course is for six years.

Ms. Negishi decided to go to college in Japan on her own. After she scored 1480 on SAT, which is said to be equivalent of 1560 in the current caluculation system, she believed that she had a good chance of gaining entry to Japanese universities. On the other hand, Mr. Honda was forced to go to college in Japan by his parents. He studied at the American university for one quarter. He gained entry to the

Faculty of Engineering at National Tohoku University and the Faculty of Commerce at Keio University.

Mr. Sakaguchi, former principal of Nagisa, used to say that it was surprising that many Nagisa graduates enter prestigious universities in Japan. According to Mr. Sakaguchi, the students we are talking about would not have been able to enter Keio or Waseda if they had not spent time in the United States and had access to the special admission procedure. His remark reflects the perspective shared by Japanese ordinary people and students as well as Goodman's.

What I am most interested in is whether returnees who are selected on the basis of different standards have difficulty in their course work. As a matter of fact, Mr. Honda did not earn enough credits to become a sophomore in the first year. He spent two years completing the freshmen course. On the other hand, Ms. Negishi completed the course work according to the minimum schedule and passed the national qualification examination to become a doctor at the end of the sixth year. However, the Faculty of Medicine at Tokyo University stopped the special admission procedure for returnee students. Ms. Negishi suggested that it is due to the fact that many returnee students admitted through this procedure did not do well in school.

Other returnee students enter top private universities from their attached high schools. Doshisha Kokusai High School is one of such reception schools. The graduates gain entry to Doshisha University on recommendation of the high school principal, which is determined by their GPA. About 80% of its high school graduates enter Doshisha University or Doshisha Women's College.

"Kokusai" means international in Japanese. Doshisha Kokusai High and Junior High School is one of the three reception schools specially built to accommodate returnee students in the late 1970s to early 1980s. According to Goodman (1990: 157), "a considerable proportion of the money for their construction was provided by *Monbusho* [the Ministry of Education] in return for an agreement that the

schools keep to certain guidelines," one of which is that "two-thirds of the students in every class had to be returnees."

Shoko Kinoshita stayed in the States almost seven years. When she went back to Japan and became an eighth-grader, she went to a nearby public reception school. In two years she applied for the International Christian University High School and Keio Fujisawa High School through the special quota for returnees, and got admission from both. ICU High School offers good returnee education such as ability grouping in English lessons and supplementary Japanese lessons. However, ICU is much smaller and offers less majors than Keio University. Shoko chose Keio Fujisawa High over ICU High because of this.

Some high schools attached to private universities have attached junior high schools. If one's overseas stay is short and s/he will not be eligible for the special quota, the returnee may enter attached junior high schools. While public junior high is free, annual tuition for private schools is at least five hundred thousand yen (about four thousand dollars).

To summarize, many returnees enter prestigious universities through special admission procedure or attached private secondary schools. Selection of applicants is conducted not on the basis of performance on written examinations which attempt to test mastery of the Japanese curriculum. Emphasis is placed on their performance while they were abroad. In this regard and with the fact that a relatively higher portion of returnees enter prestigious universities, it is possible to argue that returnees are favorably treated and a "new class of youths" is emerging as Goodman argues.

However, what can be seen is the educational and social consequences of special treatments. Do returnee students struggle academically in school? Do they have difficulty in working for Japanese corporations? If so, what are the difficulties and to what should they be attributed? These are the questions I plan to address in future re-

search.

3. English: Another Influence of American Experiences on Student Career

Special admission procedures and reception schools are one of the ways in which American experiences affect student career of returnees. Those whose stays were short or who returned at a younger age take advantage of the experiences in another way: with their good commnad of English.

Misayo Hashimoto stayed in the States for four years and eight months. In April 1991 she returned to her native city in North Kanto area, some 70 miles north of Tokyo, and became a sixth-grader. At that time there were very few returnees in the area, she had some difficulty with friends and in school. While in high school, she went to the States on an exchange program. She attended an American high school for one year on the East Coast. She had hoped to study at a college in the States but she elected to study law at Sophia University because of her parents' opposition to her going to the States. Among the ten returnees I studied, Misayo is the hardest worker at studying English. She keeps attending English conversation lessons regularly. In the area in which Misayo was brought up, few students go to private secondary schools. She went to public junior high and high schools.

