



## **WestminsterResearch**

<http://www.westminster.ac.uk/westminsterresearch>

### **The media & Japanese children in diaspora: understanding Japanese families' media consumption & everyday lives in London.**

**Kaoruko Kondo**

School of Media, Arts and Design

This is an electronic version of a PhD thesis awarded by the University of Westminster. © The Author, 2005.

This is a scanned reproduction of the paper copy held by the University of Westminster library.

---

The WestminsterResearch online digital archive at the University of Westminster aims to make the research output of the University available to a wider audience. Copyright and Moral Rights remain with the authors and/or copyright owners.

Users are permitted to download and/or print one copy for non-commercial private study or research. Further distribution and any use of material from within this archive for profit-making enterprises or for commercial gain is strictly forbidden.

---

Whilst further distribution of specific materials from within this archive is forbidden, you may freely distribute the URL of WestminsterResearch:  
(<http://westminsterresearch.wmin.ac.uk/>).

In case of abuse or copyright appearing without permission e-mail  
[repository@westminster.ac.uk](mailto:repository@westminster.ac.uk)

THE MEDIA & JAPANESE CHILDREN  
IN DIASPORA  
UNDERSTANDING JAPANESE  
FAMILIES' MEDIA CONSUMPTION &  
EVERYDAY LIVES IN LONDON

Kaoruko Kondo

A thesis submitted in partial fulfilment of the  
requirements of the University of Westminster  
for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

June 2005



## ***Abstract***

This study examined the media consumption of the Japanese sojourners in London which is the largest Japanese diaspora in Europe. Japanese sojourners are sent by their companies and tend to upgrade their lifestyles supported by the employers.

Eleven Japanese sojourners' families who had children aged five to eight participated in this study, being visited every two months over a year. Using ethnographic methods in which in-depth interviews, participant observations, and digital photos by the children and me were used, the data were gathered. Life-course analysis was also used to examine to understand how and why they use particular media.

The research aims are to understand the relationship between their media consumption and the everyday lives of Japanese sojourners' families in London, explore children and mothers' identities while they sojourn, study their particular media consumption patterns, critically analyse the media products which the families consumed and experienced, and investigate the mothers' childrearing in a host country where they consider their children's future in Japan, including the significance of language.

Through the ethnographic research which produced rich data, the children and mothers' changing identities, focusing on hybrid identities were studied. Hybrid identities were examined through the hidden voices of those women who devote themselves into home and children's talks and their everyday lives.

Additionally, their particular media consumption patterns led to rethink today's roles of Japanese diasporic and global media in a diaspora, Britain and Japan's policies on multiculturalism, and urban environment where children live.

## *Acknowledgements*

First of all, I do appreciate all mothers and the children who participated in the interviews with their children over a year. Thanks of the mothers understanding of my research even though they were busy with driving their children to schools and lessons, I was able to complete my fieldwork which was inevitable for this research. I also regretted that I might hurt the children who had been willing to give their opinions, show their toys and play with me that I was not able to continue to play with them as a friend. I will not forget that they were waiving their hands to see me off from the windows until we could not see.

I also really appreciate Mr. Kitagawa, who was from NHK and a former head of JSTV in London and had encouraged my research since my MA. He also provided his busy time for me for several times during this research and accepted the interview and gave honest opinions despite of his position.

I would like to appreciate my supervisors Professor. Annett Hill, Dr. Roza Tsagarousianou, and Professor Paddy Scannel for encouraging my Ph.D. Especially, I was encouraged by Professor Hill who had given me not only academic advices but also supported me mentally (with her lovely dogs) and Dr. Tsagarousianou who had given precise feedback to improve my thesis.

Finally, I would like to add special thanks to my family & friends in Japan and Britain, especially to Michael, who encouraged and supported me to complete this Ph.D.all the time.



Contents

*Abstract*.....*i*

*Acknowledgements*.....*ii*

Introduction.....1

Literature Review .....9

Chapter II Research Methods .....27

Chapter III Japanese Overseas Community and Returnee Issues .....61

Chapter IV Everyday Lives in London: Upgraded Lifestyle and Insecurity .....95

Chapter V Global and Diasporic Media Consumption .....133

Chapter VI Choosing the Media for Children .....173

Chapter VII Children’s Developing Identities .....212

Chapter VIII Mothers’ Identities .....240

Chapter IX Conclusion .....263

Bibliography.....300

Appendices.....314

Appendix 1a: The Introduction of Family (English version)

Appendix 1b: The Introduction of Family (Japanese version)

Appendix 1c: The Introduction of the Families (from the participants of this study)

Appendix 2a: Statement of informed consent and permission to use information for families (English version)

Appendix 2b: Statement of informed consent and permission to use information for JSTV (English version)

Appendix 2c: Statement of informed consent and permission (Japanese version)

Appendix 3: Statement of informed consent and clearance note (English version only)

Appendix 4: Main Interview Questions

## Introduction

Japanese companies have expanded their businesses throughout the world, especially since the 80's. They have also sent their workers from Japan to these branches. In host countries, they have established their ethnic community. London, for example, has the largest Japanese expatriate population in Europe. Although Japan experienced severe recession in the early 90's, the community continues to exist. The Japanese community, from this view, may have different features from other diasporas such as Indians, Turkish, Chinese or Jewish in London, or from Japanese communities in Los Angeles or Brazil where Japanese immigrated to find better lives. Within individual movement according to their companies' business expansions, economic factors cannot be ignored. Economic factors, however, are different. They are more institutionally oriented, not individual acts. That is, these Japanese expatriates and their families tend to be influenced by their own companies who support them with many kinds of financial aids such as housing, education, travelling and so forth. Within such an environment, how individuals in the Japanese community develop their identities while they stay abroad will be examined in this study.

Those families are labelled as '*chuzai-in*' non-permanent/temporary sojourners who are displaced in the world from Japan. They are differentiated from those immigrants who chose to leave their original country. In relation to them, Befu Harumi states, 'the most prominent in the category of nonpermanent sojourners no doubt are business expatriates and their families' (2000: 5). He adds,

Japan's economic expansion abroad has necessarily been accompanied by movement of people. As multinational corporations are established all over the world, corporate soldiers are sent abroad to set up beachheads as the front line of Japan's economic imperial expansions (Ibid.).

These front lines also hire non-Japanese and female Japanese workers already residing in host countries who are employed on local terms without fixed benefits which expatriates can obtain (Ibid). Although Befu used military words to describe their work, Eyal Ben-Ari who has interviewed Japanese businessmen in Singapore points out,

...the Japanese expatriates hardly used political or military terms to account for



their personal circumstances or the circumstances of their companies. This ‘invisibility’ seems to be a peculiarity of contemporary Japan (and perhaps of Germany): national security in this society is usually formulated in comprehensive ‘economic’ terms...the Japanese do so[view the world] primarily in terms of economics (Samuels 1994; Katzenstein 1996 in Ben-Ari 2000: 55-56).

In contemporary Japan, economics is the centre of the national concern. In this study, their families’ lifestyles at homes in a host country will be examined as a part of globalising process of a human dispersal.

‘*Chuzai-in*’ often signifies more in the context of a business cultural sphere since there are many studies on Japanese business abroad, examining their interactions with non-Japanese staff, assessing their business culture in their overseas branches in relation to headquarters in Japan (c.f Sakai 2000, Sedgwick 2001). Junko Sakai, for example, describes their identity as ‘international businessmen’ (2000: 201). Their children will be labelled as ‘*kikoushijyo*’ returnees when they return to Japan after sojourning in host countries for several years. Although the term ‘*Chuzai-in*’ does not signify minorities in Japan since they are not be labelled once they return, their family members are seen and called as such wives, for example, are referred to as ‘ex-sojourners’ wives’. This study approaches wives and children of ‘*Chuzai-in*’ from a lifestyle oriented approach since they have upgraded lifestyles in host countries supported by their companies. This became clear through the interviews with mothers of *chuzai-in* and also Japanese non-sojourners who shared the Japanese community in London. This will be seen in Chapter III, IV and VIII. Returnee issues will be discussed in Chapter III and IX.

Globalisation in people’s movement, products, information, and technologies, in addition to studies on diasporas and media have been examined by various scholars. Since the 90’s, new technologies such as satellite television and the Internet have impacted on ethnic communities. This thesis is a case study of media consumption in the Japanese diaspora in London, especially, focusing on children and mothers in middle-class homes. Many studies on overseas Japanese businesses and businessmen have been carried out over the last two decades. In this study, however, faceless and voiceless figures in the main stream of people’s global movements – mothers and children of Japanese expatriates are focused on. These children, however, have been



often researched as a consequence of social issues on returnees in relation to their behaviours and identities since the late 80's by psychologists, sociologists and educators. Their everyday lives while they sojourn in host countries, however, have not been taken so seriously. Their everyday lives in a host country, Great Britain, will be shown in this study.

This study has been conducted in an inductive fashion. The community and the Japanese families' everyday lives had been explored from the micro level to understand the macro level of phenomenon. It is too simple to summarize that ethnic minorities tendency to prefer consuming or experiencing products from their original countries. In this study, how and why people consume and experience the media, and how their children develop their identities through such acts will be given. For children aged five to eight in London where they cannot act freely from their guardians, parents, especially, mothers, are key players in selecting their media products and related toys. The mothers who have grown up in Japan may carry out their childrearing based on ideology from Japan, or can be enlightened by their Western neighbours through their lives in the West. In the process of those families' selecting products from various choices in contemporary and cosmopolitan society, why they chose particular products or showed particular consumption patterns will be significant in understanding their values. In addition, the goals of their childrearing are very important in order to see how these parents expect their children to develop and how these parents' life-courses could be developed or changed in their new environment. As I examined the issues which were derived, the concept of ontological security by Giddens (1991) became a key to analyse them. The more I examined, the deeper their consumption patterns are related to their ontological security. In each chapter's conclusion (Chapter III to IX), each analysis will be seen to explain and summarise the Japanese sojourners' distinctive acts and feelings, applying this concept.

### **Outline of the chapters**

In Chapter I, the theoretical approach to the topic of studying children and the media in a diasporic community will be shown. In this chapter, general theories and related studies on diaspora and children's media consumption will be discussed as a theoretical



framework of this study. Starting from the theory that global cultural flows on the macro level, each dimension which needs to be examined will be explained. Identities will be clarified in relation to Anthony Giddens' discussions on lifestyles in contemporary societies (1991). Furthermore, contemporary children and the media will be also shown both from macro and micro level- markets and audiences/consumers. Sonia Livingstone's study on young people and new media (2002), for example, has shown how important the socio-economic backgrounds of children are in their media consumption acts. In relation to this, 'cultural capital' by Pierre Bourdieu (1979) will be the key study to understand those people's life-courses.

In Chapter II, methodology will be discussed and shown. In North America and Japan, children and the media tend to be examined based on the 'effects' research tradition. In contrast, as David Gauntlett has urged (1998), this study has been carried out with ethnographic research methods. In-depth interviews and participant observations have been used in this study, based on general academic research on ethnography (Bryman 2000, Hammersley & Atkinson 1996). These scholars' suggestions tend to emphasize the process of participating in natural settings in ethnographic studies. Studying children has required additional techniques in the fieldwork, which will be discussed from related case studies and theories. Life-course analysis was used in this study, which can link the reasons and purposes of individual's choices from varieties of products. By using this method, these mothers and children's everyday lives and their media consumption will be analysed. The validity of this study will be also discussed, especially from the debate in qualitative research that small numbers of participants become main resources of the data.

Chapter III will explain the background of this case study on the Japanese overseas community with related secondary sources and introduce the field where I studied. Firstly, the overseas community will be defined as diaspora based on Stuart Cunningham and John Sinclair's original definition (2000). Affluent sojourners (*chuzai-in*) mainly dominate this community more than Japanese of mixed marriage or immigrants. Their financial and political power will be shown in relation to their lifestyles in a host country. Related ethnic services and schools in the Japanese overseas



community in London will be also analysed in the first section. In the second section, traditional childrearing amongst Japanese middle-class mothers and returnee issues will be introduced. In the last section, the media which these sojourners mainly consume while they sojourn will be shown as well as the media and society in Japan as a background of this study.

Through the fieldwork in homes of participants, rich data has been collected. From Chapter IV to Chapter VIII, the actual data from an ethnographic research with in-depth interviews and participant observations with mothers and children will be analysed and discussed. Chapter IV will focus on the everyday lives of these mothers and children, especially on their lifestyles and problems. Eyal Ben-Ari (1998), for example, sees these expatriates' lifestyle as upgraded. Their children who are also expected to nourish their cultural capital *as* future returnees (English acquisition or experiencing foreign cultures), on the other hand, have been trapped in a traumatic situation. Their unstable environment where they do not know exactly when they will return to Japan or when their friends will leave often leaves them anxious. Many studies on returnees (e.g. being bullied by classmates, or cannot integrate in Japanese society) appear to focus on their problems at schools in Japan where their hybrid identities are not welcomed. This study has tracked their lives during their sojourning in a host country. The second section of this chapter will argue that returnee's problems begin as soon as they arrive in a host country. This chapter will also relate to the process of developing children's identities and mothers' reforming identities through their everyday lives, which will be shown in Chapter VII and VIII.

In Chapter V, time and space which have been compressed by new media will be discussed in the first section. In the following section, global media consumption amongst these families will be outlined. The parents' political and cultural thoughts will be related to their global media consumption for their children. As a gatekeeper to the outside of the home, through their everyday activities, these children develop their political and cultural views. The discussion of the controversial issue of violence, children and the media invariably takes place in the context of media products. Here, surprisingly all children of this study have shown their 'fears' of violent scenes from



live reports of the Iraq War in 2003 rather than fictional contents through the media. In the fifth section, the roles of Japanese diasporic media, which is transmitted programmes for people in Japan directly to the U.K., will be discussed in relation to community media which are produced within ethnic minorities in a host country. In addition, these sojourners' media consumption patterns have shown their lack of knowledge on current affairs in local communities in where they actually live. This will be evaluated more in Chapter IX.

Chapter VI will show how the mothers consume particular media for their children. Following the theoretical framework in Chapter III, in truth, these mothers' choices of media for children are reflected in their traditional ideology of family and childrearing. In the first section, families' consumption of toys which tend to be beyond the mothers' control will be discussed. Secondly, debates on new media and TV/PC games will be given concerning each mother's educational policy, and generation gaps between mothers and children. In their consumption patterns, popular cultures often act as tools for socialising children. Global Japanese culture will be shown and discussed. This will include licensed related everyday products which are from pencil cases to pillow covers. Recent global Japanese popular cartoons which are mostly 'transnational' appear to have special meanings to the Japanese children in London. The contents are transnational, but these cartoons represent their Japaneseness. In the last section, the media as educational tools will be discussed, particularly today's emergences of global media and the educational industry. Licensed characters have made inroads into educational businesses. This aspect will be critically looked at. In addition, even though some Japanese popular TV cartoons are not produced for educational purposes, these cartoons are often recognised as educational for these Japanese children to learn about Japanese everyday life in host countries.

In Chapter VII the development of the Japanese children's identities will be examined. Following Chapter VI, the mothers' styles and goals of childrearing will be emphasized to examine the process of consuming particular products. Hence, constructing particular gender roles cannot be ignored. The mothers' attitudes towards their sons and daughters tend to be different. From this perspective, how these children develop their identities



have been studied from their home and friendships. Homes are defined as a small unit of cultural institution in an ethnic community. Schools where children spend most of their time in their everyday lives can provide their cultural experiences through their friendship which they cannot have at home. Through these institutions, they can construct and become aware of hybrid identities. Hybrid identities are often discussed in related case studies on the media and diaspora. Although the element of hybridity has become very ambiguous while I carried out this study, the process of constructing their hybridity will be shown and discussed in relation to their future in Japan.

In Chapter VIII, the process of these mothers' losing, changing, and reforming their identities will be looked at closely, examined in detail and explored. Their active everyday lives in a host country are considered as an advantaged opportunity to nourish their cultural capital as well as their husbands' golf activities while they sojourn which has been studied (Ben-Ari 1998). Those mothers, however, have shown their dilemma between their traditional Japanese ideology of family and their inner wishes. Being seen as 'others' in Japan gives those mothers an awareness of a new identity as wives of expatriates. The overseas community also stimulates them to take on additional roles rather than being merely mothers or wives. Later, they also realise how limited the sphere is in which they have spent their precious time when they could have obtained foreign cultures. Furthermore, Japanese society will be critically examined from the view of women's statuses, which tends to expect them to remain as being good mothers and wives.

Chapter IX will give conclusions and evaluations from these findings. This micro level of study has been expanded to discuss the macro level of issues. This chapter will critically reflect on Japanese society. Evaluating the everyday lives of these children in Chapter III and IV, the issues in the highly competitive Japanese educational systems and reproducing middle-class structures will be appraised. Extending the findings from Chapter V, both the situations of the U.K. and Japan diasporic and local media will be discussed. Those families have shown their particular media consumption pattern in which they tend to consume Japanese and global media, and not local ones. As a result of this, they are not knowledgeable about affairs where they actually live. This can give



the mothers a sense of a ‘floating’ or ‘rootless’ life while they sojourn. This also leads to a critical examination of today’s media’s roles. Not only the diasporic media players, but also today’s globally commercialised childhood will be critically discussed, especially in relation to the debate in education and entertainment. Moreover, global cultural flows in this study will be summarised. From this point, some issues on the media and ethnic minorities in Japan will be discussed. Finally, developing discussions from Chapter VII and VIII on identities, the voices and activities from those mothers while they sojourn in a host country, concerning their future positions in Japan will be re-examined. Hidden voices from these mothers will lead to rethinking women, especially social positions of housewives, in Japan.

As seen in the above outline of this thesis, this micro level of study in a diaspora will raise several issues by expanding them to the macro level. The reproduction of middle-class cultures in Japan’s society is carried out beyond the national boundaries. The new technologies in consuming the media have compressed time and space, and accelerated distributing the actual products. This can create global ‘packaged childhood’. However, in a diaspora, such global popular culture can play important roles. In addition, child spaces in urban environment will be examined. The importance of examining parents’ goals of childrearing in studying the media and children is also stressed in this thesis. In the process of constructing these children’s identities from an ethnic minority, it is also inevitable to see the parents’ life-courses. Differences in the Western and Japanese ways of seeing ‘self’ and ‘others’ cannot be ignored in examining these people’s identities. Such different ideologies are also important to understand how people construct hybrid identities. Through the mothers and children’s talks, it was found that their own interpretations of ‘Japaneseness’ and ‘Britishness’ were constructed. This process showed that they were developing hybrid identities. In the process of analysing their hybrid identities in this way, it also led to re-examining policies on multiculturalism both in the U.K. and Japan; how society see particular groups as minorities and regards them as having their own cultures, and on children’s media consumption in urban environments where children actually live; how and why children stay home without exploring and experiencing different cultures freely.



## Chapter I: Literature Review

The media and children have been examined from many aspects: language, culture, ethnic representation, and violence. This chapter will focus on the issue of children in ethnic groups and their media consumption in diasporic communities. My study of the Japanese overseas community in London is an example of children in diaspora and their media consumption. The term ‘diaspora’ has been developed along its cultural flows and has led to the issue of ‘identity’. The term ‘identity’ appears ambiguous on examination. Allison James, for example, suggests in analysing children’s identity which allows people to mark out their ‘sense of similarity to and difference from other people’:

First it highlights some important theoretical issues about the constitution of ‘the child’ in society and children’s experience of belonging to the category ‘children’: second, it makes clear that learning culture, which is what childhood socialisation is ultimately about, is done by individuals through their experience of collectivities.  
(1993: 29)

She also points out how children’s identities are developed in order to become members of society (Musgrave 1987: 1 in James 1993: 75), ‘This firmly locates the problem of children’s identities as a temporal and structural phenomenon, through catering on the process by which “the social” and the “individual” come to mesh together’ (James 1993: 75). Children, especially, develop their identities in complex environments. On the macro level, global cultural flows in a diaspora will be looked at. Examining individual everyday lives and one’s media consumption on the micro level will reveal identities. In the first section, identity in diasporic community will be clarified, defining the term ‘diaspora’ and ‘identity’, and the second section will present the current literature on children and the media. The definition of childhood will be defined from the Western and Japanese ideologies in Chapter III.

### *1. Identity and Diaspora*

The term ‘diaspora’ has historically changed following developments in society. Avtar Brah, for example, in his definition of the term argues in relation to the original meanings of diaspora, a word of Greek origin, ‘Diasporas are clearly not the same as casual travel. Nor do they normatively refer to temporary sojourns. Paradoxically,



diasporic journeys are essentially about settling down, about putting roots “elsewhere” (Brah1996:182). Under such dispersed conditions, people from various ethnic backgrounds have brought their original culture to the place where they migrated, mixing with different cultures in host countries. Brah has developed a complex and critical definition of ‘diaspora’, ‘The concept of diaspora, borders, and multi-axial locationality together offer a conceptual grid for historicised analyses of contemporary trans/national movements of people, information, cultures, commodities, and capital’ (1996: 208). Much of this has been precipitated by accelerated globalization over the past ten years. The Japanese diaspora in London, for example, mainly consists of people who were sent from Japan. The Japanese diaspora in London is not be defined as diaspora from the original meaning which Brah pointed out above because most of the people who belong to the diaspora are temporal sojourners. Even though the reasons why they live abroad are different from the original meaning of diaspora, they are part of contemporary transnational movements. This will be discussed more in Chapter III in order to define Japanese diaspora from his definition. It is worth observing how individuals live especially under ‘multi-axial’ environment in which dispersed people select particular information and consume certain products easier than ever.

The term ‘globalization’ has been often questioned. Here, is taken a definition from the anthropologist Befu Harumi, whose book concerning globalization and Japan is relevant to this study. According to him, Japan, for example, where since the late 1980s ‘globalization’ has been a buzzword in the Japanese media, ‘Globalization’ has displaced “internationalization”, which was popular in the 1970s and 1980s...Internationalization implies a relationship between two or more nations: a minimum of two nations can engage in “international” relation’ (Befu 2001: 3). He has developed this to apply to the term ‘globalization’ which signifies a simultaneous extension and expansion in all direction by expanding Japan’s interests all over the world in a network (Katzenstein and Shiraishi 1997 in Befu 2001: 3). Although he has also admitted that most theories on ‘globalization’ are a transformed end product (or consequence) of modernization or simply a continuation from the West, he argues, ‘...in addition to the West, there is at least one other center of globalization in this world, namely Japan’ (Ibid: 4). Therefore, applying his definition where Japan can be also the



center of ‘globalization’, in this study, ‘globalization’ will be used when a nation or producer intends to expand their interests through networks in the world. This will be discussed later in this chapter on ‘cultural superpowers’ (McGray 2002).

In order to analyse the complexity of the current global economy which relates to certain fundamental disjunctures between economy, culture and politics, the anthropologist Arjun Appadurai conceptualises the five dimensions of global cultural flow as a) ethnoscapas; b) mediascapas; c) technoscapas; d) financescapas; and e) ideoscapas (1990: 296). He explains:

By ‘ethnoscape’, I mean the landscape of persons who constitute the shifting world in which we live: tourists, immigrants, refugees, exiles, guestworkers and other moving groups and persons constitute an essential feature of the world, and appear to affect the politics of and between nations to a hitherto unprecedented degree.

(Appadurai 1990: 297)

Here, Appadurai develops his concept of cultural flow by examining not only immigrants but also other individuals such as tourists or guestworkers. From this view, Stuart Cunningham and John Sinclair re-define ‘diaspora’ in their study on Asian cultures in Australia:

If we take into account other categories of people living more or less permanently outside their countries of origin, such as business expatriates, foreign students and academics, retirees, and even long-term cultural tourists, it is clear to see that the traditional ‘national culture’ of many major nations no longer fits (if it ever really did) substantial proportions of the people who now actually inhabit the nation.

(2001: 2)

In the process of cultural flows around the world, the definition of ‘diaspora’ has been expanded by including people who live away from homes temporary. Moreover, Cunningham and Sinclair recognise those types of communities as ‘overseas communities’, where people are displaced abroad by their companies, and temporarily share their lives in host countries (2000: 20). In this sense, the Japanese overseas community is defined as ‘diaspora’.

In addition, ‘technoscapas’ relate to the global configuration, also constantly fluid, of technology, both high and low, both mechanical and informational, now moving at high



speed across various kinds of previously impervious boundaries (Appadurai 1990: 297). 'Financescapes' relate to the political economy between nations, and 'mediascapes' refer to both the distribution of the electronic capabilities to produce and disseminate information, which are now available to a growing number of private and public interests throughout the world; and to the images of the world created by these media (Appadurai 1990: 298). Finally, he explains 'ideoscapes' as concatenations of images which are often directly political and frequently have to do with the ideologies of states and the counter-ideologies of movements explicitly oriented to capturing state power or a piece of it (Appadurai 1990: 299). In this way, Appadurai analyses globalisation and cultural flow in relation to diasporas.

In examining such cultural flows, Appadurai argues, 'For the ideas and images produced by mass media often are only partial guides to the goods and experiences that deterritorialized populations transfer to one another' (Appadurai 1990: 303). The cultural flow of globalisation is now 'deterritorialized' and the media broadcasts to their audiences and consumers beyond their 'territories' continuously. Satellite/cable television, the Internet, and other forms of the media can transform images or information from homeland to host countries. Stuart Hall who has written essays on diasporic culture and identity points out that,

The diaspora experience as I intend it here is defined, not by essence or purity, but by the recognition of a necessary heterogeneity and diversity; by a conception of identity which lives with and through, not despite, constantly producing and reproducing themselves anew, through transformation and difference.

(1990: 235)

Identity is a highlighted issue in diaspora and culture. Several studies on the relationship between these minorities and media have been carried out. Marie Gillespie, for example, who has studied Indian families in London, points out, 'Viewing Hindi films on video is the main, regular, family-centred leisure activity. The weekend family gathering around the set is a social ritual where notions of togetherness take precedence' (1995: 193). Annabelle Sreberny, who has carried out research on the media and Iranians in London, conjectures that the global diasporic consciousness, '...may be a particular vivid example of this imaginary third space of identification' (2000: 181).



Moreover, Asu Aksoy and Kevin Robins argue regarding Europe's Turkish communities in relation to the impact of satellite television, '...the "homeland" of state television cannot be regarded as being the same as the "home" of commercial television. The former is national, the latter has a distinctive metropolitan orientation, and brings with it a greater awareness of global style and diversity' (2000: 354). These studies by Gillespie, Sreberny and Aksoy and Robins have been carried out on the micro level by examining ethnic groups' everyday lives and media consumption, even though Appadurai's technique is to look at the cultural flow on the macro level. In other words, diasporic media in respective communities highlights the issue raised by Hall (1990) concerning the diverse values shared by different ethnic groups, or different values appearing within the same ethnic groups depending on generations. All of this can be seen to be a fundamental consequence of experiencing a different culture away from home. Nicholas Abercrombie and Brian Longhurst delineate such transnational groups as 'diffused audiences' who have created an imaginative community and identity beyond time and space (1998: 117-8).

Although the media may be able to transform these diffused audiences' communities or identities as Abercrombie and Longhurst pointed out above, Aksoy and Robins have found that identity issue is not found in Turkish satellite television and its audiences. "Identity" was not a key issue for the Turkish-Cypriot women we talked to. It became increasingly clear to us that their experiences and thoughts were generally about things other than cultural identity' (Aksoy & Robins 2001: 707). Moreover, even though a family live together, each family member has his/her own identity which may be different (Gillespie 1995). 'Diffused audiences' may transform identities in different styles within different cultural values. Hall regards this type of identity as 'hybrid' (Hall 1990: 362). Additionally, this 'hybrid' identity can relate to 'ideoscapes' and 'mediascapes', which lead to historical and political implications. For example, if a war starts, how one as an immigrant perceive the images and reports through the media of the host country can make him/her rethink his/her identity<sup>1</sup>. Through the media, many representations and stereotypes can be seen. They tend to show 'home culture' as one-ness and help form national identities. Hall argues concerning national identity:



...it depends on how it is represented and imagined. It is through the national culture-which is not a sort of thing, but a system of social representation rather than a primordial being-and its forms of representation that so-called identifications with national identity can be made...The dominant version of the national story has, in my view, systematically overplayed the unity and homogeneity of the nation'.

(Hall: 2001: 8-9)

Terms such as 'Japaneseness' or 'Britishness', which relate to constructs of national identity, invariably develop within individuals' experiences in everyday life. Renee Dickason points out in relation to 'Britishness' that, 'Many such elements are only vaguely familiar, while others are sufficiently obvious to be taken automatically as part of a portrayal of British life and society... such cultural markers as pillar boxes or double-decker buses, ... are British scenes' (2000:168). Therefore, cultural identity is shared by people who have the same experiences through their everyday life. Moreover, Ien Ang argues that 'Australianness' is established in relation to Asian popular culture and media:

Australian tastes and cultural connoisseurship are also challenged and interrogated, and consequently, as has already become clear through the growing influence of indigenous cultural expression on mainstream Australian culture, notions of cultural difference and fracture are being inserted into the very core of Australianness itself.

(2000: xvii)

In this sense, wherever individuals are from originally, if the same experience is shared with other ethnic groups, it is possible to share cultural identity. Images through the media can integrate one's own experiences into a wider social milieu, and allow individuals to share the same feelings with others. The definition of identities such as 'Britishness' or 'Australianness' has become ambiguous and now exists between fluid boundaries. It can be rather plural and overlapping at many points with other identities.

However, the studies of Turkish women and the Indian community in London only focus on 'cultural identity' in relation to one's media experiences. In the Japanese overseas community, for example, by contrast, there are still strong connections to Japan economically and politically. In other words, these Japanese expatriates still have a strong sense of 'Japaneseness'. Junko Sakai, who has examined Japanese bankers in London, argues concerning the identity of Japanese businessmen who are from upper



middle-class and successful educated backgrounds:

They were the core people in their national culture, and they adhered to their own cultural values, and defined themselves as if they were representative of their own culture. However, in their mind, there were still conflicts in terms of their position as international businessmen.

(2000: 201)

Here, it is clear that those who work in the City of London are under some degree of pressure from Japanese culture. This pressure emanates not only from cultural factors, but also from social aspects within a certain place: i.e. the community. In this sense, 'Japaneseness' for these sojourners can be both cultural and social.

Therefore, it is important to think about and analyse the term 'identity' on the micro level *as* individual as well as Appadurai has done on the macro level *as* global perspectives. According to the sociologists Thomas Johansson and Fredrik Miegel, there are three types of identities: personal, social and cultural. They point out that cultural identity is formed and developed in the cultural sphere through a process they term *lifestyle development* (1992: 48-9). Anthony Giddens, for example, points out that;

Overall, lifestyle patterns, of course, are less diverse than the plurality of choices available in day-to-day and even in longer-term strategic decisions. A lifestyle involves a cluster of habits and orientations, and hence has a certain unity-important to a continuing sense of ontological security- that connects options in a more or less ordered pattern.

(1991:82)

If people in diaspora have brought their lifestyles or customs from their original countries to host countries, the relationship among these three identities (personal, social and cultural) is important. For example, 'mediascapes' 'ideoscapes' and 'financescapes' can develop one's social identity, and 'technoscapes', 'mediascapes', 'ideoscapes' and 'ethnoscapes' can relate to one's cultural identity. In Japanese society, for example, where people still tend to believe that only those of pure blood can be only regarded as a Japanese, children of mixed marriages, or even returnee children who have been associated with foreigners for a long time, are very often treated as non-Japanese (Henshall 1990: 86). Therefore, in the case of the Japanese overseas community, social identity has an influence on these children's developing cultural and



personal identities.

Studies on the Turkish and Indian communities have failed to use the important analytical tool of 'financescapes'. Needless to say, within ethnic communities, there are socio-economic differences or class differences. They are not a homogeneous social class. Brah points out these differences:

Yet, as we have already noted, there are some significant differences in the upper-, middle- and working-class cultures of Britain, with each further differentiated according to region and gender. Similarly, 'Asian cultures' are differentiated according to class, caste, region, religion and gender.

(1996: 41)

In the process of looking at people's lifestyles, consumption is a key to revealing one's values and identities, which includes one's social and cultural aspects which are based on class and are intricately linked with socio-economic conditions. The sociologist Pierre Bourdieu whose work on cultural consumption has had a great impact on the socio cultural sciences and concepts of identity, has analysed cultural consumption, using his different definitions of social, cultural, and economic capitals (1979). These three capitals relate to one's taste, which is seen by Bourdieu to be an articulation of one's social class. Bourdieu points out that exhibiting material or symbolic goods, which are not urgent or necessary, become 'life style' (1979: 55). Applying this theory by Bourdieu, John Clammer argues in relation to Japan that, 'Shopping is the buying of identity...Consumption can be a vehicle for the achievement of higher level identities than merely individual lifestyles' (1997: 68, 96). In Japanese society, class-consciousness appears to be very low but society itself is highly competitive and hierarchical (Ibid: 4). Thus, the relation between one's socio-economic status and consumption is significant in everyday life.

Although Bourdieu did not look at 'mass' consumption, Michel De Certeau points out, '...it is dispersed but it insinuates itself everywhere, silently and almost invisibly, because it does not manifest itself through its own products, but rather through its ways of using the products imposed by a dominant economic order' (1984: xii-xiii). De Certeau has emphasized people's ways of using products. Different classes can consume



the same media products in the different ways, which can be influenced from cultural/ethnic and social backgrounds.

The media also displays certain types of lifestyles according to various factors, key among which is the social background of its audiences. Audiences/readers who are potential consumers obtain ideal images of certain lifestyles by the media and symbolic products in order to reach higher level of identities. This type of consumption can be assumed from the view of 'ideoscapes', 'mediascapes' and 'financescapes' in relation to an individual's social and cultural identities. Consequently, their media experiences can be a significant part of their everyday lives. As Giddens explains, 'The collage effect of television and newspapers gives specific form to the juxtaposition of settings and potential lifestyle choices...In a world of alternative lifestyle options, strategic life-planning becomes of special importance' (1991: 84).

Eyal Ben-Ari, for example, has studied Japanese businessmen's golf activities in Singapore from 1992 to 1994, using life-course analysis in order to discover people's actualization of long-term strategies for their lives (1998: 139,141)<sup>2</sup>. Within their life spans or images which are often derived from the media of lifestyle as middle-class 'sojourners', they may try to achieve higher social and cultural identities than would be possible if they were in Japan. Clammer has found that there are a number of Japanese magazines which are more precise than their Western counterparts for each generation, gender, and status who pursue a certain type of aspiring lifestyle (1997: 73). The businessmen in Ben-Ari's study, for example, buy Japanese golf magazines in which lifestyle in relation to golf players are shown (1998: 156).<sup>3</sup> Ben-Ari argues, '...the process of emulating the lifestyle of senior executives involves learning a certain body etiquette by investing time, attention, money, and physical effort as portray the ideal lifestyle' (1998: 148). These Japanese businessmen in overseas communities can develop their lifestyle via their development and use of cultural, social and economic capital while they sojourn abroad. As for women, although the related study on wives of those businessmen in San Diego and London in the early 90's (Ogawa 1994) has shown that they have certain routines in their everyday lives, it has not mentioned those wives' life-courses. Therefore, this will be shown in this study, especially, wives who remain at



home.

In contemporary society the consumption of technology has a fundamental bearing on our personal conceptual make-up. 'Technoscapes' in the domestic sphere, relate to personal identity by our inventory of various technologies all of which have different meanings. Sonia Livingstone has developed our understanding of how meanings are constructed and incorporated into these domestic technologies and pointed out that each member of a family may use and understand these technologies differently. For example, Livingstone writes concerning married couples who share domestic technologies, '...both watch television but may do so at different times of day and for different programmes; both use the telephone, but often for quite different types of calls; both listen to radio but to accompany different activities' (1992: 117).

Livingstone's recent study on new media and young people has made the important distinction between 'media rich/poor' to portray media consumption in households in the U.K. She argues that:

Media-rich homes...have a greater than average likelihood of owning books, a personal computer, Internet, telephone, VCR, teletext, cable or satellite television, a TV-linked games machine, hi-fi system, camcorder, mobile phone, Gameboy, Walkman, and so forth.

(2002:41)<sup>4</sup>

In summary, in order to examine the complex issues connected with diasporic communities and the media, Appadurai's five dimensions on the macro level and Johansson and Miegel's definitions of identities through lifestyle development on the micro level dovetail with contemporary global flows of culture and people. Although, Johansson and Miegel insist that lifestyle is located in cultural identity, as discussed above (1992: 79-80), consuming symbolic or material goods assumes also a social role which people want to display to others in order to classify themselves into a certain 'social class', which, within this paradigm, can relate to 'ideoscapes' and 'mediascapes'. This, in turn, influences individuals' social behaviours and provides goods which they can aspire to. The media provides the images of certain class lifestyles. On the other hand, personal identity -can be located within a different 'identity' which can be



composed of a mixture of ‘traditional home culture’/customs and ‘consumer culture’. Understanding how an individual chooses, uses, reads, watches, and interprets the media will show how they develop their own identities in a complex environment.

## ***2. Studying children and the media consumption in diaspora***

In this section, children in diasporas and their media usages/consumption will be focused on, again applying Appadurai’s five dimensions and Bourdieu’s cultural capital. In order to look at the media and children, David Buckingham suggests that in-depth analysis of children’s television is important (1998:136). In addition to this point, Nina Huntemann and Michael Morgan indicate the approach to examine children’s identities in relation to the media:

Most important, theoretical work is needed to give us richer and more meaningful conceptualization of identity as a dynamic and complex interplay of personal, social, and cultural influences. From there we may shed a little more light on how children integrate and negotiate symbolic media messages with various and interviewed daily influences on their conception of who they are in relation to the world in which they live.

(2001: 319)

Therefore, this study needs to examine some key areas: 1) how children experience the media by being exposed to personal, social and cultural factors, 2) how and why parents provide certain media to their children, 3) how children perceive the outputs from outside from where they live and when they consume such media products, and 4) how the industry for children’s markets develop their businesses.

In relation to the role that the media, of which television is the most important, plays in children’s lives, Nancy Signorielli and Michael Morgan write that, ‘Television is one of the major players in the socialization process’ (2001:333). Joy Hendry also reports that Japanese television repeatedly train children how to greet and teaches them routine and rituals (1986: 103-4). She argues, however;

Since many of these broadcasts and publications are initiated on a national level, even if they are actually put out by the prefectural or municipal authorities, they are probably a strong force for homogeneity in approach throughout the country.

(Hendry 1986: 57)



This can be witnessed in the homogenizing process which prepares children for society via 'mediascape' which create the second order experience for these minors before they step out into the 'real' world.

Secondly, it is necessary to look at the importance of family values when children experience or consume the media within a domestic sphere which leads to 'ideoscape' by parents. Carol Cortes illustrates parents' roles in relation to policing their children's experiences of the media as 'spin doctors' or gate keepers',

Parents are likely to select television programs (as well as turn on radio shows and subscribe to magazines and newspapers) that meet their interests, reflect their values, strike responsive attitudinal chords, or at least connect in some ways with their predispositions, concerns, or visions of the world around them. This includes their beliefs, attitudes, and values about diversity.

(2000: 25)

Children, thus, tend to experience or consume media within their parents' own choices and interpretations. Barrie Gunter and Jackie Harrison assessing parents' roles, claim, 'This social interaction view puts forward the idea that children's viewing behaviours are shaped and controlled by norms and values concerned with the conduct that generally occurs in the family context' (1998:185-6). Therefore, it is not merely the act of watching television which socialises children, but also or rather more importantly, family values which shape children's behaviours via this medium.

Family values are also reflected in an individual's socio-economic background, which can relate to 'financescape'. This socio-economic aspect has been observed, for example, at rental video shops by Ron Warren (2001). He found that one particular family had to negotiate and compromise their choice of a night's entertainment in accordance with their budget (Warren: 2001). He also recognized the reflection of family value systems through their choices. Although Livingstone (2002) did not look at children's ethnic backgrounds, Aletha Huston and John Wright assume that individuals from different cultural groups sometimes use television to serve different functions, 'Many ethnic minority families and many families with low socio-economic status have



few alternatives to entertainment; they lack income to do other things, and they may live in neighborhoods that provide little access to alternative activities' (1998: 1003). Again, family's lifestyle and socio-economic status are significant.

From the view of 'technoscape' or 'finascape', video/TV/Computer games, are also popular amongst Japanese children. A survey by John McCreery in Tokyo shows that more than 30 per cent regard video games as friends and 70.3 per cent have used a personal computer (2000: 182). Video games have become a popular form of lifestyle amongst children in Tokyo. Dorothy Holloway provides a critical image of 'selfish mothers' in Japan in the contemporary urban environment in Tokyo, 'Children are depicted as virtual prisoners in their own homes, confined to small apartments in high-rise buildings with no other children to play with and nothing to do but watch television and play video games' (2000: 12). In contrast to such a negative view of video games, some have found positive views. Patricia Greenfield provides a constructive image of their entertainment, 'Video games have the dynamic visual element of television, but they are also interactive. What happens on the screen is not entirely determined by the computer; it is also very much influenced by the player's actions' (1984a: 89). Moreover, Barrie Gunter argues, 'Computer games and video games can be positive for children's learning computing skills and visual skills, however, can lead to addiction' (1998: 31). Therefore, children's experiences of the media must be observed from both critical and positive views, principally from the perspective of their use.

In relation to notions of 'time and space,' a study by Warren (2001) presents a perception of 'space' where families consume the media away from the home environment, Warren argues that parents must compromise the structure of video shops in which they may encounter the sections for adults only or leave children in play areas (Warren 2001: 89). The space where media consumption takes place, in this sense, can be held outside of the home as well as, for example, on holidays. Additionally, in terms of 'time', Livingstone argues that it is important to see how much a child devotes to the media in the domestic sphere in their everyday lives (2002: 31)<sup>5</sup>. Even if children in overseas communities may be in a 'rich media' environment, they may spend their



everyday lives occupied with other leisure activities or educational lessons. Differences of socio-economic status of households provide different experiences of entertainments and activities to children. Those different experiences also help in establishing children's future cultural capital in Japan where ordinary children may not yet be able to experience directly new phenomena such as foreign language or cultures.

In addition, children's consumption of the media shows how at a later date, such consumption, both temporally and spatially, can impress itself on one's identity through the medium of memory. Even media goods such as a souvenir from Disneyland or free toys from McDonalds can become a part of children's memories. Pauline Hunt and Ronald Frankenberg discuss the relationship between self-identity and material objects, 'The fantasy forms of make believe stimulated by these items become entangled with personal history through the material-object reinforced memory of birthday and *un*birthday presents' (1990: 113). Ben Bachmair, for example, who has conducted ethnographical studies on children's consumption of the media in terms of temporality and spatiality, comments regarding the bedrooms of the subjects of his study:

This room is his form of appropriation and organization, for both objects and experiences...In relation to television experiences, the secondary media of the posters are already in the textual form in which they can be lexically called up and evaluated.  
(1999:118)

Children may not be able to talk about their identities or even have any notion of 'identity', however, through their toys or play in relation to their memories or thoughts, they can reveal aspects of their self-identity.

Finally, the media industry can be analysed in terms of gender. Generally, boys tend to play more video games more than girls (Tuffin 1996:15), but globalised media products appeal to both genders, looking at the children's market today. Some popular TV characters have dominated all forms of media goods- books, magazines, clothes, sweets, films, games, etc. A classic example of this is *Pokemon*, which evolved from a computer game (Gameboy) to a global media super star. David Buckingham argues concerning *Pokemon* strategies, '...the themes of the cartoon and the activities entailed in the game incorporate stereotypically masculine and feminine values. Thus the game is about



collecting and competing... including extremely “cute” and “baby” like characters as well as rather more monstrous and reptilian ones’ (2002: 8). This new strategy which contains masculine and feminine values has been successfully accepted by both genders. Moreover, at a conference, Ellen Seiter presented highly sophisticated marketing strategies by major global media companies which surreptitiously trace children’s private conversation through the website *Neopets*’, a ‘chat’ site, in order to know exactly how their brands are doing without displaying their companies’ logos or ads on the website itself (2002: 13). The media industry has developed marketing strategies to expand their market as much as possible, and consequently have developed a global market.

These marketing strategies are not only for children. Joshua Meyrowitz points out a new phenomenon in today’s society, ‘Childhood as a protected and sheltered period of life has all but disappeared. Children today seem less “childlike”. Children speak more like adults, dress more like adults, and behave more like adults than they used to’ (1985: 227). If a family goes on a holiday, for example, to Disneyland, it would be the parents’ choice because they might have been there in their childhood; ‘The consciously nostalgic features of the part set the scene of such a personal trip back into an illusory and cute era of childhood’ (Hunt & Frankenberg, 1990:114). This factor can be seen in the parents’ generation’s consumption. Janet Wasko argues concerning Disney:

...the point is that targeting families means attempting to appeal to different age groups, not just children. In addition, we need to remember that the company’s diversified products reach, and thus potentially influence, a much wider audience or number of consumers than the ‘family’ audience.

(2001a: 185)

Additionally, Reiji Asakura illustrates how Sony’s marketing strategies for Playstation are targeted at young people and not simply for young children (2000: 155). The people who Sony originally targeted have grown up with Nintendo’s games in the 80’s. Both Disney and Sony have been chasing consumers for the long-term since childhood with sophisticated marketing strategies.

In addition, as Wasko argues, all kinds of popular TV characters can be seen as brands



themselves (2001a), Japanese cartoons' characters share the market with those of their American counterparts. In an article in *The Guardian*, Douglas McGray criticised the claim that globalisation is dominated by the U.S., and affirms that Japanese cultural products such as Sony Playstation, Nintendo, *Hello Kitty*, and *Pokemon* are cultural superpowers (2002: 21-22). Here, a nation's 'technoscape' and 'financescape' are clearly illustrated. The market has continued to provide new products with new characters. Buckingham argues that contemporary children do not tend to stick to one thing such as *Pokemon* for a long time and children are always trawling for 'cool' and new things (2002: 13-4). In fact, as Seiter argues, *Neopet*'s website is similar to the *Pokemon* game (2002: 7). The patterns of providing products, however, seem to be the same – constantly changing media characters. In this sense, a few market-dominated companies can provide the same experiences to global consumers. In other words, '...choices are between prepackaged styles of childhood fantasy and self-identification' (Hunt & Frankenberg, 1990: 113). Even though childhood may be prepackaged, children in diasporic communities can articulate their identities through their media consumption. Or, perhaps, their sense of 'cool' may be different from their local peers in host countries, often nourished by their parents' values.

Studies of children from ethnic minorities and the media are noticeably complex. They require in-depth study, particularly, children's media environment from the global to the local. Needless to say, identities are changing. Therefore, during a specific time while people live in host countries away from their homelands, they should be investigated in an inductive way. How their ideas are affected by their everyday lives and media experiences, and what they consume from the media should be studied with ethnographic methods based on participant observation including 'bedroom' observation such as was seen in Bachmair's study (1999), observations which were carried out away from homes (Warren 2001), in-depth interviews (Gillespie 1995, Seiter 1999), and with life-course analysis such as what Ben-Ari has used (1998). On the other hand, the global cultural flow cannot be ignored; the media industry, media products, mobilization of people, technology, and political economy which were examined in the related studies (Wasko 2001a, Buckingham 2002, Livingstone 2002) should all be examined critically.



Examining everyday lives in the Japanese overseas community and their consumption patterns as an ethnic minority in a certain class entails using precisely the five dimensions constructed by Appadurai. These will show their social, political, ideological, cultural, and individual aspects. These Japanese sojourners' consumption habits, social or political characteristics are inevitable factors as well as cultural. Simultaneously, Japanese parents in this group may provide their children with media products in order to upgrade their lifestyles. Such lifestyles will determine their future social identity in Japan *as* returnees<sup>6</sup>. This is an identity which is more often than not based on imagined stereotype - rich, smart, possessing a promised future- as Lin Chin Pang has outlined (2000). Such individuals will have nourished their cultural capital needs *as* returnees while having sojourned in far way lands. Such acts of consumption aided by the existing research and literature are a worthy topic of study to examine these children's developing identities in complex environments.

#### Notes:

---

<sup>1</sup> Brah has also given an example of this: Chinese and Japanese immigrants in the U.S. during the World War II and their complex positions in the host country (1996: 185-6).

<sup>2</sup> Ben-Ari points out the promotion of these workers in overseas branches, 'Because companies situated outside of Japan are like daughter companies, people who were department heads (*Kacho*) in Japan become division heads (*Bucho*) in Singapore and section heads became department heads (Ben-Ari: 1998).

<sup>3</sup> Ben-Ari critically points out that a person who belongs to a prestigious golf course in Singapore, which is obviously expensive shows his social and economic status even though in most cases he is not a private member. Most of the Japanese businessmen can possess a membership only because their companies procure this for them (1998: 142). Within this community, businessmen pursue their ideal lifestyle as executives through their companies' power.

<sup>4</sup> Predictably, these are most likely to be middle-class households with parents who claim to feel most comfortable using computers themselves. Thus, the computer is being incorporated into homes which are already media-rich. Consequently, it represents one of several types of screen available to the members of these households (Livingstone 2002: 41).

<sup>5</sup> '...working-class families are as or more likely to own screen entertainment media, particularly the TV-linked games machine, while middle-class families are more likely to own most other media, particularly books. Children's age or gender makes much less difference than does household socio-economic status to media provision' (Livingstone 2002: 31).

<sup>6</sup> They (returnees) are, however, described as 'victims' as a result of the Japanese companies' expanding their business globally (Minami 2000). A number of problems of



---

these children who return to Japan after experiencing foreign cultures have been reported and become a social issue such as being bullied by their classmates due to returnees' different attitudes from their peers in Japan since the late 1980s, especially, in relation to their developing identities and existing Japanese culture (Ibid.).

## Chapter II: Research Methods

In this chapter, research methods are focused on. In the former chapter, the children's media consumption in relation to particular ethnic minorities was discussed from macro and micro perspectives; on the macro level, relating to global cultural flows, the media industry, media products, mobilization of people, technology, and political economy should all be examined critically; on the other hand, on the micro level, it is necessary to examine individuals within the overseas community. The theory of global cultural flows by Appadurai (1990) has been shown and discussed: his five dimensions which are 'ethnoscapes', 'technoscapes', 'financescapes', 'mediascapes' and 'ideoscapes' can be useful tools to analyse complex issues in the media and children in an ethnic group. Ethnic minorities often have different rituals, ideologies or cultures from their original countries. In order to understand and explain, it is necessary to study the subject from many aspects: anthropology, sociology, education, history, or psychology. Ruby Takanishi maintains that longitudinal studies involving interdisciplinary teams of investigators are especially important if we are to understand the interrelationship of personal and social factors in the development of ethnic identification (1982:99).

Additionally, Brah has pointed out in the former chapter that an individual's background is important - class, caste, region, religion and gender (1996: 42). That is, socio-economic backgrounds cannot be ignored when studying children and ethnic minorities. The related studies in London (c.f. Gillespie 1995, Sreberny 2000, Akoy & Robins 2001, 2000) do not refer to individuals and treat ethnicity collectives as one group. In the process of childrearing, individuals may follow their thoughts which are based on their background and also their society where they live. As discussed in Chapter I, Askoy and Robins (2001), for example, in their study of Turkish audiences in London do not consider their social classes or the reasons why they live in London, though they do divide focus groups into generations. A Turkish child from a middle-class families (c.f. the child of an ambassador) and a Turkish child from the working-class or a family on benefits in the host country must have different everyday lives. As explained in Chapter I, how and why a child or her/his family consume the media is important (Livingstone 2002). It is thus clear that studies of children from



ethnic minorities and the media are noticeably complex because it is necessary to consider their ethnicity and also social class which are usually shown in their life-courses.

An in-depth study is required, particularly, of children's media environment from the global to the local. Diasporic culture in relation to cultural identity appears to be dependent upon an individual's experiences and background: which community he or she belongs to, and what kind of information he or she needs for his/her future. Therefore, it is important to investigate diaspora on the micro level in an inductive way, questioning *why* and *how* individuals consume media in a particular fashion. Firstly, the theoretical approach which frames my fieldwork will be discussed, and secondly, conducting research with children will be explained. Following this, ethnography and life-course analysis will be critically discussed. Finally, the ethnographical methods used in this study will be shown.

### ***1. Theoretical approach***

To begin the research, it is important to have a theoretical approach to the study. In studies on cultural consumption, the classic study by Bourdieu (1979), for example, can be observed. He has examined three generations to know each family's 'taste', which to a large extent are influenced by one's social backgrounds, by setting up categories in the cultural sphere in France. He labelled cultural consumption 'high' and 'low' in his analysis of cultural disjuncture amongst social classes (1979: 32). His findings were analysed with structured questionnaires (Bourdieu 1979). In the case of the overseas community, does this method apply? Youichi Ito, for example, argues that it is almost impossible to classify people by other cultural criteria such as religion, life-style, clothing customs, and so on (1999:11). One individual may prefer their home culture, the other may be comfortable with the culture in the host country. It is difficult to categorize individual cultural identity even if they speak the same language or come from the same ethnic group if people have different backgrounds. Martyn Hammersley and Paul Atkinson, for example, criticize the methods used by positivism:

People's behaviour is not caused in a mechanical way, it is not amenable to the sort of casual analysis and manipulation of variable positivism...There are many different



layers or circles of cultural knowledge within any society. Indeed this is particularly true of modern industrial societies with their complex divisions of labour, multifarious life-styles, ethnic diversity, and deviant communities.

(1996: 9)

Gathering data only from quantitative research methods limits, conceptually and practically, areas where there are many complex issues. In quantitative methods, for example, with a structured questionnaire (yes/no questions), different layers of issues may not be included due to faults in design by researchers.

In order to understand children and media consumption in the overseas community, an in-depth study is required. David Gauntlett argues in relation to 'effect' research on the media, 'In-depth qualitative studies have unsurprisingly given support to the view that media audiences routinely arrive at their own, often heterogeneous, interpretations of everyday media texts' (1998:127). Because there are no such specific categories in cultural criteria, an inductive method of research which is based on qualitative research methods is clearly valid. In order to do so, it needs to be stressed *why* Japanese sojourners choose particular forms of media while they stay in London. They might choose Japanese media rather than the media in the U.K. on purpose, or vice versa. This can be related to their past, present, and future. In addition, it was also necessary to focus on *how* they utilize or consume these media. These sojourners in a complex environment could show characteristic ways of using the media. My former research on Japanese children in London has shown that mothers tend to use Japanese media for Japanese language and culture acquisition of their children (aged three to six) (Kondo 2001). Parents who have children aged five to eight years old can show different purposes in providing media to their children which again relate to their past, present, and future. In fact, through this research, it is found that the Japanese families in this study have consumed various forms of media actively in their everyday lives, which will be given in Chapter V and VI. In their consumption patterns, diasporic and global media are very evident, while local (British) media is seldom consumed. The Internet, for example, has expanded their media consumption compared to the related study in Japanese wives in London and San Diego by Yoko Ogawa (1994) where the Internet unsurprisingly did not appear at all. The new media has given more choices to those



Japanese in the overseas community such as on-line shopping, emailing to their close friends and families in Japan, gaining information on new toys, and so forth.

In order to find answers to the above issues, participant observation was also required in the fieldwork. Ethnography was chosen as an appropriate method in order to study the lifestyles and the media consumption of children aged five to eight in diaspora. Alan Bryman, for example, applies ethnography to focus on people's ordinary activities in naturally occurring settings, uses unstructured and flexible methods of data collection, requires the researcher to be actively involved in the field or with the people under study and explores the meanings which human activity has for the people involved and for wider society (2000: 20).

The Japanese overseas community has been explored by this research, with the following aims and objectives:

- 1) To understand the relationship between the media and everyday life of Japanese sojourner families in London.
- 2) To examine how personal, social and cultural identity have been constructed and developed in specific Japanese families whilst living in London, in particular children's hybrid identities.
- 3) To explore Japanese mothers' childrearing in the overseas community, especially in relation to media consumption and everyday life.
- 4) To understand the media consumption habits of Japanese sojourners' children aged five to eight years old in London.
- 5) To analyse Japanese media products aimed at children aged five to eight years old, available to Japanese consumers in London - critically analyse how Japanese media products are age graded and how this relates to Japanese families' media consumption patterns.
- 6) To critically examine the issue of gender in relation to Japanese families and their consumption of Japanese media products.
- 7) To investigate Japanese mothers' experience of childrearing in a host country and understand their use of media in relation to their family experience whilst in London.

- 8) To investigate the significance of language as a factor in Japanese families' media consumption patterns.

## ***2. Framing the fieldwork.***

When diaspora and children are studied, some related data is required in order to frame the study for the macro level. In a particular setting, such as the overseas community, the background of the setting is inevitable which will be shown in Chapter III. This section will show how the fieldwork was framed.

Firstly, the children's market which is a ground of global cultural flows is inevitably discussed. Buckingham, for example, who has studied *Pokemon* finds that children are always trawling for 'cool and new things' (2002: 13-4). Updated data and information from secondary sources such as related literature (Seiter 2002, Buckingham 2002, Wasko 2001a) and market news have been obtained. At the same time, it is important to examine 'how much' these products are available, why they are popular, and who consumes the products mostly through related secondary sources. Importantly, the different conditions of the children's market should be noted. Exposure to toy advertisements has been often criticised. Stephen Kline, who has written on toys and children's culture, describes the '80s as Reagan's 'business culture' (1993). Over commercialization of children's television is seen as harmful. He explains the main problem of this as concerning children's culture:

The fact that overturning a few provisions that had imposed some minor limitations on children's commercial programming could have made such a profound impact on children's toy preferences is an indication of the delicate web linking economic and cultural matters in post-industrial society.

(Kline 1993: 215)

Comparing the condition in the U.S. above, toy advertisements tend to appear less in public in Britain. Maire M. Davies has found from U.K research that negative influence from ads is weaker than in the U.S. because of public broadcasting in the UK (1989: 185). That is, as far as the matter of volume is concerned even though in the U.K. satellite, cable and digital television airs many children's programmes. In this sense, the volume of advertisements and merchandised products had to be looked at from the view



of 'ethnoscapes' and 'mediascapes' (Appadurai 1990) in the industry. If a child prefers a Japanese cartoon whose context requires or teaches him/her Japanese culture, he/she can know or experience such ethnic culture through the cartoon. On the other hand, it might not perfectly apply to the case in the overseas community. If a child, for example, watches advertisements between a cartoon on the video from Japan ('technoscapes' is also applied here) and asks his/her grandparents in Japan to get the specific toy which he/she has seen on the video, it would be beyond the U.K. boundary and its regulations. That is, the regulations in the U.K. may not apply for those children of ethnic minority who can obtain media products from outside of where they live. In the domestic sphere in ethnic minorities, in this sense, consumption and experiences of media are significantly dependent on distribution and access to media products.

Second, the overseas community as a whole has to be investigated by secondary sources or available data from related similar sources such as Embassy of Japan. In order to do so, related institutions, which are close to these Japanese people's lives, such as JSTV (a satellite TV station which is run by NHK), community journals such as *Journey* or *Eikoku Digest*, Japanese school and kindergartens, and Japanese shops such as a department stores or book shops became key places to observe the community. I have visited JSTV several times in London and interviewed Mr. Kitagawa, the head of JSTV, in order to know their business aims and the composition of customers and needs as well as obtain its monthly programme guides. The two major community journals are distributed freely at major Japanese shops such as Japan Centre and also there are their own homepages on the Internet.

In addition to such ethnic media, schools and kindergartens of ethnic groups play important roles in diaspora as institutions which give 'ideoscapes' to their students. They tend to emphasise ethnic culture including thoughts such as cultural events which are held back home, and not in the U.K. Hence I wanted to observe or interview its teachers or students in Japanese schools and kindergartens in London. I could not, however, get permissions from either of them due to their having too many researchers. This can be also caused by these institutions' fear of their being investigated by an academic researcher. Although I could not get inside, it was possible for me to go to



their schools or kindergartens by being accompanied by the mothers when they pick their children up. I visited two private schools, a state school, and a Japanese kindergarten at the last time of my visit<sup>1</sup>. At least, how these Japanese mothers communicate with other mothers (either Japanese only or local mothers) was able to be observed. One kindergarten gave me permission to participate only in their summer festival in July 2001 and 2002 where they also distributed their brochures in which there was basic information: the educational policy, history, curriculum and tuition fee lists. The Internet is one of the most powerful media to gather data as well as secondary sources. The Japanese school has its own homepage where they introduce general information as well as students' lives in the school and their essays (The Japanese School London 2003). Moreover, there are some websites by organizations which are for returnees and people who are about to go abroad as sojourners (c.f. ISEC 2001, Mimo's Homepage 2003). These secondary materials were also analysed by being combined with my informants' interviews.

