RAISING A NEW ELITE: JAPANESE AFFLUENT MOTHERS’ TRANSNATIONAL CLASS AND STATUS WORK

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Hiroki Igarashi

Dissertation Committee:

Patricia G. Steinhoff, Chairperson
Hagen Koo
Valli Kalei Kanuha
Yean-Ju Lee
Gay G. Reed

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ABSTRACT

The sociology of elites has regained momentum in recent decades due to increasing income gaps between the rich and poor throughout the world. In the domains of elite school research, existing studies have examined how children enrolled in these schools acquire a sense of entitlement and/or privilege. However, how the parents of these children come to construct an elite status culture (status work) through their everyday interactions around the school setting is less clear. In the existing stratification research, parents, particularly mothers, had been studied as main agents of class reproduction through parenting practices (class work). I argue in this dissertation research that considering both aspects of class and status work is important because women with children simultaneously play two roles in the household—class reproduction and status enhancement.

For a case study, I observed the preschool section of an ‘international school’ in Tokyo, called Wakana International School, a new type of new-elite school in Asian countries, which has been actively sought out by local privileged families to help prepare their children to achieve upward social mobility in the global stratification hierarchy. I followed local affluent families, in particular the mothers (Wakana mothers). I focused on their transnational education practices in Tokyo and Hawai‘i from 2011 to 2014.

My findings reveal that these local affluent families chose Wakana according to their respective class trajectories, as a consequence of the interplay between their volume and composition of economic, cultural and social capital, and the elite tracking structure in Tokyo. Once admitted to Wakana, they engaged in 'transnational class and status work' by cultivating their child's global and national cultural capital through transnational education practices with the objective of raising their child as a new elite in this changing economy. In the process, they
came to acquire a disposition of *being at-ease* in their 'status work' as new elite mothers. Their new elite disposition, shaped by their mobile, free, cosmopolitan and extravagant styles of life was obtained as a result of assuming institutional responsibilities, and by meeting expectations and conforming to the morals of international schooling.
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CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

The sociology of elites has regained momentum in recent decades due to increasing income gaps between the rich and poor throughout the world (Khan 2012b; Piketty 2013). As part of this global trend, contemporary Japan has been called "kakusa-shakai," a society of widening social disparities. Since the late 1990s, understanding the social mechanisms that yield new groups of poor, such as “new working class” (Slater 2009) and “dispatched workers” (Kojima 2010), etc., in Japanese society has been a major focus point among scholars (Ishida and Slater 2009). However, not much is known about the other extreme of social stratification—elites. Although research on elites in Japan has been conducted in the past (Kerbo and McKinstry 1995; Lebra 1993; Tachibanaki and Mori 2009), not much has been conducted on the emerging nature of new elites of Japan’s changing economy.

As a case study, I observed the preschool section of an “international school” in Tokyo, which I call Wakana International School (Hereafter, Wakana), a new type of elite school in Asian countries, which has been actively sought out by local privileged families to help prepare their children to achieve upward social mobility in the global stratification hierarchy. Although yōchien is often translated into English as a kindergarten, it more or less corresponds to an American preschool. Wakana is located in one of the most affluent areas in the center of Tokyo (Tachibanaki and Mori 2009), and has not only a preschool, but also a grade school with emphasis on bilingual education in English and Japanese. I examine the lived experiences of local affluent women, whom I call Intā-mama (Japanese mothers of children enrolled in international schools), Wakana families or Wakana mothers interchangeably, who have enrolled their child in Wakana. I delineate their processes of choosing this new elite education track, doing “class work” by cultivating their children’s talents through parenting, and doing ‘status
work’ by enhancing their family and individual status, which takes place transnationally—in Tokyo and Hawai‘i. The case of an international school in Japan is an appropriate example to examine how emerging new elites in the globalizing world challenge the legitimacy of established elites because elites in Japan have been reproduced mainly within the Japanese education track (Ishikawa 2011; Kerbo and McKinstry 1995; Lebra 1993).

Theoretical Background

Elites, Education, and Globalization

The sociology of elites has regained momentum in recent decades due to increasing income gaps between the rich and poor throughout the world (Daloz 2010; Frank 2008; Khan 2012a; Khan 2012b; Rivera 2012; Rothkopf 2008; Sklair 2001). Researchers have long focused on the nature of power elites in specific national contexts and investigated institutional mechanisms on how elites are reproduced and subsequent inequality in society (Bourdieu and Passeron 1977; Bourdieu 1996; Domhoff 1967; Kerbo and McKinstry 1995; Mills 1956).

However, the nature of elites has transformed rapidly in recent years. Economic globalization has proliferated through nation-states’ espousal of neo-liberal agendas and the growth of multinational corporations. Researchers have discussed the emergence of a new class, variously named “transnational capitalist class” (Sklair 2001), “transnational elites” (Sassen 2007), “global cosmopolitan class” (Calhoun 2008) or “elite cosmopolitans” (Igarashi and Saito 2014), which dominates the expanding global arena of power beyond national realms. In this trend, nations, the business world, and educational institutions are now engaging in the so-called “global war for talent”—a fierce competition around the globe over nurturing and hiring the highly skilled (Brown and Tannock 2009; Mitchell 2003; Reich 1991). What are the components
of “global talent” or the “highly skilled”? They have been theoretically discussed as a form of cultural capital in a Bourdieusian sense.

A French sociologist, Pierre Bourdieu, used the concept of “capital” to understand how individuals and groups engage in class struggles to compete for higher social positions and statuses in the hierarchical social order of a given nation state (Bourdieu and Passeron 1977; Bourdieu 1979; 1986; 1996). Capital takes three forms: economic (money and property), cultural (dispositions and qualifications) and social (social networks) (Bourdieu 1986). In particular, the concept of cultural capital was coined in Bourdieu’s research on education (Bourdieu and Passeron 1977; Bourdieu 1996), and has been widely employed in the sociology of education research (Lareau and Weininger 2003). Cultural capital takes three forms: habitus (an embodied form), materials such as books (an objectified form), and certificates and degrees (an institutionalized form). What skills and competences are considered important as cultural capital is determined by educational institutions and their institutionalized evaluative standards (Lareau and Weininger 2003). And one’s possession of a particular form of cultural capital operates by excluding those who do not have such capital or having them give up access to those social resources. Symbolic violence is an implicit mode of domination for the power holders to enforce their power over the powerless.

Although the relationship between cultural capital and education has been discussed within the framework of the nation state, recent literature extends the use of cultural capital to global fields of education and business (Igarashi and Saito 2014; Iijima 2009; Kim 2011; Weenink 2007; 2008; Weiss 2005). Possession of national cultural capital enables its holders to achieve upward social mobility within a given nation state. Global cultural capital is grounded in North American and Western European centered cultural capital such as Western academic
degrees, knowledge, aesthetics and cosmopolitan attitudes and lifestyle. As opposed to national cultural capital, global cultural capital provides a “way to escape the restrictions of space” (Weenink 2007: 511) and a competitive edge to becoming “successful” in the global social stratification hierarchy.

This new form of cultural capital that is valued in the global fields of education and business was theoretically developed by Weenink (2007, 2008). His concept of “cosmopolitan capital” is defined as a “form of social and cultural capital” (2007: 495). However, as Igarashi and Saito (2014) argue, combining cultural and social capital could confuse researchers on how to analyze the processes of capital conversion (Erickson 1996; Portes 1998). Thus, this article defines valued cultural capital in the global fields of education and work as global cultural capital, and the form that is evaluated highly in the national fields as national cultural capital. Some scholars call the term local cultural capital (Erel 2010). But as the components of cultural capital I focus on are institutionalized by the nation’s education system, not local’s, I call it “national cultural capital” in my dissertation.

It has to be noted that as Weenink (2007) pointed out, national and global cultural capital partly overlap. As national education curricula have gradually adapted global agendas and global competencies (e.g. languages such as English), part of national cultural capital is most likely in non-English speaking countries to include mastery of foreign languages such as English. However, the nature of the two types of cultural capital is quite different. While an institutionalized form of national cultural capital, particularly in (semi-) periphery countries, is only valued in local national spaces, global cultural capital issued from top-ranking universities in worldwide university rankings operates as “universally acknowledged cultural capital” (Weiss 2005: 717). However, one’s possession of high global cultural capital does not always guarantee
one’s life chances in local job markets. It is particularly the case for so-called “third culture kids” or “adult third culture kids” who lack national cultural capital such as locally-valued mannerisms and knowledge and fluency of the local language (Hayden and Thomson 1995; Useem and Downie 1976). As a result of exclusion from their own local cultures and job markets, they may end up living in a “bubble,” a distinctive social space separate from local communities, and may serve as “cultural mediators” (Iijima 2009) in the overlapping social spaces of the national and global fields of work.

Studies have highlighted that increasingly, particularly in local middle and higher classes, citizens are participating in this global field of education and work by acquiring global cultural capital in order to improve and/or secure their status position and well-being not only in the stratification hierarchies within nations but also in the world (Bauman 1998; Brown 2000; Kennedy 2010; Yeoh, et al. 2005). In particular, it has been argued that East Asian middle and higher class families have actively participated in this formation of world stratification by sending their children to English-speaking countries from which their children move on to competitive universities that are highly ranked in global university ranking such as QS World University Rankings, Times Higher Education World University Rankings, and the Academic Ranking of World Universities.

The existing literature discusses East Asian families’ various strategies for their class reproduction and mobility. Some select the split-household family arrangement by mothers accompanying their children overseas while leaving their husbands in home countries (Cho 2005; Huang and Yeoh 2005; Igarashi 2015b; Lee and Koo 2006; Waters 2005; Yeoh, et al. 2005). Some send their children to international schools, which were initially established to educate children of expatriate families using an English-based curriculum.
In fact, the international school sector has rapidly expanded since the 2000s and has opened up a new education route to class mobility for non-expatriate, local elite families (Hayden 2011; Lowe 2000; MacKenzie 2010). According to Brunmitt (2009), since 2000, the number of international schools has almost doubled from 2,584 to 5,187. Besides the increasing number of expatriate families, more and more “affluent host country family” (Hayden 2011: 218) have found international schools or equivalent internationally-oriented schools as promising education routes for their children to become future members of the transnational capitalist class (Hayden 2006; Sklair 2001).

**Elite Schools**

In the studies of elite schools, Pierre Bourdieu argued that there is an affinity between the elites’ orientation and the values that educational institutions promote (Bourdieu and Passeron 1977; Bourdieu 1996). To expand the discussion on elite domination of school institutions, existing research focuses on elite schools such as boarding schools (Cookson and Persell 1985; Gaztambide-Fernández 2009; 2011; Khan 2012a; 2012b; Levine 1980). The early work on boarding schools in the 1980s employed a Weberian framework of social closure (Cookson and Persell 1985; Levine 1980; Parkin 1979). Levine (1980) examined the formation and transformation of an American upper class through the admission of students into boarding schools from the late 19th to the early 20th century. He argued that the established upper class initially used boarding schools to isolate themselves from the nouveaux riches. However, as their political and economic power began to decline; the established upper class incorporated the latter in their own inner circle of elite education to maintain their shared class interest. Cookson and
Presell (1985) also reveal how boarding schools operate as a site for the upper class’s strategies of exclusionary social closure by creating class cohesion and privilege through schooling.

The revival of elite school studies in the 2000s employed Bourdieu’s framework of cultural practice and *habitus* as a central analytical focus (Bourdieu 1979; 1996). Khan (2011) argued that the nature of new elites enrolled in elite boarding schools has been transformed. The student body is no longer dominated by students from WASP families, but includes students from different racial, ethnic, and class backgrounds. Students are highly meritocratic to survive in the changing society where achieved status does matter over ascribed status, being culturally omnivore (Bryson 1996; Erickson 1996; Peterson and Ken 1996) by having a variety of experiences, and *being at ease*—feeling confident in any social occasion. Gaztambide-Fernandez (2009) studied the processes in which students enrolled in an elite boarding school came to acquire a sense of privilege from forming a status group and acquiring particular schemes, or a *discourse of distinction* through schooling, to make sense of their own lives as elites. Although the above-mentioned studies on elite schools have examined how *children* enrolled in these schools acquire a sense of entitlement and/or privilege, this dissertation research sheds light on the missing element in the existing scholarship—*parents*.

Investigating the *lived experiences* of parents in their children’s elite education is important for two reasons. First, children are often used to establish the families’ position in the class hierarchy; that is, children’s academic success by being enrolled in an elite school is used as a status marker (Yodanis 2006) and also as a prestigious commodity for parents (Lowe 2000). Second, the reputation and prestige of elite schools are presumably reproduced not only by the graduates’ acquisition of elite status through schooling and through higher educational and
occupational attainment, but also by the parents’ culture, lifestyle and consumption which are associated with their children’s elite schooling.

In order to investigate the lived experiences of parents, particularly women, through their child’s elite international schooling, I conducted ethnographic research at Wakana. This dissertation places women as main agents of class reproduction from a micro perspective (Honda 2008; Lareau 2003; Reay 1998), and I investigate local Japanese elite women enrolling their child in Wakana, called Intā-mama or Wakana mothers, from four perspectives—1) school choice, 2) class, 3) status, and 4) transnational subjectivities. These four perspectives feed into one another to help understand the lived experiences of Intā-mama and reveal the formation of new elites through their child’s international schooling. Intā-mama play roles in reproducing or enhancing their class position through daily parenting practices (the majority of Intā-mama are home makers), in enhancing the family status by engaging in particular privileged lifestyles, and in carrying out the above-mentioned activities transnationally by frequently participating in parent-child study abroad tours (called in oyako-ryūgaku) to other regions of the world. In the following, I review these four domains of research and clarify the theoretical concepts for my dissertation research.

**Parental Choice of International Schools**

As more local, affluent households come to choose international schools for their children’s education, questions regarding who gains access to global mobility through international schooling and how they do it have been attracting scholarly attention since the 1990s. Education researchers have examined what education-related factors of international schools attract local families (Ezra 2007; Hayden and Thompson 1995; MacKenzie 2009;
MacKenzie 2010; Ng 2012; Potter and Hayden 2004; Vidovich and Sheng 2008). MacKenzie’s review article (2010) identified eight “universal” factors for the selection of international schools: learning the English language; the affective dimension, meaning that the school makes a good impression on the parents and child; curriculum; an international education; small class size; international examinations; reputation; and increasing opportunities to go to university abroad. MacKenzie's case study of Japan (2009) revealed that, among the 16 factors of survey questions answered by Japanese families (N=193) (where at least one of the parents is Japanese), an international education was valued the most, followed by the affective dimension, the curriculum, learning the English language, and the school reputation in descending order.

However, this emerging literature does not consider these factors beyond the scope of the school, such as families’ socioeconomic status and the local tracking structures, which have long been analyzed by education sociologists (e.g. Ball 2003; Reay and Lucey 2003).

Waters (2007) discussed local parents’ school choice patterns by using Bourdieu’s concept of sanctuary schools. In his seminal work, The State Nobility, Bourdieu (1996) refers to the expanding academic space of business management schools in the 1960s and 1970s in France as sanctuary schools. Sanctuary schools are defined as being the “least academically controlled sectors of academic space” (216). These schools were selected by students from the business bourgeoisie who felt they could be rejected by top academic schools. Bourdieu explained that the reason for the success of these management schools was rooted in two independent phenomena. One was the expansion of education demands by the bourgeoisie for their children who failed to survive the stringent academic selection process of the top schools. The need to “find roundabout routes that would lead them to ever more necessary academic titles, necessary even in private firms, provides the new school with an abundant clientele” (217). The other phenomenon was the
increase in certain types of jobs in the changing economic landscape for which these new schools prepared students. As a result, this emerging roundabout route helped students compensate for not being accepted in higher-ranking schools.

Waters (2007) equated management schools in Bourdieu’s *The State Nobility* with international education institutions (including international schools and overseas schools in Western countries) to explain why overseas-educated locals in Hong Kong choose international education for their children. The children are spared the risk of failure in the local academic selection process and at the same time are provided with an opportunity to become transnational professionals. Therefore, students who could potentially fail to gain access to international education through the local system get a “second chance” to achieve upward social mobility (Shibano 2013; Waters 2006).

Weenink (2007) analyzed families’ choice of gymnasiums (local elite schools) or internationalized streams (schools offering international curriculum) for their children in the Dutch context by considering their socioeconomic status, and revealed that new elites are statistically more likely to choose the international education track while old elites tend to choose the domestic education route. He argued that the school choice between local elite schools and international schools represents a “competition between an old social elite and new one” (2007: 511) in this globalizing world. However, such meso-level analysis tends to neglect the *processes of capital conversion* (Giroux 1983; Lareau 1987)—that is, the *processes* in which new elites choose an international education as a consequence of the interplay between the families’ volume and composition of economic, cultural and social capital and the ‘objective mechanisms of elimination and channeling’ (Bourdieu 1979: 110).
I argue in this dissertation that the conceptual differentiation between global and national cultural capital helps scholars understand the processes of capital conversion in which particular fractions of elites come to choose international schools over local elite schools. A group of education sociologists has investigated how parents with various volumes and compositions of capital affect the success of transmitting their advantages into their children’s cultural capital through a micro-interactional analysis of the family-school relation (Blackledge 2001; Lareau 1987; Lareau and Horvat 1999; Lareau and Weininger 2003; Reay 1998). Their research focused on education institution standards and analyzed whether or not parents and children comply with them through the admission process and daily interactions with school teachers and officials (Lareau and Weininger, 2003). In this process of activation of cultural capital in school settings, class (Reay 1998; Lareau 2003), race (Lareau and Horvat 1999), and language fluency (Blackledge 2001) play important roles. However, this line of research observes the school life of families after their school choice has been made. My research, particularly in Chapter 3, expands on this by investigating the admission process, to see how one’s volume and composition of capital, including national and global cultural capital, in relation to the evaluative standards of both local elite and international schools, yield particular trajectories of school choice patterns under the tracking structure of elite education.

**Women as Main Agents of Child’s Education**

Despite the recent transforming roles of women as mothers, scholars on motherhood have long argued that powerful moral norms impose an ideology of motherhood on women (Chodorow 1978; Garey 1995; Hays 1996; Liamputtong 2006; May 2008). Hays (1996) argues that what is expected from women in mothering is too idealized to be achievable, and defined the
phenomenon as “the ideology of intensive mothering.” This ideology presupposes that the mother must be the central caregiver, must prioritize her child’s needs over her own, and must take care of children because they always deserve “special” care.

In the case of Japan, proper motherhood is idealized through the ideology of a “good wife and wise mother” (ryōsai-kenbo) (Fujita 1989; Koyama 2012). Koyama (2012) argued that this ideology has been promoted by Japan since early in the 20th century as a state project to impose a norm of how women are supposed to be good citizens of the nation in the modernization process, as similarly observed in other industrialized countries such as the United States, the United Kingdom and France. The goal of “good wife and wise mother” is for a woman to stay at home to take care of her husband and children. Many family researchers also suggest that Japanese women are especially expected to be excellent mothers. For example, Fujita (1989:72) explains the three main ideal images of Japanese mothers: 1) The mother is the best person to care for and educate her children; 2) the mother-child bond is the most natural and fundamental of human relationships; and 3) no other job is better or more suitable for women than mothering.

Since mothers are expected to be good educators of children, children’s actual successes at school and work confer status on their mothers. As Hirao (2001) puts it:

The ideology of the good mother has exerted a strong normative force on Japanese women during the last two decades. This is because mother and child have been seen as an inseparable pair, the mother and child relationship has been conceptualized as an extension of mother’s “self”...(201)
However, women’s experience in parenting is not monolithic. In fact, mothers’ use of parenting practices to transmit their class advantages to their children have long been ignored in sociological class analysis (Lareau 1987). Higher-class women, compared to their working-class counterparts, engage in “intensive mothering” (Hays 1996), and “concerted cultivation” by orchestrating a series of extracurricular activities in order to nurture their children’s cognitive and scholastic skills (Lareau 2003). Lareau (2003) examined the processes affecting how class is reproduced in a micro-interactional context, discussing class-based childrearing approaches to transmit the families’ advantages to their children. Her identification of different class-based parenting approaches was made with middle-class and working class families—middle class families engage in “concerted cultivation,” which involves orchestrating their children’s multiple extracurricular activities in order to increase their talents, while working class families carry out “accomplishment of natural growth”, in which parents prepare safe environments for their children to grow naturally.

In Asian contexts, the active role of women in cultivating their children’s talents has been widely discussed (Chua 2011; Hirota 1999; Nukaga 2013; Park and Abelmann 2004). In Japan, a discourse of “education-minded mothers” (kyōiku-mama) emerged in the 1950s, and has shaped women’s roles in their marital lives as that of mother to a child (Honda 2000). However, recent research in Japan has exposed the existence of large numbers of “non-education minded mothers”(hi-kyoiku mama) (Honda 2003). Honda (2008) used Lareau’s concepts to identify class-based childrearing approaches in Japan, concluding that although there is no clear dichotomization of childrearing practices observed between the middle and working classes, ‘gradational differences’ in class-based childrearing practices were found.
Although East Asian mothers choosing international education for their children’s education have been portrayed as embracing a strong meritocratic ideology, Igarashi (2015a) discussed a group of Japanese women migrating to Hawai‘i with their children as rejecting and/or questioning a meritocratic ideology and the normative role of motherhood by pursuing a better way of life transnationally. On the other hand, Nukaga’s research (2013) on Japanese expatriate mothers living in Los Angeles portrayed their struggle to cultivate their children’s global as well as national cultural capital through local and Japanese schooling and their active involvement in their child’s education. Through their daily parenting practices, they develop a “transnational habitus” to monitor what is needed for their children both in the national and global fields of education and work. Along with this group of literature, I discuss Intā-mama’s parenting practices and anxiety in Chapter 4.

Women as Transnational Subjects of the Household

For middle- and upper-class East Asian families through the cultivation of global cultural capital, children’s international education plays a pivotal role in transnationalizing women by using split-household family arrangements (Chee 2002; Fench and Kim 2012; Huang and Yeoh 2005; Igarashi 2015b; Lee and Koo 2006; Nukaga 2013; Waters 2002; Waters 2005). Accordingly, their transnational mothering practices and their construction of transnational subjectivities have attracted researchers’ attention (Huang et al. 2012; Pessar and Mahler 2003). Researchers have argued that migrant women’s transnational subjectivities are produced through their negotiation of the normative obligations of motherhood and selfhood. The dominant narrative of “education migration” for East Asian transnational families is that of sacrifice (Igarashi 2015)—the suppression of selfhood for motherhood (or parenthood) or
intensified motherhood roles in a transnational social space “for the sake of my child” (Huang and Yeoh 2005: 394) and “good for the family” (Waters 2002: 120). Waters’ (2002) research on Hong Kong and Taiwanese upper-middle class transnational mothers in Vancouver, Canada highlighted their difficulties in adjusting to the strengthened roles of motherhood such as cooking, and driving children to school required in their new setting, since they depended on domestic workers back home. Chee (2002) found that Taiwanese wives had to relinquish their work careers in the home country to accompany their children overseas to provide international education, thereby subordinating their own goals. Huang and Yeoh (2005)’s study on Chinese transnational families in Singapore revealed that the wives bear a broad set of difficulties including experiencing discrimination, earning enough money to make a living in Singapore, and taking care of their children.

Existing scholarship on Japanese transnationalism (Igarashi 2015b; Nukaga 2013; Sato 2001; Shibano 2013; Thang et al.2012) reveals differences and similarities with other East Asian transnational families’ practices, goals and patterns. What has been common throughout the existing literature is women’s role in the transnational social space—women as mothers are the major nurturers and educators of their children. However, there are several differences between Japanese transnational families and other East Asian families. The literature on East Asian transnational families discusses the families’ efforts to have their children acquire global cultural capital. Yet, Nukaga’s research (2013) revealed Japanese mothers in Los Angeles expect their children to acquire not only global cultural capital, but also “Japanese cultural capital” such as “proficiency in Japanese language and other Japanese academic subjects” (13). For female Japanese migrants, a commonly observed gendered narrative (except for Nukaga’s study of wives of Japanese expatriate husbands) is “being a freer self” from domestic social
constraints (Igarashi 2015b; Kelsky 2001; Sato 2001; Thang et al. 2012). Igarashi (2015b) argued that the transnational family strategy of the long-term stayers of Japanese mothers in Hawai‘i is characterized as a “twofold and balanced project to pursue their children’s well-being and global cultural capital through Western education and to seek freedom from domestic social constraints” (113). Thus, unlike other East Asian transnational mothers whose narrative is based on their suppression of selfhood in favor of motherhood, Japanese transnational mothers’ pursuit of selfhood is not constrained by their strategy to provide international education for their children in Hawai‘i, but in fact, enabled by it. Although Japanese family members have become less constrained by such normative expectations of the family ideology (Ochiai 2000), a “good wife and wise mother” ideology still shapes women’s “commonsense” understanding of action and behavior in their family lives (Derne 1994). Yamada (2004) argued that the emerging condition of “individualization within families” among contemporary Japanese families grants each family member the freedom to pursue his or her selfhood while maintaining family ties. Under this trend, women with children negotiate the logics of selfhood, motherhood and wifehood and construct their subjectivities.

However, these logics are not negotiated equally. Noda (2008) studied how the logic of parenthood (for the sake of the child) was used in the comments on divorce in personal advice columns from 1914 to 2007. Her findings revealed that getting divorced for the sake of your own happiness emerged and became more common beginning in the 1980s, but that this selfhood logic is only acceptable under the condition that getting divorced will not harm the children. That is, the selfhood logic remains partially subordinate to the parenthood or motherhood logic. The same situation happens in the transnational social space. Igarashi’s study of Japanese transnational families in Hawai‘i (2015a) confirms Noda’s argument. Although
Japanese transnational mothers pursued their better ways of life (selfhood) in Hawai‘i away from domestic social constraints, they initially presented their reasons for migration as being “for the sake of their children.” I will discuss these issues of Wakana mothers’ transnational *gendered* work in Chapter 5.

**Women as Status Makers of the Household**

Status, a cultural domain of stratification, plays a constitutive role in shaping class relationships (Weber 1958). Status is different from class: —in Max Weber’s sense, class is understood by one’s level of economic resources, but status is based on an estimated ranking of one’s competence, honor or esteem (Bourdieu 1979; Lizardo 2010; Rivera 2010). Although status is often understood as a subordinate concept of class, Ridgeway (2014) argues its independent effect to generate advantages and disadvantages. Weber’s concept of “status groups” refers to a group that more or less shares a specific style of life that can be “expected from all those who wish to belong to the circle” (1968: 187) and they are organized by sharing the patterns of their consumption of items.

Collins (1992) argues that housewives play a big part in producing status culture, particularly among those families who maintain the traditional gender role of husbands as breadwinners and wives as housewives. What women do is to “perform the Weberian task of transforming class into status group membership” (219). Veblen (1934) discussed that elites in a capitalist society have the privilege to display “conspicuous leisure” and “conspicuous consumption” Elite men show conspicuous leisure by enabling their wives’ and children’s excessive consumption and pursuit of leisure activities such as foreign trips as a form of privilege. In this process, a wife and children perform vicarious leisure on behalf of the husband
“for the good name of the household and its master” (81). Accordingly, the wife “has become the ceremonial consumer of goods which he [husband] produces” and the “unfree servant” (83) of vicarious leisure. Conspicuous consumption is practiced by displaying luxurious goods, which are far beyond their practical use, in order to show their wealth and power in public and establish their social position. Yodanis (2006) examined a micro-process of ‘doing class’ carried out by women, introducing leisure and children’s academic success as forms of status distinction for upper class women, that distinguishes them from their lower-class counterparts. Ostrander’s classic study (1984) of American upper class women reveals women’s role in maintaining and enhancing social ties through their active involvement in volunteer activities.

Regarding the relationship between status and school, Collins (1971) claim “[t]he main activity of schools is to teach particular status cultures, both in and outside the classroom” (1010). I extend this phenomenon to the parents—they also learn particular status culture from their children’s elite schooling. Thus, I observe how Intā-mama construct an elite status group (Collins 1971; Weber 1968) through their children’s international, elite schooling.

How can we empirically capture an elite status culture? Recent studies particularly from cultural sociology have come to focus on “taste” (Bourdieu 1979), “schemes” (DiMaggio 1997) or “symbolic boundaries” (Gaztambide-Fernández 2009; Khan 2012a; Lamont 1992; 2000; Lamont and Molnar 2002; Rivera 2010; Stuber 2006) to capture status. For the understanding of the construction of status culture in interaction contexts, Bourdieu’s practice theory has been deemed inadequate (Eliasoph and Lichterman 2003; Lareau 1987) due to its overestimation of the automatic transfer of actors’ class-related fixed schemes from one situation to another. Recent literature points out the importance of focusing on a particular local, naturalistic context,
in order to capture group dynamics empirically (Eliasoph and Lichterman 2003; Fine 2012; Rivera 2010; Sauder 2005).

Fine (2012) defined a “group” as an “aggregation of persons that is characterized by shared place, common identity, collective culture, and social relations” (160). Groups yield stable interaction patterns of collective action based on their shared history and imagined futures, which are nested in a particular local context. Eliasoph and Lichterman (2003) proposed a concept of “group style” to grasp empirically how a group culture is reproduced in a particular interaction context. In their definition, culture is a form of “collective representation” (Durkheim 2001[1912])—“Actors make meaning with collective representations, and they do so in a way that usually complements the meaningful, shared ground for interaction” (Eliasoph and Lichterman 2003: 737). Actors use vocabularies, symbols and codes that are available in public, but the group style filters them. Group style is defined as “recurrent patterns of interaction that arise from a group’s shared assumptions about what constitutes good or adequate participation in the group setting” (Eliasoph and Lichterman 2003: 737).

Group style is composed of three dimensions: 1) group bonds, 2) symbolic boundaries (or group identity), and 3) speech norms, which are shared in each group context. Group bonds define the group’s common responsibilities; symbolic boundaries reveal a group’s assumptions about their relationship with the rest of the world; and speech norms comprise a group’s assumptions on suitable speech topics (Eliasoph and Lichterman 2003). By employing Eliasoph and Lichterman’s concept of “group style,” Chapter 6 empirically reveals the group culture of Wakana families by observing their “group style.”

So far, I reviewed the literature that is relevant to the lived experiences of Intā-mama. My arguments made in the main chapters of this dissertation aim to update the existing
literature. In the following, I introduce the context of Japanese society, to help readers understand the social world of Intā-mama.