Misayo took the ordinary written entrance examinations and got admission from several top-rank private universities. She chose the Faculty of Law at Sophia University. She had long thought of majoring in English or history. But at the last minute, she chose law because of the better prospects of obtaining a job upon graduation. However, Misayo struggled in studying law. Now as a senior, she is having difficulty in getting a job in the area she is interested in, which is publishing. She regrets choosing law as her major. She wonders if she should have majored in English, history, or psychology. (In Table 1, I put information on my ten students as of 2001. I talked with Misayo over

TABLE 1. Schools and Major of Returnee Children

NAME	SEX	GR. in 2001	STAY	GR. As RETURN	PLACE	Jr. HIGH	HIGH	MAJOR
Yoshiyuki Honda	M	P2	18+	U1	Tokyo	U.S.	U.S.	commerce
Eriko Negishi	F	P1	17+	U1	Tokyo	U.S.	U.S.	medicine
Shoko Kinoshita	F	P2	6:10	G8	Tokyo	public	private	economics
Misayo Kinoshita	F	U3	4:08	G6	North Kanto	public	public	law
Yuko Kitamura	F	U2	1:07	G4	Kansai	public	public	Japanese history
Naoko Kitamura	F	G11	1:07	G1	Kansai	private	private	(architect)
Toshihiro Makino	M	U2	4:06	G4	Tokyo	public	public	engineering
Kazuyuki Makino	M	U1	4:06	G2	Tokyo	public	public	engineering
Yusuke Makino	M	G12	4:06	G1	Tokyo	public	public	− − −
Asako Hatayama	F	P3	3:04	G8	Kansai	national	private	chemistry

GR in 2001: grade in 2001. "U" means university; "P" means years in post graduation.
STAY: stay of years in the U.S.
GR As RETURN: the grade just after they returned to Japan
PLACE: place of return
Jr. HIGH: kind of the junior high school attended
HIGH: kind of the high school attended
MAJOR: major at university

the phone in July 2002. The above description of her life is based on the telephone conversation.)

Yuko and Naoko Kitamura are sisters. They stayed for just one year and seven months in S City. Since their father is a college English teacher, they studied English very hard during their stay. Because Naoko, the younger, was six years old, she acquired English rapidly. Now she is a high school junior and aspires to become an architect. Yuko, the older sister, is now majoring in Japanese history at Kwansei Gakuin, one of the top private universities in Kansai area. While in high school, she did not go to school very much because of mental problems. She is still having trouble making friends. She once was called names by one of her college classmates: something like "you, returnees should not major in Japanese history." Yuko

went to public junior high and high schools. She wanted to attend the same junior high school with her classmates of the elementary school. On the other hand, Naoko attends a private six-year secondary school.

In the Japanese curriculum, students start learning English in junior high school in the seventh grade. It is one of the major five subjects including Japanese (the literal translation is the national language), social studies, mathematics and science, in addition to a foreign language, mostly English. Written high school examinations consist of the three subjects of Japanese, math, and English, or five subjects with social studies and science added.

National and public universities in Japan select applicants based on the common written tests made by the National Center for University Entrance Examiantion, and the tests assigned by each institution. The former consists of five subject groups: Japanese, math, foreign language, science, and social studies. Students who apply for scientific majors such as medicine or engineering take advanced math and advanced physics. Students who apply for humanities and social sciences majors take basic math and basic physics. The tests assigned by each national institution differ a great deal. Some medical departments just assign essays and conduct interviews.

Many private universities also use the Nationa Center tests. However, humanities and social science major applicants take just two or three subjects: foreign language, Japanese and one social studies subject from Japanese history, world history, geography, politics and economy, and ethics and society. Science major applicants take math, foreignn language, and one science from physics, chemistry, or biology.

The organization of entrance exams favors those applicants who have a good command of English in the case of humanities and social science majors, and who are good at math and physics in the case of science majors. In particular, Sophia and ICU assign a great amount of reading in their English tests. Returnee students with a solid com-

mand of English can perform much better than ordinary Japanese students. Incidentally, some critics say one of the reasons Sophia and ICU have been ranked close to Waseda and Keio is that they provide high level English education on campus.

It may be argued that Misayo's gaining entry to Sophia University was facilitated by her good command of English. She has been going to English conversation lessons for almost ten years. She went to an American high school in Florida as an exchange student for one year when she was seventeen. As noted earlier she was thinking of applying to American colleges but did not because of her parents' opposition.

Yuko is majoring in Japanese history at Kwansei Gakuin University. She gained entry on recommendation of the high school principal. She went to a public high school, which is not attached to any university. Many private universities also select students at large on the basis of recommendation basis. Still, it can be argued that Yuko's high GPA was made possible because of her solid foundation of English.