On the other hand, by inductive means, micro level details from individuals can show factors on the macro level. Services or institutes are not only provided by Japanese companies, but also by many local businesses which are targeted at the Japanese overseas community. From the view of 'financescapes' of the community itself, such small businesses co-exist in the same area of the overseas community. A non-Japanese fishmonger in Ealing Broadway, for example, sells specially sliced fresh fish for a certain Japanese dish (Mother F). In another example, there are many lessons such as English, tapestries, making beads accessories, or flower arranging which are popular amongst the wives of the overseas community. The teachers are local (mostly English) who teach Japanese mothers' groups only because the teachers use these sojourners' houses, which is convenient for those of local private teachers who do not have particular space for opening their schools or lessons. Such small scale businesses were found in the classified sections in the community journals or word of mouth communication through the sojourners. Furthermore, as a geo-cultural aspect of lifestyle in the overseas community, especially concerning consumption of food, Chinese or Korean markets also sell some Japanese food. In this way, fragmented micro details were gathered and developed onto the macro level, which are often rarely found in



related literature or institutional data.

Ethnography is used in social science as Bryman has pointed out ‘... to understand people’s actions and their experiences of the world, and the ways in which their motivated actions arise from and reflect back on these experiences’ (2000: 11). He adds methods in ethnography:

To access social meanings, observe behaviour and work closely with informants and perhaps participate in the field with them, several methods of data collection tend to be used in ethnography, such as in-depth interviewing, participant observation, personal documents and discourse analysis of natural language.

(Bryman 2000 :11)

Moreover, because this method was used in order to examine micro events in everyday life which feature within the broader social world, the scale of samples tended to be small (Bryman 2000: 53). This feature is also emphasised by James Lull in the field of media audiences where ethnographical method were applied to television viewing within the normative contexts of everyday family life (1990: 22). In addition, in a natural setting, researchers can conduct their methodology in a flexible way (Lull 1990: 20). How the fieldwork was designed will be shown later. To examine the media and minority children’s development is complex.

### ***3. Methods with children***

Ethnography has been often used in studies on children, especially, in examining children’s identities. Nina Huntemann and Michael Morgan for example, assume that ethnographic methods, ‘...such as one-to-one interviews and participant observation, can provide thick descriptions of daily life, allowing for the messy and complex connections between identity and culture’ (2001:316). The ‘special nature of children’ (Greig & Taylor 1999: 1) must be taken into consideration. In relation to methods concerning children in ethnic minorities, a number of studies involving comparisons between Japanese and American/ Western education or children’s development have been carried out. As discussed above, people’s choices, lifestyles, and values are fragmented and various in today’s society (Giddens 1991). Hence, especially in order to look at individual Japanese children and the media, ethnography seemed the most



appropriate method to understand Japanese children in the overseas community and media consumption in everyday lives: TV, games, toys, friends, family, school, lessons, and so on. Their identities cannot be built up at once and by one element. In-depth and longitudinal study was required. Although Hendry points out, for example, that there are many programmes designed to help with their upbringing (1986), there is no clear proof that these programmes can teach children social behaviour as well as their mothers do.

In Hendry's book *Becoming Japanese*, there is no mention of her methods in her study which shows TV as playing a role in socializing children. Moreover, she has studied Japanese children as a homogeneous group without considering their family's social class. In general, such case studies by foreign researchers, especially in the 80's, have generalized facts which occur in a country by conceptualizing people as a single group. This tendency has been subsequently pointed out by other researchers. Holloway, for example, points out concerning cultural models which refer to people's beliefs:

...including ideas about how things work as well as how they should work- and the scripts or behaviour sequence that they use to deal with routine situations while cultural models are sometimes held by all members of broad social categories such as nation, gender, or social class, they are also formulated with more narrowly bounded social settings, including for example, neighbourhood or occupational niche.

(2000: 5)

In this way, I chose the informants of this study, who are all middle-class, and live in London as sojourners. These informants cover all the above factors such as nation, gender (mothers and their children), social class, neighbourhood, and occupational niche.

In relation to the issue of child development, some scholars (c.f. Kline 1999, Gunter 1998, Singer & Singer 1998, Berry & Asamen 2001, Paik 2001) still tend to use the term 'media effect'. This might be because of the assumption that children are passive viewers. In truth, however, children are active viewers (Douglas 1982). Some of those who have used the term 'media effect' tend to regard children as a homogeneous group ignoring their backgrounds. Some experimental studies, for example, which have been conducted from the view of 'media effect' have been carried out in unnatural settings (e.g. Singer & Singer 1998), and have subsequently been criticised (Gans 1980,



Buckingham 1997, 1998, Gauntlett 1998). Hence, without examining children's background and environment where they consume and experience the media, the findings might not be valid.

Observation on everyday life is often linked by the background of researchers. David and Barbara Shwalb, for example, conducted their ethnographic research on Japanese childrearing. They observed the children and their activities in pre-schools (Shwalb & Shwalb 1996). They argue that it is difficult for foreign researchers to study small number of families and easier for them to examine institutions:

...in a preschool, the systems of chores, fixed small groups, rotating student leadership, and the like are carefully nurtured over many months, and could hardly be marshaled just for the visit of a foreign researcher... In contrast, the cultures created by families are likely to be inaccessible to outsiders (except through long, intimate acquaintance) and can be quite idiosyncratic.

(Shwalb & Shwalb 1996: 132)

Again, flexibility in ethnography is seen above. Here, there is a crucial assumption that Japanese families might not accept foreign researchers in their private spheres. Although the Shwalbs emphasised the importance of the community in which children can learn socialization directly from an institution (schools), it appeared to be difficult for foreign researchers to gain access to Japanese families. Using flexibility in ethnography, the Shwalbs could collect data from their observation in preschools everyday and find different aspects of Japanese education compared to the West.

On the contrary, if a researcher is too close to informants, she/he can have another problem. Takahashi Toshie, for example, who has attempted to conduct an ethnographic research at her children's prestigious Catholic kindergarten where her children's peers would remain in the same institution throughout their school lives for at least fifteen years, has been caught in the dilemma of her status as a mother and researcher, 'Of course, I want these relationships to remain amicable throughout this time so was wary of doing anything that might threaten either relationships between myself and the other mothers or between my children and their peers' (2003: 129). She observes that the study by Hendy as a foreign researcher at a Japanese kindergarten seemed to have achieved a more workable and comfortable position than her case *as* a Japanese mother



(Takahashi 2003).

In this study on the Japanese families in London, I was not a foreign researcher to the informants. I am Japanese and more or less the same generation of the mothers who participated in this study. My regular visits to their homes led to a relatively close relationship developing between myself and their children. The more I visited them, the more the mothers became comfortable and opened up. In the first visit, except for the mothers who had already participated in my previous study at MA, the atmosphere was formal, but soon, they understood my study and showed their everyday lives. Eventually I was able to gain their trust by visiting them in a relaxed mood at their homes every two months a year. Consequently, the mothers showed their honest feelings and ideas. As for the children, although they were informed by their mothers that I was studying their favorite toys and TV programmes, they were upset when I told them, 'this is the last visit', which will be discussed in Chapter IV.

Unlike the case of Takahashi (2003), I did not design my fieldwork at only one institution (for example a school), and chose the overseas community where those families often referred. Compared to Takahashi's status with other mothers, I achieved a workable and comfortable position in London. The informants were able to talk about their honest opinions without having any fears of institutional politics so that I was able to gain access to their homes. Homes as micro level can relate to macro debates. The micro level of debates within families integrates with contemporary macro debates about the nation, community and cultural identities (Morley 2000: 4). In this sense, my study on Japanese children's media experiences was carried out mainly in their homes, which are assumed to be a micro social unit and a micro Japanese community as a family and lead to macro level of debates. Families have their own history and values which were important when examining the consumption of media in the homes of an ethnic minority of a certain social class.

A child's age cannot be also ignored in designing research methods. McCreey, for example, conducted a study on the consumption of children aged nine to ten in Tokyo by using questionnaires (2000). In this study, however, children aged five to eight were



involved in the fieldwork. It is very important to consider their abilities, especially in designing methods for children. I chose the age group from five to eight because these children are at an early stage in schooling and still depend upon mothers in their consumption of media, but simultaneously, find it easier to adapt themselves to a complex environment because they are still developing their identities. This age group might not be able to answer questions logically or not to understand the questions themselves<sup>2</sup>. In fact, in my previous research on the Japanese children in London, I recruited mothers who had children aged three to six who were assumed as ‘pre-schoolers’ in Japan<sup>3</sup>. Firstly, Anne Greig and Jayne Taylor have emphasised the importance of basic theoretical knowledge of child development in designing methods (1999). Robert Hodge and David Tripp, for example, have conducted a study with children and their experiences of watching TV (1987), which is based on Piaget’s classical study (1997 original in 1948) on child’s perception of space. They have found in their study;

The camera then zoomed in until the reporter’s face filled the screen. A girl aged 5 was watching and asked, ‘who is he talking to?’ the girl here seems to be applying a three-term syntagmatic structure, assuming the speech is directed at a specific person. Younger children would not have this problem: their overhearing it is taken for granted.

(Hodge & Tripp 1987: 80-81)

In Piaget’s theory, however, such ability would be achieved at ages six to seven (1997: 21).

This leads to the question of ‘media literacy’ (c.f. Buckingham 2003, Livingstone 2004) which concerns children’s interpretation of media products (TV, film, comics, TV games, their play) and capabilities of using the media products (TV games: Playstation 2, Game Cube, Gameboy etc.), selecting their favourite TV channels (i.e. operating skill especially on such as Sky digital box), drawing skills when they want to describe their favourite characters (see Picture 2 in p.49), abilities (reading and understanding rules) and operational skills in playing with toys related to particular TV characters (i.e. *Beyblade*, *Yugioh* cards, *Hamtaro*’s knitting machine, etc), and computer skills (checking the websites of their favourite TV programmes or toys, emailing with their



friends or families in Japanese or English, drawing with computer).

In the study by Livingstone (2002), for example, although she analysed children's changing literacy toward visualized culture from a sociological view, she did not examine children's media literacy according to their media experiences which is very important in understanding their consumption and interpretations. Nancy Signorielli argues, 'Children must learn to segment (separate as well as chunk) the continuous stream of events or images that constitute a television program. This task, as most others, is very age-related, with younger children's comprehension hampered because they may form smaller chunks or segments of program content and images' (1991: 28). Davies, moreover, shows significant children's interpretation of the media that children also need to learn to understand the world in which they live, including the way that it is represented in different symbolic forms (1997: 3). This is very significant for children in the overseas community. Some scenes which relate to particular Japanese culture could disturb the children's interpretation of the contexts (e.g. the different customs or way of playing which are common in Japan, but not at all in the U.K.).

Secondly, Greig and Taylor show the necessity of framing the study: how researchers approach their topic (1999). As shown above, there are no systematic ways to judge children's cultural consumption. It is rather more important to know 'how' and 'why' children consume media and develop identities in this study. Greig and Taylor have argued in relation to positivism and constructivism:

Constructivist researchers perceive the child as a subjective, contextual, self-determining and dynamic being. Children and their caretakers are social, relational beings who are engaged in joint action. As they interact they construct joint meanings within a given context. In this way, meaning is constructed symbolically in interaction with others...They are both the observed and the observer...the meanings constructed and actions taking place in everyday situations are also located within specific cultural and historical practices and time.

(1999: 37)

Needless to say, this has been also seen in method for adults. In this sense, qualitative research fits in with research on human behaviour including children and meanings of their actions.





**Picture 1: An eight year old boy was playing as Super Mario jumping on the sofa mattresses.**

#### ***4. Ethnographical fieldwork with children***

In ethnographic research where techniques are flexible, what kind of methods can be applied to children aged five to eight? There are alternative ways to gather information besides interviewing if children cannot answer questions logically. As an adult, it is difficult for researchers to put themselves in a child's world by pretending also to be children. In participant observation on young children (aged three to six), children recognize the physical differences between the researcher and themselves. Gary Alan Fine and Kent Sandstrom have shown an example of this in the fieldwork with children aged five:

Betty: you can't play with us!

Bill: why?

Betty: Cause you are too big.

Bill: I'll sit down.

Jenny: You're still too big.

Betty: yeah, you re 'Big Bill'.

Bill: Can I just watch?

Jenny: Ok, but don't touch nuthin!

(1988: 39)

They, however, have evaluated such problems and insisted that 'trust' is a key in relationships between researchers and children, 'The children do learn to trust this researcher, if only in that they find his behaviour predictable, and they assume that he will do them no harm, even if [he can be] mobbed (Fine & Sandstrom 1988: 40-41).

From this point of view, a longitudinal research can develop 'trust'. Children in my



study might have felt uncomfortable on my first visit because we had never met before. In order to establish such 'trust' between children of my informants and myself, longitudinal study (frequent visits) was an appropriate method. Eventually, I also faced the disadvantage of longitudinal study with children in a natural setting. This will be given in Chapter VI.

Children might not always answer logically, especially concerning the issue of identities. In order to solve this, there are alternative ways, examining their belongings, for instance, or alternatively expressions. For example, Joseph Tobin and his colleagues have conducted 'visual ethnography' at schools in three countries, using video camera (1989). Analyzing children's drawings can be also valid in ethnography. For example, 'bedroom study' has been used to study children's media consumption in relation to their developing identities (c.f. Bachmair 1999, Livingstone 2002). In the process of examination, reasons for behavioural link with family or education or backgrounds, which ultimately form social and cultural identities, can be established.

### *5. Life-course analysis in examining one's identity*

Studying people's identities is often an ambivalent process. In order to study the interrelationship between personal and social factors in the long-term, life-course analysis in ethnography is an appropriate method for this topic. Livingstone in her study on technologies at homes shows how different understandings of one's relation to society can be seen in different personal biographies, 'When telling their life stories, people inevitably reveal their perspectives on many social, personal and moral matters' (Livingstone: 1992:108). It can lead to revealing attitudes towards individual's consumption in relation to their life-plan. Giddens, for instance, argues that feelings of self-identity are both robust and fragile:

Fragile, because the biography the individual reflexively holds in mind is only one 'story' among many other potential stories that could be told about her development as a self; robust, because a sense of self-identity is often securely enough held to weather major tensions or transitions in the social environments within which the person moves.

(1991:54-5)



People in the overseas community, for example, have changed their life situation compared to that in Japan. Their lifestyle has changed culturally such as by adopting an English lifestyle which is forced upon them: the mothers have to pick their children up at schools, and take many English cultural lessons such as aroma therapies, gardening, tennis, and so on. Those family members have also changed socially *as* expatriates (Ben-Ari 1998), a wife of a sojourner who might have to go to parties held amongst her husband's colleagues' wives, a child of a sojourner who might go to the Saturday schools. In addition, the parents' goals of childrearing for their children, which are based on their life-courses, influence how and why they provide particular media products for their children.

Age is very significant in relation to consumption in Japan. Clammer points out, '...age is certainly a major factor in Japanese consumption and can be used as a very accurate predictor of the events of the life-course (1997: 15). He explains that consumption in Japan strongly corresponds with age-related activities, 'In the form of self-cultivation and a culturally specific conception of the life-cycle, in which distinct attributes are attached to the expected characteristics and expected behaviour of each way-station in the cycle, and in which continuity' (1997: 22). In contrast, Johansson and Miegel have pointed out that such changes in the cultural and social identity of individuals are not age-related and occur when the individual's life situation for some reason dramatically changes (1992:78). In this study, both age and life-stage were taken into consideration in analysing life stories from the informants. Through individual interviews with informants, memories of a multitude of events were analysed in order to know their identities, ones which were both simultaneously 'robust' and 'fragile'.

Shirely Dex suggests that life history is itself a cultural form, bounded in place and time, and with variants that conform to the specialized knowledge and techniques of control associated with different professions and bureaucracies (1991: 39). Sakai, for example, who has studied workers in the City of London by using life-story interview method argues:

...the voice of workers in Japanese banks affords us an insight into changing ethnicity in the City of London. It also allows us to listen to how people recount



narratives of dominant people, and how different groups construct their own stories of the world, its history, and their life-identities.

(2000:14)

Even though people share the same experiences, depending on their cultural backgrounds, interpretation by narrators can be different. Dex maintains that history is shaped by a host of totally unremarkable day-to-day occurrences (1991: 87). The most illustrative example for this topic is the study by Ben-Ari who studied Japanese businessmen's golf activities in order to upgrade their status in Singapore along with their life-plan (1998), which was shown in the previous chapter. In the case of the Japanese children in London, their cultural identity or values often consists of a mix of British and Japanese elements. Children's interpretations of Japanese or British ritual events, sayings, manners, behaviours, values, etc, may vary widely; why one behaves in a certain way, why they do a certain event, etc. Two countries' calendar events (i.e. school events, local festivals, Halloween, Christmas, New Year's Day, celebration of 7-5-3 in Japan, Children's day in Japan, and their birthdays) which occur in everyday lives within the overseas community were also considered.

The mothers who I interviewed are from the same generation. Since it is assumed that 'memory is composed of individual elements and fragments' (De Certeau 1984: 88), it was an advantage to share the same cultural background. I reminded them of something which I myself had experienced such as popular children's programmes or play in childhood, asking 'Did you watch X after school?'. For example, if a mother mentioned the name of popular programme or play in her childhood when she tried to compare herself to her children, I was able to understand or share the same feeling. Such benefits led them to show a part of their identities. Mike Hepworth points out in relation to the benefits of life-course analysis, 'On the specific level can be found an appeal to the shared experiences of a particular generation of men and women who are urged to discover a common identity and a common cause; it is towards this expression of a sense of distinct "social destiny"' (Hepworth, 1987:134).

Moreover, parents' values in relation to their goals of childrearing became clear through



several interviews. Muriel Nissel assumes, 'Whatever these innate characteristics, the environment into which they are born, particularly the parents they have and the love and affection as well as the material advantages they receive, will powerfully influence the kind of human beings they become' (1987: 210). Parents might also try to give different experiences to their children which they could not have experienced themselves or technology they did not have in their childhood, pointing to the differences between generations. Peter Lunt and Sonia Livingstone have studied mass consumption and personal identities by using life-course analysis (1992). They also show the importance of social change in consumption in the 20<sup>th</sup> century and generations of each family member:

One concerns the relation between people's understanding of historical change, which informs their life stories and accounts of their actions and beliefs, and historical accounts of social change over the present century. The second concerns the relation between explanations for differences between age groups which refer to membership of different generations and those which refer to being at different stages of the life-cycle.

(1992: 101-102)

Life-course analysis was applied in examining mothers' goals of childrearing, pursuit of a certain kind of lifestyle and life plans in Japan and the U.K.. Through this analysis, their changing identities were discovered and identified which will be shown in Chapter VIII. In addition, why and how the mothers provided particular media and media products to their children is mostly based on their planned life-course for themselves and their children's future.

## ***6. Problems in qualitative research and designing this study.***

There are also, however, some drawbacks to qualitative research. If a researcher can predict its weak points, he/she can deal with them in the process of designing research and carrying out successful fieldwork. The main problem is 'subjectivity' in qualitative research. Dex discusses the problems of life-course analysis which are inevitably subjective (1991: 171). In ethnography, Bryman points out questions of the scale of a study's, '...ability to "represent" reality accurately and attempts to build generality and representativeness into qualitative research in order to overcome the limits of the single case study approach' (2000: 6). How can these weaknesses be avoided? Hammersley



and Atkinson suggest the problem of abstractness in people's language, 'In recent years, ethnographers have shown rather different priorities and have come to place more reliance on their own observations to get information for one reason or another' (1996: 125). Additionally, Hammersley and Atkinson explain, 'it is important that the successful text demonstrate how existing ideas are being developed, tested, modified or extended. The analytic frame and the empirical evidence should be brought tighter in appropriate ways' (1996: 251). In this sense, it is necessary to prepare a theoretical framework. This will be shown below.

In order to avoid these problems above, a researcher is required to prepare before empirical research starts. As Hammersley and Atkinson have outlined what researchers should consider (1996: 32-91), I have designed my research before and during the fieldwork according to their key points in ethnography:

1. Locations: Mainly at informants' homes. It was good to observe their homes which showed their tastes: books or videotape-collections, posters, family photos, pictures which children drew etc., and also the positions of television, toys, games, PCs, etc. Some events, activities, or shops where these informants involved themselves or tended to go were also observed or experienced by myself.
2. Finding personal networks/ gatekeepers: Two informants from my former research in my MA (Three out of five informants who fitted in the criteria had already left for Japan) and the head of JSTV Mr. Kitagawa, and a friend who works at a Japanese company and organizes a Japanese rugby team amongst expatriates.
3. Recruitment of sampling: Japanese mothers who lived in London, whose children were between five to eight year olds. These children (between five to eight years old) are still heavily dependent on mothers' choices in their media consumption at homes. These children had been interviewed and observed as well as the mothers.
4. Make criteria explicit and systematic: families had to be Japanese and already sent from Japan to live in London when the fieldwork was launched. The ideal numbers of informants were ten. Therefore, I recruited twelve families, in anticipation of individuals dropping out while they were examined.<sup>4</sup> In September 2002, I was able to reach twelve. In recruiting these families, the length of their sojourning in London was not considered because most of them tend to stay between three to five



years. From the MA study, I did not find any problems in different lengths of sojourning within several years. Moreover, each family's staying period at the point when I started the research was not also questioned. This could have been focused on more in order to know how they developed their relationships or activities within the community. In fact, the informants had various stages of sojourning: from one year to six years.

5. Time: I visited 11 families every two months over a year from 2002 to 2003.<sup>5</sup> Dates had been according to the informants' schedules.<sup>6</sup> This time schedule with participants is important, according to Grant McCracken, 'All this activity must be set in a generous time-frame in order to let respondents tell their own story in their own terms (1988: 41). It was ideal when I visited them when all family members were at home. However, depending on the families' schedule, I sometimes interviewed only mothers while children were at school. Usually, I visited them after school around 4'o'clock p.m. for a few hours or during the day time when they were on holiday. In the case when the families of this study had to return or moved, I sent questionnaires which were quite similar to my interview questions (semi-structured), focusing on their lifestyle changes and children' media consumption in Japan or other places compared to when they used to be in London as sojourners.<sup>7</sup>

## 7. Validity

In flexible methods, validity in research must be assessed. Joseph Maxwell argues concerning validity in qualitative research:

[Qualitative researches] rarely have the benefit of formal comparisons, sampling, statistical manipulations that 'control for' the effect of particular variables, and they must try to rule out most validity threats after the research as begun, using evidence collected during the research itself to make these alternative hypotheses implausible. (1996:88)

The importance of accuracy for valid description is emphasized. This can be met by using audio or video recording, and of frameworks or meanings in order to provide valid interpretation (Maxwell 1996: 88). In order to deal with the contingency that a researcher may fail to do so, he advises some actions in the fieldwork that researcher should not do, '... not listening for the participants' meanings; not being aware of and



bracketing your own framework and assumptions; asking leading, closed, or short answer questions that don't give participants the opportunity to reveal their own perspective (Maxwell 1996: 89). If a researcher avoids such mistakes in fieldwork, Maxwell concludes that they will learn how those studied make sense of what is unfolding before them (1996: 89). In qualitative research, the way of researchers' obtaining data in actual fieldwork is important in addition to framing the study from the view of validity.

In relation to validity, the scale of samples has to be taken into account in carrying out research with children. Small-scale study is a feature of ethnography which has been shown above. Does it apply to children? Greig and Taylor observe that the small size of a particular sample has been challenged in more recent years (1999: 7). They contend however, 'For example, a case study may focus on a single child or family but may be extremely complex in terms of what it proposes and very influential to practice' (1999: 7). In contrast to this, Livingstone's study on young people and new media uses a survey level of scale, using many children in the U.K. from various backgrounds (2002). In this study, however, specific children were involved: children aged five to eight years old from the Japanese overseas community in London, who shared the same ethnicity and socio-economic background. McCracken also assumes that eight respondents will be perfectly sufficient if researchers use longitudinal interviews (1988: 17). In this study, twelve families participated. The families who completed all interviews (six times a year) became eight. Although four out of twelve families were not able to have six interviews (due to returning to Japan or illness), I used all interview data including letters which were sent instead of having interviews as valid. Therefore, the scale of this study in which qualitative methods were applied was adequate. In this study, the samples were very specific and questions were semi-structured (open ended interviews with mothers and their children) (Appendix 4). The benefits of this longitudinal interview were that a researcher had opportunities to ask questions in-depth, and even if she/he failed to ask a question which she/he wanted to, it was possible to ask informants on the next visit.

## **8. Ethics**



In the social sciences, ethics is important, especially when children are involved. Before the interviews started, I prepared a consent letter which followed guidelines by Social Research Association (British ethical codes) to the informants, and received permission from each informant who represented herself and her children (Appendix 2.3). Due to visiting the individual's private sphere, the consent letter gave 'trust' to my informants. In addition, the mothers' friends who often gathered at their houses also gave me permission to use their comments in the study (Mother E and F's friends who often gathered). When I was taking pictures of toys or children's playing, I explained to mothers that these would become a part of my data in the process of analysing, and not be published without any further permission. As in British ethical codes, all names were anonymised by coding Mother A-L.

At the same time, in order to know their basic data such as income, educational background, career, experience in other countries, media consumption (newspaper, digital, magazines, etc. which they subscribe to), each mother was asked to fill in an initial questionnaire (Appendix 1). This questionnaire was merely taken as a first step for each visit in order to know families. McCracken explains, 'It is the construction of a set of biographical questions with which to open the interview. –allows investigator to ascertain the simple descriptive details of an individual's life' (1988: 34). In the questionnaire, the informants were allowed not to answer questions at which they might feel 'too personal' (one did not want to fill their household's income). Bryman shows the characteristic aspects of ethnography, '...that is distinguished by its objectives, which are to understand the social meanings and activities of people in a given "field" or setting, and its approach, which involves close association with, and often participation in, this setting' (2000: 11). As a part of ethnography, the researcher is also involved in the private field. In this study, all were Japanese families. Therefore, not only considering British ethical codes, I also considered Japanese etiquette in visiting the informants.

### ***9. Doing the fieldwork: the research process and problems***

In the process of designing my research, gaining informants became a crucial point in this study. Firstly, the informants who participated in my former research in 2001



became important gatekeepers, and secondly, some people were contacted through the Japanese companies. Two mothers who participated in my MA research became key gatekeepers and introduced me to three other families. In addition, Mr. Kitagawa who was the head of JSTV (a Japanese satellite TV station in London) gave me a list of families from different Japanese companies and had already contacted fathers since he knew them through his business. Therefore, the wives trusted my status and understood my situation and intent. In my experience in recruiting respondents for MA study, I visited a mothers' group in Finchley, but could not gain their trust. The gatekeepers who had already established their business/personal relationship within the overseas community led these families who I had never met before to open their doors. This can be said that the hierarchy within the relationship and dense relationship within the Japanese overseas community are significant elements, which will be illustrated and discussed more in Chapter III and VIII. Through the gatekeepers, the informants were recruited. The gatekeepers were friends of the informants, this made my involvement in the field easier. Consequently, especially, in the longitudinal research, the attitude of a researcher becomes important:

The interviewer should be open and relaxed about tape recording, which can be justified as an aide-memoir or a helpful record of the conversation for later analysis. It also allows the interviewer to concentrate on what is said rather than the taking of notes.

(Bauer & Gaskell 2000: 51- 52)

Moreover, in order to reduce their anxieties for participating in the study, I explained the outline of the study in the consent letter. When I was recording each interview by a cassette recorder during the interviews, I did not take any notes in front of the informants in order to create a relaxed mood, respecting natural settings. Twelve families and 27 children were involved in this study.<sup>8</sup> Although the total number of the children aged five to eight were 16 out of 27, their siblings who have great influence on their media consumption in everyday life were also taken into account as important players as well as their parents.

In relation to the three dimensions of ethnography by Bryman, my research has been conducted as follows; 1) 'The belief that fragments of recorded talk, extracts from field



notes and reports of observed actions can reliably represent a social world' (Bryman 2000: 53). In my study, I had to rely on mothers' talk about their everyday lives and about their children's media consumption, which might be different from reality, which happened in Lull's interview data and observation data (Lull 1990:91). This point was also argued by Barrie Gunter and Jill McAleer who have studied children and television, 'This observation study conflicts with the earlier research, which cites the mother as the person who makes most of the viewing decisions, implying that people's self-reported behaviour is often in direct opposition to what they actually do in practice' (1997:185).

Even though I had to rely mostly on mothers' interviews, I also interviewed their children when they were available. As discussed above, the status of a researcher with children is more sensitive than with adults. Probably children aged five to eight might not understand the existence of 'researcher' itself even though mothers explained that I was studying children's TV programmes and toys. The interviews were conducted in a friendly way- sometimes, asking children while we were playing or watching TV/videos together. Surprisingly, they accepted me despite being obviously physically bigger than themselves. Children including their elder and younger siblings, in general, love talking, showing, and being asked about their toys or favourite TV characters. They found that I was not the person who asks them academic questions just like their teachers or parents. Even children asked me, 'what kind of toys do you have?', 'don't you live with your mom and daddy?', or 'Wow!, are you studying *Hello Kitty*?' which seemed to assume that some of them might consider me to be a person who had the same interest in their toys or TV characters, and was still provided with toys by my parents.

Combining the data from the talks of the mothers and children and the observation of their belongings- such as toys, lifestyle related objects, photos, drawings etc.(e.g. picture 2), I tried to find 'a social world' which the informants represented. While I was conducting the fieldwork, I faced certain problems. The abilities of children were various: some children were good at drawing, some were good at crafts, some had difficulties to express their opinions either in Japanese or English, some were shy, some became too excited (uncontrolled), etc.





**Picture 2: From a six-year old girl's drawing book**

Gauntlett, for example, has established a sophisticated method in his fieldwork (1996). He asked children in a primary school in the U.K. to use a video camera in groups to record their communities (Gauntlett 1996). Through their works of video recording, he has found some racial issues such as racial presentations which related to exposure to TV and children's media literacy which was demonstrated through their wit and creativity (Gauntlett 1996: 127, 144). As explained above, I was not allowed to study in any schools or kindergartens, and moreover, the Japanese children of my study were busy with many activities such as tennis, karate, piano, drawing lessons and homework. Therefore, the method which Gauntlett used was not available in this study. Consequently, I asked children to take photos of their favorite toys or something important to them with my digital camera. The benefit of this method was; 1) it does not take up so much of their time, the photos can be shown after taking them, 2) children could explain to me in their own words by showing photos on the screen of the camera, and 3) there were sometimes different things other than what their mothers believed they might like.





**Picture 3: Children using a digital camera (A six year-old girl photographs herself in a mirror).**

As Bryman has shown in his summary of the second dimension of ethnography, ‘The belief that small-scale, micro events in everyday life have at least common features with the broader social world, such that general processes permeate down to and are in part reproduced at the level of people’s everyday lives’ (Bryman 2000: 53). People tend to pass much of their everyday lives subconsciously. Within a family, many small events take place for each family member or occur in situations such as holidays, someone’s birthday, graduation, festivals, etc. Sidonie Smith and Julia Watson argue in their analysis of people’s memories in relation to ‘events’:

...how certain ways of remembering are expected, acknowledged, valued. For instance, in the United States public rituals of remembering include such occasions as Memorial Day parades, Veterans’ Day marches, and religious holidays. Private rituals include the preservation of objects such as heirlooms and family Bibles, and the continuation of family reunions where people gather to remember, re-enact, and reaffirm the family’s collective past.

(2001: 16-17)

Japanese mothers tended to have a sense of seasons in general because of their school events which relate to Japanese customs (e.g. a website by a mother of an overseas community, the mother claims that there are not such entrance and graduation ceremonies at schools in England) (i.e. Mimo’s Homepage: 2003). Children might



change or add ideas, interests, etc. By visiting them every two months, such seasonable events and elements come to be seen through the fieldwork. Moreover, global events such as 9.11 or the war on Iraq through the media were also experienced in their homes.

During the fieldwork, I found that some families whom I interviewed felt close to the Japanese victims who worked in the World Trade Center in New York since they knew their colleagues in New York or used to live there as sojourners. These political scenes or global events can influence their lives. According to a survey by ISEC, after the event in September 11<sup>th</sup> in New York, many Japanese companies stopped their workers going abroad and returnees to Japan increased (ISEC: 2001), and before the Iraq war started, most companies in Japan stopped their employers going abroad on businesses (Mother B, G, and K). As Sakai has discussed in relation to the identity of Japanese City workers in London, ‘...in their mind, there were still conflicts in terms of their position as international businessmen’ (2000: 201). In my study, these City workers family members were examined over a year within their homes in London.

In relation to the third dimension of ethnography, Bryman points out, 3)’The belief that people make sense of their everyday lives, and offer descriptions and accounts thereof, involving a complex reasoning process, which must be analysed if that social world is to be understood in the round, although members’ accounts should not be taken at face value’ (Bryman 2000:53). This point could be significant in relation to the statuses of researchers and relates to the former point of cultural events. This requires understanding the cultural backgrounds of the informants. In my research, I am Japanese as well as my informants. The mothers and I were able to understand each other because we have similar cultural understanding/interpretations, cultural experiences, and customs.

On the other hand, however, Japanese communication style is rather indirect, and informants occasionally tended to rely on my ability to interpret their unspoken intentions/meanings or share cultural backgrounds/common sense without explicit expressions.<sup>9</sup> In addition, I might have missed things which were too natural/common or trivial for Japanese people to recognize, but which non-Japanese researchers might



have been able to distinguish. In fact, when I presented a paper on this study in a conference, some academics who were not Japanese asked me about ‘resistance against mass cultural consumption (e.g. *Pokemon*) amongst the middle class’. In the U.K. middle class parents may not be pleased to provide mass cultural products to their children. Since then, I asked this point to my informants (mothers). In order to avoid this problem, detailed fieldnote taking was important as well as referring to secondary sources on Japanese culture by foreign researchers.

Above all, there is a limit to conducting ethnography, depending on the researchers’ status. In ethnographic research, there are several methods: individual interviews, focus group, observation, visual ethnography, performance, personal diaries or memoirs, etc. This is also dependent upon the researcher’s topic, setting, cost, and status. As seen above, some foreign researchers have conducted ethnographical research in pre-schools or kindergartens in Japan as an observer. Schools can be a community; in their class a small community may exist amongst the classmates. For children, home and school may be different. For example, if a researcher asks a child to draw as he/she wants, he/she may draw more freely at home than at school where the teacher usually assesses their works. Or within activities with local or Japanese friends, they may change their plays according to their friends including languages.

Although Pang denies her teenage informants are ‘little ambassadors’(2000: 317), it could be argued that the children who integrate with local friends can be so; for example, exchanging or introducing new toys from Japan, which were recognized easily to their local friends as global merchandised Japanese products. This will be shown in Chapter VI. Their local friends had introduced British/English customs or culture. These aspects were gathered through observation and interviews with children and helped to clarify their developing hybrid identities which will be given in Chapter VII. The Japanese children in London, especially those who went to local school during weekdays, might have an ability to distinguish their personalities between home and school.

In the process of examining their identities, weaknesses in this study were found. The problems of this study were 1) I could not carry out the fieldwork at Japanese children’s



schools because I could not gain permissions, 2) I did not interview fathers who were too busy with their work, and 3) I was not able to track all families who participated in this study after they returned to Japan due to my lack of budget and time. To solve these problems, I tried to gain as much accesses or data as I could.

Firstly, as explained above, although I could not actually conduct research in their schools officially, I was able to see children at schools when their mothers picked them up. I pretended to be as their mothers' friends. I observed how mothers including non-Japanese mothers at schools acted and communicated with each other, their classrooms, and school friends. For example, in private schools in South London, not only Japanese mothers, but also non-Japanese mothers carried brand bags and drove prestigious cars. The classrooms tended to have smaller number of students. In the girl's private school where Family C and J sent their daughters, there were not many Japanese students compared to a state school in West London. The make up of the population of the school were mostly white and there were hardly any other ethnic groups. The friends of J's eight year-old daughter who were all white seemed to play with her in the same manner as they would with non-Japanese peers. In the state school I visited where Family A, F, H and L sent their children, I witnessed some fathers also pick up their children instead of mothers. The state school did not allow parents to enter the classroom. I, however, was taken by my informant who was excited to show her classroom. In both cases, the Japanese mothers tended to stick together and talked to each other in Japanese. In the Japanese kindergarten where Family B sent their children, only mothers were witnessed and formed four groups. In all cases, after picking their children up, I was able to observe that all children were playing with their friends for a while at schools and the kindergarten. All children who showed me their schools/kindergarten seemed to be very excited to show them off and explained their schools to me as well as telling me about their favourite TV characters and toys.

Secondly, I also found that fathers were not the centre of the households and did not play the initiative roles in their childrearing. When I started this research, I asked the mothers to sign up the statement of informed consent (Appendix 2 and 3) in order to use the interviews with mothers and children. Their husbands were not included since I



visited them after school (before dinner time) when husbands were still working. This will be shown in Chapter VIII. In fact, I happened to see four of them. Two came back from work earlier than we expected, and two were taking off after coming back from business trips to other countries. I did not conduct proper interviews with them but greeted them. In fact, the wives seemed not to be comfortable if their husbands listened to what they were telling me. Therefore, I did not dare to ask them many questions.

Thirdly, two of the participant families left for Japan during the fieldwork. Although I had to rely on these two respondents about their lives in Japan, I was able to receive their reports on their lives which were also used as data. Mother J who had returned to Japan from London once and was sent to London again after three years in Tokyo gave her interesting views which will be shown in Chapter VIII. I also asked them about their lives during their holidays in Japan, especially concerning children. The experiences from their holidays in Japan showed their potential anxieties and a different environment from London. In addition, there are many existed studies on returnees. I used their findings (c.f. Pang (2000) and Minami (2000)) in relation to my research.

In addition to media consumption at homes, families experienced media outside of their homes. In the areas where Japanese sojourns tend to live in London, for example, there are some Japanese video shops. Not only JSTV supplies Japanese programmes to Japanese sojourners, but also such video shops, which provide Japanese programmes, play the same role as media supplier. Initially, I had aimed to observe these video shops as seen in Warren's video stores' study. Warren observed a video shops and families' consumption within a shop (2001). In this study, Warren presented a perception of 'space' where families consume the media away from the home environment (Warren 2001). He argued that parents must compromise the structure of video shops in which they may encounter the sections for adults only or leave children in play areas (Warren 2001: 89). I, however, found that those Japanese video shops in London which distribute TV programmes from Japan are illegally run.<sup>10</sup> There are no 'official' homepages as well. Sojourners in overseas community in London use video delivery services especially people who are not satisfied with the programming of JSTV. Such businesses within the community can be seen as often as the fishmonger. Both subsist



on the Japanese sojourners need for various services.

Although I was not able to observe these video shops as Warren did, media consumption exercised outside homes was seen or told by my informants. For example, according to an informant who had been to a Japanese department store's sales in London, children who were not interested in shopping with their parents were playing Gameboy (Mother E). Such scenes were also their part of everyday lives and lifestyle. The details will be given and discussed in Chapter V. Consequently, the fieldwork in this study was basically at the informants' homes. But at the same time, the places where those sojourners consume media outside of their homes were also significant.

#### ***10. Analysing the data: using NVivo and analysing visual data***

The data from the fieldwork became vast even though the scale of the study was small. On average, one interview and notes from an observation per a visit amounted to around 6-7,000 words. During the fieldwork, I also carried out the following work. After every visit, I transcribed the tapes of the interviews. Then I translated them into English from Japanese. Later, I inputted the data onto Nvivo which is software for qualitative research. Nivo helps managing and analysing large data. The procedure is the same as line-by-line analysis based on grounded theory. I coded (as nodes) by using line-by-line analysis. The final aim is to find out a matrix from fragmented data. According to Anselm Strauss and Juliet Corbin (1997), many procedures are required in the grounded theory which can be seen as follows;

1. Line-by-line analysis: I read the transcript line-by-line and made open codes-labelling phenomena, categorizing them.
2. Axial coding: later, specifying a category (phenomenon) and found the consequences and developed them. (Ibid: 97, 106, 110)
3. Selective coding: select core category, systematically relating it to other categories, validating those relationships, and filling in categories that need further refinement and development. (Ibid: 116)
4. Matrix: the flow of the relationship between categories. (Ibid: 158)

I coded all data with NVivo which allowed me to explore codes (nodes) in a flexible



manner: saving, deleting, adding, and changing, easier than analysing the data on actual papers with highlight pens. After exploring my data including observation memos, I summarised each family according to categories which I found in exploring nodes within NVivo. In addition, the coding process helped me to generalise the data according to the categories, and to find out the relationship amongst the codes and categories with NVivo. In the process of finding categories, these families' life-courses were focused on. Their past, present and future were examined from the interviews. For example, I made codes such as 'mother's background', 'mother's value', 'father's background', 'father's value', 'future perspective', 'cultural capital' and 'social capital'. When they described or explained why or how they used or consumed particular media, they often referred to their backgrounds, values which relate to cultural and social capital, and anxieties. In this way, life-course analysis was not only used in the process of interviewing them, but also in the process of finding categories which appeared. Those codes were seen throughout the issues; media consumption patterns, education, lifestyle, and developing identities. These findings will be shown in latter chapters.

Moreover, visual data such as photos by children or myself could also be added to the software. In fact, most of the visual data from the fieldwork was taken by my digital camera. I had asked my informants' children to take pictures of their important or favourite things (mainly toys they have taken). Eventually, I did not input them into NVivo. The problem of NVivo in inputting visual data is that it only refers to a title of the pictures and does not show actual visions. In addition, I was more interested in the process of children's taking photos. While they were taking photos, I was able to observe how they took them. Later, on the screen of the camera, each child explained the reasons or described their memories. Gauntlett has also pointed out in his study of children and their video projects that the process and the products which children produce become data:

More unusual still is that the subjects produce data both in the form of their behaviour and remarks during the production process, but also in the final videotape material which survives after the event, as a concrete product of their activities.

(1996: 86)

Through this method, I found that their way of taking photos of their favourite toys is



very particular. When I asked them, ‘why don’t you take all of them at once?’, they replied, ‘No, this should not be with this!’. A six year-old boy, for example, who loved *Pokemon* cards, wanted to take all his cards which were more than 50 one by one and were beyond my digital camera’s memory card. He showed his attachment to his ‘important things’ and also his own categories in his various toys. A seven year-old girl who liked making lists of anything (a list of her cuddly dolls, a list of her friends’ mothers’ names, etc.), showed such categories very clearly. This will be discussed in Chapter VII on identity.

Children were interested in using such technology. They liked operating the camera by themselves and seeing what the photos which they had just taken were like. All mothers, in contrast to their children’s reaction, appeared to say to their children, ‘be careful! Don’t break it’. Therefore, in this way, I analysed not only which toys each child likes but also their and their mothers’ reactions too. Such attitudes towards new media and technologies provided good examples: the generation gaps between children and mothers, the attitude of mothers to their children when they wanted to use their laptops or computers, and the mothers’ ways of directing how to take pictures seriously similar to helping with homework. This will be discussed in Chapter VI.

## ***11. Conclusion***

In summary, life course analysis and ethnography suit my needs: schedule, costs, and status. In my previous research in the MA, I interviewed each mother only once. In this research, more detailed and in-depth study was required. Although this study focused on the family and the media consumption at homes, I was able to observe and participate in some festivals or events which occurred outside their homes. In my previous research in the MA, for example, one mother asked me to go with her to pick her daughter at her local British school. The daughter greeted me in Japanese in front of her British friends and her teacher proudly. I was introduced to her as her mother’s friend. She told me that she prefers Japanese. The flexibility of ethnographical study enabled me to gather additional data and thereby helped me to understand children’s identity, even if they were not able to express themselves in their words. The closer I became to these families, the more accurate and detailed the data became. Such micro events have



gradually led to establishing solid bases from which to understand macro phenomenon.

## Notes:

---

<sup>1</sup> To a girls' private school in South London (Orpington area), two families sent their daughters, to a private school in Croydon, two families sent their children, two families sent their children to a Japanese kindergarten (both Finchley and West Acton branches), and four families sent their children to a state school in Ealing Broadway. One boy's private school was not observed since the boy was above eight year-old, and one private school in Hampstead could not be observed due to the illness of the husband, and one state school in Chiswick was not visited due to the informant's schedule.

<sup>2</sup> In fact, these children had problems linguistically in expressing themselves explaining objects due to the complex environment which caused their lack of vocabularies.

<sup>3</sup> In Japan, children aged three to six are usually in kindergartens. From the year of April when children become seven year old, they start going to school.

<sup>4</sup> One family was not able to continue participating in this study due to the mother and daughter's illness. The first interview, however, is included in data. Another family changed because of the husband's work position from a sojourner to local employee in order to remain in Britain. This case is also valid as an exceptional sample and gives a comparison of the conditions between sojourner and local.

<sup>5</sup> The first family started from April 2002 and completed March 2003. Half of them were completed in May 2003, the rest were completed in the summer 2003. Two out of twelve had returned to Japan before completing 6 interviews. One was not able to continue participating in this research due to the mother's long illness (only one interview), and one also had to skip the forth and fifth interviews due to her husband's illness. Eight families had been visited completely. In total, 57 interviews including those via letters were analysed as data.

<sup>6</sup> A family had to move within London. In this case, the interview was postponed two months later. Another family had to go to Japan on holiday for a month so that an interview was postponed one month. The total number of the interviews with this family was still six times.

<sup>7</sup> One family returned to Japan in February 2003 and left the last interview. The questions were sent to them. One family returned to Japan in March 2003 and left three interviews. Later, both of the mothers sent me a report about their lives in Japan. The latter family missed two interviews.

<sup>8</sup> This total number of the children includes their siblings who were not aged five to eight. The number of the targeted aged children was 16.

<sup>9</sup> In Japanese, subjects and objects can be omitted.

<sup>10</sup> They deliver and pick up videos by receiving faxes from clients who become memberships. The titles of their videos are taped TV programmes from Japan which have been aired one month before in Japan. They use used video tapes on which they have recorded many times. The costs are: £25 membership fee, and £30 per a month for five tapes a week. JSTV's monthly subscription fee is the same. They send a list of the programmes by fax. Clients order from the list which has no synopsis of each programme but with castings (Mother J).



### Chapter III: Japanese Overseas Community and Returnee Issues

*'I hope individuals have an awareness of being Japanese and grow up as international people with intelligence and fraternity.'*

Speech by the first principal of the Japanese school (*Das Leban in Europe* 1978: 1)

In cosmopolitan London, there are areas where particular ethnic minorities concentrate and live close to each other. There are many reasons why ethnic minorities tend to live in particular areas. In this chapter, the case of the Japanese community in London will be examined as a background to this study. The global expansion of Japanese companies since the late 70's has produced various issues; cultural differences at work (Sakai 2000), linguistic problems for children (Goodman 1990, Yamada-Yamamoto & Richards 1998), and cultural stasis (Goodman 1990, Sakai 2000) and confusion in terms of children's behaviour in Japan (Yamada-Yamamoto & Richards 1998, Minami 2000, Pang 2000). In the first part, the use of diaspora to describe the Japanese overseas community will be explained, and secondly, childrearing in relation to particular issues concerning these children who have grown up abroad in Japan will be discussed. Thirdly, theoretical approaches to study the media consumption in the overseas community will be shown.

#### *The Japanese overseas community in London*

##### **1-1: Japanese companies: from international to global**

Japanese companies have expanded their businesses globally since the late 70s. The Japanese anthropologist Hiromi Befu explains the linguistic shift from internationalization which was popular in the 1970's and 1980's to 'globalisation' as a significant shift in the perception of the positioning of Japan's worldwide economic expansion and related overseas developments, "'Internationalization" implies a relationship between two or more nations: a minimum of two nations can engage in 'international' relations..."Globalization", on the other hand, implies simultaneous extension and expansion in all direction' (2001: 1). This can be also seen the above speech which was given in the 70's from the First Principle of the Japanese school in London, emphasising 'international'. The further Japan has expanded their businesses



and relations in other countries, the more people including their families have been displaced over the world. As shown in the Introduction chapter, these employees are called ‘*chuzai-in*’ (sojourners) in Japan, and their children are labelled as ‘*kikoku-shijyo*’ (returnees) when they return to Japan. Returnees are seen as ‘others’ in Japan, especially returnees since they have been brought up in foreign countries where they can obtain other cultures (Henshall 1999). This will be discussed more in the latter section on returnee issues. ‘*Chuzai-in*’ sojourners tend to have the image of Japanese ‘international businessmen (Sakai 2000) as seen in the previous chapter.

According to a survey, the number of school-aged Japanese children abroad was about 36,000 in 1984, and by 1997 it was a little over 50,000 (Yamada-Yamamoto & Richards 1998: 1). These people stay abroad temporally: in most cases three to five years. London, for example, has the biggest Japanese sojourners population in Europe (Embassy of Japan 2003)<sup>1</sup>. In a recent survey by the Japanese Embassy in London, the statistic shows (see Figure 1) the population is over 50,000 people in total even though the Japanese economy has been in recession since the early 90’s.<sup>2</sup> In relation to the composition of this figure, the Embassy states, ‘Roughly 40 per cent of the Japanese resident in the U.K are either employees of private companies or their dependents. A further 35 per cent are students or researchers. The rest are journalists, self-employed, Japanese government employees, or simply describe themselves as "residents"’ (Embassy of Japan in the U.K. 2003). Before the recession began in the early 90’s, the figure had been increasing more than two fold every five years until the 90’s (Figure 1).

Year	1960	1970	1975	1980	1985	1990	1995	2000	2002
Population	792	2,806	5,380	10,943	19,889	44,351	51,668	53,114	50,864

**Figure 1: The Japanese population in the U.K. since 1960-2002. (Embassy of Japan in the U.K. 2003)**

**1-2: Japanese students and education in the U.K.**

Many children have accompanied their parents to London. Simultaneously, social issues have occurred which concern these children. In host countries, children have faced difficulties in acquisition of foreign language which threatens to prevent them from



keeping up with their academic success (Yamada-Yamamoto & Richards 1998). When they return to Japan, they are labelled as 'returnees' and regarded as non-Japanese and as a minority group (Henshall 1999). Consequently, these children have been discriminated against or in some cases bullied. In particular, children who return with 'foreign' habits and a lack of fluent Japanese have not been accepted by their classmates and have suffered (c.f. Goodman 1990, Minami 2000). The main issues for these children are their language skills in both Japan and the U.K. and their behaviours which are based on their cultural backgrounds. Yamada-Yamamoto and Richards, who have conducted a survey on bilingual Japanese children in Britain, criticise teachers or educators who advise Japanese parents to speak only English at home and watch English TV, 'It is predicted that the world's population will be much more mobile, and in such a mobile society we will have to face the reality of a world of multi-facets, with multi-cultures, multi-values and multi-languages' (Yamada-Yamamoto & Richards 1998: 12).

Despite these teachers' recommendations, the parents of sojourners are keen on educating their children in Japanese, considering their future return to Japan. As a result of the increasing population of Japanese children abroad, parents of these children have demanded that the government and their employers (major companies) establish Japanese schools abroad. Japanese Saturday schools are mainly run by the Ministry of Education which has sent qualified teachers from Japan and received donations from major companies (The Japanese School 2003). They send them to these schools which provide them with Japanese lessons once a week, using text books which are officially provided by the Ministry of Education<sup>3</sup>. The importance of academic achievement in the Japanese National Curriculum will be discussed later in the section of childrearing in this chapter. Here, the point which is emphasised is that the Japanese schools become an important factor in the sojourner's settlement in London; the Japanese sojourners who have children tend to live around the school. In London, there is only one Japanese school which is full-time, but it has its own branches which provide other Saturday schools in two areas in London locally and teach Japanese to students who go to local schools during weekdays. The main school is located in West Acton, and its branches are in Finchley (Camden) and Croydon.



### **1-3: Popular areas amongst Japanese sojourning families in London**

As a consequence of the school's location, West Acton is the most popular area amongst Japanese sojourners in London. The area is occupied with listed 1920s and 30s mock-Tudor houses along its main street and other small streets near the station, which are well laid out, clean and have a quiet atmosphere. On the main street (Queen's Drive), there is a Japanese estate agency which can be found easily just off the tube station that deals with these houses for Japanese sojourners. The prices tend to become higher for the area located in Zone 3, and this agency's sales area has been expanded towards Ealing Broadway and Hanger Lane with high prices.<sup>4</sup> On weekdays, Japanese teen age students chat in front of the station after school, and a female student cycling with a violin (to go to a lesson) can be found. Japanese housewives from these mock-Tudor houses sharing fresh eggs<sup>5</sup> from free range chickens with their Japanese neighbours are common scenes in this area. Off the main street, there is one Japanese kindergarten and also there is another kindergarten in the same area.

Another area which is popular amongst Japanese sojourners is North London around Finchley where the Japanese school in Acton used to be situated and there is still a Japanese kindergarten. Because of the Japanese school's moving to the West Acton area, many sojourners who have school aged children accompanied it to West Acton. Between Finchley Road and Swiss Cottage stations, there is also a Japanese estate agency whose sales' boundary covers Regent's Park, St. John's Wood, Hampstead, and Finchley, along the Northern Line. This area used to be the most popular area amongst the Japanese sojourners and still has many Japanese sojourners. There are small restaurants located in the area which are mainly for these sojourners, not for tourists (Yamada-Yamamoto & Richards 1998). The Japanese school provides a bus service for the children who live in this area.<sup>6</sup>

The bus service from the Japanese school also covers the South London area. In this area such as around East Croydon, Wimbledon, Orpington, and Purley, people tend to have larger houses with larger gardens with two cars. Unlike London underground stations in North London where there is usually not enough space, stations in South



London usually have large parking areas. Consequently, many cars are parked and cars waiting for family members can be seen in front of the stations. Around 4 o'clock, when most private schools finish, many local students wait for their mothers to pick them up at the stations. There are many private schools in South London (Zone 6), which are also popular amongst Japanese sojourners' children. After six o'clock, the stations are crowded with white-collar workers from the City. The majority of their neighbours are white middle-class who commute between the City and homes by trains as well as those of the Japanese sojourners. Although Japanese sojourners who live in South London do not live as closely as residents in West Acton or Finchley, the activities of the mothers and their children appear to be similar to those of the Japanese sojourners in West and North: book clubs with mainly Japanese books for smaller children in order to teach language and culture (such as national or seasonable events in Japan) by Japanese volunteer mothers, play groups, and the Saturday schools.

#### **1-4: Overseas community as 'diaspora'?**

In London, areas where one particular ethnic minority group cluster together are common. For example, in Southall in London there are many Punjabi Indians (Gillespie 1995). The make-up of the community may be different from the above Japanese case which is dominated by middle-class sojourners. The cases of the Iranian, Indian, and Turkish community in London are ones of immigration patterns- for economic or political reasons (Sreberny 2000, Aksoy & Robins 2000, Gillespie 1995). Historically, Japanese have also immigrated to North and South America in search of better lives. They have established Japanese communities in countries such as the United States or Brazil (Sowell 1994).

What are the characteristic aspects of the London Japanese community? Compared to other minorities, the Japanese in London are different. In most cases, Japanese companies or the government send their employees from Japan to their branches or embassy/consuls in the U.K. Sinclair and Cunningham recognize these types of communities as 'oversea communities', where people are displaced abroad by their companies, and temporarily share their lives in host countries (2000: 20). As we have seen in the first chapter, Sinclair and Cunningham's develop the definition of 'diaspora'



in their study on Asian cultures in Australia. They have shown that business expatriates can be included in the categories of people in diaspora (2001: 2). In this sense, the Japanese overseas community is defined as a diaspora, even though the make-up of the community is different from those diaspora where people emigrate to seek a better life.

### **1-5: Transplanted community from Japan**

These '*chuzai-in*' (employees who are sent to abroad) in overseas communities are described as high-skilled migrants, generally educated middle class who do not usually need special attention or support from the host society as they do not come as individuals but as part of a network (Pang 2000: 194). Especially, Japanese sojourners share this tendency which can be seen as an element which has been rooted in organizational structure in Japan. Ronald Dore has discussed Japanese companies as being based on life-time employment, a seniority plus merit wage system, an intra-organizational career system, a high-level of enterprise welfare, and of enterprise consciousness (Salaman in Dore 1990:186)<sup>7</sup>. In addition, Sakai, who has looked at Japanese bankers' in City of London, argues, 'Japanese transnational communities...have strong connections with their home country, and create strong ties with other Japanese abroad and perhaps for these reasons they have become viewed as "others" in host countries' (2000:6).

Furthermore, compared to the other ethnic communities such as Iranian, Chinese or Turkish, Befu points out the distinct feature in the Japanese overseas community (terms 'expatriate community') as 'Other transplant' organizations (2001: 11). He explains that the Japanese overseas communities engage with the Japanese school and other organizations:

Since these schools are designed to help students return to the Japanese school system with minimal difficulty, necessarily they are modeled after schools in Japan in terms of curriculum, textbooks, and teacher-student relations as well as relationships among students. Other 'transplant' organizations include the Japanese Association and the Japanese Chamber of Commerce, which are common in cities of large expatriate populations. These, too, are 'transplanted' in the sense that basic organizing principles involving structure and norm are basically Japanese.

(Befu: Ibid)

In other words, they have transplanted Japanese society abroad. Consequently,



formalized organizations also emerge to meet the needs of the overseas community, such as flower arrangement societies, bridge clubs, or golf tournaments (Befu and Stalker 1996 in Befu 2001: 11-12). The people in the overseas community also depend on their companies and country financially and politically- for example, they claim benefits from the Japanese government such as tax refunds, pensions, and their children's schooling in Japan after returning home.

### **1-6: Japanese companies and their families in London**

These elements are clearly seen in this study. It is because Japanese sojourners have been supported heavily by their companies, that their lifestyle and consumption are strongly linked to this backing. Some mothers whose husbands work for major trading companies or banks, for example, go to parties amongst wives of employees of these companies. The aim of the parties originally comes from the early sojourners' networks amongst company families (e.g. when a wife is going to have a baby, wives of her husband's colleagues help her just like kinships usually do in Japan, or exchange information which are useful in life abroad.). All the mothers who go to such parties said that there were no such meetings amongst wives of husband's colleagues in Japan. Once they have become a 'wife of sojourner', they have such social events which are similar to findings in Ben-Ari's golf activities (1998) which are a significant factor in businessmen's promotion within a company. In truth, such meetings become a burden for most mothers, but are important for their husbands' promotions as well:

I was told by a wife of my husband's senior colleague that she used to be told by the boss's wife when she was young what people would think of her if she did not go to the party, 'See to it that our bosses wives are properly attended to', or 'You should come anyway to the party even if your children are ill'. Since she told me about such experiences, I felt that she wanted to say the same thing to me.

(Mother J)

London is big. There are many sojourners [from my husband's company] so that I don't know them at all. I don't know even where they live, but twice a year, we have to go to such as Masturi [a Japanese restaurant in the City] to have a party. While a wife of boss is giving a speech, we cannot eat meals or ice cream which is even melting.

(Mother E)



Moreover, the role of such meetings may differ depending on where they live. Mothers who gathered at Mother E's house for tea described a distinguishing feature of the Japanese overseas community in London:

If you are in the Middle-East, I can understand that we must help each other. For example, if baby was born, we can help each other, or let's escape from bombs. But London is different. We can live without speaking English. So this association does not make sense. But some executives like this kind of things...our executive came here one year ago from Hong Kong straight away. The wife of this boss complained that wives of his colleagues in Hong Kong used to call her all the time to invite her to lunch or dinner. But in London nobody calls her. And she blamed us as cold. But I wanted to tell her that we can live alone [without this wives' association] in London.

(A friend 1 of Mother E)

When we were in Germany, we got along with each other so well. It is because there were not so many Japanese. Among my husband's company's colleagues, we invited them to dinner or were invited by them. I was glad to have such things because I had been stressed. But now I feel a burden if I have to do the same here.

(A friend 2 of Mother E)

Here, not only the different meaning of the role of the parties in overseas community's location is shown, but also it implies a sense of family which takes care of each other even in private lives, as in kinships, when they are away from Japan. As I happened to conduct a group discussion at E's house, these mothers always gather at their houses when children are at schools. They do not need to have networks within husbands' companies. This will be discussed later in detail in Chapter IV and VIII.

### **1-7: Other Japanese networks within the overseas community**

As we saw, this 'overseas community' can be located not only in the City, but also in schools, work places such as restaurants, karaoke, hairdressers, or golf clubs even though those overseas Japanese services and products cost more than in Japan. (Ogawa 1994, Ben-Ari 1998). Such ethnic businesses can be seen in other ethnic communities. Both immigrants and sojourners keep their original culture and lifestyles, exemplified, for example, by Turks' watching satellite television and Indians' watching Indian films or dramas at home (Askoy & Robins 2000, Gillespie 1995). This, however, can be different amongst middle-class sojourners: why they consume particular products



and how they use them in relation to their life planning which strongly relates to Japan or their employers.

## ***2. Childrearing in the overseas community and returnee issues***

### **2-1: Childrearing in ethnic communities**

The lifestyle of ‘overseas community’ may be different from individuals in other ethnic communities such as Chinese, Turkish, or Indian diasporas. The French sociologist Bourdieu argues that social class has powerful influences on one’s taste formation. In addition, he emphasizes the importance of early childhood in gaining tastes:

For real explanation of the variations which J.F. Engel’s law merely records, one has to take account of all the characteristics of social condition which are associated from earliest childhood with possession of high or low income and which tend to shape tastes adjusted to these conditions.