The Japanese Context

Nation states’ education policies on ideal competencies for their citizens to obtain, which are theoretically understood as cultural capital in Bourdieu’s sense, have been transformed in the past several decades so that citizens can carry out economic activities beyond national borders to maintain or strengthen national power and legitimacy. Such changes can be seen in the domain of internationalized national curricula of K-12 education (Apple et al. 2005) and worldwide integration of higher education (Marginson 2006; 2008). Mitchell (2003) claimed that nation states have shifted their education agenda to produce “strategic cosmopolitans…oriented to excel in ever transforming situations of global competition, either as workers, managers or entrepreneurs” (388). International organizations such as the OECD have also produced reports and recommendations to further cosmopolitan competencies, defined as a willingness to engage with foreign others within the context of the global economy (Spring 2008).

In the context of Japan, the Ad Hoc Council on Education (AHCE) (1984-1987) first began an education reform of the nation’s education agenda, policies and discourses on idealized competencies that enable individuals to survive successfully in the rapidly changing economy (Fujita 2006). The council argued that the emphasis of the education systems should shift from cramming in knowledge to more independent and creative learning approaches. In 1996, Japan’s Central Council for Education released a statement regarding the idealized dispositions that future generations of Japanese citizens are supposed to have. This statement emphasized one’s acquisition of a stronger and more independent self through schooling, which is characterized as
“zest for living” (Ikiru-chikara). “Zest for living” is characterized by diversity, uniqueness, will, creativity, individuality, active adaptability, and networking and negotiation skills. Honda (2005) classified the above-mentioned characteristics as —”postmodern competencies,” which are differentiated from the “modern competencies.” “Modern competencies” are identified as ones gained from traditional teaching and schooling (e.g., basic academic knowledge, uniformity, cognitive skills, amount of knowledge, collectivity, passive adaptability, and cooperativeness). Although this “zest for living” was mainly discussed as necessary competencies to carry out business activities within a nation state framework, the discussion of the importance of English education and cosmopolitan competencies was spurred from the 2000s.

### Figure 1-1 Summary of Changing Types of Competencies in Japan

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type of Competencies</th>
<th>Types of Skillsets</th>
<th>The Nature of Economy</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Modern Competencies</td>
<td>Basic academic knowledge, university, cognitive skills, amount of knowledge, collectivity, passive adaptability cooperativeness</td>
<td>Fordism</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Postmodern Competencies</td>
<td>Diversity, uniqueness, will, creativity, individuality, active adaptability, and networking and negotiation skills</td>
<td>Nation-state based, post Fordism</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Global Competencies</td>
<td>Fundamental skills for business, a challenging spirit, communication skills in foreign language(s) and a cosmopolitan orientations</td>
<td>Global economy based, post Fordism</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As a result, English classes became mandatory from the 5th grade in Japanese elementary schools in 2011. In addition, the Global Human Resource Development Committee (2010),
organized by the Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science and Technology (hereafter, MEXT) and Ministry of Economy, Trade and Industry (hereafter, METI) proposed three required competencies for Japanese citizens in the global economy in 2010, defined as “global competencies,” 14 years after the proposition of ‘zest for living’: 1) fundamental competencies as working persons, 2) foreign language skills and 3) cosmopolitan orientation (willing to learn and taking advantage of foreign cultures) (See Hannerz 1990)) (Global Human Resource Development Committee 2010). Figure 1-1 summarizes the changing characteristics of competencies discussed in education policies of Japan.

‘Re-heated’ Local Education Competition

Since another mission of the Ad Hoc Council on Education was to solve school-related social problems in the 70s and 80s such as intense exam competition, school violence and associated youth suicide, The Council promoted education with “room to grow” (yutori kyōiku). This education reform ended up reducing the amount of curricular content by 30 % and promoting diversification of school choice and diverse learning experiences by incorporating the neoliberal agenda of liberalization and deregulation (Kariya and Rappleye 2010). However, one of the unintended consequences of the policy implementation was an ‘incentive divide’ (Kariya 2001) where the gap widened between students from higher class backgrounds and lower class backgrounds, in terms of their degree of diligence and work ethic or ‘learning competencies’(Kariya 2009).

Also, discourses on “achievement gap debate,” “class disparity” (kakusa), and distrust toward public school education particularly in big cities became prevalent from the late 1990s (Ishida and Slater 2009; Ishikawa, Sugihara, Kita, and Nakanishi 2011). Furthermore, as the school reforms from the 1980s promoted school choice and integration of junior and senior high
schools, “bright flight” has occurred (Kariya 2001)—students from high socio-economic backgrounds moved away from public to private schools, particularly in metropolitan areas such as Tokyo. Despite the rapid decline of the birthrate in Japan, the number of private schools has increased since the 1980s (Kobari 2001; Mochizuki 2011), and competition to get into competitive private schools has re-heated, not only in junior high school but also in elementary schools (Kataoka 2009).

**International Schools in Japan**

While the definitions of “international education” and “international schools” are contentious (Hayden 2006), “international schools,” which originally aimed to serve children of expatriate families, have proliferated, particularly after the Second World War, due to the increasing flow of globally mobile professionals across countries. According to Brunmitt (2009), the number of international schools has almost doubled in the 2000s from 2,584 to 5,187.

International schools in Japan are categorized under schools for foreign nationals, which is not a legal term, but used to refer to schools that serve foreign nationals who reside in Japan (Shimizu 2014). However schools for foreign nationals are divided into two sub-categories, “ethnic schools” (*minzoku gakkō*) and “international schools” (*kokusai gakkō*) (Kobayashi 1995; Shimizu 2014). While the former refers to schools that serve pupils of particular nationalities and ethnic groups found within Japan, the latter covers schools that accept children regardless of their nationalities and are not funded by particular nation states. According to Tanaka (2011), there are 79 Korean schools, 5 Chinese schools, 97 Brazilian schools, 24 International schools, and 11 other schools (such as French, German, and Filipino) (cited from Shimizu 2014). American, Canadian, French and German schools are not customarily understood in the category
of ethnic schools, but they are often included in the international school category because ethnic schools are meant as schools for existing ethnic minorities in Japan such as Koreans and Chinese (Shimizu 2014). MacKenzie (2009) claimed that there are more than 40 international schools in Japan. But his definition is based on each school’s self-identified’ definition of international schools:

…there are more than 40 schools in Japan that promote themselves as ‘international schools’. More than half of them are in Tokyo. Most use English as the sole language of instruction but a small number are bilingual schools, teaching subjects through both English and Japanese” (2009: 330-331).

For MacKenzie, international schools include ones that use English as the sole or a significant part of instruction language, which can be understood as school institutions offering opportunities for students to obtain global cultural capital through schooling. In this dissertation, I define international schools as ones whose language of instruction is largely English, and whose school curriculum is approved by international accreditation institutions for preschool to Grade 12. My research site, Wakana, corresponds to this definition as an international school because the school curriculum is approved by one of the international accreditation institutions, and it offers bilingual education in English and Japanese. But according to MacKenzie (2009), approximately 6,000 Japanese children attend international schools in Japan.

*Elites in Japan*
Although the definition of elites is contentious (Khan 2012b), scholars have discussed who has controlled Japanese society. The system of noble families was abolished in Japan in 1947 to ensure equality of citizens before the law. Postwar Japan experienced rapid economic growth, and Japanese society came to be recognized as an equal, classless society (Kariya 1995). Under the equal, classless society, elites were recognized as those who obtained the highest educational achievement through Japanese higher education, or called “school pedigree elites” (gakureki eri-to). Their elite status was confirmed by the public as the result of their tremendous efforts made to win a severe educational competition, despite the fact that their upbringing and family socioeconomic status (SES) positively influenced their educational attainment (Kariya 2013; Tachibanaki and Yagi 2009). The graduates of top Japanese universities such as the universities of Tokyo and Kyoto and Waseda and Keio universities, particularly the University of Tokyo, has dominated the “iron triangle”—three types of Japanese elites—corporate, political, and bureaucratic elites (Kerbo and McKinstry 1995). In addition, these Japanese elites are domestically reproduced, unlike South Korea (Ishikawa 2011). According to Kerbo and McKinstry (1995), the rate of the alumni of the University of Tokyo and Keio and Waseda Universities went beyond 50% among the executive offices of Japanese major corporations.

Tachibanaki and Mori (2005) delineated the picture of the affluent in Japan from the statistical data available on the high-income taxpayers, whose annual income is above a hundred million yen (or one million dollar). Table 1-1 shows that the majority of high-income taxpayers in Japan are entrepreneurs and executive managers, who fall into the category of corporate elites. This table suggests that there are two types of occupation that can be obtained by school pedigree elites, which are medical doctors and lawyers.
Medical schools exist as a six-year program in Japanese universities to which high school graduates can apply, unlike in the United States. Entrance to the undergraduate medical school curriculum is considered the most highly competitive of all college entrance exams. In addition, most medical doctors in Japan have independent practices, usually with a small clinic or hospital attached. Although medical doctor is a profession, it is also very much a family business that a son can inherit.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Entrepreneurs</th>
<th>Executive Managers</th>
<th>Medical Doctors</th>
<th>Lawyers</th>
<th>Artists</th>
<th>Sport Athletes</th>
<th>Others</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Outside of Tokyo</td>
<td>33.3</td>
<td>13.9</td>
<td>23.4</td>
<td>0.3</td>
<td>0.3</td>
<td>1.1</td>
<td>27.7</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tokyo</td>
<td>28.9</td>
<td>7.6</td>
<td>1.4</td>
<td>0.6</td>
<td>3.1</td>
<td>0.5</td>
<td>57.9</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>31.7</td>
<td>11.6</td>
<td>15.4</td>
<td>0.4</td>
<td>1.3</td>
<td>0.9</td>
<td>38.7</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: The list of Nationwide High-income Taxpayers from the Internal Revenue Service (Table from Tachibanaki and Mori (2005))

Law is another high-paying occupation in Japan for a relatively small number of individuals. Unlike American higher education, Japanese universities offer a law major at the undergraduate level. Those who completed two years of schooling in a four year university in Japan were eligible to take the former bar exam, which was abolished in 2011. Since 2011, those who complete the new graduate degrees now offered by graduate level law schools, or those who pass the preliminary exam, can take the new bar exam. According to Tachibanaki and Mori (2005), less than 4% of lawyers make more than one million US dollars. In fact, about 60% of lawyers’ declared annual incomes are less than 15 million yen (or $150,000 US dollars).

Chapter Outline

As the previous subsections revealed, the Japanese society as well as other societies have experienced rapid social changes in the structures of class and education locally and globally.
Accordingly, is worth investigating how families in the globalizing stratification system, particularly the affluent, adapt to them and generate strategies to achieve upward social mobility or class reproduction through diversifying education opportunities such as international education. While elites in Japan have been domestically reproduced, the questions are the following: who actively takes advantage of the emerging new elite education route to achieve upward social mobility or class reproduction in the global stratification hierarchy? How do they challenge the legitimacy of elite status from the circle of established elites, which have been domestically reproduced?

In order to answer these questions, I observe how local Japanese families send their preschool aged children to *Wakana International School*, by conducting “global ethnography” in two geographically separate places, Tokyo and Hawai‘i. I answer these research questions by elucidating ‘global imaginations’ that local mothers sending children to this school (*Wakana mothers* or *Intā-mama*) obtain through their children’s elite, international schooling, and I discussed two components of their *gendered* transnational practices: “class work” and “status work.”

This dissertation is composed of six chapters in order to delineate the formation of new elites in Japan through an international school sector. In Chapter 2, I will introduce my research methods and research sites, the structure of the elite education track and the hierarchy of international schools in Tokyo and emerging transnational family arrangements among Japanese families.

Chapters 3 and 4 deal with *Wakana* mothers’ “class work”—mothers’ daily engagement, struggles and practices to cultivate their children's talents in the process of their childrearing. Chapter 3 examines *Inta-mama’s* processes of school choice for their child. First, I identified
three types of social class—the *upstart elites*, *global-minded elites*, and *oversea-educated elites* observed among *Wakana* families. Then I examine how their trajectories of choosing *Wakana* differ due to their volume and composition of capital, by differentiating types of cultural capital. The second part of Chapter 3 discusses their continued school choice pattern after their child has entered *Wakana*. By reviewing past records of *Wakana* children’s school mobility patterns and employing my long-term observation of a particular cohort, I argue that *Wakana* families made a series of diverse but somehow *classed* school choices under the status hierarchy of international schools. Chapter 4 focuses on *Intā-mama*’s daily privileged, but stressful parenting practices that take place locally and transnationally to cultivate their child’s global and national cultural capital.

Chapter 5 is a transition chapter from *Wakana* mothers’ “class work” to their “status work.” By analyzing their narratives and practices during their stay in Hawai‘i for their child’s summer schooling in Hawai‘i, I will explain what roles *Wakana* mothers play not only for cultivating their children’s talents, but also for their own relaxation and enjoyment from busy mothering work back in Japan and “status work”—enhancing their family and individual status. Chapter 6 examines *Wakana* mothers’ “status work,” investigating their process to acquire a sense of privilege as new elite mothers through their child’s international schooling. I investigate their group culture shaped by their class resources and the institutional obligations and expectations at *Wakana*, and how the group culture of *Intā-mama* is reproduced in interaction settings at the school. Lastly, Chapter 7 summarizes the argument from Chapters 3 to 6 and discusses theoretical contributions of this dissertation.
CHAPTER 2: RESEARCH METHODS, RESEARCH SITES & BACKGROUND

Global Ethnography

For this dissertation research, I have conducted “global ethnography” as a new ethnographic approach to enable scholars to capture the “lived experience of globalization” (Burawoy 2000). Global ethnography emerged to recapture the definition of “society” in the era of globalization because the nationally bound “society” has become more and more dissolved by the expanding flows of people, information, goods, and especially cultural symbols and signs (Gille and Riain 2002; Lash and Urry 1994). This view challenges methodological nationalism, a conventional premise of social sciences, which equates societies with nation-states (Beck and Sznaider 2006; Levitt and Schiller 2004; Wimmer and Glick Shiller 2003). As Beck and Sznaider (2006) claim “national organization as a structuring principle of societal and political action can no longer serve as the orienting reference point for the social scientific observer” (4), social scientists should observe which forces beyond nation states affect the everyday life of individuals. However, global ethnography does not simply assume a weakening power of nation states. Rather, it examines how global capitalism and nation states interact with local actors” (Lapegna 2009). In addition, this ethnographic approach criticizes grand theories that assume homogeneous diffusion of institutional models to the world (Burawoy 2000). Thus, the role of global ethnographers is to “provide the ideal tools to investigate the diversities and heterogeneous manifestations of world-wide capitalism” (Lapegna 2009). My aim in adopting this ethnographic approach is to examine how global forces are nested in local settings, and how actors engage in daily life by employing publically available global ideas and discourses and by constructing a new social practice and phenomenon.
In order to capture the lived experiences of local affluent women sending their children to elite, international schools, I conducted field research from 2009 to 2014. My ethnography is composed of three sets of data: 1) participant observation and interviews at *Wakana* to identify the everyday life of *Wakana* families from parents' perspective, not from children's, 2) observation of *Wakana* families travelling to Hawai‘i during summer vacation to enroll their children in Hawai‘i’s local schools, and 3) interviews of school officials and teachers of international schools and preschools in the Greater Tokyo area.

In order to conduct this research, I obtained approval from the University of Hawai‘i Committee on Human studies (CHS#18367) in August 2010 as research exempt from federal regulations regarding the protection of human research participants. This research was considered as exempt research because this research aims to understand local Japanese parents' perspective on school choice and education for their child and their class and status practices. Thus, neither did I interview nor did I observe children for this research purpose while I was in the school setting. However, I quoted a couple of times what children said on a fieldwork site in this dissertation only to highlight how adults interpreted the child’s remark or how they viewed me. The background information of *Wakana* families whose quotes are used in this dissertation is listed in Appendix A. Their names have been anonymized to protect their privacy.

Before the actual interviews, I explained the consent form and the way the data was going to be used and treated to make sure there would be little or no risk for participants of this research project (See Appendix B). I asked a series of questions regarding the mother and father’s background information, why they chose *Wakana* for their children’s school, what educational path they want their children to follow, what extracurricular activities their children participate in, how they share parenting roles at home, etc. (See Appendix C). The interviews
were conducted in a room at the school, a coffee shop, or other places that the participants chose. The interviews lasted from 45 to 90 minutes. With their permission, I recorded their interviews with an IC recorder. In addition, I interviewed seven Wakana teachers about their experiences working at Wakana.

**Participant Observation and Interviews at Wakana**

My aims in conducting dissertation research at international schools are to investigate 1) why Japanese families choose international schools for their children, rather than Japanese schools, 2) how international schools are used by local Japanese families for class mobility or reproduction. I began the main field study in Japan after first doing an extensive pilot study of Japanese mothers who brought their young children to Hawai‘i (Igarashi and Yasumoto 2014, Igarashi 2015a) and enrolled them in English schools or summer programs, and I conducted interviews with international school principals while I was seeking an international preschool where I could do extended participant observation and interview local Japanese mothers of students. Then, I gained permission to conduct my participant observation at Wakana from October 2011 to March 2012.

I gained entrée to Wanaka International School through a network that I had built by interviewing parents sending children to summer schools in Hawai‘i. I met Erika, a mother of two children attending the grade school of Wanaka, when I interviewed her in Hawai‘i in 2009. When I went to Tokyo for my fieldwork, she was serving as a member of the PTA there. Since I initially thought that gaining entrée to an international school would be quite difficult, I asked her to introduce me to the school principal of Wakana for my preliminary research of interviewing international school principals. The school principal at the time, Ms. Chelsea (at
Wakana, teachers are addressed using Ms. or Mr. with their first name, not their last name), kindly accepted my interview request. And at the end of the interview, I asked if I could do volunteer work there and observe the school for my dissertation research and Ms. Chelsea agreed. Through my interviews with school officials of international schools and preschools, I received two offers to conduct fieldwork at international preschools. I chose Wakana because it has a larger number of children of local Japanese families and a strong identity as a stepping stone school for local Japanese families to move on to other international schools. It was therefore very appropriate for investigating local affluent families interested in international education.

Wakana has not only a preschool, but also an elementary school with emphasis on bilingual education in English and Japanese. I conducted my ethnography at a preschool section of Wakana. The campus of Wakana where I conducted my fieldwork was close to the center of Tokyo, and is located in one of the most affluent areas of Tokyo (Tachibanaki and Mori 2009).

This preschool accepts children from one and a half up to 5 years old. There are four grades at the preschool: Class-1 (one to two year olds or the class of 2015 based on when they would “graduate” and move on to elementary school); Class-2 (three year olds or the class of 2014), Class-3 (four year olds or the class of 2013); and Class-4 (five year olds or the class of 2012). There were a total of 47 families sending their children to the school throughout the 2011 academic year. Except for six families, one or both of the parents of children at Wakana are Japanese. Only one-fourth of the children enrolled in the preschool moved on to grade school at the same international school. All lessons and activities are provided in English except lessons for Japanese language.

Wakana understood my project and treated me very well during my six-month stay. I was given my own room with a desk and chair where I was able to take field notes. My presence as a
young, bilingual, male Ph.D. student volunteer seemed to be appreciated by teachers and Japanese parents because *Wakana* was run mostly by female teachers and staff, and the school sought a male teacher. Ms. Chelsea, told me in the course of my fieldwork that having a male teacher is special for children, particularly children in single parent families and children whose fathers are mostly absent due to their work commitment. In addition, the school was interested in me because of my status as a graduate student at the University of Hawai‘i at Mānoa and the University of Tokyo (with which I was affiliated during my fieldwork). Since *Wakana* promotes bilingual education, having someone who was pursuing an advanced degree in well-known universities was a way for the school to display its prestige both inside and outside the school community.

Children and parents of *Wakana* were also accepting of me. They perceived me as a “teacher.” During lunch time at C-3, an experienced Filipina homeroom teacher (Ms. Lin) and I were serving school lunch to children, and another teacher came to assist us. Several children spoke out with excitement “Yeah! We have three teachers here!” Parents also asked me how their children were doing and for advice on how to discipline their children, improve their English skills, and other topics. Since most *Intā-mama* had difficulty speaking English, they asked me many questions in Japanese to understand how their children were doing at *Wakana*.

**Setting**

*Wakana* relocated its school building just before I started my field research in October 2011. This relocation was initiated as a result of damage to the old school building caused by the March 11, 2011 earthquake. *Wakana* school staff and families liked the old school building and its location as it was close to a well-known fashionable and cosmopolitan district with many
Wakana sharply contrasts with a Japanese preschool (yōchien) located one block away, where the female school principal wearing a colorful apron welcomed children in school uniforms and their parents in front of the school gate. In contrast, Ms. Joyce and Ms. Ayaka, the
school secretary of Wakana, wore casual business clothes every day and welcomed children in the morning. Although there is a school uniform for Wakana children, a non-school uniform day is offered once a week. While the Japanese preschool prohibits families from dropping children off by car, Wakana allows drive-through drop-off and pick-up. Ms. Joyce told me that when Wakana moved into this neighborhood, the Japanese preschool principal came to ask Ms. Joyce not to allow drive-through drop-off and pick-up because it caused traffic jams. However, Ms. Joyce rejected the request as it is customary for international schools to allow parents to drop-off and pick-up children by car. It was ironic to see several non-Asian looking children go to the Japanese preschool. Ms. Joyce and I estimated that the ratio of non-Japanese children in the Japanese preschool might be higher than at Wakana. We used to joke in the mornings that this Japanese preschool might be more “international” than Wakana.

Considering these differences, school regulations at Wakana seem less strict than those of the Japanese preschool. Wakana’s less strict school regulations highlight Wakana families’ affluence. As Wakana families drop off their children, school staff and teachers and other Wakana families know what kind of cars they drive, which is a sign of “class symbol” (Goffman 1951). Many Wakana families had high-end cars such as Ferraris, Porsches, and BMWs, and children wore expensive coats by Burberry and Dolce & Gabbana. A 4-year old boy even came to Wakana wearing cologne.

My Role

I volunteered at Wakana twice a week as a Ph.D. student volunteer/researcher of the University of Hawai‘i at Mānoa and University of Tokyo. This is how I was introduced to
Wakana parents through a newsletter that Wakana sent prior to my first day in October 2011. During my stay at Wakana, I was called “Mr. Hiroki.”

My role at Wakana was to assist classroom activities for each grade, particularly the C-3 class. The school was downsizing its staff because Wakana had a diminishing number of children from expatriate families and fewer teachers, in part due to the economic recession initiated by the bankruptcy of Lehman Brothers in 2008 and the 2011 Tohoku earthquake and tsunami. When I started volunteering, C-1 had 13 children, C-2, eight, C-3, 16 and C-4, three, respectively. Since C-3 needed additional staff in the classroom, I mostly supported the enrichment activities of C-3, such as taking children to a nearby park, helping them learn the alphabet, numbers and simple math, and create art, play with toys etc.

As for my daily schedule at Wakana, I went to school at 8:15 a.m., helped Ms. Lin prepare for the day’s lesson materials, and took care of some children who were dropped off earlier than the regular drop-off time, which is 8:50 a.m. From 8:50 a.m. until 9:15 a.m., Ms. Joyce, Ms. Ayaka and I went to the front entrance of the school building and welcomed children as they arrived escorted by their parents. I was not initially asked to help them welcome children at the school entrance. But since I was not assigned to do any task during that time slot, I found it a good vantage point from which to observe who drops off the children and obtain further detailed information on families of the Wakana children.

After all the children arrived at school, I helped C-3’s class activities. The children enjoyed a variety of enrichment activities such as music, Japanese lesson, going to a nearby park, lunch, snack time, nap time, and swimming lessons. At each lesson, I carefully listened to the teacher’s instructions and tried to help the children accomplish their given tasks. I had some break times during children’s nap times, so I took field notes in my office. Since my focus was
parental involvement in children’s education in an international school setting, I took field notes on what time parents came to Wakana to drop off and pick up children, what they wore, whom they talked with, how they interacted, and what they were talking about with other mothers. I also took notes on how the teachers view Wakana families. Thus, I did NOT collect any information pertaining to what Wakana children told me or what they did with other children. My interactions with the children were strictly part of my volunteer work at Wakana. From Wakana families’ and teachers’ general conversations, I learned who their families associate with outside of school, what extracurricular activities their children do, where they went for vacation, and so on.

In addition, school ended at 3:00 p.m. and I often opened the front door to let parents come in to pick up their children. From 2:45 p.m., Wakana mothers gradually arrived at the school and waited with other mothers to chat and kill some time until 3:00 p.m. Once the school door opened, parents went to their child’s classroom either on the first floor (C-1) or second floor (C-2, 3 and 4) and formed a line in front of the classroom. The homeroom teacher talked to each Wakana family and explained what they did that day and described what the child’s day had been like, including appetite during lunch time, interaction with the other children and so on. I was able to move freely during this pick-up time, so I was often in front of the entrance with Ms. Joyce to say good-bye to children and their parents. As this time period was more relaxing than in the morning, parents often stayed around the school entrance area to chat with other mothers and children. I observed who has a close relationship with whom and what kind of information they shared. The common topics shared among Wakana mothers in the morning and afternoon were: children’s emotional, psychological and academic growth, extra curricular activities and their daily lifestyles such as fashions, and planning future gatherings for lunch or after school.
Strategies

My strategy to be in front of the school entrance during the drop-off and pick-up time of children helped me to quickly become a familiar figure to all the children and their parents. It was very important for me to do so because I needed to establish a favorable relationship with each parent and child to facilitate parent interviews at the very end of my fieldwork.

At the beginning of my participant observation, I imagined that children would mention the new “teacher” at home and their parents would be curious to know more about me. Making myself visible to the parents helped them connect children’s conversation about me at home with their own observations of me. I hoped that there would be a positive cycle that once children liked me, they would talk about me favorably at home, and as a result, parents would come to like me, and they would also say positive things about me. While doing my best to discipline and educate these children as expected by the parents and teachers of *Wakana*, I tried to play with children to build a positive relationship with them as much as possible. Also, it was a fun experience for me to play with them, and it helped me get through the stressful 6-month period of this fieldwork.

To know more about matters of daily life, I tried to have small conversations with parents before and after school and during the swimming class, which is offered for C-3 and C-4 children. Swimming lessons were held once a week, on Wednesday afternoon. As *Wakana* does not have a facility for the swimming class, students and teachers took a school bus to go to a private sports club several kilometers away. The swimming lessons were conducted by swimming instructors and the *Wakana* teachers and I observed the lessons from the poolside. During the swimming class, parents were welcome to observe their children. Every week, one to
eight parents came to observe the swimming lesson. One mother came every week because her child needed special care. The other Wakana mothers that came did so as a group. They often had lunch together and came to the sports club. They watched from a separate viewing area with an open window. I was allowed to stay with the parents to observe what parents were talking about while their children were swimming.

In addition, I participated in some of the events that parents of Wakana organized such as a farewell party for some children. Parents of the cohort of year 2013 also organized a farewell party for me after my fieldwork was over in April, 2012. They even organized gathering opportunities for me in Hawai‘i when they came during summer and winter vacation. I met Wakana families and children at popular locations such as Ala Moana Shopping Center and Waikiki.

Interviews

After finishing my volunteer period at the school, I asked all the families to participate in my interview, and 34 parents (out of 47), mostly women, agreed to be interviewed. Before the interviews, I explained the consent form and the way the data was going to be used and treated to make sure that there is little or no risk to participate in this research project (See Appendix B). I asked a series of questions pertaining to the mother and father’s background information, why they chose Wakana for their children’s school, what educational path they want their children to follow, what extracurricular activities their children participate in, how they share parenting roles at home, etc. (See Appendix C). The interviews were conducted at a room in the school, a coffee shop, or other places that the participants chose. The interviews lasted from 45 to 90 minutes.
With their permission, I recorded their interviews with an IC recorder. In addition, I interviewed seven *Wakana* teachers about their experience working at *Wakana*.

*Analytical Methods*

I analyzed the data collected from my ethnographic notes and interviews by using qualitative data analysis software, NVivo. Regarding the interview data, I transcribed most of the interviews relevant to the aims of this research project. While NVivo is useful software for grounded theory approach, I did not employ it for this purpose in this research project. Rather, based on key concepts such as school choice, gender, status and class, I did initial coding and then conducted focused coding (Charmaz 2006) of all the collected data. During this process, I paid attention to how each person's patterns of narratives were *classed* and if any key words or phrases called *in vivo codes* represented class and status phenomena taking place among *Wakana* mothers.

*Positionality*

My social status was partly defined in relation to other people in my research sites, such as “teacher at *Wakana*,” “male,” “unmarried and single,” “young,” “Japanese,” and a “graduate student affiliated with the University of Hawaiʻi at Mānoa and of the University of Tokyo.” This positionality certainly influenced the way I conducted my fieldwork at *Wakana*, interacted with various groups of people in the field, interpreted their interactions, and collected data.

I started doing volunteer work at *Wakana* for my data collection on a bi-weekly basis from September 2011. Through a gradual process, I became accepted as an *insider* in the *Wakana* community where teachers and parents worked together for children's well-being and
cognitive and academic development. As a volunteer teacher, I welcomed and saw off children at the school entrance, helped teachers of each grade and joined weekly teacher meetings. But like the children, Wakana mothers also came to perceive me as a teacher—a professional figure who can give them useful advice about parenting, early childhood education, bilingual education, international school choice and so on. Questions that I was often asked were: "I don't know what my son is up to at Wakana. Could you tell me how he is doing?", "My daughter’s English is not improving.... What should I do at home?" or "Do you know if A international school is good? When is the best time to send a child back to the Japanese education track?" I mostly had no problem answering the first question as I was asked to describe the child’s condition at school. However, being asked the rest of the questions always confused me because my answers, which might be perceived as professional advice, could affect their parenting and future school choice. That is, I as a researcher might influence the research subjects' behaviors, which could be considered a research bias. I basically did my best not to express my own opinion. Rather I gave them plain answers or just asked the same question back to them and tried to be a good listener. But I often thought that giving such plain answers or avoiding answering questions might disappoint their expectation of me as a teacher and would lead to a loss of trust, thus weakening the relationship. Establishing a positive relationship with Wakana mothers was the key issue for me, as I wanted many Wakana mothers to participate in the face-to-face interviews scheduled after my participant observation at Wakana.