Naoko is in the eleventh grade at a private junior high school. She is a member of the basketball club. She aspires to become an architect. Both Yuko and Naoko have much better command of English compared with their classmates. After they returned to Japan, Yuko took English lessons and Naoko started two years later when she was in the third grade. Both of them passed English Step Test Level associate 1, the level next to the top rank, in the tenth grade. Yuko scores 530 on TOEFL.

It is not so apparent what part the commnad of English play in their student careers in the cases of Yuko and Naoko as in the case of Misayo. It can be said that high GPA of Yuko in high school is in part due to her command of English. At least, she could spend less time studying English. She could thus spend more time on studying Japanese and social studies.

Returnees can take advantage of their command of English not

only in developing their student career but also in their job. Shoko provides a good example. She is working for an American corporation. With her boss, she communicates in English. In looking for a job, she hoped the future job would meet several conditions: that she would be given substantive task with responsibility without a long period of apprenticeship or supporting job, no sex discrimination, hopefully being able to use English, and that her contribution to the orgnizational performance is highly visible. She is satisfied with her selection despite the long working hours and low salary.

When she was in the States, Shoko aspired to become an English teacher. However, she chose the Faculty of Economics over English as her major at Keio University. Shoko's mother still wonders if it was a "correct" choice. According to her mother, Shoko did not think she could teach English grammar to the students. On the other hand, Yuko is now teaching English conversation to elementary school students. She likes it and her mother mentions the possibility that Yuko continues after graduation from the university.

In summary, we have seen two ways American experiences can affect returnees' student careers. Returees gain entry to top universities through a special admission procedure. Some apply attached secondary schools that have quotas and get "escalated" to the university. Others apply to the university directly after graduation from American high schools. They gain entry based on much less competitive admission procedure.

Other students use their command of English in developing their career. Humanities and social science majors at top universities require advanced reading skills of English. Returnee students are at an advantage and tend to score high on those tests.

4. Hard Work and Motivation among Returnees

It has been said that diligence or hard work is one of the funda-

mental values in Japan, which has little land and few natural resources. The Japanese educational system is designed to produce a labor force with knowledge, that is obedient and hard-working. The fact that rote learning is emphasized and most tests are of a written, objective type facilitate the process.

When I interviewed Mr. Sasagawa, a high official of a private reception high school, he told me that giving them motivation is one of the biggest concern in returnee education. Returnee students would not study unless they were convinced of the necessity of learning the materials.

It seems that the ethics of diligence in Japan is changing, or deteriorating. The psychological "healing" (*iyashi*) boom among the young may be reflecting the change. Hard work and competition necessarily produce stress and frustration. Before, in Japan, the society at large kept telling its people to work harder and strive. These days the message seems to be "you do not have to work so hard. Just relax and be well."

Toshihiro is a good example. He stayed in S City for four years and half, from age six until the fourth grade. After he retunred to Japan, he went to pubilc junior high and high schools. After one year of college preparation, he is now a sophomore majoring in electrical and electronic engineering at a private technical college.

When I visited Toshihiro's family and talked with him and his parents, he said "I am not the type who studies hard what is not interesting to me." He made this remark when talking about going to the prep school. Presumably he compared himself with his classmates who studied very hard whatever they needed to learn in order to be successful on college entrance examinations.

Toshihiro is apparently working hard on his current course work, which is interesting to him. Because of the workload and long commuting, he is not participating in extra-curricular activities, which occupy much of the leisure time of ordinary Japanese college students. Toshihiro spends weekends with his friends on music band

activity.

There seems to be no systematic, reliable way of talking about one's work ethic. Japanese people always talk about if someone is a hard-worker or not. Toshihiro identifies himself as a hard-worker with some qualification.

His father, Mr. Makino showed some concern with Toshihiro's not studying English very hard. After returning to Japan, Toshihiro went to English private lessons twice a week with his younger brother. They stopped going after a couple of years. Mr. Makino said the following in regard to the matter:

> Mr. Makino: What concerned me most then was that, our sons were not aware of the goal of going, to study English, but, there was a cat or a dog at the teacher's home. ("A dog," Mrs. Makino said.) It was a dog, wasn't it? Well, our sons went because they could play with the dog. Learning English was not part of their interests. They would engage only in what was interesting to them. The fact they did not pay attention to the original goal of going was what most concerned me. Well, but there are individual differences and I could just have them do what they are interested in. It was a conclusion. (pause) If, after all, they end up being ahead of people in an area they are interested in, that would be a source of breadwinning. (laugh) Well, that is my educational philosophy in effect.