(Bourdieu 1979: 177)

Looking at the surveys of children from ethnic minorities in London, for example, socio-economic factors can be seen. In Turkish communities in London, parents are generally working and children must take care of their younger siblings and housework. Therefore, their academic achievement tends to be lower than others (Sonyel 1988: 50). In contrast, in the Chinese communities, the majority of parents (in the U.K) are now financially stable. Chinese children used to be needed to support their families by working at take-away shops where their families run their businesses (Ball 1982: 29). However, since both parents work outside for long hours without asking their children’s help, they have caused a generation gap both linguistically and culturally, and ultimately a westernisation of the child so that he no longer values his parents’ ideals, history, heritage and culture (Ibid). This example of Chinese children in London demonstrates the changes in the Chinese community in both their lifestyle and childrearing.

### **2-2: Affluent Japanese full-time housewives**

The case of Japanese sojourners in London is different from the above cases- mothers are full-time housewives who do not need to work even though they own work permits in the U.K. as well as their husbands, and can take care of their children as full-time mothers. In other words, the mothers have great responsibilities to rear their children, especially in relation to their children’s future in Japan. Furthermore, from the view of



socio-economic status, the sojourners are provided with housing and other expenses on top of their salary from their companies. Therefore, their incomes are more than £50,000 a year which is more than twice the average household incomes in Britain which is £23,338, and Britain's richest borough, Kensington & Chelsea at £36,493 (Scott 2002). It is even more than the average household income in Tokyo which is £36,441 (Tokyo Metropolitan Government 2002)<sup>8</sup>.

The Japanese overseas community is dominated by these sojourners who strongly engage with their companies. In Ben-Ari's study of Japanese businessmen's golf activities, there is social pressure to play golf at prestigious golf clubs, sponsored by their firms, to demonstrate status (Ben-Ari:1998). This applies to what Thorstein Veblen pointed out a hundred years earlier:

An advance in technical methods, in population, or in industrial organisation will require at least some of the members of the community to change their habits of life, if they are to enter with facility and effect into the altered industrial methods; and in doing so they will be unable to live up to the received notions as to what are the right and beautiful habits of life.

(1994: 121)

Social expectations can influence individual's private activities as a member of a community or an organization. Tastes or lifestyle can be also influenced by the place where an individual belongs. In such an environment, affluent Japanese children of the overseas community can have different tastes or experiences compared to other ethnic groups, British children who may be the same class, or children in Japan.

### **2-3: Concepts of 'Childhood'**

Full-time mothers have great influence on their children's developing identities, behaviours, and ideas. These mothers have grown up in Japan. In childrearing, cultural differences between the West and Japan can be seen in many areas. This is deeply rooted in national history, rituals, customs, and society itself. Furthermore, this leads to different perceptions, and influences actions including behaviour and attitudes. In the process of developing child's identities, the social construction of childhood cannot be ignored. Firstly, how is the concept of 'childhood' developed in Western countries? As



the concept of the 'family' developed in the eighteenth century, children became more and more the centre of the family. In modern societies, education is very important for children in the development of their knowledge and experiences. The French historian Philippe Aries describes this:

...in the middle ages, at the beginning of modern times, and for a long time after that in the lower classes, children were mixed with adults as soon as they were considered capable of doing without their mothers or nannies... had no idea of education'.  
(1986:396)

On the other hand, in Japan, where there is now a mix of the Western and traditional culture, the beliefs in 'family' appear to be still based on traditional thought: Children are regarded as descendants of their ancestors. In this sense, children have been regarded as special for a long time in Japan, compared with the Western societies. The British anthropologist Hendry characterizes this:

This is part of the traditional ideology in Japan that a family is less a unit in its own right than part of a continuing entity known as the *ie* (house or household). This concept has been discussed in many works on Japan, but the most relevant aspect in this context is that members of a house have a primary duty to the ancestors who went before them to provide descendants to follow on afterwards.  
(1986: 14)

In this sense, the traditional ideology of childhood is seen differently in the West and Japan. At the same time, the term '*ie*' (house, family) is the basis of Japanese childrearing. This ideology of '*ie*' is explained by Eiko Ikegami who has looked at individualism in relation to the *samurai* (warriors) within Japanese historical development:

From the late twelfth century well into the late nineteenth, the samurai, or landed military class, were the most important and powerful political actors in Japanese society...The core of the *ie* consisted of kinsmen, but it also incorporated nonkinsmen such as retainers, servants, and other subordinates, who were usually hereditarily subordinate to the master of the *ie*...Meiji Japanese were persuaded that the prosperity of their *ie* was also linked to the success of their country.  
(1995: 15, 70, 363)

She concludes in relation to this concept in modern (after Meiji) Japan that most patterns in the institutions followed the Western ones. Perceptions in Japan, however, remain directed by a vaguely defined notion of 'Japanese tradition' (Ikegami 1995: 369).



The relation between the traditional ideology of '*ie*' and modern Japanese society has influenced how individual's set their goals or acts. That is, middle-class mothers make efforts to reproduce middle-class values by educating their children in a certain way (White 1996).

#### **2-4: Different parental goals: the West and Japan**

In the case of the mother who has been brought up in Japan and brings up her children in London, how does different ideology affect her childrearing? Firstly, different goals produce different attitudes and practices amongst people from different cultural backgrounds. Patricia Greenfield and Lalita Suzuki argue that parental goals are crucial in parental behaviour toward the child and in the child's eventual socialization process- 'In the United States, parents have many goals for their children, but one of the most basic and general is the desire to have children grow up to be independent and individuated adults. Japanese mothers are more likely to perceive themselves as being "one" with their infants.' (1998: 1064). This may come from the ideology of *ie*- family which is shown above. At the same time, these two distinct societies can differentiate parents' childrearing. Patricia Clancy argues that Japanese society is extremely homogeneous and more group oriented than American society, which has much greater ethnic diversity and places a much higher value on individualism (1986: 216). This study compares U.S. and Japan, but can be applied to Britain.

#### **2-5: Different construal of the self**

Additionally, Roze Markus and Shinobu Kitayama evaluate the consequences, which can have significant influence in developing one's identities:

People in different cultures have strikingly different construal of the self, of others, and of the interdependence of the two. These construal [of the self] can influence, and in many cases determine, the very nature of individual experience, including cognition, emotion, and motivation. Many Asian cultures have distinct conceptions of individuality that insist on the fundamental relatedness of interdependence with them. (1999: 339)

These cultural differences appear in Sakai's interview with the City workers. A Japanese banker stated, for example,



Britain is the world of individualism in our popular image. In other words, we can do what we cannot do in Japan. An individual is an ego. It is possible to look at the self, or to confront the self in the world of individualism. Yet it is not possible in Japan. In Japanese philosophy, there is no idea of the ego in a European sense.

(Sakai 2000: 205)

This has been pointed out in Dore's study on comparisons between Japanese and British companies: permanent employment in Japan makes workers regard themselves as family member provided with reasonable welfares from companies (1990: 425). In addition, 'groupism' which is important in the Japanese society is taught throughout on individual's life starting from pre-school: 'All of explicit and implicit practices form part of the consistent stress of Japanese preschools on creating a strong identity of group life (Ben-Ari 1997: 102). As illustrated above, 'self' is a virtue in Western societies, however, it can be regarded as 'ego' in Japanese society. Whereas, if these different groups work or live in the same place, their behaviours can appear as strange or incomprehensible. Thus, the different perception of 'self' can also influence one's identity formation.

## **2-6: Japanese society and ideal gender roles at work**

The Japanese businessman in Sakai's study (2000), is a good example of a reproduced 'middle-class' man whose mother must bring him up in the traditional way. According to Roger Goodman's analysis of the Japanese society and workforce, he illustrates 'images of the ideal Japanese male and female workers'. The ideal male worker is a worker who will conform to the company ideology and not cause trouble, work hard and put the company before his personal well-being, and be able to understand and apply new ideas quickly which requires him to be literate and numerate (Goodman 1990: 76). On the other hand, the ideal female worker is one who will cheer up the workplace by her presence, leave when she gets married and become 1) a wife who provides a comfortable home for a husband to relax in after work and 2) a mother who will ensure that her children become the ideal workers of the next generation (Ibid). Goodman argues the Japanese educational system is for the creation of workforce, which also applies to those of returnees (1990: 77). These points have been reflected in the mothers of this study. In other words, these mothers' goals of childrearing are to



establish ideal workers in Japanese society.

This, however, becomes a contradiction in those mothers' minds by experiencing and witnessing other ways of lives as wives and mothers in London: they have found alternative roles or potential future roles, but still keep their goals of childrearing based on the ideology of *ie* (family) (Hendry 1986) and these ideal images (Goodman 1993), which will be discussed in Chapter VIII. In this study, all mothers have reached the ideal image of womanhood from the point of view of Japanese society: they provide a relaxing environment to their families, and devote themselves to educating their children both mentally and physically.

## **2-7: Different perceptions of behaviours**

Conversely, children who have grown up in Japan, in their behaviours, gestures, and the use of language, can see children who have been educated in the Western societies as different. Again, such behaviours have been nourished at preschools and homes. Ben-Ari's study on a preschool in Japan has shown that youngsters are taught the polite manners required at the beginning and at the end of meals as a process of learning self-mastery and social control (1997: 104). In everyday lives in Japan, children are formed by institutions and families. In this sense, for children who have not experienced such manners, it can be difficult to be taught only by parents. In truth, all mothers from my study are worried about their children's behaviour which appears to the mothers strange or like 'English/British' people.

A mother, for example, told me her embarrassing story in Tokyo when they went back on holiday with her children, 'Firstly, my children speak so loud. What they are saying is strange. As soon as we got on the metro in Tokyo, my son said, "Mama, all are sleeping!"' (D's five year-old son). She felt embarrassed by her son's loud voice which could be heard by all passengers in a metro in Tokyo, sleeping passengers being a common sight on trains in Tokyo (for example, see the picture below). In addition, Mother D assumes that it is ill-mannered to speak loud in public. Similar cases of children talking loud, sometimes in English in public, have been reported by other mothers too. It is significant that these mothers do not expect their children to nourish



‘ill-mannered’ or ‘strange’ behaviour in public in Japan.



© The Economist March 28 2003

## 2-8: Theories of ‘Kokoro’ (mind) and ‘Amae’(dependence)

How do Japanese children cope with expressing themselves when they want to maintain their ideas? Apart from ‘self’ which is constructed in cultural and social sphere, ‘*kokoro*’ –mind- is discussed by Takie Sugiyama Lebra, who argues concerning the freedom of the depth of ‘self’:

At the center of the inner self is the *kokoro* which stands for heart, sentiment, spirit, will or mind. While the outer self is socially circumscribed, the *kokoro* can be free, spontaneous, and even asocial. The moral superiority of the inner self partially accounts for the ambivalence the Japanese actor holds towards the interactional self.

(1992: 112)

Does this mean that children in Japan do not express or maintain themselves in public? Needless to say, they have their own self, which can be seen in the nucleus of their mind as ‘*kokoro*’. In fact, the classical study of *amae* (dependence) by Takeo Doi is illustrated in the Japanese phrases, ‘The expression *jibun ga aru*, ‘to have a self’ or *jibun ga nai*, “to have no self” is probably peculiar to Japanese’ (1973: 132). It is difficult for a child to keep a good balance between ‘ego’ and ‘*kokoro*’ in cultural and social sphere. Returnees, in this sense, tend to fail to maintain balance or receive things in different ways.

Children who go to local schools receive a British education which emphasises individuality and clarity of expression. Mother F gave an example of this when her son



was asked by his Japanese friends in his local school to play, but he declined their offer because he did not want to play with them. In London, such behaviour is accepted even by the Japanese peers who also study in local schools and have learnt British ways of expressing themselves. In one case which is seen in Pang's study on returnee children, some returnees tried to hide their experiences abroad because they were so afraid of being seen as different and bullied (Pang 2000). Some mothers in this study have anxieties about their children's returning to schools in Japan because they have been informed of such cases. Mother H who was about to return to Japan, for example, anticipated her anxiety by admitting that her children have been 'Westernised' in their way of thinking, 'Among children, they tend to be bullied, being told "speak English"' (Mother H).

## **2-9: Social classes in Japan**

It is necessary to look at education and social classes in Japan. In relation to social stratification in this country, Clammer argues, 'But yet class consciousness seems to be very low, and the language of class rarely enters everyday discourse despite the evident existence of objective social inequalities' (1997: 4). Even though homogeneousness in Japan has been emphasized, in addition to consuming luxury or symbolic goods, going to elite universities holds symbolic values amongst the dominant classes. Moreover, as Clammer has described above, Japanese mothers, who are at the center of family consumption practices, also play an important role in educating and socialising their children. Holloway, who has studied Japanese kindergartens, evaluates the intense competition in education and work places which have produced competitive educational businesses in urban area (2000: 15). She has found competition and class distinction even amongst children in kindergartens. Middle-class mothers tend to send their children to well-equipped kindergartens in which teachers are also from privileged universities (Holloway 2000: 136).

Takahashi, for example, who has conducted an ethnographic research at a prestigious Catholic kindergarten in Tokyo, where she sent her children, gives an example of how mothers are trained through such an institution to be a 'good mother' which lead to a high level of conformity amongst them by describing her 'task', 'I was required to carve



my daughter's names into their twelve wooden, pencil-sized clay tools not only because names written in ink may wear off but, according to the chairwoman of the PTA, to show my love and commitment to my children' (2003: 128). The different ways of educating children in kindergartens amongst middle-class and working-class were seen in the study by Holloway as reproducing children's class backgrounds. Holloway argues that middle-class children are expected to develop skills that are needed in fulfilling the requirements of middle-class and professional occupations (2000: 136).

Conversely, in a working-class dominated kindergarten, children learn to tolerate and adapt to imposed structure rather than express their personal views and desires. These competencies may prove helpful for survival in working class jobs that afford little opportunity for personal direction and little cognitive stimulation, but may limit a person's ability to gain access to the middle class, a goal for many families (Holloway 2000: 136). This evidence suggests that children's social background strongly affects their future. In this sense, class or socio-economic issues cannot be ignored in Japan. Holloway argues:

The economic differences among social strata in Japan (15 times gap between rich and poor) are not as stark as in the United States (500 times), but there are significant class-related patterns in family practices and educational opportunities that serve to perpetuate young children's class position.

(2000: 115)

How do class differences influence children's development? In general, mothers make all decisions including schooling and lessons. Holloway points out the relationship between class and academic achievement in Japan, '...[recent] studies confirm that middle-class families in Japan provide different kinds of experiences to their children from working class; these experiences seems related to the children's academic progress and achievement' (2000: 117). Therefore, children's experiences in their everyday lives are significantly related to socio-economic status. Children of affluent backgrounds have more opportunities to enter prestigious universities provided, for example, by businesses with prestigious private kindergartens for upper/middle-classes. As a result, educational competition amongst middle-class has increased. McCreery describes 'educational mamas' as;



...seducing and pressuring new generations to work hard at school. It is they whose duty is to indoctrinate their children with the docile, hardworking, conformity that first the school and then 'the Japanese system' as a whole require. Thus, it is said, the essential Japan reproduces itself.

(2000: 1-2)

## **2-10: Japanese middle-class families abroad and their goal of childrearing**

Even though they have received such special treatment, children have to prepare for the special exams for returnees. In this sense, mothers who are middle-class in overseas community tend to be keener on their children's academic achievement. They are anxious that their children do not suffer disadvantages compared with other children in Japan who have followed the National Curriculum. Moreover, compared to Japan's changing lifestyle towards the West since the War, Mary White argues that the core of the family, the mother-child relationship, has changed less drastically than have Japanese women, 'And while relative to the 1950s, the Japanese middle-class family seems different in its connections with other sectors of society, such as school and workplace, the emotional tone and centrality of the family in people's lives has changed very little' (White 1996: 218-9). From this view, the Japanese middle-class mothers have not changed so drastically, retaining their status in a very conservative way—mainly as housewives who take care of all house works and childrearing instead of working outside. Their main task is to reproduce the 'middle-class' or promote their children to higher statuses in competitive Japanese society. In this sense, the Japanese overseas community are unable to ignore the main stream of competitive educational system in Japan, and merely shift its location from Japan to abroad. In other words, the mothers' way of educating their children is still Japanese, which can be a 'diasporic' or 'transplant' element in childrearing.

This became to be obvious in this study. Some mothers who have elder children who are about to go to secondary schools were considering sending their children to Japanese crammer schools (*juku*) in London where they prepare students for prestigious private schools in Japan as returnees. In relation to this, Mother G, who had never been to such a crammer schools, showed her complex feelings:

When I look back my childhood, I think I have played far more than my children do.



To be honest, I have a feeling that I don't make them study so hard, but now in England, I cannot help making them do so under the conditions in which both school provide lots of homework. This is my mental conflict in other words, I have to make them study. But I sometimes feel sorry for them having to study so hard.

(Mother G)

Interestingly, the Japanese school in West Acton where they teach students full-time has a graduation ceremony earlier than any schools in Japan to fit in with students' schedules for these exams in Japan (Mother E).<sup>9</sup> This clearly indicates that the Japanese school considers the entry exams of private schools in Japan as their priority.

## **2-11: Children's activities outside of schools**

On the other hand, as well as parents, the Japanese educational system as a whole tends to force children to compete with each other, involving their parents, and especially mothers. The Japanese school, for example, invite some educators from prestigious schools which have special treatment for returnees to give induction seminars to mothers in London (Mother G). Since the fathers of the children in the overseas community in London are middle-class workers at major companies (e.g. banks, electric/car manufacturers, trading, and media companies), their children must not have a disadvantage in getting into the main stream of the Japanese educational system.

Annette Lareau points out that upper-middle class children have more advantages in informational resources from their kinship, neighbours, or friends of their parents and in providing better opportunities, materials and tutors than those who are from lower classes (1989: 172-183).<sup>10</sup> Firstly, economic power can be recognized in children's free time. According to a survey by McCreery on children's everyday lives in Tokyo, most children are busy with many kinds of lessons after school, 'These children are busy. They all have a seventh hour of class after school. Boys study such directly practical things as abacus, math, and swimming. Girls study piano, electric organ, tea ceremony, or puppetry- all connected with self-expression' (2000: 160). This portrayal was very similar to the children aged five to eight in this study. Music was quite common in both genders of this study such as piano, violin, and flute. Sports, especially, swimming and tennis lessons were practiced by both genders, whereas football, karate, table tennis and



cricket was popular among boys and ballet was popular among girls. Mothers found cultural differences in teaching such lessons by non-Japanese teachers. They recognised that the lessons in Britain encourage children to participate and develop self-expression rather than its forms or manners which are much valued in Japan.

## **2-12: Returnees and sojourner's political power in education**

Upper-middle class parents have a strong voice in education (Lareau 1989). This can be seen in the process of Japanese returnee children's official favourable treatment in university entry examinations, in which they do not have to take the same examination as other ordinary students. Goodman argues, 'Access to the media, on the one hand, and to the important establishment figure who control educational policy, on the other, was only open to the parents of *kikokushijo* (returnees) because of their high status in Japanese society' (1990: 208-9, 220). Pang argues that the parents of returnees could not accept that their children were 'handicapped' in the competition for places at prestigious universities and major companies (2000: 174). These parents associate political power with educational as well as economic factors. Consequently, they can dominate intellectual and cultural capital too by using their children's status as returnees to receive special treatment in entrance exams.

In fact, most of the students who have graduated from the Japanese school in London have been able to enter prestigious private or national high-schools<sup>11</sup> which belong to their universities and are generally very difficult for ordinary students in Japan (Figure 2). As shown in the Figure 2, the high-schools where these children often go have special exams for returnees. Some private schools such as Rikyo U.K. are for students who still stay in the U.K. and go to prestige universities immediately after graduating from their high schools. Such secondary schools are generally considered 'elite-schools'. In this sense, the Japanese school in London is similar to the prestigious private secondary schools in Japan and is dominated by students from the upper classes.



High school	Tokyo Gakugei-Uni	ICU	Aoyama Gakuin	Waseda	Chuo Uni	Keio	Nihon-femal Uni	Rikyo UK
Passed	3	4	1	7	2	7	4	4
Displaced	3	2	1	4	1	2	3	4

**Figure 2: Main high-schools where graduates of 2001 March from the Japanese school passed and displaced. (The Japanese School London 2003)**

**2-13: English acquisition and the images of returnees from the media**

Furthermore, English, which is a symbol of a promising future for children, has become more important in recent Japanese society along with the globalisation of culture and businesses. English speaking itself has become an important signifier of ‘cultural capital’ in Japan. Masayo Yamamoto, who has conducted a survey concerning the attitude towards bilingualism in Japan, reports that 59.6 per cent of the informants (college students) answered positive and 73.6% of them think Japanese-English combination is the best. She argues that the implication of this result has been caused by the assumption that English is important for success in education and professions and caused by feelings of envy towards people who can speak English (Yamamoto 2001: 40). Consequently, returnees tend to be regarded as intelligent and assured of future success: they can enter good universities and get a good job at big companies which are also seen in Pang’s informant’s response (2000: 272). In addition, some of Pang’s informants who are high school students show off their bilingualism and exposure to and absorption of American culture:

Japanese returnees, who have lived in the States, have more spirit and energy. They speak English so much better than others. You can pick them out very easily: they are always dressed according to the latest fashion and they use make-up’.

(Pang 2000: 272-3)

The Japanese media assists in this positive image of returnees. The dominance of the Western culture, mostly from the U.S. is seen here. American popular culture has flooded Japan, especially its youth. A popular Japanese singer Hikaru Utada, for example, who has been brought up in New York, speaks fluent American English and shows her influences from American pop music.



Moreover, Princess Masako is shown as an ideal representative example of returnees. Clammer discusses magazine images which promotes products in advertisements, 'Owada Masako, a diplomat's daughter whose clothes, hairstyles and make-up were exhaustively catalogued by the media and carefully imitated by large numbers of young women (as well as Diana)' (1997: 40) Halldor Stefansson argues concerning Owada Masako's background:

Owada [Masako's family name] was the daughter of the highest ranking diplomat in the Japanese foreign service. She had spent half of her life here [in Japan] and there around the globe, as a member of her father's entourage in the various diplomatic assignments of his career. Thus she had received most of her schooling abroad: secondary education in Boston, and tertiary education at Harvard, Tokyo University and Oxford... Yet, due to her elitist up-bringing, she came up with the highest possible official qualification for dealing professionally with the Other. (1998: 157)

Gaynor Macdonald differentiates the status of returnees children in Japan as a minority distinct from other groups such as Koreans, Chinese or Ainu, who have been discriminated against, but significantly in a positive light rather than 'handicapped', 'Returnees, because of their ambiguous but powerful position as Japanese/cosmopolitan, elite/minority have the potential to be pacesetters for changes in attitudes which are repressive for many people who are rendered 'minority' in Japan' (1995: 269). Conversely, such an image and expectations from others in Japan may possibly put pressure on them due to high expectations from other people.

## **2-14: Returnee issues**

Even though returnees' status has been perceived as high, issues concerning their attitudes and way of thinking in host countries' schools and also in schools in Japan still remain. As discussed above, this different ideology influences the whole of one's life planning. In addition, Clancy argues that Japanese mothers' speech shapes the development of their children's communicative style, (1986: 219). Moreover, Japanese children's exposure to this kind of verbal interaction is probably one of the earliest and most important means by which they are socialized into Japanese culture (Clancy 1986: 219). Clancy explains the relationship between mother's communication style and children's socialization in a particular culture, '...in Japan, where interpersonal



communication relies so heavily upon intuition and empathy, conformity to group norms can be seen as an essential aspect of communicative style' (1986: 219). On the other hand, children also learn cultural style from school. As a result of this, returnee children who have learned foreign culture, especially different behaviour and ways of thinking, have to face the problem when they move to other countries and return to Japan. At first, they have a problem at host countries' schools because they have different communication styles or ways of thinking. Once they have become accustomed to their host countries, they have to return to Japan. Hence, most of the mothers are concerned with these issues and worry about their children's future problem.

Consequently, they try to keep their Japanese language and culture, by sending them to Saturday schools and providing media via, for example, Japanese programmes or magazines. The parents in the Japanese overseas community may try to get their children to keep their everyday lives as close as possible to their peers in Japan: sending children to many lessons and keeping their level of the national curriculum. At the same time, 'international businessmen' as seen in Sakai's (2000) definition of their fathers' identity urge their children to learn foreign language and culture, which will be useful in their children's future to become real 'international businessmen'.

Its balance, however, can be practically difficult. It may be easy to say that they are children from a privileged minority, however, it is also argued that their mothers who push their children to keep up a certain academic level in Japan and host countries requires tremendous efforts in their everyday life during their sojourning abroad (Kondo 2001: 85). All of the children of my study have some activities such as piano lessons, tennis, drawing, karate, etc. after school, and some children who go to local school go to the Saturday schools which give them a lot of homework for the week. All mothers in this study have to take them to schools and lessons, provide them with extra-curricular activities such as the piano everyday, or keep their eyes on their children's academic work by checking their homework and supplying them with other workbooks for learning Japanese. In other words, those children who have to live abroad and make efforts to maintain a balance between two cultures are 'victims' [being involved in the



complex situations] of the Japanese educational system and companies (Minami 2000: 117). The anthropologist Pang concludes returnees' identity in a rather ambiguous manner,

I don't want to conclude in a deterministic way that self identity of returnees like ethnic minorities, is exclusively used for self-serving purposes. I don't share the belief that returnees, while claiming their specific identity, are all cosmopolitans or little ambassadors in a globalising Japanese society. Perhaps the truth is more complex and balanced somewhere in between.

(Pang: 2000: 317)

This issue concerning identity appears difficult. In many cases it depends on the level of the individual's perception. Therefore, in order to examine this objectively, the issue has been explored through the lifestyles and life plans in relation to Japanese parents and their children's media consumption during their lives abroad over a specific period.

### ***3. Media consumption in the overseas community***

#### **3-1: Diasporic media consumption at households in the Japanese overseas community**

Thorough this study, I found that all families consume Japanese media. Half of households subscribed to JSTV, one uses Japanese video delivery service and news on JSTV, three have Sky for children (Japanese cartoons in English) and husbands (sports), and two watch Japanese videos. This is not a new phenomenon. In fact, historically, in the Japanese community in Brazil, it has been witnessed that Japanese migrants in Brazil had consumed Japanese books, journals, movies, music, foods and goods from Japan in the early 1920s (Lone 2001:171). Both cases can be summarized that there must be reasons: to maintain their national identities as Japanese, Japanese language, or simply their interest in what is happening in their home county (Ogawa 1994: 54).

In this study, however, it became clear that the families who have children aged five to eight consume with different reasons. All households watch less local broadcasting more than Japanese ones. All of them except two families whose husbands bring newspapers from their offices subscribed to Japanese newspapers. That is, all read Japanese newspapers. This figure reflects the statistics in readership of newspapers



which is more than 90 per cent in Japan (Sugiyama, 2000: 193). All households consume media products based on their consumption pattern in Japan- TV should have more channels, and newspaper should be delivered everyday. The costs, however, as a nature of 'imported products', tend to far more than ones in Japan.<sup>12</sup> In total, their costs of the media (newspaper, TV, magazine, books, rental videos, and CDs) is nearly or more than £100 a month. Ogawa also points out that these Japanese can obtain various things from Japan if they pay 'extra' (1994: 54).

People are not satisfied with a single medium. In other words, in contemporary society, the various ways of using the media for purposes are seen in these households. In order to fill in gaps between each medium, their media consumption shows that they use various media mainly from Japan. They own TV-sets (usually both Japanese and British ones in their living rooms), CD players, DVD players, computers with the Internet connections, digital boxes for JSTV or Sky/cable services, newspapers, and magazines. Borrowing Livingstone's definition of the media environment in households, (2002: 39) these families are clearly media-rich.

### **3-2: Self-images through the media**

Obviously if these Japanese consumed only local media, their expenditure would be less. In the process of consumption, people obtain information mainly from the media which display various images of lifestyles according to one's gender, class, generation, etc. Clammer, for example, has found that there are a number of Japanese magazines which are segmented according to each generation, gender, and status which pursue a certain type of suitable lifestyle (1997: 73). Ben-Ari's study on Japanese businessmen's consuming golf clubs and clothes and obtaining information from related magazines, has shown significant consumer behaviour which reflects their upgraded status abroad and is aimed at their future along a certain life course (1998). Ben-Ari's finding can be applied to these businessmen's wives and children in consumption. Clammer argues concerning 'self-image' in Japan through the images via the media:

The presentation of self in a very self-conscious culture, which Japan is, and meaning here both concern with the image of the country itself as it is perceived by outsiders and concerns, amounting often to anxiety, with the 'correct' appearances of one's individual self- requires the acquisition of the emblems appropriate to both self-image



and objective status...The key is appropriateness: being not so much tidy as dressed for one's role. In Japan, all the world is indeed a stage...Fashion magazines are full of the latest fads, but almost nobody wears them, except for fashion people themselves and a few media people and TV stars.

(1997: 70-1)

Amongst mothers in this study, their self-images through the media have become slightly different from the ones which they used earlier to have. They sometimes read fashion magazines and often watch Japanese soap operas in which they can see the Japanese top stars with suggested certain kinds of fashion and lifestyles within their contexts. But they do not purchase clothes which are not appropriate to their 'stage' (role) in society.

In addition, Clammer evaluates this phenomenon in Japanese consumption, 'The rule then is to make a clear statement of gender, occupation and status, to be clean and neat' (Ibid. 71). Therefore, consumers in Japan tend to consume according to their status, gender, occupation, which can show part of their identity as 'self-image'. Even among children's markets, magazines are published according to their age, gender, and tastes (Clammer 1997: 73). Children in Japan are brought up in this environment and use the media as a source of information which help them to consume products for expressing themselves as do their parents. This will be shown later in chapter V on their media consumption.

### **3-3: Consuming '*Kawaii*' (cute) products as self-images**

Individual consumption is also relevant to one's identity. Clammer takes the example of *Snoopy* as *kawaii*- cute products and argues:

Little shops everywhere sell trinkets bearing his [Snoopy's] likeness, and young girls carry his image on bags, keyrings, umbrellas and tee-shirts...he [Snoopy] is *kawaii*, (cute), a concept used with incredible frequency in modern spoken Japanese, especially by young women (Kinsella 1995 in Clammer 1997:77). Objects then are not neutral, but can be exploited in different and even contradictory ways to illustrate different facets of one's shifting or evolving identity'.

(Clammer 1997: 77)

The concept of 'cute' is also seen in the study of *Hello Kitty* by Christine Yano:

Japan's highly profitable Sanrio Company, Ltd. has been in the business of marketing



*kawaii* since the inception of its flagship character, *Hello Kitty*, in 1974. In Japan it is possible to buy oneself a Kitty cocoon of consumption which lasts from birth to marriage, and into a succeeding generation with mother-daughter teams of customers. (2002: 1)

According to her research, *Snoopy* is licensed by Sanrio from Hallmark in the U.S. as animal characters. She argues concerning *Hello Kitty*'s image that its image was Euro-American or even *mukokuseki* (without nationality), not Japanese or Asian, 'Kitty's biography is as placidly middle-class Euro-American as one can conjure. Born in London, this perpetual third-grader lives with her family, ironically named the Whites' (2002: 3). However, consumers tend to buy Kitty's products because they are cute rather than indicative of Kitty's British background (Yano 2002: 3).

Although Yano has defined *Hello Kitty* as global self-image, she has also examined its local meaning in different places in the world which might be interpreted differently from Japanese female consumers in relation to consumers' needs, and found different meanings in American and Japanese consumer behaviours, 'To have a picture of a character doesn't bother a Japanese person as much as it bothers a farmer in Fargo [North Dakota]' (Yano 2002: 4). In the U.S. such products with characters tend to be assumed as 'childish', on the contrary, 'In Japan, character goods are a normal part of everyday life, embellishing everything from bulldozers to condoms' (Yano 2002: 4). As Yano has pointed out above that such characters have been passed on from mothers to daughters. Therefore, in Japan, female consumers tend to reflect 'self-image' using such characters as tools. This does not apply to the U.S. or any other Western countries. In this sense, such Japanese consumer behaviour can be assumed to reflect ethnic and cultural aspects when viewed from a global sphere. Additionally, such consumption shows a particular style of Japanese communication between mothers who used to buy such 'cute' things and still purchase them in their everyday lives and their children who have seen their mothers' consumer behaviour.

### **3-4: Lifestyles of children in Tokyo and London: JSTV and 'dailiness'**

An individual's lifestyle is also related in their consumption. How is today's market for children in relation to their consumption? John Tomlinson argues concerning today's



global cultural distribution which tends to be based on consumerism:

...focusing on the claim that the spread of capitalism is the spread of a culture of consumerism: a culture which involves the commodification of all experience. This is, again, a very common claim, both in the discourse of cultural imperialism and in the wider neo-Marxist critique of capitalist societies

(1991: 26)

From this view, this thesis also approaches children *as* consumers. This will be shown in their holidays at Disneyland (Chapter VI) which can be a symbolic form of global cultural distribution.

When children consume the media, they mostly do so at home: watching TV, playing TV games, reading comics, using the Internet, and listening to music. McCreery, for example, has interviewed twenty-two children aged nine to ten year olds in Tokyo, asking them questions about their everyday lives, 'My life is divided into four parts: sleeping, school, TV and play'. When they were asked how it would be to have no TV, they say they wouldn't like that at all. They would miss their favourite programmes, and many want to grow up to become professional baseball players or TV celebrities. If there was no TV, "I could not become a star", they say' (McCreery 2000: 161-162). From this study on children's lifestyle in Tokyo, TV appears to be a major medium which gives children entertainment and dreams. However, this role for the overseas community in London is limited by the fact that there is only one Japanese satellite TV channel. This can also affect how their 'dailiness' organised by everyday broadcasting (Scannell 1996: 6). The boys aged six who subscribed to JSTV in this study, for example, remembered the exact time at which *Digital Monster* was aired and must not be missed (Mother G & H).

This one channel satellite TV is called JSTV. NHK (Japanese public broadcasting organisation) is its top investor. Consequently, the programming of JSTV is mainly from NHK. This satellite TV station, however, is commercial in London and air programmes from other commercial TV stations in Japan. According to Mr. Kitagawa, the head of JSTV, the rate of customers/viewers in London is merely one third of households of Japanese sojourners (Mr. Kitagawa: the head of JSTV). This could be due to the £30



monthly subscription fee for only one channel and the £500 initial costs which includes its digital box or antenna/ dish and its installation, whereas Sky, a satellite TV company in the U.K. offers many channels at a far lower cost. Out of my informants, six out of twelve subscribed to JSTV. Three of them, however, subscribe to other alternative media such as Sky, CATV, or a Japanese video delivery service.<sup>13</sup> JSTV airs children's programmes during the afternoon and evening. Between half five to six in the evening during weekdays, they air popular cartoons. These cartoons are very popular amongst the children of the overseas community.

Most programmes directly from NHK tend to be carefully programmed: news are directly from Japan on time, and some dramas are broadcasted with the similar time-slot in Japan (for example, morning series is in mornings, Sunday night drama is located at night on Sundays in GMT). The problem, however, is that these cartoons which are purchased from other commercial channels are aired one year later than in Japan (Mr. Kitagawa). Despite Fox Kids or Cartoon Network which shows many Japanese cartoons in English via the U.S., the episodes of these Japanese cartoons are aired later than in Japan. Many of the informants including people subscribing to JSTV or any other services, watch cartoons or other programmes on videos which are sent from their families in Japan. The latter case may not have big time differences when watched by children in Japan and London, but children in London still consume programmes from Japan later than children in Japan. In the overseas community, using VCR/DVD does not give children a sense of 'dailiness' (Scannell 1996: 148-151).

### **3-5: Globalised childhood and meanings to individuals**

The children of Japanese sojourners in London have toys with popular Japanese characters even though the amount of watching cartoons or children's superhero dramas are far less than in Japan (Kondo 2001). Compared to children's lifestyles in other developed countries, the appearance of popular TV characters and toys in their everyday lives seems to be quite similar. In this sense, it can be said that lifestyle in childhood is globalised. Sonia Livingstone in her study of young people and new media in Britain has found that families where there is a child in the middle age range (9-14) are more likely to have a Gameboy and/or a TV-linked games machine in the home of all classes



(2002: 38). Interestingly, the survey in Tokyo which was conducted amongst children aged nine to twelve year olds also showed how popular video games amongst children are, '90 per cent own video games; the average number owned is 22 [software]' (McCreery 2000: 179). Nintendo and Sony, both are Japanese companies, are top home video game suppliers to the market.

In addition, major companies who own licenses have developed their merchandised products. Buckingham, who has studied the global popular game character *Pokemon* notes, 'In the US, over 100 licensed companies were making Pokémon merchandise, while in Japan over 1000 different products were available' (2002: 4). It is clear that there are more available merchandized products in Japan than any other country. In other words, such licensed products are targeted at young consumers in Japan for more.

Although childhood may be 'pre-packaged' by global media (Hunt & Frankenberg 1990: 113), it can have different meanings for individuals, especially for children who are caught in complex situations. It can be argued that such Japanese 'Super-power' as McGray calls them (2002) and any other global media products for that matter can appear as different objects; children of the Japanese overseas communities might be able to communicate easily with their local peers even if their language or communication style is different. Simultaneously, this can apply also to their parents' consumer behaviour; they may encourage and support their children to have such products in order to help them socialize in host countries, by getting them the latest toys from Japan.

Consumption and lifestyle in the Japanese overseas community appear to have characteristic points. Sojourners who are more affluent than they were in Japan can upgrade their lifestyle which is heavily dependent on their employers, aiming at their future according to their life-plan including their childrearing. This is because they rely on their companies to plan their life. In many respects, this is a negative point which depends on their companies' economies or strategies for their businesses. While they sojourn in host countries, they tend to emphasise their 'Japaneseness' by using tools such as the 'Super-Power' of popular global TV games (e.g. Sony's Playstations or



Nintendo's Gameboy Advance/Gamecube) and TV characters (e.g. *Pokemon*, *BeyBlade*, and *Hello Kitty*) from Japan, at least in children's market. Such scenes have been shown from this research.

Despite the time difference in my informants' (children) consuming such products from peers in Japan, all of them have experienced such global cartoons from Japan faster than their local peers in London. When such Japanese cartoons started being broadcasted in Britain, their local peers recognised their Japanese friends' toys with such TV characters. These Japanese children are proud of owning such toys before they are sold in the British market, telling their local peers that these toys are from Japan, which will be shown in Chapter VII. Conversely, different experiences from ordinary Japanese in Japan can make sojourners feel distinguished when they return- e.g. foreign language and culture acquisitions. Some children in my study have shown such aspects when they go back to Japan on holiday. A girl explained what people were speaking in English on TV to her grandparents in Japanese (Mother I).

### **3-6: Network, Information and Consumption**

On the other hand, it is predictable that housewives of the overseas community control their household budget, decisions and lifestyles, culture and consumption similar to housewives in Japan as Clammer claims (1997: 4). The advertisements from various media, especially from magazines provide them with various images of lifestyles amongst different classes<sup>14</sup>. Clammer has also added that friendship often involves the sharing of such information, in some cases to the degree that 'friends' can sometimes be defined as the network of those with whom one regularly exchanges such consumption information' (1997: 5). Word of mouth communication is common amongst housewives, and is especially shared amongst the overseas communities where people of very similar socio-economic status live close to each other under circumstance where there are less Japanese advertisements or information than in Japan. After returning to Japan, these sojourners may not be able to share their values or tastes with other middle-class individuals which will be discussed in the Chapter VI on identities.

After returning to Japan, having upgraded their lifestyles, they need to belong to certain



communities where they can share their experiences abroad as ex-sojourners, or through the networks of alumni from universities who accept many returnees<sup>15</sup>. Their children who have had a hard time in the process of being accustomed to host countries and foreign languages (Yamada-Yamamoto & Richards 1998) may have tougher experiences when they return to Japan if they have different behaviours and show different attitudes to their peers in Japan (Minami 2000). Although Minami describes these returnees as ‘victims of Japanese companies’, the positive image of returnees, especially those from English-speaking countries, the special treatment in entrance exams, and global media can all help to reduce their troubles. Mothers also expect such effects from global culture and encourage their children to consume. At the same time, congruent with the ideology of *ie* (family), families in Japan send toys or videos of popular cartoons from Japan to their grandchildren, or visit them in London. The overseas community today lives its life under such conditions: more access and opportunities to keep in touch with Japan through people, products, and the media. The accelerated mobilisation of products and people beyond boundaries can prevent people from feeling isolated both from their native homes and new surroundings.

## Conclusion

This chapter has shown key issues which can remain in the sojourner’s minds for their life plans and influence their media consumption and their everyday lives in London. Applying Giddens’ concept of ontological security (1991), they plan their lives carefully from a sense of risk and trust. Returnee issues become an important matter of concern to parents who consider their children’s future in Japan. They have opportunities to take advantage as returnees in the entrance exams on the one hand, their behaviour which is nourished in Western country may be seen as strange by future classmates in Japan as a risk factor on the other. Belonging to the Japanese overseas community can be an important element in their sense of security and trust. Those sojourners who have financial power to influence the prices of products in the overseas community from food to housing dominate the community. This will be seen in the next chapter. They keep their strong networks within the London’s overseas community and also outside of London. Such networks can become their children’s future social capital, which were witnessed in several parents who were ex-returnees.



The issues which were given in this Chapter are relevant to the following chapters (Chapter IV, V, VI, VII and VIII) which give findings from the fieldwork and a basis for understanding the people in this study. It is important to see how the overseas community which has different features from original diaspora is organised and who dominates the community. Upgraded lifestyle will be also assessed in Chapter IV in relation to a question of 'security' because it can be a result of individuals' identities. It is also valuable to examine two cultures with different ideologies, concepts, and goals of childrearing. These elements influence people's choices of media and lifestyles. Returnee issues and the images of returnees via the media in Japan have an impact on those parents' choosing media and educational policies while they sojourn. The availability of media consumption in the overseas community was also given in order to understand their particular pattern of media consumption which will be seen in Chapter V, and how and why they consume particular media will be shown in Chapter VI. As a result of their choices and values, how their media consumption and everyday activities develop their children and mothers' identities will be discussed in Chapter VII and VIII.

## Notes

---

<sup>1</sup> London 23,756, Paris 9,567, Düsseldorf 6,099, Amsterdam 3,935, Brussels 3,444. (these numbers of population are based on people who have registered at Embassies of Japan by October 1<sup>st</sup> 2001)

<sup>2</sup> The actual figure must be much bigger because there is no obligation to register at the Embassy. The two thirds live in South East England.

<sup>3</sup> If children do not go to the Saturday schools, they can get text books of all subjects which are provided from the Embassy of Japan (Embassy of Japan 2003). <http://www.embjapan.org.uk/jpn/kyoiku.html> (Access on the 1st April 2003).

<sup>4</sup> For example, houses with 3-4 bedrooms near to a Japanese kindergarten costs £2,000 – £3,000 per a month. (Japan Service Ltd.'s properties' list 2002 October)

<sup>5</sup> In Japan, fresh eggs can be used without cooking for certain dishes.

<sup>6</sup> There are four routes. The bus services are organized by parents.

<sup>7</sup> Original version by Dore was published in 1973. (1973: 260) Dore published the revised version in 1990, *British Factory- Japanese Factory*, Oxford: University of California Press.

<sup>8</sup> The questionnaires were given to the informants. (see Appendix 1)  
£1 : ¥ 188 (the rate in March 25, 2003)

<sup>9</sup> Some students return to Japan for taking exams and come back to London, some remain in Japan after taking the exams (Mother E).

<sup>10</sup> Upper-middle class had teachers, resources, principals, counsellors, and special



education teachers among their aunts, uncles, sisters-in-law, grandparents, friends, and neighbours. By contrast, working-class parents had gas station attendants, carpenters, convenience store salespersons, janitors, factory workers, and policemen among their relatives and neighbour (Lareau: 1989: 172-173).

<sup>11</sup> There are universities which provide total education from primary, secondary, or high-school.

<sup>12</sup> Newspapers- Yomiuri costs £38/a month, Asahi £48, and Nikkei £70. Sky's basic service costs only £12-15 per a month and the dish/digital box installation fees is depending on the conditions of houses/flats, whereas JSTV's monthly subscription fee is £30, initial costs (membership fee, decoder/digital box/dish, and its installation fee) £500. Benesse's educational monthly magazine- if a child becomes an overseas membership, it costs £25 (included postal fees). If they receive it in Japan, it costs £7-8, and for postal fees £8-. (the latter case is often used when families do not have any supports from company for subscribing magazines and have more than one child). Video rental service costs £30/a month. (membership fees £25). The Internet connection fees (it depends on providers and their choices of services). Fashion magazines from Japan costs 3 times in London- around £7 for a monthly fashion magazine.

<sup>13</sup> This service is illegal. They deliver 5 tapes a week (20 tapes a month) which costs £30 per a month. The benefit of this service is that there are most of the programmes from Japan and customers can choose by themselves. The programmes appear in the list one month later when they are broadcasted in Japan (Mother J).

<sup>14</sup> There is only one channel which air Japanese programmes all day (JSTV). Compared to the situation in Japan where there are five commercial channels provide many commercials, the situation in London is one fifth amount of information. Moreover, the commercials on JSTV tend to aim at sojourners (mainly such as moving companies or Japanese airline companies' business class advertisements).

<sup>15</sup> For example, International Christian University which accepts many returnees has strong alumni networks abroad. The City of London branch often holds parties amongst the graduates who live in London and Europe (Mother G).



## Chapter IV: Everyday Lives in London: Upgraded Lifestyle and Insecurity

In the previous chapter, the Japanese overseas community and as sojourner's strong links with Japanese society were shown. Here, in the first section, their upgraded lifestyle in London will be discussed. Upgraded lifestyle does not mean merely the products of 'conspicuous consumption' (Veblen 1994) or 'cultural capital' (Bourdieu 1979) in relation to individual's social identities. It can also be a result of sojourners' anxieties concerning their local environment and their livelihoods in host countries where they do not expect any benefits, and heavily rely on their companies' welfares which are mainly financial aids for '*chuzai-in*' sojourners. The decision in moving to London is not made by sojourner's families since they were sent by their employers. This can be explained as 'fateful moments' which Giddens uses. He expounds the relationship between fateful moments and self identity as follows:

Fateful happenings, or circumstances, are those which are particularly consequential outcomes faced in what I have termed high-consequence risks...Fateful moments are those when individuals are called on to take decisions that are particularly consequential for their ambitions, or more generally for their future lives.

(Giddens 1991: 112)

Those husbands who work for major companies could roughly predict their fates by working abroad. At the same time, their family members may face high-consequence risks. New lives in London give them a sense of insecurity and anxieties. Hence, something which they can afford such as living in expensive areas can reduce further risks. In the latter section, children's activities at school and after school will be given and discussed in relation to their unstable environment.

### ***1. Upgraded lifestyle as Sojourners and buying safety***

#### **1-1: How they choose the places to live**

In this section, their lifestyle which is upgraded from the one they had in Japan will be shown. Simultaneously, consumption acts which follow particular patterns by those living in the Japanese overseas community will be also explained. As seen in Chapter I, Giddens argues that lifestyle is important to see in which group individuals regard themselves as belonging to or hope to carry out particular consumption patterns from



choices of patterns as expressions of self (1991). Gauntlett explains lifestyle and identity in relation to Giddens' theory that lifestyle is more like a genre which can give personal narratives an identifiable shape, linking social agents to communities of people who are 'like us' or people who have made similar choices (2002:102-3). Moreover, in analysing their upgraded lifestyle here, Giddens' self-identity and ontological security can be applied,

Rising anxiety tends to threaten awareness of self-identity, since awareness of the self in relation to constituting features of the object-world becomes obscured. It is only in terms of the basic security system, the origin of the sense of ontological security, that the individual has the experience of self in relation to a world of persons and objects organised cognitively through basic trust.

(1991: 45)

From this view, what is the meaning of 'upgraded' lifestyle for those sojourners? This will be discussed in relation to their social and cultural identities.

As seen in the previous chapter, those sojourners who were sent by their companies do not rely on benefits in host countries because they engage with their employers financially and with Japanese society politically. This point may give a different aspect to the Japanese diaspora from traditional diasporas which studies on Turkish, Chinese, or Indian communities in London have portrayed (c.f. Gillespie 1986, Askoy & Robins 2000). All informants have support from their companies for their housing, education, insurances and even detailed consumptions such as buying magazines or Japanese food at special rates. These supports help their lifestyles to upgrade themselves from the one they used to have in Japan. At the same time, as in Ben-Ari's study on Japanese businessmen and golf activity, these workers' positions in their overseas branch have also been promoted (1998: 145), and they tend to pursue their higher careers socially and culturally through their golf activities as executive levels. All informants' incomes (more than £50,000)<sup>1</sup> which have been shown in the previous chapter are more than the average income £36,493 in the richest borough in London and £36,441 in Tokyo. Within this amount of income, their choices can be expanded. Despite this expansion, all informants had a quasi identical type of lifestyle: houses, cars, food, holidays, and other activities in terms of consumption. Needless to say, all informants mentioned that



they had better financial conditions by such various supports besides their incomes than that in Japan.

As seen from the previous chapter, except for one family who lived in a luxury flat which was close to Regent Park in Zone 1 (Central London), all of the informants lived in suburbs which are located between Zone 3 to 6 where they lived in houses with a huge garden and cars. The main reason why they tend to live in such areas (Around West Acton, Finchley, Orpington or Purley) is the children's schooling. Even the family who lived in the centre sent their children to a private school in the Finchley area (Hampstead) and a Japanese kindergarten in West Acton. People living near West Acton send their children to state schools (in Chiswick and Ealing Broadway) which have good reputations amongst Japanese and are located close to the Saturday school. All people in South area send their children to private schools. This is because these Japanese do not live closer to each other than people in West Acton or Finchley where they live within walking distance of each other. State schools in these areas have accepted many Japanese children even if they do not speak English very well. In the process of making decision for their children's schooling, three patterns are evident: 1) companies or their friends who used to live in Japan provide lists or give advice on choosing schools for Japanese, 2) estate agencies give information such as which schools have adequate number of Japanese students and distances between the property and the school, and 3) from other Japanese mothers in London who have lived there long, or mothers of mixed marriage. In all cases, they consider if there are any Japanese students at the schools. If there are some (not too many), the school must be 'safe' and 'good' for Japanese students.

When they arrive in the U.K., they have to find a place to live. In the Japanese overseas community in London, there are many businesses for Japanese sojourners such as hairdressers, book stores, super markets, restaurants, travel agencies, schools/kindergartens, other type of educational lessons, estate agencies, etc., for which sojourners can expect more or less the same services which they can receive in Japan. Ogawa, who has studied Japanese housewives' media consumption in London and San Diego, has emphasised this particular pattern of media consumption, 'paying extra'



(1994:54). In other words, any services for the Japanese in London are more expensive than ones by local services and ones for which they are used to paying in Japan. Especially, just after arriving abroad, sojourners have many anxieties for their lives abroad for the next several years. There is a tendency to believe that there must be less ontological security in host countries. In such cases, they tend to 'trust', *as* Giddens terms (1991: 127), those Japanese services; they speak Japanese and it would be easier for them if they found any problems later on (Mother A, B, C, E, F, G & J). Or sometimes, these services have already engaged with sojourners' companies who introduce them to their employees. The British geologist Paul White describes roles of Japanese estate agencies in the Japanese overseas community in London:

The existence of the specialist Japanese estate agencies is important in creating the circumstances whereby company migrants do not need to be involved at all in the wider housing market...Agencies take on tasks beyond those of finding property-they also arrange all repairs, provide advice on settling in London, and all in some cases are linked to other businesses catering to Japanese migrant needs (such as food importers, video distributors or golf supplies). They are crucial gatekeepers to living in London for newly arriving migrants.

(2003: 88)

In addition to what White pointed out above, sometimes, as in the case of estate agencies, those suppliers prefer making contracts in the name of companies (Mother I & K). As a result of this, all of the participants have used Japanese estate agencies where they can speak Japanese and also tend to have information which must be useful for these sojourners such as schools or hospitals.

Those agencies, however, tend to fix the prices higher than local estate agencies which was seen in the previous chapter. Here, it is very clear that they run their businesses by targeting sojourners who have enough support from their companies which are mostly top companies and are rather generous. The most important factor for these sojourners is to find 'safe' or 'respectable' areas rather than cheaper places where can hold unexpected dangers. In other words, with financial strength, these sojourners can obtain better 'security' for middle class Japanese in London or as Giddens terms it 'calculable risk' from established patterns (1991: 112). For them, local services can be 'incalculable risk'<sup>2</sup>. For example, a mother who had a negative experience with local agency pointed



out the benefit from those of Japanese services compared to local ones:

...the landlord [through a local estate agency] complained about a pink lamp shade that had become faded. But we argued that we could not help it because it was a natural phenomenon. Then he started pointing out the stains on the carpet, which I had already taken to for cleaning because I did it in a Japanese way [she meant that it is a common sense to clean things she borrowed before returning to her owner]. But he charged us so much for these trivial things. Moreover we had to discuss in English, then I asked my husband to find time while he was working. Then we decided to go to a Japanese agency. They [Japanese one] are polite. And also they understand what I mean and have a sense of Japanese. Moreover, the landlords prefer renting to Japanese who don't enter houses with shoes. Our landlord is from the Middle East who is used to taking his shoes off at home.

(Mother J)

These landlords who are non-Japanese welcome Japanese professionals as tenants who do not complain, pay on time, and keep the houses tidy. These owners keep letting their properties via Japanese agencies to Japanese sojourners. On the other hand, as a substitute for buying 'ontological security' (Giddens 1991) for Japanese sojourners, a mother described the way which Japanese estate agencies run their business:

A Japanese estate agency tells us £4000 a month without any negotiations. But if we go to a local one, they offer £2500 [for the same level of properties in West Acton]. So among neighbours, the prices are different. If we want to ask Japanese ones, we cannot help avoiding higher prices.

(Mother B)

## **1-2: Educational expenses**

In addition to housing, companies support educational expenses<sup>3</sup>. Those families who have children aged five to eight usually have two or three children in a family. In fact, amongst twelve families in this study, four households had three children, seven have two children, and only one family has only one daughter. This figure is much higher than Japan's birth rate which is 1.3 children (Ministry of Health, Labour and Welfare 2004). Although they have supports from their companies, according to all my informants, they do not cover all expenses. In other words, because they want to educate their children as best as they can, they seem to regard such educational expenses including lessons, crammer schools, and educational monthly magazines from Japan as necessary expenses.



As a consequence of this, educational expenditures in each household were considerable, especially for families who send their children to English private schools and Japanese kindergartens. Those families were frustrated with their 'unreasonable' fees, considering their many holidays a year and expectations of their qualities which are judged by these Japanese mothers' standards. For example, the multiplication table in maths which is taught at Year 2 in Japan by memorizing all tables by heart, is taught only one line in each grade in the U.K.<sup>4</sup>:

The school is not like schools in Japan where there are lots of homework. Therefore, I provide him Kumon [Japanese educational materials via a private institution] as in Japan. In his school, they start learning the multiplication table. But they are so slow. In the Year 1, they learn the first line and the second line. And in the second year, they learn the next line.

(Mother C)

We were describing this way of teaching with other mothers who learn patchwork, 'back stitch?' [every year, they teach the same things repeatedly].

(Mother I)

Clearly, these agitations by mothers come from fears for their children's future academic achievement in Japan. In addition, despite the expensive fees, there is a belief that pupils have 'too many' holidays. Many mothers complained about this:

In Japan, schools do not have such long holidays so often. Here, children have more holidays and papa cannot take holidays at all because there are fewer bank holidays than in Japan.

(Mother J)

Consequently, they send their children to lessons or activities which are run by communities or schools/kindergartens. Japanese kindergartens use school holidays in the U.K. for short courses for children of mixed marriage or to go to local schools to learn Japanese culture and language. This, however, is not reasonable for children who go to Japanese kindergartens full-time. One mother complained:

There is a two weeks course during the winter vacation period. They [her daughter's Japanese kindergarten] say in public, 'it is inevitable for people who are in mixed marriage to have such a precious period [to learn Japanese culture and language]' as the principle says... This is why they close their full time course earlier. Then we have to send our children to these short courses in summer, winter and spring... Well, I cannot complain about their management. But their vacation is so long that I feel sorry for my children who have to stay at home... It costs so much money [after all,



we have to apply for these short courses too].

(Mother B)

As a result, these families have to send their children to these short courses by ‘paying extra’. Such short courses are not admitted as ‘proper courses’ to claim expenditure to their companies.

In addition, these companies allow them to claim the expenses if children are over five year old.<sup>5</sup>

...from this April [we can finally claim our younger daughter’s educational expenses to our company]. It [The support from companies] depends on the company, doesn’t it? In our case, we have a maximum limit. Needless to say, their support is not enough. We must pay the rest. The tuition fees have been raised very high so suddenly...Well, their meals are not so brilliant. My husband gets angry with the fees, ‘what a expensive school!’. But I told him that it is normal price for private schools. Then he understood.

(Mother K)

In addition to these families who send their children to private schools, families who send their children to a Japanese kindergarten full time also mentioned their ‘unreasonable’ fees and Mother B was wondering if Family B could send their daughter to a private school where her friends were going:

For the educational fee of the Japanese kindergarten, we pay £1,530 per a term. It will be more than £3,000 for two children. This is a significant cost. We have to pay every term three times a year...[One day, my daughter asked me] ‘I want to go to a private school where R and M [her friends from a Japanese kindergarten] are going.’ Then I thought in my mind that the school is very expensive while I was driving. I was thinking if she goes to the school, my younger daughter has to quit the nursery [which belongs to the Japanese kindergarten which costs at least £1,500 per term]. But it would be unfair to her. So I just nodded at her. The tuition fee is £2100 per a term excluding lunch fees.

(Mother B)

In her mind, there are two conflicts: one is their educational policy that their children should learn Japanese first and also may be in trouble to change their schools so often within a few years, and the other is about their education budget for both children. Another mother also referred to their company’s support by comparing it to other



companies:

My husband's company is really rich but not so kind enough to consider families. They have not cared about this aspect. Manufactures such as Cannon, Sony, NTT, or Honda, provide other expenses which consider children too. But my husband's company does not supply these things at all. We are given a certain amount of money which is named as housing expenses and quite enough with living expenses with which we have to manage everything. If we wanted, we could send all our children to private schools. In truth, however, my husband's colleague who visited us last Saturday told us that they could not afford private school for the third child because they have already sent two children to private. So they had to send the youngest one to a state school. In private schools, it costs nearly £10,000 a year...it is impossible for us to send all [three] children to private schools.

(Mother A)

Some companies' welfare systems are very detailed with items such as monthly magazines with Japanese prices (without paying extra), only educational magazines, or depending on the countries where they live (i.e. if people live in countries where they cannot find any Japanese bookstores, the companies cover the expenses, but this does not apply to London). The amount of educational support is dependent on the company's welfare system. As in the families above, some companies which send small numbers of their employees from Japan abroad provide less substantial welfare for employees than other companies such as banks or major trading companies who have already established welfare programmes for sojourners all over the world. Nevertheless all participants admitted that they were paid much more than when they used to in Japan. All my informants felt that private schools in London were very expensive.

As for the Japanese school in West Acton, unlike Japanese kindergartens, their feeing is quite reasonable for these sojourners because part of the expense for maintaining the school is supported by the Japan's Ministry of Education and major Japanese companies.<sup>6</sup> The only reason why they do not send their children to this school full time is because they want to educate their children in an English speaking environment for their future cultural capital. Some families who send their children to the Japanese school or kindergartens full-time are mainly concerned about their children's acquisition of Japanese language at their age of five, when children are still developing linguistic skills as a mother tongue. Alternatively, some families whose children had attended



local school for a while and could not adopt to it at all decided to send them to the Japanese school or kindergarten (Mother A & C). In addition to its full-time courses, most of the families send their children to the Saturday schools where Japanese students and children of mixed marriage learn Japanese by official text books which are also used in Japan. The details of the school lives will be given in the later section.