The fact that I was introduced as a graduate student affiliated with the University of Hawai‘i at Mānoa and University of Tokyo might have strengthened Wakana mothers' image of me as a professional teacher in spite of my lack of experience working at an English speaking preschool like Wakana. There were positive and negative aspects of being seen as a professional
teacher. A positive point was that I easily obtained trust from Wakana mothers. For example, when one Wakana mother came to pick up her sons with her husband, she introduced me to him as follows:

**Wife:** Oh, this is Mr. Hiroki. He is the teacher our kids often talked about at home. Remember? He goes to the University of Tokyo and University of Hawai‘i. He works here as a volunteer twice a week.

**Igarashi:** Hello.

**Husband:** Wow. I heard about you from our kids.

**Wife:** Please feel free to give us advice about what we should do for our kids...

Often this additional information on which school I was affiliated with was added when introductions were made. In particular, the fact that I was affiliated with the University of Tokyo shaped perceptions of me as being a knowledgeable professional teacher figure.

The negative point is that some families, particularly families whose level of education is low, whom I label *the upstart elite families* (See Chapter 3), seemed to see me in an ambivalent way—viewing me as a professional teacher as other mothers did, or as an authority or threatening figure. While educated families were willing to discuss how to raise a child in an equal manner with me, *upstart elite families* seemed to express a lack of confidence in how they raised their child. When I talked to a mother from *the upstart elite families* about her son's behavior at parents' visiting day, her initial description of her son's behavior was "I'm sorry that my son wasn't behaving well...my way of disciplining him is not good..." It seemed that they
often paid more attention to what their child is missing, comparing them with other children from "good" families and viewed me as belonging to the latter group.

As a man, I had to position myself carefully in the school setting as the school was dominated by female actors. First, I was worried that some mothers might be skeptical of my presence as it is rare for a young, single male in his early 30s to be interested in the education of preschool-aged children. Many Inta-mama thought that I was married and had a child. Once they knew that I was single, they asked me why I am interested in doing research in the preschool. I was concerned that they might think of me as a man with questionable intentions if I did not provide a proper explanation for my presence at the school. I explained not only what information I was interested in knowing for my dissertation, but also about how I am dissatisfied with Japanese men’s lack of involvement in parenting. I chose to mention my sense of dissatisfaction to Wakana mothers, because this would help Wakana mothers make sense of why a young single man is interested in doing volunteer in a preschool. In fact many Wakana mothers seemed convinced by this logic and expressed a sense of appreciation for my research topic. Although I sincerely felt this way, I can also say that I played the role of a sympathetic man to Wakana mothers so as to be favorably accepted.

I also asked Ms. Joyce and a male teacher to give me advice on what constitutes appropriate behavior for a male teacher at Wakana so as to avoid any criticism and complaints from Wakana mothers. In addition, I tried not to get close to any particular Wakana mother during social gatherings to avoid potential rumors, which could affect my data collection in a negative way. At interview settings, some mothers also paid attention to this aspect. Some chose Wakana as an interview setting as one mother said "It is better to be interviewed at Wakana not at a coffee shop. It would be troublesome if people who know me see us talking at a coffee shop.
In addition, my Japanese identity helped me establish a favorable relationship with Wakana mothers. As most of the mothers’ English language fluency was low, they appreciated being able to communicate with me in Japanese about how their child spent the day at Wakana. Every day when they dropped off or picked up their child, they had a chance to communicate with homeroom teachers in English. But many of them were not satisfied to receive this important information in their second language because it gave them an incomplete picture and could lead to misunderstandings.

Balancing my roles as a researcher and a student volunteer was a challenge. I admit that my presence and the advice that I gave to Wakana mothers more or less affected their decision-making regarding their child's education. One particular incident reflects the impact. After my interview with Tomoko was over, she asked me two questions: 1) which school, Japanese private school or international school, should she send her daughter to, and 2) whether or not the Japanese education system is going to be internationalized and come to emphasize an English education. I did not answer the first question. However, based on my knowledge, I told her about the ongoing reforms in Japanese education system, which comes to value not only Japanese cultural capital but also global cultural capital. Almost a year later, I was notified that her daughter entered a Japanese private elementary school (See Chapter 3 on the details). Tomoko wrote to me: "Mr. Hiroki, I kept thinking about sending my daughter to Japanese school as a first choice; your advice really played an important part in my decision-making."

While some could view this as a problem that a researcher affected the life course of research subjects, I argue that researchers and research subjects by nature mutually constitute research fields together—as this incident represents. I reject the perspective of objectivity, that researchers can purely observe human interactions in their research site from a bird's eye view.
Rather, I joined the community of Wakana mothers and teachers and understood their subjective and inter-subjective worlds by balancing my expected role as a student volunteer at Wakana and my role as a researcher.

Lastly, my status of being an insider in Wakana seemed to prevent me from obtaining a particular aspect of Wakana families' narrative, which is associated with their negative feelings toward other Inta-mama in their network. I interviewed Japanese women from various places in Japan who accompanied their child to Hawai‘i (Igarashi 2015a, Igarashi and Yasumoto 2014), and many of them talked about the stressful nature of getting along with other mothers in their child's school. However, only a few Wakana mothers mentioned the stressful aspect of getting along with other Wakana mothers during the interviews. Rather, they emphasized how helpful other mothers are on a day-to-day basis. I assume that my insider status in Wakana made them reluctant to share their negative thoughts on other Wakana mothers.

Ethnography of Parent-child Study Abroad Tours in Honolulu, Hawai‘i

Since I was familiar with the pattern of parent-child study abroad trips from the pilot-study (Igarashi and Yasumoto 2014, Igarashi 2015a), I planned to track the families of Wakana after my ethnography at Wakana was over in Spring 2012 and to meet those who were coming to Hawai‘i in the summer. The parents of Wakana children knew that I would move back to Hawai‘i in May 2012, so they would contact me when they happened to be in Hawai‘i—this continued until my departure in April 2014. Of the 47 families at Wakana preschool, six families came to Hawai‘i to send their children to local preschools for one to five weeks from 2012 to 2013. Another 10 families travelled to Hawai‘i for family vacations. Several invited me to parties at their condominium or vacation home, and to have lunch with their children. Families from
Wakana often hang out with one another even in Hawai‘i, and they also invited other Japanese families who send their children to other international schools in Tokyo. Meeting them and asking questions about how they enjoy and understand their stays in Hawai‘i allowed me to understand their year-round involvement in children’s international education. Their children were also happy to see me in Hawai‘i.

**Interviews with School Officials of English Preschools and International Schools**

Besides the participant observation and interviews at Wakana, I conducted semi-structured interviews with school officials of English preschools and international schools in the greater Tokyo area to identify the socioeconomic characteristics of Japanese families whose children are enrolled in their schools, the reasons their schools were established, their admission criteria, their students’ school mobility patterns and so on. A Japanese publisher on educational issues, ALC, annually publishes a magazine called *Kodomo Eigo Magajin* (Magazine on Child’s English) for Japanese mothers who are interested in English education for their children. The volume they published in 2007 introduced the list of English preschools throughout Japan, and it was helpful for me to identify where preschools are located in the Tokyo area. Among 80 English preschools found in Tokyo, I selected those that have many branches for the interviews because they presumably had more information and experience in running English preschools in the Tokyo area. I interviewed principals at seven preschools. In addition, I found a list of international schools, and interviewed eight officials from these schools located in the greater Tokyo area. These interviews were conducted at the beginning stage of my fieldwork to find a site for participant observation at a school. These data are used as a supplement to understand the lived experiences of affluent families in the center of Tokyo. In the following section, on the
structure of elite education tracks in Tokyo which affects families’ school choice patterns, I used the same official procedures as were used with the Wakana mothers to interview these school officials (See Appendix D for the consent forms and Appendix E for the interview questions).

The Structure of Elite Education Tracks in Tokyo

Local families with preschool-aged children in Tokyo choose international schools from a variety of school options from national to international. On the national end, Japanese compulsory education starts from elementary school at six years of age. There are generally two options for enrolling children: private (shiritsu shōgakkō) or public elementary schools (kōritsu shōgakkō). Before grade school, three preschool systems, Childcare from 0 to six (Hoikuen), Early Childhood Education from three to six (Yōchien), and Education and Childcare from 0 to six (Nintei-kodomoen), are available to local families. On the international end, the preschool sections of international schools such as Wakana are also available options. Among the institutional arrangements of these various schools and childcare options, local families that I interviewed chose the Wakana preschool. In order to explain available school choice options for Wakana families, I first explain the nature of the education system in Japan.

The Japanese Education System

Preschool System

Until 2006, two preschool systems were administered by two ministries of Japan—the yōchien by MEXT, and the hoikuen by the by the Ministry of Health and Welfare (hereafter, MHW). The basis of the yōchien was defined by the 1947 School Education Law, and the
yōchien has been integrated as a part of school education system. Three to six year old children are enrolled in the yōchien. The standard number of hours in the yōchien is four hours per day, and the yōchien opens a minimum of 39 weeks per year. As the daily hours of yōchien are limited, dual-income families have difficulty choosing it.

On the other hand, the hoikuen system was established under the 1947 and 1997 Child Welfare Law. The hoikuen accepts children 0 to 6 years old who are in need of care. Children are enrolled 11 hours per day, and approximately 300 days per year. This institution is primarily for the households of working parents. The nintei-kodomoen was established in 2006 as a model to integrate these dual systems to solve their inefficiency. The nintei-kodomoen accepts children from age 0 to six, and even accepts one-income family. As Table 2-1 suggests, the number of hoikuen has been gradually rising while that of the yōchien has been decreasing.

Table 2-1. The Number of Different Types of Preschools in Japan, 2005-2013

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>The Hoikuen</th>
<th>The Yochien</th>
<th>The Nintei-kodomoen</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2005</td>
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<td>2006</td>
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<tr>
<td>2013</td>
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</tbody>
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International Preschools

Since the early 2000s, “international preschools,” private, non-accredited institutions that provide daycare services in an English-speaking environment, have rapidly increased in Japan (Imoto 2011). According to ALC (2007), the number jumped from 18 in 2002 to 264 by 2007. This preschool business, according to my interviews with the preschool directors in Tokyo, targets affluent neighborhoods of big cities in Japan where a large number of families are able to afford the more expensive daycare fees compared to ordinary daycare services for children.

Despite the significant increase in international preschools, the number of accredited international schools has remained almost the same. According to my interviews with the directors of the international preschools, the majority of Japanese children attending such international preschools end up moving on to Japanese private or public elementary schools.

One major reason might be a legal barrier. In Japan, the majority of foreign schools (including international schools such as Wakana) are classified as non-legitimate schools for Japanese nationals, as defined by Article 1 of the School Education Law (Gakkō Kyōiku hō), which requires compulsory education through the 9th grade in a school authorized by the Ministry of Education. For families of Japanese nationals, sending their children to such non-legitimate schools is strictly speaking considered illegal because it violates the parent’s obligation to provide compulsory education for their children. This may be one main reason why the majority of Japanese families hesitate to send their children to international schools, and the number of international schools in Japan has not changed much.

Another barrier is the financial factor. The annual tuition of an international school is approximately 2,000,000 yen (25,000 dollars) per child plus other fees such as those for school
bus transportation, or summer school, either in Tokyo or overseas for one to two months. This financial barrier operates as an exclusionary social closure (Parkin 1978) for middle-class families relative to local elite families.

*Elementary and Secondary Schools and Universities*

Grade schools and universities in Japan follow a 6-3-3-4 system—six years of elementary school, three years of junior high school, three years of high school, and four years of university (or two year of junior college). Although the compulsory education ends at the end of junior high school (the 9th grade), over 97% of students move on to high schools (MEXT 2015). The structure of Japanese education is called a “tournament type” (Sugimoto 2010; Takeuchi 1995), and is characterized as relaying heavily on student assessment through standardized tests and parents' investment in academic tutoring and private exam preparation classes for their children (Yamamoto and Brinton 2010).

That is, those who fail in the standardized tests for entrance to high school and university are not able to enjoy the same opportunities in life despite some exceptions, which students from high SES backgrounds take advantage of (Nakanishi 2000). Success and failure in these standardized tests highly affect one's life chances. Major corporations limit their hiring for entry level white-collar positions, which secure long-term security and prestige, to only the highest ranked universities, locking in the rewards to those who did best in the competition for college entrance. The 9th grade students have to take the standardized tests to move on to public or private high schools. Based on their demonstrated level of academic performance, students are “sort into” different academically ranked schools, which also affect their mobility pattern into college. Students in highly ranked high schools are streamed into elite universities. The fact that
97% of students move on to high school makes a much larger cohort eligible to complete for places in post-secondary schools. In this process, social class plays a significant role—students from higher SES backgrounds tend to be in higher ranked schools (Yamamoto and Brinton 2010).

As one’s admission into competitive high school and university determines one’s life chances, parental investment in academic tutoring and private exam preparation classes for their children, called shadow education, is a notable feature of Japanese society. According to MEXT's report (2008) on students' activities of learning outside of public schools, 15.9% of first graders attended cram schools where they learn academic subjects. This percentage increases in the higher grades, with 65.4% of ninth graders attending cram school lessons.

### Table 2-2. Japanese Women's Labor Force Participation Rate

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Labor Force Participation Rate</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1938-1942</td>
<td>90%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1943-1947</td>
<td>85%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1948-1952</td>
<td>80%</td>
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<tr>
<td>1953-1957</td>
<td>75%</td>
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<tr>
<td>1958-1962</td>
<td>70%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1963-1967</td>
<td>65%</td>
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<tr>
<td>1968-1972</td>
<td>60%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1973-1977</td>
<td>55%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1978-1982</td>
<td>50%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1983-1987</td>
<td>45%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1988-1992</td>
<td>40%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1993-1997</td>
<td>35%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: White Report on Gender-Equal Participation (Gender Equality Bureau, Cabinet Office 2013)

As the statistic that 15.9% of first graders attended cram schools reveals, competition,
particularly in big cities, has gradually moved down to junior high school, elementary school and even the preschool level for families that can afford the very high costs of private education and/or shadow education. According to Nichinoken johoshingakushitsu (2008), 17.7% of sixth graders in the Tokyo metropolitan area took private or national junior high school entrance exams to “exit” public schools. Furthermore, Kataoka (2009) found that 8.9% of parents living in Tokyo experience private or national elementary school exams for their child.

It has to be noted that parents assign a different purpose and meaning to educational attainment for sons and daughters in Japan (Yamamoto and Brinton 2010). Although the trend is gradually changing, the relationship between educational attainment and success in the labor market for men is stronger than for women. In order to obtain high status jobs, enrollment into highly ranked high school and university is necessary. On the other hand, women's access to higher education is understood to be educating them not as competent workers in the labor force, but as “good-wives and wise mothers” (Koyama 2012) Kataoka (2001) argued that parents' expectations regarding their child's educational attainment are based on the child's gender. Women are more encouraged to obtain reading habits and familiarity with art through extra curricula activities, which increase their aspiration to go to college.

Although the current Prime Minister of Japan, Shinzo Abe (2006-2007 & 2012-), actively promotes women's active work force participation under the slogan of “womenomics,” career opportunities for women are still restricted and a larger number of women leave the labor force during the childrearing period. As Table 2-2 shows, an M-shaped curve is observed, which suggests Japanese women leave the labor force during the childrearing period. If many women do not leave the workforce during this time, the shape would look more trapezoidal, as it does in the United States or Sweden (Nishimura 2014). Although the M-shaped curve is becoming less
and less sharp for younger cohorts and the number of hoikuen has increased to support working mothers (See Table 2-1.), many Japanese women still leave the labor force for childrearing. In the same way, Wakana mothers, the group of mothers that I observe in this dissertation, leave the workforce temporarily or become homemakers, which is a sign of economic privilege today.

**Local Elite Education Track**

In this section, I observe the structure of the elite education tracks in Tokyo, which shape the families’ school choice patterns. To do so requires investigating how elite Japanese and international education institutions and other entities dominating social spaces evaluate the local families’ volume and possession of capital. The required capital for admission into each education track for local families is summarized in Figure 2-1.

**Figure 2-1 Required Capital for Admission into Each Education Track for Local Families**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type of Education Track</th>
<th>Economic Capital</th>
<th>National Cultural Capital</th>
<th>Global Cultural Capital</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Local Elite Education Track</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>International Education Track</td>
<td>+ +</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>+ -</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

++ means the corresponding capital is highly required.
+ means the corresponding capital is required.
+ - means the corresponding capital is desirable but not necessary.
- means the corresponding capital is not required.

Tuition for international schools in the international education track is much more expensive than established elite schools in the local Japanese education track. To get into the Japanese elite schools, parents’ high national (Japanese) cultural capital is required, but it is not
required for international schools. On the other hand, global cultural capital, or English fluency and mannerisms are required for children to enter international schools. But how much global cultural capital is required depends on the ranking or authenticity (See the following subsection) of the international school. Particularly for less authentic or non-1st tier international schools such as Wakana, a high amount of global cultural capital is not expected for local children to be admitted.

School choice for families with preschool-age children cannot simply be made by the families’ free will. First, the amount of school tuition is a crucial factor for families’ school choice patterns. According to MEXT (2014), there is no annual tuition for public elementary schools (although families have to pay some costs such as school lunch fees), while private elementary schools cost an average of ¥450,437 yen (approx. $4,500) per year. However, established, elite private schools that the Wakana mothers considered for their children, such as Gakushuin, Keio Yōchisha, Seikei and Aoyama Gakuin Elementary Schools, cost as much as ¥1,000,000 - 1,200,000 (approx. $10,000 - 12,000). These established schools are often affiliated schools (ikkan kō), where students can advance to affiliated elite universities without having to take the entrance exams. Thus, one of the advantages for local families to enroll their child in these elite established schools is to avoid the child’s risk of failing at the series of standardized examinations. In addition, some of the established private elementary schools also have affiliated preschools (yōchien).

Elite private elementary schools have traditionally been selected by former noble and upper-middle class families. For example, Gakushuin Elementary School was first established in Tokyo, in 1876, as a school for pupils of kazoku or noble families. Although the kazoku system was abolished in the 1947 Constitution of Japan, Gakushuin was selected by imperial families
and former noble families (Lebra 1993). Kobari (2009) reviewed the education selection process of private elementary schools in Tokyo from the 1920s to the 1950s, and concluded that such elite private schools promoted a ‘sponsored mobility’ (Turner 1960), a system of social mobility where individuals from a circuit of elites are given access to elite academic institutions. In addition to these noble elites, new urban middle class families, such as teachers, white collar workers, bankers and medical doctors also sent their children to such schools during the same period. Although the sponsored mobility system received public criticism later on, Ishii (2000; 2010) argues that the system is still maintained and that 5% of the families choosing private elementary schools in Tokyo are ‘established families’ that have attended the schools for some generations.

Since the 1990s, private elementary school examinations have become competitive in Tokyo and Osaka among affluent local families, due to the stagnated Japanese economy and the public’s increasing distrust of the quality of public education (Ishikawa 2011; Kataoka 2009; Mochizuki 2011). Although only one percent of elementary schools in Japan are privately run, this competition of private elementary school exams is a major concern for affluent families in Tokyo. My interviews with Wakana parents reveal that almost none of them considered sending their children to public elementary schools because of their negative image of public schools.

For the exams, children aged 5 and 6 years old go through various kinds of tests, such as interviews, behavior observation, painting, gymnastics, and written exams in Japanese. It is common for families to enroll their children in a relevant special prep school in the years leading up to the exam to help prepare the children. This process of ‘training’ for private elementary school exams requires families’ active engagement in ‘concerted cultivation’ (Lareau 2003) as well as high economic capital. According to Mochizuki (2011), families preparing for private
elementary school exams, spend 75,844 yen (approx. $760) per child each month. This means that these families spend more than $10,000 annually on extracurricular activities in preparation for private elementary school exams. According to Mochizuki (2011), more than 75% of those who prepare their children for the private elementary school exams earn over ¥8,000,000 ($80,000) annually. In addition, 85% of the husbands and 81.6% of the wives had college degrees.

By investing a large amount of money in extracurricular activities, the parents ensure that their children will acquire embodied forms of national cultural capital. The children are trained for particular language use, mannerisms, and proper ways of expressing themselves in public, and families are advised to have their children exposed to seasonal Japanese cultural events so they can become familiar with Japanese traditions (Ishii 2000). However, embodied forms of global cultural capital (including English fluency) are not tested in the entrance exams.

**International Education Track**

Except for one very elite school, Japanese families’ possession of national cultural capital is less likely to be considered as a major evaluative criterion for admission to international schools, based on Wakana families’ and Wakana teachers’ understanding. Since one of the major missions of international schools is to provide an international education offered in English to children of expatriate families and of mixed marriages, their main concern is not parents’ possession and children’s acquisition of certain Japanese cultural knowledge and mannerisms, but rather parents’ willingness, determination, and motivation to have their children immersed in K-12 international education. As “competition rigging” (Brown 2000), international schools and their actors institutionally legitimize global cultural capital rather than national cultural capital.
My interviews with international school directors in the greater Tokyo area confirm that international schools require that at least one parent be familiar with English. However, since they are also aware that many Japanese families are not fluent in English, they evaluate Japanese families based on their willingness to understand enough English to discuss their children’s school matters, their motivation to provide an international education for their children, and the children’s capacity to adjust to an international school environment. Particularly, some international schools such as Wakana do not exclude local families who cannot speak English from the admission process.

The most important factor is local families’ acquisition of extremely high economic capital because of the high tuition fees required for a K-12 international education, which is one and a half to two times as much as local elite private schools (see Table 2-3). In addition to the extremely high tuition for international schools, families also have additional expenses such as tuition for summer school overseas.

Making sure of families’ financial situation is an important consideration for international schools. According to the school principals of international schools, they expect local children to receive K-12 education in the international education track, which requires more than $240,000 US for school tuition. If local families cannot afford the school tuition for their children in the middle of K-12 schooling at international schools, the most available choice left for these children is go to a local school. These students, particularly in the middle and high school ages, are more likely to face hardships adjusting to the Japanese school culture and in catching up with classes academically in Japanese due to the different school curricula. Thus, opting out from the international education track particularly in the higher grades could result in a series of risks for local students’ psychological wellbeing and lower educational and occupational attainments.
Some school principals of international schools mentioned that depending on circumstances, their schools provide tuition exemptions for local students of high school age whose families face financial difficulties.

Table 2-3 Annual Tuition of Elite Japanese Private Elementary Schools and International Schools in Tokyo

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>School Name</th>
<th>Established*</th>
<th>Tuition (1st year) (USD)**</th>
<th>Tuition (after 1st year) (USD)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Elite Japanese Private Elementary Schools (ES)</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gakushuin ES</td>
<td>1876</td>
<td>14,870</td>
<td>11,870</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Keio Yochisha ES</td>
<td>1878</td>
<td>15,315</td>
<td>11,965</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Seikei ES</td>
<td>1915</td>
<td>13,532</td>
<td>10,532</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aoyama Gakuin ES</td>
<td>1937</td>
<td>14,630</td>
<td>10,910</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>International Schools (IS)</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td>Tuition for IS grade schools including other annual fees (USD)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wakana</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>20,000</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Seisen IS</td>
<td>1946</td>
<td>21,500</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nishimachi IS</td>
<td>1949</td>
<td>22,000</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>St. Mary’s IS</td>
<td>1954</td>
<td>22,000</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* The year of Wakana’s establishment is omitted for the purpose of anonymity.
** 100 yen is converted as 1 USD.

In addition, *Wakana* often accepts Japanese celebrity families because accepting such famous families will contribute to increasing the symbolic value of the school. Ms. Wakako, a homeroom teacher told me:

When one celebrity family came for a school visit, I let the school principal (who is non-Japanese) know that the family is famous in Japan and recommended that she accept the child.
In this type of situation, a local staff member and/or teacher plays an important role because status judges (school principals) for international schools are often non-Japanese and lack such local knowledge. Japanese celebrity families find sending their children to international schools to be a good fit, because these schools are believed to protect the families’ private information, and the fact that their children are in the international school will enhance their symbolic value in public.

The Hierarchy of International Schools in the Greater Tokyo Area

Wakana families, Wakana teachers, and all the Japanese parents enrolling their children in international schools in the greater Tokyo area that I have interviewed are aware of the status hierarchy of other international schools in the greater Tokyo area and the place Wakana occupies in this arena. On the first day of my fieldwork, Ms. Wakako, told me “I don’t know why you decided to do volunteer work here. You know, this is not a famous (international) school as you imagine.” From this teacher’s perspective, researchers like me were supposed to conduct research at more “famous” international schools. Wakana has a grade school, but it is not selected by three fourths of Wakana families with children enrolled in its preschool section. This fact is often painful to accept for Wakana teachers and staff, because it means that their status could be perceived as lower than the status of teachers and staff at other famous international schools. Education systems sort students and their families into different educational trajectories that lead them to obtain subsequent status and class positions; international schools in the greater Tokyo area operate in this very manner. Based on my ethnography and interviews in Tokyo, three dimensions impacting the hierarchy of international schools were identified: authenticity, tradition, and international accreditation for degree-programs.
Yuki Imoto (2011), who conducted participant observation at an international preschool in Tokyo, argues that authenticity is a key component of legitimacy that shapes the hierarchy of international preschools in Tokyo—“the more ‘native’ English speakers there are, the more white foreigners there are, the more ‘authentic’ the school” (6). Since “international” is typically understood as “Western” or American culture in Japan, what local parents expect from international schools is their children’s acquisition of authentic English with American or British accents and exposure to school environments that have native and white English speakers. Garton (2000) also mentioned parents’ biased evaluation of teachers of international students—“a number of parents ‘prefer’ their child to be taught by a native-English speaking ‘Western trained’ overseas-hire expatriate” (87). Akemi, a mother of two sons said:

Middle-ranked international preschools tend to have male Filipino and Japanese teachers. And schools dominated by white teachers are pretty expensive, but these schools offer more ideal environments (italicized by the author).

Her narrative confirms what is considered a legitimate environment for international schools and preschools.

In this hierarchy of authenticity, teachers are stratified based on their race or ethnicity, country of origin and how they acquired English: the most authentic teachers are native English speakers from the West, such as the U.S. and U.K., preferably white; the second most authentic teachers are those from other parts of Europe or Asia such as Malaysia or the Philippines, or
Japanese graduating from international schools. The least *authentic* teachers are Japanese who learned English as a second language. Recruiting as many *authentic* teachers as possible is a challenge for each international school, but the well-known international schools generally have advantages in maintaining their *authenticity* because of their large financial resources, vast networks populated with potential candidates for school teachers, established school status, and long history of operation as an international school. While these top schools often recruit teachers from international job fairs, less *authentic* international schools recruit teachers locally or from their own social networks. One school principal of a small international preschool in Tokyo described his school’s challenge in maintaining *authenticity*:

We have teachers from the Philippines, Croatia, Russia, the US, UK, and Australia. We offer higher salaries to native [English-speaking] teachers and assign them head teacher positions. But they are less likely to work with us for longer periods of time compared to the non-native teachers, because they are often headhunted by other schools. Local families want us to have many native and white teachers at school. Of course, the skin color doesn’t matter to us because what we care about the most is teachers’ high-level English such as their native-English. You know, we face the gap between ideal and reality. (*Igarashi:* What is your ideal?) Our ideal is to have as many native-English teachers as possible at school, but it is financially a challenge.

As foreign teachers are stratified based on their level of *authenticity* in the English-language teaching job market in Japan, small-size, less financially-endowed international
preschools experience difficulty retaining native English-speaking teachers for long periods of time.

While Wakana has institutional status as an international school, Wakana parents sometimes refer to Wakana as a “fake” international school (nanchatte intā) (See also Imoto 2011) or “Asian” international school because all teachers at the time of my fieldwork were non-white, from non-Western countries (except one from Hawai‘i) and the majority of children were Japanese and from other Asian countries. Since such schools’ legitimate value is questioned by parents, based on their less authentic status, schools such as Wakana struggle to redefine and negotiate what an international school is. Ms. Lin, one of the Asian teachers at Wakana, explains the uniqueness of Wakana: “This school is an international school in a different way because there are many non-native Asian teachers. This truly represents the international world.” Ms. Lin redefines the meaning of international school from the legitimized North-American or Western-European centered view to a more region-specific and culturally neutral perspective of international schools.

While Wakana teachers’ actively legitimize their school as a true international school, Wakana families do not often corroborate this view. Beyond the teachers’ quality of nurturing and educating children, teachers are often judged by Wakana families, the customers and consumers of the schools, based on their English accents, and where they are from. Masako, a Wakana mother, refers to her child’s homeroom teacher, Ms. Lin, as follows:

Ms. Lin has taken care of my daughter for two years consecutively. She is a great teacher, but I’m concerned about her accent. You know, Ms. Lin has a Filipino accent, right? I wonder if my daughter will acquire her Filipino English accent (laugh).
For Masako, her daughter’s acquisition of a Filipino accent was a matter of concern. It went against her expectation of international schooling. Although Masako evaluates Ms. Lin as a great teacher, Lin’s non-authentic accent is not ideal for her daughter to be exposed to in international schooling. Ms. Lin is also aware that some other families prefer teachers who speak English with an authentic accent.

**Tradition**

Another dimension that establishes the hierarchy of international schools is tradition, based on when the international schools were established. Tradition is an important dimension because schools strategically use their school history to legitimate their own status as prestigious over others (Bourdieu 1979; 1996). The majority of authentic international schools were established before the 1970s by missionaries or committed educators to serve children of expatriate and mixed marriage families. They are considered as authentic, elite international schools.

For example, *Nishimachi* International School was established in 1949 by Taneko Matsukata, a committed educator. She came from an illustrious family and her paternal grandfather was the sixth prime minister of Japan. Because her maternal grandfather was one of the first Japanese persons who started a raw silk import business in the United States, Taneko had an opportunity to receive an education in America. Shocked by the devastation of Tokyo after coming back to Japan in 1948, she decided to establish a school that would promote a harmonious relationship between the Japanese and those from the rest of the world. The school initially operated as a bilingual school not targeted to children of expatriate families, but rather to
local Japanese children living in the neighborhood. The school was established on land belonging to the Matsukata family in Azabu, Tokyo, where many foreign embassies were located. The administrative building of Nishimachi International School is located in a house called Matsukata House, which was declared a historic building in Tokyo in 2000. In the school history of Nishimachi, the school promoted a particular style of education that does not prioritize one culture over the others, but treats the different cultural backgrounds of the students in a neutral manner (Kim 2014). Although Nishimachi does not offer an IB baccalaureate program, which has recently become a guarantee of quality of international schools on a global scale, this school has been recognized as an authentic international school. According to the evaluation of this school by my interviewees and the results of Wakana children’s acceptance rate into schools, this school is the most difficult one to get into in the greater Tokyo area.