Typical enthusiastic parents about education would push their children very hard. Apparently Mr. Makino has a different educational philosophy, which can be traced to his American experiences. In one part of the interview he compared Japanese teachers and American counterparts. When he went to a conference with Toshihiro's junior high school teacher, the teacher told him Toshihiro did not perform well in Japanese and social studies, and that Toshihiro

should study those subjects hard. When he talked with a teacher in S City, the teacher said Toshihiro was a good athlete and that he should develop that capacity.

Being an engineer, Mr. Makino does not care much about which university his sons gained entry to. He said "there are many people who graduated from universities, but cannot get a good job" and laughed. Apparently he thinks what one can do is more important than which university one graduated from.

Mr. Makino is unique in that he himself participated in my research. In most Japanese families, the division of labor between husband and wife is set so that mothers are solely responsible for the educational matters of children and household matters. In the most cases, I talked with children and mothers. Fathers were at work or, even if they were home, they did not join the talk. Mr. Makino was one of the few exceptions.

Mr. Makino's involvement with his sons' educational matters seem to have started while they were in S City. Toshihiro, their eldest son began going to school there. Since Mr. Makino spoke English better than Mrs. Makino, he went to the school conference with his wife. The fact that Thoshihiro got bold may be relevant. He went to see the school principal when they returned to Japan. He wanted to make sure that Toshihiro would not be bullied because of that.

Toshihiro's getting bold may be also relevant to the fact that his parents did not push Toshihiro to study hard. No physical cause was not detected and some mental cause was suspected. When I talked with Mrs. Makino at the end of their stay in America in 1991, she said Toshihiro had compulsive personality.

To summarize, Mr. and Mrs. Makino have been concerned with whether their sons develop proper "attitudes." Their children should work hard in what interest them. However, this is somehow different from ideal educationally enthusiastic parents. They are supposed to push their children to study very hard in order to get successful in gaining entry to top universities. In this regard, what Asako Hata-

yama told me is relevant. She went to a private high school which is famous for success in sending graduates to top universities.

When I asked if and how what she learned to prepare for entrance examinations was helpful in her current situation as a foreign exchange dealer, Asako said: "I do not think that what I learned then was meaningless. I thought studying those subjects was a way to train your brain. I did not expect knowledge acquired then would become useful in later life. That's not the point, I thought. In addition, when you are talking, what is revealed is if you are highly cultured or not. That is what you acquire in school, I believe. And that's what I want to have myself."

Training for your brain and high culture are two reasons Asako mentioned to justify studying what seems meaningless to Toshihiro. Of course, as we will see later, Asako had a definite aspiraion to become an economically independent woman. She planned to have a professional job to ahieve this goal. In that sense, her "master motive" lead her to study hard as D'Andrade argues (1992).

Aggressivnes is one of the personal traits which said to be acquired by overseas children while staying in the States. It is often cited as playing a key role with regard to human conflicts such as bullying. Among the ten children, Ms. Negishi is said to be the most aggressive and competitive like many young American women. Many episodes were told to me in which Ms. Negishi worked very hard to excel in academic and athletic performances. One of the reasons she chose the Medical School at Tokyo University is that it is said to be the most difficult to enter.

Still, she did not work hard in her course work in college. She studied just before final examinations as most Japanese students do. She mentioned the organization of the courses as one reason, which has some valid ground in my opinion. As a medical resident, Ms. Negishi is working hard now.

It seems valid to state that being closely tied to one's envrionment contributes to whether one works hard or not. However, if it is

the case that Japanese youths are losing motivation to work hard, an examination of motivation formation among returnee and overseas children might be able to provide some useful insights. For Japanese children still staying in S City are working hard and have gained entry to such prestigious universities as Stanford and Berkeley.

5. Family Background and Social Reproduction

It is obvious that returnee children come from families with more social and economic resources than average. Five of the fathers worked for big corporations, one taught at college with tenure, and one had his own business.

Establishing reception schools and special treatment in admission procedure are achieved because of the political power of the overseas and returnee families (Kitsuse et al. 1984). Goodman says "the parents living overseas tend to come from a very powerful section of Japanese society and, according to Arai (1983: 76-7), this bias was even more pronounced in the 1960s than it is today. The vast majority of parents overseas in the 1960s were diplomats, academics, businessmen, and other professionals, while those who fell into the category of salaryman tended to work for the biggest companies with the greatest influence in Japan" (1990: 204).