### **1-3: Husbands**

The most outstanding activity in their lifestyle while they sojourn is 'holidays'. All of them go on holiday abroad: away from the U.K. Planning holidays takes place according to their children's school schedule: Christmas, three half terms (a week holiday in a mid-semester), Easter, summer holidays and weekends. In contrast to their children who have more holidays than in Japan, fathers seem to be divided into two groups: bankers' families tend to have more holidays (at least two weeks) than they used to have in Japan.<sup>7</sup> People in trading companies or other companies tend to have more responsibilities as higher level of positions in their offices with fewer staff (Ben-Ari 1998), and cannot have more holidays and cannot spend their time with families. This disadvantage is justified by them being supported by their companies and their own promotions as 'international businessmen' (Sakai 2000: 201). Although their local staff include Japanese women who tend to be recruited as local staff since they have work permits because of their British husbands (Sakai 2000) take the annual holidays, the Japanese staff cannot. They have to show their loyalty to their headquarters in Tokyo. In other words, those Japanese staff who were sent from Japan always bear in mind about their responsibility and missions according to the headquarters which will be for their further promotion in future (Ben-Ari 1998). This affects their taking holiday with family. Mother J whose husband cannot take holidays or even he cannot come home so early stated:

Yesterday he [C's husband who works at a bank] happened to finish earlier. Despite this, he usually comes home earlier than my husband while it is bright. He took a chair in the garage and was watching his children playing in the garden with a glass of beer. He was so relaxed. It is impossible to see such scenes in our house. Therefore, we rush to come home. I saw the garden of our next door from our kitchen window. I saw exactly the same scene with the British husband watching his children in the garden on the deck. I felt that this is a kind of human life. My husband damaged his back and cannot move smoothly. But he still insists that he has to go to work, 'I must



go'. He got a belt to support his bad back.

(Mother J)

Mother J had seen such other fathers in her everyday lives and could not help comparing them with her husband who had to work very hard. Such scenes made her re-consider their quality of life.

British and Japanese calendars also put pressure on these workers and increase their task of filling gaps between the different calendars. Consequently, families of these workers have to consider their holidays;

Japanese staff cannot take holiday [around Christmas]. All [local staff] take holidays. But the Tokyo market is closed on the 23rd for the Emperor's birthday. But my husband works for the media where they give stock exchange news. So they open from the 27<sup>th</sup>. They have to input all stock prices onto the computer. The Japanese cannot take holiday because of this. In addition, the financial sector is also working. But in the financial sector, even half of 130 workers take holiday, they still have enough people to continue working. But in my husband's office, there are only 17 people.

(Mother B)

As seen above, in these companies where there is small number of Japanese workers, each worker tends to feel responsible directly to his head-office in Tokyo. Within a department where most of these workers are non-Japanese, husbands also care about this work environment and cannot take holidays so easily. Mother K expressed her husband's dilemma:

Well, as sojourners, our expenditure goes to his department so that these expenditures [such as housing and educational supports] become outstanding. Then others [British local staff] complained about this, 'why can only sojourners have such supports?' For us, we are here by order of our company. Well for my husband, he cares about such expenditures because his colleagues are jealous of him.

(Mother K)

Veblen who wrote his book on leisure class more than a hundred years ago pointed out this gap between employees in same work places. He described this condition with the word 'appreciation':

The institution of a leisure class is the outgrowth of an early discrimination between employments, according to which some employments are worthy and others



unworthy. Under this ancient distinction the worthy employments are those which may be classed as exploit; unworthy are those necessary everyday employments into which no appreciable element of exploit enters. This distinction has but little obvious significance in a modern industrial community, and it has, therefore, received but slight attention at the hands of economic writers.

(1994: 5)

In a related study on audiences in Japan, Takahashi also argues the meanings of 'home' that husbands who devote themselves to their jobs are not considered as part of the home by their wives (2003: 168).

Those husbands who can take more holidays or can come home earlier than they used to in Tokyo spend more time with their family and wives are pleased at this situation:

Compared to when we were in Japan...the way of spending weekends and holidays has clearly changed. This might be caused by my children's age [my first son was very young]. This is also because my husband can take two weeks holiday here [in London]. Now it's become natural for us to take two weeks holiday...In Japan, we cannot take even a week holiday...The last time when we went abroad on holiday from Japan was when my eldest son was one year old. We went to Guam, which might be a long vacation for us at that time, but actually it was only for four days at most.

(Mother C)

Taking two weeks holiday became normal for Family C. Mother C was also worried about their future in Japan when they return: how they cope with going back to their old lifestyle in Japan including holidays and housing (the size of house).

In addition, not only having more time with their family, but also living with the family alone abroad also changed their husband's attitudes towards participating in house keeping or childrearing with their wives. Mother A who has three children explained her husband's change:

He was not the type of person who is expected to be a good daddy. He has changed so much since we have three children. Needless to say, he could not help giving a hand, watching our children and me [who has to look after three children at once] - one with my right hand, the second one with my left hand, and finally I have to carry my youngest on my back. In this sense, I thought I was right to have three children. He helps me more than before. When I am so exhausted, he takes empty plates and does the dishes. This is a result of my effort to teach him. He is a really busy person so that



I cannot ask him so often in Japan. But since we came here, he can have weekends with us even though he plays golf sometimes. But he does not have to go if he does not want. In this sense, life in London is good for our family. He is not a young daddy so that he cannot take children to play all the time, but he still has energy to do something with them because he has two days off now.

(Mother A)

She was brought up in the U.S. where she had seen many patterns of American families. She, however, found difficulties in married life when she married a 'typical' ('ideal' as defined by Goodman 1990) Japanese man. She had to understand his job as a busy popular TV producer in Tokyo. Her efforts as an ideal Japanese wife (Goodman 1990), however, has gradually shifted her husband's roles as 'father' or 'partner' at homes, which has become ideal for her by his having weekends. Mother B also reflected on their relationship as a husband and wife in Japan and London:

He has been a good husband for me even in Japan. But I used to complain about him all the time. There were some friends or his mother to whom I could talk about his attitudes...In Japan, I used to be asked by my neighbours what the matter with my husband was on weekends. Then I realised, 'ah, it is weekends, we have got a papa here. I can ask him to take the children to a park because he has taken a nap for four hours'. I have given him more pressure in order to make him participate in childrearing. My husband is sensitive to such things so that he has to make efforts. People around him were watching him. But here he is relaxed. When he can help me, he helps me. If he is very busy, he does not have to help me. I try not to tell him as much as I can. I found that my husband helps me far more than other husbands when I have heard others' stories (laugh).

(Mother B)

In Japan where they lived in a flat in Yokohama (near Tokyo) and knew their neighbors, her husband was forced to play his role as a good father/husband, but in London where he was not forced to do so, he felt that he wanted to help his wife who had no one to help her. Their lifestyle has changed; they have different weekends from Japan, and husbands have also become to be able to participate in childrearing with their wives who were forced to do this by themselves in Japan.

#### **1-4: Holiday**

Talking about their holidays in the Japanese overseas community amongst mothers seems to be common in order to exchange information for their future plans. All



informants admitted that they want to see and show their children different countries as much as they can while they sojourn. A mother described their upgraded lifestyle:

Our lifestyle has changed. We have never travelled with the family except using company's resort villas...we could use the villas by lottery if people want to use them at the same time. It means that we must book them in advance at least a few months before by emails. Then they inform us that we have won or not. It was a hard job for us to have nice holiday with cheap prices on weekends. But now in our plan, we want our children to experience other countries as presents because they are in a Japanese kindergarten so that they can see other cultures from holidays. This was our original plan from Japan when we left for this country. This is the only present which we can give to our children. We should visit as many different countries as we can even though these holidays are not so luxurious.

(Mother B)

They travel mostly to European countries, and some have even been to the U.S. or Mexico. Through their sight-seeing or visiting famous places such as museums, they expected their children to remember them in future;

The younger two children [aged three and six] do not understand this situation [as sojourners]. They live where they happen to live. But my son [nine years old] remembers all the names of the places where we have been to. In *Pokemon*, when he heard the name of the place where we have been, he said, 'ah, I have been there'. Or when he found them in the text books, he also said, 'I have been there'. He has a good memory. He will be a man who people do not like.<sup>8</sup> (laugh). With such experiences of good and bad things, he will be able to take advantage, I think. I really feel that.

(Mother C)

In fact, when I watched cartoons with these children, these cartoons often mentioned other countries' or cities' names such as Paris. Another example of parents' expectations of visiting many places is shown as;

Last one year, she [aged six] became very interested in such things [foreign cultures], especially Italy and France, their ways of greeting are different from here. In her school, there is a student from Sri Lanka who sings a song from his country which my daughter recognised when she saw a video from *Benesse* which was about songs from the world, 'ah, X was singing this song' ...She became interested in an artist who I named my daughter after. She becomes interested in foreign names easily. If we are in Japan, we might finish just looking at paintings in museums. But earlier, when we went to Holland, we went to Gogh's museum. She linked the painting with a painting in the National Gallery in London. In this way, I hope something will remain in her memory in the future.

(Mother L)



Her daughter was named after a famous French painter. She became interested in these paintings in relation to her name itself. Even though the mothers are not specifically sure what will be the virtue for their children's future, they appreciate their environment where they can easily experience foreign cultures which can be linked to some extent to their cultural capital in the future. Interestingly, both cases show how such experiences also relate to their children's media consumption. Although this will be discussed in the next chapter in detail, children can have different media receptions from children in Japan. Furthermore, her state school which is established as an international school in the area has many children from ethnic minorities and gives many opportunities to experience not only British but also other cultures through these students. The world food festival, for example, is held at this school every year as a charity event. Their school had more than 40 Japanese students and the mothers get together to cook Japanese food as well as other ethnic minority groups such as Indians or Chinese. In fact, the mothers are proud of their good cooperation in this event and can donate a certain amount of money to the school. This kind of Japanese mothers' group activities will be discussed later in the Chapter VIII.

Some mothers analysed their way of travelling to such places as an aspect of 'Japaneseness' which is a sense of obligation that one must go and see the famous spots in Europe. This element has been also witnessed in their bookshelves on which there are many travel guides from Japanese publishers. It is clear that their experiences in Europe are precious in Japan. In addition, amongst these families who have children aged five to eight, except for one family who used to often go to Tokyo Disneyland, all have been to Disneyland Paris and even to Florida. One day, a mother emailed me to answer my question why she liked going to Disneyland which she could not find answers to when I visited her:

This phenomenon [sojourners' spending holiday in Disneyland] can be similar to going to McDonalds where we know its prices and quality. In addition, at least in Disneyland where Japanese can act more confidently even if we are in countries where they do not speak Japanese because all characters and attractions are very familiar to us [from our experiences in Tokyo Disneyland]. We can say that it is because Japanese love 'brand' images, but also we can see this phenomenon as one of



the rare places where Japanese can relax and enjoy themselves without fears of foreign languages.

(Mother J)

Her analysis of this phenomenon shows two important points. One is McDonaldization (Ritzer 2000) of childhood (pre-packaged) (Hunt & Frankenberg, 1990) which I will discuss more in the next chapter. The other is fear and a sense of security in familiar settings. George Ritzer defines McDonaldization as its efficiency, calculability, predictability, and control through nonhuman technology (2000: 12-4)<sup>9</sup>. From the features of 'efficiency' and 'predictability', Mother J valued Disneyland's 'calculable' (Giddens 1991) place where her family can enjoy without anxieties: not dangerous, its quality (what kind of characters and attractions must be), the standardised service, and its prices.

In London, the amount of time which they spend with their families or activities might have increased, but the way of judging objects' values are still based on the Japanese way in which they can find 'safety' or again as Giddens describes 'self-identity' in relation to ontological security (1991). They may find their cultural identities in such places where Japanese tend to go rather than staying on a Mediterranean beach all day long without doing anything where they may feel 'anxiety' or 'insecurity'. How they spend their holiday remains Japanese. Those parents felt that they should do sight-seeing in famous places which can be their 'cultural capital' in Japanese society. This is why Mother J uses 'brands' to signify status which is socially remarkable because people in Japan can recognise these places names, popularity and values (based on their values).

The second point which Mother J raised about 'fearlessness' is exactly what Ellen Seiter and Susan Davis discussed in a conversation on an academic journal website. They assume that such amusement parks are 'selling safety' to affluent families who want to maximize magical moments of leisure time (Seiter & Davis 2000). In other words, these middle-class parents are 'buying safety' in their housing, schools, and leisure,, etc., and at the same time, displaying acts of 'conspicuous consumption'; they can talk about



their holidays in Disneyland or Sea World to other middle-class parents who know its prices and quality as an adequate place to take children on holiday. In order to spend a 'good holiday' with family, parents like to relax and enjoy themselves without any troubles. Mother J described their holiday in Paris with her young children:

...we gave up shopping [brand shops on the high streets in Paris] this time. I would feel sorry if I have to scold my children when they touch something in [brand] shops. Every time we go shopping, everyone becomes tired. Then instead of shopping, we prefer places where we can relax...Once we used a pay toilet [in Paris]. It was like a room in a dark basement with a cleaner. After paying to her, she told us that only one person could use it. My [five year-old] daughter went there alone, saying, 'creepy'. After all, my husband entered to help her because she was crying, ignoring this lady. Then the lady was furious. My husband was shouting at her in Japanese, 'even if you say so, a child cannot go to a toilet alone'...So we were in trouble with finding out where toilets were [in the centre of Paris]. But in museums, we can cope with everything...Disneyland has many toilets too.

(Mother J)

From this view, in Disneyland toilets can be found easier than the centre in Paris. This is clearly important for parents with young children to take care of.

Another mother whose husband changed his position to the local staff after sojourning abroad more than ten years had insightful views on sojourners and their weekends:

I guess [Japanese] people believe that there is no other place to visit to make children enjoy in Europe [except Disneyland]. Japanese tend to respect its popularity or quality. We have something which we should visit and see at least once. We cannot be satisfied with amusement parks around here [in the U.K.]. This can be a good aspect of 'Japanese'. But sojourners' sense of spending money is different from locals. We bought this house so that we have things to do on weekends, by fixing our houses or gardening, which is being done by my husband. We feel affection for our house. But if you are sojourners, you don't have any affection for your houses. We had been renting for a long time. If we find something wrong, we can ask our landlord or estate agency to fix it. If you've got a bad owner, he may say not to plant anything in the garden. That's why we cannot do anything on weekends. We have money but we cannot do anything on weekends so that we travel. We have enough money to go to Disneyland rather than local amusement parks around here.

(Mother D)

Mother D now can see their lifestyle as a sojourner objectively. From her statement, she often distinguished, for example, 'Japaneseness'. She pointed out above the particular pattern of spending holidays by those sojourners as one aspect of Japaneseness. She still



admired the Japanese way of choosing holidays as high quality. On the other hand, she also described the disadvantage of living in rented houses even though they are big house with gardens. Their assumption of 'Japaneseness', however, which is partially based on a sense of 'Otherness' from local people, can be defined as '*chuzai-in-ness*' (Japanese sojournerness) who can afford secured holidays. This has become clear when they also see themselves as 'others' from ordinary people in Japan, which will be shown in Chapter VI and VII through their media consumption.

Those mothers whose husbands have too much responsibility in work to take long holidays are caught in a dilemma: they are affluent enough and have enough time to travel to European cities, but husbands who work such as manufacturing sector or media companies cannot take holidays as bankers can. One family, for example, had already planned their travels as soon as they started their sojourning life in London:

He [my husband] asked me to submit a magnificent family travel plan during our stay in Britain. I told him that I would like to go to the Lake District, Scandinavian countries and Switzerland as the main trips, and to France and Germany in between. We travel to the main places in summer when my husband tends to take a longer vacation. Then we decided to go to those places one after another. In this summer, we are planning to go to Switzerland.

(Mother B)

In this way, family B was travelling according to their pre-arranged plan. At the same time, they also used weekend's trips to Disneyland in Paris or other major cities. Another example shows that the mother who has been in the U.K. for more than four years decided to go on a short trip with other family whose husband is in the same circumstance:

When it was hot, we went to Jersey Island with my friends' family. The island is famous for cows. We flew from Gatwick... We were two families without husbands from Sunday to Tuesday. We are in the same situation that daddy is too busy. Then we decided to leave our husbands and planned this travel.

(Mother K)

When family K traveled, they always order package tours which include transportation and accommodation from local travel agencies. Jersey Island is also introduced in major guidebooks from Japanese publishers as the place for family travelers.<sup>10</sup> Having



sojourned for several years gave them confidence to cope with short trips without husbands. Travelling by sojourners can be seen as 'conspicuous consumption', but at the same time, through these activities with families, their ways of spending their leisure time have changed and provide opportunities to reflect on their lifestyles in Japan. In short, going on holiday very often is one of their conspicuous consumption acts as well as they enjoy seeing other countries. In addition, how they select holidays, as well as choosing properties and schools is quite similar in terms of buying safety. Moreover, holidays with family gives these parents opportunities to rethink their way of spending time with the family compared to how they used to do so in Japan.

### **1-5: Sports and health**

In London as sojourners, there are no other family members such as grandparents or relatives to visit or invite regularly on weekends. Except for travelling, they play sports quite actively. As noted by Ben-Ari (1998), not surprisingly, fathers often play golf with their colleagues to socialise within the overseas community in London. There, however, are some other sports groups which have been established by these Japanese businessmen such as basketball, rugby, football, and baseball<sup>1 1</sup>. While golf activities are felt to be as rather 'formal' and 'political' ways to spend weekends, some join in such teams voluntarily without feeling being forced to play by their bosses. Playing golf within their business network is connected to promised future promotion or business success, and is a calculated social activity. A mother explained her husband's sports activities at the weekends:

He hates golf so that he does not watch them [golf programmes] at all. But if he had declined his bosses' offers, he would have lost his position in London and has to return to Japan with us. So when the executives ask him, he cannot say no...There are some people who participate in them, aiming at promotions in the future...He loves football and rugby though. He belongs to a Japanese rugby club in London. He was invited to join the club. He has played once in May. During summer, they play football.

(Mother B)

As seen in Ben-Ari's study (1998) which has shown expatriate's golf activities as a part of their life-course, Mother B clearly described the Japanese workers' playing golf as a political act. Although Family B had a negative view of playing golf, some mothers do



play golf as a leisure activity. Mother D tried to participate in her husband's golf activities:

I used to play golf but now only my husband plays it. I quit it because it is not my type of sports. As for tennis, we play it with the family. I cannot enjoy playing golf with my husband. Golf is quite individual; we just walk together without any excitement. There is tact between players in other sports such as one may not be well today but the other may be worse than the other. After playing golf with my husband, if my husband did really well and I did not do well, I cannot enjoy conversation with him...He also played it yesterday too. Recently he increased playing it. He used to play more. But I was angry with him and told him to change to playing tennis. I don't know what time he can finish golf. But tennis can finish within two hours and be played with four people – with the family.

(Mother D)

Except for golf which is controversial both in offices and homes, these clubs of rugby, basketball, and football clubs are more relaxed so that their husbands can also take their families to see their playing in Richmond where there is a big park where families often picnic. Not only these existing clubs, but also tennis is popular amongst these families which they can enjoy together. Furthermore, using great opportunities to improve golf skills with cheap rates in London, those mothers also play golf on weekdays with other mothers who fit their time table. Their participation in golf activities will be very symbolic in Japan in terms of cultural capital in the future (Ben-Ari 1998). This, however, probably relates less political than their husbands' acts; some mothers look upon those sports activities as something they can enjoy with their husbands.

Having viewed their sports activities as entertainments or as social activities amongst these Japanese sojourners, the element of 'security' can be also added. Keeping their health can be also seen as the result of their sense of 'security' in relation to Giddens' 'Body and Self' by doing sports actively (1991). Giddens states, 'Like all aspects of interaction in day-to-day life, normal appearances have to be managed with immense care, even though the seeming absence of such care is precisely a key feature of them' (1991:58). Even though they have affluent lifestyle as sojourners, there are some anxieties which they may not be able to predict. In relation to the risk management of their health, this issue has become one of the main topics amongst my informants. As a result of their concern over their wellbeing, mothers are keen on diets or therapeutic



massages. Most of them knew many kinds of herbal tea;

This tea is called Echinacea tea which is popular among the Japanese mothers and good for preventing colds.

(Mother B)

All [Japanese mothers] know a lot about tea, such as English rose, lady grey, etc. These days, kinds of herbal tea are very popular among us. Since I tried many kinds of tea, now I know my favourite ones. I used to be into trying many kinds though....Echinacea seems to be popular also in Japan, as a good tea for colds.

(Mother F)

Mother G who has studied aroma therapy started using aroma oils for healing her family's illness also shared such knowledge amongst her Japanese friends:

This winter, I cured my bad circulation. I used to go to bed wearing socks. So now I don't need socks in bed. And also my son's allergic rhinitis was cured. Anyway, the more I have used them, the more I have found many advantages of oil. Then I got into it. I have not thought that this can be my profession afterwards, but at least I can help my family health a little...Oil is natural and has no side effects.

(Mother G)

Such knowledge could be from mothers' everyday contacts at schools. Even though they have an affluent lifestyle, living abroad seems to give invisible stresses to those mothers. They constantly displayed anxiety towards health threats to their families.

Mother D, for example, described how she felt when she travelled to Japan on holiday:

I have been abroad for fifteen years now...But every time I arrive in Tokyo International Airport in Narita, I feel like I am melting. Then I realised how much I had been so tensed in other countries. In everyday life here, I don't realise that I am so tensed.

(Mother D)

Moreover, other main issues amongst them are 'when they return to Japan'. Depending on this timing of returning home, their plans for schooling and preparation for schools in Japan can be very affected. This 'unstable' or 'incalculable' matter dynamically influences the process of their life plans. Maintaining a healthy body and mind provides them with rich opportunities for individual and social activities and keeps mothers and children active.



## 2. *Japanese children's everyday lives in insecure situations*

In this section, the schools and after school activities of these children will be shown. Some aspects will be discussed in the next chapter in relation to their media consumption which are also carried out after school in their everyday lives. Risks for children can be various. Calculable risks can be prevented by caretakers- mothers or society- schools and communities. Everyday activities with children are affected by the location where they live. These expatriates have to learn practical preventions of risks for children and follow local instructions. Helen Roberts and her colleagues point out the biggest threat to children in Britain as, 'It is the prospect of death or disability resulting from accidental injury in the home or on the streets' (1995: 2). They show the data in Britain that after the age of five, accidents outside the home, and particularly on the roads, are more common (Roberts *et al.* Ibid. 3). They point out the strategy of parents from low incomes in Corkerhill, 'The point is that, often, keeping them indoors is the only way to be able to keep an eye on them' (Ibid: 69). They summarize their study in children at risk:

Most of literature on urban anxiety has been constructed with reference to studies of the effects of crime. Fear of crime, like anxiety about accidents, undermines social well-being and constrains activity space. Fear of crime has been identified as a policy problem in its own right, partly related to the risks of victimization but linked as well with many other aspects of local life and culture...Nevertheless, anxiety can undermine rather than enhance accident prevention by encouraging isolation and imposing restrictions on the preferred behaviours of both adults and children.

(Roberts *et al* 1995:72)

Although these children are not from low income families, their situation seems to be the same as the study above. The report in the U.K. has shown that children also have fears about playing outside and prefer playing in their own gardens (Thomas & Thompson 2004). As a result of safeguarding their children from any accidents or fear of crimes, every morning and afternoon, the mothers have to take their children between their schools and homes. This does not allow them to work outside full-time or taking degree courses. Therefore, these mothers' everyday lives revolve around their children's school timetable. Taking and picking up their children from schools everyday is a big burden for those mothers who have no relatives who they can ask and whose husbands are extremely busy with their jobs. Such responsibilities of mothers make them think



about maintaining their wellbeing and taking care of their health (Hendry 1986: 100). It, however, has become clear that those mothers do not know exactly what they are actually afraid of: vaguely they feel ‘anxiety’ about unexpected accidents or unforeseen crimes. These parents do not consume any local media and do not know current affairs, local politics or social issues around them. This will be discussed in the Chapter V.

In Japan, on the other hand, they do not have the burden of looking after their children all the time. Children over six year-old (Year 1) can go anywhere alone. They go to school by themselves. They can also go to lessons by themselves by buses or trains. However, in London, parents or guardians always cannot leave children alone, which appears unnatural amongst the middle class.<sup>1 2</sup> Children who returned to Japan found such liberty and enjoy their freedom from mothers who used to follow them all the time. A mother, for example, who returned to Japan unexpectedly during this research, wrote a letter to me about outstanding difference in life in Tokyo:

What I really felt [when I returned to Japan] was that parents can leave children alone after school. Parents can go shopping, leaving them alone at home or let them play freely in parks, sweet shops, children’s community centre, or their friends’ houses until the chime at five. I doubt there are many mothers who pick their children up at school and ask them ‘how was your day?’

(Mother H)

Once these parents get used to this life in London, they are worried about their children going to school alone safely or being able to cross streets by themselves in Japan. Again, once they have established their sense of security in their everyday life, they feel anxieties in Japan where they have been absent for several years. Some mothers have this fear both concerning accidents and damaging their health by driving them to school everyday;

Such things [letting children cross streets alone] have been established through everyday life. Everyone says that they are afraid of letting their children cross street in Japan.

(Mother F)

Many people who have returned to Japan say that they cannot help watching their children behind bushes on the way between school and home because they are worried about their children if they can go home safely at first. I feel also anxiety.

(Mother L)



These days, I am strongly concerned about my children's losing their walking abilities. In Japan they could train themselves by walking between school and home with a heavy bag. In Japan, they also play in sport shoes at school during break time. But here, they wear leather shoes so that they do not exercise enough even when they play at school. Their amount of exercise must not be enough. From such points, this environment is a disadvantage for my children. Moreover, they could play with their friends after school in Japan. A friend of mine who returned to Japan sent me an email the other day that her son became like a stray cat, realised that he had such a freedom in Japan...I am worried about this. In this condition, if we go back to Japan as we are now, I may not be able to let my daughters out to play with their friends alone, saying, 'you can go alone, play with your friends'.

(Mother J)

Protecting children from crimes or accidents in London can prevent their healthy development as Mother J pointed out. In addition, once they have become accustomed to this, they feel 'safe' for their children because they can see and judge their caretakers everyday at school. All mothers admitted that Japanese children in London are obedient because all are from middle-class families. Mothers feel safe letting their children play with Japanese friends, though they feel anxieties for their children's future as returnees in Japan where there will be students from various backgrounds. This was pointed out even by a mother, who sent her children to the Japanese school full time and had never educated her children in Japan until they returned in 2003:

As long as we stay here [in London], we have no problem with this environment. But once I start thinking of returning to Japan, I feel many anxieties. Here, all children are obedient and good, and I know their parents too. On the contrary to this, I think we will have a tough time in Japan.

(Mother E)

After returning to Japan, E sent me a letter giving an account of their new life in Tokyo, in which she also looked back her childrearing in London:

[What her children felt 'different' in Japan compared to London] Needless to say, they felt different in going out with children themselves, and going shopping alone. They were also surprised that there are some children who have their house keys [means no mother at home]. My children seem to be mild-mannered. They heavily depend on parents (not independent) [compared to other children in Japan].

(A letter from Mother E)

She reflected on her life and childrearing as being overprotected not to make her



children act more independently. Individualism, consequently, seems to be difficult for children under eleven year-old to nourish in London.

This environment prevents not only children from nourishing individualism but also mothers from pursuing their career seriously away from homes. Do homes provide really safe space? Livingstone, however, argues the risks in using the Internet at homes represented by 75% of households in the U.K. with children aged nine to nineteen with Internet access (2004: 7). She suggests that it is necessary to educate both children and parents in using the Internet by providing certain regulations or policies by the government (Ibid.). Risks come into their domestic sphere. According to her report, children who go on line at least once a week have negative experiences such as unwanted sexual (31%), or nasty comments (33%), whereas only seven per cent of parents know that their children have received these sexual comments, and only four per cent of them have known that their children have been bullied by emails (Ibid: 13). In this sense, ironically, children are acting independently on the Internet beyond parents' understanding their actual experiences of virtual space. As Livingstone reported above, such independent acts by children who do not know the actual risks can lead to criminal acts. Simultaneously, somehow, these children may seek their own space where they can act independently away from their guardians.

The situation above is in relation to children aged over nine. This study focuses on children five to eight. Such risks on the Internet can be their future risks and mothers' anxieties in relation to new media will be discussed in Chapter VI. As a result of protecting children aged five to eight from risks, playing at home are the most common activities apart from taking many lessons after school amongst children in the U.K. (c.f. Roberts *et al* 1995). The problem for Japanese mothers is that they have to arrange their meetings in advance, which is also different from the way in Japan where children play after school without appointments except on special occasions such as birthday parties. Most of the mothers in this study talked about their childhood compared to their children's life in London, commenting that they used to be running around outside and seldom played at homes until five o'clock. In this sense, a mother believed that it would be better for her daughter to live in Japan where they have more freedom as a child:



Probably for children, it is better to go back to Japan. In our childhood, we used to knock a door of our friend, 'X [calling the name of the friend], let's play', didn't we? I like this way. Therefore, it is easier for us to play with Japanese children without appointments. If my daughter wants to play with her [Japanese] friends on the day, she can play with them, which would be impossible with her local [non-Japanese] friends.

(Mother L)

Mother A whose childhood in Los Angeles was also compared with her children's found that it was very difficult for her children to learn English naturally in this environment:

During the winter, my children did not want to go to school and cried. I thought that this life was really tougher than I had previously thought...The youngest son [five year-old] was the worst. Then the other two [elder daughters who were seven and ten year-old] followed him. In March and June, they began to play with their friends little by little. I cannot help comparing this with my experience in my childhood in L.A. 30 years ago. I lived there for five years. When I moved to L.A, I played with my friend who lived next door from the next day on. I was lucky to have such an environment and could learn English easily. We were rather freer than here, where we have to take and pick up children. There is no conversation between children on the way to school and home.

(Mother A)

She appreciated that her children made at least Japanese friends in the same state school, but in terms of learning English, was afraid that they were not able to learn it as fast as she did in the United States because they tend to speak in Japanese with Japanese classmates. Protecting them from outside also leads to delaying their acquisition of native language and cultures in host countries. Family A clearly felt a kind of 'isolation' from the host country. This aspect was also evaluated above by the study of *Children at Risk* amongst low income families in the U.K. (Roberts *et al* 1995: 72).

Needless to say, even though Japan is more permissive to children's walking alone in public, the recent number of crimes on children (i.e. such as murder, mugging, kidnapping and sexual assaults) have risen which has produced social problems. Crimes in schools by outsiders, for example, have been doubled between 2002 and 2003 from 1,042 to 2,168 cases (The Ministry of Education 2004). In the near future, children in Japan, especially in urban cities, may have the same environment as children in the U.K. The higher the crime rate goes up, eventually, fewer and fewer children will have their



own freedom and will be isolated from the public.

Moreover, shielding their children from the public prevents them from learning the actual monetary worth of things. Barrie Gunter and Adrian Durnham (1998), for example, have studied children as consumers. According to this study, more Chinese children (four year-old)) made independent purchases while accompanying a parent when shopping than did other children in the United States, 'The figures for the four countries being compared here were: Hong Kong- 67 per cent; Taiwan- 50 percent; United States- 30 per cent; and New Zealand -29 per cent' (Ibid: 54). From these figures, the Western countries tend to make children do their shopping independently later than Asian countries. A study by Mizuko Ito has also shown that children in Tokyo collect *Yu-Gi-Oh!*'s cards from convenient stores by themselves (2004). The differences between Japanese children in London and Tokyo can be recognised here: who are the actual consumers of popular products. This will be shown more in Chapter V and VI. One, however, needs to consider environments and criminal rates too. Here, the important factor in children's knowledge of economic affairs is directly related to children's socialising themselves independently (Gunter and Furnham 1998: 83).

In this study, sojourners' children under eight years old do not yet have pocket money and rely on parents. A six year-old child won a prize at school, for example, but did not know the value of the prize:

Yesterday, she won a voucher from a colouring competition at school. Then she brought it from her school. It was a voucher from WH Smith. Then she explained to me, 'I have got a prize. I got penny.' I did not understand what she told me at first. Then she showed the voucher and told me, 'my teacher told me that I can buy toys with this. How many toys can I buy with this?' It was just 5 pounds. So I told her that this is for a book, 'You can buy only one book.' Anyway, she does not understand the worth of money at all.

(Mother K)

In Japan, children often go to small shops to buy sweets or comics by themselves. Through such experiences, they learn how to manage their pocket money and learn its values. As Gunter and Furnham have assessed the role of parents in consumer socialization as being important (1998: 15), these families also feel children need to



learn values of money. Although Japan is more permissive about leaving children alone in public, parents in the overseas community follow the middle-class British custom which does not allow parents to leave children under eleven year-old alone. Some ordinary scenes on Japanese programmes puzzle Japanese children in London. A family watched a Japanese programme called *Hajimete no Otsukai* (the first errand) which is a reality TV show, using very young children (mostly between three and six) who have to finish their tasks which their mothers asked them to do (i.e. go to a cake shop to buy a birthday cake, or deliver something to their neighbour). Several hidden cameras follow the children who often struggle to complete their missions on the way where they sometimes take buses or trains, or have to cross streets alone. Mother F stated how her sons were watching the programme and compared their lifestyle in London:

I saw it with my children [on video]. They [two sons who are seven and four years old] seemed to care about the ages of those children on TV...Then my elder son told me that he would like to do this when he goes to Japan. I think he is too old for 'the first' errand though. (laugh)...I am sure he does not know the value of money at all.

(Mother F)

Her son who was seven at that time was clearly upset at seeing such small children walk around freely and do the shopping without their parents by taking public transportation. In this sense, in the Japanese overseas community, it is important to see parents' values in their media consumption, which will be shown in Chapter VI. In addition, the way of watching Japanese programmes by these Japanese children is different from ordinary children's. In fact, one day, the four year-old son of F was watching *Doraemon* with me while his mother was picking up her elder son, and said to me why Doraemon and Nobita (the main character who is in a primary school) can go out without mother. He, even as a four year-old, realised from his own experience in London, and tried to interpret the story, 'ah, probably Doraemon is a cat so that they can go out' (F's four-year-old son). Such different environments influence their decoding stories from Japan.

In London, where parents provide 'secured' environments to prevent children from further risks, children cannot act independently away from parents. London is more difficult to nourish children's values of money in the socialising process than Japan. The



Western virtue of 'individualism' is often emphasised at schools, in real life as in practices, contradictory, it can be said that children (especially from the middle-class) in the U.K. including those of the sojourners' children are not trained enough to act independently if they feel 'insecure' away from their guardians or in public.

### 3. *Friendships*

Mothers who are motivated to make their children experience other cultures tend to invite their non-Japanese friends around to their homes as much as they can. White argues concerning Japanese sojourners in London, '...the prime reason for being in London is not related to being Japanese. Instead their motivations are often much more outward looking, and might truly be characterised as seeking the benefits of personal *kokusaika* (internationalisation)' (2003 96). Goodman also points out this tendency in returnees, 'It is also significant that the greater proportion of *kikokushijyo* [returnees], girls are more likely to have had contact with the local cultures and languages in which they lived' (1990:228). Clearly, in this study, girls by being encouraged by mothers seem to have more local (non-Japanese) friends than boys. When they invite local children, they always invite only one following the 'British custom' as the mothers call it. Some mothers criticise this tendency as lacking dynamic relationship in play amongst several friends, which will be given in Chapter V and VI. Two mothers, however, appreciate this as a good opportunity to learn manners as a socialising process. Most of the mothers stated that it is in anyway impossible to take care of more than one child who is non-Japanese.

In contrast to this situation, all of the mothers were confident to invite several Japanese friends to their homes where they have enough space for children to run about and to take care of them. They do not need advanced arrangement and tend to be flexible. Children can choose Japanese friends on the day. Mothers who had been in London for a long time became tired of making arrangements in advance with non-Japanese mothers. The mothers assessed such friendship (arranged by parents) as unnatural. All mothers used to play with their friends without appointments in their childhood. Ideally, they hope their children will establish such natural friendships with their local friends. The mothers also respected the tendency of play by Japanese children which involved



friend's siblings who are also at home. Mother D who has three sons described the typical way of playing with non-Japanese peers:

I did not understand when a mother [English] asked me if she could feed my son 'tea'. I thought why they had to eat 'tea' [she misunderstood 'tea' as a cup of tea]. They eat a light meal around 5. It is not a big meal though. And so, they don't have enough time to play. After school, I take my sons to someone's house, and later they have a meal at 5 and are picked up at 6 by me. They play for an hour...I found that British friends do not play with my other two sons... So I have to arrange friends for each of my son. If a friend of my son has two brothers, it would be perfect for me though.

(Mother D)

Moreover, they do not have to serve 'tea' (dinner) to Japanese peers, which is their biggest bother. Mother C who invited her daughter's friend for tea when I visited explained about the menu for local children:

When Japanese friends come to our house, I cook something like [Japanese] curry rice. But when local friends are here, they don't touch any new dishes. At first, I used to cook various dishes which I had to work on so hard. But they don't eat them at all. Then I just serve these things (on the table, there were chicken nuggets, pizza, and chips)...Especially, on such a day, his [her husband's] menu is definitely different from them. I must cook twice.

(Mother C)

Obviously, from the view of a 'good wife' of Japanese middle-class, serving such fast food to their husbands who work hard all day and support their affluent lifestyle is against their belief that wives/mothers should provide healthy menu (e.g. Tobin *et al.* 1989, Goodman 1990, Ben-Ari 1998). Consequently, all mothers are concerned about the British diet. Even though their local friends are also middle-class, mothers do not think highly of British children's dietary customs. Mother H, for example, argued about English mothers' way of bringing up their children at home:

I think this [mother's cooking properly at home] is important. In general, when my daughter is invited for tea, she is taken to McDonald or given a pizza from Pizza Hut, which is not baked at home. Every time I visit her friends' houses, all the kitchens are clean and shining! I think [British] mothers must have it so easy; children have school dinner for lunch and have Cereal in the evening. But I think that they will get in trouble in future with something such as taste disorder. I believe that it will be good for my children if I cook for them myself.

(Mother H)



Mothers believe that cooking various kinds of menu by themselves helps their children develop their sense of 'tastes' for food which can become their 'cultural capital' (Bourdieu 1979) as well as maintaining their wellbeing, a role which all 'good mothers' should fulfill (c.f. Hendry 1986, Ben-Ari 1997). The children's diet in England is clearly not appreciated by those mothers. Their values on diet are still from Japan. They see the English diet as 'risks' (Giddens 1991) for their children's future.

Almost every weekend is someone's birthday party for children who go to British local schools (both state and private). This is one opportunity where they socialise with local peers. They have to make arrangements at least a few months in advance if they want to hire places for packaged birthday parties. Until eight years old, they tend to have big parties, inviting all classmates. This event became a big burden every year for all mothers, who send their children to non-Japanese schools, to prepare for a party without having relatives in London. Some local peers' families tend to organise their parties by themselves, whilst ordering 'packaged' parties at public places such as community centres is common amongst those of the Japanese sojourners who invite all classmates to their parties. They prefer paying extra rather than being bothered to take care of many children at once. Mothers described birthday parties as;

We also invited Japanese friends who go to the Saturday school and their siblings. There were only three pure Japanese. The rest were non-Japanese from his classmates and the friends from next room. All were boys because it was a football party so that we did not invite girls who might not enjoy it...When they were small, we used to have magician party, invited a professional magician. But I have no confidence to look after all boys even for only an hour. They eat fast. It takes only five minutes to finish all dishes. Half hour is my limit. Otherwise, soon they [all boys] start throwing things and do not stay still. Therefore, we made them play football without a break for an hour and half. The organiser looks after them while they play football...It is a kind of social activity for us. But this is the last time to invite all his classmates. I won't do it any more.

(Mother D)

We did a karate party. There is an English instructor in this sport centre. We thought that we should do some new things which they have never done before since disco parties are always organised by local friends. My daughter would become the star on the day. Then we started thinking what kind of party we could do...We decided the theme and discussed with them [staff at the centre]. We told them [all girls who were invited] to come to the party in jeans... They were so excited in jeans and tried to make karate-forms, saying, 'ah cho!' They looked so happy and welcomed our idea.



This took an hour and another hour was for dinner. All were organised by the centre.  
(Mother J)

I made a party bag for my daughter's [nine year-old] birthday party, putting a little mascot and sweet which I bought in London's Sanrio. Then a child who did not come to our party found out about it. Her mother was too busy to drive her on the day. Then she burst into tears, saying that she wanted it.

(Mother H)

Most of her [her eleven year old daughter's] friends can eat rice. Therefore, I bought tuna and salmon, and prepared for sushi party at home on her birthday this summer. Some friends don't eat fish, I also prepared bread and some food to make sandwiches by themselves. Soon, all the food has gone. I was surprised at their eating octopus!

(Mother G)

After eight years old, they generally have birthday parties with small groups amongst intimate friends. People who send their children to private schools tend to have expensive parties such as going to London Eye hiring a mini bus, or taking all children to a cinema to watch *Harry Potter*, etc. For girls, they tend to have disco parties, make-up parties, and hair dressing parties. Mothers were upset at such mature parties at first and then started to follow them, which will be shown more in Chapter VII. Here, the point which must be emphasised is that even though mothers knew that most local peers have disco parties or make-up parties, they try to lay on 'Japanese' elements such as Karate, sushi or Sanrio's products for their daughters' parties, and merely follow the local way for sons by providing sports parties.

In addition, the longer they stay in London, the more familiar their local peers who regularly come to their houses became with Japanese food such as friends of daughters G and H who were older than eight. In this environment in London, these non-Japanese children can also experience different cultures within everyday practices. An English best friend (ten-year-old) of H's daughter told me just before family H moved from London to Tokyo, 'I am definitely going to visit her in Tokyo' (a friend of H's daughter: Year 5). Through their friendship on a micro level, Appadurai's cultural flows (1990) can be glanced here too.

Elder children who are over seven year-old sometimes invite their friends or are invited



to sleep over at their homes. Through such acts, they have developed their friendships. This act has been witnessed amongst both girls and boys and also both in the students who go to the Japanese school in West Acton and local schools. The mothers stated;

His [nine year old son's] room is small because we put two beds in case of his friend [two best friends are boys of mixed marriage from the same boy's school] sleeping over...These days they often come.

(Mother C)

Today she [eleven years old] is going to sleep over at her friend's house. We used to do it so often when either of our husbands was on a business trip. But recently both do not have such business trips at all. Then we told them to sleep over even if the fathers are at home. Moreover, they are in different classes [at the Japanese school] and go to crammer schools everyday. They study so hard and cannot find time to play together.

(Mother E)

After her [eleven year-old daughter's] birthday in the summer vacation, her English friend [eleven year-old], H's daughter [ten year-old] and son [six year-old] slept over at our house. We brought futons from Japan – H's son and my son [six year-old] slept upstairs and three girls slept in this [living] room on the futons. They stayed up until 1 o'clock. The English girl has stayed at our house many times.

(Mother G)

Most of the girls who go to local schools in my study seem to enjoy friendship with local friends, but boys appear to stick to Japanese friends including children of mixed marriage even when they can speak English. Boy's play in the Japanese community requires them to know the latest TV characters and its toys. Japanese boys always played with *BeyBlade* both in North/West and South London when they play with Japanese friends, but with local friends, they tend to play other things such as football or board games. The gender issue and the way of playing will be discussed more in Chapter VI and VII. When they (children who go to local school) play with Japanese friends or siblings, they speak in Japanese. Some mothers intentionally invite Japanese friends to keep and improve their Japanese, especially during long holidays such as summer or Easter. They go on holiday at most for a week or a several days during such long vacations, and tend to spend with other Japanese friends the rest of the weeks in the long school holidays;

During the summer, I intentionally let my children play with Japanese friends. They did not miss their local friends in particular because they had really good time



everyday with their Japanese friends. That's why I did not make any arrangements with their local friends on purpose.

(Mother G)

We have seen Japanese friends who we cannot see often- such as colleagues' families who have also the same aged children. My children have played with only Japanese. I wanted to do so. Summer vacation period is the only time when we can see those Japanese friends, because we don't usually have time to see each other. At the same time, her best friend [who is an American sojourner] from her school also spent her summer in the States.

(Mother I)

Although they speak with each other in Japanese, when they become emotionally, they tend to utter English words. Mother I set up her home rule to keep her daughter's Japanese:

I am telling her [her seven year old daughter] to speak Japanese at home so that she speaks Japanese when she plays with her brother [goes to a Japanese kindergarten full time] at home...But when she is so excited or gets angry with her brother, for example, if he touches her toys, she yells at him in English, though her brother does not understand what she says. English is getting easier for her to speak.

(Mother I)

Japanese tend to play with several friends at the same time. A family whose son was in a Japanese kindergarten full time complained about this kindergarten because there were a few boys in his class. In the end, her son became the only one boy in his class in his grade and had to invite boys from younger grades. Mother E was one of the sojourners who did not get involved in local communities or local neighbours but in the Japanese overseas community, and sent their three children to the Japanese school and a kindergarten full time. She, however, pointed out the disadvantage of these Japanese school and kindergartens:

The only one boy who was the last friend in his class [from his Japanese kindergarten] has finally left. There are no boys who are the same age as my son in the kindergarten...Especially this [Japanese] school is really fast- most of the people return to Japan within a few years. These days, there are many people who have returned to Japan. The students have decreased so much. I thought it would keep decreasing in this way. However, the other day, many new students have arrived from Japan. There are three classes in Year 1 and 15 children arrived. Anyway, the movement of numbers is significant here.

(Mother E)



A child of mixed marriage whose mother is Japanese has been sent to the Japanese school full time. Her British husband had experienced how difficult it was to learn Japanese so that he wanted to educate his children in Japanese first. However, when she started from April, there were only ten students in her class. As an environment for academic achievement, this must be better. But the mother complained about the lack of socialising.

(Mother L)

From this view, the kindergarten was not able to teach them how to socialise with children in a group and missed dynamic play. As discussed in the previous chapter, the different virtues of individualism and group in Western and Japanese societies are clearly seen from these Japanese mothers including mothers of mixed marriage. Mothers expect their children to learn how to live in a group which should be taught through their school lives. This aspect is also important in their children's developing identities which will be shown in Chapter VII. In the same way, a family whose daughters go to a Japanese kindergarten full time also complained about the same situation in her kindergarten:

My daughter finally realised her situation here last week. She was talking about her friends: one would go to an American school and the other one would go back to Japan in September. She was asking me in tears in the car, 'from September, we will be only three girls'. So I just said, 'yes, I told you, did you realise it today?' Then she said, 'yes.' And she said to me, 'I would like to change my school'. I ignored her. Then I asked her why she asked me such a question suddenly. She said that her best friend K who came here in December would also go to a local school from September.

(Mother B)

Her elder daughter had had a hard time when she moved to London, and finally became accustomed to her life in the kindergarten with friends. After having a good time with friends for six months, she found that many friends would leave soon. She became too sensitive to accept her friends' leaving. This kind of attitude has been witnessed many times amongst my informants' children. Such an 'unstable' or 'incalculable' environment gives them a sense of 'insecurity'. Here, I do not give any psychological analysis, but from a sociological view by Giddens (1991), they seem to have tremendous anxieties about losing their stability of identities which they were able to recognise through their Japanese friends or local peers who used to share the same



cultural experiences and space. Conversely, these children, especially, girls who used to play with local peers tend to be trapped in this problem when they return which has been a main issue for returnees in Japan. In a letter from Mother H after returning to Tokyo, she described her ten year-old daughter's everyday lives in Tokyo:

Of course she [ten year-old] often plays with her classmates. But when I see her, she tends to spend 'quiet times' more often [than she used to be in London]. I wish she would play loudly and becomes excited more just *like* a child. I guess my children will be like this for the time being (truly nature is very rare and parks around here are horribly small). I am sure that my daughter has become stressed. I am worried about her...If she has the same books in Japanese and English, she prefers reading them in English. When I asked her, 'why don't you stop reading today if you are so tired', she replied, 'when I am tired, I read English books which relax me'.

(A letter from Mother H)

Her daughter had best friends who often came to her house in London and used to happily laugh, which I had witnessed many times at their house in London. In Tokyo, probably her daughter had to follow a new lifestyle as a student in Tokyo and could not find what she was really excited about. In the studies by Minami (2000) and Pang (2000) who have studied Japanese returnees' identities and problems which are seen above, however, such friendships during their sojourning have not been analysed and taken as an important factor. At least in the case of the Japanese overseas community in London, it is apparent that their psychological problems which are often focused on after they return to Japan are already noticeable in such an environment where ceaselessly their Japanese friends are coming and leaving. They cannot avoid this situation. This becomes very traumatic.

This also affects the friendships between sojourners' children and children of mixed marriage who tend to play together because of mothers' networks. A nine year old boy who always plays with his friend of mix marriage asked his mother suddenly in tears while we were in his bedroom:

C's nine year-old son: My friend told me that we are going back to Japan soon. Is it true, mama?

Mother C: Not yet. Did he tell you?

I: *Do you want to return to Japan?*

C's nine year-old son: No. I don't want to.

Mother C: Probably your friend was told by his parents that we would return to Japan



someday.

(Family C)

Mothers of mixed marriage seem to warn their children that these Japanese children will return to Japan someday in order to lessen their shock.

In addition, from an ethical view, while I have carried out this study over a year following by SRA codes, I felt I might have hurt my young participants by saying 'this is the last visit'. Every two months, I have asked them about their favourite programmes, TV characters, toys, and friends. The closer my relationship with these children developed, the more ambiguous my status became even though they knew that I was studying their toys and TV programmes. In this particular situation, as a researcher, I did not realise their traumatic feelings about parting from friends or acquaintances until I greeted them and saw their eyes in tears, asking me 'you are not coming to our house any more?' An eight year old girl who had also taken nearly a year to get used to her local school friends did not say good-bye to me after I said 'this is the last visit'. She went up her room and closed her door. In this way, I had experienced another dilemma of a researcher's roles in the fieldwork with children, which is similar to what Robin Lynn Leavitt had in her fieldwork in a day care centre, 'I put Clarke down, and he began to cry vehemently again, despite my efforts to comfort him...I left feeling wholly unsatisfied and guilty' (1998:65). Surely, I felt guilty even though I was able to complete my data collection. My ethnographic method might harm their sensitive feelings which had been open and honest with me during the study. By accident, I might give them an 'incalculable risk'.

## Conclusion

Applying the concept of ontological security by Giddens (1991), the Japanese families' everyday lives and upgraded lifestyle were examined. The conspicuous consumption and cultural capital of the Japanese families was seen in their consumption patterns in their leisure time. By paying extra, they were able to satisfy ontological security. For example, they spent £100 per a month to subscribe to a Japanese newspaper, magazines and JSTV in order to catch up information and news from Japan. In addition, they had



to adopt new lifestyles with their children in London, which is clearly different from the parents' own childhood. The parents had anxieties about 'incalculable risks' in London. Mother J expressed her anxieties after sojourning a year that her daughters physical strength must be weakened since she drove them to school whereas her daughter used to go to school alone on foot in Tokyo. However, they did not know exactly what specific of risks existed and merely followed a preventative lifestyle such as taking and picking up children at schools. Consequently, the parents' risk management in host countries often prevents them from integrating into the local community which they tend to regard as an 'incalculable' setting for children. This leads them to be isolated from local people, except for a few non-Japanese peers. They tend to trust people and services in the Japanese overseas community. This is also derived from their ontological security.

Simultaneously, living abroad with family provides these parents with opportunities to reflect on their lifestyles and leisure with their family. They can afford better security and holidays as Japanese middle-class in London, but there are such unaffordable matters, which were shown from children's friendships. It is significant that the parents provide media to reduce these children's cultural shocks between the U.K and Japan as will be seen in the next chapter. Additionally, in such a complex environment, how these children and families develop their identities will be discussed in Chapter VII and VIII on identities, especially in the process of developing 'hybrid' identities and 'finding new identities' through their everyday lives in the overseas community.

## Notes;

---

<sup>1</sup> Probably if these supports are included, their incomes can be more than twice or triple this figure. In the questionnaire I made, £50,000 was set up as maximum figure.

<sup>2</sup> Although Giddens defines 'risks' as 'calculable', he also admits that risk assessment is an imponderable character (1991: 124).

<sup>3</sup> Although some companies support children's educational magazine's postal fees, educational expenditures usually do not include items such as nursery or any lessons, and only covers fees for compulsory education at schools.

<sup>4</sup> In England the curriculum is specified in broad terms, as opposed to the year-by-year specification in Japan...English textbooks are privately published and schools may choose the ones they use, but in Japan the Ministry of Education approves textbooks and schools have limited choices. When we look at mathematics we see that average standards in Japan are well above the international average and those in England are



---

below it. (pp17-18)(Dr. Julia Whitburn in UK-Japan Social Policy Forum Proceedings of the 2001 Seminar Series, London: The Daiwa Anglo-Japanese foundation)

<sup>5</sup> Even in Japan, most of these major companies pay some percentage or fixed rate (around £30 a month) as an educational support when a child of employee becomes five year old when they start their kindergarten (Mother B).

<sup>6</sup> The fee is about £500 per a term, which is only one quarter of other private schools' fees or one third of Japanese kindergartens'.

<sup>7</sup> Due to the regulation in the City of London, workers in finance have to take two weeks holiday in order to be checked by examiners to prevent any fraud or personal trades (Mother C).

<sup>8</sup> The mother said this because her son's attitudes can be regarded as 'snobbish' in Japan.

<sup>9</sup> Its efficiency is mainly through their fast-food model: for consumers, McDonald's offers the best available way to get from being hungry to being full. Calculability is an emphasis on the quantitative aspects of products sold (promotion size, cost) and services offered (time and money for consumers). McDonald also offers predictability where people are less surprised, and also its systems also behave in predictable ways. They follow corporate rules as well as the dictates of their managers. Finally, the fourth point, control through nonhuman technology results in their limited menus, few options and strictly controlled organizations (Ritzer 2000 12-14).

<sup>10</sup> The name of 'Jersey' is very familiar in Japan as a name of a kind of cows and milk.

<sup>11</sup> The baseball team is mixed with Americans (Mother C)

<sup>12</sup> Leaving children alone is not illegal in the U.K. Some children (of working-class) can be seen in streets or parks near social housing without any caretakers.



## Chapter V: Global and Diasporic Media Consumption

The theoretical approaches to understanding media consumption in overseas communities were given in Chapter III. Followed the previous chapter, this chapter is concerned with the Japanese families' actual media consumption in their everyday lives and will discuss the media environment in a contemporary society from the findings of those sojourners' media consumption. A particular pattern of consumption at the overseas community was found throughout this study. They hardly consume local media (terrestrial TV, magazines, or newspapers) at all. On the other hand, they showed their active consumption of the global media (via Sky, or videos/DVDs) and diasporic media (via JSTV, the Internet, videos from Japan, and toys with TV characters). In other words, most of their media contents and related products are beyond the boundary where they physically exist.

The contemporary lifestyle in relation to the media has been often discussed from the view of 'time and space' (c.f. Harvey 1989, Scannell 1996, Cairncross 1997). David Harvey, for example, argues that it is important to challenge the idea of a single and objective sense of time or space, against which we can measure the diversity of human conceptions and perceptions:

I shall not argue for a total dissolution of the objective-subjective distinction, but insist, rather, that we recognize the multiplicity of the objective qualities which space and time can express, and the role of human practice in their construction. Neither time nor space, the physicists now broadly propose, had existence before matter; the objective qualities of physical time-space cannot be understood, therefore, independently of the qualities of material processes.

(1989: 203)

Moreover, the new media which have helped compress time and space more than before in contemporary lifestyles has had profound effects. The economist Frances Cairncross, for example, in his book *The Death of Distance* which was published in 1997 has predicted the future with new technologies, 'Commerce, including many kinds of retailing, will become increasingly international. Armed with a credit card, the nearest thing we have to a world currency, people will eventually shop around the globe' (1997: 23-4). The overseas community has already established their businesses within



geographical space such as bookstores or department stores for Japanese people. This can be influenced by today's market which can be beyond boundaries by on-line shopping. At the same time, the speed of distributing products to the world has also accelerated, for example, by satellite television. People can watch programmes from their countries abroad. Cairncross has also pointed out:

...as on ARD, Germany's main public broadcaster, which transmits its entire evening news program across the Internet with full sound and video, aiming it partly at Germans living abroad, and especially in the United States. The world's shifting populations will thus be able to keep in touch with their cultural roots.

(1997: 85)

In accordance with his above predictions, today, we can watch programmes from overseas countries on satellite TV or through the Internet.

In this sense, in this chapter, firstly, from the view of 'time and space' within a contemporary lifestyle with new technologies, how the global and diasporic media have played roles in their households will be shown. In the related study by Ogawa (1994) on Japanese wives in London and San Diego and their media consumption, for example, she has suggested that there must be cultural factors: to maintain their national identities as Japanese, Japanese language, or simply their interest in what is happening in their home county (1994: 54). This seems to be too simple. Although she has conducted her research with questionnaire to housewives, she has failed to give details of their reasons due to her quantitative research method. In order to fill this gap, this section will give and clarify the reasons why they consume diasporic media.

In the second section, what kind of global media products were actively consumed in the overseas community will be shown and discussed. Global characters such as from Disney or *Harry Potter* have been purchased and experienced in different forms- DVD/videos, films, games, toys, etc. In addition, global events such as the World Cup 2002, Wimbledon Tennis matches, and the Iraq War in 2003 were experienced through local broadcasting by these sojourners during the fieldwork. Through their perceptions of these events, especially, the mothers' realisation of their political stance, being an ethnic minority in a host country, their dilemma, their thoughts, and their interpretations



of events to their children will be discussed.

In the last section, the roles of diasporic media will be critically assessed. Although the diasporic media were actively consumed in the overseas community, limited services gives certain disadvantages to the subscribers. Comparing the roles of ethnic community journals, diasporic media tend to merely transmit the news or information from Japan. Followed Chapter IV, the sense of insecurity amongst those sojourners can be caused by the conditions of the diasporic media services. In order to discuss the issues, these conditions and opinions from both the subscribers and broadcasters (JSTV) will be given and discussed.

## ***1. Time and Space in everyday media consumption***

### **1-1: New media**

As seen in the Chapter III, sojourners heavily consume the media, 'paying extra' similar to the housewives in the study by Ogawa (1994). An outstanding feature, however, is the Internet which can be used as a tool of communication with friends and gathering information from Japan without paying 'extra', and was consumed in all households in this study. In Ogawa's study which was published in 1994, the Internet was not referred to. In our contemporary environment, however, the Internet has become popular. According to a survey carried out by researchers in the U.S.,:

...far-away relatives, far-away friends predominantly use email to communicate. Worldwide, 39 percent of the respondents are in frequent contact with far-away friends. Email is much more popular than telephone (17 percent) or face-to-face interaction (four per cent).

(Chen *et al* 2002: 95)

The Japanese families have shown similar tendencies to the study above. The fathers use the Internet in their workplaces. Mothers, on the other hand, use the Internet at home. Their main uses are keeping touch with their old friends in Japan. Mother G, for example, stated in relation to the Internet in an interview from my MA study:

I like e-mails. The international calls used to be very expensive. It cost thousands of yen. Now it is cheaper to call from here to Japan, and when children want to call their grandparents, they call them. We live away from them so that we often keep in touch more than we used to. E-mails! I am exchanging e-mails everyday with the mother of my daughter's friend in Tokyo. Thus I know all what is going on, what happened,



who did something around Fuchu (Tokyo) more than I used to live there. I do not feel far. When we went back to Tokyo in Easter, I knew what happened yesterday, we do not have to talk about collected things. The Internet has made it different. I feel the world has become smaller.

(Kondo 2001: 63)

On an everyday basis, emails are exchanged with their friends in Japan. Some mothers started using the Internet when they arrived in the U.K., Mother J who started using the Internet and exchanging emails has gradually felt a sense of belonging, which will be discussed more in Chapter VIII. Mother J described how she was seen as 'other' by friends in Japan:

While exchanging emails with my friends in Japan, she asked me, 'where have you been this winter?' Then I cannot tell lies. Here, it is not so big a deal to go to Paris where we can go by train. But for people in Japan, they take my comment as if we have been abroad every holiday. The more I explain how close countries in Europe are located to each other, the deeper I am in trouble.

(Mother J)

Mother J gradually realised her 'special' status by sojourning in Europe, which is far different from the lifestyle of ordinary people in Japan. It is very common to travel to European countries amongst the sojourners as seen in the previous chapter. Mother J emailed her friend in Japan about her holiday as in the same manner when she talked about her holiday with other Japanese mothers in London. As another example, Mother I also felt the different values amongst her friends:

I have just emailed my ten friends, telling them that I am coming home. And I am waiting for their answers...I cannot eat *Fugu* (globefish) here [in London]. A friend of mine emailed me back that there is a good Korean restaurant in Shin-Okubo [an area where there are many Korean restaurants in Tokyo]. But I replied to him that I prefer clean and good quality rather than dirty and cheap places. I don't need quantity, but quality.

(Mother I)

It is more important for these mothers, who look forward to spending their time in Japan, to maximize their experiences by having products, food, and travels which they cannot obtain in London when passing a short stay in Japan rather than minimizing their budget. '*Fugu*' (globefish), for example, is available only in winter and is famous as a luxury dish in Japan. She also realised the different values between her friends in Japan and



herself. Using the Internet, especially, when they want to go to Japan on holiday, they plan their holidays according to their friends' plans.