*Internationally Recognized Accreditation and Degree-Programs*

In order to be recognized as a “trustworthy” school by expatriate and local families, certification from internationally recognized accreditation institutions such as WASC (Western Association of Schools and Colleges), CIS (Council of International Schools) and ACI (Association of Christian Schools International) plays an important role. For foreign expatriate families, such accreditation status provides academic standards and quality assurance. One Asian family who sent their child to Wakana said the school’s acquisition of accreditation status was one of the deciding factors for them.

For local families, accreditation status particularly from these accreditation institutions is important for their children to have the option of moving on to university in Japan. In 2003, Article 67 of the School Education Act was amended to recognize the diplomas of international
schools in Japan that are accredited by WASC, CIS and ACI as qualification for entering universities in Japan. In the past, graduates of international schools who wished to enter a Japanese university had to pass a high school equivalence test (*Daigaku nyūgaku shikaku kentei* shiken) in order to be eligible to take entrance exams and be admitted to Japanese universities.

In addition, schools’ adaptation of globally recognized academic programs such as International Baccalaureate (IB) and the Advanced Placement program (AP) also attracts families. The International Baccalaureate Organization (IBO) is an international educational organization established in Switzerland in 1968, that oversees a set of internationally recognized curriculum standards for different levels of education. The International Baccalaureate was initially created for children who lived overseas as a result of their parents’ mobile jobs, so they could move on to college. According to Billing and Good (2013), there are 3,914 schools in 146 countries offering International Baccalaureate programs. There are three programs for children of different ages: a Primary Years Programme (PYP) for children from 3 to 11; Middle Years Programme (MYP) from 11 to 16 (a five year program that is also available in several shorter versions); and Diploma Programme (DP) for students aged 16 to 19 that includes prescribed coursework plus examinations leading to an International Baccalaureate Diploma. As this is currently the most internationally recognized degree program, adopting an IB program often enhances the school’s reputation and attractiveness. However, since *Wakana* did not offer the International Baccalaureate program at the time of my fieldwork, this weakened the reputation of *Wakana*.

In contrast, K-International School (K-IS) and Tokyo International School (TIS) were both established in the late 1990s in Tokyo. Although newly established schools tend to face difficulties in competing with the reputation of established schools, both schools are considered
“successful” in terms of gaining popularity and maintaining their authenticity. The strength of these schools is in their IB programs. K-IS adopted all three IB programs from grades K to 12. TIS offers the IB Primary Years and Middle Years programs up to eighth grade. Both schools also have additional strategies to attract local and expatriate families—K-IS reduced their annual tuition fees to attract a wider group of families (Shibuya 2014), and TIS limits to 20% the number of students from the same nationality in the same classroom.

TIS is strategic about enhancing its reputation in the greater Tokyo area. One of its founders mentioned some strategic moves the school has employed. One of these moves involved the naming of the school. They chose Tokyo International School as the name for their school because it is easy to remember and sounds like a straightforward, authentic name. Another strategy involved obtaining accreditation not only from the Council of International Schools, but also from the New England Association of Schools and Colleges (NEASC). As my informant explained:

There are so many competitive schools in New England such as Ivy League schools, and these schools are accredited by NEASC. Getting accreditation status from NEASC looks better for the reputation of our school.

In short, TIS has strategically chosen to be accredited by these institutions to increase the symbolic value of the school.
Emerging Transnational Family Arrangement

As Wakana families, particularly mothers and child, travel to Hawai‘i or other English-speaking regions for the purpose of enrolling their child in Hawai‘i’s local schools, I review the trend of this transnational family arrangement of Japanese families.

In Japan, a form of overseas travel called a parent-child study abroad tour (oyako-ryūgaku) has gained popularity since the 2000s. To carry it out, the families temporarily adopt the split-household transnational family arrangement. Since the mid-2000s, various publications have appeared on how to have a fruitful parent-child study abroad tour experience; three guidebooks introduce this overseas education trip in Hawai‘i (For example, Murakami et al. 2006; Segawa 2005; Wada 2008), two for Canada, and one for France, Australia, South Korea and mainland U.S. Among the many destinations, Hawai‘i is one of the most popular (Benesse 2006). A quarterly magazine featuring parent-child study abroad tours in Hawai‘i for Japanese families, called Mammi and Mii was in publication from 2008 until 2010. In addition, according to a travel agency that has coordinated the parent-child study abroad programs since 2006 in Hawai‘i, its customer base has increased by 50% each year. They estimated that they made arrangements for approximately 100 Japanese families in 2009; overall 500 to 1,000 Japanese families would visit Hawai‘i in that year for study programs.

The emergence of parent-child study abroad tours coincides with a dramatic increase in the prevalence of overseas tourism among Japanese during the ‘bubble’ economy years (1986-1992). After World War II, overseas travel was not permitted for ordinary Japanese citizens until 1964, the year the Tokyo Olympics were held. Figure 2-2 shows the number of overseas tourists from 1964 to 2013. The number gradually increased from 1964 to 1987, and then jumped in 1987 with the onset of Japan’s “bubble” economy and the introduction of visa waivers for
Japanese tourists entering the U.S. that same year. From the very beginning, Hawai‘i was one of the most popular destinations for foreign tourism by Japanese people. Since right before the liberalization of foreign tourism, Japanese media promoted Hawai‘i as a site of longing or aspiration (akogare). Many famous Japanese movies were filmed in Hawai‘i during the 1960s, including “Hawai no wakadaishō” (1963) featuring Yuzo Kayama and “Taiheiyō hitoribotchi” (1963) featuring Yujiro Ishihara Yujiro. Today, Hawai‘i has become one of the most popular vacation sites for Japanese and is perceived by tourists as a site of comfort (iyashi) away from domestic social constraints (Benesse 2006).

Figure 2-2 The Number of Japanese Overseas Tourists, 1964-2013

Source: Ministry of Justice, Japan(2014)

Although the parent-child study abroad tour became a popular trend among relatively affluent families only since the 2000s, it was first organized as a travel package by Japanese
travel agencies during the “bubble” economy. A travel agent who has been promoting parent-child study abroad tours since 1990 had this to say about the emergence of such tours:

At the time around 1990, I saw other travel agencies’ promotion of parent-child study abroad tours. They promoted overseas trips for families, and made a schedule for children to visit a school for one day. And they called the tour parent-child study abroad tours. I was quite surprised and I thought, “Wow, can you really call the trip, study abroad?” Instead, we really wanted to promote a tour for children to be more involved in local schools.

As the travel agent recalled, the practice proliferated at the beginning simply as a family vacation. Then, this travel agent promoted a type of travel package that featured more involvement in local schools for the children. This travel agent also commented that many families participating at the time were those enrolling their children in international schools in Japan, who were seeking to maintain or improve their children’s English skills over the long summer vacation. My interview with Wakana teachers who have worked at the school since the early 1990s also confirmed that local Japanese families actively brought their children overseas to places like Hawai‘i for summer schooling.
CHAPTER 3: SCHOOL CHOICE AND MOBILITY

Introduction

This chapter examines local Japanese families’ choice of Wakana and their school mobility patterns once their children were enrolled in it. I analyze their school choice and school mobility patterns by referring to the structure of elite education tracks in Tokyo discussed in Chapter 2 and the volume and composition of capital the families possess, in order to grasp how particular class trajectories of school choice emerge as consequences of the interplay between the structure and families’ capital. In addition, I also focus on families who moved or planned to opt out of the domestic international education track in favor of the Japanese education track or overseas schools to argue how class also complicates their subsequent school mobility patterns. In this chapter, I employ Bourdieu’s concept of trajectory to understand Wakana families’ school choice and mobility patterns. Bourdieu (1979) explained the concept of trajectory as follows:

To say that the members of a class initially possessing a certain economic and cultural capital are destined, with a given probability, to an educational and social trajectory leading to a given position means in fact that a fraction of the class (which cannot be determined a priori within the limits of this explanatory system) will deviate from the trajectory most common for the class as a whole and follow the (higher or lower) trajectory which was most probably for members of another class (111).

Bourdieu’s scheme allows for the fact that a fraction of a class may follow an educational and social trajectory that differs from that of the dominant group. Although Bourdieu discusses
various trajectories in terms of particular segments of classes within the French education and stratification systems (Bourdieu 1996), his trajectory approach can also be applied to the matter of parental choice of international schools over local schools, as Waters (e.g. Waters 2007) has done for Hong Kong families. I use the same approach to analyze the class trajectories of school choice for elite households in Japan.

For the data analysis, I employ data that I collected from commercial sources that cater to parents’ demands for their children to get into elite schools, my interviews with international preschool principals and parents of Wakana families, and ethnographic data collected while I was at Wakana as a volunteer teacher and when I met some Wakana families in Hawai‘i. It is important to combine various sources taken from a longer time period of two years, as parents’ views on their children’s school choices changed over time.

**Different Types of Local Elites**

Based on my interview data and six months of interacting with local Japanese families whose children were enrolled in Wakana, I was able to identify 35 out of 41 Wakana Japanese families’ occupational and educational backgrounds. First and foremost, what characterizes these families the most is affluence, primarily because they can afford the extremely expensive tuition. In fact, the expensive tuition prevents access for the less affluent, and provides a sense of comfort among the Wakana families. Yayoi is the mother of a two-year-old boy. She is a housewife and her husband is a board member of a foreign finance company in Tokyo. Both of them graduated from elite Japanese universities. She explained:
Mothers who send their children to Japanese private schools like to pry. For example, they frequently asked me about my husband’s occupation and the type of car we drive (a Mercedes Benz). I found getting along with these moms troublesome. This is one of the reasons why I sent my son to an international school. You know, families sending their children to international schools are generally richer, so they don’t need to pry about such things.

Yayoi’s narrative shows that economic differences exist between families sending their children to international schools and private Japanese schools. Her family’s wealth stood out even in the circuit of Japanese families sending their children to private Japanese schools and became a major source of interest for other families. Yayoi’s reasoning reveals that local affluent families want to join a circuit of families from similar economic backgrounds in order to avoid being treated as “special” by other mothers in the school community and having their life pried open, which is troublesome.

However, this group of Wakana families is not homogeneous in terms of their educational attainment. The families’ level of educational attainment varies from completing middle school (the 9th grade) to a doctorate degree. Based on the level of their institutionalized form of national cultural capital (more or less than high school education) and their exposure to ‘international education’ as global cultural capital (i.e. experience in international schools in Japan, grade schools/universities in English-speaking countries, or ones in Japan that offer English-medium education), Wakana families can be categorized in three different groups. Although education researchers have treated local families who enroll their children in international schools as a homogeneous group of ‘affluent host country families’ (Hayden, 2011:
Figure 3-1 shows the internal variation of the local affluent families at Wakana. Three groups of local affluent families are identified: the overseas-educated elites (seven families), global-minded elites (19 families), and upstart elites (nine families).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>National Cultural Capital</th>
<th>LOW</th>
<th>HIGH</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Global Cultural Capital</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LOW</td>
<td>Upstart Elites (9)</td>
<td>Global-minded Elites (19)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HIGH</td>
<td>Overseas-educated Elites (7)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The overseas-educated elites can be identified as those who have at least a college degree and experience in some sort of English-medium education. They are small business owners or CEOs or elite white collar workers in the IT and finance sectors, both radically globalized industries. The majority of them work in foreign-invested companies and they have been exposed to a “global” work environment. This group combines those with either a low or high volume of national cultural capital. This difference in volume of national cultural capital would be more likely to affect one’s mobility pattern in a job market. While those who have high global and national cultural capital have more freedom to access Japanese and foreign-owned corporations, those who lack national cultural capital might be excluded from the local job market. They may actively choose to work in the foreign-owned work environment, which values their capital more highly, and end up living in the “bubble,” which is one of the occupational career trajectories for the alumni of American schools in Japan (Iijima 2009).
The global-minded elites are the dominant group at Wakana. They obtained college degrees from Japanese universities and have high-paying occupations; they are CEOs of domestic companies, medical doctors, lawyers, accountants, flight attendants (considered a prestigious female occupation in Japan), and so on. Medical doctors and lawyers are the most high paying occupations in Japan (Tachibanaki and Mori 2005).

The upstart elites are the most distinctive group, whose educational attainment is high school or less. The upstart elites differ significantly from the rest of Wakana families in that despite their low educational attainment, they have achieved economic wealth within their own generation, which enables them to send their children to Wakana. Their occupations are mainly in domestically oriented industries such as construction, entertainment, cosmetics, and restaurants.

It has to be noted that there are some global-minded elite families whose nature of work is similar to either the upstart elites or overseas-educated elites. For example, three global-minded elite families (including Yayoi’s) work in a “global” profession along with overseas-educated elites. They obtained Japanese college degrees from prestigious universities and work in foreign finance companies. Although they have no experience in being exposed to international education, they use English at work with foreign nationals. In addition, five Wakana families can be categorized as something between the upstart elites and global-minded elites. Two of the families had college degrees, and they work in the entertainment and cosmetic industries. In the case of the three other global-minded elite families, the husbands are high school graduates who run a small construction company or restaurant while the wives are college graduates—they represents cases where husbands’ national cultural capital is low, but wives possess high national cultural capital.
In fact, each group’s process of choosing *Wakana* differs due to the different volume and composition of capital they possess. In the following subsections, I discuss the school choice processes of the three groups of *Wakana* families. I argue that while the *upstart elites* likely had *Wakana* as their second choice as a consequence of initial cultural exclusion from the local elite education track; the *overseas-educated elites* were more likely to choose *Wakana* as their first choice.

**The Upstart Elites**

The *upstart elites* explained their reason for enrolling their children in *Wakana* as a consequence of cultural exclusion from the local elite education track. In fact, many of them initially considered the option of enrolling their children in a local elite private elementary school. But because their low educational attainment (or low national cultural capital) is not highly valued by Japanese education institutions, they experienced a “lack of fit” or “cultural dislocation” (Lehmann 2007) at open houses of such private elementary schools, their affiliated preschools, and other events on how to prepare their children for getting into elite private elementary schools.

For the *upstart elite families*, *Wakana* was not their first option but was chosen as an “honorable substitute” (Brooks and Waters 2009). Kayoko is the mother of a 2-year-old boy, with a vocational school degree working in the entertainment industry as a CEO. Her husband, Takashi, is a college dropout and owns a bar. But he is the homemaker of the household. She explained her experience in the circle of families aiming to send their children to elite private elementary schools.
Parents talked about where they graduated from, such as “Where did your husband graduate from?” “Wow, Aoyama Gakuin?” … So we were, like, waving a white flag to surrender from the beginning. The more we heard such conversations, the more we sensed an invisible war on whose family status is higher than the other. So, for example, at the Keio Yöchisha Elementary school, you would be given the highest status in the circuit if you were the second or third generation of families graduating from the school. … So they said, like, “My child is now in Keio Yôchisha. Me? I went to that school, too. Actually, my child is the third generation of our family to attend that school…” Such families dominate the circuit of private Japanese elementary schools.

In this social setting that Kayoko describes, the institutionalized form of national cultural capital obtained from such elite schools is used by these established elites to exercise symbolic violence (Bourdieu and Passeron 1977). The invisible war over institutionalized national cultural capital from elite Japanese elementary schools such as Aoyama Gakuin and Keio Yochisha being waged by old elite Japanese families, made Kayoko feel unwelcomed and gave her a sense of exclusion upon her initial contact with the circuit. She expressed her discomfort based on her own family’s lack of institutionalized forms of national cultural capital. As she expressed it, the graduates of Keio Yôchisha dominated the circuit; having only a high school degree is not enough to be comfortably a part of the group. Thus she waved the white flag and surrendered in the invisible war.

When the upstart elite families disclosed their low educational attainment and/or their memory of withdrawing from the local elite education track in the interview settings, they often expressed a sense of embarrassment such as “it is so embarrassing to say this… you know, I’m
only a high school graduate. I really feel embarrassed about it…” (Yoshie). Their sense of embarrassment is associated with their lack of a high institutionalized form of national cultural capital.

Chinatsu’s family is another example of an upstart elite family. Her husband owns a construction company and was able to acquire his wealth with only a middle school degree. Chinatsu herself is a college drop-out. Chinatsu explained why she chose Wakana for her four-year-old daughter, “You know, my husband didn’t even go to high school and I am a college dropout. We thought that our possibility of being accepted by Gakushuin elementary school was very tiny. So we chose Wakana as an alternative.”

Chinatsu and Kayoko’s narratives reveal that this group chose Wakana as their second choice. They self-eliminated the possibility of enrolling their children in the local elite education track due to their anticipation of a higher probability of failure (Lamont and Lareau 1988). Thus, as their primary option of domestic upward social mobility was closed, they chose Wakana as their second chance to achieve social mobility globally.

For the upstart elite families, the space of international education is a comfortable place to be because national cultural capital does not operate as major evaluative criteria to place parents and children into a status hierarchy. Kayoko thus explained the space of international education as follows:

I feel so comfortable being here (Wakana). There are various families, and they don’t evaluate you based on your family status. Rather, people see you based on your real ability. Family status plays an important role in Japan, but I find it troublesome…
Perceiving that Japanese elite schools are dominated by old elite families, Kayoko views that the international school space evaluates people based on ability over family status. For her, family status is associated with social status signified by one’s high national cultural capital acquired through generations, while ability is one’s meritocratic capacity to earn money through work, which is a source of pride for upstart elite families such as Kayoko’s. Thus, Kayoko perceives that the academic space of international schools is more welcoming than that of established local elite schools.

The Matsuda family also expressed a similar point in the interview. The Matsuda family is an interesting mix of socioeconomic backgrounds—Masashi, the husband, is a medical doctor (global-minded elite) and Megumi, his wife, is a well-known athlete and celebrity with a middle school degree (upstart elite). He joined the circle of Japanese celebrities when Masashi married Megumi because of the unique matching pattern of the most educated man (Masashi) and least educated woman (Megumi). Japanese media reported Megumi as the ‘best winner’ in the marriage market by marrying a medical doctor, the symbol of the most high-paying occupation in Japan. Since their marriage, they often appear on media with their child as a happy-married couple, and they are well known celebrities in the Japanese media. They recalled the reasons for choosing Wakana:

**Masashi**: Bullying seems prevalent in public schools these days. We often hear celebrity families’ children are bullied. But it is not so much the case in international schools.

**Igarashi**: Did you consider the option of a private elementary school for your son?

**Masashi**: I thought that was a good option too, but my wife disagreed.
Megumi: (Laugh) To me, an image of private schools is that children have to study really hard. I pity those who study hard. You know, I didn’t study hard when I was young.

Masashi: That’s not all, right? You thought getting along with families of private elementary schools was troublesome, didn’t you?

Megumi: Well… yeah, that’s one thing.

Masashi: And, you thought getting along with parents at international school was easier, didn’t you?

Megumi: Yeah. In fact it is very comfortable now (at Wakana).

Masahi and Megumi’s narratives reveal several important points about elite families’ school choice patterns. First of all, bullying is one concern for affluent, particularly celebrity families, as the family thinks that their popularity often influences their child’s relationship with ordinary children. Second, the families’ school decision often intertwines child and parent issues. Experiences of being bullied are negatively related to children’s short and long-term psychological and social well-being, but Megumi’s preference of international school reveals the classed and gendered decision of the parental school choice. As she did not go to high school and “didn’t study hard,” she has a negative image of the highly exam-oriented nature of the Japanese education system. Thus, she felt pity for children who study hard under the education system. In addition, she was concerned about potential difficulties involved in getting along with these parents. What she meant by parents was mothers since children’s schooling involves intensive communication with other mothers. In fact, Megumi played the primary role in her son’s schooling, so her feeling of finding communication with mothers in private schools troublesome is telling. As Kayoko also expressed, one of the women’s concerns as mothers is
rooted in how they would be evaluated based on the family’s status in the national elite education track. Megumi may have expressed the same sense of feeling intimidated by the Japanese mothers in the local elite education track due to her low educational attainment. In addition, she imagined that her life as the mother of a child in an international school would be much easier and more comfortable as her status would not be judged based on national cultural capital anymore.

In sum, the upstart elite families chose Wakana not because they were initially attracted to what international schools had to offer, but because they experienced symbolic violence from the local elite education track due to their low national cultural capital. They happened to find an alternative pathway for their children to become elites through the international education track, which evaluates households not based on national cultural capital—the source of their fear of failure—but based on their possession of extremely high economic capital and commitment to international education.

**The Global-minded Elites**

Compared to the upstart elites, global-minded and overseas-educated elites did not express such a sense of feeling intimidated by families in the local elite education track. Although some did mention the troublesome nature of preparing children to pass the entrance exams of private elementary schools, the circumstances surrounding their choice of Wakana seemed more diverse.

Masako has two children—one daughter, Mika and one son, Ken. Her husband is a medical doctor, and she used to work as a flight attendant, which is a high-status female occupation in Japan. Since her husband’s family is comprised of medical doctors and her son
may be expected to take over his father’s practice, Masako is obliged to raise her children, particularly Ken, to move on to medical school. She explained her reason for choosing *Wakana* as follows:

I decide everything for my children’s schools because my husband knows nothing about it. There are so many public schools that go through breakdown in classroom discipline and severe school bullying. So I thought private schools were better options. But my husband is from Nagoya. It is common for children to go to public schools in Nagoya because there are only a few well-known private schools. Although I told him about the situation of public schools in Tokyo again and again, he was not convinced to send our children to private schools. And, we also heard that private elementary school exams and their prep are pretty troublesome… My friend sent her child to *Keio Yochisha* elementary school. That school is great because once children get in, they can automatically move on to the affiliated university. And the good thing is that *Keio* University has a medical school. But I heard that it is very difficult to pass private elementary school exams. To pass the exam, you have to bribe famous politicians and enroll your children in cram schools once your child becomes two or so. I found it troublesome and I didn’t really like doing such things. Then, I happened to learn about *Wakana* and I thought that was an interesting option.

For those from outside of Tokyo like Masako’s husband, the phenomenon of private elementary school exams and their prep seems overly competitive and abnormal for children. Some rejected the domestic elite education route like Masako. However, she did not use the family’s level of
education as the main reason for rejecting the national education route as did the *upstart elite families*.

On the other hand, other families like Madoka’s chose *Wakana* even though her family had initially planned to send her son to the Japanese education track. Madoka’s family is mixed; she is Japanese and her husband is Taiwanese. She is a flight attendant and her husband is a medical doctor like Masako’s husband. Madoka explained:

Choosing an international school was really an unexpected choice. We had initially prepared for our son to take the exams of Japanese private elementary schools, so we wanted to choose a Japanese preschool accordingly… My in-laws are Taiwanese, and they emphasized the importance of language…

Talking about private Japanese elementary schools, Madoka did not express any sense of feeling intimidated as *the upstart elite families* did. It would have been just as likely for her family to prepare for the Japanese private elementary school exams had his parents not brought up the international school option.

In addition to Masako and Madoka, Eiko and Aya’s families strategically chose *Wakana* for their family businesses. Both of their families own businesses and their husbands married into their wives’ families in order to continue the family business. Eiko explained the reason as “My family owns a retail business, and we would like to expand our business overseas. So we want our sons to continue our family business by using English skills. So, we thought *Wakana* was a good option.” Aya is also in the same situation. Her family owns a gigantic entertainment
industry enterprise, and now it is expanding its business in other regions of Asia. Aya is hoping that her son will become the successor to her family’s business:

My father speaks English a little bit, but he cannot discuss details on business matters. So we rely on interpreters, but the communication does not go smoothly. We really hope we all can speak English well... We can all do business well in Japanese, but when it comes to English meetings, we cannot. … My son is the only family member who goes to an international school. So I hope he will help our family business in the future.

Eiko’s and Aya’s families chose *Wakana* because of their family business strategies to expand their business markets outside of Japan.

*The Overseas-educated Elites*

Compared with *the upstart elites* and *global-minded elites*, *the overseas-educated elites* initially have more knowledge about international education because they have international schooling experience. In addition, they are more likely than the other two groups to possess global social capital as do elite foreign workers and other global Japanese elites, through their current and past work experiences. Accordingly, *the overseas-educated elite families’* reasoning behind their school choice is centered on their own networks and experiences from their current and past work and education. Akemi is one example. She graduated from a Japanese university and has worked in the finance sector of Japanese, American and European companies. Her husband obtained an MBA degree from the United States and is currently the CEO of an IT company in Japan. Akemi explained the process of choosing *Wakana* for her two sons.
When I was working in New York, my husband decided to go back to Japan. Six months before we left for Japan, I quit my job and enjoyed life in New York. Then I gave birth to my first son in Hawai‘i. At the time, I was not thinking about sending my child to an international school. Then, I was told by my friend, “You will raise your child in an English-speaking environment, right?” Her comment really opened my mind. I had not thought about it until then. In fact, many of my co-workers sent their children to international schools. And I thought English and math would be necessary from now on. Since my husband also worked in the States, he agreed with my idea. So we decided to send our sons to international schools.

Akemi’s narrative shows that her decision was not solely made within her family, but also influenced by social capital acquired in her globalized social space. Reiko is another example. She is the mother of a two-year-old girl, and she and her husband obtained university degrees in the United States. They have worked in accounting and financial firms in the United States and Japan.

My husband and I graduated from college and worked in the U.S. We can speak English well, but not as fluently as native speakers, of course… Since our English is not at a native-level, we weren’t able to do things that we wanted to do. I don’t know what kind of job my daughter wants to get in the future, but I’m sure she will have a chance to go overseas because of this global society. So, I don’t want her to be hindered by the language barrier.
Reiko’s family chose *Wakana* because she wanted her daughter to acquire English at an early age and for her not to be faced with the difficulties of a language barrier.

Unlike *the upstart elites*, *the overseas-educated elites* are more likely to choose *Wakana* as a first choice since sending their children to international schools is more common in their own circle. Because of their education and the globalized nature of their jobs, IT and finance, they understand the need for an international education and acquiring English at an early age. In addition, compared to *the global-minded elites* and *upstart elites*, mothers of *the oversea-educated elites* are more likely to be professionals and have less gender-specific view of how their daughters are supposed to live in the future.

**Other Factors**

*Wakana* parents also considered some other factors when making their choice of *Wakana*.

**Distance from Home**

One practical factor that *Wakana* parents considered was whether or not *Wakana* was close to their home. For example, Kayoko and her husband decided to choose an international school among the options available. What determined their final choice was that “*Wakana* was the closest to our home. It is easy to drive my son to and from school.” A school’s distance from home is a very important issue as dropping off and picking up children from school is a daily routine for parents. When children become sick or there is an emergency such as an earthquake, parents want to be able to get to their children as quickly as possible. As my fieldwork took place after the March 11, 2011 disaster, distance from home was a serious concern for parents.
Wakana’s Flexible Rules

Wakana parents also mentioned the school’s flexible rules as one of the deciding factors for the school—in particular school lunches and longer school hours. At Japanese preschools, o-bento, boxed lunches, have to be prepared by parents, particularly mothers. O-bento has an ideological meaning emphasizing the bonds between mothers and children. Allison (1991) refers to o-bento as an ideological state apparatus, through which the Japanese state institutionalizes daily mothering practices of making o-bento for their children as an expression of being a good mother. Japanese mothers express their sense of being good mothers and their love for their children by making cute, unique o-bento for children, but this practice requires time and emotional effort on a daily basis—they have to think about ideas for the following day’s o-bento, purchase fresh food from supermarkets, and get up early in the morning to make o-bento. Thus, to make a good o-bento, mothers’ daily life has to be routinized, and preschool teachers observe children’s good mothering through the o-bento the mothers produce. However, Wakana serves school lunch to children, which significantly reduces the burden of mothers. More than half of the interviewed parents refer to the school lunch protocol as one of Wakana’s rules that make their daily life much easier.

Wakana also offers longer school hours than other regular preschools and other preschools affiliated with international schools, and it provides extended day care after school. Such long hours provide more free time for homemakers before picking up children at school or the bus stop.

The last flexible school rule of Wakana is its acceptance of children from a year and half, which is rare for education-oriented preschools. This is a good option, especially for parents who
have more than one preschool aged child. Chiaki is an example. She is a medical doctor and her husband works at a large Japanese trading company. She explained:

_Igarashi:_ Why did you choose _Wakana_?

_Chiai:_ Simply it is easy to take my daughters to the school. I was looking for a school for my older daughter and second one. My older daughter was four at the time. I was able to find several schools that could accept her but not my second one, who was two at the time. _Wakana_ was the only school that accepted both of my daughters. I chose _Wakana_ not because I liked _Wakana_’s education policies (laugh). In fact, I was concerned about the large number of Japanese students in the classroom. My daughter’s English was much better than that of other kids at the time. I was concerned that my daughter’s English would suffer through schooling at _Wakana_. And in fact, my concern came true. (laugh)

As Chiaki stated, she was not satisfied with _Wakana_ as an international school when it came to their English curriculum. She and her husband had worked in New York for a couple of years before sending their daughters to _Wakana_. Upon coming back, they were looking for a preschool that would accept their children and help improve their English even while living in Japan. Since both parents worked, their school choice options were limited. For Chiaki’s family, convenience was an important factor: _Wakana_ was close to home and the fact that _Wakana_ could take both of their daughters.

*Failures in the Private Elementary Exam Competition*

Waters (2007) and Shibano (2013) described a pattern of parents’ decision to move their
children from a local to an international education track as a “second choice pattern”.

International schools in Tokyo were also selected in the same manner—local families choose international schools because they failed in the private elementary school exams. One school official at an elite international school told me that:

There are some Japanese families who suddenly called us and asked if we accept local children. Depending on vacancies, we sometimes meet these families for an interview. By interviewing parents, we see how much they know about international schools. Some were desperate to send their child to international schools like our school because their children didn’t pass the entrance exam of a Japanese private school. They showed up for the interview in grey jackets and white shirts—you know, a typical dress code for private elementary school exams!

A Wakana teacher introduced me to Kazuko, who sent her daughter to Wakana more than 10 years ago and other international schools later on. Kazuko-san recalled:

My husband’s parents expected us to send our daughter to an affiliated preschool of a famous women’s private school in Tokyo. We did everything we could for my daughter to pass the exam, but she was not accepted. I really felt bad about it, and didn’t know what to do. Then, I found Wakana and sent my daughter there as an alternative good school.