Shoko's father works for a major trading company. Shoko is now working for a manufacturing company of a foreign subsidiary. Both of them are white-collar businessmen. Mr. Makino works for a major manufacturing company as an engineer. Toshihiro, his son, aspires to be an engineer and is now majoring in electrical and electronics engineering. If the term social reproduction refers to a child occupying the same occupational position as his or her father, the cases of Shoko and Toshihiro exemplify the term.

In the case of Shoko, special treatment for returnees has apparently played a key role in this process of social reproduction. Studying at and graduating from Keio University has presumably helped

Shoko obtain the job, as Dore has pointed out (1976).

Toshihiro is using a different syle to achieve the same status as his father, namely social reprodution. He has acquired his interest in machines and electronics through his father. Kazuyuki, the older of his two younger brothers, is studying information science and also aspires to become an engineer. Yusuke, the younger one, is said also to be majoring in some area of engineering.

There is no literature that has systematically studied the culture of engineers in Japan. Some critics have argued that white-collar salaried people tend to push their children harder to enter prestigious universities. They believe that a bachelor's degree from top universities count in job career. Mr. Makino seems to have different ideas about diplomas of prestigious colleges judging from his remark on those who just graduated from such universities but do not get a corresponding good job. It is apparent that Mr. Makino is more concerned with one's knowledge and skills rather than the name of the university from which one has graduated. It will require future research to identify aspects we can call "cultural reproduction" between the job-related orientations of Mr. Makino and Toshihiro.

Asako Hatayama stayed in S City for three years and four months. After she returned to Japan in the fall of 1990, she went to a special reception class at a junior high school attached to a national university in Kansai. She went to a private high school and studied very hard for college entrance. She sought entrance to a medical school of a national university. She applied for the Medical School at Kobe University but did not get admitted. She studied chemistry in the Faculty of Science at Kwansei Gakuin University.

In high school, Asako first apired to become a lawyer. She elected the course for students who would become humanities and social science majors. They were to study classic Japanese, advanced English, social studies, basic math and natural sciences. However, Asako switched to the natural science course in the eleventh grade, which is rare among Japanese high school students. She set the goal

to become a medical doctor.

She states she did not study hard in college. She somehow managed to earn enough credits in four years. She spent most the time on the extracurricular circle activitiy. She was an enthusiastic member of ESS, English Speaking Society.

Asako applied for a job for science majors at a major bank. She once thought of becoming a patent attorney but she could not find a position at a patent attorney's office. She thought that in the bank she would be assigned to work on the computer system. After several years' experiences as a system engieer in a bank, she would obtain a marketable skills, which would help acquire a new job in case she quit because of marriage or having a child. However, she is now a dealer in charge of foreign exchange.

Asako thinks she is very fortunate to be given the current position because some of her cohort at the bank are doing secretarial work such as filing forms. Asako was given the job among the many equally capable cohort members, who have a good command of English and a solid foundation of mathematics.

Promotions in Japanese organizations are not determined by explicit conditions. Asako herself calls the decision "fortunate." Asako's father was in the accounting department of a big manufacturer in charge of foreign trading. He studied economics at Kyoto University. Asako's mother stayed in Germany for two years and a half while she was in elementary school. Her father, Asako's grandfather was working for a trading company. Many bureaucrats, businessmen, and technocrats who are in key positions in Japanese institutions come from some strata of the population. To what extent this is so and how it is so requires a great deal of future research.

Asako's mother kept telling Asako to be economically independent, which means she should not be a full-time housewife. Asako aspired to be a professional such as a physician or a lawyer. When they went to S City, as a returnee herself, Asako's mother told Asako and her younger sister that they would understand English in three

years.

In all ten returnee cases, there is a similar pattern of being admitted to special programs of education. The parents of the children seem to have been instrumental in obtaining special classes and admission (either directly or indirectly through social networks) to prestigious schools. Although we do not have direct evidence for this claim, the materials derived from my interviews support work by Goodman. The role of English, however, is not addressed by Goodman, yet this linguistic knowledge seems to be a very useful tool for returnees. The paper supports the general idea of social capital (Bourdieu & Passeron 1990), but does so with explicit details about possible parental and institutional help, the role of English, and governmental policies that were probably influenced by the social networks of the personnel who were sent abroad by different Japanese organizations. Scholars using the social capital notion, however, seldom engage in the kind of fieldwork used in the study, and do not cited the types of data used here.

Notes

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