A further example is a twelve year-old boy who was upset at the competitive Japanese educational system, in which his old Japanese friend from London was involved. Mother D explained how her eldest son became aware of 'difference' by exchanging emails in the process of planning their holiday in Japan:

We are going back to Japan on holiday in summer. We wanted to see a friend of his who used to live here [in London]...But I told my son that I received an email from the mother of this friend that he would only be free on the third of August. He was surprised at this, 'why? He has one month and half as summer holiday, and is he available only one day?' All go to summer crammer schools. Then he was stunned by this situation in Japan. He asked me, 'why do they have to study so hard even when they go to school'. I could not answer this question.

(Mother D)

The son of mother D is now aware of the different educational environments between Japan and Britain. Going to crammer schools during each holiday is very common amongst junior high school students, who have to take competitive entrance exams (aged 12-15)<sup>1</sup>. They tend to use the Internet when they are alone at home. Through emails, they become aware of different lifestyles. Day-to-day contacts by emails also help them to re-think their everyday lives in London as sojourners. This will also play a role in the re-arranging these mothers and children's identities - where they belong to - which will be discussed in relation to their identities in Chapter VII and VIII.

Most of the mothers use the Internet, mainly email when their children are at schools or in bed. Secondly, online-shopping is popular amongst these households, especially, books from Japan. Mother H, who encourages her children to read books rather than providing TV games, buys books though Amazon.co.jp. She, herself was an exception as she was opposed to computer use amongst the mothers. She, however, used on-line shopping by asking her husband to order books from Japan through the website:

I buy about five [Japanese] books every month via Amazon. I buy them through the Internet. In addition, my husband's company sends books without charging the shipping fee up to five books. Therefore, except for these books, I buy them through Amazon. My husband uses the Internet and orders them instead of me. I prefer letters



and fax where I can see my handwriting. I don't like the answering machine too because I feel like I must do much work when I come back. I used to use emails too, but I felt as if it is becoming a burden to open the account everyday.

(Mother F)

Markets have been also expanded for these people's lives beyond physical boundaries. Many families often use the Amazon website (Amazon Japan). This online shopping could be an obstacle or big competitor for those of Japanese book stores in London, where they tend to set the prices more or less three times higher than in Japan.

Mother H, however, decided to buy her personal computer to keep in touch with her friends and for her daughter's keeping in touch with her friends in London when they left London. Moreover, she gained information about children's schools in Tokyo and realised the usefulness of the Internet. During the last visit at Family H before they returned to Japan, Mother H stated:

I will work hard to be able to use the Internet. The computer which my children use as a toy is not good so that we will have one which I can share with my daughter [ten year-old] who wants to exchange emails between her local friends in London. The friend who is here today wants to come to Japan very much so they decided to exchange emails between Tokyo and London. Moreover, my daughter also wants to email G's daughter [eleven year old]. I thought it is great to find out such schools via the Internet. My husband checked them though. The sites which we saw introduced what each grade did on that day. Then we could know what school life was like. It is great that we can find schools in Japan from London.

(Mother H)

She gradually realised the usefulness of the Internet through her experiencing it. In fact, after returning to Japan, she emailed me with some holiday pictures of her children in Japan.

Surprisingly, they do not email their Japanese friends in London at all. All of them said that it is because they see each other twice a day at their children's schools. They often use the telephone if they need to. Contrary to the study by Kakuko Miyata, where Japanese mothers' participation in using online-communities on childrearing has increased due to weakening social networks, these mothers in the overseas community do not need such supports, and consequently do not visit such online communities



(2002: 522-523). This is because they have a closely knit network tie where they can discuss their childrearing with each other through their day-to-day and face-to-face communications.

## 1-2. Exchanging Japanese videos

Day-to-day, face-to-face communication is expressed in their frequent exchanging videos from Japan. Findings from related studies (c.f. Gray 1992, Gauntlett and Hill 1999) on VCR as a new technology which changed individual's time in the 80's and early 90's seem to be still valid in this overseas community. Not only the role as 'timeshifting' (Gauntlett and Hill 1999: 171), but also the role as 'placeshifting' has been witnessed in this study. Videos in which programmes from Japan were taped were often watched by those family members. The place was shifted from Japan to Britain via VCR.. Although mothers see VCR's dual roles of 'timeshifting' and 'placeshifting' as an advantage, this often disadvantage children by confusing their real 'time and space'.

Some families receive videos every week or every month from Japan. They also exchange some videos for children. The main programmes, however, are Japanese soap operas and other entertainment programmes for adults. Many said they can feel 'home' when they watch Japanese soap operas. They did not express their preference for a particular actor or pop idols as has been seen in the study of audiences in Japan by Takahashi (2003), but admired rather its familiar contents. Paddy Scannell, for example, has argued that certain patterns of programmes can contribute to audiences/listeners' formation of familiarity:

In one sense, this fundamental development was a response to the severest problem of production- namely the supply of a ceaseless, uninterrupted never-ending flow of output. But at the same time it contributed to the creation of an easily recognizable *identity*, both for any programme and for the totality of output in the channel...For output to have the regular, familiar routine character that it has, seriality is crucial throughout the range of output. It creates that difference-in-sameness which is the hallmark of radio, television and newspaper production. The content varies from one occasion to the next, the format remains the same.

(1996: 10)



In this sense, for these Japanese sojourners in London, consuming familiar outputs as a whole image and message from the content is more significant than the way of consuming soap opera by ordinary Japanese who tend to choose actors to whom they can fantasize as if they really were intimate friends or lovers (Takahashi 2003: 185). In other words, they do not have such wide choices. They usually consume these videos when they receive videos from other mothers.

Watching videos is more convenient for those housewives who are very busy with lessons and childrearing as seen in the studies by Gray (1996) and Gauntlett and Hill (1999). Without exception from other studies on women and soap operas or simply anti-TV viewing attitudes (i.e. Gray 1996, Mittel 2000), in the first interviews, the mothers of this study tended to hide such sub-cultural experiences in their everyday lives. As I also confessed my watching Japanese and American soap operas or other music programmes with popular idols, they started telling me about their viewing habits. When mother K received many videos from her Japanese friend, her husband made fun of such Japanese sub-cultural exchanges in the community:

...he told me, 'oh no! You borrowed such videos from a Japanese "ghetto"'. But in the end, he watched more than I did. That's our pattern....We have got many videos that were in a big corrugated box. These were one year behind trendy dramas...We have been watching them for hours. After my husband came back home, we started watching some from ten o'clock. I told him to watch two [episodes] until midnight. I could go to sleep when the time came. But my husband told me [next morning] that he could not stop watching them. And after all he watched them until three. Such an idiot!

(Mother K)

From Mother K's comment, it is very clear that both of them do not value highly watching soap operas. Although they feel guilty about watching them (Morley 1988: 161), they cannot help doing so.

Except for one mother who enjoyed Sky's variety of programmes which she had not seen in Japan, all mothers consumed only Japanese media, even though some of them speak fluent English. Obviously, these mothers and some husbands can expect its familiar patterns and actors/idols in such soap operas (they are called 'trendy dramas' in



which popular young actors play)<sup>2</sup> or entertainment programmes in which they can also expect actors who are pop idols. As seen in Chapter III, JSTV does not supply enough programmes according to these sojourners' demands *timely* when certain 'trendy' soap operas are popular in Japan. They cannot share the topics about the dramas with their friends or families in Japan if they cannot view the programmes in certain period. In addition to this, Mr. Kitagawa who was the head of JSTV explained the situation in JSTV which is run by NHK, where there are more programmes from NHK than from other commercial channels who produce such popular soap operas:

Needless to say, the programmes with popular actors are very expensive. In such cases, distributors must negotiate via their production companies. The companies who own its right tend to sell their programme with higher prices...It is rather because NHK produces programmes intentionally for broadcasting abroad. We do not consider our profits. It is rather because we would like people in the world to watch our programmes. That's why we have cleared already the broadcasting rights in advance. But commercial broadcasters do not consider their broadcasting abroad enough. Then we cannot avoid such time gaps.

(Mr. Kitagawa)

The problem of 'output' by the broadcaster who does not have enough subscribers to pay considerable amount of money for airing such popular soap operas from other stations has led to these sojourners' exchanging videos.

This disadvantage of programming on JSTV has also led to the rise of business. One family was ordering a weekly delivery service of Japanese videos which is illegally run. Although I was not able to find the actual video shop, I found them at the Summer Festival of a Japanese kindergarten in West Acton (the picture below is from the festival). They were selling their old videos for fifty pence per a video. I bought some and watched them. In observing and participating in this sale, children tended to go to see other used comic sales rather than videos, and adults were just checking what kinds of programmes they had. In a 120 minutes video, there were two episodes of an hour programme or four kinds of half hour programmes. The programmes were certainly not officially formatted, and merely taped on home videos in Japan with local TV commercials from Kyusyu (south-west Japan).





**Picture 4: Summer Festival 2003 at a Japanese kindergarten in West Acton**

This business can fill the gap of only one Japanese channel in London. A family decided to use this service instead of subscribing to JSTV. The monthly costs are the same. They can choose 20 videos a month (five videos a week). The benefit of this service is that the time lag of these videos, which have been taped illegally in Japan, is shorter than JSTV's airing such soap operas or entertainment programmes from other commercial channels one year later. According to the mother who uses this service, they tend to be one month behind Japan. She valued the merit of the service: more choices (not programmed by JSTV as a package on one channel), and faster to consume than JSTV's programmes from other commercial channels. In spite of JSTV's providing the news which was direct and on real time, this service can fill the gap of the disadvantages of JSTV.

### **1-3: Consuming Japanese women's magazines**

The mothers do not consume local magazines at all, however, they do read Japanese



magazines. As seen in Ben-Ari's (1998) and Clammer's (1997) studies, there are various kinds of Japanese magazines according to the reader's gender, generation, occupation, needs, etc. Some mothers do subscribe to Japanese monthly fashion magazines for housewives or women in their 30's. Some companies of those sojourners support shipping fees to order magazines. Mother K, for example, explained:

I subscribe to two lady's magazines via his company monthly service...But these magazines are not published here so that I don't buy the same things directly here after looking at these magazines. I rather choose things at shops...Moreover, I could not find my size...I look and skim all pages, but not really read everything. I just see what kind of fashion is popular in Japan rather than buying anything here [in London]. I don't feel any sense of being behind... I am interested in the section of cosmetics. In Japan, cosmetics are so expensive such as Estee Lauder. So I check their prices in Japan and buy at duty free.

(Mother K)

Mother I also subscribed to a Japanese magazine for housewives who are in their 30's from a Japanese supermarket every month, which is not supported by her husband's company. She was able to catch up with the fashion trend in Japan through these magazines, and also check the prices of cosmetics because they have more opportunities to pass duty free shops on holiday. The magazine demonstrates luxury restaurants, hotels with spas, and fashion which are available in Japan. Keiko Tanaka who has studied Japanese Women's Magazines argues concerning magazines which these mothers also consume in London:

...these magazines...are characterized by features not only relating to fashion, but also to tourism and food...The number of women going out to work increased dramatically and women's disposable income grew with it...may indicate a belief in the essential homonization of Japan's population in terms of income and related phenomena.

(1998: 111)

In relation to the features in Japanese women's magazines above, Mother I stated what she was interested in the magazine which she subscribed to, 'Mostly I read food section (laugh) and also hot springs. I can look at things such as marbled beef, dream of eating them and staying at hot springs when I return to Japan. And also I look at fashion pages too' (Mother I).



They did not consume any U.K. magazines. Their values on fashion and interests are still mainly from such magazines from Japan. As well as their children, some products are not available in the U.K. Even mothers who do not subscribe to specific magazine sometimes buy them. Mother H occasionally purchased Japanese magazines when she needed fashion ideas and enjoyed reading weekly magazines at her hair dresser:

I really wanted to read *Grazia* which was about beige. I was not good at dressing in beige. But I wanted to wear some beige. Then I bought it at OCS [a Japanese book store]. If I have such a magazine, I can enjoy reading it. I go to a [Japanese] hair dresser, looking forward to reading Japanese magazines. They ask me what kind of magazine I want to read, and I tell them to have magazines which are mostly about gossip of [Japanese] celebrities.

(Mother H)

Again, her fashion sense is based on Japanese trends. In a host country where they may not have the same products, they try to find similar clothes in London. Reading these magazines stimulates feeling of frustration because they cannot purchase in London what they were used to buying in Japan. This is probably different from Ben-Ari's businessmen's way of reading golf magazines (1998). But clearly, there is an essence of pursuing their upgraded lifestyles. Or it can be said that they used to dream of such rich lifestyles, and now can afford them (Tanaka 1998), even though some products are not available in London. Furthermore, as seen above, they also enjoyed reading such magazines containing gossip about celebrities who are familiar. Consuming such weekly Japanese tabloid magazines amongst Japanese mothers and also those of mixed marriage was witnessed at their homes.

#### **1-4: Children's media consumption: cooler and newer**

As for children's programmes, JSTV do not broadcast boy's 'ranger' series. Most of these children tend to watch them on videos from Japan, and also get to know new series through magazines for this age group. In addition, such consumption patterns also influence their playing. All mothers who have sons see that they tend to enjoy playing with their Japanese peers who also consume the same popular TV characters and programmes more than playing with local peers. If these local peers know such programmes, probably these Japanese children would enjoy playing with them too. In this sense, sub-cultural capital of non-global products - 'cool stuff' (Buckingham 2002) -



does not apply amongst local peers, but does in the overseas community.

‘Time and space’ is again inevitably discussed here. Somehow (videos, magazines, friend’s T-shirt/shoes or websites), these children in the overseas community get to know these new series. The time when they consume new ones in London is obviously later than children in Japan. If they return to Japan on holiday, for example, it is good timing when the new programme starts, and in this case, they will be able to find some products with this new series. But at least amongst children in the overseas community, this is a tendency to play with products from old programmes even if new series have started in Japan. Mother G wondered why her son still stuck to the old series:

I told my son that *Harikenger* [Ninja Storm] is over now. And he cried so much that he did not have any of its toys. Even though I tried to convince him that the programme is over now. But he still wanted them. He has a funny sense. If he is in Japan, he would follow new things. He may be different.

(Mother G)

Amongst these boys, *Digital Monster* which was broadcasted through JSTV or Sky (in English) was very popular. These included the children of Mother E who used to watch such cartoons on JSTV. Her children used to go to the Japanese school so that they tended to be able to get the latest news from new comers from Japan:

And we also watch videos from Japan because the cartoons on JSTV are behind from Japan, especially the cartoons which are more than a year old. This area [West Acton] is full of Japanese people and we try to re-gain the Japanese like style lives here. Therefore, we can have much information from Japan in real time. The children who have just come from Japan say, watching JSTV, ‘Ah, I have seen this last year’, JSTV does not cover everything. Therefore, I could not cope with their demands only from JSTV...The latest toys also come to our community in real time too. After all, there are some children who live in London for a long time, but also there are some children who are new comers. Especially, boys’ trends are changing so fast. But the Japanese toys are popular in Britain too. They sell such things in Toy ‘R’ Us too. However, they are sometimes old models compared to the latest one in Japan or bad quality. The Japanese ones are more popular among us. Compared to living in Japan, children are more generous for the model changes. If they have the same kinds of toys, they can play with the same toys together. But if we are in Japan, my children would not be able to play with old models.

(Mother E)

Mother E pointed out some important issues in the overseas community. One is the



timing of getting these media products based on the trend in Japan. Secondly, the trend, especially, amongst boys, is changing very fast. As a result of this, the boys are very sensitive to this speed. Thirdly, the values on the newness and quality of a particular toy were mentioned. Those trends in boys' toys seem to be orientated by the mainstream of the trends in Japan. Both Mother G and E imagined if their sons were in Japan, it would be a more competitive situation for getting new toys for sons. It can be argued that this may be only within those mothers' exaggerated imagination about Japan where children must have the same toys in order to avoid being bullied or out of their friend-circles. Mother E, especially, who had never brought up her children in Japan imagined that children in Japan would care about the 'lateness' of TV characters. After returning to Japan, Mother H reported about children's attitudes towards a particular popular toy in Tokyo:

Due to this urban life and small space, it seems to be rare to play at friends' houses. Therefore, my son often goes to the children's community centre in order to play dodge- ball or *Bayblades* with children who also gather in the centre. My daughter also chats with her friends at parks. At first I was worried about their friendship without having Gameboy or TV games, but it seems no problem.

(A letter from Mother H)

Mother E also reported after returning to Japan felt that they used to live in 'a small world' in London where they were surrounded only by Japanese middle-class sojourners (a letter from Mother E). From the mothers' letters from Japan, such single competition to obtain the latest toys for sons can be harder or concentrated more than schools in Tokyo where there are students from various social backgrounds.

Another example is when Family C spent their Christmas and New Year holiday in Japan for three weeks. All her children used to watch Japanese cartoons on Sky. After coming back from Japan, her nine-year-old son did not watch them any longer, declining his seven year-old sister's invitation to watch *BeyBlade* together:

Seven year-old sister: Who wants to watch *BeyBlade*?

Nine year-old brother: It is boring!

I: *The story is behind Japan?*

Nine year-old brother: Yes...I began to get bored watching the English one. I prefer the Japanese one.

(Family C).



C's son did not want to watch this English version which was behind Japan, especially, at that time this cartoon was the centre of these boy's measurement of their sub-cultural capital: cooler and newer. When they consume the same cartoon, it is more important for them if they experience the latest episode or own the latest toy with its character.

Family J, for example, used the video delivery service. Mother J provided one video a week for her seven and four year-olds daughters and four videos a week for parents. Although they did not watch this programme everyday, at least her children always watched this programme on weekends, which can be 'dailiness' (Scannell 1996). This 'dailiness' by watching videos, however, could not overcome time and space. In one case, her daughters watched the same programmes in Japan at different times and consequently failed to send their drawings by post for a competition:

I got a *Doraemon* Special [a Japanese popular cartoon] from the video service. Then there was an announcement of a competition in the programme, 'Think of any new tools for *Doraemon*'. If you send your idea to the TV station and win, your drawing will be shown on TV. Then my children started drawing, thinking very hard [see the picture below]. Then they asked me to send their works to the TV station. They also told me that the address was announced on the TV. I rewound the tape and found the deadline had already gone. I really felt sorry for them.

(Mother J)

They were polarized by watching a certain familiar programme every week. It probably became 'taken-for-granted' (as Scannell expressed 1996), and made them forgot that it was 'taped' a month ago. Such confusions of 'time and space' amongst these children can be seen more often when they see commercials on videos. Scannell (1996) approaches 'time and space' in broadcasting from Martin Heidegger's phenomenological concept. Scannell explains this broadcasting structure as 'for-anyone-as-someone structure' in relation to audiences' ontological conditions:

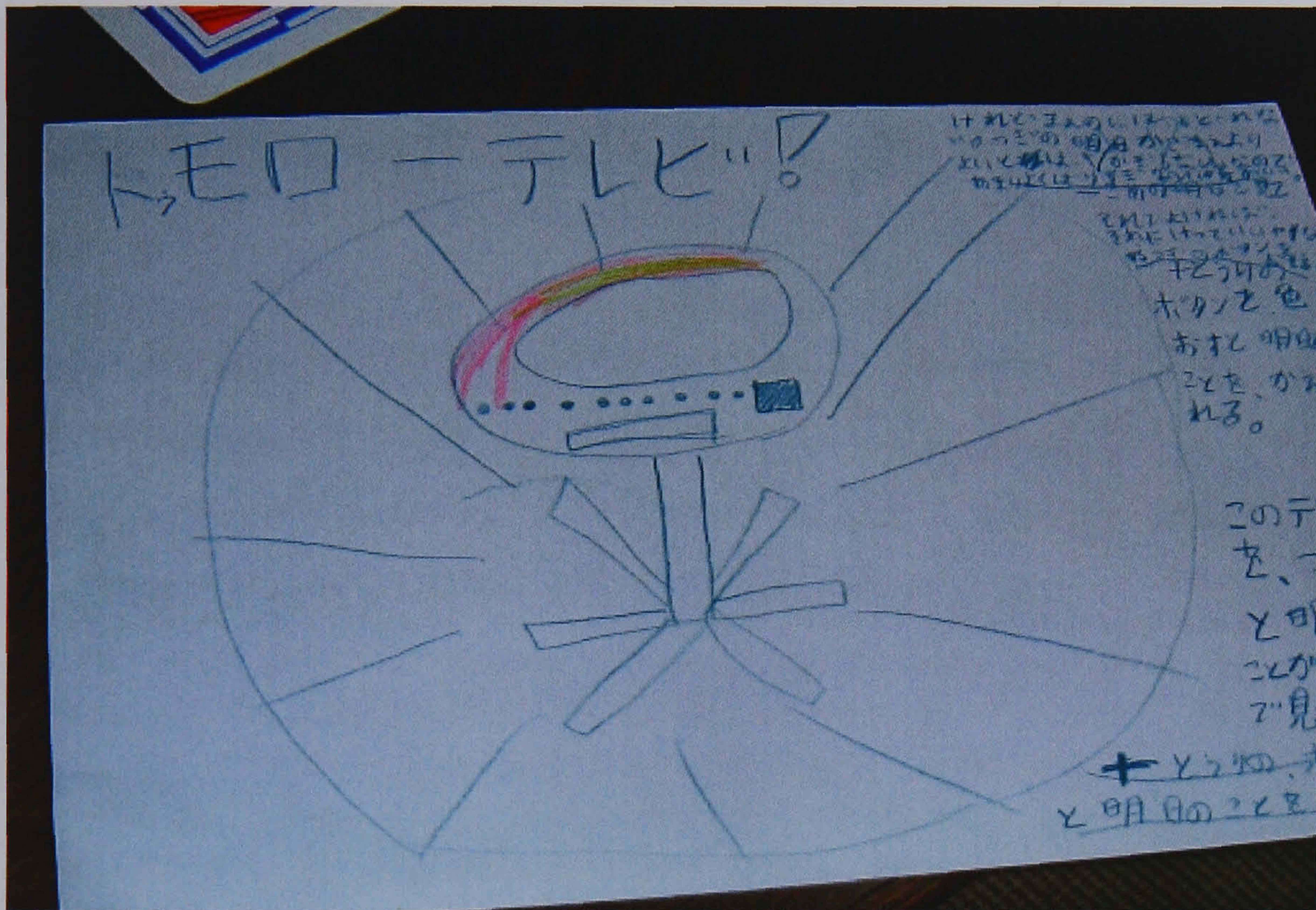
We have shown the everyday accessibility and availability of radio and television. Our original interpretation was in terms of the ordinary intelligibility and meaningfulness of broadcasting in all its parts and as a whole. And this intelligibility was shown to be non-exclusive. Radio and television were found to be available for me-or-anyone...Publicness is always already indicated as that which is familiar, for that is the mark of the availability of things *as* common, public things...But it [broadcasting] speaks to a *general interest public*, which it indeed created, in which



each member is acknowledged as a someone with the attributes of a person, not any anonymous cipher that gets aggregated into a mass.

(1996: 166, 171)

‘Dailiness’ on video, then, sometimes excludes ‘someone’ who is able to experience the same programme and share its familiarity because of its outdated contents. These viewers or consumers’ sense of ‘being in’ [with Japanese viewers] who are beyond national boundaries are rejected.



**Picture 5: A drawing by a seven year-old girl who drew an inventing ‘tomorrow television’ for a *Doraemon*’s new tool in order to enter the competition of the TV station in Tokyo**

### **1-5: Media consumption in public place with family**

These children have many occasions to go to cinemas through their friends’ birthday parties and on weekends with family. This act of consumption of the media is held in public and provides some issues: ages and official caution rates, time and space, and extended consumption to other media products after viewing films. Although they do not watch television together at home, they go to cinemas on weekends as a family entertainment act. The most popular film during this fieldwork was *Harry Potter*, which become globally popular amongst children. Interestingly, many of them had seen it



twice in cinemas: once with friends, and once with family. Young children around six year-olds were often afraid of some scenes:

My daughter went to see *Harry Potter* from someone's birthday at first. And then she also watched it with us again. My son [six year-old] is timid so that he was so afraid of watching it...In my opinion, the second one is scarier. There were many thrilling scenes, being chased and attacked. My son told me that his heart was beating so fast. He reacted at them in this way [she bent herself back. And he told me that he felt his heart in pain. He had leaned back when he saw the scene that Harry was attacked by a spider. Then I thought anything more than this would be hard for him to keep watching. And the next day, I read the article on Yomiuri's review of *Harry Potter II* that this film was made too faithful to the novel: too many scenes which changed so often. But the existence of the girl's ghost was impressive. Certainly I also found myself that the scenes are too many and changed so often.

(Mother H)

While watching the film, the mother also observed her son's reactions. She was cautious to consider her son's conditions for the further series of *Harry Potter* in the future. Family K had not been to any cinemas because their youngest daughter was still four years when I started this study. But six months later, she said:

...the other day, we went to a cinema for the first time with the family. We saw Disney's *Treasure Planet*. My elder daughter [six year-old] enjoyed it. But my younger daughter [four year-old] was clearly bored in the middle. She has been asking me, 'where are we going after this?' all the time. Then I told her that we would go home after the film and she started saying, 'go home go home'...My daughter also asked me why it is so dark. There was a sort of a family ticket which cost us only £17 for four persons. This is fine even if there was a person who did not watch at all. It was one hour and half which was the limit of my younger daughter to stay there quietly...he [my husband] also came with us. He suggested that we should try anyway. Although they were showing more than 10 films in the cinema, due to the regulation, after all only two of them could be watched by my children. All are cartoons though.

(Mother K)

They had found something that they could enjoy with family at weekends.

The regulation, however, sometimes confuses families with young children. *Spiderman*, for example, had been advertised widely even on the packaging breakfast of cereal. Family F was confused at their marketing strategies and the actual film:

We go to cinema at least once every two months. The other day, we saw *Star Wars* twice: once with our family, and the second without me. They went to see *Spiderman*,



but they were told that they could not see it if they are younger than 12 years old. Then they decided to see *Star Wars* again.

(Mother F)

As another case, family D watched *The Lord of Rings I* on DVD with family and went to see the second one at a cinema in Christmas holiday. Mother D pointed out an oversight on online booking of cinema tickets and the structure of checking points at an actual cinema:

Mother D: We have been to see *The Lord of Rings II*. A friend of ours had it on DVD, in which there were many patterns: subtitles, dubbed in Japanese, and only in English. None of us had seen the first one...Then during Christmas holiday, we saw the DVD twice with the family. It was long though. At first we saw it with subtitles because I needed them. My children did not need them though. But when I was reading the subtitles, I could not watch the important scenes. Then we saw it again without subtitles. After studying the first one, we went to see the second one with family.

*I: Could they let your youngest son in?*

Mother D: Truth is that we cannot take him. It was 8A [in fact, this film is graded as 12A. Mother D believed that it was 8A] so that it is OK if adults take children over eight years old. But he is still seven years old. We bought tickets through the Internet so that we did not have to queue, just slipping my credit card. There are no such check points even on the website. I just filled in the number of children. The website did not have a place to input their ages. Surely I would not take children to see such indecent films...If it becomes 12, such as violent scenes or sexual scenes might be in films which can be harmful for seven year old son. But he was fine [for *The Lord of Rings II*]. Some children may have problems. But he is the youngest son [who has two big brothers] so that he was fine. It would be hard for my eldest son when he was in his age. My youngest son has been trained very much [by his two brothers] so that he did not have any problems.

(Mother D)

As described above, with an on-line booking it is possible to fail to check the ages of young audiences. Mothers are cautious about the official ratings, but at the same time, they also consider each child's personality- timid, well-trained, or bold in selecting films. Needless to say, families with small children also care about the length of films, if a child can sit quietly through the show or not. The official ratings do not fit perfectly in these children's ability of acceptances. As seen above, despite the official ratings or warnings, Mother H, for example, was worried about her son's being upset at watching



*Harry Potter II* which was officially fine for his age (six year-old), Mother D whose youngest son who was aged seven had actually seen *The Lord of the Rings II* in her judgement because he had already watched the part I on DVD at home, and Mother F was bewildered at the rating of *Spiderman* and their expanded business in children's marketing which led her to believe it was suitable for all children. In this sense, their media consumption outside of home in public often require these parents to think about selecting a film for their family members as family entertainment.

### **1-6: Timing of consuming the global licensed media products**

Moreover, the timing of consuming the same product can be differentiated according to the level of understanding of English, which can see even within a family. Family J was not confident at their English and asked their grandmother to send the video (*Harry Potter I*) with subtitles:

She [an eight year-old daughter] is catching up so rapidly with her classmates. Then I thought she was fine. I told her teacher to take care of her English anyway. But she noticed that her classmates got *Harry Potter's* books from school as their homework whereas she gets such a thin book...We have seen part one [the first *Harry Potter* film] on the video and want to go to see the second one at cinema. She [five year-old] surprisingly watches it [the video with Japanese subtitles]. But there are some scenes which scares her. She says, Harry Potter! And we watch it together. And also they imitate the actors, having brooms.

(Mother J)

Even mother G, who was educated in the U.S. and whose children are educated in a local state school consumed *Harry Potter* at cinema and also its video later, said:

Ah, when I borrowed *Harry Potter's* video from F, my children repeated what the child actors said in the film. I cannot do such things even though I can understand what they say. Probably I can do that in Japanese. But children told me what they said in such scenes or phrases of the spells. In this sense, I thought their dictation skills are better than mine.

(Mother G)

Despite their timing of consuming global media products, their reactions are various and impressed their parents. Many children imitated *Harry Potter* after watching. Mother F and her husband took pictures of their children on brooms:

My children were talking about scenes which they have seen, and after they started



playing *Harry Potter*...My elder son became Harry. My younger son becomes his friend. My husband took pictures while they were playing *Harry Potter* here. They love especially the game scene. They rode on a broom here. It was so interesting [to see how her sons imitated it]. We [Mother F and her husband] were watching them.

(Mother F)

As well as Mother F, Mother I believed that such imitations after watching films or TV programmes are good for their nourishing imagination and creativeness. She was so impressed when her daughter was mixing her toys:

The other day, when we went to Lego Land, she found *Harry Potter's* Lego. We bought it for her. But then I found her bear from the Sylvanian family was sleeping on the bed of Harry. I asked her why. She said, 'the bear was injured and had to sleep'. Then I remember that there was such a scene in *Harry Potter*...Lego is good because both [her six year-old daughter and four year-old son] children can play together.

(Mother I)

From the daughter's play, *Harry Potter's* setting has been transformed into a location of her doll house. These children, especially girls, expand their imagination without boundaries. Licensed products even from Lego have been seen in their consumption. Mother D also describes their children's reactions after viewing *The Lord of Rings* with family at cinema:

They also played the card game of *The Lord of Rings*. Three of my sons have played such things. They also imitate the scenes from the film: there is a scene when a Goblin who had the ring first became invisible was really freaky. It was like a frog. I thought that they were very well made C.G [computer graphic] and the second had more various elements than the first one.

(Mother D)

Seiter has argued (1993), that there are too many licensed products linked with such major films which weaken children's imagination or creativeness. These parents, however, do not see their children's activities in this way. They are still impressed by their imagination which adults may not think of, such as mixing Lego and a doll house. Or in other words, even though major companies including Lego use more licensed characters, basic models such as bricks, board games, or doll houses can give the same trainings to children. These parents respect more these actual outcomes rather than merely avoid any logos or TV characters which middle-class parents in Seiter's study



(1993) were trying to. In other words, they consume global mass produced products actively with a positive perspective. In addition, even though the starting point in consuming those licensed products is various, they can recognise the characters with their peers.

## ***2. Global media consumption: ‘pilgrimage’ for parents, and ordinary for children.***

As discussed in the above section, those parents do not regard consuming global media products as negative acts. Additionally, as seen in Chapter IV, taking their children to branches of Disneyland is a result of finding places where Japanese middle-class family can be relaxed in secure places. Lull, for example, argues that the media industry which constantly merchandise (including McDonalds) their products can be explained by Antonio Gramsci’s theory of hegemony, ‘Hegemony is the power or dominance that one social group holds over others’ (2000: 48). He also adds, ‘Hegemony works on a grand scale, but in a subtle way...Gramsci’s theory of hegemony, therefore, connects ideological representation to culture through everyday social interaction (Ibid). In this way, this can be also analysed in choosing various Disneylands from a view of ‘media power’- the particular concentration of symbolic power that the media represent- as Nick Couldry terms it (2000: 3). The Japanese families are enchanted by this media power, or in other words, hegemony of commercialised and globalised characters of Disney. The study of Granada Studios Tour by Couldry uses the word ‘pilgrimage’ for these visitors through which visitors experience the sets which they have seen in their familiar drama *Coronation Street*. In relation to the media power over ordinary people, he concluded:

What is affirmed by going there is not necessarily values associated with *Coronation Street* the programme, or even with the act of watching it. What is affirmed, more fundamentally, are the values condensed in the symbolic hierarchy of the media frame itself: its symbolic division of the social world into two.

(2000: 87)

Such an act of pilgrimage was also found in the consumption pattern amongst the Japanese families in London. Disneylands were very popular. Family G, for example, often went to amusement parks. They owned some annual passes for Legoland U.K., and Thorpe Park (an amusement park which is run by Madam Tussauds Group).



Mother G became very busy with obtaining a qualification as an aroma therapist. On weekends, after coming back from the Saturday school, her husband took his two children (aged eleven and six) to these amusement parks near London. These local amusement parks usually entertain their children on weekends, and on holiday *as* special occasions; needless to say, they have been to Disneyland Paris and Tokyo many times. Family G clearly values Disneyland higher than those of local amusement parks which are not recognised by ordinary people in Japan. When they visited Disneyland Paris for the second time, they ordered a tile service on which they put their children's names and received an official certification of Disney later. The certification showed that the tile had been put on Disneyland Paris' pavement (like Hollywood):

Mother G: This time, we wanted to see if our tile is there which we put as a memorial last time. We received the certificate which shows where our tile is. Before, when Mrs F's family went to Disneyland, I asked her to find it, telling her the area. But she told me that she could not find it. We took this certificate with us and tried to find our tile. We could not find it at first [in the zone where they remarked in the certificate]. Then we found it in the next zone. We put the children's names on it [looking for the pictures). I have not kept these photos tidy. I used to keep them tidy. But this year, I have been so busy with myself. Ah, this one.

I: Ah. U.K.- Japan. [*On the tile, with their children's name, they also put U.K.-Japan*].  
Did you take video too?

Mother G: Yes we did. Ah, in front of this, there was our tile (showing their photo in which G's children were smiling in front of their tile in Disneyland)  
(Mother G)

For parents, such memorial things on places, especially by emphasising 'U.K.- Japan', are significant acts. The act of buying a memorial tile also suggests that they want to come back, and now they are officially part of Disneyland in Paris, which their Japanese friends in the overseas community can recognize. Within a 'universal' place, they want to leave a witness as a result of their pilgrimage. Not content with such an 'official record', also they took pictures and home video as a private record.

Family G also spent their Christmas holiday in Florida where there are many theme parks (the Sea World, Disney World, and Space World by NASA). Disneyland is in a sense, very complicated- if it is very crowded, visitors have to spend a lot of time just queuing. In order to minimize queuing time, there are some systems such as 'fast



tickets'. In my study, these families had already known these systems from Tokyo and used their 'expertness' in Disneyland. Family G became an expert in maximising their possibilities to experience as much as they could within limited time:

Overall, we spent our holiday in the States for 11 nights. The first three days, we stayed at the edge of the town where we could go to the Sea World for two days. Disneyworld consists of four theme parks. One is the Magic Kingdom which is quite similar to Disneyland...These parks are located in an area wider than the circle line in Tokyo. Beside Disneyworld, other theme parks such as Sea World or Universal Studio are located. All are located in Orland. We stayed a hotel which is the closest to Disney. There is a ticket which allows us to go to any theme parks in Disney World for five days, which is not still enough days to go to all of them...Needless to say, my children love Magic Kingdom and Sea world. The ticket for the Sea World became free the next day if we put our photos on the ticket. So we went there the next day to see dolphin's shows again. One day was for shopping, and we moved [a hotel close] to Disneyworld. They enjoyed these things most.

(Mother G)

From the beginning, they planned this schedule very neatly, thinking of the best combination of these passes.

In contrast to these parents' expectation for memories of each location of Disneyland, her six year-old son eventually enjoyed attractions especially at Magic Kingdom where there are many similar attractions to other Disneylands. In another example, Mother B, who has been caught by this media power since she was a student, loves Disneyland. She described her holiday as, 'When we arrive at the station, we can see Disneyland [in Paris]. After check-in, we went to Disneyland for three days. The passes were also included. It was as if I had a dream for three days!' (Mother B). Although Mother B was very excited to go to Disneyland in Paris, she complained about her husband's skills in filming their children at Disneyland, 'He took the video when we were in It's a Small World. He took all processes for a long time. But he just filmed the faces of our children without any other dolls from Disneyland. We could hear only the music' (Mother B). As in Disneyland, she expected her husband to film the children with some characters from the stories. Her husband, however, kept filming his children's faces by focusing. He does not particularly like Disneyland. For him, Disney characters are not valued in contrast to his wife who loves Disney and used to work part time in Disneyland Tokyo when she was a university student. As Couldry pointed out above, the media power



worked on Mother B, but not on her husband.

On the other hand, ironically, consuming global media products such as the universality of Disneylands gives both elements of familiarity and confusions to children, which were shown above. Wasko argues that Disney is a global culture which is ‘universal’, and not wedded to American values and ideology, ‘while proponents of the free-flow paradigm most often argue that such products have little effect on cultural identities, dependency theories have generally argued that the impact is significant in various ways’ (2001b: 4, 8). Probably, it may not be significant for these children to experience ‘Disneylands’ wherever they have been to, but for these parents who had spent considerable money and time to travel to various locations of Disneylands, each location seems to be important. When I asked the children who have been to Disneylands, they often seemed to be confused at the places:

*I: The other day, I went to Disneyland in Paris.*

Six year-old girl: I have been there too. Did you see Ariel? My sister [aged three] wants to see Ariel’s song. There are many attractions in Disney Sea where there was Ariel’s show. But I prefer attractions. I am scared of the show a little bit because there was a scary fat woman.

(six year old K’s daughter)

In the conversation between six year-old K’s daughter and I, we were sharing ‘Disneyland’, but I meant Disneyland Paris, but K’s daughter meant Tokyo Disneyland. Disney Sea is a new Disney’s theme park next to Disneyland in Tokyo. Interviewing the same aged girl, our conversation fell into the same situation:

Six year-old daughter: When I was five years old, we went to Tokyo Disneyland.

Mother L: No! We have not.

Six year-old daughter: It is not in Tokyo, it was in Paris.

(Family L)

Family L had been to Disneylands in Tokyo, Paris, and Florida. The daughter was not conscious which Disneyland she had been to when she was five. Her mother seemed to be disappointed at her daughter’s memories of each Disneyland because she did not remember the places exactly. Packaged-childhood confuses children’s sense of ‘time and space’. Mother L and her husband, for example, were very upset when her



daughter's autograph book was missing at her school event, in which there were autographs of Mickey and Minnie at Disney World in Florida:

In this autograph book, there were autographs from Mickey and Minnie when we went to Florida last summer. So I complained to the school that the book was missing. We are still looking for it but we don't have any idea who has it or where it is...My daughter gave it up so easily. But as parents, we were devastated. My husband was abroad on business. When he returned to home, I told him about this. Then he was furious, saying, 'this country is not good at organizing such things!'

(Mother L)

The different views in consuming global media products between parents and a child can be seen from this statement. The parents wanted to keep memorials of their 'family' pilgrimage to Disneylands across the world on the one hand, their daughter has experienced Disneylands as familiar places just like going to McDonalds on the other. These autographs are not simply from Tokyo Disneyland or Paris. Universality in Disneyland can be fit amongst children, but not for those of parents who expect values of spending holidays in various Disneylands *as* their pilgrimage. The truth is, against the parents' expectations, Disneylands which these Japanese parents of middle-class regard as 'safe', 'valuable' and remarkable places to be visited have ceaselessly provided children with familiar patterns of formats without giving children a sense of 'space' whether they are in Tokyo, Paris, or the U.S. and have become common places for children. 'Media power' works differently on parents and children; parents expect something 'special' as their further (sub) cultural capital, and children are enchanted by their familiar characters in Disney stories which will be discussed more in Chapter VII on Identity.

### ***3. Family viewing global events in London: negotiating their time and place***

If it is true that Disney's stories are universal as Wasko pointed out (2001b), how about other global media outputs? While conducted this research, the World Cup in Japan and South Korea took place, and annual matches of Wimbledon tennis which most of these mothers watched and some had been to Wimbledon to see some matches as they did every year. Such global sports events have been actively viewed in these households on British broadcasting. A sports journalist David Bennie describes this World Cup which had been aired on British terrestrial channels BBC and ITV:



...this World Cup will be a communal experience for a British audience because it is being broadcast on two terrestrial channels, [with] ads [advertisements] opposed to pay-per-view cable or subscription satellite. However, with early-morning and lunch-time kick-offs, the audiences in the UK will be significantly smaller than those for France '98.

(2002: 15-16)

Although Bennie estimated the disadvantage of airing time, children and husbands participated in watching the World Cup not only at homes, but also in their schools and offices. The mothers stated:

I have watched England, Japan, and Brazil. We have taped all games and watched them. My husband likes them too. His company consists of 30% of Japanese and 70% of local staffs so that the Japanese staffs thought these locals might have taken holidays on the day of England's games. Then they set up TV in the office and allowed them to watch the games of England and Japan in the office. Under this condition, my husband also left home earlier than usual in order to arrive at his office at half seven.

(Mother H)

We have been watching the World Cup all the time. It was during the morning so that local schools told us that we could be late when England played. The last game of England and Brazil, they told us that we could come during half time. But they watched it at school and gathered in front of the small TV set. When I took him to the school, there were nobody in the playground and all were waiting for the game in front of the TV.

(Mother G)

Compared to Japan where people support various countries, in London, England's games were viewed and cheered by people including these students and office-workers, without working and studying. Such cultural aspect impressed these mothers as 'generous culture'. Mother A's mother who visited their house in London saw this, '...my mother pointed out that this country is so enthusiastic at entertainments such as the World Cup or Jubilee, when she found out that our children's school allowed them to come later. In a positive sense, they are flexible' (Mother A).

Mother D expressed her complex feeling at being an ethnic minority in England:

It was really hard for me because they could go to school at seven when England played at half seven in the morning. They went to school at seven, complaining why they were not able to go to school earlier to see matches when Japan played. It was



really hard for us; eventually Japan had lost before England did, so that I felt better. Well only I might feel in this way and English people might not feel the same way though; I was thinking if England would lose first and Japan would keep winning...But I was asked by local people why Japanese people are so generous to others. There was a father whose son is in the other class who had been to Japan to watch the World Cup and bought kits from Japan which were written 'World Cup Japan 2002' for his children. I asked him how his experiences in Japan were. He told me that people were friendly and kind, and also wondered why the Japanese supported other countries.

(Mother D)

England became a place where family D decided to settle down. It is because father D changed his position from a sojourner to local staff contract. She wished not to create anti-Japanese feelings in England to keep her peaceful life in London if Japan would keep winning. At the same time, she showed her honest feeling that she wanted to support Japan more than England in public. Such events can remind these minorities of their positions in their host countries.

As hosts of the World Cup 2002, the political and historical relationship between Japan and Korea was referred to amongst some mothers. Bennie depicts the subtle differences between the two countries, '...the Japanese exhibited polite pride in their role of hosts, whereas the South Koreans displayed real passion about the whole event...Korea had endured Japanese occupation and the horrors of the Korean War' (2002: 71, 75). Similar to Bennie, many mothers were impressed or felt something different from the way of supporting Korea by the Korean community in London. Mother G expressed ethnic differences:

*I: I saw the news on BBC which showed many Koreans who live in London gathering naturally in Trafalgar Sq., playing drums.*

Mother G: Ah! If we were in their position, I guess Japanese would not gather in such kinds of place... I feel that we have ethnic differences.

(Mother G)

Supporting Japan is obvious amongst these families. But the Japanese overseas community did not show such feeling in public in host countries as the Korean community did. This could be related to what Ben-Ari points out concerning preschool's education in Japan that teachers/caretakers govern children's emotions and



train them to teach how to control their emotions (1997: 140). It is not clear if it is a result of hiding their emotions, in truth; many people in Japan supported other countries such as England, Brazil, Turkey, Germany and Italy. Despite Japanese sojourners in London supporting Japan at home, they did not show their attitude when they supported Japan in public in London. Mother D who often went to the Korean community for shopping (food) had the same view and described the conflict within the ethnic minority groups:

I heard that Koreans in Japan were so glad that Japan lost. My friend told me that the reaction of Koreans was extraordinary: Japanese are not brave enough to show off their enjoyment to Koreans even if we would have won. Koreans are too much, and from this, we could be shown their vindictiveness for the War even now. [How to get such information is because] I subscribe to *Yomiuri Shinbun* and read it. Also I heard from my friends. There is a Korean community in south Wimbledon. At that time, I heard that it could be dangerous to go there. When I pick my sons at their school, I usually go to the Korean community to buy clean vegetables because there is only one Chinese supermarket around here. But at that time I was too scared to go there. I myself personally, I cannot accept that red color [of the Korean football uniform].

(Mother D)

*Yomiuri Shinbun* is a right-wing paper. Most of these families subscribe to Yomiuri Paper which is the cheapest one amongst three major newspapers (Asahi, and Nikkei). Even though they share similar food culture, the history from the Korean War (of Japanese occupation) which is usually hidden by the Japanese government or forgotten by young generations, is suddenly picked up and used as a negative image.

Nevertheless, surprisingly the World Cup was the most watched programme among families within these households during the research. In their everyday lives, all families except one admitted that there were no such programmes which they could watch with the family. When I asked them what they often watch as family viewing, they said, 'that's a good question, we could answer in Japan, but in fact, we don't watch TV together in London'. A recent study of media consumption in the U.K. by Livingstone, for example, has shown that many households provide TV sets in children's rooms (2002). In this research, however, none of children own a TV set in their rooms. Most of the households own two TV sets in their living room- one is for PAL system (used in Europe) and the other one is for NTSC one (used in USA and



Japan) (see the picture below). Their TV sets are located in a traditional space.



**Picture 6: Most of the Japanese households had two TV-sets in living room. One (NTSC system) is from Japan, and the other (PAL) is from the house owner in London**

A classical study by James Lull defines television in a living room as a communication tool for family conversation (1986: 20). In these families' everyday lives in London, in contrast to Lull's definition, they do not watch television with the family together very often or do not assume viewing television to be a family activity. This can be caused by the programming of JSTV which tend to separate clearly between children and adults hours due to its single position<sup>3</sup>. In addition, Sky which offers hundreds of channels also separates each channel's features. Videos are generally separated according to a genre of programmes. In their everyday lives, except for global events, they seldom watch television with the family. As a whole, this can be argued from two points; 1) as a market, they separate children's and adults' programmes, and 2) there may be some programmes which they can watch with family on local broadcasting, however, due to the mothers' lack of knowledge of local media, they tend to rely on JSTV's programming which separate programmes for children from adults.

Another exceptional 'family viewing' was the Iraq War in 2003. It was very unpredictable for the mothers that the news on the war upset their children, especially amongst younger ones. Robert Turnock who has studied the death of Diana and its audiences describes the day when the breaking news about the death of Princess Diana



was aired, ‘...at times of crisis people automatically turn on their television sets and this was certainly the case when the news about Diana broke. They do this because they cannot believe what they have heard from friends or family, and in some cases even from the radio’ (2000: 14). The difference from Diana’s death is ‘liveness’. Liveness can be experienced through their watching the World Cup in the same manner. In this study, all children had experienced news about Iraq. Although the war was in Iraq, they had fears of being attacked as they had seen the battlefields in Iraq on TV. In fact, everyday, on JSTV and local broadcasting, they had aired the war all the time ignoring young audiences. The real scenes of tanks and bombed cities might have more powerful images for these children than fighting scenes in cartoons or fictional programmes. In addition, they might also feel the tense atmosphere when news programmes ceaselessly provided ‘breaking news’ from Iraq by correspondents who were heavily dressed in helmets and gas-masks and tried to show its ‘liveness’. Needless to say, some children were scared of ‘spooky’ scenes in children’s TV cartoons or films, attractions in Disneyland, or even dinosaurs in the Natural History Museum in Kensington. In terms of being scared, the children in my study seemed to have higher degrees of fears about the Iraq War and repeated images of Twin Towers in New York than fictional scenes or objects.

The live programmes and real scenes, however, seem to have had a different impact on these children’s experiencing the media in their everyday lives. Probably, it also comes from the background of these parents. These news items are not their choices. They broke their boundaries of choices for children at homes. Despite the Japanese and British stances on the Iraq war, which were politically quite similar, these mothers had a dilemma between British politics and their post-war educational background as Japanese who have been taught that we should not participate in wars for any reasons. Such a post-war national identity is reflected in their childrearing in their everyday lives. Naturally, these mothers have taught their children that war is bad and violent. The comments below are from the mothers who were wondering what they could say to their children;

I also explained to her [eight year-old] about this war. Then she kept asking me if a war would start or not. She was in tears. Then I thought the story was too much for



her. I told her not to be worried because most people do not want this war, and were protesting against war, 'don't worry'. But after all, we had to have this war. I have been teaching her that wars are not good.

(Mother J)

When the terrorism happened [in New York], she [the daughter of five year old at that time] turned the TV off as soon as she saw the air planes crash into the buildings. She asked me what it was. I explained to her that the air planes had crushed the buildings. We could see the same scene which showed the buildings collapsing again and again. Then she asked me if there were injured people. I answered her that many people died and many people were injured. Then she said, 'it is not a good programme then and I should not watch such a scary scene any more' and turned it off. Moreover, later we could see many soldiers with guns on TV, she [six years old] asked me, 'is it a war? Wars are bad, aren't they?'. Then, she turned it off by herself.

(Mother B)

On the news channels, they were broadcasting the news about the war for 24 hours, but I don't want to show them to my children [aged twelve, eleven and seven]...He [seven year-old son] does not want to listen to it [on radio in car]. He is better at listening [to news in English] than I am so that he can understand what they are talking about or feel some kind of tense atmosphere... they [my children] seem to think that airplanes come here to attack us. I think they don't feel comfortable with Britain's participating in the war with America even if they are kids.

(Mother D)

These children cannot stay watching these real scenes from battlefields, and have self-censorship which must have been nourished by their parents' views on violence. Interestingly, it was not mothers, it *was* children who turned the TV off. It can be argued that these mothers may try to show them such realities and want to see their reactions. In fact, the mother did explain to their children in both cases about New York and Iraq. As Japanese mothers, they feel responsibility to teach these children that wars are not good. Mother H, for example, showed a documentary on World War II on JSTV to her nine year-old daughter and six year-old son on the anniversary of the end of the Pacific War. Her comments displayed the struggle in values in making the decision of whether she should show such programmes or not to her children;

It was the memorial day of being bombed by atomic bombs in Japan. I saw a programme on this on JSTV, which was about an exhibition of the victims. At that time, there were no photographs at all. But they drew pictures with colours. These works were really realistic; burnt people were coloured in red. I taped this programme. But I wondered if I could show such programme to my children. These drawings were in colour, not black and white. Then after all, after a few days, I showed it to my



children. But for my son, who can feel familiar with September 11<sup>th</sup>, could not understand what has happened in his country in war time. He seemed not to get it at all. But my daughter watched it, saying, 'poor people!'

(Mother H)

These mothers became gatekeepers to interpret global events within their political beliefs and thoughts to their children. Here, it became clear that these children know what is fiction and non-fiction. When it comes to reality such as terrorism or wars, they feel a tense atmosphere and fears. It is probably because these mothers' attitudes appear to be surprisingly permissive regarding their children's viewing cartoons which contain 'fighting' scenes, whereas they are not sure how to explain such acts when they occur in reality. Although in the study on viewing wars by Kline (1999), the Canadian mothers displayed their negative views on boy's TV programmes, amongst my informants, they were more seriously concerned about real scenes which appear on TV. Kline concludes in his study in Canada, however;

The mothers were clear that their children do respond to the violent media content but do so in a rather complex way. Yet they were less concerned about direct imitation of behaviours observed in animated programming than of a gradual change of attitudes and behaviours that followed from the incorporation of aggressive attitudes into their social play.

(Kline 1999: 14)

Those mothers in this study did not show such a media 'effect' from fighting scenes in children's TV programmes (which Canadians believe that these scenes can make their children act violently). There are two reasons for this: 1) Their environment in London as sojourners is surrounded by 'decent and obedient' Japanese children from middle-class who do not show violent or vulgar behaviour, 2) the mothers are familiar with the contents of cartoons which they had in their childhood. At least, in relation to the non-fictional scenes such as terrorism or war, these mothers' political views influence their children's attitudes towards this particular kind of violence. The mothers rather consider how they interpret facts to their children through their own interpretations which are based on their beliefs. In addition, parents expect that fighting except violent elements can be a process of strengthening their children's mental stature to achieve success in real social games in their future (Mother D, E, G, & F) such as



competitive entrance exams and getting a job at major companies which the parents have already experienced. This will be discussed in Chapter VII. Their anxiety about 'media effects' (what the mothers defined) is mostly concerned with preventing their children from anti-social by being addicted to the media, especially TV (including computer) games. This will be discussed more in Chapter VI and IX.

#### ***4. The roles of the Japanese diasporic media in London***

These sojourners are very keen on such global news, especially, as a result of their roles in companies, due to their husbands having to travel abroad on business. In addition, some people felt very close to the victims of the Twin Tower in New York where there were many Japanese workers. From their political stances, they want to know and watch news, especially on JSTV. Interestingly, they tend to watch news by NHK (JSTV) as trustful sources due to their lack of understanding English and their political stance. Mr. Kitagawa, the head of JSTV, stated their main role as a diasporic broadcaster before the Iraq war:

We are subscribed to in 58 countries in Europe and Middle East so that the roles are various in each country. In the Middle East where the war is about to start, JSTV became a lifeline for the Japanese who live there and need information desperately. There are some cases in other countries where they tend to broadcast only news whose views are from their government. If they do so, their news cannot be correct in terms of objectivity. The news from NHK, however, is aired in Japanese, easily understood and objective. The people who live in such countries where their news are not objective can judge from JSTV if they should evacuate or not.

(Mr. Kitagawa)

In London where political stances are quite similar to Japan, these sojourners may not feel JSTV to be such a lifeline, but clearly one for Japanese sojourners who live in countries where political stances are different. In this sense, the roles of JSTV are differently perceived by subscribers.

In reality, NHK also provides information for Japanese abroad including, for example, safety information for tourists. Surprisingly, these mothers do not watch local broadcasting at all, even news. They can often receive some local news via Japanese mothers of mixed marriage, or free ethnic community journals in London in which they



summarise the main news in the U.K. (*Journey*, and *Eikoku Digest*) with a programme guide of local broadcasting in Japanese. They also have classified sections in which there are: buying and selling cars, second hand computers, baby chairs, maternity dresses, etc, providing lessons (normally by non-Japanese) such as flower arrangement, Italian cooking, or English lessons, and adverts for baby sitters (only for Japanese female students), hostesses in Japanese bars, Sushi chefs, or administrators in Japanese estate agencies. The mothers in this study often read these journals and said that they read all from the beginning to the end. It is very clear that they want to know what is going on in London where they live rather than knowing about murders, for instance, in small cities in Japan. The crucial point is that JSTV which provides their service to 58 countries cannot give each country's news. All Japanese newspapers which all my informants subscribe to are the same. They merely transfer the news from Japan- Tokyo directly.

Mother C, for example, wondered once if she should stop her subscription to Asahi newspaper or not:

These days, I am thinking that we should subscribe to it [JSTV] again because my son and daughter don't speak proper Japanese. But it is hard to restart something which we have cancelled once and have to pay. So I am wondering...[because her children speak English all the time] Especially my daughter's vocabulary in Japanese is so poor. She thinks that she is talking in Japanese, but in fact, she just conjoins English words in Japanese word order. She can understand programmes in Japanese. We subscribe to Sky though. They watch Kids Channels in the evening all the time. They watch *Pokemon* or *Digital Monster*, which are from Japan- *Shinchan* and *Hamutaro*, which have just started from this month...my next door neighbour [non-Japanese] has the same aged children who come to watch TV at our home. They are nine years old and seven. Four children always watch TV together because they don't subscribe to Sky. They play together everyday. They don't go to the same school though... if I change Sky into JSTV, they may be angry with me. I would like to show the children's programmes [by NHK educational channel] on JSTV to my youngest son. [Since many Japanese friends have already returned to Japan] the opportunities to talk to Japanese people have become less than it used to be. Therefore, it is useless even if I knew trivial homicides in Japan for topics. And the big events can be covered by local TV here too. Therefore, I am thinking of cancelling of the newspaper too. It costs £40 per a month with which we can subscribe to JSTV instead.

(Mother C)



After sojourning in London more than five years, she thought JSTV might be good for her children's keeping up with Japanese. But considering her children's friendship with local peers, she hesitated to change. After several months later, her decision was;

Well, we still subscribe to the newspaper. We cannot live without it...I start with the first page. If I have enough time to read, I read everything even such as lifestyle columns.

(Mother C)

The newspaper has given her a sense of 'dailiness' (Scannell 1996) instead of watching TV programmes. Needless to say, news on JSTV which is transmitted from Tokyo gives them familiar outputs. As another example, some mothers who had watched both local and JSTV commented by comparing their journalism. Mother G who speaks fluent English stated about how they reported 9.11:

The thing that I am interested in is that the way of broadcasting and shooting the event is quite different between NHK and BBC; Japanese media always report the fate of the Japanese victims, but BBC did not report about anything about British people's fate or safety at all. So I was watching both, zapping between BBC and NHK [on the September 11<sup>th</sup>].

(Mother G)

In fact, G who speaks fluent English did not watch BBC so often, but only when global events happened, she zapped between local broadcasting and JSTV in turn. A friend of Mother E at E's house told me that her digital box was broken and she had to watch local broadcasting instead of JSTV. She found the differences in broadcasting between BBC and NHK and also was able to see her position in a host country:

...they (BBC and NHK) are different. I thought Japanese broadcasters' reporting is so narrow. They just report around Asia. They always talk about North Korea all the time. From here, in my view, we are all Asians. We are the same (but Japanese media presents them as a different tribe). European news treats Europeans as the same; they report from the European continent and the U.S. except from Asia.

(A friend of Mother E)

Clearly they are interested in news in their everyday lives. They, however, tend to consume Japanese media - JSTV or newspapers. Looking at other ethnic minorities in London, there are some ethnic FM radio stations (c.f. Sunrise Radio) (in Tsagarousianou 2001: 20), which are for particular minorities in host countries. From this view, these



Japanese diasporic media, except ethnic Japanese community journals, do not play roles in providing local news or information for Japanese both people of mixed marriage and sojourners. Needless to say, these sojourners will leave the host countries in several years. As seen in Chapter III, these mothers and children are extremely active in taking lessons and socialising with local and Japanese peers. The amount of time spent on watching JSTV is only a few hours per a week at most. Most of them watch programmes on videos. Taking this aspect into consideration as well as their aspect of buying security by upgraded lifestyles, these sojourners may not really need the JSTV service. The prices of these diasporic Japanese media are set too high for non-sojourners. Even though Mr. Kitagawa also mentioned foreign audiences who want to learn Japanese via JSTV, their service was clearly targeted at those sojourners: its subscription fee, without any subtitles, and their sponsorships which air commercials such as moving companies, or airlines for business class passengers. In fact, amongst Japanese parents of mixed marriage really want to subscribe to JSTV in order to teach Japanese to their children (Kondo 2001). Mr. Kitagawa also considered those potential subscribers who cannot afford their services:

I think their degree of concentration must be more than sojourners. Sojourners may not watch JSTV some days in a week or come back too late to watch TV...If we provide our service for half price and get twice the number of customers, our profit is going to be the same. In the current situation, we don't have the prospect of doubling our customers. If we can gain more and more customers, we may be able to reduce the fee. But in the current situation, it is very difficult.

(Mr. Kitagawa)

Their dilemma is seen above. Considering their management with few subscribers and enormous costs for satellite broadcasting of their current situation in 2003, prices cannot be reduced. Mr. Kitagawa also expressed their ideal form as a 'diasporic' broadcaster:

*I: Do you have any ideas to produce any programmes for sojourners by yourself?*

Mr. Kitagawa: We would like to do so. But it costs very much. Moreover, if we want to produce a programme everyday, it would cost far too much. It is easy to air only sceneries [such as Thames River, for example] though [instead of providing news with actual visions, by showing sceneries as background views are cheaper to broadcast]. But if we want to broadcast news, news must be live. We need to concentrate on producing. If we make a kind of documentary, we can take time with a small number of staff. However, if we want to produce live programmes, we need many staff and have to spend much more. Well,



we have also such requests from our customers who want to get closer information. However, here is Europe. We cannot air information only from London, but also we have to gather information from the whole of Europe and the Middle East. It must be different depending on countries such as Italy or France.