Like the upstart elite families, Kazuko also viewed international schools as honorable substitutes for local elite private schools. But the main difference in the school choice patterns between the
upstart elite families and Kazuko’s is that while the upstart elite families self-eliminated the possibility of applying to local Japanese elite schools due to their lack of cultural capital in the local elite education track, Kazuko chose an international school as a consequence of being rejected by a local elite school.

**After Enrolling in Wakana**

Local elite parents initially chose *Wakana* for a variety of reasons, and then gradually became aware of the school curricula and atmosphere of *Wakana* and other international schools through their own experiences and word of mouth from other families in the international education track. Choosing *Wakana* does not mean that their journey of choosing the “right” school for their children is over. Since *Wakana* is generally considered a “stepping-stone school,” many *Wakana* families generate strategies for moving their children on to authentic international schools, and some even plan to enroll their children in the Japanese education system in the future.

Existing research on international schools has focused on how and why international schools are actively selected by local elites (Ezra 2007, MacKenzie 2009, 2010, Ng 2012, Waters 2007). They conducted survey research to identify factors that affected the local parents’ choice of international schools. However, these researchers assume that children will remain in the international education track once the parental choice of international school is made. They neglect the dynamics of mobility patterns from one international school to another or from an international school to a local school. Yet of course, families’ decision on switching out to the national education track is presumably rare and can be heavily affected by their children’s age. To fill in the gap, the final section of this chapter delineates the post-enrollment strategies
employed by *Wakana* parents, describing the complex and diverse aspects of local families’ involvement in their children’s international schooling.

**Children’s School Mobility Patterns**

Although existing literature on the school choice of international schools captures parental school choice as one-shot and in one direction from Japanese school to international school (Ezra 2007, MacKenzie 2009, 2010, Ng 2012, Waters 2007), the school choice narratives of *Wakana* parents turned out to be more diverse. *Intā-mama* considered the hierarchy of international schools in Tokyo when choosing a future school. In addition, their school choice pattern was not limited to the international education track. During the interview, Madoka commented on the uniqueness of the school choices for children of *Wakana* parents, referring to it as “diverse since some plan to send their children to Japanese schools in the future while some plan to keep enrolling them in international schools.”

However, such flexible school choice does not imply that parental school choice is made freely, without social and structural constrains. In fact, the hierarchy of international schools in the greater Tokyo area as well as the volume and composition of family capital (including the volume of the types of cultural capital they possess), and their class and occupational trajectories affect local parents’ patterns of school choice. Since *Wakana* is not recognized as an *authentic* international school, the majority of local *Wakana* families aim to move on to the more *authentic* international schools by taking their elementary school admission tests. Table 3-1 shows the school mobility patterns from 2009 to 2013 of 84 local *Wakana* children (at least one of the parents is a Japanese national). The data were gathered based on information about all the local children enrolled in class from 2009 to 2013 that I was able to collect by asking *Wakana* teachers.
It has to be noted that some information was not obtained because the teachers were not able to recall which school some children moved to from Wakana. These children are considered ‘missing’ in Table 3-1. There are 32 children whose information was not identified among 116 children (28%). Thus, the total number of students for each year does not represent the total number of local children enrolled in Wakana. In addition, those who left Wakana before graduating from the preschool section of Wakana are also included in this data.

### Table 3-1. School Mobility Patterns of Local Children of Wakana

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Wakana grade School</th>
<th>Authentic ISs</th>
<th>Japanese schools</th>
<th>Overseas schools</th>
<th>Total (Missing Cases)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2009</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>21 (5)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2010</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>16 (9)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2011</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>18 (6)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2012</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>10 (8)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2013</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>19 (4)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>84 (32)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

According to Table 3-1, 23 children (27.0%) out of 84 ended up going on to the Wakana grade school. This number includes those who failed the admission exam of authentic international schools. There are 19 (23%) who moved to Japanese preschools or elementary schools. In addition, 38 (45%) local children ended up going to authentic international schools. However, some parents who sent their children to authentic international schools were also thinking of sending their children to Japanese schools at some point in the future. Furthermore, four children (5%) moved on to overseas schools. As these data suggest, their school choice patterns after enrollment in the Wakana preschool are diverse.
Figure 3-2 reveals the detailed school mobility pattern among Wakana local children in the cohort of year 2013, showing the school to which they moved. While six out of 19 Wakana local children (32%) moved on to its grade school, 13 other children (68%) went to other schools, including ones in the Japanese education track. It has to be noted that Table 3-1 shows only the mobility patterns of Wakana children at the point of graduation from the Wakana preschool. It does not capture the later mobility of students going from international schools to Japanese schools and going from Wakana to other authentic international schools.

Entering Nishimachi was viewed among Wakana parents and teachers as being ideal but very difficult, and in the 2013 class six students applied, but only one was accepted. A rumor concerning the admission criteria for the school is that parents' social characteristics such as occupation, level of education, and family stability (divorced or not) are stringently considered by school officials. Those rejected by Nishimachi moved on to other authentic international schools, such as St. Mary's International School and Seisen International School. One family even decided to move to Manhattan, New York, to enroll their child in school there. The reverse direction of moving from other authentic international schools to the Wakana grade school is rarely observed. The majority of new students coming into Wakana preschool and grade school are those from Japanese schools. Wakana teachers also acknowledge this one-way mobility pattern from Wakana to other authentic international schools. In fact, one Wakana child in the past was accepted by an authentic international school, but the family decided to stay at Wakana and she moved on to its grade school. A male teacher said “I don't know why she moved on to our grade school despite her acceptance into that other school.” This statement confirms the fact that teachers take the one-way mobility pattern for granted.
Further Class-Based School Choice Patterns

Class not only affected local families’ choice of Wakana, but also affected their subsequent school choice. While one occupational group of global-minded elites, medical doctors, kept open the option of enrolling their children in Japanese schools at some point in the future, the overseas educated elites and upstart elites were comfortable keeping their children enrolled in international schools. In addition, some upstart elite families made the extreme choice of a split household arrangement in order to enroll their children in overseas schools in New York City and Indonesia. Why did some global minded-families plan to choose Japanese schools later and why did a small minority of Wakana families in the upstart elite group decide to enroll their children in overseas schools?
Why Japanese Schools are Selected Later

Among the cohort of 2013 graduates, three children ended up moving on to Japanese schools. I was able to interview and observe two families who moved on to Japanese schools. One family left Wakana only after about three months of enrollment. According to the mother, her son was not able to adjust to the English speaking environment. After he left Wakana, he went to a Japanese preschool and accordingly moved on to a Japanese grade school. The other child moved on to a well-known Japanese private school after graduating from the Wakana preschool. In addition, four families of global-minded elites, whose children moved on to international grade schools, mentioned the possibility of sending their children to Japanese schools in the future.

Sato Family: An Established Elite Family

Tomoko Sato is the mother of two daughters. Her oldest daughter, Mana, is in the Wakana cohort of year 2013. Tomoko is a homemaker and her husband works in a Japanese financial company. The Sato family's class background is different from other Wakana families because they are from an established elite family background. Her husband, her father, and she herself all graduated from a Japanese university that was established by one of the Zaibatsu, Japanese industrial and financial conglomerates of pre-war Japan. Tomoko’s father used to work for one of the Zaibatsu companies and now runs his own company, and her uncle was a Japanese foreign diplomat. After Mana’s graduation from the Wakana preschool, her family sent her to a grade school affiliated with this university. Weenink’s research (2007) revealed that established elite families tend to send their children to established elite schools, and the Sato family's school
choice corresponded to his finding. Tomoko recalled her family's reason for sending her child to the private elementary school:

I personally wanted to enroll my child to [this university’s] affiliated preschool, but my father said “Wakana children playing at the park followed the instruction of the school teachers. *Wakana* must be a good school.” So we enrolled Mana in *Wakana*. But we had already decided to enroll my child in Japanese school later. The main reason is that graduating from the grade school of international schools will not be considered as the completion of compulsory education in Japan. Also, my father is a former expatriate, and my uncle was a foreign diplomat. They used to live abroad. They told me that it is important to have our children acquire Japanese mannerisms and a sense of *Japaneseness* because people in foreign countries put strong emphasis on their own national identity.

Tomoko here mentioned some factors that played a part in her family’s decision not to choose an international grade school. One factor was that a child’s attendance at an international grade school does not fulfill the legal responsibility of parents to provide mandatory education for their children in Japan, as their curricula are not approved by MEXT. The other factor is her belief that Japanese schooling will enable her child to acquire a sense of being Japanese, or an embodied form of Japanese culture.

Having children acquire *Japaneseness* is a main concern not only for the Sato family, but also of other local families who chose the grade school of international schools. While Tomoko perceived that Japanese school is the institution to inculcate *Japaneseness*, the others think that such *Japaneseness* can be acquired by their child’s international schooling. Rie is an example. Rie is the mother of a girl who moved on to the *Wakana* grade school. She works for a very large
Japanese company and her mother owns a cosmetic company. But she is not from an established elite family background like the Sato family. She explained:

I chose *Wakana* grade school because my daughter is Japanese. I want her to study Japanese culture. Then, *Wakana* was the best choice. I want her to master *kanji* (Chinese characters) and *keigo* (polite expressions in Japanese). (Responding to the researcher’s question; why?). It’s because she is Japanese. Like Americans speak English, my daughter should speak Japanese. She was born in Japan so she should master Japanese.

Rie thinks that as *Wakana* grade school promotes bilingual education, her daughter can achieve Japanese culture even in the international education track. Rie’s remarks relativize Tomoko’s belief that Japanese school is the only school institution to inculcate a sense of Japaneseness and may rather reveal Tomoko’s trust in the established legitimacy of the school from which other members of her family have graduated.

Tomoko’s school choice pattern can be well explained by Bourdieu (1979; 1996) and Weenink’s (2007) discussion of the legitimate manners, mastery of time, and patterns of class reproduction that differ in national cultural capital and cosmopolitanism (global cultural capital). Established elites have acquired power by embodying legitimate manners over many generations. Acquisition of embodied forms of culture capital is generally realized through elite schooling. Weenink (2007) studied Dutch families’ school choice patterns of national elite schools and international schools, statistically revealing that established elite families are more likely to choose the former while new elites tend to select the latter. By referring to Bourdieu and Weenink’s theoretical and empirical findings, it can be understood that since the Sato family has
acquired elite Japanese cultural capital over many generations, their class tendency to reproduce their class position has led them to select the option of Japanese elite private school.

Medical Doctors

Although 15 children in the cohort of year 2013 moved on to grade-schools of international schools (including Wakana and other international schools), four families mentioned the possibility of sending their children to Japanese schools in the future. The main characteristics of these global-minded elite families are that the fathers work as medical doctors and the children are boys. As these medical doctors achieved their high class status through rigorous academic competition in the Japanese education track, their primary strategy for class reproduction is to have their children follow the same path.

One example is Madoka, who is the wife of a medical doctor and the mother of two sons. The older son was attending Wakana at the time of the interview. The younger son was less than a year old at the time. When asked about her family's reason for choosing Wakana, she replied that she was not initially considering this school for her older son. But the choice of Wakana was encouraged by her father-in law. After enrolling her son in Wakana for a few years, the family chose the grade school of another international school to move on to, and their son passed the exam. Although this other school is among the well-known international schools, the family is still thinking of sending the boy to a Japanese school later on. Madoka explained:

We don’t really have a plan to send our sons overseas to school. If my sons want to study overseas it would be after graduating from a Japanese university. Since my husband’s family members have all had medicine related jobs, we want to show them the same
career path. So my children have to prepare for the Japanese exams… After the second grade is finished, we want to move our children to a Japanese public school and have them attend a cram school to maintain their English.

Continuing the family tradition of becoming a medical doctor is a legitimate career path for Madoka's son. As Madoka’s husband obtained a medical school degree from a top Japanese university and wants his children to become medical doctors in Japan, having their children acquire the institutionalized form of global cultural capital from international schooling rather than national cultural capital is not their priority.

The same concern is shared by Megumi and Masako, whose husbands are also medical doctors. Megumi’s son and Masako’s daughter both moved on to the grade schools of authentic international schools in Tokyo. Megumi plans to do the same as Madoka, but Masako’s case is different based on gender. Masako has a daughter (Mika) and a son (Ken) who is still enrolled in Wakana. Masako envisions Mika and Ken’s educational paths differently:

I hope Mika goes to an international class at Minato school (from the 7th to 12th grade) after international schooling. As long as Mika is back in the Japanese education track, it is easier for her to go to a medical school… But for Ken, I may put him back in Japanese school from the third grade.

Minato school is a well-known Japanese private school located in the center of Tokyo that has a class that accepts Japanese returnees and students from international schools. Masako has
different ideas on when to send Mika and Ken to Japanese schools due to different expectations for her children’s occupational attainment. Masako stated:

I know a Japanese man who graduated from an international school. Since he only went to international school, his Japanese was bad. He told me that he had experienced hardship in learning Japanese after he became an adult. My husband’s friend is Mr. Watanabe (a famous celebrity). He also graduated from an international school. But since his Japanese was also bad, he studied Japanese very hard later on. By hearing these stories, I want my son to study Japanese well. But girls get married (and become housewives), so it doesn't matter for them. Men would have difficulty in getting a job from Japanese company if their Japanese is bad. So I consider putting Ken back in Japanese school earlier than Mika.

For Masako, Ken’s mastery of national cultural capital is much more important than Mika’s because Ken needs the capital to maneuver in the domestic field of work and education. But for Mika, it is not so necessary because women have the possibility to opt out from work by becoming a homemaker as Masako did for her own life course. Masako prepares Mika for the medical doctor path only because Mika currently expresses her desire to become a medical doctor. But Masako’s account is of course not generalizable. In the cohort of year 2012, one child whose mother is a medical doctor moved on to a Japanese public school. The mother, Chiaki, stated “Becoming a medical doctor is not a bad choice for women.” She chose Japanese school for her three daughters because she was not sure the academic level of international schools could compare with that of Japanese schools. Chiaki observed:
I was not sure how to evaluate the academic level of international schools. We might have chosen a grade school of an international school if international schools provided detailed data on how many students move on to Ivy League schools.

For families like Chiaki’s whose high class standing is realized through achieving high educational attainment, knowing the academic “quality” of the schools their children go to is an important factor in their decision-making process. As the “quality” ratings of schools in the Japanese education track is easily obtained through published rankings based on the average test scores of their students and detailed information on the students’ pathways to subsequent education institutions, the lack of information provided by international schools prevented Chiaki from choosing an international grade school for her children.

Moving Overseas: Strategies of the Upstart Elites

According to Table 3-1, 5% of Wakana children between 2009 and 2013 moved on to an overseas school. These families' reasons for moving overseas, of course, vary. One popular reason that people might think of could be as a result of a parents' job transfer to a branch in a foreign country. However, two families—the Manabe and Machida families—who are both upstart elite families—decided to move overseas for their children’s education, by implementing a split-household family arrangement. This specific configuration of gendered division of household labor to make their children globally competent has been observed among many East Asian families (Douglass 2007; Igarashi 2015b; Yeoh, et al. 2005). Such a gendered transnational family arrangement has the effect of “feminizing” (Ho 2006) women by
strengthening the roles of mothers as nurturers and educators of children in a transnational social space. While the Manabe family entered into this “traditional” transnational family arrangement, the Machida family flipped the gender roles of this pattern—the husband brought his son overseas to his new school in Indonesia.

The Manabe family has two daughters. The oldest one was in the Wakana cohort of 2013. The family was eager to send their daughter to Nishimachi International School but not to other authentic international schools because they are Christian schools. This family holds a strong Japanese right-wing political ideology. They put stickers of the Japanese national flag on their car and house door, which are regarded as an expression of nationalism. They also occasionally visit Yasukuni shrine, a politically controversial shrine where class-A war criminals from World War II are enshrined. The mother, Chinatsu, expressed during the interview that the family holds negative sentiments toward the Korean and Chinese governments and Christianity. For them, Gakushuin elementary school was their first choice for their daughter’s school, a school formally established for Japanese noble families. Even the imperial family sends their children to this school. But the Manabe family gave up on the option of Gakushuin due to their lack of institutionalized national cultural capital, and chose Wakana as an alternative as I previously discussed. From that point, the Manabe family was aiming to send their daughter to Nishimachi.

The interview I conducted with Chinatsu took place during the time when she was preparing an admission application to Nishimachi for her oldest daughter. She showed me a photo portfolio that she had made to submit along with other application forms. The photo portfolio was a full of pictures of her daughter engaging in various kinds of cultural and educational activities in Japan and the United States. The photos in the United States were taken when Chinatsu accompanied her daughters to Chicago for several months to escape from the
influence of radiation contamination resulting from the *Fukushima Daiichi* nuclear accidents after March 11, 2011. The photo portfolio was not a requirement for the admission application, but she made it to show the family's enthusiasm to educate their daughter at *Nishimachi* school. She also expressed her intention to move to the United States to send her daughters to schools there if her daughter was rejected by *Nishimachi*. Unfortunately, her daughter was not able to pass and as a result the family, except for the father, moved to the Upper East Side of Manhattan, one of the most affluent neighborhoods in New York City, to enroll her children in a nearby private school. Additionally, in 2013 and 2014 Chinatsu accompanied her children to summer schools in Switzerland, which is recognized as the most privileged, ideal site of international education in the world.

The Machida family’s (*upstart elite* family) son was two years old at the time of my fieldwork at *Wakana*. This family held negative feelings toward Japanese schools and chose *Wakana* as a second choice option due to their lack of the institutionalized form of national cultural capital. During the interview conducted in 2012, they expressed their desire to send their son to a boarding school outside of Japan from the first grade. They moved their son from *Wakana* to another international preschool after the school year of 2011, and he then moved on to a boarding school in Indonesia in 2014. The son's father accompanied him to Indonesia and they live in a school dormitory together. I met the Machida family in Hawai‘i in 2013 when they were there for a short vacation, and the parents explained why they were interested in a boarding school in Southeast Asia. The wife, Kayoko, said:

> We don't have enough money to send our son to a boarding school in Switzerland. Boarding schools in Asia are much more affordable. In addition, I heard that children
from elite families all over the world send their children to boarding schools in Switzerland, so their status competition must be very severe and their children suffer from it. For example, some families purchase a cottage near the school and bring their own horse for their child's horse-riding lessons at school. Many children who are not from such affluent families must feel intimidated by such a status difference.

Kayoko’s account reveals that their choice of a boarding school overseas is limited by their financial resources and family status. While Switzerland is seen as an ideal place for a child’s schooling, it is neither affordable nor appropriate for their class origin. Kayoko also mentioned Southeast Asia as a strategic location for affluent families in Japan:

I talked about moving corporate assets to Southeast Asia and many people around me expressed their interest in doing so. Recently many asset holders in Japan purchase properties in Malaysia and Indonesia because they are cheap but their values are rapidly increasing. These asset holders spread their properties across islands, for example one in Okinawa and another in Indonesia, because they are concerned about the possible occurrence of natural disaster in mainland Japan.

For the Machida family, real estate and the tuition of boarding school in Southeast Asia are much more affordable. Also, Southeast Asia offers emerging business opportunities as this area is rapidly developing compared to the rest of the world.

For entrepreneurial upstart elite families like the Manabe and Machida families, choosing schools overseas might operate as another form of status distinction. The motivation behind such
school choices can be understood as “innovative action” (Merton 1967), a strategy used by those who do not have legitimate means (access to legitimate schools) to realize their ultimate goal (achieving upward social mobility). As they commonly lacked the institutionalized form of national cultural capital, they lacked the opportunities to gain access to the high-status, legitimate private elementary schools in Japan, unlike the Sato family. For the Manabe family, rejection by the authentic international school (Nishimachi) led them to take the innovative action of selecting a split-household family arrangement and moving to Manhattan to send their daughters to a school there. While the Manabe family was able to employ such an educational strategy by using their extremely high economic capital, the Machida family’s innovative action of international mobility was limited due to their lower amount of economic capital. However, the Machida family was able to compensate for this lack by choosing a boarding school in Indonesia, which is both an affordable option and an exploratory one for the family’s future prospects in this economically expanding region of the world.

Discussion

Since the international education track is less academically selective but requires higher economic capital than the local elite education route, international schools are accessible only to extremely affluent households. However, the process of choosing Wakana varied depending on the families’ own class trajectories. On one hand, the upstart elites experienced symbolic violence from the domestic elite education track in the process of choosing schools due to their lack of national cultural capital and self-elimination. Wakana was selected more as a second choice by this group. As Bourdieu argues, a fraction of the class that deviates from the most common class trajectory takes another trajectory that is prepared for another class (Bourdieu
The upstart elites, a distinctive group of the high or upper-middle class in Tokyo, ended up choosing the international education route initially prepared for expatriate families and the overseas educated elites. On the other hand, overseas-educated elites actively chose Wakana more “naturally” because they have lived in globalized social spaces of work and education, and have global social capital with expatriate communities. In addition, some global-minded elites, particularly those who want to globalize their family business beyond Japan, are attracted by the type of education, skillsets and certificates that international schools offer. Furthermore, those who failed in the local elite education track also found international education to be a viable alternative.

This chapter also examines local parents’ post-Wakana school choice patterns. These parents were aware of the status hierarchy of international schools, which is constituted by authenticity, tradition and internationally recognized accreditation and degree programs, and made their post-Wakana school choice accordingly. Although the existing research on the school choice of international school focuses on why international schools are actively selected by local elites (Ezra 2007; MacKenzie 2009, 2010; Ng 2012; Waters 2007) it overlooks the possibility that parents may end up sending their children to the Japanese education track or moving them to overseas schools.

However, my analysis revealed the diversity of local parents’ school choice patterns, which are somehow classed by their volume and composition of capital. Local affluent Japanese parents envision their children’s future by balancing the right combination of global and national cultural capital. Some families such as medical doctors aim to reproduce their class standing through their child’s high educational attainment in the Japanese education track. But they think their children’s exposure to international schooling will also benefit their children through the
acquisition of English speaking skills (global cultural capital). Some *upstart elite families*, aware of their shortage of cultural resources, strategically make an innovative school choice by leaving the domestic international education track for overseas schools.
CHAPTER 4: MOTHERING STRATEGIES AND ANXIETY

Introduction

While Wakana families make diverse school choices in order to acquire the right combination of global and national cultural capital for their children over the years, they deal with various types of anxiety in the process of cultivating their children’s global cultural capital and national cultural capital in the everyday life of raising their child. In fact, families’ (especially mothers’) daily experience in parenting at a micro level have been neglected by social stratification researchers (Lareau 1987; Reay 1998). The purpose of this chapter is twofold. First, I examine what daily parenting practices Wakana parents carry out to develop their children’s academic skills to make their children competitive, both in order to move on to other schools and later in both national and global fields of education and work. Second, I observe the types of anxiety that Intā-mama experience with regard to their children’s international schooling and the exam-taking for international schools. For this chapter, I employ data collected from my participant observation and interviews at Wakana as these aspects were more clearly captured in daily observation than in interviews.

Cultivating Children's National and Global Cultural Capital

Wakana families are aware that their children are and will be immersed in the national and global fields of education and work, and generate strategies to cultivate both types of cultural capital based on the trajectories of their school choice. Chapter 3 discussed how Wakana parents' possessed high economic capital with varying amounts of national and global cultural capital, revealing how different socioeconomic groups of families came to choose Wakana as a school for their children. Although I carefully observed the daily parenting practices of their parents at
Wakana, I did not find group-specific parenting practices for the subgroups I identified earlier. Rather, their parenting practices resemble the concerted cultivation described by Annette Lareau (2003). This suggests that the orchestration of various extra-curricular activities for children might be the norm among affluent families in the greater Tokyo area, regardless of where the children go to school. However, their expectation on their children’s a final educational attainment varies based on the subgroups—While the global-minded elites and the oversea educated elites are more likely to expect their children to go to college, the upstart elites’ views on their children’s educational attainment varies. Some like the Yasui family and the Shimizu family told me at a gathering:

Mr. Yasui: “We don’t want to force our children to go to college. We want them to enjoy their school life first, and they can decide if they want to go to college or not.

Ms. Shimizu: We do the same thing at home. I didn’t like to study, so it is really up to my children whether or not they want to study more or not after graduating from high school.

As both husbands and wives in these two families are high school graduates, it can be assumed that they might view high educational attainment as the not sole guarantee of one’s success.

In the following section, I discuss how Wakana families try to cultivate their children's global and national capital outside of Wakana through daily or weekly activity. In addition, I also argue that as a result of cultivating not one but two types of cultural capital, Wakana mothers’ stress level might be increased.
Employing a Filipina Babysitter/Housekeeper

Wakana families are preoccupied with trying to improve their children's English fluency, and some are not comfortable with the learning environment of Wakana because of the large number of Japanese children that make up the student body. Thus, some families try to create an English-speaking environment outside of the schooling context by hiring an English-speaking babysitter/housekeeper. Generally, Filipina babysitters are hired. They are selected by Wakana families because they not only play the role of English tutor for the children, but also that of housekeeper. They do household chores along with childcare and getting the children to and from Wakana.

In Japan, the image of Filipina migrant residents has shifted from mail order bride to entertainer and now care worker, to correspond to changing market demands as Japan is rapidly moving toward an aging society (Lopez 2012). However, for affluent local families like Wakana families, Filipina migrants are recruited through introductions and recommendations made by elite expatriate communities in Tokyo. These women migrated to Japan primarily to work as housekeepers for foreign expatriate families working at embassies. Because their working hours are few, they look for other, unofficial jobs to have more income to send more remittances back home.

Compared to the United States, hiring a babysitter and housekeeper is not a common practice in Japan. According to a comparative survey of Japan and the United States by Nagase (2011), only 2.85% of Japanese families with young children from 0 to 12 years old have used the services of a babysitter compared to 47.7% of American families. And only 0.7% of Japanese families have used the services of a housekeeper compared to 12.5% of American families. Although the hiring of a babysitter and/or housekeeper is relatively rare in Japan, several
Wakana families employed Filipina babysitters with references obtained through word of mouth from their friends of expatriate families. If a babysitter and/or housekeeper is hired and gains the trust and respect of the family, she is then introduced to other families. In fact, the same Filipina babysitter worked for three to four Wakana families whose children were in the same grade at the school.

In the case of Masako’s family, the babysitter works four to five times a week, approximately four hours each time. Half of her time is allocated to house cleaning and the rest is for taking care of the children. Sonoko, a Wakana mother of a daughter, commented on the babysitter's role as an English tutor:

I asked a Filipina helper to teach English to my daughter. She has been with us since before my daughter went to Wakana. At the beginning, my daughter behaved as if she didn’t understand what the helper was saying. But now, it seems that she is willing to communicate with the babysitter and use some new phrases she learned at Wakana. I want her to spend time with the sitter as much as possible.

A father of two daughters, Teruo Yasui, also commented on his children’s experience with the babysitter at a parent-teacher conference: “We recently hired an English-speaking babysitter, and have my children communicate with her almost two hours at night. I think they became more fluent in English.” This babysitter was introduced to the Yasui family by another mother from the school, Masako. Masako explained the process by which her babysitter was introduced to the Yasui family:
My babysitter basically works for me in the afternoon. She came to Japan by being sponsored by a foreign embassy. She only worked there every Saturday morning. After the earthquake, the British family she worked for moved to Singapore, so she was looking for job opportunities. I first introduced Megumi. But she accepted my babysitter only for a limited amount of time. At that time, the Yasui family asked me why my daughter's English was so good and they were also concerned about their children not speaking English actively. So I told them it is because we hire a Filipina babysitter. Then, they asked me to introduce my babysitter.

It seemed to be common for the same babysitter or her relatives to work for multiple Wakana families. One day when I was working at Wakana, a Filipina babysitter, came to pick up Tadashi and Koji, the two sons of the Nakajima family, and she was the same baby sitter that was taking care of Masako’s children. Thus, this babysitter was employed by four Wakana families.

**Studying Japanese**

Regardless of the school mobility patterns of Wakana children, parents strive to cultivate not only their children's global, but also their national cultural capital. The reasons to cultivate their children’s Japanese mannerism and language are twofold—their children’s identity formation as Japanese and their children’s acquisition of skills to enhance their life chances not only in the global field of work but also the national one. Failure in acquiring national cultural skills is perceived as shameful by Wakana mothers and reflects poorly on them; thus they feel obligated to foster Japanese mannerism and language skills. For them, having their children acquire national cultural capital even through international schooling is mandatory. Rie
expressed her hopes for her daughter's future through her international schooling as "I want my daughter to become a perfect child by mastering Japanese and English. And I want her to learn Japanese gracefulness. I don't want her to lack it."

*Kumon* is often selected by *Wakana* families for their children to learn Japanese. *Kumon* is an after-school learning program that originated in Japan, which features reading and math for preschool and grade school students to supplement school lessons. The *Kumon* education method adopts an elaborate system of scaled worksheets so that each child progresses individually and repeats a level until it is mastered. *Kumon* in fact works nicely for local children going to international schools because their level of mastery of Japanese language varies. They do not need to compare themselves with other students, and can make progress in their own speed.

Megumi’s son moved on to an international school and he took Japanese language lessons at *Kumon*. She explained the reason behind this choice of extracurricular activity: “My son goes to *Kumon* every week to catch up with Japanese because he is Japanese.” Although the Manabe family’s daughters went to school in Manhattan, their mother also made sure that they completed assignments on Japanese language from *Kumon* in New York.

However, as these local children in international schools became older, many started to resist studying Japanese because they perceived Japanese as a more difficult language to learn than English, and they do not use it at international schools. Ryoko was very worried that her oldest daughter in the 4th grade was losing interest in learning Japanese. She thought her daughters “should learn Japanese because they are Japanese. And if they don’t speak Japanese, it’s very shameful,” but her older daughter found it tiring to study *kanji*, Chinese characters. As she was not exposed to a social environment where she had to use Japanese in everyday life (she took a school bus and her school did not have Japanese as a part of the curriculum), it was more
difficult for her to keep up with language acquisition and Ryoko became tired of having to deal with her daughter’s daily resistance to studying Japanese. To encourage their children to learn Japanese, some families employed certain strategies to make the learning process more comfortable and enjoyable. Akemi’s oldest son is in the 2nd grade in an authentic international school. She had her son go to Kumon to study Japanese and math and encourages her son to read Japanese manga so that he may be exposed to a wide range of Japanese vocabulary.

As Wakana families hoped their children would master Japanese and English through international schooling, their expectation on what skillsets their children are supposed to obtain became much higher than other local families sending their children to local schools. However, mothers’ anxiety associated with their children’s international schooling stemmed from not only this, but also from mothers’ new experience in sending their children to international schools, which they had never attended as students.

Anxiety

Wakana mothers expressed a sense of confusion and stress about various issues: children’s cognitive, linguistic and academic development, their conflicts with other children, and possible occurrence of natural disasters especially in the aftermath of the 3.11 triple disaster, all of which can be shared among other mothers with small children in Japan. In this section however, I discuss Wakana mothers’ emotions and anxiety about carrying out the strategies they have chosen and matters associated with international schooling.
Lack of Knowledge of International Schooling

First, since the majority of parents among the overseas-educated elites did not attend international schools as students, they generally are unsure of the appropriate schooling experience their children are supposed to be having. Aya was concerned that she could not quite understand what her son does at school. She said "I don't know what my son is doing at school. I don't know what he eats at school either." This is also a common concern for Wakana families other than overseas-educated elites. Akemi described her experience in the international school as “full of troubles although enjoyable” and “if I have questions, I would ask Wakana mothers whose children are in a higher level class.”

Furthermore, since they expected their children to obtain English fluency through international schooling, they were not sure if their children's process of acquiring English is slow or average. Needless to say, their children acquired English more slowly than those whose parents speak English as a native language at home, but such an obvious reason did not dissolve their anxiety. When I was invited to my farewell party by Wakana parents as I was moving back to Hawai’i, one of them asked me "So, what do you think of Wakana's quality of education?" I was sitting in front of the table with about 10 mothers and fathers, and suddenly they all turned to look at me. I replied with the bland, harmless comment, "Well, I like Wakana very much and children are learning many things." But Ryoko asked me further, "What do you think of our children's English." I was not sure what to say, but told them "They are learning Japanese at home and English at school. Of course, their English is not as fluent as native English speakers right now, but they are now building their strength and learning to speak two languages, Japanese and English." I noticed that the parents seemed sad to learn that their children's English is not as good as native English speakers’, and there was an awkward silence for several seconds.
Then Mr. Yasui replied, "I think Wakana is a good school anyway." Then, the awkward moment was gone. As these Wakana families are not fluent in English, they have to rely on the evaluation of "educators" like me. This was the moment I realized that I had breached the norm as an “educator” at Wakana—teachers are expected to say something positive about their own school and children to dissolve parents’ anxiety, because parents want to believe that the school choice they made was the right one and that their children are having a wonderful experience every day.

On the other hand, Wakana families who experienced international schooling have clear opinions about the “quality” of the school and that of the teachers, such as whose English accent is ‘authentic’ and if children are learning English “properly.” The Hosomi family told me that they were not satisfied with a particular teacher because of her strong accent. They said “If my daughter is taught by the same teacher again next year, we will quit Wakana. I don’t think it is worth sending her to this school if she is to be taken care of by someone whose English accent is horrible.”

**Lack of Parents’ English Skill**

Wakana was selected by many local affluent families because Wakana provides school information in both English and Japanese, which made local families who are not confident in their English skills such as global-minded and upstart elite families feel comfortable. But as these families attended open house sessions of other international schools and ended up moving on to authentic international schools, they encountered a series of problems. Aya commented:

I went to an open house at Nishimachi, but I didn't understand what the school official was talking about in English. Their English was way difficult for me. I guess many
Japanese families apply for to Nishimachi without knowing about the school. So these families gather information on international schools by relying on other people's information.

Aya’s narrative reveals the common anxiety of local parents and the interesting fact that local parents rely on each other to gather information that they cannot obtain through direct communication with school officials.

Megumi experienced a similar problem when her son moved on to St. Mary’s International School. She has always had problems understanding English, but her English deficiency was not a major problem at Wakana because Wakana teachers including me provided school information in English and Japanese. When the homeroom teacher and Megumi exchanged notes to report what her son does at home and school, Megumi always wrote in Japanese and Ms. Lin wrote in English. The Wakana school secretary and I took turns translating what each of them wrote into either Japanese or English. Even at parent-teacher conferences, a translator was provided for free upon request. But the new school her son went to only provided information in English. Thus, she faced a challenge to understand what is written in materials coming from the school. Her close friend Masako told me that Megumi did not know when her son has days off from school. But Masako’s daughter went to Seisen International School, located near St. Mary’s. So, she was somehow able to get information about St. Mary’s calendar from her own networks and verified whether Megumi’s understanding of what was happening at St. Mary’s was accurate or not.
**Different Educational Curriculum and Culture**

As the international schooling sector has expanded, the number of schools adopting the International Baccalaureate curriculum has increased. Masako’s daughter Mika attends *Seisen*, which offers an IB program, and Masako expressed her confusion about the elementary level IB curriculum. Mika’s teacher assigned homework on a topic that requires cross-disciplinary investigation, for example history and science. While Masako tried to help Mika complete the assignment, she was not sure about what Mika was expected to do for the homework. Masako said, "The type of assignment Mika has to do is so different from ones that I did when I was a child. I don't know if completing this assignment is academically useful for Mika. But since this is the homework, Mika has to do it anyway, and I have to help her out."

In addition, *Wakana* parents were concerned with the different approaches to discipline between Japanese and international schools. Many parents were worried that the international school’s way of disciplining children was less strict than that of Japanese schools and thus children would not acquire “appropriate” manners. For example, Madoka pointed out that her son kept his knee on a desk while a teacher was talking at a parents’ day. And Masako mentioned that Mika was sitting on the floor with her legs crossed in a music class. She was frustrated because from her own standards, Mika’s way of sitting should be pointed out by teachers as bad mannered, but it was not.

**Fear and Stigma of Failing the Admission Exam**

*Wakana* parents feared that their children would fail the admission exams of authentic international schools. Furthermore, if their children did fail in the admission exams, they did not want it to be known by other *Wakana* families. When I interviewed one of the *Wakana* mothers, she asked me if her son was competitive enough to pass an authentic international school exam.
Although I didn't know what to say, I had to tell her "Your child is pretty good, and a couple of students from *Wakana* end up going to the school every year, so your child should be OK, I think." I had to tell her this because I sensed that these were the phrases she wanted to hear from me, as a "trustworthy educator" who is perceived as someone who knows her child’s academic quality. The mother told me at the very end of the conversation "Thank you for your advice, Mr. Hiroki. But please don't tell other families about the fact that my child is taking the exam of this school because it is embarrassing if he fails the exam." In fact, her child was not able to pass the exam. After receiving the rejection letter, she became furious and called *Wakana* and complained to school officials that the reason her child failed was the school's fault. Although her son passed another authentic international school's admission test, her case revealed the stress that *Wakana* families go through when their children are applying to enter authentic international elementary schools.

Erika is another example. I have known her the longest of all *Wakana* mothers, since 2009. She has frequently helped with my research. Her two sons went to the grade school of *Wakana*, and she often told me how great *Wakana* was. Because of this, I had long thought that she had never considered having her children take the admission tests of other international schools. Once I asked her in 2011 if her sons had taken any tests, and she paused for a short while, and answered with a bit of embarrassment "Yes, my sons took the exam for *Nishimachi*, but they didn't get in." It was an eye opening moment to learn that there was something about her sons she had not told me. It seems that she did not want other people to know that her sons failed the admission test of the school. She often told me how great *Wakana* is, but after that conversation, I came to interpret her emphasis on the positive evaluation of *Wakana* as a way for her to “cool down” (Goffman 1952) the heated aspiration she had to send her sons to *Nishimachi*. 
Discussion

This chapter discusses Intā-mama’s engagement in “concerted cultivation” to enhance their children’s global and national cultural capital. Wakana mothers regarded both types of cultural capital as important and strove to make their children bilingual by providing a series of educational opportunities for their children. Some of these are different from ordinary Japanese families’ educational practices, such as hiring Filipina baby sitters and participating in overseas summer schools. Accordingly, their parental expectations of having their children acquire the types of skillsets they need to become successful in both international and national fields of education (and work) might be doubled.

In addition, Wakana parents, particularly upstart and global-minded elite families experience a fair amount stress and confusion. This is primarily because most Wakana families lack experience and knowledge regarding the type of schooling provided by international schools and they lack English language competency. This results in a series of challenges in understanding what their child actually does and learns at school, and in evaluating their child’s academic and cognitive development.
CHAPTER 5: EDUCATIONAL VACATION IN HAWAI‘I

Introduction

From March, *Wakana* mothers started to discuss enthusiastically where to send their children to summer school. The summer vacation of international schools begins from early June until the end of August, which is longer than the summer vacation of Japanese schools (generally from the end of July to the end of August). Most of the international schools offer summer school for the following month, encouraging their school’s children to attend their own summer schools. Although most dual-income families send their child to these summer schools, one-income families often take advantage of the long vacation to have their children experience an *authentic* or “real international experience” through overseas schooling in Western English-speaking countries. To do so, these families use a short-term split-household family arrangement—mothers accompany their children to Hawai‘i and fathers stay in Japan for work. *Wakana* families’ favorite destination is Honolulu, Hawai‘i; the elite private schools of Hawai‘i, such as Punahou School and Iolani School, are often selected.

During their stay in Hawai‘i, *Wakana* mothers got up early in the morning, prepared breakfast, got their children ready for school, and took them to school. While the children were at school, the mothers went grocery shopping. Having free time, they had lunch or went shopping with their friends, some of whom are *Wakana* mothers. In addition, some women attended classes to learn English, Hula dance or some other cultural activity. In the afternoon, they picked up their children from school and spent the rest of the day with them, visiting tourist attractions, going for walks outside, and so on. This was a typical day for the *Wakana* mothers. If their husbands could
take some vacation from work, they sometimes joined the family, often for the last week of their stay.

Hawai‘i is selected as a summer destination for two main reasons. First, Hawai‘i has been gradually recognized a site for international education for Japanese families. Because Hawai‘i is one of the closest authentic English speaking regions to Japan, Japanese families find Hawai‘i to be a convenient site to expose their children to an English-speaking environment. Second, Hawai‘i has been long considered one of the most popular destinations of foreign tourism for Japanese people. Since right before the liberalization of foreign tourism for Japanese citizens (1964), Japanese media have promoted Hawai‘i as a site of longing or aspiration (akogare). In this chapter, I discuss Wakana families’ lived experiences in the transnational social space of Hawai‘i.

**Hawai‘i as an Ideal Site of International Education**

*Wakana* as an international school implicitly encourages families to assume a mobile lifestyle, a new form of elite lifestyle in the global economy (Hay and Muller 2012; Kennedy 2010). *Wakana* appreciated *Wakana* families who actively let their children experience overseas schooling and activities because it expects that these children will improve their English and as result positively influence their classmates through the transmission of their experiences. Ms. Lin, said “We appreciate our families taking their children overseas during the summer. Once the children are back in school, they become more confident and fluent in English. They lead the classroom activities.” For schoolteachers, children’s language improvement helps in the organization of classroom activities; this is especially the case for *Wakana*, where the majority of children are non-native English speakers.
Wakana families’ motivation to go to Hawai‘i is strongly linked to the long summer vacation of international schools; parents are concerned that children are forgetting English. Asuka commented as follows:

International school’s summer vacation is pretty long, right? Since parents speak Japanese, children forget English so quickly. Isn’t it interesting? Children usually remember English after a couple of weeks of schooling in the fall semester, but we (my husband and I) were worried that as our child becomes older, it might take longer for her to remember English.

Asuka’s concern reveals the difficulty and nature of maintaining a second language; second language acquisition requires constant exposure to the language in question. Parents invest a large amount of time, effort and particularly money in international schooling to improve their children’s English skills. Non-schooling periods are a nightmare for parents because their long-term investment in their children’s language skills could be wasted if children are away from an English-speaking environment for long periods of time.

A parent-child study abroad tour provides an ideal educational opportunity for Intā-mama because children can boost their English skills in an authentic school environment where the majority of children are native English speakers. This is particularly important for Wakana families because the school is dominated by non-native English speakers (both students and teachers).

Masako accompanied her children to Hawai‘i and enrolled them in local summer schools. She commented on her daughter Mika’s schooling experience in Hawai‘i:
Mika cried in the morning of the third day at school and insisted she doesn’t want to go. Everybody was around us when she cried. So I was very embarrassed… I think she completely lost her confidence at summer school. You know, she had a pride that she speaks better English than other children at Wakana. But this summer school probably made her realize that her English isn’t actually good, compared to children here. But this is the environment that I wanted, and I want Mika to overcome the hardship through summer schooling.

While there are multiple stresses that can affect children at a new school, Masako believed Mika’s struggle at summer school stemmed from her deficiency in English and wanted Mika to overcome this hardship by improving her communication skills.

*Intā-mama’s* life in Hawai‘i is busy as their life is shaped by their children’s school schedule. Asuka described her life in Hawai‘i as follows:

I have to get my daughter to have dinner and sleep early… I need to have her wake up at 5:30. Otherwise, we cannot take a 6:30 bus to get to Punahou around 7. The school starts from 7:30. So, our life is not comfortable, but rather *military-like*. She just wants to continue sleeping, but have her get up and we have breakfast together while watching Disney channel, Then, I sometimes help her change her clothes and fix her hair while she is eating. The school ends around 5:30 p.m., so we come back home around 6:30 p.m. I have to have her take a shower and have dinner, otherwise she won’t have enough time to sleep.
For those who try this parent-child study abroad trip for the first time, adjusting to this “military-like” lifestyle is a challenge as they have to be familiar with bus schedules and where to buy groceries they like.

In addition, acquiring an authentic accent is another competency that parents want their children to obtain in school. Many Wakana families come to Hawai‘i and meet up for lunches and parties. I was invited to one of these parties that took place after the children’s summer school was over. The description below is from field notes taken at a barbeque party that was held in the garden of a condominium.

From behind me, Mika came to talk to me in English, “Mr. Hiroki, I have….”, so I looked back and started talking to her. While Mika and I were communicating in English, Masako observed our interaction and told other mothers in Japanese “See, children cannot speak English so naturally in Wakana like this, don’t you think? I’m so happy that Mika’s English improved very much.” Other mothers also nodded and agreed with what she just said (July 20, 2012).

Masako expressed her satisfaction over Mika’s English improvement through summer school. In such gatherings, mothers often comment on their children’s improvement in English and their well-being. Nozomi also commented on her experience of her stay with her sons in Hawai‘i:
I’m very satisfied with our stay this summer. Particularly my sons had a great time here and they told me they don’t want to go back to Wakana. And you know, once we go back to Wakana, most of the children are Japanese… (July 20, 2012).

Nozomi also found that her and her sons’ experience in Hawai‘i was a positive one and expressed idealized views of local schools in Hawai‘i as better sites for international schooling than Wakana.

As many parents believe in the improvement in their children’s English through this parent-child study abroad trip, some of them also plan the timing for their children to take an admission test to an authentic international school. The following conversation was held at a barbecue party in Waikiki after the end of summer school:

**Masako:** You know, I was surprised that Mika became so fluent in English! She was speaking with her teacher (of her summer school) without any problem!

**Ryoko:** I think Mika’s English has improved over the summer, too. Masako, I think Mika should take the entrance exam of Seisen International School right after she goes back to Tokyo. After several weeks, she will lose her good English at Wakana. I think this is the right time for Mika to take the test!

After Masako’s family went back to Japan, Mika took the admission test and was accepted into Seisen International School. This is another motive for Wakana families to participate in overseas summer school—preparing their children to take the entrance exam of an authentic international school.
There is an irony about *Wakana* teachers’ implicit encouragement for their children to participate in summer schools overseas. As *Wakana* children improve their English, their mothers like Masako come to search the option of applying for *authentic* international schools more seriously. Thus, children’s improvement in English would increase *Wakana’s* risk of losing competent local children, who lead classroom activities as Ms. Lin expected.

**Hawai‘i as an Ideal Site of Vacation**

Going to Hawai‘i for the summer school actually operated as a vacation opportunity for families, which *Wakana* mothers were looking forward to. *Wakana* mothers started talking about summer school plans starting in March. Kayoko commented on the upcoming summer plan:

> We are so behind planning for our summer. I think other families already started contacting summer schools as they can communicate in English. These days I talk with other *Wakana* mothers only about summer school.... Nakajima family, Yamaguchi family and Hosomi family are all going to Hawai‘i. They seem to meet up in Hawai‘i every summer, and they usually upload their photos on Facebook. They asked me if we could also join them. We also want to enroll our son in an overseas summer school… And I heard that one family in *Wakana* has a house in Hawai‘i, and everyone plans to have a party there... I am so behind compared to what other families are planning to do!

As Kayoko’s narrative suggests, the summer school opportunity is perceived as an opportunity for family gatherings overseas. I finished my fieldwork at *Wakana* in April, 2012, and went back
to Hawai‘i in May. One day that summer the Nakajima, Yamaguchi and Hosomi and Takada families (from the Wakana cohorts of 2014 and 2015) had a gathering in Waikiki and I was invited to join them for lunch. That same summer, thee other families in the 2013 cohort also had gatherings in Hawai‘i as well. They employ summer school opportunities for further bonding opportunities overseas.

While their mothering practices continued in Hawai‘i, Intā-mama came to view their annual visits as “necessary” to maintain their well-being. Yurika explains the meaning associated with staying in Hawai‘i as follows:

**Yurika:** I call my annual visit in Hawai‘i “getting away from it all.”

**Igarashi:** Could you tell me more about it?

**Yurika:** I feel like I can restart my life by coming here. Because I stay here for a month and get energized, I can keep working hard back in Japan for another year. I get enough rest here, and I can be full of energy to do a variety of things after going back. So, coming to Hawai‘i is *absolutely necessary* in my life.

For Intā mama, their annual visits to Hawai‘i are “absolutely necessary” to regain energy for when they resume their stressful “reality” back home. Since it is common for husbands to remain in Japan during these trips, they rely on their network of friends to support each other during their stay in Hawai‘i. Some Wakana mothers who were unable to enroll their children in summer school came to Hawai‘i for a short while and joined the gathering of summer school participants. Thus, Wakana mothers not only socialized in Tokyo, but also in Hawai‘i.
However, these *Wakana* mothers’ socialization and enjoyment in Hawai‘i might not be perceived positively by men. In the summer when I came back to Hawai‘i, the Sato family, an established elite family in *Wakana*, came to Hawai‘i as a family trip. Tomoko came with her daughters and her father, Mr. Sato. He said it is hard for him to take a break and come to Hawai‘i because he is usually busy at work. But he had a “legitimate reason” to come to Hawai‘i this time—renewing his light aircraft license in the United States. When the Sato family was visiting Hawai‘i, Masako was staying in Waikiki with her children. So we all met in Ala Moana Beach Park and played in the lagoon. Then, Mr. Sato asked if I could join his flying practice in a light aircraft, so I agreed. When we went to the airport, Mr. Sato and I exchanged the following conversation:

**Mr. Sato:** I cannot help thinking about these rich women (like Masako and other Intā-mama). While their husbands are working, they enjoy shopping in Hawai‘i.”

**Igarashi:** Yeah, but they have to accompany their children all the way to Hawai‘i.

**Mr. Sato:** That’s right, but they are having fun in Hawai‘i while their children are in school, aren’t they?

It was not clear whether or not he included his daughter in his term, *rich women*, but he was critical of *Intā-mama*, assuming that their purpose of staying in Hawai‘i is regarded as their maximization of selfhood through shopping and having fun in Hawai‘i.

**Discussion**

In this chapter, I examined *Wakana* mothers’ lived experiences in Hawai‘i during
summer vacation. As with their East Asian counterparts, Japanese mothers are the main agents tasked with attending to their children’s education. However, I argue that we should not simply attribute mothers’ decisions to participate in overseas summer school solely to resolve their anxiety that children are losing English during long summer vacation. As existing scholarship on Japanese migrant women revealed (Igarashi and Yasumoto 2014, Igarashi 2015a), maximization of selfhood through overseas travel is also shared among Wakana families. This reveals a domain of Wakana mothers’ life that had not been discussed in the previous chapters—status. In the next chapter, I analyzes how Wakana families engage in ‘status work’ through their children’s international schooling and construct an elite status culture.
CHAPTER 6: FORMATION OF AN ELITE STATUS CULTURE

Introduction

International school is a type of school that only those who have a certain amount of income can send their children to. So, you can meet people you would never meet here. To me, getting to know such families is a good experience, for example, you can go to Hawai‘i during summer vacation and they will invite you to play at their house with a pool! You can have a new experience. I feel that my life will be widened by making such friends internationally. That’s one merit for me to enroll my children in an international school. (Masako)

This benefit that Masako described does not stem from the family’s class strategies for the children to achieve class reproduction, but rather from her own as well as her family’s status and lifestyle enhancement through international schooling. How can we make sense of Masako’s account of the lifestyle and status oriented benefit of selecting an international school?

This chapter turns our attention from class to status, and investigates how Wakana mothers as new elite mothers engage in “status work” through their children’s elite, international schooling. In order to delineate their status work as a group empirically, I investigate Wakana mothers’ group style, defined as “recurrent patterns of interaction that arise from a group’s shared assumptions about what constitutes good or adequate participation in the group setting” (Eliasoph and Lichterman 2003: 737). Group style is composed of three dimensions: 1) group bonds, 2) symbolic boundaries (or group identity), and 3) speech norms, which are shared in each group context. Group bonds define the group’s common responsibilities; symbolic boundaries reveal a group’s assumptions about their relationship with the rest of the world; and
speech norms comprise a group’s assumptions on suitable speech topics (Eliasoph and Lichterman 2003). By employing Eliasoph and Lichterman’s concept of “group style,” this chapter empirically reveals the group culture of Wakana families by observing their “group bonds,” “group identity,” and “speech norms.” Thus, this chapter, while discussing some internal variations, pays more attention to the group cohesion of Wakana mothers.

**Group Bond**

The first dimension of group style, that of bonding, originated in the neo-institutionalist perspective that the responsibilities and expectations of actors are guided by different institutions and groups (Eliasoph and Lichterman 2003; Powell and DiMaggio 1991). In this section, I explain how the institutions of motherhood, global education and international schools, and Wakana as an educational organization shape the responsibilities and expectations of Wakana families and affect their everyday practices of childrearing. In so doing, they bond with each other through lifestyles that are more free, mobile, cosmopolitan, and extravagant than those of most other Japanese mothers.

For women with preschool aged children, family and educational institutions govern their experiences, expectations, and morals. As a modern nation project observed in major industrial countries, the institution of motherhood (Chodorow 1978), or a “good-wife and wise mother” in Japan (Koyama 2012) has imposed upon women roles associated with raising children and enhancing children’s cognitive, emotional and intellectual development. This rise of the institution and the ideology of motherhood have coincided with that of meritocracy, which formulates parents’ expectations for raising their children. The standards of upward social mobility in modern society are believed to be based on the competition of efforts made and
individual merit obtained in educational institutions (Takeuchi 1995; Young 1958). To win the competition, parents must fulfill the present expectations and responsibilities to raise their children in ways that enable them to become academically competent.

These institutional responsibilities, expectations, and morals shape Wakana mothers’ experiences and daily practices. Wakana mothers formed a strong friendship with other Intā-mama through their children’s formal schooling and extra-curricular activities. As families, particularly mothers, went through the stressful process of parenting every day, children’s schools became important social spaces where they were able to meet and deepen friendships with those who were in the same situation. As Japanese households often experience the absence of the husband and father due to the high work commitment expected of adult males (Allison 1994), this parenting network plays an important role as a support group for the women, who are left to do most of the child-rearing.

Friends of Wakana Mothers as “Fellow Soldiers”

Wakana mothers had an understanding of their association as a group of families going through unique and challenging international experiences by raising children in an international school. Erika used a metaphor, “fellow soldiers” (senyū) to describe her sense of solidarity with other Wakana mothers. Wakana families develop close-knit ties to one another because they have common experiences and traits: raising children, sending their children to an unfamiliar international school institution, and similar socioeconomic background, which can be characterized as affluence.

First, as it accepts children from one and half up to five years of age, Wakana is usually the first formal school institution that these families enroll their children in. Since raising
children of these ages is emotionally demanding and stressful, families build strong friendships in and around the school setting to share their mothering experiences. Second, for the majority of Wakana families, sending their children to an international school is a new experience because except for oversea-educated elites, most of them have never attended such English-speaking schools. As the children have an international experience in which they learn how to respect those who have different opinions and values, and acquire English language skills from international schooling, so do their parents. Akemi described her experience in the international school as “full of troubles although enjoyable” and “if I have questions, I would ask other Wakana mothers whose child’s grade is higher than mine.” Thus, they learn almost everything about international schools through their children’s schooling. In order to make their children’s school experience a smooth and successful one, they rely on information from the school teachers and Wakana mothers.

In addition, affluence is another factor that helps Wakana families bond together, as they can afford to live in one the affluent neighborhoods of Tokyo and pay the $20,000 for their child’s annual tuition for schooling at Wakana. As such expensive tuition bars access to non-affluent families, Wakana families feel comfortable in forming a group with others of a similar economic background. Chiaki explains:

There is an atmosphere (shared among Wakana families), which can be described with the proverb, the rich can afford not to argue (Kanemochi kenka sezu). This atmosphere makes me feel comfortable here. If you are generally satisfied in life, you don’t need to feel jealous. But if you are in a group where people easily feel envious, it doesn’t
function well. Since such an envious resentment is less likely to emerge among us, I think we feel at ease.

Sharing similar economic backgrounds and wealth with other group members yields a sense of comfort and harmony among Wakana families because this allow mothers to express their personal lifestyles associated with affluence more openly, which is not often allowed in other social settings. This is particularly the case for celebrity families who want to maintain a certain level of privacy from the public.

**Responsibility of Parents at International Schools**

Wakana mothers’ sense of being a good member in the group setting was shaped by the institutional expectations that international schools have: humanistic ones to provide perspectives on cultural tolerance, human rights, and reduction of prejudice (Clarke 2004), and meritocratic expectations to prepare the students to play an important role in global business arenas (Brown and Tannock 2009) with the acquisition of global cultural capital. What Wakana parents expect for the children to gain at Wakana is both the acquisition of English and cosmopolitan attitudes.

To fulfill the responsibilities derived from the institutional expectations, Wakana parents helped each other to maintain the culture of Wakana as “international.” Wakana encouraged, but did not require both parents and children to communicate with each other in English at school. Since the majority of families at Wakana at the point of my fieldwork were Japanese and they and their children felt comfortable communicating in Japanese, this rule was particularly important for maintaining a learning environment that would foster English-language learning.
At one point during my fieldwork, a four-year old Japanese boy kept talking in Japanese with the other children in the classroom despite his teacher’s warning. Several parents of the other children in the classroom identified this behavior as problematic. They complained to the homeroom teacher and school principal that this boy was harming the learning atmosphere and that his mother was neglecting her duty to instruct him not to do so. The mother was criticized because she was failing to fulfill her responsibilities as a mother and as a member of a Wakana family to educate her child to follow the “English only” rule of the school and maintain the proper learning environment. Thus, the mother was considered to have breached the institutional expectations of motherhood and international schools.

Becoming More “Free”

Wakana mothers assume children’s international schooling gives each mother more freedom regarding the responsibility and expectations of being a good mother within the group, evaluating such school atmosphere as being “comfortable.” Unlike Japanese schools including preschools, which require mothers to strongly commit to their children’s school matters (Allison 1991) and monolithically enforce various restrictive rules regarding school life, Intā-mama perceive Wakana favorably as tolerant and less restrictive in terms of its rules and atmosphere.

One example is Wakana’s school lunch policy. As Wakana does not require parents to prepare their children’s lunch, this significantly reduces the burden on mothers. Another example is the requirement for parents to do volunteer work for school events. Aya has two sons; the older one is in a Japanese elite private elementary school and the younger is at Wakana. She used the following example to emphasize how rigid Japanese private schools are: “When I was in the hospital having my second child, I received a call from a fellow mother at my first child’s school,
and I was asked why I was not coming to school to volunteer!” Although Aya’s example sounded extreme and the story might be exaggerated, this is how she understood the different bonding styles between *Wakana* and the Japanese private school. Her first son’s Japanese school mandates parents to take part in volunteer work periodically, which may prevent mothers from taking a fulltime job.

*Wakana* does not demand such a strong commitment from parents, although parental involvement is sometimes required when big school events such as Halloween or a school festival are approaching. The general perception at *Wakana* is that there is a certain consideration given to each family’s situation. Megumi, a member of one of the celebrity families, also found *Wakana* “comfortable” because “*Wakana* mothers respect my special circumstance (as a celebrity and dual earner family) and allow me to help at school functions whenever I’m available.”

In addition, it is generally more accepted among *Wakana* mothers to hire migrants as babysitters and English tutors, since hiring them is a part of the culture for foreign expatriate families in Tokyo. Because of this, *Wakana* mothers who hire tutor-babysitters can have more free time by having them do household chores. *Intā-mama* generally evaluate their experience in hiring Filipina babysitter positively. Masako commented “Hiring a Filipina babysitter is reasonable. It depends on the person, but they are generally tidy.” Ryoko responded to the same question with “They follow my orders quite well as I request.” Saori said:

My Filipina babysitter is very trustworthy and she also works very well as a housekeeper.

She does a careful job of folding clothes and cleaning rooms. If you hire a Japanese
housekeeper, you cannot ask them to do jobs beyond the work contract, but Filipinas work flexibly, so I prefer hiring a Filipina to a Japanese.

As noted earlier, Filipina's roles are not limited to cleaning the employer's house. They are expected to nurture children in English as a part of their English education.

**Becoming Mobile**

*Wakana* as an international school assumes its families have mobile lifestyles as the original mission of international schools is to serve mobile expatriate families. Although the number of expatriate families in *Wakana* is smaller than in other *authentic* international schools, as I discussed in Chapter 5, *Wakana* encourages its families to embrace a mobile lifestyle, a new form of elite lifestyle in the global economy (Hay and Muller 2012; Kennedy 2010). The school appreciated those who actively let their children experience overseas schooling and activities, because it expects that these children will improve their English and as a result will positively influence their classmates through the transmission of their experiences.

**Becoming Cosmopolitan**

As children are educated in a cosmopolitan educational environment, their mothers are also lured into such cosmopolitan and international lifestyles. *Wakana* parents come to celebrate ‘international’ events with their children through international schooling, have more frequent opportunities to talk with non-Japanese mothers, and embrace a mobile lifestyle. They also appreciate learning about foreign cultures. Erika recalled how her opinion regarding studying English has changed over time.
You know, it is fun to talk with various people. Cultures are different, for example food cultures. Initially, I didn't find the importance in becoming fluent in English. But I had an experience in talking with a Korean woman in English at Wakana. Since both of us had children, we found many aspects of our lives very similar, and I finally found the joy of speaking English.