*I: How about NHK correspondents? (Branches)*

Mr. Kitagawa: They don't have such room to produce programmes. NHK's overseas branches are for producing news for NHK in Japan, and the news programmes by NHK which were aired in Japan are aired on JSTV.

(Mr. Kitagawa)

The Japanese overseas community has one of the smallest populations amongst the ethnic minorities in London. Although I could not interview newspaper companies, they must have a similar dilemma. At the same time, in our contemporary media environment, they also assume that the new media can fill this gap. There are some homepages by sojourners. The main topics amongst these homepages are mostly about cultures and the educational systems of host countries, and their travel diaries while they sojourn. In this sense, as professional media institutions, these free community journals play a great role in the overseas community.

On the other hand, if these diasporic media cannot meet the needs of non-sojourners, the latter can shift to alternative channels- by using illegal businesses such as video delivery services, or the recent emergence of the Internet TV services, which are now technically possible. From the view of protecting regulated media businesses such as broadcasting rights or copy rights for actors or productions, these existing official media companies may have to give more options for potential customers or expand their business partners as investors, not only Japanese major companies, but also to foreign or other companies. At the same time, it is necessary to re-think media regulations both in host and home countries, if we consider that such illegal providers can break the regulations beyond the boundaries in each country so easily.

## **Conclusion**

Within a contemporary media-rich environment in a cosmopolitan city, these households consume various forms of media including new media. Compared to the study by Ogawa (1994), the boundaries and availability such as online-shopping have



widened these sojourners' possibilities of consumption. These families use global and diasporic media as entertainment, nourishing (sub) cultural capital in order to be able to share particular sub-cultures in their future in Japan, socialising their children (educational purposes), and as sources of information. Obviously, even in a cosmopolitan city, the availability of certain products and degrees of understanding English mean different timing for consuming global products. VCR or DVD played dual roles as 'timeshifting' (Gauntlett & Hill 1999) and 'placeshifting' for those families who often watched programmes from Japan. Moreover, their viewing habits with the family in London are unique. Although Ogawa has argued, 'their diasporic media consumption is merely their maintaining national identity and interests in what is happening in Japan' (1994), it became clear that they are interested in local news and other cultures, especially considering their future 'cultural capital' using their opportunities of living abroad, and to reduce their anxieties in a host country. These mothers consume mainly Japanese media because of its familiar outputs and language. Those busy mothers did not have time to consume local media and did not know about local affairs: the London's Congestion Charge, or the suspended Central Line for long time in 2002-2003, for example. As a result of this, they are isolated from local politics or events and feel 'insecure'.

These sojourners' stance which engages with Japan politically and economically is different from London's South Asians and Greek Cypriots (Tsagarousianou 2001). Similar to those South Asians and Greek Cypriot, however, these Japanese sojourners also want to know what is happening where they live. Roza Tsagarousianou has described ethnic community media as '...instrumental in the transformation of an "empty place" of settlement into a "lived space" that makes sense to them and allows them to structure their everyday practices' (2001: 27). She concludes this aspect as a strategy whereby audience feel 'intimacy' with certain ethnic media (Ibid.). In order to reduce sojourners' sense of insecurity and 'floating' in host countries, the contents of the diasporic media need to be rethought. It is clear that they demand 'local' news where they physically exist. In the overseas community which is dominated by affluent sojourners, however, also there are people of mixed marriage or families like Family D who decided to settle down in London. High priced subscription fee of the Japanese



diasporic media which are mainly set up for affluent sojourners who can 'pay extra' can exclude people who cannot afford them. Those excluded Japanese (non sojourners) may create their new 'lived spaces' (Tsagarousianou 2001) through their own ethnic media by using new technology (e.g. illegal video rental, Internet TV, or websites).

This chapter has focused on Japanese sojourners' media consumption. As a summary of this chapter, applying the concept of ontological security by Giddens (1991), their biased media consumption pattern can be analysed and explained from two points. Firstly, consuming Japanese media by paying extra resulted from their pursuit of a sense of security and trust. They believed that catching up the latest cartoons (or their episodes) could prevent their children from being bullied in future and keeping their Japanese language. Watching NHK's news on JSTV is because they trust the reports for Japanese audiences and familiarity with their formats. Reading Japanese women's magazines gave them hints for their further consumption and appealed to their values. Secondly, the mothers' exchanging videos derived from their face-to-face communication which was also derived from their sense of trust in the overseas community. They also showed their confidence towards familiar outputs from Japan. They can recognise celebrities on Japanese programmes and also used to watch them when they were in Japan. Such acts which are based on their sense of security can lead them to ambiguous anxieties because of their lack of local (non-Japanese) knowledge and engagement with local people and cultures. This will be discussed more in Chapter VIII and IX.

---

<sup>1</sup> In Japan, there are no 'secondary schools'. Under 15 years olds are in compulsory education, and after compulsory education at elementary and junior high schools, students can choose if they want to go to 'high schools to aim at entrancing in university education', 'going to technical schools, which are designed for people who need special occupational skills such as hair dressers, builders, media production skills, designers, etc'. or 'start working'.

<sup>2</sup> One drama consists of ten or eleven episodes over three-months-period.

<sup>3</sup> According to Mr. Kitagawa, '...here, we are only one channel. It is very difficult. We programme popular programmes during prime time. And programmes which are good quality but not are watched by many people tend to be placed in midnight or early mornings. Then audiences can tape them by VCR. This is the best way. It is endless if we try to answer customers' demands which are various. Therefore, we air popular



---

programmes in Japan and place some programmes for toddlers or children in the morning or afternoon when children tend to watch' (Mr. Kitagawa).



## Chapter VI: Choosing the Media for Children

The previous chapter showed the particular pattern of media consumption by those Japanese sojourners who have children aged five to eight. Ogawa (1994), who has studied Japanese wives' media consumption, has suggested that the issue of their consumption patterns should be researched from two cultural vectors between cosmopolitan and ethnic cultures by examining what is the fundamental 'power' which reproduces routines in different space and time (Ogawa 1994: 55). Ogawa's suggestion has led this study to examine what kind of media products these sojourners consume, and how and why they use them in a host country. In this chapter this will be discussed to support how and why Japanese mothers choose particular media products for their children. Within their choices, mothers' values and educational policies are reflected in their media consumption.

Firstly, their consumption patterns in the process of selecting their toys will be discussed. Each household had many toys. Some houses which had spare rooms provide 'toy room' for children and became effectively big toy boxes. Upgraded lifestyle can allow many toys, books, videos, and games. In addition, against mothers' educational policies, fathers and grandparents often provided children with toys. Although mothers do not need to consider budgets so much, they have to negotiate with husbands or grandparents.

Secondly, the discussion on new media and TV games amongst those mothers and children in relation to their future will be shown. Amongst the children aged five to eight, Gameboy was very popular and the toy which they most wanted to have. One third of the households in this study already had it. In this age group, mothers did not seem to be worried about the contents of the games, but were concerned about its influences on their children's socialising process which can be started by addiction and make them fall into the condition of *hikikomori* (staying home). As a popular culture, on the one hand, TV games or screened games may be regarded as inevitable tools amongst children for playing together or sharing the same culture. They can, however, isolate their children from socialising or damage their health if they play for too long time. The



mothers' dilemma in making a decision will be seen and discussed.

Thirdly, why particular forms of media with popular characters were appreciated by the mothers will be given. In previous chapter, global TV characters were consumed actively. Although TV games were not welcomed, socialising children via popular TV characters was valued by the mothers. How and why mothers provide popular TV characters will be discussed by comparing the case of TV/PC games.

Fourthly, consumption patterns in relation to gender will be discussed, especially with regard to mothers' ideology. Their Japanese models of childrearing which is based on *ie* (house) can be seen through their process of selecting and providing media and toys to their children. The mothers' attitudes towards daughters and sons were different. Such traditional ideology can have a great impact on developing children's identities. In addition, today's children's market also still remains traditional - princess for girls, and warriors for boys, but simultaneously approaching consumers with a very subtle marketing strategy (i.e. Seiter 2002, Ito 2004). *BeyBlade*, for example, was the most popular toy and TV programme amongst the Japanese boys in the overseas community. *Beyblade* was also one of the most popular boy's cartoons in Japan which was based on an original story from a boy's comic and aired between January 2001 to December 2002 (total 52 episodes) on TV Tokyo. The story is about boys fight with their original spinning toys. The mothers did not hesitate to provide these toys for their sons at all because all have this toy and cannot play with Japanese peers if they do not have it. The overseas community as an institution or organization also influences their consumption patterns.

Finally, mothers' use of media for 'educational purposes' will be shown. As discussed in Chapter III, their concern about their children's future in Japan is inevitable. Global major companies such as Disney or BBC have been expanding their educational businesses to children. In Japan, learning English from toddlers has become very popular and been commercialised. Amongst the mothers in the overseas community, such aggressive commercialised English in Japan is controversial. Their values on language acquisitions and usages of the media products will be shown and discussed.



### *1. Toys: who are buying toys for children?*

The study by Seiter claims that middle-class mothers regard mass produced toys, which are TV based, commercial, and plastic as not self-improving or educational (1993:8). Mothers in this study have been surprisingly permissive or rather encouraging of their children's consuming Japanese cartoons, comics and Disney products. They are rather positive towards their experiencing such sub-culture as a healthy process, which both mothers and fathers had in their childhood. Although TV characters have changed, the formats and story developments have not altered so much (e.g. rangers, or magical girls). Familiar outputs (Scannell 1996: 10) can heavily influence choice of their children's media products. In the overseas community, mothers appeared to be generous or even encourage children to experience or consume Japanese cartoons which are based on the repeated patterns since their own childhood, and the contents of these Japanese programmes sometimes contain Japanese rituals such as the Festival for girls [March 3<sup>rd</sup>], *Tanabata* [July 7<sup>th</sup>], New Year's Day [January 1<sup>st</sup>], etc, which are very familiar. Using these contents of Japanese rituals or customs through the cartoons, some mothers regarded these cartoons as educational materials for their children who had not been brought up in Japan, in addition to correspondence courses which directly relates to the National Curriculum in Japan.

First of all, who is buying their toys? In general, mothers tend to say, 'I try not to increase their toys any more. It is not me, it is my husband, or grandparents'. Living in a larger and more spacious house, they became very generous with big toys. They often purchased big toys from Toy 'R' Us. Seiter describes a visit to Toy 'R' Us with children as:

At any moment in the store, one can witness multiple scenes of parents battling for control of their children's consumer desires. Teaching children the limits of a household budget is one of the most difficult tasks for parents, since children are confronted with so much mass marketing of toys and food and with their peers' ownership of them.

(1993: 211)

Many mothers in this study said that they would try no to go to Toy 'R' Us with their



children when they had to buy presents for their friends on birthdays. They were able to predict this would happen. Those families, however, had enough house expenditure. They did not count such toys as threatening their budget. Mother H explained their toy consumption:

I know what girls like to have. I tend to buy girlie stuff too much. We have a birthday party every year. We invite around 40 children. On the birthday, my children can get 40 presents at once. Apart from this, I will buy something for my children on special occasions only such as on the Children's Day [May 5<sup>th</sup> in the Japanese calendar] or Christmas. We are trying not to buy as much as we can. I make my son bear old [not the latest] *BeyBlade*. We need to make efforts not to buy toys. Otherwise, I cannot help stop buying them because I like shopping too, but 40 presents are too many.

(Mother H)



**Picture 7: A part of birthday presents from J's elder daughter's non-Japanese classmates of a private girl's school**

Mother H enjoyed buying girl's stationery and toys which were based on her childhood. She also tried not to provide toys as much as she could as her educational policy. Mother B, for example, stated their financial matter:

...they [children in prestigious kindergartens] don't have to share one toy with two people. If they are two, there are two toys. If a household cannot afford only one, they have to share though. I cannot be so strict to my children if we can afford when they ask us to buy more. Like now, they can see snacks and I cannot tell them, 'tomorrow' because we have other snacks for tomorrow and don't have to save them. This may



come from our spare finance. If we are in poverty, we must tell children to save one pack of snack for tomorrow. It must be nasty to tell children to do so if we are poor. But fortunately, we have everything in this environment.

(Mother B)

The matter for them is clearly different from what Seiter pointed out above. The conflict is emphasised rather not to spoil their children who can receive many presents on their birthdays and Christmas. Families who live on the north side of the Thames River (i.e. Finchley, West Acton areas) often use Brent Cross as an adequate place for shopping where they can drive and park. Toy 'R' Us is also located in the same area. Seiter also describes Toy 'R' Us as a place where children can kill time, coming 'just to look' as a form of entertainment in itself (1993: 210). Mother B, for example, expressed how they got new toys even when it is neither Christmas nor birthdays:

This is a toy [a train set of Brio] which we bought before Santa came. My husband hates shopping. He was waiting for my shopping at Toy 'R' Us with the children. After baby sitting in Toy 'R' Us, he bought this train set, saying to me that he felt sorry for children who have been shown so many toys while their mother was shopping at other shops, and they did not get any of them. He said, 'we are waiting for you, missing you at Toy 'R' Us. We cannot stay here without buying anything and just waiting for you.' Then I understood him...Brio is very expensive in Japan. We had not got one because we have only girls. But my children have many boy friends who had this [Brio train set]. Then I used to tell them, 'you can play with it at X house' as an excuse not to provide them this set. But my husband got this for them while I was shopping. The wooden toys are sold from only Kawai Gakki and Brio in Japan, which are extremely expensive [in Japan 6800 yen which is about £35, in the UK, 25 pounds]. But here it was almost half price...now she [three year-old] has been interested in cars since we came here. She is playing with cars alone, saying, 'booooh'. My husband seems to be glad to see the younger daughter playing with boy's toys. My children had been waiting for boys who finished playing with Brio at Toy 'R' Us. And they started playing with it. Then he bought it.

(Mother B)

From her statement, exactly what Seiter described above happened. While the mother was shopping, the father took their children to Toys R Us to kill time. At first they were just looking and touching toys as entertainment. Eventually, they bought a Brio train set. In London, there is no budget negotiation. Interestingly she used to negotiate their house budget to buy expensive wooden toys in Japan. Here, their upgraded lifestyle has widened their toy consumption. They thought the price was quite reasonable for them.



In addition, B's husband became like a boy. It is rather a negotiation between husband and wife rather than mother and children in the scene of Seiter's study. Mother F also negotiated with her husband who is generous to his two sons:

I don't want to buy toys anyway. I have tried not to buy toys more than he [her six year-old elder son] needed when we were in Japan as much as I could. However, my husband buys them, saying to them, 'let's buy some cars.' He himself likes these toys...Yesterday, when we were in a supermarket, I was looking around by myself. Then I overheard my children's voices, 'please buy this'. He [the elder son] has just got a notebook though. But his younger brother did not get any. The younger one asked his father to buy Lego. So he told him he would buy it on his birthday. Then the younger son could understand his father. My husband did not buy [it yesterday] because I would get angry with them. They are easily fed up with toys.

(Mother F)

In order to please their children, fathers tend to buy toys for them. This, however, makes mothers think about their childrearing: to teach them how they should treat their toys. Many families had also received many toys from their grandparents who are in Japan. Obviously, they were missing their grandchildren and gave such presents as an expression of 'affection'. Mother D seemed to rather deplore their media consumption which was out of her control because of her mother in Japan:

There is another TV set [NTSC] upstairs which is not connected with TeleWest [a cable TV]. We use it for games. My children [eleven, ten and seven year olds] own Nintendo 64 and Playstation 2. Their grandmother bought it for them in Japan. When we went home [in Japan on holiday], my mother had already bought it [Playstation 2] for them.

(Mother D)



**Picture 8: Playstation 2 from D's mother in Japan is in D's sons' toy room**



In this way, TV/PC games are not welcomed by those mothers in London. This became clear when I interviewed them about their children's using computers at home. This will be discussed in the next section.

All households who had daughters less than six year-olds had huge toy kitchen sets. They purchased them in London. Those mothers were also concerned about 'space' considering their future downgraded lifestyle in Japan in terms of 'space'. They often leave such big toys in moving and donate them to other Japanese friends. Mother H ordered her children to choose their toys for two boxes. Mother E also reported that they left Lego's Duplo or Thomas' rail sets. Mother G was planning to clear toys and clothes for children from their storage:

I am thinking about making a clearance of the storage in the garden where I put children's clothes or toys for small children after February. I thought my children might play with these toys again. But because I put them in the storage, they have never seen them.

(Mother G)

Some mothers wanted to have garage sales. In this way, they were trying to reduce their toys. It, however, seems to increase the more they reduce them. As seen above, toys were given from their friends on birthdays, and provided by their families in Japan ceaselessly which sometimes went beyond those mothers' control.

## ***2. New Media and TV games***

Surprisingly the children's spending time on the computer was very small. It is because all mothers in this study did not allow their children to use their computer without permission. Although they felt that such computing media literacy must be good for their future, they tended to see it in a negative way in which such computer skills can easily link with their interests in screen-related games. Such parents' anxieties in their children's use of computer are also often shown in related studies in the U.K and North America (c.f. Greenfield 1984ab, 1990, Gunter 1998, Buckingham & Scanlon 2003).

Most of the children were learning how to use computers at schools. Those children



showed their positive attitudes to computers, which was similar to the survey in Tokyo (Hakuhodo 2002a). The mothers appreciated their children's skills such as cutting pictures and pasting them as they like. For those mothers who did not have computers in their childhood, they were often impressed at their children's using digital devices:

We bought Nintendo [*GameBoy*] here [in London]. The youngest [seven year-old] also plays them with his big brothers [nine and eleven year-olds] because he is really competitive. I am surprised at my children's ability to operate these machines. They can start without reading instructions. They can remember how they can operate instinctively. For example, a mobile phone, I don't have any idea how I can operate it without reading an instruction. But they know how many times they have to press the arrows.

(Mother D)

Those children aged five to eight do not tend to use email functions, but often have several CD-ROMs. Under supervision of their parents, they occasionally play with CD-ROMs. While I was interviewing Mother C, her youngest son who was still three year old asked his mother to play the *Lion King* CD-ROM [English version] on her laptop:

*I: Wow, you know exactly what you are doing. Even though you are so small.*

Mother C: Yes he does. We did not have such things in our childhood. Look, it started.

Three year-old son: This key?

Mother C: I don't know which one [key I should press]

Three year-old son: This one, Mama, do it (touching the screen).

Mother C: This one, it starts...If I turn it off, the finger prints must be everywhere on my screen.

Three year-old son: Mama, this is not a game?

Mother C: I don't know what we are doing. You must ask your brother. It says press keyboard. But we don't know which key.

Three year-old son: This one [the youngest son touched the screen].

Mother C: Don't touch there [her laptop screen].

(Family C)

Since they were born, digital devices have existed. For children, new media are just like TV, videos, and CD players. Mothers believe that they can learn such operations naturally, and consequently they provide more classical devices such as books or sports intentionally. Those children in the overseas community spend far more time devoted to reading or participating in sports than using computers. The parents do not consider



such skills so high in terms of their cultural capital, or perhaps, are sure that sooner or later they can learn by themselves through screen-related media entertainment such as Playstation 2 or any computer games when they return to Japan. Or even at schools, they provide IT lessons. At homes they seem not to encourage children to use computers. They usually provide an old desktop computer without the Internet connection, and have another computer which they do not allow their children to use with the Internet connection (Family A, B, C, D, E, F, G, H, I and L). From such attitude compared to their provision of sports, music or craft lessons, books as educational purposes or even *BeyBlade* toys as a healthy socialising tool, they do not expect cultural capital from knowing computers, especially games.

TV/video/PC games were very controversial amongst those middle-class Japanese sojourners. There is a main issue in relation to addiction to the media. In Japan, staying at home (*hikikomori*) whereby a child plays TV games in order to express his/her rejection of going to school has become a social problem amongst school children who are bullied by their classmates. This image of TV games also worries mothers about deciding whether to provide them or not.<sup>1</sup> Media rich environments can lessen children's socialising opportunities. According to the BBC's website and its related documentary programme on this issue, Dr. Saito points out the relationship between mothers and their sons (most *hikikomori* sufferers are male, often the eldest son), 'In Japan, mothers and sons often have a symbiotic, co-dependent relationship. Mothers will care for their sons until they become 30 or 40 years old' (Rees 2002). On this programme, there were some scenes in which a boy was playing Playstation alone at home without talking to his parents who brought every meal to his room and rejected going to school (Ibid.). Clearly this boy uses TV games as a tool of rejecting communicating with outside. TV games have become more centred in the issue of communication avoidance (c.f. Gunter 1998) replacing previous concern about the TV (c.f. Lull 1990). The parents' fear of TV games, in the case of the Japanese overseas community, is also rooted in the image of children who cannot integrate in 'Japanese society'. This image forms the core debate amongst mothers who wonder if they should provide TV games to their children.



The problem is if a child use of such media (TV, Gameboy, comics, or TV games) as a tool for escaping from socialising so as to be alone. As explained in Chapter III, creating a strong identity of 'Group life' from kindergarten onwards (Ben-Ari 1997: 102) in Japanese society has produced the issue of individuals not being able to integrate into groups. If society is based on individualism, such issues *as* social problems may not occur. All mothers do not want their children to play games if they can. They believe Gameboy is bad for their eyes with a small screen and can isolate a child from socialising with other children if one becomes addicted to it.

They were not concerned with TV/PC games' contents which are often argued to be 'violent' by Western middle-class mothers (c.f. Kline 1999, Gunter 1998). Barrie Gunter, who has studied video games in the U.S., argues in relation to violence in video game's contents that the volume of action in a game must be stressed more than violence per se (1998: 20). Popular TV/PC game hardware such as Playstation II, GameCube, and Gameboy's software are designed according to users' ages. For example, *Pokemon* or football games, were still the most popular amongst my informants and were not seen as a 'violent' game by parents. Not like children in the studies by Livingstone (2002) in the U.K. and McCreery (2000) in Tokyo, amongst those families in this study, only four households owned Gameboy. Here, there is a clear factor amongst parents in London who refused to provide such 'screen' linked games to their children. Interestingly, the households who had Gameboy provided it to each child. In addition, those household had children who were aged above six. Each child wanted to have her/his own Gameboy. Usually, those households tended to have elder children who are above Year 4, which is similar to the findings from Livingstone's study (2002).

As the Japanese produce Gameboy, which is as a globally popular and available in the U.K, those parents who do not provide Gameboy/TV games appear to have complex feelings. A family whose daughters played Gameboy decided to have Playstation 2 instead of buying another Gameboy for their youngest son, considering its features: Playstation 2 can be played with more than single person, and on wide TV-screen:

My daughters [eleven and seven year-olds] want to play TV games so much. I did not let them play with TV games because they are bad for their eyes. But I thought it



would be too strict if my daughters do not have any of them, and I bought only Gameboys for them. Then, I found Gameboy is really bad for their eyes. It is a small and dark screen...As for my son, in his [Japanese] kindergarten, most of the children do not play any of them. So he does not have it. He wants it because his sisters own them. But he seems to prefer play fighting or things such as *BeyBlades* [to playing Gameboy].

(Mother E)

This comment shows her feeling in struggling with making decisions of whether they should provide TV/PC games or not, and also her regarding such toys as communication tools with friends. Mother C also imagined and stated concerning her boy's friendship in Japan:

In general, they [my nine year-old son, his Japanese and non-Japanese friends] play *BeyBlade*, then they start playing football outside. But they need a particular popular toy first. But with local children who are not so influenced by the trend, they tend to play only football. This makes my son bored. He prefers Japanese children...I heard that they cannot make friends if they do not play TV games...I feel that we need Playstation or GameCube when we go back to Japan because we provided our children with only Gameboys. Otherwise, they cannot make friends in Japan. I wish I do not have to buy such games as much as I can though... Anyway, I told him that the friends who play only TV game are not a real friend. But after all, parents also gave up and became generous to let them play games though. In my family of three children, however, if my elder son occupies the TV set, the younger ones cannot watch TV.

(Mother C)

Not only Mother E and C, but also Mother H looked back at her childhood and seemed to be in a dilemma:

I, myself, used to live with my grandparents and our family, and my grandparents used to occupy only one TV in our family, with Sumo Restring or *Mito-Komon* [very popular historical costume TV drama series]. I could not catch up on the topics about popular TV programmes with my classmates. These experiences sometimes make me think that it may be pity to prohibit TV games to my children.

(Kondo 2001: 62)

Where they can draw lines are dependent on each mother's belief and to which group they belong. Family E connected with the Japanese school very strongly so that they had to consider their friendships at school, especially, considering her youngest son's future in Japan. Her son might miss important sub-cultural consumption in the process



of socialising amongst his Japanese friends:

Mother E: My son will be Year 1 this year. In his kindergarten, nobody plays TV games yet. But all start playing it when they become Year 1, don't they?

Seven year-old daughter: All have got one [in her Year 1 class of the Japanese school].

Mother E: Therefore, I asked a mother who has a boy from my daughter's class if they have Playstation or not, I found that all have it.

(Family E)

One day when I visited E's house in London, her son was with three Japanese male friends (aged five and six) and were struggling how to play Playstation 2. While I was observing them, their language became very violent, using phrases, 'kill it!', 'attack it', or 'ah! You are dead'. (The picture below is when they were playing PS2.)



**Picture 9: Working out a game on Playstation 2 with peers for the first time!**

The mother, however, did not care about the contents themselves. She cared about the game's functions if it can be played with plural players (she also bought two sets of game-consoles). Mother E and other mothers of the children seemed to be concerned more about this aspect of 'socialising'. The children who were playing the game had to wait until their turn came. In this sense, in relation to this way of playing games with other children, TV games do not show any significant differences from classical board games- no cheating, and taking turn if they play with plural members.



Family E defined 'socialising' as experiencing the same culture in the right timing when ordinary six-year old Japanese children experience and socialise in the same manner. On the other hand, Mother H and F whose sons were in a local school had another belief. Although Mother E and C had similar values on playing games which were tools for socialising children, Mother H doubted other aspects of 'socialising children by Gameboy/TV games'. She provided her six year old son Japanese toys with TV characters positively as well as other mothers, but did not provide Gameboy or TV games. She assumed that such games with which a child plays by her/himself prevents real human communications in everyday lives:

When I told a friend of mine a story about my children and I, she replied, 'I envy you. You have a conversation between mother and children. If we forget to take Gameboy, we do not know how to spend time on trains because we do not have any conversations.' She said that her son is pleased if he has Gameboy, and cannot imagine life without Gameboy. Many mothers say the same things.

(Mother H)

Gunter also argues in his study on video games and addiction that it can cause children to have difficulties in maintaining social relationships, but it also has potential cognitive benefits to children (1998: 67-68). In terms of 'socialising' children, these popular games can be a tool of communicating with each other. As well as Mother E and C, Mother H was also struggling between her belief and also the influences on her children's socialising process:

When my son [six year-old] went to a friend's house, the elder brother of the friend led them to play Playstation... he has [played Playstation]. Or he sometimes plays it at G's house, enjoying it so much. But my daughter [nine year-old] who came with me to pick my son up at this friend's house, she was wondering around in their living room. I asked her to join them upstairs. But she said, 'No thank you. I don't like TV games.' It is my fault, I guess. I have never told my children that TV games are bad. Probably through my attitude, my children could sense my feeling. Especially, my daughter who was born first is typically sensitive to parents. But when I heard her reason that she does not like it, I thought it was not an adequate attitude. She has never played so that she should not have judged before she tried. Well, I tried to persuade her to try it once in order to know if she really hates it or like it. But it is my fault. As a result of my attitude, she got to dislike it without having experienced it even once. I regret my attitude.

(Mother H)



After returning to Japan, she also reported on the phenomenon of such games amongst her son who was Year 1 in Tokyo and the only one boy who did not have Gameboy or any other TV games in his class:

New software for TV games seems to be very popular. The other day, when he had an event of Tanabata [a Japanese mythical event on July 7<sup>th</sup>], he was asked by his teacher to write down his two wishes. My son told me that all his friends wrote that they would like to have a particular new software of TV games, whereas he wrote 'wish all my family is fine, and wish to be good at study', which relieved me.

(A letter from Mother H)

As seen in her letter, even six and seven year-old (Year 1 in Japan) have already started playing with such games. Mother H was observing her son who was the only one boy who did not own a Gameboy in his class, and if he would want to have it or not. Interestingly, she had never said to him that she would not buy it for him. The son knew that his mother would not welcome his playing Gameboy and did not dare to ask her to buy it. Family D already owned Playstation2 and Gameboys. In order to reduce children's playing Playstation 2, Mother D stated:

When it rains or there is nothing to do at home, they can play games for at least one hour. But I tell them not to play so continuously as much as they can. I think boys should play outside physically; otherwise, they will go wrong. If it is raining all day and they stay at home all day, only their brain becomes active. I think that making them run is enough which is different from girls. I guess that young people becoming mad suddenly is caused by lack of exercise these days.

(Mother D)

Those mothers try to keep their children's mind active and healthy. When they discussed TV games, they used a common word 'brain'. Most mothers in this study were readers of Japanese newspapers. Mother H and Mother D who subscribed to *Yomiuri Shinbun* used the word 'brain'. This is probably because *Yomuiuri Shinbun*, for example, in its column in 2002 when these interviews were conducted, had a series on 'Do you read books?'. In this column, a professor in medicine from the University of Tokyo suggested that children who play TV games between two to seven hours a day tend to have damage brain, which can cause short tempered attitudes (Yomiuri 2002). Mother H who was concerned with the debate bought this professor's book and tried to understand the 'effect' of playing TV games for long hours everyday on children's developing



brains.

Conversely, a website by a game fan criticises the top-page article by Yomiuri newspaper which has the largest readership in the world (more than 10 million copies in the world in 1999) that it is not clear what kind of games (role-play, simulation play, action-play, shooting play, etc.) they play and also how children spend their days apart from playing games (2002: Kyusui). The media in Japan have promoted such multi-media businesses on the one hand, and then they also frighten the masses. This can lead to giving parents unclear anxieties for new media rather than specific contents. They tend to be worried about the consequences of playing TV games for hours alone from the view of health and sociability.



**Picture 10: The households who have three sons own three Gameboys.**

Different from TV games which needs a TV set, Gameboy is consumed not only at homes, but also in public. The children who owned Gameboy in this study often took it with them when they were on holiday. For parents as seen in Chapter IV, they expected their children to experience other cultures through holidays. Contrary to their expectations, for children aged between five and eight, sight-seeing and shopping in European cities are not attractive:

We have stayed three nights in Milan, and three nights in Venice without using a



rented car. In Milan, we saw the painting by Michelangelo and later went to a museum. We also looked around the centre. They [a ten year-old daughter and six year-old son] had been too busy to play Gameboy in London, but they could play it in Milan.

(Mother G)

Family D travelled around Germany by car, Mother D described her seven year old son on the journey:

My youngest son has been playing it [Gameboy] all the time in the car. He was so quiet. I told him not to play it so long because he would be tired and could damage his eyes. The elder sons did not play it at all though. My children tend to get car sick between eight and ten years old when their three semicircular canals have developed. It is the case of my elder sons. But my youngest son has not developed it yet so that he has nothing to be afraid of.

(Mother D)

During holidays, playing Gameboy as much as they want is also a reward from their busy days in London. Parents also became rather permissive to their playing Gameboy during vacation time. In addition, Gameboy as well as TV programmes can be their 'babysitters' to make them quiet for a while. Those families, however, had their own home rules in playing TV games/Gameboy in their everyday lives in London. Mother G, for example, set up a rule for her son in order to avoid his further addiction:

He has got addicted to play it [Gameboy] so that I made a rule: he can play when he did sports such as swimming or football. So he plays it twice a week. Even if I tell him that he can play only half hour, he plays for an hour. He goes to learn football at a Japanese kindergarten on Sundays.

(Mother G)

Even though there are many friends who own Gameboy or Playstation, the mothers think that the environment in London is still better regarding fewer advertisements of toys and fewer people have TV games or Gameboys compared to Japan, which is mostly their image of school children there. Mother F, for example, who has two sons who were interested in such games including Gameboy purposely misunderstood her seven year-old son who wanted to have 'Gameboy's' *Pokemon* game:

I like games which we can play together. He also wanted me to buy a Gameboy because he has played at his friend's house. So he asked to Santa Clause to give him a *Pokemon's* game. I think he meant 'Gameboy's' *Pokemon* game. However he got a



*Pokemon's* board game. I said to him, 'wow, you are lucky'. Then he said, 'not this one'.

(Mother F)

Those Japanese boys can experience such games at friends' houses even if they do not have them. Mother F appreciated this environment in London where there were alternative ways of playing amongst friends. In order to socialise their children, those mothers believe that it is necessary to experience such games somehow, but they avoid providing them as much as they can while they sojourn. As Mother E also pointed out, children can play even if they do not have the same models. However, the Internet helps in providing information to those children. They seemed to know how to get to know the latest toys on the websites:

She [Six year-old] does not email though. She puts in CD ROM discs by herself, such as Kitty's beginner series. We brought this from Japan. The other day, she asked me to open the website of *Rika Chan* [similar to Barbie dolls], showing the address. She wanted to connect to this site...They [a Japanese toy maker] put their address on the box of the dolls, with small letters, www. The other time, she also wanted to see the home page of McDonald's UK site, telling me something dot U.K. In this way, she can know the latest toys through their sites.

(Mother I)

A British friend who often plays with F's sons wanted to get *BeyBlades* which F's sons owned and asked Mother F how to get them in the U.K.:

He [son's local friend who was elder than her son- Year 5] went to Toys 'R' Us [to find out the toy] but he told us that they were sold out. Then he asked me its website in which he could buy it through the Internet. He asked me the last one such as co. jp. He visited the website but could not understand Japanese.

(Mother F)

Children in the contemporary environment know that the Internet is a tool for searching and gathering information about toys around the world. Apparently, those mothers also used the Internet for checking prices, due to the lack of information in the U.K., by going to the websites to see what was popular in Japan. Mother G checked the prices on the websites:

But now, it [*BeyBlade*] has become a boom among children in London, I heard...I checked the price through the Internet the other day. It is between 380yen (about £2) to 790 yen (about £4) [in Japan]. However, in London, it costs £5.99, and the dome



costs £8.99 [at Toy 'R' Us].

(Mother G)

The Internet can help those mothers and children to provide market information. They do often check such prices and the latest products from Japan and the U.K.. In sum, the mothers did not appreciate their children's using computers, but often used them to help their children find out the latest toys in Japan through websites. Although they were often impressed by how much their children were able to operate computers and new technologies such as TV games or mobile phones, they did not regard such skills as educational expectations in their children's checking websites, compared to reading comics which will be seen later in this chapter. In all their minds were anxieties about further TV game addiction and anti-social behaviour in their future.

### 3. *'Sociable' popular culture*

Nevertheless, while those mothers and children use the Internet as a source of information, they cannot avoid problems in the availability of products in the U.K. market. Information can go around the world, but products themselves cannot be supplied as fast as information can. The mothers are able to understand this situation, but children are sometimes confused as seen in the previous chapter. Videos are the most consumed medium amongst those aged five to eight children in this study. VCR is very convenient for those children who are busy with lessons and homework on weekdays to manage their time. Between the programmes, they also watched commercials from Japan. Seiter has a critical view on commercials' seeking to establish children's snacks and toys as belonging to public children's culture (1993: 117). Nevertheless, Mother K commented on her daughters' consumption patterns:

Needless to say, all [sweets and snacks with TV characters in Japan] are so cute. Moreover, in the tapes which my mother sends, they can watch advertisements of sweets or toys with TV characters. So my [six year-old] daughter has already got ideas what she wants in Japan. For example, she asks me to buy ice cream, 'I want it, I want it', watching them on video. But I say, 'here we cannot buy this ice cream. When we go back, we can buy some.' If we can find the same ones, I buy some for them.

(Mother K)



Surprisingly, not only Mother K, but also other mothers in this study show their positive views on this commercialisation of food industry which is rooted in the consumer behaviour of ‘cuteness’ from mothers to their daughters. According to a survey of the image of ‘made in Japan’ for young businessmen and businesswomen aged 20 to 35 in Tokyo, London, and New York by Hakuhodo Lifestyle Research Institute, animation became valued very high in Tokyo as a representative product of ‘made in Japan’, whereas in New York and London, they valued higher electronics and toys (design) (Hakuhodo 2002b). It is clearly shown that Japanese animation has become an object that Japanese are proud of and toys were valued higher in New York and London. A girl of the same age of K’s elder daughter also ordered her grandfather to buy toys from Japan before he comes to visit them in London:

My sister sends videos for her. And between cartoons, there were many commercials of these products [toys with TV characters]. Then my daughter [six year-old] said, ‘I want this’.

(Mother L)

That is, their consumption patterns in the children’s market are based on the knowledge of Japanese media and also actual consumption acts were often carried out in Japan rather than in London. Even their local peers believed that cool toys were in Japan and tried to get them through the websites. Additionally, from the comment by Mother K, those mothers believed that there were neater products with TV characters in Japan. This can apply to what Clammer pointed out (1997) that such characters can help their developing identities, and also what Yano (2002) suggested that mothers’ consumption patterns can have influence on their daughters’ in Chapter III. All mothers, who have daughters, often described that stationeries or clothes for children with TV characters as cute ‘*kawaii*’. A mother reflected on her childhood at a Sanrio shop in a suburb of Tokyo:

There was a Sanrio shop which was 20 minutes by bicycle, which was normal for us. The street was straight. I often went to the shop. I could not buy an eraser which was 30 yen (about 20 pence) at that time. I had to look around and then I decided what I wanted to buy. I used to buy such cute pencils with characters with my pocket money many times.

(Mother B)



And now they tried to provide such products to their daughters, regretting that there are not various kinds of characters in London:

I feel that I have to buy cute stationeries for them. And there are many characters from Sanrio. Children have their own favourite characters. But *Hello Kitty* is the most kind of common so we buy some from Kitty if we don't find their favourite characters. They have to put up with Kitty...We sometimes buy some at Selfridge because they have Sanrio products. But anyway, my daughters don't have any stationeries without characters which you can see in the local stationary shops. All are cute ones. When we return to Japan in winter, we must buy some.

(Mother E)

As Clammer argued in Chapter III and above, buying their favourite character is a symbol of their identity. If there are not so many kinds of characters, they cannot express their particular favourite one. Not only daughters, but also those Japanese boys tend to have such products with TV characters. An elder son of Mother C showed me his pencil case, had with *Pokemon* with many pencils of *Digital Monster*. In the other pencil case, he put a sticker of *Beyblade* which he obtained from a supplement of his Japanese magazine for Year 3:

*I: Your pencil case is cool.*

Nine year-old son: But I want to get the new *Pokemon*'s.

Mother C: You don't need new ones.

*I: Pencils are also Pokemon's. Your classmate envy you?.*

Nine year-old son: Yes.

*I: You have Digital Monster's pencils too. Did you get them from Japan?*

Mother C: His classmates must wonder what kind of country Japan is, looking at his pencils.

Nine year-old son: This one is also cool. It is a *BeyBlade*'s one (he put a sticker of *BeyBlade*).

(Family C)

Amongst younger Japanese boys, ranger types of programmes are still popular. According to the study on this ranger series by Tom Gill, he explains the patterns of producing those boys' super-heroes and monster programmes in Japan:

Every year the Toei film company produces a new version of five pals, usually, airing at 5:30 pm on Friday on TV Asahi. Some 80 per cent of its seven million viewers are in the target age range of 3 to 7 years, and the producers estimate that it is watched by 90 per cent of all 3-to7-year-old Japanese children...Why five? Five is a number of that signifiers hierarchy...It is obvious that there is always a red member who is always the leader.



(1998: 38, 40-41)

Ninety per cent of this age group in Japan watch this series. The problem for those sojourners is that the TV station changes the characters every year. When they finally obtained the products of their favourite characters, soon after, there was a new character. When I was interviewing Mother H, Mother A came to pick up her son and joined the discussion of TV characters and boys' plays:

Mother H: My son [six year-old] does not take his lunch box without *Harikenger* chopsticks...He likes blue. But he does not play rangers with his local friends at his local school playground.

Mother A: But locals know at least *Power Ranger* though.

Mother H: But they don't play, do they?

Mother A: No they don't so much because it is not so trendy any more.

Mother H: He tends to play football with local friends. But he seems to be missing something within play with local friends because he wants to tell them the latest things about TV characters which he knows. That's why he enjoys his Japanese friends more. I don't think his English is not enough to play with local friends. But he can talk about these things with Japanese friends.

(Mother H &amp; A)

Mother H's mother often sent T shirts with his favourite ranger or pillow cases from Japan. His bedroom which was shared with his sister was full of *Harikenger* [*Ninja Storm*]. In fact, from pictures which he took by my digital camera, *Harikenger's* products were the most common. Not only products themselves, but also how they use them in their everyday lives is important. Like the sons of those sojourners who stick to their favourite characters and use related products such as chopsticks, pillows or pyjamas, the children lived with TV characters.

In addition, Mother F assumed her sons' play with rangers to be a healthy childhood development:

He [seven year-old] is red, the best one. He is the main character. When he plays role playing, he needs several friends...He watches Ranger's series so much. My younger son's [four year-old] role is something if he can find the rest. He knew that he cannot become the main one if his big brother is in the play...they used to fly and jump all day. It is true!...They play at home and if I tell them to go outside because they are too noisy, they go to our garden, hiding themselves. They look so happy. He has not watched the latest one. The other day, he watched the new one in Germany [at her



Japanese friend's house] on video. Then soon four of them played Rangers, singing its song. So even now he plays Rangers.

(Mother F)

As seen above, *Power Ranger* was produced in the U.S. based on the Japanese ranger series. Since mothers' childhood, ranger type of programme has been very popular amongst boys. In other words, it is a classic children's programme in Japan and a kind of very familiar output (Scannell 1996) for those mothers. In the U.K. the market tends to follow the American trend so that they do not air *Power Ranger* any longer except through Fox Kids. Consequently, children do not often play with rangers. Japanese children, however, still play with rangers, setting each role (Red, Blue, Yellow, Pink/White (for girls), and Green). In the study of pre-school children and *Power Rangers* by Seiter (1999), many American Christian middle-class mothers have displayed their fear of 'media effects' on their children's play. Seiter, however, has argued against this scepticism amongst mothers by comparing a mother who knew more about children's TV programmes:

...a less deleterious view of media effects may emerge from situations where adult care-givers know more about the media, invest less in status distinctions, and create an environment where children feel free to talk about media without inviting adult disapproval. Their freedom from persistent anxiety about media effects allows them to be more indulgent with the children in their care.

(1999: 89)

In this sense, none of my informants showed a kind of fear or negative views towards such ranger programmes unlike owning a Gameboy. Playing as rangers usually is taken as a role-play game with friends. All of them know the contents of the programme and show them without any hesitations and rather expect their children to play role-play with their several Japanese friends together. Those mothers also know that there are some positive aspects in the process of socialising their children within ranger plays (imitating characters in the ranger series), especially amongst the Japanese friends, with whom they can share the same characters. On the contrary to playing Gameboy alone with a tiny screen, the mothers believe that playing rangers in their gardens or playgrounds is healthy for this aged group of children.



#### 4. Consumption patterns: genders within parental and institutional values

*BeyBlade*, a Japanese globalised cartoon became popular amongst the sojourners, especially, boys. The programme was not aired on JSTV, but was aired on Sky in English. Later, on a local TV station (channel five) started broadcasting it on weekend's morning. Consequently, the programme and its spinning toys have spread to U.K. children too, which were available at major stores (i.e. Toys 'R' Us, Woolworths, or Argos). All boys except one aged three who has an elder daughter in this study owned its spinning toys and its stadium. In the beginning when I started this fieldwork in April 2002, those boys owned only a few spinning toys each. After a year, each owned more than ten spinning toys, and some had even radio-controlled versions of the spinning toy. On the top of the spinning toy, each has different characters as well as *Pokemon* cards. The basic of the format, in this sense, is similar to *Pokemon*. Instead of playing or exchanging cards, they use spinning toys, which are more dynamic on the original plastic stadium. Gunter and Furham's study on *Children as Consumers* point out that peer and parental influences are known to play a far more important role in purchasing decisions than advertising (1998: 103). Despite limited advertisements and information about new products, they consume various forms of *BeyBlades* in Japan and the U.K. by recognizing its character. In addition, all mothers admire this toy as good for socialising in an old fashioned way.<sup>1</sup> Although each spinning toy costs around £6, they have spent nearly £70-100 in total. In this way, mothers are always keen on boy's popular culture in Japan, which changes so fast.



**Picture 11: BeyBlade with radio controller which was the latest in 2003 May from Japan**



Sub-cultural capital, in this sense, seems to be seen highly valued in groups of children who have just arrived in London from Japan, especially amongst boys. In addition, as seen in Chapter V, being looked down on for watching old series on JSTV does not satisfy children who have been in London for long time. Japanese mothers in the overseas community tend to care if their children cannot join in play. As Buckingham stated that children always look for 'cool and new stuff' (2002), the mothers became involved. They accelerate their sons' cooler and newer competition amongst Japanese peers. According to the study on *Yugioh*'s fan community in Tokyo by Ito (2004), children consumed enormous amounts of trading cards from convenience stores to win super rare cards, by gaining information from avid fans' sites. The differences in the case in Tokyo and London are that children have pocket money and go shopping alone in Tokyo whereas children under eleven year-old of middle class are not allowed to go outside without guardians in London.

As a consequent of this competition in the overseas community in London, a hierarchy has formed of those amongst mothers who have sons who have the latest information and toys on boy's TV programmes. The faster they know such information or own the latest media products, the higher they tend to be ranked: 1) People who have just arrived from Japan, 2) People whose children are sent to the Japanese school/kindergarten full-time where they have more frequent opportunities to have new comers from Japan, 3) People whose children go to local school and the Saturday school, 4) People of mixed marriage (Japanese and non-Japanese couples) whose children often play with Japanese children in the community, 5) local peers can experience them too. That is, such sub-cultural capital based on children's value on 'cooler and newer' has created a hierarchy in the overseas community. Such a process can influence the process of developing friendship amongst Japanese boys.

At the same time, as Mother E pointed out that boys' trends change faster than girls, characters are always changing compared to their classic Sanrio counterparts. Japanese boys' programmes also contain 'cool arms' or 'cool costumes' which tend to become directly toys and used in their play.<sup>2</sup> Cool can imply how fast one can have the latest products. A nine year-old boy, who said that he preferred Japanese cartoons, answered



the question how he knew these cartoons on Fox Kids were Japanese, 'In the cartoons, I can see a lot of new stuff' (C's nine year-old son).

On the other hand, girls' popular cartoons such as *Hamutaro*, or Sanrio characters have many licensed merchandise, but none directly related to its story. Products such as stationery, accessories, watches, games, bags, and so forth are objects that they can wear or take with them in their everyday lives. This became very clear when I asked children in my study before Christmas what they would ask for from Father Christmas. All boys had already decided exactly what they wanted while most of the girls except one had not decided what they would like to have. The girls would say, 'I want something with *Hamutaro*', but they did not know exactly which product. This is surely and partly a result of major toy companies' marketing.

As a result of this marketing strategy, the ways of play between boys and girls are clearly differentiated. The boys as seen above tend to play role plays directly from popular cartoons, or even from *Harry Potter*. Kline's study on boys aged three to six shows similar findings, 'Many also felt that their children not only wanted the toys, but imitated what they saw on TV in their subsequent play' (1999: 11). Girls, tend to chat with their friends or role play more directly from their everyday lives: hairdressers, waitresses, birthday party, gardening, or nurses and doctors. When girls have established friendships, they exchanged their stickers of *Hamutaro*, books, and diaries both with Japanese and local peers. That is, amongst girls, the speed of trends is not a matter of 'coolness'. They, however, tend to change their favourite objects to other categories as a sign of matureness (e.g. from Disney's princess to pop idols). In sum, considering girls' biological development, they seem to place value on matureness. Boys, on the contrary, change the forms of toys or characters, but they tend to play the same genres such as fighting on TV games, sports, or small models of soldiers. The differences in playing with peers can also provide a different process of constructing hybrid identities, which will be given in Chapter VII.

On the other hand, products from Disney tend to give both children a fantasy world. All girls had princess' dresses for costume birthday parties or any (local) school events. As



seen in the previous chapter, parents are very permissive towards mass culture, especially Disney products:

Mother B: We have seen many children who wore the costumes [of Disney characters]. Then soon, we took her to Disneyland again in summer. My daughter wore the costume of a Disney Princess (non-sleeves)...So it must be cold this time [in winter when we go to Disneyland Paris]. Do you want to wear it?

Six year-old daughter: I don't want to wear the Cinderella one.

Mother B: I won't buy so many of the same size. There are *Cinderella*, *Princess Aurora*, *Beauty and Beast*, *Tinker Bell* and *Mermaid*. For boys, there are *Peter Pan*, *Knight*, and *Captain Hook*. I heard from mothers from the [Japanese] kindergarten that they have got such things.

Six year-old daughter: Ah, buy more for me.

*I: So she likes a type of princess?*

Mother B: Yes, she does. There are eight girls from her class [of a Japanese kindergarten]. When we did Halloween, seven turned up in a princess style.

(Family B)

It can be said that Disney dominates children's costume markets. Children's wardrobes in this study stored at least two or three kinds of dresses per child. As seen above, her daughter wanted to have other types of princesses' dresses. Children want to collect related accessories from Disney stores. After coming back from Disneyland on holiday, Mother B told me what they have bought from the shop:

This time we bought bags of Princesses from their shop: *Ariel's* small bag and *Tinker Bell's* handbag. There are many things for Princesses. But we don't buy all at once. We say to them (three year-old and six year-old daughters), next time.

(Mother B)

In this way, children add items to 'make themselves feel as pretty as princesses' (Le Quesne 2002:2). It can be analysed that those mothers also adore such princesses' dresses which were rarely worn in their childhood in, for example, recitals of ballet or piano. Their children now have more opportunities: friends' birthday parties, Halloween, and school events such as a 'book day' when children dress as a character of a book. The mothers appeared to want to see how their children dress as pretty as princesses in Disney stories. Obviously, a powerful global player, Disney provides such costumes in Japan too. Here, it is emphasized that there are more opportunities for children to wear such costumes in public than children in Japan who may have at most a Halloween



party or merely wear them at home. This ritual in London can be seen as part of British culture. In other words, those mothers' aspiration or dreams fit in with local rituals. Consequently, they provide such costumes to their children, especially, daughters with a positive attitude. This can be seen as the process of hybridization in constructing their identities.

The children's market, as Seiter argues in her book *Sold Separately*, still promotes traditional gender roles (1993), even though *Pokemon* as an exception had been accepted by both genders (Buckingham 2002). Moreover, the speed of changing boy's popular toys and TV characters which directly come from TV programmes is faster than the ones for girls which tend to be broader forms of related products. On the other hand, girls tend to change their interests from princess' fantasy to dressing up as pop idols or models in magazines with make-ups and sexy clothes. In both cases, the media and the related products are certainly consumed actively by those children and also by their parents. Media products and development of children's identities will be discussed in the next chapter.

## ***5. Academic Achievement and the media***

### **5-1: Nourishing 'gambaru' (persistence) spirit as Japanese**

Global TV characters have expanded their businesses into the educational industry very aggressively. As Seiter has discussed in her study (1993), owners of licenses make every effort to maximise their profits. On the other hand, the educational systems both in the U.K. and Japan also seem to rely on children's spending time on learning at homes. Those mothers, of course, spend time and energy making their children study at home besides their schools (both the Saturday school and local schools). In addition to the ideal images of workers in Japan by Goodman (1990), a study on a preschool in Japan by Ben-Ari has shown a particular social virtue- '*Gambaru* -(persistence, perseverance)' towards learning in groups (1997: 56). He observed a sport event at a preschool's swimming pool and describes it as:

Divided into groups that included those members of different ages, the children began to 'swim' with those members not participating shouting '*gambare*' ('keep at it', 'stick to it')...Although I noticed no teacher giving any of the children explicit urging to do so, many of the youngsters participated in encouraging the handicapped



children as well... These activities [walk on all fours, move on their toes, sit on their bottoms and advance forward and hold hands in pairs or groups of three and run around the hall] again, were accompanied by loud cries of encouragement to individuals or to everyone 'to give it all you've got!' (*minasan gambare!*).

(Ben-Ari 1997: 61)

The mothers studied here have the same virtue as the teacher in Ben-Ari's study: encouraging their children to accomplish one thing. Mother L, for example, disagreed with the Japanese educational system which tends to pretend that there is no competition:

What I wanted to tell you was that there is a weekly letter from the Saturday school. Every week... in this letter, they said, 'this is nothing to do with winners or losers.' I did not agree with this message which was written in a definitive style. I have an opposite opinion that they should encourage each child's good points, for example, a child is good at maths, this child is good at sports, etc. I think such things are very important and necessary for children to be cheered up...they should not have concluded that there are no winners or losers because they want to emphasise equality too much. In this way, if our children grow up, they will never learn how to work so hard in their lives. They should experience how vexing it is when they loose, and they will lead themselves to work harder in order not to become a loser the next time. I think such a process is very important.

(Mother L)

Even in local schools, which tend to be very generous compared to ones in Japan, those mothers do not agree with their way of treating their children. This became very clear when they describe the sports events and school marks from local schools. Mother I, for example, described the sport event of her six year-old daughter's local school as:

Mother I: There are some events such as entry ceremony, sports competition, etc. I thought it would be better for my daughter to have such experiences in order not to be surprised when we return to Japan. In her school, there is a kind of sport's day. But last year, when I went to see it, it was just a test of their sporting ability. Individual did different things. There were places for a race course or throwing balls. Then each child took a form and filled in after completing all places one after another.

*I: Ah, so it is not like sport events at schools in Japan where people are cheering up?*

Mother I: Not at all. So [the Japanese] mothers were disappointed, 'what?' we just followed our own child and took a video. But it was just checking their sport's ability. After all we mothers sat down and chatted, eating snacks.

(Mother I)



As well as other mothers, Mother I also expected that her child would work hard to win the competition. There was, however, no competition amongst her school mates. Being Japanese, she expected her daughter's '*gambaru*' attitude on the Sports day. Mothers place value on this: making an effort and achieving something. Under the education system in the U.K. where 'individualism' is valued, those mothers feel anxiety that their children will not be able to survive the competitive Japanese educational system when the policy pretends that there is no competition.

In addition, the parents place value on providing their children with a sense of seasons' with sequential school events which are normal in Japan. Those parents, who sent their children to the Saturday school for the first time, appreciated the entrance ceremony. As discussed in the previous chapter, memorials are important for families at each stage of life. These ceremonies can be taken as a symbolic form of accomplishing something. Conversely, in the U.K., they do not have official school entrance ceremonies. Mother C expressed her feeling:

We went to an entrance ceremony and took a picture properly. We have not received it yet. It was as if we were in Japan. We dressed up formally like when we go to an entrance ceremony in Japan. We went there with the family.

(Mother C)

Family G who would miss this ceremony due to their planning a holiday in Japan said:

...if our holiday [in the U.K.] is exactly the same time in Japan, it will be nice for them to play with friends during weekdays while we are in Japan [because our holiday time is different from Japan, we cannot find friends who do not have schools]...I hope they [the British] fix the Easter holiday as well. They change it every year. He [six year-old] usually has no chance to have any ceremonies such as entrance or graduation. But I must make him absent from them because we have already planned to go on holiday in Japan during Easter.

(Mother G)

She felt really sorry for her son who had no pictures of such official events which he would have if he was in Japan.

## **5-2: Language acquisitions and synergy of educational industry and global media**



## producers

Those mothers did not have such high expectations of their children's academic achievement in local schools at the age of five to eight. They rather expected children to experience 'foreign culture'. Most of them considered sending their children to the Japanese school from Year 3 when they start studying seriously toward the National Curriculum, or from the secondary school. As a result of this, even when their children are in Year 1 (six/seven year-olds), those mothers start training them to study at home, and especially, are very keen on their children's acquisition of proper Japanese. They seemed to struggle with teaching their children who were still developing their language skills in general both in English and Japanese. Common problems are that they do not understand some words in English even if mothers translate them into Japanese because they simply do not know the Japanese words either.

Although some mothers expect their children to learn colloquial Japanese from popular culture such as cartoons and comics, what they expect from such popular media products are mostly what we have seen above. When they expect direct education in order to catch up with the National Curriculum in Japan, they provide educational drills and a popular correspondence course (*Benesse*) with videos. In addition, in order to achieve their goals of childrearing to reproduce the ideal images (Goodman 1990), those children must be able to spell and pronounce properly. Mother K, whose regulation for their children's viewing television was they had to watch local ones if there were aired in order to improve their English, gradually shifted her anxieties to her seven year-old daughter's academic achievement in Japan:

At least she has *Benesse* every month. Therefore, I make her study this everyday except Friday when she has ballet lesson. In addition to this, I make her study other drills if she finishes *Benesse*. She does not have so much homework. She does not have difficulty in reading books...When I teach her maths, she does not understand problems expressed in words. In Japan, for example, there are five hippos and two elephants, how many animals are there totally? Then she does not know what to put after the numbers such as Hiki or Hon. Moreover, how to read numbers in Chinese characters is difficult for her because they have some changes.

(Mother K)

In English, the plural form is signified using by placing 's' for most objects. In Japanese,



instead of clarifying singular or plural of nouns, it is more important to refer to objects such as ‘a pair of shoes’, ‘a school of fish’, or ‘a loaf of meat’. This is one of the hardest parts for people (including foreigners) to memorise Japanese prefixes (in Japanese, they become suffixes).



**Picture 12: 2003 Benesse’s optional course for pre-schoolers with a LeapPad (learning system) and their original materials.**

As Lareau pointed out in the Chapter III, families tend to have more advantages in informational resources from their kinship, neighbours, or friends of their parents and in providing better opportunities, materials and tutors than those who are from lower classes (1989: 172-183).<sup>3</sup> Mother F, for example obtained drills from a friend teacher which were used at a primary school in Japan and a friend who sojourned in Germany gave her advice. Using such networks, she started teaching her seven year-old son English and Japanese at home because she did not send him to the Saturday school due to his football lessons:

My friend in Germany told me, ‘It is not good for him, poor boy!’. Then I thought she might be right. So I have helped him since then- I am not reading [English reading books] to him, but ask him to read. If he makes mistakes, I pointed them out. Then he could read them gradually. He also understands the stories too...I think it is enough to learn reading and writing at home. I make him study [Japanese] work books everyday. He does it in the morning. Everyday he has to do a page...If he does not study in the morning, he will never study. When he gets up, he studies. But I found some words which he can speak but not spell properly. Some words were wrong. For example, he



pronounces ZARIGANI (crawfish), but when he spells it, it became ZANIGANI. So I found he thought ZANIGANI was right.

(Mother F)

Both families (F and K) did not send their children to the Saturday school considering their precious time on weekends when they could do sports or travel. Those mothers, however, are also keen on their children's academic achievement at both British and Japanese levels, at least the basic level. In the beginning of this study, both mothers were very optimistic about their children's catching up with the Japanese National Curriculum. Soon after their peers started the Saturday school, many Japanese drills on the dining table had been witnessed in both families. They tried to make their children have a habit of studying everyday, using such educational media products. In fact, such educational media products which are commercially driven and targeted at such 'educational mamas' in Japan have been successful for long time.



Picture 13: Drills Letters and words for six year old

Numbers up to 100

Those Japanese mothers do not use drills with Mickey or Kitty, but as a tendency of the industry, the emergence of a blurring of boundaries between entertainment and education cannot be ignored. This is similar to the changes in classical Lego (merely as plastic bricks) and the latest one with global characters such as *Harry Potter* or board games (not kinds of video games or Gameboy's games). David Buckingham and Margaret Scanlon also refer to this educational media market in the U.K.:

The market is dominated by the BBC, who at the time of writing (mid-2000) publish eight separate titles [of magazines]. According to the BBC's Annual Report, their annual turnover in this area is approximately £12 million...With the exception of Learning Land and the BBC's *Tell Me Why*, all the titles are related to children's television programmes and characters, or to popular book series...Among younger



children, this market is largely driven by licensed characters...are recognised by children around the world, and are used to brand a whole range of products.  
(2003: 77-78)

According to market research in English learning for preschoolers in Japan, the market was worth 670 billion yen [about £4.8 billion] in 2003 (Matsushima *et al.* 2003). Disney also participated in this industry in Japan as well as other merchandising products by selling their character licenses, not only as entertainment or giving dreams to children in Disneyland. English education has become very popular not only for students, but also amongst young children. A major company (Worldfamily) for educating children provides educational videos to teach children English as fun with familiar characters of Disney. In a discussion with several mothers at Mother C's house who sent their children to a Japanese kindergarten, those mothers valued Japanese acquisitions more than English for their younger children (aged three to six). Some mother who had considered subscribing to this service complained about their aggressive sales:

Mother 1: My friend [in Japan] told me that her daughter speaks English fluently so suddenly. Then I thought Japan is too much [on English education]. She sends her daughter several times a week. Her daughter is still in a kindergarten though. I thought it is amazing.

Mother 2: Disney's set is amazing too. Some people use this, spending so much money on this. They also provide class where children can communicate with each other.

*I: Are there any Disney effects?*

Mother 2: I don't know. But besides its materials, there is a card called talking card, which is guaranteed forever. When we insert this card, we can hear a phrase in English. The salesmen told me to use this card until it is worn out. If this card is damaged, they will give us a new one for nothing. He told me to start from the age of zero.

Mother 1: That one is advertised everywhere such as in children's magazines. They put on a card 'we will send you free samples'. Then once we receive it, they call us so often. When I asked them the price, it is so expensive.

Mother 2: There is a passion for English in Japan.

Mother 1: Yes there is!

(at Mother E's house)

Needless to say, living in London, none of my informants use such commercialised English materials to teach English to their children. In fact, their advertisements were often found in many children's magazines. In order to check their price, I went to the



website ([www.worldfamily.co.jp](http://www.worldfamily.co.jp)). All icons were tried to lead users to go to the page where a form needs to be completed to apply for a free sample video. This material seems to target at children aged from zero to six, when they develop their mother tongue. After all, there was no description of the actual price on this ‘official’ homepage. Finally, the price was shown on Yahoo Japan’s Auction’s page by a mother who bought their set for her child who complained that her child did not use it at all. The price is ¥360,000 (about £2,000). In the set, there are many Disney’s songs’ CDs, videos, and a toy in which they slide the card and can hear English words by natives.

Mother H also disagreed with such businesses, using people’s passion for English in Japan:

He [her father in law] has sent the same book ‘answer your children in English’ twice for two months. Anyway, I read this book. And I was so surprised what the book says; we must answer to our children in English. For example, if a child asks a mother, ‘can I play?’ in Japanese, a mother should answer, ‘it’s all right’ in English. It is said that it is the best way to teach English to children that mothers answer them back in English. And with this book, there is a CD. I was enraged at this book which suggested that the Japanese language has become funny, but they still encourage people to learn other languages. Learning English is really booming in Japan...I doubt the English education industry has become so strange.

(Mother H)

Those mothers who lived abroad became keener on teaching their children proper Japanese. Mother D also claimed:

They [returnees] don’t put other foreign words in a Japanese sentence in a nonsensical way. We can see these people who are over-influenced by foreign culture talk to us with English words in Japanese sentences at souvenir shops. These people cannot speak any language perfectly. They just believe that it is cool...The other day, a couple from my husband’s company came to have dinner at our house...this husband’s estimation of his boss was given, ‘he is very reasonable’...Then after they left, I asked my husband what he wanted to say about his boss, using the word ‘reasonable’ in English. Then my husband realised, ‘if you say so, surely the way of using the word is wrong, it should be used to describe objects whose values fit their prices.’...I was disappointed because I had heard that this person graduated from University of Tokyo and was very efficient. I don’t want these elites to use such a way of speaking to their female colleagues when they go back to Japan [they assume such acts as ‘cool’ or ‘intelligent’]. I think this is strange...He used the word without any doubt.

(Mother D)



Mixing English words can sound ‘cool’ to ordinary Japanese people. This, however, does not apply to those mothers. They feel a great responsibility in teaching proper Japanese to their children who will not be mocked as ‘handicapped’ (Pang 2000) in using Japanese. Those mothers are afraid that their children will be bullied due to their lack of Japanese words in Japan. Therefore parents of returnees are especially concerned about their children’s using correct Japanese in order to show their children have been educated properly as ‘proper’ Japanese (as society expects) while they were absent from Japan. Those parents are pleased at their children’s quick acquisition of English through their school life on one hand; they also try to fill the missing gap in acquisition of Japanese as much as they can at homes while they sojourn on the other. Those families were afraid of future risks in their children’s linguistic skills in Japan which can be a major factor in being bullied at schools (i.e. Goodman 1990, Yamada-Yamamoto & Richards 1998, Minami 2000, Pang 2000). Therefore, those mothers were more sensitive to Japanese words than an acquisition of accurate English.

### **5-3: Other ‘educational’ materials to Japanese children**

Beside serious academic achievement in the National Curriculum in Japan, mothers also provided magazines by Japanese publishers whose contents are quite similar to the BBC’s magazines for young children- ‘make-and-do’ with ‘free gifts’ (Buckingham & Scanlon 2003: 77). The mothers in this study tended to regard local magazines (mainly from BBC) as ‘cheap’ and ‘thin’, and valued more the Japanese magazines even though there are more toys’ advertisements in them. Mother H, values these magazine’s crafts (make-and-do) as well as Lego, ‘My son [six year-old] makes them all by himself. He is great. I am proud of him concerning this kind of things. The [Japanese] magazine includes football too’ (Mother H).

In fact, such supplements incorporated in the magazines are complicated to make even for adults. H’s son developed such skills to re-create his own toys from popular TV programmes or films which he has seen. For example, he showed me swords made of wrapping paper’s rolls and coloured by yellow highlight pen after watching *Star Wars*,



and *BeyBlade*'s spin toys which he made by himself with caps of water bottles. Through his play with popular characters, he developed his creativity.

Having fun and learning something are valued by mothers who have young children. Mother G, started providing her six year-old son with *Doraemon*'s comics:

Then I made him read comics instead of watching videos or playing Gameboy all the time while his sister was studying. But my son is not the same type as my daughter who is motivated to do so... My son has become able to read comics, especially *Doraemon* [his favourite TV programme's comics] While he is reading it, he is so quiet. So I asked husband to buy *Doraemon*'s comic vol. 3,4,5. [when he goes to Japan on business.]

(Mother G)

In order to encourage their children to learn to read Japanese including Chinese characters, they tend to provide comics which are easier for them to start with. Mother F and C also used comics in the same way. Mother C found that they can learn words which they seldom use at home by reading comics:

Mother C: Nagging at you? Do you want me to nag at you? He has just learned the word from Japan.

Nine year-old son: No. I learned it from a comic.

Mother C: I guess they did not understand the word when they read the comic, and when they use the word in life, they learn...They learned Japanese culture through such comics and cartoons. In our daily life, it is very difficult even when I explain to them. Through these cartoons or comics, they learn these things [rituals] too. These cartoons show everyday lives in Japan very naturally. Once in *Chibimaruko*, she was baking rice cake with a *hibachi* (Japanese brazier). Then my children learned it. I wonder if British people can understand such things when they watch Japanese cartoons. There was also a scene where people were carrying a portable shrine on their shoulders. These are very useful for my children. I don't think *Pokemon* is good though. [to learn rituals or culture in Japan]...children [like my nine year-old son] who learned Katakana letters through *Pokemon* cards are fine, but children [like my seven-year old daughter] who has not played with them, will spend all their life without knowing Katakana letters.

(Family C)

From these mothers' comments, even the Japanese popular culture can have some educational elements; if their children can learn and enjoy themselves, those mothers value them highly. It is because they do not want to force their children to learn



something just only for academic achievement. Mother C valued the contents of Japanese cartoons which contained scenes from Japanese everyday life as educational material which can teach their children 'Japanese rituals' or culture whereas she did not have the same views on 'transnational' (Ito termed 2004) Japanese cartoons such as *Yu-Gi-Oh!*, *Pokemon*, and *BeyBlade* through which children expect mainly 'cool and new' cards, monsters, and spinning toys. They, however, do not accept very unnatural materials such as Disney's expensive set or the book which recommends mothers to speak in English at home in Japan. If their child cannot catch up with the National Curriculum in Japan, the mothers reluctantly had to provide them directly with educational materials such as drills, crammer schools, and correspondence courses.

## Conclusion

Those Japanese mothers tended to choose their children's toys and media products as a medium for 'socialising' rather than for improving personal skills. This was done in consideration to their future in Japanese society. In other words, those mothers expect children to experience the media 'from a "social" to a "sociable" medium (Corner 1991: 57; cf. Scannell 1989 in Couldry 2003: 102). The particular popular cartoons can be social and make their children sociable by playing with other Japanese peers using such characters. The mothers also calculate this aspect and have given global popular culture to their children to fill the gap in their cultural consumption. If their children experience global popular culture such as Disney or *Harry Potter* in London, they can also share the same culture in Japan. Therefore, they appreciate more global popular culture rather than local popular culture which can be only recognisable in the U.K.

Ogawa (1994) has simply summarised the Japanese wives of sojourners' consumption pattern as 'national' identity. If so, it can be said that mothers use such media products as simulations for Japanese society in the process of their children's developing identities and cultural behaviour. Parents believe that their children develop the media characters in their play in the same way which they used to do so (i.e. playing rangers, imitating magic girls of TV characters with plural peers). Using familiar outputs with Japanese rituals, children are able to play with Japanese friends at once. Through their play, they learn how to act in a group. TV games, on the other hand, were assumed by



parents to produce anti-social behaviour in their children staying in front of TV-set or Gameboy alone for a long time and also worried about their future in Japan, being *hikikomori* (staying home). When mothers see these media products as educational, they tend to see its cultural contents (i.e. Japanese rituals in cartoons) or language. When they want their children to improve specific individual skills, they directly provide educational books or drills for their children in a strict way. Behind this strictness, they have strong feelings of responsibility to teach their children correct Japanese so as to prevent them from being regarded as linguistically handicapped. This is also one element of those mothers' national and cultural identities, which will be discussed in Chapter VIII.

Issues related to toys which can be divided by gender have been analysed in terms of time and space, and also on the level of 'speed' in biological development. For boys, especially, the time of experiencing and consuming the most recent products is important. Mothers and boys' values and assumptions emphasise that the newer things must come from Japan. Therefore, this naturally creates a hierarchy amongst boy's friendship- the newcomer from Japan who can speak fluent Japanese tends to be bossy. It can be also caused by the marketing by the media and toy makers in Japan. The cartoons for boys tend to show specific tools (e.g. spinning toy, or special guns) which can be sold as toys directly and change their seasons or characters quickly, whereas the ones for girls tend to produce toys with broader and indirect forms such as *Hamutaro's* badge maker (six year-old K's daughter owned), *Hamutaro's* stencil set (eight year-old H's daughter owned), *Hamutaro's* knitting machine (eight year-old J's daughter owned), *Hamutaro's* house (four year-old J's daughter and seven year-old C's daughter owned), or *Hamutaro's* travel bag (six year-old L's daughter owned). Only Disney's costumes and related accessories are direct products from their scenes. Once girls are interested more in actual people such as pop idols and how to put on make up, they tend to see such play in pink dresses and accessories as 'childish'. They now establish the stage for their play. The mothers are rather generous towards their daughters' stepping out on to the next stage, which will be discussed in the next chapter.

Mother's election of children's media products clearly reveals their dilemma against



unendingly supplied media and advertisements. Their consumer behaviour which is based on their childhood, their strong educational policy on their children, and beliefs and thoughts are all rooted in national identity (which they feel responsible to pass on to their children). In other words, their attitudes toward Japanese popular culture which they are used to consume are very positive and are executed without anxiety. They consume them confidently. This aspect is also explained from the concept of ontological security by Giddens (1991). Mothers trusted the products and contents which they themselves experienced in their childhood and displayed anxiety towards their children's using new media as risks for their children. Mothers also trusted Disney's princesses dresses which they did not have in their childhood but used to dream about wearing such dresses when looking at Disney stories. Throughout their consumption patterns their sense of security and insecurity was exhibited.

Furthermore, through mothers' careful selection of media products clearly play important roles in the development of identities; how those children develop their identities. How they negotiate their 'selves' in relation to media consumption will be discussed in Chapter VII, and how the mothers re-arrange their identities through their experiences in London will be shown in Chapter VIII.

## Notes;

---

<sup>1</sup> BBC aired a documentary programme on *Hikikomori* in Japan in the 20<sup>th</sup> October 2002. <http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/programmes/correspondent/2334893.stm> (Accessed on the 20th November 2002).

<sup>1</sup> Spinning toys are traditional ones in Japan.

<sup>2</sup> In 2002-2003 during the fieldwork, *Yu-Ghi-Oh*, *Digital Monster*, and *BeyBlades* were popular amongst the boys and also were aired in the U.K. in English. All cartoons contained direct card playing or spinning toy playing in episodes as well as ranger series & *Pokemon*'s marketing strategy for boys.

<sup>3</sup> Upper-middle class had teachers, resources, principals, counsellors, and special education teachers among their aunts, uncles, sisters-in-law, grandparents, friends, and neighbours. By contrast, working-class parents had gas station attendants, carpenters, convenience store salespersons, janitors, factory workers, and policemen among their relatives and neighbour (Lareau: 1989: 172-173).



## Chapter VII: Children's Developing Identities

A primary aim of this study is to examine what role media consumption plays in the developing identities of the children studied in this research. In the first section of this chapter, how children's identities have been examined will be discussed. From the methods which I used in the fieldwork, children were able to exhibit part of their identities: through their talks on favourite toys and cartoons, on everyday lives, and behaviours. In addition, in the process of examining global Japanese cartoons such as *Pokemon* or *Yu-Gi-Oh!*, one important issue will be discussed: how Japanese children in London experienced or perceived global Japanese cartoons. They could be the same as universal-ness in Disneyland, which do not relate to their sense of time and space. Via interviews and visual data, I examined their identities. An analysis of this data will be given in the following sections in this chapter.

In the second section, girls will be focused on by studying how the global and Japanese media for children represent gender roles and how the mothers and daughters respond and experience related products. It can be said that it is too simplistic to analyse their media consumption only from a gender aspect. There are clearly many layers in the process of constructing their identities. As discussed in Chapter I, theoretically, their identities can consist of social, cultural and personal layers (Johansson & Miegel 1992). Socially, those children will be labelled as returnees as soon as they return to Japan. During their stay in the U.K. they may be labelled as students from Japan. Such social identities sometimes impose on them certain institutional patterns of cultural consumption in schools and the overseas community. Needless to say, the mothers' idea: encouraging their daughters to nourish foreign cultures as their future cultural capital in Japan has influenced their daughters' attitudes towards their non-Japanese peers. Consequently, in order to try to belong to their new schools or spaces where non-Japanese peer dominate, some Japanese girls need to compromise themselves. In addition to these categories, the process of producing hybrid identities will be examined, especially, for those children who are caught in complex environments. In the process of adapting to a new cultural environment, girls may develop their hybrid identities unconsciously.



In the third section, boys will be focused on comparing them to the girl's cases. As seen in Chapter VI, the mothers do not mind if their sons play only with Japanese peers. In addition, the mothers actively provide particular toys for their sons in order to socialise them within the Japanese overseas community. In this environment, the boys had different experiences in developing their identities from girls. The section on genders in Chapter VI implied that the speed of changing interests in media products is fundamentally different between boys and girls. Boys' are more keen on 'new and cool' (Buckingham 2002) within the same format (from *Pokemon* via *Yu-Gi-Oh* to *BeyBlade*). The changes in the models or characters are much faster than girls' trends. On the other hand, girls tend to shift their interests in physical appearances faster than boys (from Disney's princesses in pink or frilled dresses to popular idol in purple or blue matured clothes at disco parties).

The fourth section as a summary of this chapter will highlight hybrid identities. Discussing critically the imposition of gender roles and images of returnees as expectations by parents and Japanese societies, hybrid identities will be defined by different cultural arenas (home/Japanese society and school/British society). Moreover, global Japanese cartoons' positions in the overseas community can have special meanings for Japanese children in a host country. This will be evaluated in relation to the process of the development of children's identities.

### ***1. Children's process of developing identities and their media consumption***

In the process of examining of children's identities, children were not only interviewed and observed, but also requested to do a task. Children were often busy with lessons and homework. Therefore, I asked each child who were over six to take photographs of their 'important things' as much as they wanted until the memory card became full in my digital camera (see the pictures below). Ito, for example, who has studied the children in Tokyo and *Yu-Gi-Oh* cards in 2000, reported at a conference that collecting these cards especially, ultra rare cards, and participating in adult fans' sites were common amongst the boys in Tokyo (Ito 2004). Since *Pokemon*, transnational and media-mix cartoons (termed by Ito 2004) which includes TV programmes, comics, TV games, and related



toys are very popular amongst boys. *BeyBlade* is in this genre. *BeyBlade* became more popular after *Yu-Gi-Oh!*'s boom. In the same manner, the boys in my study had collected many *BeyBlade*'s spinning toys<sup>1</sup>.



**Picture 14:** A six year old boy took all his ten *BeyBlades* separately, and tried to take all his *Pokemon* Cards collection which was beyond the camera's memory

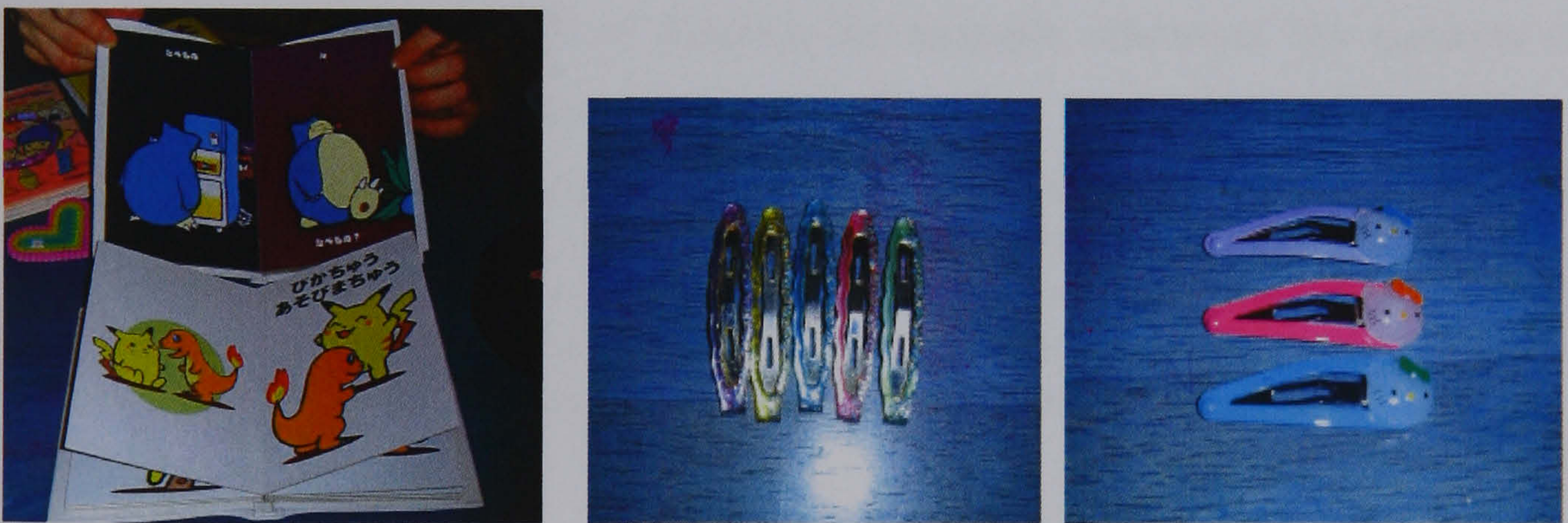
All mothers told their children to be careful when using the camera. Some took their mothers or siblings' faces, and one took her rabbit. Some children also took their awards from schools. All, needless to say, took their toys, costumes and comics. Interestingly, boys took their collections of *BeyBlades*, comics, *Pokemon* cards, software for Gameboy or Playstation figured dolls of Japanese boy's TV characters, and cars. Girls, on the other hand, took their collections of accessories, stickers, cuddly dolls, or Disney's princesses' dresses (see Pictures below).



**Pictures by children** (the above photographs are by girls, and the below ones are by boys)



A six year-old boy, for example, wanted to take all his *Pokemon* cards as his treasure one by one. A six year-old girl also had clear categories for each item- Kitty's accessories should be taken with Kitty's other products, but not with non-Kitty's products, or *Pokemon*'s books must be taken altogether, not with other English books (see Picture 14). It became very clear that they had their own categories and were aware of being particular about their toys. *BeyBlade*'s toys were often purchased by their families in Japan rather than being obtained in London. Therefore, *BeyBlades* or other toys related to popular Japanese cartoons' characters had special meanings to those children. This will be discussed later. These photographs also reflect a process of developing identities. After the World Cup, for example, the boys became interested in football and national flags. They started taking football lessons, which were also shown in the pictures. Most of those items which they took can be divided into two categories; one is global media products including Japanese ones, and the other is local ones which are sold only in a particular country (e.g. pillow cases of England team).



**Picture 15: Photos by a six year-old girl (Left: *Pokemon* books, Middle: fancy hair pins from London. Right: fancy hair pins from Japan).**

While I had been researching those of the children's media consumption and everyday lives in London over a year and half, I observed their developing their identities as well as their physical growth in this complex environment. In their mass cultural consumption, symbolic forms can play an important part in their identities (cf. Bachmair 1999). At the same time, within this, children develop and express their identities by using media products. As seen in the previous chapter, despite their busy



days with lessons, children did consume media products in their everyday lives within mothers' choices. Their possessions of favourite characters in their bedrooms changed as they developed their identities and interests.

Social identity for those children can be 'a Japanese student', or 'a child of a Japanese sojourner' in their schools or in the official documents such as registration in the Embassy of Japan in London, or in their schools. In addition to this, gender identities are very important especially when children are developing their identities. Popular forms of media products often emphasis such gender differences (Seiter 1993). Not only markets for children, but also the Japanese middle class in London tend to have a conservative view of gender roles. Both the market and the parents are clearly key players in construction of children's identities. Through their play and rituals, they practice their roles. Each gender will be examined in the following sections.

In examining children's awareness of hybrid identities, the phenomenon itself should be defined and discussed here. Homi Bhabha, for example, discusses the question of hybridity in postcolonial societies:

Hybridity is a problematic colonial representation and individuation that reverses the effects of the colonialist disavowal, so that other 'denied' knowledges enter upon the dominant discourse and estrange the basis of its authority- its rules of recognition...The paranoid threat from the hybrid is finally uncontainable because it breaks down the symmetry and duality of self/other, inside/outside.

(1994: 114, 116)

As he stipulates above, 'hybridity' is rooted strongly in 'fixed' representations. Although in Japan and U.K. such postcolonial theories do not apply, the rules of recognition and the paranoid threat from the hybrid do seem to meet, especially when sojourners return to Japan. In the case of the Japanese overseas community, mothers display their fears about their children's hybridity in relation to their future in Japan. In this study, how these mothers and symbolic representations, principally furnished by the media, which have constructed their children's duality of self/other and inside/outside will be stressed rather than analysing their identities from fixed categorizations such as 'Japanese' or 'British'.



In relation to Bhabha's definition, Cunningham and Sinclair develop their definition on the hybrid identity of the Asian diaspora in Australia and argue:

Importantly, Bhabha's concept of hybridity as articulating between dominant and marginal discourse long associated with diasporas and other forms of postcolonial cultural contact opens up a 'third space' for cultural strategies to become active forms of resistance to domination and marginalisation (Bhabha, 1994: 5-9). To simply assume this kind of role for hybrid cultural activity, however, risks a stance of postmodernist celebration for its own sake of the 'subject-in-process'.

(2001: 9)

In the case of those children in this study, a 'third space' can be in the overseas community. In order to avoid such risks in contemporary societies, especially cosmopolitan cities, Cunningham and Sinclair propose an approach to examine hybrid identities by citing Stuart Hall's definition (1994):

The new diasporas which are forming across the world... are obliged to inhabit at least two identities, to speak at least two cultural languages, to negotiate and 'translate' between them...They are the products of the cultures of hybridity. This notion of hybridity is very different from the old internationalist grand narrative, from the superficiality of old style pluralism where no boundaries are crossed, and from the trendy nomadic voyaging of the postmodern or simplistic versions of global homogenisation- one damn thing after another or the difference that does not make a difference. These 'hybrids' retain strong links to and identifications with the traditions and places of their 'origin'...They have come to terms with the fact that in the modern world...identity is always an open, complex, unfinished game- always under construction.

(Hall 1993: 362 in Cunningham and Sinclair 2001:15-6)

Such definitions are referred to as 'grounded' diaspora, rather than being essentialised it. This study, in this sense, approaches diaspora in order to clarify how these children have developed their identities while they sojourn in a host country in an inductive way. On the other hand, particular ideologies which influence constructing essentialised images cannot be ignored. In this study, ideology of 'ie' in their childrearing and images of ideal workers which influence their goals of childrearing are significant. Pnina Werbner argues in her article that essentialialising ethnicities constructs racism and ethnicity,



That the problem of collective objectification is political, and not merely theoretical, is underlined by the energy devoted by ethnic activists and academics in Britain to arguing about the moral appropriateness of group labels. Such levels seem to capture the essence of a group, and this has led to fierce debates about what ethnic minorities should call themselves, and be called.

(1997: 229)

In order to avoid such problems in approaching these mothers, how they see the images and ideologies and essentialise themselves will be examined in this study. Werbner suggests that self-essentialising is a rhetorical performance in which an imagined community is invoked. In this regard, the politics of ethnicity are a positive politics (1997: 230).

From mothers' discourses through several interviews over a year, their assumptions and recognitions of hybridity in their children, as will be shown later, became clear. If their children behaved against their ideal goals of Japanese childrearing, they tended to perceive their children's attitudes as 'non-Japanese'. If their children acted in an ideal way, they appeared to see this as 'Japanese'. In this way, I examined their preparation of their children's 'hybridity'. Most of the mothers in this study admitted that they tend to give most attention to the firstborn child and do not have time to spare when the second/third child/ren come/s along. This tendency can be an important factor in nourishing children's hybridity. On the other hand, the children's understanding hybrid identities will be also discussed. The children under eight showed different types of hybridity: gender and ethnicity. This will be shown and discussed later in the fourth section.

## ***2. Girls' media consumption and their developing identities***

### **2-1: Concerning physical appearances**

In the previous chapter, all families had positive images of Disney. In a study on Disney and Japanese people by Shunya Yoshimi, the subject is examined from a historical point of view:

The strong influence of cultural Americanism on Japanese mass culture is definitely not a recent development. Indeed, the process began over 70 years ago, as well as after World War II, when the social and cultural consciousness in Japan formed an increasingly deep and layered relationship with 'things American'.

(2001: 163)



He argues against claims that there is a kind of stable continuity in Japanese culture and identity:

In the late 1980s, Tokyo Disneyland saw a considerable increase in visitors from other Asian countries...Japanese pop stars frequently appear in Thai magazines for the young, and famous Japanese brands are copied by the Thai fashion industry...In this process of self-exoticization, both the U.S.A and Japan have become detached from existing nations: they become the focusing / vanishing points of perspectives in the world reconstructed on a hyper-real level as a universe of commercial goods.

(2001: 179-180)

Such globalised popular culture can be situated on a hyper-real level rather than existing within a particular nationality.

On the other hand, Buckingham argues in relation to Disney's universality in the U.K. that '...there was some debate about whether this was a result of their general human relevance (their status as what one teacher called 'cultural archetypes') or simply a consequence of U.S. imperialism' (2001: 280). Whether these princess images are of general human relevance or U.S. imperialism, Disney seems to impose images of girls globally as well as providing contents with the image of 'secured for middle-class parents' (can be in the context of middle-class in the U.S.) (c.f. Seiter & Davis 2000) through their strategies of commodification of images. Gunter in his book *Television and Gender Representation* defines gender-role socialisation, '...as the notion that socialisation is a social process representing the way that people learn about their culture and acquire some of its values, perspectives and social norms' (1995: 2). Disney, however, globally provides images of gender-role through their stories and leads children to imitate these roles with their merchandised products.

For example, Family K's daughters (four and six year-old) asked me to take pictures of their being dressed in Disney's princesses' costumes with accessories. Her elder daughter loved drawing, and always showed me her sketch books every time I visited them. In her notebooks, princes and princesses often appeared as well as other characters such as *Pokemon*. She made up stories which were more or less, 'a princess



was in crisis facing to an evil, but a prince came to save her. They kissed each other and married happily'. This familiar storyline can be found if we look at Disney's princess book series (i.e. Le Quesne 2002). For girls, they can be seen as a kind of 'self-help book' (Gauntlett 2002). Its style is, 'You've received your invitation and now it's time to decide what to wear. Cinderella is going to tell you all her special secrets to make you feel as pretty as a princess. First you need to put on your favourite dress' (Le Quesne 2002: 2). Each page directs readers to put on each accessory or shoes as has been already discussed concerning ideal gender roles at works in Japan in Chapter III. They want to collect particular princesses' accessories from Disney stores. Appearance is very important for girls rather than action itself from the view of the ideal Japanese female worker who plays an important role as a provider of harmony (Goodman 1990).



**Picture 16: A six-year old girl was trying to show me her most favourite dress of Disney princess and putting many related accessories.**

The heavy stress laid on appearance is evident in published magazines for girls and women. Furthermore, this tendency which is seen in global media products can be also found in local products. When they become older, such as Year 3, girls tend to imitate pop idols, watching video clips, learning their dancing and songs, and dressing /making-up. No children in my study consumed local magazines as self-help. However Mother E, who had provided comics from Japan for her daughter every month,



was upset at their contents:

We can buy them [Japanese magazines and comics] at the same prices in Japan through my husband's company service... Compared to before [her childhood], these comics' contents are mostly about fashion. Needless to say it leads to romances. In relation to this, they mainly talk about diet or a boy who is good at make-up and a girl who asks him to make her become beautiful like magic. Its supplements are also related to the contents such as ear-pierces which are just stickers, rings, or necklaces. My daughter is too inexperienced and naïve to do make up or put accessories, but only happily wear these things from the supplements, telling me, 'look mother, it's cute!' I was surprised at this. When she had a special issue, all were about becoming beautiful which articles about how to do make-up, diet, a girl who entered a boxing club, lost weight and became beautiful.

(Mother E)

One definition of self-help books by Gauntlett is, 'believe in yourself and you can achieve anything' (2002: 244). The contents of such girls' magazines and comics from this definition can be seen as making-up, and becoming slim in order to be loved by boys. In short, girls' self-help books start from Disney's princesses who usually marry ideal princes and are described *as* pretty. Later, in teen-age girls' Japanese comics persuade readers to brush up their appearances to get attention from certain boys. Obviously, in fashion magazines which mothers read a certain type of lifestyles, accessories, fashion, and cosmetics are important contents. Gauntlett outlines the debate about teenage girl magazines. Dawn Currie's study on teenage magazines in Canada has found that quizzes and advice pages emphasised the value of pleasing others (in particular boys) (in Gauntlett 2002: 183). Gauntlett argues that the researchers should not impose their own meanings on those of their subjects and criticises her study which seems to be stamped with her own broadly negative feeling about the magazines throughout the study (Ibid).

Although Gauntlett criticises such tendencies by researchers, in this study, at least those mothers who had a heavy influence on their children's media consumption had fears about 'too matured contents' or 'too matured fashion for their children's age'. As seen in the comment of Mother E, they cannot help comparing them with their own childhood even though they used to consume the same kinds of media products, though slightly different. For example, concerning the children's fashions, all mothers whose children



went to local schools claimed that their daughters did not want to wear pink any longer because they were assumed as childish. They preferred blue or purple:

Even in birthday parties, Year 3 tend to paint nails or have fashionable hair styles. Such things are much matured here. Even in boutiques for my daughter, all look like adults. They prefer purple or blue. My daughter [six year-old] likes blue and yellow now. I have heard of this very often. Pink is for children in kindergartens.

(Mother L)

My daughter [eight year-old] has been invited to birthday parties over September and October. I did not know such things [popular fashion amongst her daughter's aged children], so I sent her to a party in jeans. I was so embarrassed. There were also make-up parties too. The birthday girl's parents asked my daughter to come to a party without making up. I thought, 'of course not! An eight years old girl in Japan does not make up usually'. It is natural in Japan. In this sense, she is also nervous about this different culture, feeling a sense of being behind... In Japan, my daughter is still at the age when they prefer being into *Hello Kitty* in pink. But here, they don't like pink any more and prefer colours such as light purple, how do we call it? [to her daughter] Anyway, there is an expression for this purple. They like purple or blue...The last time we went to a birthday party, it was a disco party...All [girls] wore non-sleeve T shirts which showed their shoulders and leather short-skirts. All put on make-up. They usually tied their hair up at school, but wore their hair long. They also opened their legs too. I was so upset. Our family received a culture shock.

(Mother J)

There is a disco party by their school. For the first time, I dressed my daughter in frilly-dress and was embarrassed. In general, her friends wear tight trousers or short leather skirts and non-sleeve top; their sense of fashion is different from us. I went to see some dresses at Next for my daughter's birthday party. They tended to have those of black velvety dresses or pants' suites. I could not find any frilly-dresses at all...Needless to say, she adores them [sexy dresses]...[at parties] they dance well differently with their mothers. It seems for them to be natural. And Japanese are shy to dance like them...The music are from hit charts. We also have such disco parties on someone's birthday parties. Children dance madly on a dinning table instead of a stage for an hour. Well, my daughter cannot join in with them so smoothly though. I am impressed at these things and admire such things very much.

(Mother H)

In all cases with daughters, at first the mothers were upset. However, naturally, they became to admire such socialising themselves. If this is seen from the Gunter's position that there is no clear evidence that television programmes or advertisements shape



conventional gender roles to a significant extent (1995: 81), those Japanese mothers who are socially seen as good wives and mothers have directly embodied their daughters' gender-role socialisation in their real-life. Again as we have seen in the previous chapter, mothers use such symbolic forms as tools for socialising their daughters. Mothers help find their daughters' 'sexy' dresses at shops in London in order to integrate with their local peers. In other words, Japanese mothers can lead and reproduce this major tendency against the Western feminist critical views of toys' promoting traditional gender roles (c.f. Seiter 1993).

## **2-2: The process of building up girls' hybrid identities: institutions and families**

In order to catch up with their local peers who dress like adults, Japanese girls' tastes are institutionally (by their local schools) developed and influenced by their mothers' consumption acts. An eight year-old daughter of J, for example, in the beginning of the fieldwork (when she was seven year-old) did not enjoy her local private school. She was encouraged by her mother to associate with her local peers through activities such as pop music at disco parties and relevant fashions (non-sleeve and short tight skirt) which was very different from what she was used wearing in Japan. At home, she watched Japanese popular cartoons on video and showed me her sticker collection in which there were popular Japanese TV characters under her bed as a memory of her 'happy days in Tokyo'. According to Ito's report on children in Tokyo, collecting and exchanging fancy stickers were very popular amongst girls (Ito 2004). The various fancy stickers such as *Pokemon*, *Hello Kitty*, etc, were neatly collected in sticker books. A daughter of family H who had been in London for four years had already started exchanging her collections with her local peers. I told J's daughter about her. The more J's daughter improved her English and caught up with her local peers' culture, the more she became lively and confident.

In the last visit when she became a representative as a piano player in her school, she told me that she had started exchanging stickers amongst her classmates. The cultural balance between her local peers and her Japaneseness had finally become equal. Analysed from Giddens' 'existence and anxiety' (1991: 47-8), her anxiety of 'non-being' (Ibid) by following her peers and hiding herself had been taken away by



becoming 'to be' (Ibid). Giddens elucidates this in relation to ontological security's process by citing Soren Kierkegaard (1944):

Freedom is not a given characteristic of the human individual, but derives from the acquisition of an ontological understanding of external reality and personal identity. The autonomy which human beings acquire derives from their capacity to expand the range of mediated experience: to be familiar with properties of objects and events outside immediate settings of sensory involvement...But in a deeper way, anxiety comes from the very 'faith' in the independent existence of persons and objects that ontological security implies.

(in Giddens 1991: 47-8)

Here, this eight year-old seemed to find her ontological security at her school away from home. Her independence or autonomy can be seen in her school. She became a representative piano player for the whole school, and consequently found a place she was able to feel 'to be' and gained confidence. This process enhanced her awareness of her 'hybridity' and thus produced a more coherent ontological state of being.



**Picture 17: Sticker collections by girls (left is by J's daughter and right is by H's daughter)**

Such popular cultural exchanges were clearly carried out within a certain space: her local school. In addition, it can be argued that her interests in British pop idols through following her non-Japanese peers were not an indication of herself. It could be an 'institutional self' which appears to be temporal but could be one's future unconscious identity (Strauss 1959: 124). Even if J's daughter was not interested in popular cultures introduced by her non-Japanese peers, she dressed like them and shared their culture in order to be accepted institutionally by her peers. Jaber Gubrium and James Holstein



discuss ‘institutional self’ in the contemporary society and argue:

While social life may shape who we are, permanently blemish our identities, or lead us astray, the popular belief that a ‘true self’ reside somewhere inside, in some privileged space. As besieged or hidden as it may be, the personal self is nonetheless available as a resolute beacon to guide us. We take for granted that in our most private recesses, we don’t need to divide ourselves between countless identities. Deep inside, it is possible to get in touch, and be at one, with our real selves.

(2001: 1)

In this sense, this eight year-old girl had been hiding and compromising herself by catching up with her local peers. Finally, she was able to reveal part of herself by introducing her favourite activity and was welcomed ‘institutionally’ by her local peers. This compromising process can become her future hybrid identity when she returns to Japan.

In another example, H’s daughter (ten year-old) was not happy for a while after returning to Japan. She also faced the same problem of J’s daughter when she arrived in London. Gradually, she had also been to disco parties and dressed like her non-Japanese peers and introduced Japanese popular culture to her friends. After returning to Japan, although she made friends, she was not happy for a while. She perceived herself as being different from other classmates in Tokyo (Letter from Mother H). Even E’s daughter who went to the Japanese school full time and did not speak English at all in London did not fit in her new school in Tokyo. Mother E reported that her eight year-old always played Playstation 2 with boys, and also wanted to be able speak English fluently (Letter from Mother E). As discussed in the boom of English and media images of returnees, the eight year-old daughter of E might feel that she had to possess what she would be accepted by her Japanese peer as a ‘returnee’.<sup>2</sup>

Another example will show how parents impose their daughters’ hybrid identities as cultural capital. At family K’s house, her husband who was educated in the United States in his high school days was encouraging his daughters to watch local programmes to improve their English. However, Mother K herself valued Japanese cartoons which she was familiar with. She valued Japanese cartoons as:

Japanese cartoons are interesting and better than others. The stories are well produced



in half hour which attracts children. We cannot see such cute girls' cartoons in American cartoons which are rather for both genders [are not particularly produced for girls]. BBC does the same. Clay cartoons are cute, but the stories themselves are not so well produced.

(Mother K)

Consequently, her children stopped watching local television and spent their spare time drawing. Only when there were not any children's programmes on local television, they did watch Japanese cartoons on videos from their grandparents in Japan. Clearly, this shows how strong the mother's influence is in developing their identities and tastes. In addition, one day, Mother K was pleased when she saw that a free gift with a happy meal at McDonalds was a cuddly doll of a Japanese cartoon:

This summer, *Hamutaro* was a free gift of Happy Meal at McDonalds. Then I was so surprised. They don't show it on the BBC. And I wondered why people in this country can recognise this character...When I asked my child if her school friends are watching Sky, she told me that most of them have Sky. ..I guess local friends watch such Japanese cartoons through Sky and talk about the programmes at school. They know these programmes.

(Mother K)

In this way, their children were also nourishing their values concerning toys and TV characters via their mothers who chose their toys and programmes. The high value placed by mothers on Japanese products was more evident in their relationship with their sons. By mixing with local peers and consuming Japanese products, girls were constructing hybrid identities.

### ***3. Boys' constructing their identities by mothers and media products***

As seen in Chapter VI and the section above, mother's consumer behaviour influenced their daughters' values- showing their interests in products such as *Hello Kitty* or cartoon characters from Japan which are familiar to those mothers. In local communities such as schools, when Japanese popular culture became increasingly global, mothers in the overseas community reacted with pride. Their children already had many toys with these characters. This tends to occur more in boys' TV programmes. How does this affect boy's fashion? They do not show any major differences in appearances to non-Japanese peers. Mothers, however, know that these clothes with TV characters can



draw local peers' attentions. They buy these clothes in Japan. As seen in Chapter VI, Japanese ranger series are watched by ninety per cent of children aged three to seven in Japan. The characters give particular meanings to the Japanese boys in the overseas community too. In addition to their knowledge of the latest series in rangers and other super-heroes such as *Ultraman*, or even *Pokemon*, their wider and deeper knowledge of the programmes is assumed as sub-cultural capital. Gill points out that the main issue amongst child viewers of this series and other super-heroes series is mastery of classificatory knowledge, '...they are primarily catalogs, of heroes and monsters, classified by age (i.e. year of release), gender genus, planet of origin, color of uniform, fighting technique, strength status, or posture' (1998: 50).

Although such classificatory knowledge is not limited to Japanese children, but is also found elsewhere, Gill argues that significant elements in Japanese children's acts can be seen from the view of, 'these themes will be familiar: how the body is formed [they are acting according to organisational goals and norms] (Ben-Ari 1997); the notion of appropriate [gender] behaviour [as a girl or as a boy](Higuchi 1978); the importance of seniority [even amongst young children, they respect elder children which will continue throughout their life-course](Hendry 1986); and the concept of Japaneseness or origin (Goodman 1989)' (in Gill 1998: 50). In short, even though they are in London, these values from Japan exist and are kept through parents' ways of childrearing by providing these programmes and toys according to their beliefs.

A boy who loved *Harikenger* (a ranger series) wore his favourite clothes when he went out to see *Harry Potter* at a cinema –a public place- with his family and felt proud:

When we went to see *Harry Potter II*, my son wore *Harikenger's* clothes from top to the bottom. The boys in the cinema were interested in the character and were watching my son.

(Mother H)

For H's son, going to a cinema is regarded as a 'special occasion', and consequently he chose his favourite clothes. Mother H gave his old clothes with TV characters to F's four year-old son:

*I: How did you get the T-shirt which your younger son is wearing?*



Mother F: It is from H's son. A local friend wanted to have this shirt. I was asked by his mother, 'your son wore something like *Power Ranger*, where did you get it?'. Then I answered, 'I got it from Japan'. Then she said, 'ah, we cannot find such things here.' When they describe these TV characters for boys, all became *Power Ranger*. I explained to her that it was not *Power Ranger*. But anyway, there are no such things here.

*I: You are right. They have Thomas or Disney at most. But in Japan, we have all kinds of things with TV characters, don't we?*

Mother F: Yes, there are many. We had only printed T shirts with TV characters before, but recently, there is also a rider's jacket of *Harikenger*. It is so cool.

*I: I heard before that children compete with the latest TV characters on their shoes in kindergartens. Well for adults, all look the same. But for children, the latest ones are prestigious.*

Mother F: They love them. I thought these TV characters still make them happy. Next time when we return to Japan, I may get some for them on their birthday.

(Mother F)

Even non-Japanese children who do not know the latest ranger series in Japan can recognise 'something like *Power Rangers*' which has become a global media product. Similar format can decode 'new' characters and attract children repeatedly. In other words, certain popular cultural formats can be still valid amongst children. The fake leather jacket is based on a story in which the main character who is played by a popular idol wears leather jackets before he transforms into a 'ranger'. Mother F valued more the jacket which can be worn in everyday life than on a proper 'costume' which can be worn at costume parties (usually with plastic masks). In this sense, boy's fashion with the latest TV characters from Japan signifies their identities.

These identities are clearly constructed by mothers. Mothers were clearly proud of such Japanese media products and encouraged their children to have them, emphasizing 'they are Japanese cartoons', which was seen to be also valued by Mother K above through her comments on children's cartoons. Compared to the girls' cases, as seen in Chapter VI, the mothers do not encourage their sons to play with local friends if they do not want to whereas they do so with their daughters. As a result of this, boys tend to play with Japanese friends with who they share the same sub-cultural consumption patterns. Moreover, when the Japanese products became global, they tend to lead the trend to non-Japanese friends by owning the latest toys from Japan. In this sense, they tend to



stick to 'Japanese' products.

On the other hand, mother H regarded the tendency amongst local children who do not become attached to media characters as a positive aspect:

I found that local children show their interest in TV characters. But they are not interested in them further. Their interest is not so much. I expected that they might have wanted the same if my son had something with TV characters. For example, today, I served a tea for my children and their friends with cups of Kitty and Thomas. When I asked a British girl which cup she wanted, she replied to me, 'I don't mind'. She seemed not to care even if the cups are non-characters. She is not interested in them at all. She is interested in chopsticks themselves, but is not interested in Kitty itself. Here we cannot find children's clothes with *Tekkenger*, though we can find Gap clothes. Well at least we can find Thomas ones. Even if there are some such as *Power Ranger*'s clothes, they always have the same rangers. I envy these local children who have no greed.

(Mother H)



**Picture 18: Tea:** When non-Japanese friends regularly visit Japanese friends, they gradually become accustomed to Japanese cooking. The boy (six year-old) always had his favourite Lego robots even during tea.

Mother H provided such cups and other everyday products with popular characters to her children as all mothers did in this study. Gradually, she learned about local children's attitudes towards such products. The Japanese children, who had grown up in



an environment with TV characters everywhere, attached their identities to their favourite characters. The mothers who did not find such products in London also realised how much they had been surrounded by these licensed goods. The mothers provided such products to their children as had been done in their childhood on the one hand; they also gained a critical and objective view on Japanese society on the other. Mother D, for example, described how such products have penetrated everyday lives in Japanese society:

I don't know which is better [Japanese or British society]. But first of all, the number of shops is definitely different [there are more shops in Tokyo than London]. We cannot compare. For example, there are no toys in post offices. Probably they can have at most sweets for children. There are no toys. But in Japan, we can see them everywhere. There are many toys in front of cashiers in family restaurants which seem to me that they don't have any regulations or no limit at all. They are never satisfied with their service which is originally to fill up customers with food. Here, no restaurants have such things.

(Mother D)

In fact, as well as Mother D, all mothers appreciated such products to entertain their children in their everyday lives. They cannot judge which is better. Clearly, however, mothers have seen alternative everyday lives for children in a host country.

#### ***4. Hybrid identities: how they are constructed***

##### **4-1: Siblings and family values**

As discussed earlier, how mothers and children develop and construct their hybridity is stressed in this study. There were differences of expression between the first born children and second/third born children in families. The first born children seemed to compromise their selves in an unnatural way, by switching their codes. As Bhabha (1994) pointed out, they had a clear consciousness of self/others and inside/outside. It is apparent that the first born child tends to be closer/closest to their mothers who are gatekeepers of introducing what they call 'Japanese culture, rituals, and common senses'. In other words, this 'Japaneseness' can be their part of the ontological security (Giddens 1991) in which they feel 'safe'. Conversely, their younger siblings tend to be freer from their mothers' attentions; they seem to be more flexible. One day, at a visit to Family C, their nine year-old son scolded his sister who kept talking in English at home



because I was talking to his mother in Japanese. He did not accept his sister's attitude when they became only Japanese at home. Mother C explained his feeling from their experience on holiday in Japan:

Between my children, they cannot help speaking English. Then my relatives [in Japan] looked at them strangely. Did I tell you? When we went to a park near my parents' house and played there, my children were talking in English. Then local children heard and said, 'they are silly kids'. Then my daughter did not realise and basically does not care about such things. But my son realised that they were talking about us. Then he shut her up. But then my daughter kept talking to her brother in English. Then probably my children used simple English such as 'run'. Then the local kids imitated my children. I thought they probably were taking English lessons since they understood such easy English words. That's why they started teasing my children. Well, this can be an example of being bullied. But my daughter who does not care about it will never be in trouble. But my son who is very sensitive to how others see him will get used to a Japanese way after being quiet for a week. If you don't care about others, you can keep your culture wherever you live.

(Mother C)

As she pointed out, perhaps if a child does not care about 'others', he/she can exhibit true his/her self. Or perhaps siblings who are not firstborn children do not develop an awareness of hybridity because they behave without considering each situation due to their age or personality. The son loved football. His bedcovers and pillowcases were the England team's. At the same time, he was gradually aware of returning to Japan someday, and was curious about baseball which is rarely played in London, but popular in Japan. He realised this cultural differences between two countries and tried to experience both. Being good at sports is valued at his public school in London. He felt that he must be good at baseball in order to be accepted at a school in Japan in future.

Although Mother C saw her daughter in this way, C's six year-old daughter was also switching her identity within an institution- her girl's school. As long as I observed her, she liked playing and consuming boys' toys and media, being influenced by her brother. Amongst her school friends, she often went to disco parties and liked imitating 'S Club Seven' with short pants, showing her belly button. When I asked her to show her bed room, there were many *BeyBlades* which she played with her brother, and many English books. Mother C found out that her daughter kept exchanging her Japanese picture books with her local peers. In addition, C's house had another room called 'a toy room'



where they put many toys which her elder son and daughter did not mind being touched by their youngest brother. In this toy room, I found many Disney and *Hamutaro*'s toys which were mainly presents from their grandparents to their daughter. It was obvious that she was not interested in playing with them. She enjoyed more her brother's toys. Although she was influenced by her brother, her family and school educated her to act as an ideal girl. Mother C described her husband's view on childrearing which was based on the Japanese traditional gender roles:

Well, he seems not to care so much about childrearing. But he sometimes points out our daughter, 'why don't you behave better, prettier, and quieter as a good girl, or do not open your legs when you wear a skirt.' But he does not mention her academic achievement at all. He always says something [about academic achievement] to our first son though.

(Mother C)

Here, her daughter might not yet have developed national cultural hybridity. She had, however, clearly developed hybridity in gender by pretending to be feminine in public (at school and with her friends) and showing her masculine interests which were the same as her brother at home.

In another example, family D has three sons. Their second and the youngest son were now playing more with local peers. Mother D described her sons' behaviours as:

Mother D: He [the eldest] prefers Japanese food. He cannot eat expensive things in sushi shops. It is good for me though. He loves Japanese history. It is very interesting. My second son who is eleven years old suddenly asks me to hug him. He also asks my husband, 'papa, hug me'. My husband seems to get upset. I got used to his personality. I think this kind of personality may be problematic in his future in Japan. The youngest one may be similar to the first one. He is more Japanese. Well, he is more flexible though.

*I: Ah, so your middle son integrates with local very much.*

Mother D: Yes. He is not good at Japanese [language] any more. If he compares himself to others, he can speak Japanese better. But he tends to speak English more.

(Mother D)

In fact, her twelve year-old eldest son was very interested in Japanese pop idols, exchanging CDs and playing *Yugioh* cards at the Saturday school with other Japanese peers. Her second son, on the other hand, seemed to enjoy his school life with local peers by playing sports together. They tended to watch Japanese music programmes



with family at weekends. One day, they watched an annual music programme on New Year's Eve which is produced by NHK. Again, the first born child had more consciousness of his 'being'. In Japan, recently influenced by American music scenes, there are many young groups who play rap music. Mother D commented:

He [the twelve year-old son] loves groups such as Chemistry (a Japanese duo-group). A friend of us sent *Kohaku's* (NHK's programme) video. We watched it, saying, 'Chemistry is cool'...my children know them really well. I can say that they are so hungry for Japanese popular culture. They said, 'the groups who appeared at first were not good at singing. Rap groups on MTV are much better than these Japanese ones. Their English is very bad'. My children were saying such snobbish things, while we were watching it. In the middle, there were some artists who were much better than the groups who appeared first and sang Japanese traditional popular songs or folk songs. Then they said that they should keep singing in Japanese, but the former people mixed English and Japanese in a bad way. ...Their style is really bad. Well I cannot criticise others though. What shall I say... their balance seems to be bad: the boys' face and their body's balance are not good so that they look poor. I think girls' idols have become more beautiful though... the trousers are falling down. We have seen such cool people [in London], we feel they [the Japanese rappers] are funny. We saw it with the family on Saturday. It was long! It was about four hours without any commercials. So we forwarded some singers whom we were not interested in, and if we found good scenes, we rewound and watched them again.

(Mother D)

Her family displayed a similar viewing habit which can be seen in Gillespie's study in Southall (1995). It might be because they have never lived in Japan, and also her husband had just changed his position at work from a Japanese staff to a local staff. In their everyday lives in London, there are many real black rappers whose look stylish. Probably her eldest son now realised within his environment in London that rap music should not be Japanese in appearance and should be also in English. Mother D also felt the same as her sons. She also preferred listening to songs by singers who she knows from Japan rather than new comers.

When it comes to considering 'hybridity' amongst children, it can be said that all children in this study were constructing hybrid identities. This, however, seems to depend on the degree of individual awareness 'something different from ordinary Japanese and British', or 'something different from what their parents expect them to be as a son or daughter'. What they called 'ordinary' is often derived from mothers' images



of Japan which was seen in Chapter V. As mother C and D stated above, their first child tended to be more sensitive about his environment and rather timid to express himself, and wanted to stick to 'Japaneseness' which was represented through symbolic cultural products whereas their younger siblings who were brought up more freely tended to be more bold in expressing themselves. In this sense, from the mothers' view of hybridity, the first born children appeared to have a consciousness of being in certain categories.

Doubtlessly, those mothers in the overseas community still practiced their childrearing based on the ideology of '*ie*' (house) (Hendry 1986)<sup>3</sup> and educated their children in a rather conservative manner. This obviously affects these children's construction and differentiation of Japaneseness and non-Japaneseness. It, however, can be argued that the mothers' attitudes which defined 'ordinary' is derived from society in Japan and expectations of their future. Parents also expected their children to experience 'foreign cultures' or something different from Japan through their schools, local communities, and everyday lives. All mothers appreciated that their children at least, learned that there are many races, cultures, languages and rituals in the world, which is rarely witnessed or experienced directly in everyday lives in Japan.

The problem is that those mothers encourage their children to gain such foreign cultures within a certain form – as visible objects- such as language acquisitions, sense of fashions, experiences of high culture (taking them to real musicals or Royal Ballets in London). They did not appreciate their behaviours which looked strange in Japan (speaking English or loudly on buses or trains in Tokyo embarrasses their mothers, or in London, their behaviour which tend to show their opinions 'yes' or 'no' very clearly sometimes upset their mothers) is based on the virtue of Western 'individualism' which would be taken just as 'ego' in Japan and has been nourished naturally through their local schools. The Japanese mothers' childrearing based on Japanese traditional ideology which is different from those in England has oriented their children to develop their identities in a dual way as Bhabha (1994) pointed out above: self/others, and inside/outside in their selfhood. At homes, they show different selves from ones which are exhibited at schools, or sometimes they are seen as 'different' by their parents. It can be argued that it is more important for the mothers themselves and also the dominant



culture in Japan to be able to accept these children's experiences, not seeing in them something 'special' or 'foreign/the other'.

#### **4-2: Reproducing 'Samurais' in a host country?**

Boys in this study rather looked more confident than girls who tended to follow non-Japanese peers who led sub-cultural values in schools. Firstly the Japanese global cartoons and games are popular amongst boys in London too. The boys clearly kept looking for cooler and newer (Buckingham 2002) goods and cartoons beyond and between time and space as seen in Chapter V. Different from girls' way of consuming media which was closer to 'self-help' books, boys' way of consuming media products are directly via TV characters as value symbols. If we apply 'institutional self' or 'potential hybridity between home and local school' in the case of those boys' media consumption, it is more orientated within the overseas community's or Japanese society's hierarchal value (c.f. Ben-Ari 1997). Mothers play important roles in providing and promoting such goods from the overseas community or Japan to locals as well as their sons. Moreover globalised Japanese media products give these children a sense of confidence in their friendship with local peers. As the mothers who have sons admitted they seemed to be happier to play with Japanese friends than with local peers because they could share sub-cultural knowledge. In other words, those boys had fewer opportunities to negotiate their favourite sub-cultural experiences since they always play with Japanese peers even at schools and after school than the girls which were seen above.

Although the girls had more opportunities to develop 'hybridity' by negotiating 'self/others and inner/outside' (Bhabha 1994) than boys who spent more with Japanese peers, in both cases, it is apparent that mothers tried to reproduce 'ideal' workers in Japanese society which Goodman (1990) pointed out above. Followed the ideology of *ie*, their 'cultural capital', in this sense, seems to be based on the concept of the traditional Japanese 'samurai's honorific individualism' by Ikegami. She defines this, '...honor culture consists not only of concepts and values but also of such symbolic vehicles of meaning and sentiment as rituals (for example, duels), taste (say, dress), etiquette and manners, various folkways, and folk stories (Ikegami 1995: 22). Needless to say, such



symbolic samurai honour has been changing.

In contemporary Japan, if we use this concept, the symbolic forms of honour are visible objects which parents and society value today. A survey in Tokyo has shown what children aged eight to twelve (Year 3 to Year 6) want to be good at for their future: sports (male 59.8% female 56.8%), computer skills (male 54.0%, female 47.3%), and academic achievement (male 45.8% female 38.5%). Distinctively, girls, especially 65 per cent of Year 5 and 6 (10-12 year-old) answered 'want to speak English fluently' (Hakuhodo 2002a). This shows how peers in Japan perceive such skills as cultural and social capital. In other words, children in Japan and their mothers are able to actively translate and utilise the 'Japanese tradition of samurai's honorific individualism' (Ikegami 1995) which can be simply visible skills for improving oneself and one's country/companies and rejection of behaviours which can be assumed as ill-mannered or disturbing harmony in Japan. In this sense, children cannot help but hide their 'self' after returning to Japan being protected by mothers and controlled by Japanese society. Or perhaps, such society forces on them 'hybridity' by distinguishing their differences from the dominant group in Japan.

Although Pang defines returnee children's identities as 'in between' (2000), it can be argued that hybrid identities are also related in 'power' within an institution. The case of this study seems to be close to what Marwan Kraidy has pointed out:

The question therefore is not about whether identities are hybrid, but rather about the types of formation that recreate and flesh out these hybrid identities. Hybridity is thus construed not as an in-between zone when global/local power relations are neutralized in the fuzziness of the melange but as a zone of symbolic ferment where power relations are surreptitiously re-inscribed.

(2001: 191)

'Power', in this study, cultural symbolic power became significant in their friendships. Furthermore, the process of forming such hybridity in these children who finally established their cultural balance within their own sense of friendships and social negotiation should be valued when they return to Japan. They should not be forced to hide themselves or different institutional selves which have been developed through



their experiences in London.

## Conclusion

Tracking children's identities has been examined through their media consumption and also from their parents' way of selecting media products based on their ideologies. There are many layers of influence and development in their identities. These include the Japanese mothers' goals of childrearing and institutions which can provide non-Japanese elements. At least, while they sojourned, those mothers who had a fear of their children's future in Japan kept constructing their children's hybrid identities. While mothers regarded such non-Japanese elements as their children's future cultural and social capital as returnees on the one hand, they also saw them as comprising important risks. The complexity of this group's developing personas is that they have to consider the day when they return to Japan where their hybridity will not be welcomed. Therefore, the mothers' way of childrearing is also still based on the Japanese traditional 'ie' [house] (Hendry 1986) in order to reproduce future samurais. This can become a part of institutional power which influences their developing identities, especially, awareness of hybridity or differences.

At least while they sojourn in London, the global Japanese media products have played an important role for those boys. Japanese cartoons and related goods such as *Pokemon*, *Yugioh*, and *Beyblade* have been consumed and experienced globally by children. Ito defines such Japanese global cartoons' contexts as 'transnational' (2004). This feature has become very convenient for those boys in the Japanese overseas community in London. Although the contents of these cartoons for boys may not particularly provide 'Japanese' rituals, these global Japanese media provide special meanings to those Japanese boys and mothers. Needless to say, from the view of 'educational' elements by mothers, they preferred old cartoons which they used to watch in their childhood as culturally valued contents with Japanese rituals or other cultures (if they are based on classical novels such as *Heidi*) through which their children can learn.

For mothers, their clear goals of childrearing, which were examined from their different attitudes towards sons and daughters, can be a part of ontological security (Giddens



1991) to reproduce traditional gender roles since parents have gone through and been brought up in the same manner. For example, the mothers respected their sons' friendships with Japanese more than non-Japanese as a simulation of reproducing businessmen who are required to conform to the company ideology and not cause trouble (Goodman 1990:76). Through their media consumption which had been actively supported by their mothers and keeping up with their Japanese peers, the boys, especially, the first born sons, tended to show attachment to 'Japanese' products which were a symbolic form of 'Japaneseness' for them. This different meaning also helped their construction of hybrid identities while they sojourned abroad. Probably, younger children under aged five do not have such a sense of 'Japaneseness', and merely experience cultural components as equivalent, or in other words, those young siblings have constructed only semi-rigid concepts of the self. However, those mothers continued carrying out their childrearing and attitudes towards their sons so as to reproduce middle-class values by following the traditional ideology of '*ie*' (family) (Hendry 1986) which respects 'harmony' rather than individualism which is a virtue in the Western countries.

The girls, in contrast, are encouraged by mothers to experience foreign cultures. This encouragement, however, can be argued to have resulted from the traditional ideology of '*ie*' (family). From this, the parents expect their daughters to behave as 'good' girls. Not only particular ethnic cultural rituals, but also the market (global and local) still provides traditional gender roles (c.f. Seiter 1993, Signorielli 2001). In this sense, Japanese popular girls' cartoons and Disney products which the mothers appreciated, play important roles in nourishing traditional female role-models which assist mothers in goals of childrearing to reproduce submissive and beautiful daughters who long for the day for a prince to arrive and deliver automatic happiness. Even though girls may be able to nourish their hybrid identities easier than the boys by integrating with local friends, their roles are not so different from the one which Japanese parents expect. Through their play and social activities, they have been practicing with the help of princesses' stories in Disney to become as pretty as princesses so as to find a prince in the future.