Since Wakana mothers have joined a network of expatriate communities and those interested in consuming foreign cultures through their children’s international schooling, they have more opportunities to cultivate their openness to foreign others and their curiosity vis-à-vis other cultures. Such network structure affects one’s acquisition of cosmopolitan orientation (Saito 2011). Kazuko is a mother of two children; her son went to a Japanese school and her daughter went to Wakana. She recalled her experience with her daughter’s schooling as follows:

I actually enjoyed sending my daughter to an international school very much. I had to take her overseas to summer schools in Hawai‘i and San Francisco without knowing anything about these cities. It was hard. But you know, it was worth it in the end. I came to know many interesting people from all over the world that I would have never been able to meet from my son’s schooling in Japan, and they are my best friends now.

Kazuko raised her daughter to meet the institutional expectations and responsibilities of international school, global meritocracy and motherhood, by exposing her daughter to international experiences and improving her language skills. In the process of childrearing,
Kazuko experienced a transformation of her style of bonding; she became more cosmopolitan by knowing other countries’ school matters and making friends with people from various countries.

**Becoming Extravagant**

_Wakana’s_ more tolerant and less rigid stance on children’s schooling, institutionally-implicit encouragement for families to adopt a more mobile lifestyle, and the resulting cosmopolitan lifestyle leads to extravagance. This lifestyle adaptation is brought up by Masako who expresses the negative aspect of international education for children as being “extremely costly, not only the school tuition, but also the social expenses.” _Wakana_ families’ extravagant lifestyle is practiced in four dimensions: objective displays of wealth, leisure, daily gatherings, and exclusive club membership.

**Objective Displays of Wealth**

First, compared to Japanese schools, the school life at international schools provides more opportunities for families to display their wealth. Japanese schools generally do not allow families to drop off and pick up their children by car in front of schools, as is the practice in the United States. Since _Wakana_ does allow this practice, these drop-off and pick-up times are when _Wakana_ families can compare which type of car is driven and by whom. Many high-end brands such as Ferrari, Porsche, and BMW, can be seen during these occasions. One day when Ms. Joyce and I were seeing off _Wakana_ children at the school gate, a foreign Caucasian woman was walking in front of the school at the moment when some _Wakana_ children were escorted by a chauffeur and babysitter into a foreign car. She kept looking at the car with her eyes wide-open,
and then looked at us to express her sense of surprise. Ms. Joyce smiled a bit and nodded to show that she felt the same way.

In addition to extravagant cars, the mothers’ fashion is another way to display wealth and their sense of individuality. While Japanese private schools encourage discreet fashion choices for families, international schools do not have an explicit dress code. Kayoko described the fashion culture of parents in the local elite education track:

Japanese private schools attach a high value on parents’ discreet fashions. I attended many briefings by prep schools for the private elementary school exams and spoke with friends who sell clothes for these exams. Both sources said you should cover your knees and know what color each private school prefers. In essence, it is a type of school uniform for the parents.

By comparing themselves to those Japanese mothers who must follow a specific “dress code,” Intā-mama felt a sense of pleasure at having freedom to express their individuality through their fashion. However, no “dress code” does not mean that Wakana mothers can show up at school wearing any type of clothing. Every morning and afternoon, Intā-mama come to school elegantly made-up, wearing luxury clothes and accessories. What Wakana mothers discuss during drop-off and pick-up times centers predominantly around fashion, children, and their education.

When it comes to fashion, the upstart elite mothers were well respected as fashion leaders. As the upstart elite mothers and/or their husbands’ occupations are fashion and cosmetics, these mothers dress more fashionably than other mothers. Erika explained “I don’t know how celebrity mothers find time to dress up and do make up so well every morning!”
Masako recalled her friend, Aya. “You know, Aya came to pick up her son with a gorgeous skin-tight skirt!” Responding to my question “Is this type of fashion choice allowed at any school?” she continued, “It is only allowed at Wakana. It is not appropriate for Japanese private schools.” Such high fashion was perceived as gorgeous in an international school, but probably viewed as inappropriate in a Japanese school.

In addition, beyond the practical reasons of hiring Filipina babysitters for children’s English education, hiring them operates to enhance the families’ social status as an international family—showing their wealth in public by the fact that they can hire a babysitter, which is not a common practice in Japan, but an imitation of the lifestyles of foreign expat families in the center of Tokyo.

Leisure

As Yodanis (2006) discusses, leisure activities are used as a form of distinction for upper-class women. Wakana mothers frequently talked about leisure activities such as their foreign trips in a group setting. Although Wakana mothers accompanied their children to enroll them in local elite summer schools such as Punahou School and Iolani School (two well-known elite schools in the state of Hawai‘i) for the sake of their children, this educational opportunity was also used to fulfill Wakana mothers’ desire for leisure activities and to hang out together there. Their leisure experience overseas were discussed in the previous chapter.

Daily Gatherings

Even during the school year, Wakana families’ extravagant lifestyle continues. Wakana mothers and children often hung out at a coffee shop, that I call Blue Café, near the school.
Since Blue Café is located inside a park, *Wakana* families can chat to exchange information on parenting and children’s schooling while keeping an eye on their children playing in the park. This café is a symbolic gathering spot for *Wakana* mothers. Tomoko, who came from an established family background, viewed the culture of *Wakana* families hanging out in Blue Café from an objective point of view:

**Tomoko:** You know at Blue Café, we ordered so much food and so many drinks. Once, my friend (a non *Intā-mama*) warned me that ordinary mothers with preschoolers aren’t familiar with this type of gathering and it is not common to spend thousands of yen on food and drinks for the kids. I spent so much money at Blue Café with other *Wakana* moms. So for my daughter, I needed to tell her that this is an unusual thing. We became familiar with this environment since she was two years old, so it became normal to us. But I realized that this culture, viewed from outside this group, is unusual.

**Igarashi:** Did you find this environment strange in the beginning?

**Tomoko:** I think I initially felt strange about this. But since this type of socializing became a routine thing, I came to think of it as normal. I need to always remind myself that this is not a normal thing to do for my child. But I cannot stop spending so much on expensive food items and drinks (laugh) because everybody in the group does it. If I didn’t, it would look so strange to the others!

Tomoko explained the specific culture of bonding among *Wakana* mothers at Blue Café with a sense of ambivalence—while she is aware that *Wakana* mothers’ mode of consumption is extravagant, she cannot resist it.
Ryoko and Masako also talked about their thoughts on social expenses associated with international schooling.

**Ryoko:** It costs a lot of money in general. I don’t want my children to visit rich families’ house and find something they want next. Everybody in an international school grows up in a good family, so they buy good items and eat good food. That’s not good.

**Masako:** It costs a lot of money, particularly social expenses. Normally in Japanese schools, you may hold a party in a moderate way, but at international school, we reserve Blue Café, prepare gifts for the children, invite a balloon performer and have a meal… I think it costs around 100,000 yen (approximately $1,000 US dollars) per party (laughter). Sometimes, families celebrate their children’s birthday at Tokyo American Club. But this is a type of thing that Japanese families in private and public schools don’t do. I think we do it because it looks like something foreign. So, it costs a lot of money. But I think it is worth it because I want my child to receive international education in a global environment and to become a global person. To do so, I need to spend money (laugh).

Ryoko was concerned about children’s endless pursuit of consumer items and food by being surrounded by “good” or affluent families. Masako thinks that having an extravagant birthday party is close to her image of a “foreign culture,” presumably that of American celebrity culture. It is notable that Masako justified this excessive consumption as necessary for her child to receive international education in a global environment.

Madoka was also concerned about the way Wakana mothers hang out at a restaurant such as Blue Café:
When I go to have lunch with Wakana mothers, they are often into their conversation, and don’t pay attention to the fact that their children are running around. One day, I had lunch at another restaurant and saw a mother and her child wearing the school uniform of a preschool. The mother monitored her daughter and she was very well-behaved.

This situation where mothers are into conversation and children are playing by themselves without their parents’ paying attention happened frequently when I was invited to their parties. Ms. Chelsea referred to this trend with laughter: “This happens in Wakana families. It is embarrassing, but this is a part of our families’ culture.” The school principal’s recognition of this situation as “embarrassing” implies that this is not morally accepted as mothers’ usual responsibility for their children’s behavior.

Exclusive Club Membership

Masako referred to Tokyo American Club as an alternative site for a child’s birthday party. Tokyo American Club is a membership-based social club in Tokyo. It was originally established in 1928 as a social gathering spot for American expatriate families. It currently provides a variety of cultural, business, social and recreational activities to its members. To become a member, one has to provide two recommendations from existing members and a one-time fee of 4,000,000 yen (approximately $40,000 US dollars) plus monthly due of 40,000 yen. Ryoko, Masako, and other Wakana families are members of Tokyo American Club. I was invited along with four Wakana mothers, Masako, Akemi and Miki, to a family gathering held at
Ryoko’s house in Hawai‘i. In the middle of the party, Masako talked about her wish to become a member of Tokyo American Club.

*Masako:* I would like to join Tokyo American Club, but my husband told me he doesn’t want to pay for the membership fee. And I don’t know if my application will be accepted or not.

*Ryoko:* Masako-san, you will be fine. We will all recommend you.

In fact, all the members attending the party except Masako were the members of American Club. Within a year, Masako became a club member. After the above-mentioned conversation, I asked about the meaning of joining the club and what people do there. Masako explained “It’s just about status. Is there anything else? (Laugh) Club members use the gym and have parties.” These mothers are aware of the meaning of joining Tokyo American Club to enhance their status as pursuing something “international.”

**Symbolic Boundaries**

The concept of symbolic boundaries comes from theories of ‘social identity’ (Tajfel 1982). Social identity theory examines identity as a relational concept. That is, individuals identify who they are, based on their images of how they are different from some people and are connected to others in society. Individuals employ a series of cultural repertoires to define who they are by drawing social and symbolic boundaries. In this section, I show how *Wakana* mothers distinguish themselves from the established elite families as new elites, by using various cultural repertoires (Swidler 1986).
**Wakana Families as Intā-mama**

*Wakana* mothers frequently defined themselves and their children in relation to images of families of children enrolled in Japanese elite schools, recognizing themselves as *Intā mama* vis-à-vis mothers of children enrolled in private schools (*shiritsu-kei mama*) or mothers of children preparing for Japanese private elementary school exams (*o-juken mama*). In the minds of *Wakana* families, the latter two groups were understood to be in the category of *domestic established families*.

This boundary between *Intā mama* and established elites was constructed using the difference in their institutional affiliations vis-à-vis international and national schools. *Intā mama* employed a series of cultural repertoires (Swidler 1986) associated with positive aspects of an international education to draw a symbolic boundary between themselves and the established elites, viewing that their children would become successful in the rapidly globalizing world.

Particularly, *the upstart elite mothers* were especially aware of the differences in educational attainment between themselves and the established elites, and they viewed the latter as a threat of sorts. As a result, the symbolic boundaries that *the upstart families* drew tended to be more clearly defined and they tended to emphasize the positive aspects of an international education. This pattern corresponded to existing studies, which have shown that individuals drew symbolic boundaries when confronted with someone higher up in the stratification system (Igarashi 2015a; Lamont 2000; Lamont and Molnar 2002; Stuber 2006). In order to construct the narrative of being a worthy mother, they employ a series of cultural repertoires to construct a worldview that affirms their social position as a status-holder in the existing hierarchy. *Wakana* mothers’ symbolic boundaries were constructed based on the two domains: 1) mothers, and 2) children.
Wakana Mothers’ Boundaries against Domestic Elite Mothers

Wakana mothers defined themselves as *at ease* in terms of raising and educating their children, in relation to their images of mothers in the local elite education track who were perceived as being stressed and obsessed with their children’s education. *Wakana* mothers’ self-image of being *at-ease* mothers was also relationally established in contrast to the images of those in the local elite education track as being totally committed to having their children do well in the “examination hell” (Frost 1991), the term is used for the exam-oriented sorting mechanism of the Japanese education system (Yamamoto and Brinton 2010).

In particular, the *upstart elites* identified mothers in the local elite education track differently from the *overseas-educated elite mothers*. Akemi, an *overseas-educated elite mother*, described Japanese private school mothers’ commitment to their children’s education as “working too hard” and defined *Wakana* mothers as “healthier” because there was less pressure surrounding their children’s education. Kaori, an *upstart elite mother*, drew a stronger boundary and viewed those mothers more critically as “having the devil on their shoulder” because “If the child’s grades go down, they’ll be mad at their children with a squeaky voice. I feel so much pity.”

*Wakana* mothers’ group identity of being *at ease* was actively practiced by the *upstart elite families* because celebrity families and those who are CEOs of entertainment companies, beauty clinics, and fashion enterprises tended to become symbolic figures in the group of *Wakana* families. These women often promoted a type of motherhood which allowed for commitment to their children’s education, but also allowed for commitment to themselves through beauty and fashion. For the *upstart elite families*, the status of being a “cool mom” was not achieved solely by striving to make their children academically competent. This was the
image of an “uncool mom” overly committed to children’s education, corresponding to the image of mothers of established elite children.

*Subordinate Styles: Modern Moms vs. Conservative Moms*

This group identity of being *at-ease* mothers was a component in the creation of *cliques* at *Wakana*. From an “objective” point of view, Ms. Lin told me that there were two types of mothers at *Wakana*—modern moms and conservative moms. The former refers to the dominant, *at-ease* mothers, mainly comprised of the upstart elite families. The latter refers to the more education-obsessed but less fashionable ones. These modern moms were the ones who often hung out at Blue Café and engaged in an extravagant bonding style. Their characteristics were close to those of new elites engaging in “compulsive ways of showing off” (Coleman and Rainwater 1978: 51), an obsessive desire to display their wealth in public in order to manage their inferiority complex toward established elites.

*Conservative moms* remained subordinate in the group hierarchy, viewing modern moms in either an admirable or a negative way. Chiaki, a *global-minded elite mother*, distanced herself from modern moms, more in an admiring way, describing the characteristic of *Wakana* mothers as “There are too many pretty women, don’t you think so? A book that I read said something like…marriage is made based on an exchange between money and beauty. So many rich men marry beautiful women.” According to Ms. Lin, who made the distinction between the cliques, Aki is a typical conservative mom. Aki described a type of mother at *Wakana* whose behavior she questioned: “I think there are some mothers at *Wakana* who are too concerned about their appearance, and they don’t pay attention to their children’s matters. I feel sorry for their kids.”
Although Aki’s child is academically outstanding, the family remained subordinate and less respected in the group at *Wakana*.

One way for mothers to join the clique of *modern moms* is to become friends with celebrity families, the symbolic figures of *Wakana*, who are considered “cool moms.” Masako, who was pointed out by Lin as a typical *modern mom*, is not a celebrity woman herself, but she established a good relationship with two celebrity families at the school, and frequently talked with other *Wakana* families about what these families think about and do regarding childrearing. She also uploaded photos of herself and her children with these celebrity families on Facebook. By doing so, Masako implicitly displayed her high status of being included in the circle of these celebrity families, the symbolic figures of *Wakana* families. Lin also described Masako as “Masako knows about what other moms and children are doing in daily life. If we want to contact some parents, she can do it for us by using her cellphone right away.”

**Wakana Mothers’ Boundaries against Domestic Elite Children**

*Wakana* mothers envision the world as increasingly expanding and demonstrate outward thinking; they want their children to become successful in the global economy. In their worldview, children acquire important global skill sets from their international schooling, whereas those children in the Japanese education system do not. The ways *Wakana* mothers evaluated children from international and Japanese schools align with the discourse promoted by education policies in Japan.

*Intā-mama* emphasized the positive aspects of international schools and the ills of Japanese schools. While the Japanese education system was seen as still placing importance on “modern competencies,” *Wakana* families’ viewed that international schools offered the more
valuable “postmodern” and “global competencies” (See also Figure 1-1). At a gathering for parents, Aki and Chinatsu discussed what skills they thought were important for Japanese children today:

_Aki:_ I think it is important for parents to encourage children to think _independently_ rather than to be bogged down with _fixed ideas._

_Chinatsu:_ I think so too. And now children need _English skills_. If children only speak Japanese, they can only communicate with Japanese people… My friends living near my house want to send their children to _Gakushuin_ and _Keio yochisha_ (two elite Japanese private elementary schools). They told me that if children are shown a blue object at the exams and asked what color it is, they cannot answer “blue.” There is a specific answer for this question.

_Aki:_ That’s really sad. Children’s _creativity_ is much more important than that…

Aki and Chinatsu contrasted “post-modern” (creative thinking) and “global competencies” (English) with “modern competencies” (memorization), thereby indicating that Japanese elementary schools are dated institutions. For _Wakana_ mothers, memorizing a particular answer for an exam is perceived as a type of repression of one’s individuality. _Intā-moms_ understood Japanese schools to be educational institutions that emphasize uniformity in various domains of school life. They also perceived that the central value of uniformity promoted by these schools causes bullying and yields students who are similar in academic level. Erika, a _Wakana_ mother of two sons, expressed her evaluation of children who went to international schools versus those who went to Japanese elite schools:
When my sons and I went to Hokkaido for a skiing trip, we met a family from Tokyo. The family’s son was enrolled in the Keio-yochisha elementary school. We then bumped into foreign tourists, and my sons and I communicated with the tourists in English. But the other family kept quiet and didn’t say anything…Later, they said to us “Wow you guys were great at talking with them in English.” I think the parents and the son were too shy to say anything. At that moment I realized that graduates of Keio-yochisha will be useless in this globalizing society.

Erika was criticizing the family for enrolling their son in the best elite elementary school in Tokyo. Many other Wakana families derived a sense of pride in their children acquiring global cultural capital, represented as fluency in English, and think that their children are getting a head start in this changing global economy.

**Speech Norms**

Speech norms shape a group's assumption on suitable speech topics in a particular context. At Wakana, Intā-mama usually talks about children’s emotional, psychological and academic growth, and extra-curricular activities and their daily lifestyles such as travels, fashions, and planning future gatherings for lunch or after school.

A common pattern observed is that Intā-mama talk about other mothers and their children in a positive way, but about themselves and their own child negatively. Once, at a swimming lesson, eight Wakana mothers came to observe their child’s practice. While all the children walked and swam in the pool following the orders of the swimming instructors, Risa's son
swallowed some water by accident, and started crying. Other Inta-mama expressed their thoughts about him to Risa, saying with their concerning faces, "Oh, is he OK?" "He is pretty brave. Although he cried, he still continued his activity." "It must have been hard for him..." "Risa-san, you must feel like you want to go and hug him." On the other hand, Risa replied bluntly, "No, he is fine. I don't why he cried so quickly. That's more concerning..." Although Risa's remark did not imply that she did not love him, they simply followed a speech norm that parents were not expected to talk about themselves or their own child positively, but had to affirm other mothers and children.

But this speech norm is observed in other ordinary preschool settings in Japan. What seems more specific at Wakana is their conversations on wealth. Their conversations were based on the assumption that people had the same amount of wealth. Even if others did not, they were less likely to be concerned about it. The following conversation was held among Mayu, me and other Intā-mama at a school festival after I came back to Tokyo in 2014.

**Mayu:** Mr. Hiroki, I have kept wondering why you didn't buy a house in Hawai‘i.

**Igarashi:** Well, I didn't think about that option… I should have thought about it (although I don't have such financial resources).

**Mayu:** Mr. Hiroki, I also wanted to ask why you had a shabby-looking moped. Wasn’t it convenient to have a car there?

**Igarashi:** Well, I was a graduate student, so I was pretty poor at that time.

**Mayu:** Really? Ahh, I get it! You love to save money, don't you? I'm sure I'll see your gorgeous house somewhere in the future. (laugh)

**Igarashi:** Ha-ha, please look forward to it!
Although I felt uncomfortable with her questions in this entire conversation, I tried not to let her notice my discomfort. She and other Intā-mama must not have thought that I felt uncomfortable either. It has to be noted that in this conversation, I mentioned about my lack of financial resources while in Hawaiʻi, but she did not take it seriously. Rather, she thought I was just joking.

During pick-up time at Wakana, parents often talked about where they had travelled or planned to go for the upcoming vacation. Those who travel often are not seen as bragging about themselves since others are expected to have wealth. This conversation was held between me and the Yasui family.

Mr. Yasui: Mr. Hiroki, what is your plan for the winter break?
Igarashi: I will go to Hong Kong to attend my friend's wedding.
Ms. Yasui: I see. That's nice. You have no plan to visit Hawaiʻi?
Igarashi: Not this winter break. But Hawaiʻi is nice, isn't it?
Ms. Yasui: Yes, Hawaiʻi IS nice. We have a condominium in Maui, but we sold it, and now we have one in Waikiki. We want to go more frequently, but we cannot really find a time. This winter, we plan go to our cottage in Lake Hamana.

The Yasui family is known as one of the most extravagant families at Wakana, and the wife actively displayed her wealth in the series of conversation. As I knew that they normally talked about topics related to wealth, I had to perform in this conversation as if I belonged to this economic circle. Although I did go to Hong Kong, I used my mileage to purchase my air tickets
and stayed in a cheap youth hostel during my entire stay there. But, I told them only the fact that I would go to Hong Kong, as guided by the speech norm shared at *Wakana*.

**Discussion**

In this chapter, I have argued that women constructed an elite status culture through their children’s schooling at *Wakana*. By analyzing their group bonds, symbolic boundaries and speech norms, which are the main constituents of their group culture (Eliasoph and Lichterman 2003), I revealed *Wakana* mother’s “status work”, and “specific style of life” (Weber 1968: 187), which was reproduced through daily interactions around the school context. As students form an elite status group through elite schooling (Collins 1971; Gaztambide-Fernández 2009), so do their mothers. *Wakana* mothers formed a status group and yielded an elite status culture as *new elite mothers* or *Intā-mama* by following institutional obligations and expectations of global meritocracy, motherhood, and international schools. In doing so, they drew symbolic boundaries between themselves and the established elite families.

The term, “new elite mothers,” was not used by *Wakana* mothers, but there is no doubt they constructed a new elite status culture through their children’s international schooling. Aware of their socioeconomic differences from the established elites, *Wakana* families engaged in status distinction by attaching positive meanings toward their school choice decision, the skills that their children acquired through schooling, and their lifestyle, which is shaped by the curriculum of the school and by their negative view of established elites. In fact, *Wakana* mothers’ shared styles of life can be understood as *new elites* by referring to the existing literature. Cosmopolitan and mobile lifestyles have been discussed as new forms of elite lifestyles in the global economy (Bauman 1998; Hay and Muller 2012; Igarashi and Saito 2014;
Kennedy 2010). An extravagant lifestyle was discussed as a characteristic of _nouveau riche_ due to their lack of recognition in the past (Bourdieu 1979; Coleman and Rainwater 1978).

Although this chapter mainly focused on a sense of solidarity shared among _Wakana_ mothers through their child's international schooling, I also examined the cliques formed among _Wakana_ mothers. These cliques were also loosely formed by Wakana mothers' class backgrounds. The type of culture that _the upstart elite families_ brought in operated as a dominant culture as _modern moms_, which put the other group, named _conservative moms_, as subordinate.
CHAPTER 7: CONCLUSION

This dissertation research investigated lived experiences of local Japanese affluent mothers generating education and family strategies for their child through international schooling at *Wakana*. What can we learn from this small, extreme case of affluent families in Japan? This study does not aim to generalize a form of Japanese inequality, nor to argue the transformation of the class system in Japan. Rather, I argue that a small but notable class and status phenomenon is taking place in transnational social spaces of Tokyo and Hawai‘i, which embraces the characteristics of new elites in the era of globalization—the families' exercise of a high degree of mobility beyond a national border (Bauman 1998), effort to cultivate their child's newly valued cultural capital in a transnational space (Igarashi and Saito 2014; Weiss 2005), and acquisition of a sense of cosmopolitanism (Hannerz 1990) and *being at ease* (Khan 2012a) as new elites' dispositions.

Under the dominant framework of methodological nationalism (Beck and Sznaider 2006; Levitt and Schiller 2004; Wimmer and Glick Shiller 2003), equating societies with nation states, the existing scholarly discussions have observed parents' education strategies, school choice and educational attainment under the national education system of Japan and have often ignored preschools and grade schools of international schools since they are not recognized as 'legitimate' schools by the School Education Law in Japan (Shimizu 2014). However, questioning methodological nationalism enables us to observe *Wakana* mothers' “class work” and “status work,” which takes place transnationally in Tokyo and Hawai‘i.

Considering both aspects of class and status is important because women with children play two roles in the household—class reproduction and status enhancement. But existing studies focus only on women's role in class reproduction (Lareau 2003; Park and Abelmann 2004; Reay
or status enhancement (Collins 1992; Yodanis 2006). Furthermore, to observe class practices of new affluent families as a whole, it is not enough to examine their locally oriented class practices nor to focus only on class or status. As the case of Wakana families has revealed, contemporary new elite mothers can be better understood by focusing on their parenting practices that take place both locally and transnationally, and their subsequent “class” and “status work.”

To make these two points clear, this last chapter summarizes key ideas, concepts and findings from the previous chapters, proposes theoretical contributions and my answers to two research questions: 1) Who actively takes advantage of the emerging new elite education route to achieve upward social mobility or class reproduction in the global stratification hierarchy? 2) How do they challenge the legitimacy of the elite status of those established elites that have been domestically reproduced?

Class Work

“Class work” is understood as mothers’ daily engagement, struggles and practices to cultivate their children's talents in the process of childrearing. The existing literature on local family's choice of international school has solely focused on what curriculum-related factors (learning the English language, international education, class-size, etc.) influence a local family's choice of international schools (Ezra 2007; MacKenzie 2009; 2010; MacKenzie, Hayden, and Thompson 2003).

My analysis, on the other hand, reveals that local families' school choice patterns were classed. Three socioeconomically distinctive groups of Wakana families—the upstart elites, the global-minded elites and the overseas educated elites—chose Wakana from different class
trajectories. In particular, the upstart elites and the overseas-educated elites initially positioned themselves in marginal locations in the Japanese stratification system. While the upstart elite families would choose Wakana as a consequence of institutional rejection by the national elite education track based on low national cultural capital, the overseas-educated elites would choose Wakana as a first choice based on its high resemblance to types of competencies required at their workplace and the social capital they obtained from their work and past schooling experiences. I argued that identifying families’ socioeconomic status, particularly in terms of their possession of global and national cultural capital, and the local tracking structure are useful to understand the mechanisms underlying the choice of international schools by local families.

Furthermore, clarifying the conceptual difference between global cultural capital and national cultural capital is useful for researchers to understand the processes of capital conversion in school choice, beyond the limitations of methodological nationalism. Methodological nationalism prevents researchers from observing a social phenomenon beyond the framework of nation states. However, as many individuals are mobile and tend to acquire language skills, different forms of mannerisms, and complex combinations of educational degrees issued from various regions of the world, it is analytically useful to recognize different types of cultural capital in order to understand how families and individuals’ education strategies, including school choice, are made in the era of globalization. Although this dissertation research recognizes two types of cultural capital, global cultural capital and national cultural capital, it is possible that actors employ more than two types of cultural capital to achieve upward class mobility in the global stratification hierarchy. As a first step of theoretical endeavor, I discussed how educational strategies on school choice are generated by families’ possession of different types of cultural capital. There is certainly much local variation, and researchers face difficulties
collecting data, particularly on socioeconomic information, because the affluent are generally less willing to disclose their private information (Conti and O’Neil 2007). Yet, accumulating such empirical findings from various locations of the world relevant to the questions above would widen existing knowledge of the emerging patterns of class reproduction through parental school choice in a global stratification system.

In addition, I discussed subsequent school choice patterns of *Wakana* families after their children were accepted by the school. The existing literature on the school choice of international schools captures parental school choice as one-shot and in one direction, from Japanese school to international school (Ezra 2007; MacKenzie 2009; MacKenzie 2010; Ng 2012; Waters 2007). My long-term observation of *Wakana* families over four years revealed that their school choice patterns are diverse and flexible. For example, they even keep options open for their children to go back to the Japanese education track, especially families with younger children. I also introduced the mobility patterns of students from less authentic to more authentic locations within the international education track. While keeping diverse choices available, *Inta-mama* constantly dealt with anxiety-producing situations such as which school their child should go to, when to move, whether or not it is really a good choice for their child, etc.

These subsequent school choice patterns were also *classed*. While the *upstart elites* and the *overseas educated elites* are more committed to international education, a particular occupational group of *global-minded elites*—families of physicians—and established elite families like the Sato family, viewed the Japanese education track as the primary route of class reproduction since they themselves achieved elite status through the domestic education route.

This finding reveals that not all the families aim to have their children achieve upward social mobility globally, regardless of the families’ financial circumstance. Some families, such
as those with parents who are medical doctors, are aware that having their children acquire high national cultural capital through Japanese schooling, rather than through international schooling, is the most promising occupational trajectory for their children in order to reproduce family wealth. However, they believe that exposure to early international schooling helps their child learn English from earlier ages and avoid the early local elite education selection such as the private elementary school exam, which is considered more competitive than the international education track.

I also observed Intā-mama’s struggles to cultivate their child’s talents outside of school settings transnationally. While they hoped to have their children acquire global cultural capital, they also placed a high value on their child’s acquisition of national cultural capital, which created higher expectations for being a good mother. They are obligated to ensure their children’s competency in both forms of cultural capital. To be recognized as a good mother and to fulfill motherhood expectations, they strive to have their children become “perfectly” bilingual. Otherwise as Ryoko said, not being able to master both competencies is considered “shameful” for child and mother. Wakana parents' pursuit of acquiring both global and national cultural capital for their child corresponds to Japanese expatriate mothers' class strategies observed in Los Angeles (Nukaga 2013). But families’ strivings to acquire not only global but also national cultural capital have not been considered in other research on East Asian families (Park and Abelmann 2004; Waters 2002; Waters 2005; Yeoh, Huang, and Lam 2005).

**Status Work**

As Max Weber (1958) analytically separated the class and status domains of stratification, status is an important domain for grasping the subjective aspects of families’ class practices. In
particular, as Collins (1992) argued that homemakers play an important role in “perform[ing] the Weberian task of transforming class into status group membership” (219), women like the majority of Wakana mothers engaged in “status work” through daily activities, thus enhancing their families’ and their individual status. Veblen (1934) pointed out that elites in a capitalist society exercise their privilege to waste time by engaging in “unproductive work” that does not yield “profits,” such as vacation. He argues that a wife and child perform vicarious leisure on behalf of the husband “for the good name of the household and its master” (81). However, “wasting time” is no longer symbolic of upper class women. Ostrander’s classic study (1984) of American upper class women reveals women’s role in maintaining and enhancing social ties through their active involvement in volunteer activities to groom the families’ status. This dissertation research did not intend to generalize new elite Japanese mothers’ ‘status work,’ but showed how international schools as a new elite education institution help Inta-mama construct an elite status culture or a “specific style of life” (Weber 1958: 187), which was reproduced through daily interactions around the school context (Eliasoph and Lichterman 2003). My case updates these existing studies above.

*Inta-mama*’s norms of parenting are guided by the ideology of good-wife and wise-mother, but they generated a new style of life by following institutional obligations of international schools. Through their child's international schooling, Wakana mothers were lured into mobile, free, extravagant, and cosmopolitan lifestyles. They became more mobile as international schools encourage their students to be exposed to international experiences, which require frequent sightseeing and overseas study trips. Wakana mothers felt more free or liberated by recognizing that *Wakana*’s school rules that require mothers' moral commitments to school activities are much looser than those implemented in elite schools in the Japanese education track.
They are not rigidly required to participate in volunteer activities for school on a regular basis, to wear discreet clothes, nor to prepare for lunch every day. *Wakana* mothers became more *extravagant* as they are encouraged to travel abroad, and as international schools in Tokyo offer school environments where they can publicly display their wealth through cars and fashion, compared to Japanese schools where such displays are inappropriate. In addition, as many *upstart elite* mothers worked or have strong ties with cosmetic and entertainment firms, they brought in more consumption-oriented values. Lastly *Wakana* mothers also became more *cosmopolitan* because like their child, they also were exposed to social environments in which they could interact with foreign mothers in Tokyo and Hawai‘i and consume foreign cultural traditions and foods, both locally and transnationally.

By embracing such a specific style of life, *Inta-mama*, particularly *upstart elite* mothers, view mothers whose children go to Japanese elite schools as a negative reference group to define what a good mother is. They came to develop a perspective that questions the legitimacy of elite education in the Japanese education track, as well as vocabularies to criticize it. They distinguished themselves from the latter by drawing symbolic boundaries by ensuring that their children acquire higher global cultural capital, and they view their school choice and class work as cutting-edge choices that will enable their child to become more “successful” than their counterparts in future job and marriage markets. However, *Inta-mama* also have an ambivalent feeling for these traditional elite mothers--they are aware that their children often misbehave in public spaces, and that their behaviors and fashions are not considered legitimate, but rather a bit flamboyant, from the standard of the established elite mothers.

*Inta-mama's* construction of an elite status culture through their child's international schooling contributes to the existing studies on boarding schools (Gaztambide-Fernández 2009;
Khan 2012a). Gaztambide-Fernández and Khan's studies focused on how students in these elite schools come to embody a sense of privilege through elite schooling, but it neglects its influence on other family members. This dissertation research shows how families, particularly mothers, are also lured into an elite, international lifestyle through their children’s elite schooling, and acquire a sense of privilege accordingly. However, it has to be noted that the influence of children’s elite schooling upon their families varies depending on their children’s ages. The younger the children, the more influential the culture of elite schools is upon their parents, because parents of younger children are more involved in schooling matters.

**Gendered Transnational Class and Status Work**

I would like to conclude this study by examining the identity Inta-mama constructed through combining their gendered transnational class and status work. Wakana mothers came to acquire this new elite mother culture through their child's schooling; they acquired vocabularies, such as “postmodern” and “global competencies,” to distinguish themselves from the old established elites and to modify the dominant view of what ideal mothers are supposed to be.

They came to embody a sense of privilege by exercising the norm of being a good mother as guided by good-wife and wise-mother ideology, but they looked down upon those who are bogged down solely by mothering practices. In fact, those who sacrifice for their children are placed in a subordinate position in the circle of Intā-mama. Ideal mothers are those who actively take part not only in “class work” by loving their child and cultivating their child's global and national cultural capital, but also in “status work,” exercising their selfhood by cherishing their self-fulfillment through traveling overseas, consuming high class food and items, enjoying esthetics to maintain their beauty, and so on.
However, exercising selfhood can be a source of criticism from others. Intā-mama's desires to pursue selfhood such as by travelling overseas is hidden in the logic of motherhood, as Igarashi argued (2015b). They express that their travel to Hawai‘i is “necessary” as their child needs to attend local preschools in Hawai‘i to increase their child's English fluency. Thus, their children's need to be exposed to authentic English speaking environments enabled the mothers to maximize their selfhood. By balancing the selfhood and motherhood locally and transnationally, they acquire a sense of being-at ease.

Although Veblen (1934) stated that capitalists exercise their privilege to waste time and money in the form of foreign travel, I argue that foreign travel, including summer schooling, is no longer seen as an “unproductive use of time” in this contemporary globalizing world, but rather as necessary for the educational purposes of their children. As acquiring cosmopolitan competencies and fluency in foreign languages is becoming more and more an important skillset, child’s experience obtained from an overseas trip and schooling can be regarded as educational and meaningful. Thus, Wakana mothers’ desires for foreign travel to maximize their selfhood is justified by their children’s exposure to international environments as an opportunity to cultivate global cultural capital. Their status work is realized under their class work. In the rapidly globalizing society, Veblen’s ‘conspicuous leisure’ should be updated as ‘conspicuous education’ as a symbolic practice to have children acquire global cultural capital and to enhance the family's status, not only in the national but also the global stratification hierarchy, which is realized by women's gendered transnational class and status work.
## APPENDIX A: BACKGROUNDS OF WAKANA FAMILIES

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name*</th>
<th>Class</th>
<th>Husband's Education</th>
<th>Husband's Occupation</th>
<th>Husband's Age</th>
<th>Wife's Education</th>
<th>Wife's Occupation</th>
<th>Wife's Age</th>
<th>Sex</th>
<th>Childs</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Akemi (Wife)</td>
<td>Overseas-educated elites</td>
<td>MBA (US)</td>
<td>IT firm CEO</td>
<td>40s</td>
<td>4-year college</td>
<td>Homemaker (Former banker of foreign companies)</td>
<td>40s</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>M</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aki (Wife)</td>
<td>Global-minded elites</td>
<td>Graduate school</td>
<td>Researcher</td>
<td>40s</td>
<td>4-year college</td>
<td>Homemaker</td>
<td>30s</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asuka (Wife)</td>
<td>Global-minded elites</td>
<td>Medical school</td>
<td>Medical doctor</td>
<td>40s</td>
<td>4-year college</td>
<td>Homemaker</td>
<td>40s</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aya (Wife)</td>
<td>Global-minded elites</td>
<td>4-year college</td>
<td>Board member of an entertainment firm</td>
<td>No info.</td>
<td>4-year college</td>
<td>Board member of an entertainment firm</td>
<td>30s</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>M</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chiaki (Wife)</td>
<td>Global-minded elites</td>
<td>4-year college</td>
<td>Elite White-collar worker at a trading firm</td>
<td>Medical school</td>
<td>Medical doctor</td>
<td></td>
<td>40s</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>F</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chinatsu (Wife) MANABE</td>
<td>Upstart elites</td>
<td>Junior high school</td>
<td>Construction firm CEO</td>
<td>No info.</td>
<td>College dropout</td>
<td>Homemaker</td>
<td>40s</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>F</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eiko (Wife)</td>
<td>Global-minded elites</td>
<td>4-year college</td>
<td>Board member of a manufacturing firm</td>
<td>30s</td>
<td>4-year college</td>
<td>Board member of a manufacturing firm</td>
<td>30s</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>M</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Erika (Wife)</td>
<td>Global-minded elites</td>
<td>4-year college</td>
<td>Lawyer</td>
<td>No info.</td>
<td>4-year college</td>
<td>Homemaker</td>
<td>30s</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>M</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hosomi</td>
<td>Overseas-educated elites</td>
<td>4-year college</td>
<td>No information</td>
<td>30s</td>
<td>4-year college</td>
<td>Work in a foreign financial company</td>
<td>30s</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Junko (Wife) &amp; Teruo (Husband) YASUI</td>
<td>Upstart elites</td>
<td>High school</td>
<td>Head of vocational School</td>
<td>50s</td>
<td>High school</td>
<td>Cosmetic firm CEO</td>
<td>60s</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>F</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kaori (Wife)</td>
<td>Upstart elites</td>
<td>High school</td>
<td>Small business owner</td>
<td>40s</td>
<td>High school</td>
<td>Homemaker</td>
<td>40s</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>M</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kayoko (Wife) &amp; Takashi (Husband) MACHIDA</td>
<td>Upstart elites</td>
<td>College dropout (Own a bar)</td>
<td>Homemaker</td>
<td>40s</td>
<td>Vocational School</td>
<td>CEO of an Artist Management firm</td>
<td>40s</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### APPENDIX A: BACKGROUNDS OF WAKANA FAMILIES (CONTINUED)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name*</th>
<th>Class</th>
<th>Husband's Education</th>
<th>Husband's Occupation</th>
<th>Husband's Age</th>
<th>Wife's Education</th>
<th>Wife's Occupation</th>
<th>Wife's Age</th>
<th>Sex and Name of 1st Child</th>
<th>Sex and Name of 2nd Child</th>
<th>Sex and Name of 3rd Child</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Kazuko</td>
<td>Global-minded elites</td>
<td>Medical school</td>
<td>Medical doctor</td>
<td>No info.</td>
<td>4-year college</td>
<td>Homemaker (former flight attendant)</td>
<td>50s</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Madoka</td>
<td>Global-minded elites</td>
<td>Medical school</td>
<td>Medical doctor</td>
<td>30s</td>
<td>4-year college</td>
<td>Homemaker (former flight attendant)</td>
<td>30s</td>
<td>M / M</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Masako</td>
<td>Global-minded elites</td>
<td>Medical school</td>
<td>Medical doctor</td>
<td>40s</td>
<td>2-year college</td>
<td>Homemaker (former flight attendant)</td>
<td>40s</td>
<td>F / Mika</td>
<td>M / Ken</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mayu</td>
<td>Upstart elites</td>
<td>High school</td>
<td>Restaurant owner</td>
<td>No info.</td>
<td>4-year college</td>
<td>Homemaker</td>
<td>30s</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Megumi &amp; Masashi</td>
<td>Global-minded elites</td>
<td>Medical school</td>
<td>Medical doctor</td>
<td>No info.</td>
<td>Junior high school</td>
<td>Athlete and entertainer</td>
<td>No info.</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nozomi</td>
<td>Overseas-educated elites</td>
<td>4-year college</td>
<td>CEO of artist management company</td>
<td>No info.</td>
<td>4-year college</td>
<td>Sports instructor</td>
<td>30s</td>
<td>M / Tadashi M / Koji</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reiko</td>
<td>Overseas-educated elites</td>
<td>4-year college</td>
<td>White collar worker at foreign firm</td>
<td>40s</td>
<td>4-year college (US)</td>
<td>Homemaker</td>
<td>40s</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rie</td>
<td>Global-minded elites</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>4-year college</td>
<td>White collar worker</td>
<td>30s</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Risa</td>
<td>Upstart elites</td>
<td>High school (international school)</td>
<td>Small business owner</td>
<td>30s</td>
<td>High school</td>
<td>Homemaker</td>
<td>30s</td>
<td>F / M</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ryoko</td>
<td>Global-minded elites</td>
<td>4-year college</td>
<td>Manufacturing firm CEO</td>
<td>40s</td>
<td>4-year college</td>
<td>Homemaker</td>
<td>40s</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Saori</td>
<td>Overseas-educated elites</td>
<td>4-year college</td>
<td>Art designer</td>
<td>No info.</td>
<td>2-year college</td>
<td>Homemaker</td>
<td>30s</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tomoko</td>
<td>Global-minded elites</td>
<td>4-year college</td>
<td>Japanese finance company</td>
<td>30s</td>
<td>4-year college</td>
<td>Homemaker</td>
<td>30s</td>
<td>F / Mana</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yayoi</td>
<td>Global-minded elites</td>
<td>4-year college</td>
<td>Board member of foreign finance company</td>
<td>No info.</td>
<td>4-year college</td>
<td>Homemaker</td>
<td>30s</td>
<td>M / M</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yoshie</td>
<td>Upstart elites</td>
<td>High school</td>
<td>Small business owner</td>
<td>No info.</td>
<td>High school</td>
<td>Homemaker</td>
<td>30s</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yurika</td>
<td>Global-minded elites</td>
<td>4-year college</td>
<td>Medical expert</td>
<td>40s</td>
<td>4-year college</td>
<td>Homemaker</td>
<td>40s</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
APPENDIX B: THE CONSENT FORMS WITH PARENTS

AGREEMENT TO PARTICIPATE IN
A Study on Early Elite Education and Parenting in Tokyo

Hiroki Igarashi

Doctoral Candidate at Department of Sociology,
University of Hawai‘i at Mānoa

&

Visiting Graduate Student
at Graduate School of Education, Tokyo University

This research investigates how parents, especially mothers, are involved in for the education of their children who go to kindergartens in Tokyo area. For this purpose, I will conduct 60-90 minutes interview with mothers who send their child(ren) to (School Name). This interview will be used in my Ph.D. dissertation and future research projects for publication.

The interview will be confidential, and I will not use your name unless you give me permission to do so. My research notes and all records of the interview will be kept in a safe place in my personal possession. With your permission, I would like to record the interview. The recording will be used solely for research purposes and will be destroyed upon completion of the project. If you do not wish to have me record the interview, I can just take notes of our conversation. You are of course free to stop the interview at any time, or to decline to answer any of my questions.

I believe there is little or no risk to participating in this research project. Although you may not receive any direct benefits from this research, your contribution will greatly aid in making education related policies in the future.

You may read this consent for yourself and keep its copy for your purposes if you like.

If you agree that the interview will be audiotaped, please check the box of “Yes.” If not, please check the box of “No.”

□ Yes □ No

I understand the terms described in this consent form and agree to participate in the interview.

Signature __________________________ Date ____________

If you have any questions about this project, please contact me at the following address:

Hiroki Igarashi
Address: __________________________
Phone: __________________________
Email: __________________________

If you have any concerns about the research procedures, you may contact:
The Committee on Human Studies, University of Hawai‘i,
1960 East-west Road. B-104, Honolulu, Hawaii 96822, U.S.A.
Phone: 808-956-5007
幼児教育・子育て・学校選択に関する研究
「インタビューの協力に関する同意書」

調査員：五十嵐 洋己 <hirokii@hawaii.edu>
ハワイ大学マノア校社会学部・博士課程在籍
東京大学大学院教育学研究科教育学部在籍

この研究は東京近郊に住む家族、特に母親がどのような幼児教育に興味を持ち、どのように日々の子育てを実践し、そしてどのような学校に子供を通わせたいと思っているのかを調査することを目的とした研究です。この研究に際し、幼稚園、保育園、インターナショナルスクール、日本の小学校に子どもを通わせている（いた）家族とインタビューを行っています。インタビュー時間は60分から90分程度での終了を予定しています。この調査結果は調査員の研究論文に使われます。

インタビューは完全に機密に扱われ、インタビューを受けた方の名前は許可なしに公開されることはありません。インタビューのデータや調査ノートは安全な場所に保管されます。インタビューは許可が出た場合のみ録音されます。録音されたデータは研究の目的のみに使われ、調査の終了と共にデータは廃棄されます。もしそのインタビューを録音されたくない場合は申し出てください、録音しない代わりにノートを取らせてもらいます。インタビューの質問に答えるかどうかはインタビューを受ける方の自由です。インタビューを途中で止めたい場合はいつでも仰って下さい。

以上の同意書を読み、このコピーが必要でしたら申し出て下さい。

インタビューの録音に同意する場合は下記の「同意する」の□に✓を、同意しない場合は「同意しない」の□に✓を入れてください。

□ 同意する □ 同意しない

以上の同意書の条件を理解し、このインタビューに参加することに同意する場合は下記にサインと日付のご記入をお願いいたします。

Signature ___________________________ Date ___________________________

この調査に関して質問がありましたら、下記までお問い合わせ下さい：

連絡先: [黒塗り]
電話: [黒塗り]
研究者: [黒塗り]
Email: [黒塗り]

この調査の倫理性や手順に関して質問がありましたら、下記までお問い合わせ下さい：
The Committee on Human Studies, University of Hawai‘i,
1960 East-west Road. B-104, Honolulu, Hawaii 96822, U.S.A.
Phone: 808-956-5007

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APPENDIX C: INTERVIEW QUESTIONS FOR INTERVIEWS WITH PARENTS

Interview Questions in English

Basic background
1. Ages of interviewee (mother), spouse and child(ren)
2. Do you have a job? What about your husband?
   - What is the occupation?
   - How big is the company you (or your husband) work for?
3. Could you tell me your highest degree that you have obtained from academic institutions? What about your husband?
4. What were your parents’ jobs?
5. Could you tell me your parents’ highest degrees that they have obtained from academic institutions? What about your husbands’ parents?
6. Can you tell me something about your background?
7. Where did you grow up?
8. What was your family like?
   - What was your family’s attitude toward education?
   - How did it reflect upon you?
9. What was your childhood like? (Was childhood happy/secure? Less happy?)
10. Do you have siblings? What was your relationship like?

About child
11. How would you describe your child(ren)?
12. What does he/she like to do?
13. What is his/her personality like?
14. Child’s schooling histories (Types of kindergarten and preschools… Was it English speaking or Japanese speaking? Was it private or public?)
15. Has your child(ren) experienced after-school programs (naraigoto)?
   - What are they? When? Why?

Parental school choice:
16. What are the features of the school?
17. What are the children in the school like?
18. What do you think of the school?
19. Why did you choose the school?
20. Did your child take the exams of other schools?
   - Why did you choose the schools?
21. How did your family decide the child’s school?
22. Do you plan to have your child take ojukan?
   - If yes, when did you start preparing for it?
     i. Why do you want to have your child take ojukan?
     ii. How do you prepare for ojukan?
   - If not, have you ever thought about it?
     i. If yes, why did you lose your interest in ojukan?

Values about child’s future orientation (Pay attention to gender deference)
23. How do you want your child to grow, personality-wise?
   • Can you describe images of children that you want your child to become like?
   • Can you describe images of child that you don’t want your child to become like?
24. How do you want your child to become in the future, career wise?
25. What kind of skills do you want your child to acquire as he/she grows up?
   • Why?
26. How much education do you want your child to obtain?
   • Why?
   • If college, what college (e.g. ranking and location (U.S.? Japan?) do you want him/her to go? Why?
   • What if your child says he/she doesn’t want to go to college?
27. More specifically, what types of school do you want your child to attend? (e.g. middle school, high school and college, private or public?)
   • Why?
28. How much is learning English important for your child?
29. How does knowing English affect the child’s future?
30. How much do you care about the child’s GPA?

Questions on respondents’ evaluative criteria about motherhood
31. Can you describe mothers you prefer to associate with?
32. Can you describe mothers you prefer NOT to associate with?
33. Can you describe mothers in relation to whom you feel superior?
34. Can you describe mothers in relation to whom you feel inferior?
35. Can you describe mothers with whom you feel sympathetic?
36. Can you describe mothers in relation to whom you feel hostile?
37. Can you describe some positive traits of mothers around you?
38. Can you describe some negative traits of mothers around you?
Interview Questions in Japanese

Basic background
1. あなたと、旦那様、お子様の年齢を教えてください。
2. あなたは仕事をしていますか？旦那様はいしていますか？
   a. 仕事をしていればそのお仕事は何ですか？
   b. 会社の従業員数を教えてください。
3. あなたと旦那様の最終学歴を教えてください。
4. あなたのご両親のお仕事を教えてください。
5. あなたのご両親の最終学歴を教えてください。あなたの旦那様のご両親の最終学歴を教えてください。
6. あなたの育った環境に関して簡単に説明してください。
7. どちらで幼少期を過ごしましたか？
8. あなたの家族はどのような感じですか？
   a. あなたのご両親の教育に対しての考えはどのような考えをお持ちでしたか？
   b. それは今のあなたにどのような影響があると思いますか？
9. あなたが小さかったころはどのような感じの子どもでしたか？
10. あなたは兄妹がいらっしゃいますか。彼らとの関係はどのような感じでしたか？

About child
11. 簡単にあなたのお子様について説明してください。
12. お子様は何をするのが好きですか？
13. お子様の性格はどのような感じですか？
14. あなたのお子様が通ってきた学校を最初から順に教えてください。その際に、その学校が私立か公立か、インターナショナルスクールか、日本の学校かも教えてください。
15. お子様は習い事をしていらっしゃいますか。習い事をしていれば何を習っているか教えてください。それをはじめてきっかけを教えてください。

Parental school choice:
16. あなたのお子様の通う幼稚園の特徴を教えてください。
17. お子様は学校ではどのように過ごしていますか。
18. 通わせている幼稚園をどう思いますか？
19. どうしてこの幼稚園を選んだのですか？
20. ほかの幼稚園も受験しましたか？
   a. そうであれば、なぜその幼稚園を選んだのですか？
21. あなたの家庭ではどのように子ども学校を選ぶのですか？
22. あなたは子どもお受験を受けさせようと考えていますか？
   a. もしそうであれば、いつごろから準備を始めましたか？
      i. なぜお受験を受けさせなければいけないのですか？
      ii. どのようにお受験に向けて準備をされていますか？
b. もしそうでなければ、今までお受験を受けようか考えたことはありますか？
i. もしそうであれば、なぜお受験を諦めたのですか？

Values on child’s future orientation (Pay attention to gender deference)
23. あなたは子どもがどのような性格の子に育ってほしいと思いますか？
• このような子どもに育ってほしいというようなイメージがありましたら教えてください。
• このような子どもに育ってほしくないというようなイメージがありましたら教えてください。
24. あなたは子どもに将来どのような職業についてほしいと考えていますか？
25. 子どもにはどのようなスキルや能力を身についてほしいと思いますか？
• その理由を教えてください。
26. 子どもへの最終学歴について希望はありますか？
• その理由を教えてください。
• もし大学であれば、どのような大学ですか？ランキングや国などを気にされますか？
• もし子どもが大学に行きたくないといったらどうされますか？
27. 小学校、中学、高校と公立や私立など、どういった教育ルートを通ってほしいですか？
• その理由を教えてください。
28. 英語を習うことは子どもにとってどのくらい重要だと思いますか？
29. 英語を習得することが子ども将来にどのように影響を与えると思いますか？
30. 子どもの成績は気にされますか？

Questions on respondents’ evaluative criteria about motherhood
31. あなたが仲良くしたいお母さんはどういう人ですか？
32. あなたが仲良くしたくないと思うお母さんはどういう人ですか？
33. あなたが共感を抱く人はどういう人ですか？
34. あなたが自分のほうが勝っているとか優れていると思うお母さんはどういう人ですか？
35. あなたが劣等感を感じるお母さんはどういうお母さんですか？
36. あなたが嫌悪感を感じる人はどういう人ですか？
37. あなたの周りのお母さんの良いなと特徴を教えてください。
38. あなたの周りのお母さんの嫌だなと思う特徴を教えてください
APPENDIX D: THE CONSENT FORMS FOR INTERVIEWS WITH SCHOOL OFFICIALS AND TEACHERS

AGREEMENT TO PARTICIPATE IN
Early Education and Parenting in Globalizing Japan

Hiroki Igarashi

Doctoral Candidate at Department of Sociology
University of Hawai‘i at Mānoa
&
Visiting Research Fellow,
at Graduate School of Education, University of Tokyo

This research investigates how parents, especially mothers, are involved in the education of their children in the age of globalization. For this purpose, I conduct 60 minute interview with school principals and/or business managers of preschools, kindergartens and elementary, junior and high schools in the Tokyo metropolitan region. This interview will be used in my Ph.D. dissertation and future research projects for publication.

The interview will be confidential, and I will not use your name unless you give me permission to do so. My research notes and all records of the interview will be kept in a safe place in my personal possession. With your permission, I would like to record the interview. The recording will be used solely for research purposes and will be destroyed upon completion of the project. If you do not wish to have me record the interview, I can just take notes of our conversation. You are of course free to stop the interview at any time, or to decline to answer any of my questions.

I believe there is little or no risk to participating in this research project. Although you may not receive any direct benefits from this research, your contribution will greatly aid in making education related policies in the future.

You may read this consent for yourself and keep its copy for your purposes if you like.

If you agree that the interview will be audiotaped, please check the box of “Yes.” If not, please check the box of “No.”

□ Yes □ No

I understand the terms described in this consent form and agree to participate in the interview.

Signature                        Date

If you have any questions about this project, please contact me at the following address:

Hiroki Igarashi
Address: 2-5-402 Nishi-nippori, Arakawa-ku, Tokyo, Japan Zip: 116-0013
Phone: 070-5099-0205
Email: hiroki@hawaii.edu

If you have any concerns about the research procedures, you may contact:
The Committee on Human Studies, University of Hawai‘i, 1960 East-west Road, B-104, Honolulu, Hawaii 96822, U.S.A. Phone: 808-956-5007
グローバル化する日本における早期教育と子育ての研究
「インタビューの協力に関する同意書」

調査員：五十嵐 洋己 <hirokii@hawaii.edu>
ハワイ大学マノア校社会学部・博士課程在籍
東京大学大学院教育学研究科教育学部在籍

この研究は東京近郊に住む家族、特に母親がグローバル化が進展する今日、どのような早期教育に興味を持ち、日々の子育てを実践しているのかについての研究です。この研究に際し、幼稚園、保育園、学校の校長先生や経営者の方々にインタビュー調査を行っています。インタビュー時間は 60 分程度での終了を予定しています。この調査結果は調査員の研究論文に使われます。

インタビューは完全に機密に扱われ、インタビューを受けた方の名前は許可なしに公開されることはありません。インタビューのデータや調査ノートは安全な場所に保管されます。インタビューは許可が出た場合のみ録音されます。録音されたデータは研究の目的のみに使われ、調査の終了と共にデータは廃棄されます。もしそのインタビューを録音されたくない場合は申し出てください、録音しない代わりにノートを取らせてもらいます。インタビューの質問に答えるかどうかはインタビューを受ける方の自由です。インタビューを途中で止めたい場合はいつでも仰って下さい。

以上の同意書を読み、このコピーが必要でしたら申し出て下さい。

インタビューの録音に同意する場合は下記の「同意する」の□に✓を、同意しない場合は「同意しない」の□に✓を入れてください。

□ 同意する  □ 同意しない

以上の同意書の条件を理解し、このインタビューに参加することに同意する場合は下記にサインと日付のご記入をお願いいたします。

Signature                      Date

この調査に関して質問がありましたら、下記までお問い合わせ下さい：

連絡先：
電話：
調査員：
Email：

この調査の倫理性や手順に関して質問がありましたら、下記までお問い合わせ下さい：

The Committee on Human Studies, University of Hawai‘i,
1960 East-west Road. B-104, Honolulu, Hawaii 96822, U.S.A.
Phone: 808-956-5007
APPENDIX E: INTERVIEW QUESTIONS
WITH SCHOOL OFFICIALS AND TEACHERS

Interview Questions in English

About the school
1. When was this school established?
2. Why did you decide to establish your school?
3. What are your school missions?
4. Why do you think that your school missions are important?
5. Has the school curriculum and policies changed in the past?
   • If yes, why did your change the school curriculum?
6. Before working at this school, what did you do?

About the families who send their children to the school
7. What are the nationalities of your students?
8. Can you describe the types (class-wise) of families who send their children to this kindergarten?
   • Has the trend been the same? If not, how has it been changed?
9. What are the families’ major concerns about schooling?
10. Have you ever received any request, demand or criticism on school curricula, administration policy, etc., from families?
   • If yes, what are they? How did you and other school officials deal with them?
11. How many children in this school take ojuken every year?
12. How much do you care about the ojuken results of the children?
   • How do they affect the image of your school?
13. Do you find any difference between families and children who take ojuken and those who do not?
   • If yes, what are the causes to make the differences?
14. What do you think about this phenomenon of ojuken?
15. What school do your students go after they graduate from your school?

Strategies
16. How do your advertise your school?
17. What is your uniqueness from other schools?
18. How do you recruit your teachers?
19. How do you want to continue or expand your school business in the future?
20. Are there other schools that you find questionable?
   • If there is, why?
21. What are the nationalities of your teachers?
22. How do you want your students to become like in the future?

The Effect of Tsunami and Earthquake
23. How did the tsunami and earthquake in Northern Japan affect your school business?
Interview Questions in Japanese

About the school
1. この学校はいつ設立されましたか。
2. この学校の設立の経緯を教えてください。
3. 本校のミッションを教えてください。
4. 本校のミッションがなぜ大事なのか教えてください。
5. ミッションや学校のカリキュラムは過去変化がありますか。
   ● そうであれば、どうして変更をしたのか教えてください。
6. この学校が設立される前、どのようなお仕事をされていましたか？

About the families who send their children to the school
7. 本校の子ども達の国籍とその割合を教えてください。
8. どのようなタイプの家族（階層など）がこの学校に子供を送っているか説明していただけませんか。
   ● このパターンはずっと変わらないままですか。そうでなければいつ頃変化しましたか。
9. 本校に子供を通わせる家族の主な関心事項とは何でしょうか。
10. 過去に、学校のカリキュラム、運営、ミッションに対して保護者から要求や批判を受けたことはありますか。
   ● もしあれば、それはどのようなものですか。本校ではそのようなことに対してどのように対応をしてきましたか。
11. 本校でどの位の割合の子どもがお受験をしますか。
12. 本校ではどの程度お受験の結果を気にされていますか。
   ● お受験の結果がどの程度本校のイメージに影響を与えますか。
13. お受験に挑戦する家庭とそうでない家庭で何か違いを感じますか。
   ● もしあれば、そのような違いはどこから来ると思えますか。
14. お受験の風潮に対してどのように思われますか。
15. 本校を卒業された子ども達の進学先はどこですか？

Strategies
16. この学校はどのように外部へ宣伝をしていますか。
17. 他の学校とは違う本校の特徴はなんですか。
18. 先生はどのように採用していますか。
19. 今後学校の経営やビジネスをどのように発展させようと思っていらっしゃいますか。
20. 経営や運営方針に関してどうかなと思う学校はありますか。
   ● もしあればその理由を教えてください。
21. 先生の国籍を教えてください。その割合も教えてください。
22. 本校の子どもは将来どのようにになってほしいと思いますか。

The Effect of Tsunami and Earthquake
23. 東北大学震災の影響は本校にはありましたか。それはどのようなものでしたか。
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