It has also become clear that children clearly develop their identities through their play and media products in their everyday lives. In addition to such general development, these children are obviously conscious about being Japanese which their parents and the environment provide and encourage. The message is clear and constantly repeated; one day, we are going back to Japan, your grandparents come from Japan, you must learn how to read and write in Japanese, we are going to spend our Christmas holiday in Japan, we have received videos from Japan, and so forth. Such acts can emphasize too much Japaneseness, and may give children a cultural shock when they return to Japan by forcing on them the realisation that they are seen as returnees who tend to be regarded as non-Japanese (Henshall 1999: 86). In this sense, some children have also learned how to switch codes depending on their environment. For example, Family C's son has already experienced to be seen as 'others' in Japan and tried to speak Japanese in public, and Family D's brothers did not want to take rice balls in their lunch boxes to their football lessons during summer in London since they were teased by non-Japanese peers. As well as children who may hide their hybridity when they return to Japan, this can also apply to those mothers. This will be discussed in the next chapter.

## Notes;

---

<sup>1</sup> Mother G emailed me to inform me that they would return to Japan in August 2004, and also reported that her son was not interested in *Beyblade* any longer and sold all his collection for £1 at a garage sale.

<sup>2</sup> Compared to ordinary Japanese state schools, the Japanese school and kindergartens in London provide more English lessons by native teachers.

<sup>3</sup> The British anthropologist Joy Hendry characterizes the idea of children in Japan as a part of the traditional ideology in Japan that a family is less a unit in its own right than part of a continuing entity known as the *ie* (house or household). This concept has been discussed in many works on Japan, but the most relevant aspect in this context is that members of a house have a primary duty to the ancestors who went before them to provide descendants to follow on afterwards (Hendry 1986: 14).



## Chapter VIII: Mothers' Identities

This chapter will discuss the mothers' identities, following the previous chapter on that of the children's. As mentioned in Chapter II and VII, initially, the main aim of this study was to investigate how the children of sojourners develop their identities. The more I got to know the mothers and children, the clearer it became that they have changed and reformed their identities which can influence their children and contradict what they expect from their childrearing. These mothers' identities, which are socially to be a good wife and mother based on Japanese social values, came to face a contradictory dilemma.

As discussed in Chapter III, the ideal images of workers were illustrated: men should devote themselves to their work and avoid troubles in their companies, and women are valued if they provide harmony at work while they are single, and leave work to become a wife who provides a comfortable environment for her husband and a good mother who reproduces ideal workers (Goodman 1990: 76). At the same time, the element of ontological security and self-identities (Giddens 1991) has been witnessed from those Japanese sojourners' lifestyle and acts of consumption in the previous chapters. In addition, their way of childrearing based on the ideology of *ie* (family) can be also argued to contribute to their sense of security. Chapter IV, especially, discussed their upgraded lifestyle which enables them to buy security in a host country where they feel 'insecure' because of their lack of knowledge of local cultures, politics or information.

In Chapter V on their media consumption, through mothers' day-to-day contacts with friends in Japan, they realised how they were seen back home. In Chapter VI, choosing particular media for their children showed that their acts are rooted in their traditional ideology of *ie* (family) on childrearing (Hendry 1986) and setting their goals for children (Goodman 1990, Ben-Ari 1997, Greenfield & Suzuki 1998). Once their children are out of the track towards their goals, mothers feel 'insecure' about their future. Mothers expect their sons through their play with Japanese friends to simulate social practice in Japanese society, and daughters to have extra cultural capital via non-Japanese peers for their future.



Considering everyday lives, this Chapter will discuss how the mothers develop their identities in their particular environments and how they plan for their future in Japan in relation to their media consumption. It, however, became clear that the mothers' identities are inevitably important for their children's own development of their identities. This chapter will examine mothers' perplexities in losing their extant identities under an 'incalculable' setting and having to re-adjust their life courses in a host country. When they started living in the U.K., their social identity became the wife of an expatriate. Adjusting to the Japanese wives' lifestyle by joining in other Japanese expatriate activities such as hobbies or lessons, they became comfortable with their upgraded lifestyle with other mothers who were in the same situation. While they spent their life in the U.K., through Japanese mothers of mixed marriage, non-Japanese mothers, and even from Japanese wives, they re-formed their life-course or discovered new capabilities and possibilities not only as a mother, but also as something more. This can be seen from a critical feministic view of Japanese society and be examined from the Japanese philosophy of 'the self'. Later, the Japanese way of seeing the self from related Japanese theory will be applied to this case in order to fill the gaps of the Western method of self-reflection which was shown in Chapter III.

### ***1. Being as a mother and new lifestyle***

As seen in Chapter IV, children suffered from unstable situations despite their affluent lifestyles. This can also be applied to mothers. They must be constantly in a good physical shape as a mother who has to manage all matters in her household and take care of family members by herself in London where they cannot depend on relatives or parents. Kakuko Miyata also points out the stresses involved in childrearing as mothers in Japan, 'These circumstances [family make-up as nuclear family and due to traditional gender role which should lead childrearing being isolated from outside (Wanatabe 1994 in Miyamoto 2002: 521)] sometimes cause mothers to feel burdened and isolated during their child-raising years. Thus, childcare can be a stressor' (2002: 521-522). In host countries where they can be isolated more than before, their stress can be more acute. In addition, their labelled social identity as 'a wife of expatriate' gives them certain images: learning foreign language in a host country, enjoying local 'high' culture such



as art, classical music, plays, and sports such as tennis, or golf, consuming certain local products from the host country (i.e. Wedgwood), and educating their children to reproduce middle class structure values. Women in Takahashi's study in the Tokyo area have clearly shown their 'stableness' as a housewife as a positive choice, quitting their career after marriage or births and becoming a 'good' mother and wife (2003: 212). In addition, according to a social survey by Japanese government, 86% of informants still expect that it does not matter if women work outside, but should consider their responsibilities for housekeeping and childrearing (Quality-of-Life Policy Bureau 2002). Those mothers in this study used to have the same ideal as those housewives in Tokyo. While they have sojourned abroad and experienced different cultures, they began to rethink their careers or roles.

In their ideal image of housewives, 'education' is obviously their priority. Therefore, how mothers frame their day is always limited between the hours when they have to pick their children up from school. This can prevent them from pursuing their career seriously. In contrast, mothers who have younger children appreciate the environment in the U.K. where people hire baby sitters without feeling guilty and can have their own time. In Japan, it is not common to leave their young children in the care of others except their families (parents or aunts) (Befu 1971: 155). Some mothers who had been in London for several years actively used child minders. The people around Acton and Finchley tend to ask Japanese sitters who are usually students. The people who live in South London and do not find Japanese students ask non-Japanese child minders. Some mothers feel guilty leaving their own children with 'others' in order to have their own time. This will be shown later.

When they started their new life in London, mothers were excited and motivated to obtain something they could not have in Japan while they sojourned for several years. Some mothers in this study, who were very eager to use this opportunity as affluent sojourners besides their role as middle-class mothers, showed how they lost themselves. Mother A, for example, who spent her childhood in Los Angeles and studied English literature in London, found that she was too optimistic about living abroad with children when she returned as a married woman and mother to Britain:



Last year, I really wanted to go back to my work [as a theatre organizer] after 10 years' childrearing. It was when the youngest started kindergarten in April and finally got used to his life in the kindergarten. Then I planned to work from the second term [from September] in Tokyo. It was the time when I was about to have an interview that we had to come here [to London]. I convinced myself to forget this plan. But since we came here and during winter, I began to think of my career again. It was a cold and dark season. I thought to myself that I should do something now...I have been working so hard to teach English to my children so far because my eldest daughter [11 year-old] has got a lot of homework...I have been checking her homework in detail from the beginning, but then I have to take care of the other two children too.

(Mother A)

By coming to London, her childrearing plans changed with the sudden unexpected task of teaching English. Her priority is to educate their children. Her way of childrearing is still based on ideology and the ideal images seen above. In particular, her children who had difficulties getting used to their school life in London for two terms required their mother's support. In fact, Mother A and her eldest daughter had not been well for a long time because of their stressed life abroad.

The stress of being a mother can be seen in a study of social support for Japanese mothers by Miyata who has looked at the Internet community on childrearing by mothers in Japan. These virtual communities have become very popular and important amongst Japanese mothers who put stress on childrearing and have less support in contemporary society (Miyata 2002: 522-523). Mother H, for example, who studied child education at university and has a good understanding of childrearing, was faced with depression for a year when she just started her new life in London. She confessed this in the last interview:

I suffered from depression for a year when I first came here. Haven't I told you? I went to see a doctor for a year. When we sojourned in the States, I did not suffer...My husband was busy with his job and did not understand how hard my life here was. I was so depressed. He did not know that I was depressed because he did not look at my face at all...I did not have any feelings that I wanted to do something. I did not want to pick anything up from the floor. I did not cook properly for almost a year. It was only with effort that I could make their lunch...it was the worst time in my life. Now I am able to think that this experience of depression was given by God who tried to teach me that I should adjust my direction...I have been brought up in a spoiled environment by my parents, grandparents, aunts and uncles who were adults. There were many adults in my house. Therefore, I did not know how to protect



myself and tended to accept everything one hundred percent.

(Mother H)

As she analysed herself, she felt she had lost herself for a year because she had tried to be a perfect mother and wife in a new environment which became an obstacle for her life plan. She did not have any psychological support from her busy husband who also had to bear responsibility for his job in London. As most of the mothers complain, their husbands tend to abrogate responsibility to their wives on all matters of childrearing and housekeeping. At the same time, those mothers also believe that that is their permanent job. Mother H was not fully aware of the full implications and shares of childrearing abroad without family support.

Mother B also had difficulties to even to join in existing mothers' groups in a Japanese kindergarten for a term as well as her daughter, who was reading picture books alone in a class:

...the circle which used to consist of six mothers who used to stick together in the kindergarten all the time has become only three mothers. Then one of them began to talk to me, and invited us to their houses. Some other mothers who had previously been excluded were also able to join. I am so happy to join the circle. I could get to know a mother who also has a child who is the same age as my younger daughter. Most of mothers go to many lessons together, but we who have younger children cannot take lessons.

(Mother B)

After having bad experiences, mothers who became accustomed to their new life in London integrated with members of the overseas community and took recreational lessons as their children settled into school. All mothers including their friends in the overseas community take many lessons as well as sports as seen in Chapter IV. Most of the lessons are held at their houses in turn where they have enough space to invite several Japanese wives and an English instructor with cosy cakes and tea during the daytime. Popular lessons include tapestry, how to make good tea, English, flower arrangement, shadow box, patchwork, beads, wine testing, bread making, cooking, etc. which neatly dovetail into the image of the 'good wife' who provides a comfortable house for families as Goodman (1990) has pointed out above. It is not difficult to find



such lessons because all Japanese mothers who have children aged five to eight tend to have strong connections with other Japanese mothers including Japanese of mixed marriage. Even though they encourage their children to play with local friends, they tend to spend their leisure time with other Japanese mothers during the day. Obviously, they also exchange videos or magazines through these groups. The density of gathering together everyday gradually becomes higher. In these lessons, all students are Japanese wives who are affluent and have enough time until they pick up their children at half two.



**Picture 19: English style: home-made tea party (left) and Christmas tree and presents (right)**

Mothers not only took lessons, but after had coffee (normally they have several kinds of English tea) at someone's house during the day. One day, a mother forgot about my visit, and happened to ask me to join in a mothers' tea-party from her son's Japanese kindergarten which was gathering at her house in West Acton. I conducted a focus group of these seven mothers who were willing to participate in this study:

Mother 1: We came here [to London] in August. I feel as if I am still in Japan. I don't feel like I am in England.

*I: A person told me that they can live here without speaking English at all.*

All: yes indeed.

*I: Do you take any lessons?*

Mother 2: All of us are so busy with lessons. We try to learn only as much as we can. But we sometimes get involved in one so suddenly such as tapestry or English. All are held around here.

Mother 3: we must go home at least at half two due to pick up our children from the



kindergarten. But among the Japanese group, we just change places. We can see each other all the time. It is a small world.

(At Mother E's house).

Even in South London where all my informants send their children to local private schools, they often gather with each other. A mother whose younger daughter started schooling all day and was able to find her own time after intensive childrearing at home commented on her tapestry lesson beside her flower arrangement:

Because my children will be at school all day I decided to start tapestry from September. She [the instructor] seems to teach many places in London. She mainly teaches for American and Japanese wives. She teaches here [Purley] and in Wimbledon. She seems to be very busy...I think her business must be good. The lesson fees are cheap. But we have to pay lots to her when she readjusts our works, her drawing for design, and materials which we must buy through her from a shop where we may pay a kind of commission to her. Moreover when we need frames for works, we must ask our teacher. I heard this frame is very expensive. I guess she is making money from such points. The person whose house is used prepares lunch for the teacher and the rest of us bring our lunch individually.

(Mother K)

Such meetings may have therapeutic effects for those mothers who try to support their family by themselves and give them a sense of their own time and space. Even at schools or kindergartens, Japanese mothers tend to chat with each other in Japanese. They talk about their lessons, shopping, holidays, and health.

Some mothers who still have very young children who are younger than four years-old and want to take such lessons as their hobbies still find it is difficult to find time for themselves. In Japan, as seen in Chapter III, mothers and infants are seen as one (Greenfield & Suzuki 1988: 1064). Here, however, baby-sitters are very common. Some mothers often used such services without feeling 'guilty' which they should do as Japanese middle-class mothers who are supposed to take care of their young children. Some mothers appreciated this environment compared to the one in Japan:

If we have younger children such as two and a half, there is no place to ask for baby sitting in Japan, and even when they start kindergarten, they soon come back home. So consequently, mother and child stay together all the time. But here since they are babies, we can ask baby sitters and have such an environment where we don't need



our parents. I guess at this point, we can have more free time in this country.

(Mother K)

...both of us [Mother H and her husband] like drinking. We often use a baby sitter. I must ask a baby sitter until 10 pm when my husband comes back, or such occasions when I have to go out even if my children are ill but not so seriously. I think my children prefer baby sitters because they can refresh themselves and play more. A young Japanese student who lives around here comes.

(Mother H)

On the other hand, despite knowing sitters, some mothers cannot hire them because they still have the Japanese ideology of motherhood. Mother B, for example, who still had to take care of her three year-old daughter, wanted to hire Japanese baby sitters when she had to go out or wanted to join in such mothers' lessons:

My husband does not want me to do so [hire sitters]... My mother tells me to be patient for five years to stay with the children as my own responsibility. In Japan, from six years old, they can stay home alone. But my mother-in-law is more generous and flexible: you can go out, leave them at my place. But I think my mother in law who has experienced many things when she was young told me such a thing from her experiences. She has worked so hard as a nuclear family. All parents of our generation are the same...If we leave small children with others, we feel guilty. It is impossible to ask sitters if we want to learn something as hobbies!

(Mother B)

I could have hired nannies. But only [in her view] Japanese mothers do not work here. The mothers in London work all the time, hiring nannies. There is a different cultural background between here and Japan. We have to teach our children how to write both vertically and horizontally and make them practice. We have to save our energy to teach both languages so that we cannot have a job. It would be so difficult even if you had tutors or nannies. Only mothers can do this I believe.

(Mother A)

Obviously, they were in a dilemma between being a traditional mother of a nuclear family and as a member who belongs to groups of Japanese sojourners wives who ceaselessly offer her to join lessons and introduce Japanese sitters. Their values on childrearing, especially, from husbands and mothers, are still in the realm of Japanese ideology of '*ie*' (family) (Hendry 1986: 14, Ikegami 1995). Such mothers who still have young children or have started having their own time while their children are at school



see such lessons and hobbies as ‘learning something’ to enrich their lifestyles and as something for their families and consequently feel that their time is spent in a productive way.

Following Chapter VI, most mothers tended to watch Japanese soap operas alone after taking their children to bed and before their husbands come home. As another therapeutic way in which they can find a familiar format, language, and actors, they watch such dramas, or probably they just want to escape from reality. Mother D described her watching Japanese videos alone:

I watch them alone at midnight...the VCR is good because I can stop when I want and watch them again if I want, I watch them while I am ironing. That is, I can penetrate the drama world, and concentrate on the stories. In contrast, I don't know if I can watch the continuous stories if I am in Japan. Or I must wait for the next story until the next week. Gradually, I miss them, and I need them. In the beginning, I did not need them at all.

(Mother D)

Her stress seems to be mainly from being completely isolated from Japan due to her husband's decision to become a member of the local staff from the status of sojourner. As another example, Mother H who could not relax watching video or JSTV at home stated:

It is hard to make time to watch the videos. I must decide from the morning, ‘O.K, I will watch this video half the day without doing anything!’...Then I don't. Even if I watch it while I am doing the housework, I cannot help caring for my work, ‘ah, the washing machine has stopped’, and I cannot concentrate on the video. That's why I prefer cinemas.

(Mother H)

She seemed to have very busy days, taking care of her children, and joining lessons, and going to operas. Before she did not value watching television as something positive, but she happened to have to stay at home. Over the summer when she had to stay at home, she justified her life to herself as being too busy or made herself too busy *as* a good mother and wife of sojourner. She explained how she started watching television:

My husband dropped a wine glass and the glass hit my leg. It was midnight. At that time, the Japanese clinic was not open so we went to a local hospital... I could not go out of the house. I stayed at home because I might have opened my injuries if I



moved...I could not go out so I began to watch a lot of TV...then I started watching other programmes such as Human Documentary [on JSTV] – History was touching. It was really interesting. I enjoyed history programmes. I also watched *Toshiie & Matsu* [a historical costume drama series by NHK]. I didn't dare to ask my children to watch it together, but I just told them, 'mother is going to watch such a programme'. Then my son came to me and watched it together, saying 'this man is Toshiie, isn't he?', he was interested in it and came to watch it with me...So I have spent my summer in this way...Otherwise, I seldom stay at home. I have found that I was able to be relaxed at home in this way... I think so [I was stressed due to my busy days] too. Once I start something, I cannot help working so hard.

(Mother H)

From her statement, it became clear that working hard in several groups amongst the Japanese sojourners gives them a sense of responsibility and stress. It is an ironical consequence because she probably was seeking alternative roles to being a mother and wife, but her alternative and permanent roles had exhausted her. The mothers sometimes needed to have breaks from such dense relationships. She, however, went back to her routine- busy days when she recovered from the injury, by organising the Book Club for Japanese pre-schoolers as a representative, going to operas, having wine parties with other Japanese wives by using her learnt knowledge of wine, teaching the piano to Japanese children at her home, and taking her children to lessons.

## ***2. Becoming something else besides being a mother***

After having taken several lessons in the Japanese mothers' circles, those educated middle-class mothers began to think of their careers. In fact, half of the mothers amongst my informants have started their new careers since they began living in London. Some mothers became instructors or teachers of patch-work, piano, or flower arrangement by using their skills in the Japanese overseas community. Through such opportunities, they found themselves another role beside merely someone's 'mom'. Anthony Giddens acknowledges 'self-therapy' as a process of self-realisation:

The question 'What do I want for myself right now?' is not the same as taking one day at a time. The 'art of being in the now' generates the self-understanding necessary to plan ahead and to construct a life trajectory which accords with the individual's inner wishes.

(Giddens 1991: 71)



As stated above by Giddens, their inner wishes do not spring up on one day. Those mothers who have devoted themselves to childrearing and housework for their families wish to play other roles. Alternatively, although three mothers found that they were able to play other roles beside motherhood and felt able to start brushing up their careers while they had time and money in London where there are many courses, some have struggled to find out what they can do in London and Japan in the future. This can be seen, especially in mothers whose children started schooling full time, and who could finally have their own time. That is to say, they want to obtain 'cultural capital' which can be also their future 'social capital/identity' by using their precious opportunities.

After having severe depression for a year, Mother H was inspired by a mother of her daughter's Brazilian friend, who is a psychiatrist:

She recommended me to take a qualification or have a goal in life. I have not got to know here people who call themselves housewives except Japanese. They [non-Japanese women] have had jobs for 20 or 30 years. This is normal here [in the U.K]. I do not want to be a friend who has money and time chatting at tea time, and is harmless and clean ...when I return to Japan, I would like to work as a counsellor, with teaching the piano or something else. I would like to upgrade my qualifications...[through my activity at a reading club] I would like to find a way which consoles children's minds through reading books.

(Mother H)

From her comments, the disadvantages of dense relationship in the overseas community amongst mothers are clearly shown. Miyata has also argued that the difficulty in the balance of such members in a community has led mothers in Japan to increase their usages of web communities for childrearing which are not really too high or too low in terms of involvement, 'the denser the network becomes, the more often members tend to communicate with each other and to grasp their needs for social support (2002: 522). When the network is densely knit, the members of the network tend to reach consensus on norms, and they exert consistent informal pressure on one another to conform to these norms and to keep in touch. Consequently, a densely knit network may restrict members' freedom to obtain social support from outside the network (Bott 1957 in Miyata 2002: 522). This can be applied to those mothers who see each other everyday at schools, lessons, even exchanging videos, and do not really get involved in local



communities. Mother L, who was in a circle of mothers, felt a sense of 'being rushed to watch videos' if she considered the person who would expect the tapes after her turn:

A friend's father receives videos from Japan such as dramas or *Smap & Smap* [an entertainment programme with male pop idols], and we borrow from her and watch them together [with my daughter]...I keep watching them. And also many people are waiting for my finishing watching them. So I feel I must finish them as soon as possible.

(Mother L)

In the beginning, they appreciated such supports from Japanese mothers, but gradually when they grew accustomed to life in London, some people were aware that their life was 'a small world'. Mother E, who returned to Japan and reflected on her and her family's life in London, answered in relation to a question concerning the opportunities in London for children's developing their sociability as follows:

Although we were in the Japanese community, it was very small. Especially, my son who had not had many boy friends seems to be confused now [there are too many boys in his class in Tokyo].

(A letter from Mother E)

Mother L also stated about the lifestyle in the overseas community:

To be honest, I think they are too many [Japanese around her area]. When you have got too many, ...Moreover, when other Japanese mothers asked me to go to the same lessons together because our children are in the same school, I did not like this way of learning something...I feel tensed when these Japanese mothers gather in a big group. I don't like such a tendency...But sometimes I imagine if I lived in a kind of suburb where there are no Japanese, what might we become? In such an environment, I am sure we might have many problems... but after five years, it would be different from now...on the contrary to this, in Japan, there are many kinds of people so that the relationship may not be as close as here. Here [in London] we are living as foreigners so that our relationships became very intensive. We must also help new comers.

(Mother L)

She seemed to be tired of this dense friendship and neighbourhood with other Japanese. As an advantage of participating in this community as sojourners, they can gain 'security', but they may also in the process forfeit gaining 'real' cultural experiences with natives. Some mothers are happy with staying only with the Japanese mothers, but some felt that they should have known more about local cultures and improved their English which their children were able to do. Some mothers regretted that they had



wasted their precious opportunities to gain foreign cultures, language and friends. Thus, Mother L struggled with what she could be or should be during her stay in the U.K. She agitated her situation because her friends Mother A, H, F and G had already found something for their future:

I cannot find what I can do or what I want to do. I am never satisfied only by the hobby level of lessons. I want what I can do for society to be recognised by society. If I don't have such things, I will never be seen as a person who can do this, or who is good at this. I am not satisfied with being identified as merely the 'mamma' of my daughter.

(Mother L)

A similar example, Mother J regretted that she should have improved her English much better when she sojourned in London three years ago for the first time if she had known that they would come back to London again. Her life-plan has changed again due to her husband's displacement twice to London. As well as Mother A who knew what she wanted to do, J also planned her career in Japan. She was taking an English lesson everyday this time to take a diploma course afterwards:

Coming back here [to London] was not so hard for us because already we had friends here. Compared to the last time, I tried to provide time for myself to study something. It is very difficult if you do not intend to do so. I had enough time all the time, but have become lazy in Japan since I became a housewife. Now it is the first time to spend time for myself or do things which I made up my mind to do. The reason why I started learning English was because it was embarrassing that I cannot speak English very well even though we have been here for years. Moreover, the study which I really wanted to start was suspended due to moving to London...I majored in psychology in my university and wanted to get a job as a counsellor. I have wanted to get a job where I can help people. Well, my children are still too young to be left alone. I cannot work outside, but can study. I hit upon the idea when we returned to Japan. But at that time, my daughter had just started Year 1 and I thought that it would be fine to study after she grows older. Then we came here. I could not do anything, but always talked about what I wanted to do.

(Mother J)

Her comments show her agitation to start something for her own future beside motherhood. At least those mothers who found other roles, especially, roles which related to the public, were trying to make another life plan. In addition, in their environment in London they had more opportunities to get to know professional women through their children's schools and even from Japanese mothers. Through these women,



those Japanese women who were no longer satisfied with being housewives or mothers were enlightened. At the same time, as seen in Chapter IV, many local fathers who started participating in childrearing equally made mothers re-think their roles and relationships with their husbands at homes. Mother H was also impressed with British families:

Her [H's ten year-old daughter's] friend's [the British] father is not well so that he does not work at the moment. [from now] He is coming to pick her up [from ours]. In her class, there is an Indian friend whose parents share outside and domestic responsibilities equally, including housework and childrearing. I thought it is good that the wife is not treated unfairly.

(Mother H)

In their environment, there are many patterns of practices amongst the British families. The roles of childrearing or housekeeping seem to be fair in addition to working outside. This made H feel unfairness in her role within the domestic sphere with her husband.

As another example of finding their new careers, two mothers who had already learned flower arrangement or patchwork in Japan were asked by other Japanese wives who wanted to take lessons. In the beginning, they hesitated to teach them, but later, they became certain about their careers:

At the moment, using my career which is ten years 'Kado' [Japanese style of flower arrangement] and eight years flower arrangement, I am teaching it to my friends. I would like to continue this. As for making cakes, it is just my hobby...For painting on china [table-wares], I need to improve my skill more in order to teach it.

(Mother I)

Mother F in the first interview seemed to teach patch work rather passively because she was asked by other Japanese wives and enjoyed meetings with other Japanese people:

I go to a bread-making lesson...But I also teach patch work at home...during the morning and go to English lesson in the afternoon, which are only for Japanese students though we used to have one Chinese...I teach patchworks only to Japanese except for one German whose husband is Japanese and speaks Japanese very fluently. Her husband is also sent from Japan.

(Mother F)

Six months later, Mother F found that she should improve her skills in patchwork, and



considered her career in Japan:

*I: Are you still teaching Patch works?*

Mother F: There is no end to patchworks. One after another new methods are introduced. Therefore, I would love to learn new ones...The other day, a person who learned them here told me that there is an advanced course in which we can dye materials...I am planning to go to this lesson from September. It is held in an adult college. Probably I do not think that I can learn such things in Japan. I also belong to tapestry lesson as a ghost member. They always ask me, 'you are not coming again?' Tapestry was more difficult and less interesting than I thought. We have to make something which has been specified from the beginning. It is not interesting

(Mother F)

As another example, two mothers who have completed their diploma courses as therapists in London became more confident with their official qualifications. Both of them began to practice therapy within the overseas community. This can be another aspect of their particular lifestyle and their conspicuous consumption as middle-class to support their health. Martin O'Brien argues concerning health and lifestyle from the sociological view in today's society that they are supported by institutionalised consumerism (1995: 193). He evaluates 'health' in this phenomena as 'stylish options' (Ibid: 196), 'A socio-cultural rationality intervenes alongside rationalities of commodification and cure (Ibid: 204). Their consuming such stylish qualifications can be their cultural capital both in the U.K. and Japan. Before they started their practices, they had spent their time and money on these courses. Even though they did not earn so much, they still appeared to feel that they have skills or knowledge to be used in society. Noticeably, those mothers, who had completed their courses besides their full-time job as mothers and wives, certainly had demanding days.

When I asked them if they would continue their job in Japan, they wondered if this would be acceptable in Japan. Their attitude was rather passive.

On average, I have three patients a week. I would like to teach them how to use oils, which we can get easily. When I return to Japan, I would like to teach how to use oils...the job in aroma therapy can be expanded in various ways. I am thinking of becoming a volunteer rather than working

(Mother G)



At least she had a plan when she returned to Japan. But her wish to work as a volunteer is a moderate statement. Needless to say, Mother G considered the conditions of working as an independent therapist in Tokyo which could be very difficult: a different environment to where they lived in London, problems of space and costs. As well as Mother G, Mother C, who had also taken a reflexology course, talked about her future plan in relation to her course:

First of all, I want to start my business for myself as I have learned such a thing [reflexology]. I asked Mother J to be my client to practice my skill. In this way, I would like to do reflexology a few days a week in London. My youngest son will start his nursery from September so that I will have more time for myself... [In Tokyo] It will be impossible for me to borrow some places and stay all day long. I would like to do it while my children are at school...it would be nice if I can go to visit my clients' houses. In addition, I would like to study another course while I stay in London, but if I do two things at the same time, my life will be hectic...If I use my skill which I have nourished here, I am thinking that I can do reflexology for British or American sojourners in Japan. They must have money. Ordinary Japanese may pay 3000 yen [about £15-8] for the first time, but they may not do it again. But these sojourners in Tokyo may pay 10,000 yen [about £50-55] for two sessions a month. I can also use my English because I learned reflexology in English. This is my idea.

(Mother C)

Mother C, as well as other mothers who were teaching lessons, was aware of the different circumstance in Japan, and expected that she would be able to engage herself with this new career. While they sojourned in London, they became able to identify themselves in potential roles in Japan. Even though they had completed their course, they were still ambitious to obtain more skills. In this way, they have re-arranged their life-plans which were once for removed from their plans of becoming sojourners. However, when they thought of such careers as teachers or instructors in Japan, they believed that it would be very difficult to continue as non-sojourners:

Here [London] is an easy place to gather those mothers. If I say, 'I will teach you this' such as cooking, they have enough time and money. I think we have an easy situation in which we can start something.

(Mother H)

In addition to the problem of space and difficulties of finding the same types of wives who have time and money, most of them said that they would hide their experiences and knowledge which they had gained from their lessons and hobbies in London. Mother C



who learned Italian dishes in London predicted her lifestyle in Japan before she took the reflexology course:

I cook something which I have learned if we have guests [at home in London]. I don't do such special cooking in our usual dinners. When we return to Japan in future, and if I invite my son's friend's mothers and serve such Italian cooking, they will never invite me. So I think I will serve them just fried noodles or rice with toppings (laugh). If I cook such things because I am glad to invite them, they may be intimidated and not come to our house again.

(Mother C)

As seen in Chapter V on media consumption in their everyday lives, day-to-day contacts by emails have given them opportunities to see how they would be considered in Japan. Mothers in the overseas community were reassured their new identity as 'wives of sojourners who have different lifestyles from ordinary Japanese' by others (ordinary people in Japan). This process of realisation of 'self' can also apply to Bhabha's self/others and inside/outside (1994), which was seen in Chapter VII.

In Chapter V, Mother J explained her realisation of being seen as 'other' by her old friends in Japan by exchanging emails about her holiday in Paris. Since she herself saw her status as a wife of an overseas expatriate, she became cautious about keeping friendships with non-expatriate wives in Japan. Mother J described her experience after going back to Tokyo from London when they sojourned the last time and realised how people regarded ex-sojourners and found herself seen as 'other' amongst mothers in Tokyo. From her previous experience in returning to Japan three years ago, she had already made up her mind this time how she would behave for the next return to Japan:

I decided not to show our dinner set [of Wedgwood]. [Last time when we sojourned and returned from London] Then after making friends [in Tokyo], I served something to them with the dinner set. They don't mean such malicious feelings, but I have been told by people, 'ah, sojourners are different [from us], aren't you?' Then I have sometimes felt that we are considered in this way. Then I thought I should not tell them my experiences voluntarily unless they ask me.

(Mother J)

From their discourses, it has become clear that they also distinguish themselves. Mother H stated in the last interview before she moved to Tokyo when she talked about her future in Japan with anxiety:



The other day, a Japanese friend asked me ‘what are you going to do in Japan, you must be bored’...I said, ‘even if I go to a culture centre to learn something, I will be surrounded by typical middle aged house wives.’ Then she pointed out my words, ‘no, you should not show such an attitude. If you say such a thing to ordinary Japanese in Japan, you will be hated. You should hide your experiences in London as a blank time.’ Only one out of ten mothers in school in Japan may be able to share my experiences. But most people will take my experiences as snobbish, ‘who do you think you are, trying to be cool?’...I guess most mothers will try to use what they have learnt through their everyday lives here [London], but they will not show them off in public. I hope to see someone who is brave enough to display our experiences. But once we enter in the world of wives in Japanese society, we cannot tell them that we used to join in a club of wine tasting and go to see operas. Therefore, people who used to be sojourners tend to keep in touch with each other even after going back to Japan. There are some groups.

(Mother H)

Such symbolic consumption and products as sojourners are thus hidden in addition to mothers’ lessons. Distinctive objects cannot be valued amongst ordinary people. These can be a symbol of being envied and snobbish. As mother H pointed out, ex-sojourners have a fear of losing security within a community (especially, amongst mothers whose children go to the same schools) if they show off their conspicuous consumption. This leads sojourners to prepare to protect their first steps back to Japan by pretending that they have not changed as did returnees in Pang’s study (2000). Needless to say, their income and supports from their companies will be reduced once they return to Japan, and consequently, it will be impossible for those ex-sojourners to maintain their ‘upgraded’ lifestyle in Tokyo. Therefore, they cannot help but hide such ‘conspicuous’ or ‘extravagant’ lifestyle from the others in Japan.

The mothers, however, did not have any hesitations to show proudly official qualifications in Japan as their social and cultural capital.

I can say about my experience that I have taught piano to children of mixed children in London, though I won’t talk about our traveling or food to people who are from the same company as my husband and the same position because they tend to take such experiences as a luxurious life.

(Mother H)



### *3. Contradiction between mothers' life-courses and goals of childrearing for daughters*

Although mothers had experienced their new social identities by taking qualifications, a contradiction was found between their life-course and goals of childrearing for daughters. Mother G, for example, who used to work at an American company in Tokyo, using her bilingual talents as an ex-returnee, found that she no longer wanted to work as a translator and wanted rather develop her career as an aroma therapist in Japan. Mother A who was also an ex-returnee who worked for an American finance company in Tokyo, using her English, explained the nature of returnees, and also seemed to be struggling with her social identity as a woman:

Basically companies choose employees' language abilities so that returnees tend to go abroad even if they are in the sales department. Especially banks, big corporations, and manufacturing industry need people who speak other languages. At first, I wanted to experience working in the financial sector at least once because my father was a banker. I don't regret this choice. But then I went back to what I was interested in (at theatres)... If we can enjoy our job as pleasure, we can work. But once it becomes our pain, it is harder. My friend is still working at an ads' agency. She was ill. Now she has recovered and went back to work without marrying anybody. Women can be anything. But if we pursue our career, we become like men. We were born as women, and as long as we are, we want to do many things and buy many things.

(Mother A)

As bilingual workers, both were working at offices where they used their English skills. They have also experienced an important female role as mothers. Later, they found different talents which they were able to devote themselves to. Without doubt, they are confident with their identity- being an ideal middle-class mother. The problem of those women who have qualifications or skills which are valued in public is that they cannot abandon their main jobs as a mother and as a wife which in turn prevents them from following their career. A mother in the study by Takahashi (2003) who returned to Japan from New York was yearning for her perceived need to be a good 'Japanese wife and mother' by staying at home with children and watching CNN. As White has pointed out that the traditional value on child-mother amongst middle-class Japanese women has not changed since the 1950's (1996: 218-9). Women in the middle-class keep this



traditional role as their priority.

This traditional ideology was also seen in the process of developing their children's identities in Chapter VII. Observed toys which they provided to their children also suggested mothers' motives and directions. Young girls tended to have kitchen sets, dollhouses, and accessories. Although Seiter criticises the toy and media markets which keep supplying and reinforcing such gender stereotypes amongst middle-class mothers in the U.S., she concludes considering society itself:

But I think that the appeal to children of gender stereotypes conveys an important message for adults: things have not changed as much as we might wish to believe... In their everyday lives children are exposed to the gender-based segregation of occupations everywhere they go; the nurse and the office receptionist are still likely to be women, the store manager a man.

(1993: 230)

In this sense, although Western women work outside, they still have a similar tendency to follow their traditional gender roles. In the case of Japanese women, however, their childrearing itself has potential factors to retain this tradition. Mother C who studied reflexology admitted that the way of educating her elder son and daughter are different. The expectations for her children are differentiated because of their genders:

I must admit that I have some ideas about childrearing. As long as boys are Japanese, they should establish Japanese first as a base. Then if they can speak English, it can be a tool. I wish I could stay in this country in this way [as a sojourner] forever, but if I start thinking of my sons' future, I feel that I must go back to Japan someday. But for my daughter, I don't feel like that...speaking English can be her weapons. But for boys, English is just a means of communication and cannot be assumed to be their weapons. They need other weapons to win in society. It would be enough for girls to find a job in which they can use English.

(Mother C)

Although Mother G emphasised her son's age in the process of acquisition of languages, some elements which she expected for her daughter seems to be quite similar to what Mother C said:

Probably I don't expect anything [foreign experiences at his age] for my [six-year old] son. It will be hard work for me to keep up his English. I used to learn linguistic so that I know it is too early for him to keep the second language. It is better to make him forget at his age. So I don't want to spend lots of money to keep his English in



Japan. But I expect my daughter [eleven year-old]...Well originally we wanted to send our children to Japanese educational institutions. But if they are in too small a group, we must consider this, especially, for my son who has grown up in spoiled environment, I thought he needs to be in a more severe environment as a boy...through this lesson, he may make more friends...The Japanese children in London are generally good children so that I do not worry about him. But when we go back to Japan, it will be different.

(Mother G)

Those mothers, including Japanese society as a whole, were apt to believe and regard that speaking English can be not only cultural capital, but also social capital for girls, but for boys, it is merely a tool of communication. In addition, as Mother G suggested, this secured environment with only middle-class children could spoil her son in future in Japan where he would have to negotiate and compete with children from various social backgrounds. In fact, none of the mothers, who have sons in this study, planned on sending their sons to private schools with special treatment for returnees. In future, they have to take into account that their sons will have to join Japanese societies/companies.

In contrast, some mothers assumed that their daughters' cultural distinction from other children in Japan can link their future networks amongst returnees. Most of the mothers who have daughters had already planed to send their daughters to private schools in Japan where they have special entrance exams for returnees. They were trying to retain their 'prestigious group as minority' (Goodman 1990) for their long-term futures. Some mothers who as returnees used to work where they could use their English skills seem to belong to the same social class; they happened to find their old classmates from private schools in London, who were also wives of expatriates. In this sense, such ex-returnees' networks can remain for life and shows that life-courses can be very similar.

#### ***4. Depth of self***

In Chapter IV, Giddens' notions of ontological security and self identities have been used to analyse people's lifestyles and consumption patterns in relation to their self-identities. Moreover, as discussed above in the section, he also mentions 'individuals' inner wishes' (Giddens 1991: 71). Giddens, however, assumes that the



concept of 'self-identity' originated in Western individualism. In this sense, it is necessary to examine the mothers' inner wishes which can be analysed as '*kokoro*' (inner mind) in the Japanese philosophy. As shown in Chapter III, differences in perception of 'self' by Westerners and Japanese culture cannot be ignored. The virtues based on 'individualism' in Western thought and on 'harmony' in Japan can influence one's construction of the self or how individuals act against 'inner wishes'. Therefore, those mothers' changing or re-arranging of identities can also be analysed from the ideology of '*kokoro*' –mind by Lebra (1992) and Doi's ideology of '*amae*' (1973) (See Chapter III) in relation to 'institutional self'. Although mothers are labelled as 'wives of sojourners', 'ex-sojourners', or 'X's mom', their personal identities which is based on their '*kokoro*' is in the depth of the 'self'. This inner self makes them have some ambitions to take on and develop other roles. Those mothers are certainly '*Jibun ga aru*' (to have a self) (Doi 1973: 132), and have opportunities to express themselves through their lives where they have time and money. Dorinne Kondo who has studied workplaces in Tokyo from the view of institutional self and inner wishes (*kokoro*), uses Doi's theory (1973) and extends it to outside/inner (*omote/ura*) (1990). She points out that outside/inner attitudes are deeply related to how to consider selfhood in Japan (Ibid: 24). She explains this from the different forms of 'I' towards listeners:

The 'I' is shaped by formality, kinship, occupation, other people's desires and usages, and myriad other 'contextual' factors; it does not stand for a proper noun that has already been registered in discourse and remains a constant irrespective of the particularities of a given situation...In contrast, the irreducible 'I' of the English language is relatively detached from its social context; indeed, that one can even distinguish between the 'I' and 'the context' is revealing in itself.

(Kondo 1990: 29)<sup>1</sup>

From this view, she also analyses selfhood in Japanese society:

Boundaries between self and other are fluid and constantly changing, depending on context and on the social positioning people adopt in particular situations. These multiple, infinitely graded layers of selfhood are often described in Japanese in terms of two end points of a continuum; the *tatemaie*, social surface, that which is done to smooth social relations, and *honne*, 'real' feeling; *omote*, the front, formal side, vs. *ura*, the back or intimate side; *soto*, outside, and *uchi*, inside (Doi 1973, 1986; Bachnik 1978; Kondo 1982; Hamabata 1983)

(Kondo 1990: 31)



In order to keep ‘harmony’, one must hide their ‘*honne*’ (real feeling) and stay in the ‘*onmote*’ (the front). As Doi mentions above, ‘*jibun ga aru*’ (to have a self) is a virtue in Japan. The right timing and situation when and where one can express their ‘*honne*’ which can be rooted from *jibun* (self) is significant.

Mother H, for example, described her imbibing cultural experiences as a product of composure during sojourning:

I think composure is culture. Culture is from composure...In Japan, I was looking for something which I can enjoy because I could not enjoy my life. I had never thought that opera was such an enjoyable thing...My world was too small and narrow. In my world, I had been struggling all the time, listening to NHK’s educational radio programmes such as French lessons etc. But in London, I could see real operas and feel that culture is not only a word, but becomes a communication tool when I utter the word to people who know ‘culture’.

(Mother H)

Those mothers had shown gradually their ‘inner wishes’ as I met them over several times. They did not show such inner wishes in the first interview. In the beginning, they tended to stay in *omote* (formal), and later showed their *honne* (real wishes). In this way, while I interviewed mothers in relation to their children’s media consumption and everyday lives, mothers’ identities were also found. Those mothers had found themselves, struggling between their ‘social identities’ constructed by social expectation including the cultural capital they should have and their self-identities. Social identities were labelled in London and Japan, cultural identities could be established in London, but their self-identities (*kokoro*) have been sunk or hidden for long time and not developed in London so suddenly. Probably their self-identities as a woman or a person were not allowed to come first as a good wife and middle class mother. Having composure in a host country, they carefully showed their ‘*kokoro*’ in new cultures or possibilities.

Moreover, because of their ‘*kokoro*’, probably they felt ‘uneasy’ when they entered the overseas community. They believed that such upgraded lifestyle might be very cosy. However, gradually, their *kokoro* floated up while they enjoyed their living in the overseas community, and directed them to positions which could satisfy themselves as



an individual. In Western countries, they may have more opportunities to express or actualize their '*kokoro*' or 'inner wishes' easier than in Japan where individualism is not respected as a virtue, but rather as 'ego', disruptive to harmony (Sakai 2000). Their behaviours which have inside/outside aspects have also resulted from their constructed hybridity as well as their children. When using both Western and Japanese theories of the self to analyse people's identities, it is important to consider where people are from. If the environment where people actually exist has different ideologies, it is necessary to look at both ideologies from the host country and country of origin. Such cognitive frameworks can be seen as 'ideoscapes' (Appadurai 1990). This study showed Japanese mothers who keep traditional ideologies from Japan and practice it in London. As 'ideoscapes', their ideologies can be seen as different from ones in Britain. At the same time, they found alternative roles and different life-courses through non-Japanese local people.

## Conclusion

The middle-class mothers were lucky (as all informants said) to be sojourners' wives, who were able to find well-educated husbands who work at major companies and to have healthy children. The mothers believe that in order to reproduce Japan's middle-class daughters should be like mothers, and sons should be their fathers in future as Goodman has analysed above (1990). Through their experiences in a host country and seeing other cultures, they re-thought themselves. Although they finally found a place where their inner-wishes can be expressed, they still practice their childrearing based on the ideology of '*ie*'. As argued above, a contradiction can be seen in their childrearing and their thoughts. Probably when they start working, they may change their attitudes towards their daughters. At least, they have been trying to change their husbands' attitudes in childrearing in the British way, in which there is more equality in childrearing and housekeeping.

This, however, also becomes a matter for Japanese society itself. Japanese society still does not respect or accept those women who are talented and often can teach subjects, principally those concerned with domestic skills such as patchwork, cooking and flower arranging to provide comfortable homes for their families as good mothers and wives,



to clients eager to learn such skills. Society still places a strong emphasis on traditional ideology, especially amongst the middle class, of being a good wife and mother, in other words, being a full-time housewife. Women are thus firmly located in the domestic sphere. Furthermore, due to the absence of a full social support network which was previously enjoyed back home, the typical housewife amongst London's Japanese diaspora, is faced with increased responsibilities and imperatives. Japanese Society including men and institutions, can surely help out women who are in a dilemma between their social responsibility and inner wishes, and should respect their talents, skills, knowledge, and motivation, not expecting their wives to take care of children, at least, not making them guilty when they hire baby sitters or work outside.

Although I did not interview their husbands who are seen as 'busy daddy' by their children, they may also have changed their views on family through their sojourning abroad where there are less securities. In related studies on Japanese businessmen (c.f Ben-Ari 1998, Sakai 2000, Sedgwick 2001), they are depicted as imposing their corporate cultures from Japan in their work as managers on local staffs who have been brought up in a different cultural environment. This study, however, focuses on them as family men who have been also influenced by their new environment. Having more time with family alone, those husbands have surely become aware of a need to participate in childrearing and share their time with the family. Family K's six year old daughter had been complaining about her father who was busy with his job all the time. One day, I saw her drawing in her notebook in which her father was cooking for his family on a Sunday. It would be more delightful for her to see her father spending his time with the family at home rather than allowing them to go on holiday separately.





**Picture 20: Papa is cooking for us! (from a drawing book of six year-old girl).**

Through these families' media consumption acts, various aspects have been seen. The video exchanges amongst Japanese mothers in the overseas community are indicative of their relationships. They circulate videos, information, rumours, other products which they do not need any longer, introducing new comers, inviting lessons, etc. Through these everyday activities in London and beyond the boundary- from Japan, those mothers' identities were re-formed as well as their children's.

In the process of global cultural flows, the ideologies, lifestyles, or family practices have been also influenced by those in the host country. Not only products or people, but also practices or ideologies can change or give different options to Japanese society where males still dominate in the public sphere. Moreover, Japanese identities in diaspóra requires understanding of both Western (Giddens 1991) and Japanese ways (Doi 1973, Kondo 1990, Lebra 1992) of perceiving the self or realization of the self and consideration of parents' goals of childrearing (Markus and Kitayama 1999). It will be difficult to change or improve as long as mothers' childrearing practices are still based on their traditional gender roles. Or perhaps mothers may be afraid of losing their



established social roles as full time mothers and wives if they challenge alternative roles.

The lives in the overseas community have provided the studied families not only with upgraded lifestyles and experiences in foreign cultures, but also with certain insights into Japanese society. By examining the mothers' identities from the views of Giddens' concept of ontological security and Doi's notion of *ura/omote* (inner/outside), their changing sense of security was displayed while they sojourned and experienced different cultures. For example, they had also witnessed the different type of lifestyles or life-courses by non-Japanese parents. In the beginning they felt anxious about their lives abroad, and later their ontological security also changed or was adjusted by their new environment where they were able to approve and satisfy their inner wishes. Later, for their future in Japan, they have new anxieties about re-adjusting themselves into Japanese society, where their wishes may not be fulfilled.

#### Notes;

---

1 In Japanese, so-called personal pronouns offer striking evidence to support the idea of relationally defined selves. Speakers of Japanese have a plethora of different options to exercise in choosing terms of self-reference (Kondo 1990: 27). (For example, in the case of formal in the male speech, I becomes '*watakushi*', in a casual way, it becomes '*ore* (macho way)', or '*boku*'. In the female speech, it becomes '*watakushi*' or '*watashi*' in a formal way, and '*atashi*' in a casual way).



## **Chapter IX: Conclusion**

This study of media consumption in the Japanese overseas community in London has revealed key issues in relation to the roles of the global and diasporic media. Firstly, these people's life-courses in relation to their childrearing based on Japanese ideology in a host country as an ethnic minority has been given in Chapters III, IV, and VI. Secondly, as discussed in Chapter IV, their upgraded lifestyle led to them being able to buy 'security' in a perceived uncertain environment in London. Their lack of knowledge of local information or news due to their particular media consumption pattern, for example, provoked anxiety. Thirdly, as Chapter VII and VIII showed, the mothers and children developed and reformed their identities while they sojourned. Hybridity was constructed, especially, by their parents' ideology from Japan and their environment in London. Although the objectives of this study has been to examine the families' media consumption and everyday lives, this micro level of the study led to the macro level of issues in Japanese society concerning education, children's consumer market, media policy, process of constructing hybrid identities, and issues concerning immigration/multiculturalism.

Through this ethnographic study, two paradoxical elements were found in the lives of the Japanese families studied: the first is individuals dared to choose from multiple choices such as media products, holiday, places to live, and the other one is that individuals did not have choice and had to follow established lifestyles. For example, they had to drive children between home and schools everyday and to lead their children to catch up both on the National Curriculum in the U.K. and Japan if their children go to non-Japanese schools. From the micro level of study, this chapter will expand several issues to the macro level. The main issues from findings which are listed below will be summarised and discussed further.

### **1) Risk and security**

In this section, security and risks will be summarised. This study suggests that Giddens' (1991) concept of ontological security can be a useful tool to study particular lifestyles in diaspora too. In the process of analysing their ontological security, certain issues



appeared and will be summarised and evaluated in latter sections.

## **2) Critical views on environment within which children live**

This study examined micro level of diasporic media consumption and everyday lives. As shown in Chapter VII, mothers felt that the environment in London was not good for their children compared to children in Japan. Mothers did not criticise contents of media products, but had negative views on the environment itself where children had to play under a guardian. Consequently, they tended to consume media when they had time or alternatively they take several lessons after school. As a result of competitive educational systems in the U.K. and Japan, private sectors have expanded their business to help these parents. This will be critically reflected on and also linked with the section of multiculturalism practice.

## **3) Roles of global media**

Global media which is often criticised as a commodification of childhood will be re-examined as a major player in this small community. Global media products were actively consumed and experienced as well as diasporic ones. Scepticism by Western scholars and parents in this study towards global media products for children will be discussed from the view of 'entertaining and learning'. Seiter, for example, has questioned such commodified childhood with popular TV characters as depleting and weakening children's imagination (1993). Sub-cultural consumption play important roles in children's socialising and developing identities. The gap between children and parents' interpretations of memories in sub-cultural consumption was also witnessed in their visiting different Disneyland.

## **4) '*Chuzaiin*' sojourners and '*kikokushijo*' returnees in global cultural flows**

Appadurai's global cultural flows will be used to examine the overseas community. 'Ethnoscapes' will be critically reviewed in relation to the images of returnees (Pang 2000) which are 'speak English, smart and rich', and the ideal image of parents in Japan. The interviews self-concept of 'Japaneseness' will be discussed.

## **5) Hybrid identities**

In the section on global cultural flows, 'ethnoscapes' were discussed. These family members' identities will be evaluated in relation to Japanese society in this section. Their special circumstance of living abroad and going back to Japan has led to their children having to develop their identities in a complex and particular way. In addition,



as discussed in Chapter VIII, those mothers gradually changed and reformed their identity by becoming accustomed to non-Japanese people's life-courses. The problem of this is, however, that they will return to Japan in several years and may have to reform their identities yet again to adjust to society. Japanese society tends not to admire diversity compared to Western countries. The cultural capital which these mothers and children have nourished in the U.K. cannot be exhibited as valuable in public or in class rooms in Japan. Children and mothers take lessons actively. This busy lifestyle and their media consumption partially is a product of contemporary Japanese society and the mothers' interpretation of children's hybrid identities, which can be cultural capital, still remains in a rather monocultural state compared to the U.K. The macro level of returnee issues will be evaluated

#### **6) Roles of diasporic media: Multiculturalism policy and practice in the overseas community**

Mothers described their lives in London as 'rootless life' 'half reality and half vacation' 'not reality' or 'long vacation'. From such comments, their lives seem to be floating as Cunningham and Sinclair entitled their book on the case of diasporas in Australia. It can be said that their biased media consumption pattern which was discussed in Chapter VI led them to feel 'floating'. In this section, macro level of investigation in relation to policies on multiculturalism in the U.K. and Japan will be discussed.

Each issue will be reviewed as a summary of this study, and evaluated further. Finally, my reflection on this study with implications will be given.

#### ***1. Risk and security***

Giddens' concept of ontological security becomes key to understanding the Japanese families' media consumption and identities in the overseas community. In the process of analysing their ontological security, certain issues appeared. This section as an introduction of related issues which will be critically discussed later will be a summary of those Japanese sojourners' ontological security.

#### **A) The overseas community as the space where sojourners can develop their networks**



As seen in Chapter III, the overseas community was shown as the space where sojourners can develop their networks to establish and build up social capital. For example, within the overseas community, they took cultural lessons and children went to the Japanese school on Saturdays, parents associated with the alumni parties of their prestigious universities, wives associated with their husbands' company parties, and Japanese businessmen frequently play golf amongst them. Their sense of security and trust invariably leads them to belonging to the diaspora.

### **B) Buying sense of security by paying extra**

In chapter IV, their upgraded lifestyle as sojourners was explained in the same manner. They pay extra to Japanese diasporic services such as the media and estate agencies in order to satisfy their sense of security, by which most gained information and news from Japan. They did not trust local services as seen in Chapter IV such as schools and property agencies. By staying within the overseas community and catching up with current affairs in Japan, they were able to feel secure. Even though they pay extra, they kept consuming the familiar outputs from Japan. They also trusted the global media player Disney since they are familiar with their products and amusement parks.

### **C) Reproducing traditional gender roles**

In Chapter VI, it became clearer that in order to protect and sustain Japanese sojourners' ontological security, which was based on their experiences of childhood, they tended to provide their children with images of traditional gender roles which are often seen in Disney stories. On the other hand, new media which parents did not have in their childhood was regarded as having risks for their children. Such media consumption patterns influenced their developing identities. In Chapter VII, mothers displayed their anxieties to their children's behaving differently from their goals of childrearing which is based on ideology of *ie* (family) in Japan whereby middle-class mothers make efforts to reproduce middle-class values by educating their children in a certain way (White 1996). Therefore, if children do not follow values which their parents were nourished on in Japan, anxieties are exposed and felt by the parents.

Parents appreciated such multicultural environment in London in educating their children and in their children's acquisition of English. They said that their children were able to learn about different races, language, and culture at their schools. However, risks



for mothers were highlighted when children behaved unlike ordinary children in Japan where such behaviours are not welcomed (c.f. Minami 2000, Pang 2000). Such interactions developed in children's hybrid identities. They did not show 'in-between'-ness (Pang 2000), but switched their behaviour according to each situation: mainly in the schools and in the overseas community including home, which was seen in Chapter VII. This will be discussed more in the section on hybrid identities.

#### **D) Changing their senses of ontological security while they sojourned**

In Chapter VIII, mothers' changing identities were studied. This chapter showed that their sense of security changed gradually while they sojourned abroad. After sojourning for several years, they start worrying about their life in Japan. Their pursuit of their other roles in society such as being an instructor of flower arrangement, patch work, piano, or therapists also showed certain contradictions in relation to their childrearing, especially towards their daughters. They still tend to expect traditional gender roles in their children, but at the same time, they wanted to have different roles beside them. Contradiction between their goals of childrearing and their inner wishes were found. This study suggests that Giddens' (1991) concept of ontological security can be a useful tool to study particular lifestyles in diaspora too.

#### **E) New media as risks**

Because families tried to protect from any risks, they, consequently, tended to stick to the overseas community and had few opportunities to integrate with non-Japanese local people except schools. New media tended to be linked with TV game addiction by mothers. As discussed in Chapter VI, mothers worried about their children's *hikikomori* (staying home and playing TV games) in future as anti-social behaviour. For example, they feared that their children would be bullied at schools in Japan. This, however, seems to be caused by Japanese society because it is still in a mono-cultural state compared to the U.K.. This will be discussed more in the section on multiculturalism.

#### **F) Environment in London for Japanese children**

As seen in Chapter IV, compared to mothers' childhoods, they also expressed the disadvantages of living in London. Children cannot play freely, have to play under a guardian and need an appointment with friends in advance. They regarded such friendship and environment as unnatural. They also had traumatic feeling about where break-ups were common when their Japanese friends were returning to Japan. In the



Japanese kindergarten both in Acton and Finchley, the numbers of pupils were too small to experience group lives which was discussed in Chapter IV. In addition, it was felt that driving children between school and home can influence their physical strength and, again, friendship which could be nourished by chatting to each other on the way.

## ***2. Critical views on environment within which children live***

As seen above, there are two elements in their everyday lives. On the one hand, they have available to them a rich variety of choice when they consume. On the other, they cannot have choice because they are restricted by the norms, values and lifestyles of non-Japanese locals. This will be discussed in this section. The urban environment in London gives little freedom to children and their parents. As a result of this, children from the middle-class tend to spend more time on taking lessons and doing homework after school.

Within this environment, Japanese mothers have shown their appreciation when their daughters socialised through their friends' birthday parties, and when their sons play with plural Japanese friends at the same time. However, as discussed in Chapter IV, the time when they spend with their friends after school seems to be less than their parents used to have. The environmental elements which influence childhood are as follows:

### **A) Children under eleven year-old cannot play freely and must play under a guardian.**

This restriction can cause child/ren to be isolated from each other and accelerates the process of sending children to many lessons by paying extra. In addition, compared to ordinary children in Japan, children in the U.K. tend to nourish values of money later. In Japan, children often go shopping alone (aged above six year-old) (c.f. Ito 2004). As discussed in Chapter IV, Gunter and Furnham have assessed the role of parents in consumer socialization as being important (1998: 15). These families also feel children need to learn the values of money. The urban cities where crime rates are high, however, cannot allow children to be left alone. Consequently, Japanese mothers tended to let their children play with Japanese peers who did not make appointments in advance. From this view, it is hard for them to experience other cultures from non-Japanese peers easily.



## B) Educational achievement

Chapter VI has discussed educational media market in the U.K. and Japan. As seen in Chapter III, V and VI, when those children enter Year 3 (in the U.K. aged seven/eight, and in Japan, aged eight/nine), the mothers' concerns began to seriously focus on their academic achievement in Japan and they started to make their children study at crammer schools for Japanese students (mostly in West Acton), correspondence courses, or private tutors. The BBC programme on '*hikikomori*' also pointed out his aspect of competitive educational situation in Japan, showing that students who participate a crammer school course could not go to sleep until they answer perfectly (Rees 2002)<sup>1</sup>. Even though Japan's Ministry of Education introduced two days off a week at state schools, these private business sectors provide alternative educational lessons. The children of my study will return to such a society. Even though they may have the advantage of taking a special exam for returnees, they still have to catch up with the National Curriculum.

In addition to Japan, a study by Buckingham and Scanlon in Britain (2003) has shown how materials are designed in relation to the National Curriculum in Britain. Parental tasks at home have increased as a result of teaching children through homework and academic achievement such as GCSE exams. They assume that this is a problem, blaming policy makers, 'Much of the learning and teaching that goes on in homes and families is not recognized by schools; and much of the cultural capital that children bring into the classroom is ignored or devalued by teachers' (2003: 191). In fact, the mothers of this study were teaching their children both homework from local schools and the Saturday schools or Japanese educational drills everyday. In Japan, despite existing official text books for all schools including private ones in order to maintain the standard of the National Curriculum, the above point made by Buckingham and Scanlon is exactly happening: relying on parental guide to teach children at homes or crammer schools, and not valuing returnees who can bring different cultures to classrooms.

In both elements at school and after school, it is difficult to experience other cultures through children's interactions. As a result of this environment, children in London spend more time in the domestic sphere and are isolated from public space. This will be



discussed more in the section on multiculturalism.

### ***3. Roles of Global media***

Chapter VII showed how children's identities (especially girls) were influenced by their consumption of Disney products. In addition, Japanese families travel to Disneylands as packaged 'safe' places for children of the middle class. The parents showed their interest in and attachment to each Disneyland in the world as precious memories. Media power has turned them into 'Disney' pilgrims (Couldry 2000). In contrast to their parents, the children were often confused with which Disneyland they meant. Global media players have been criticised in many studies (c.f. Seiter 1993, 2002, Kline 1999, Buckingham 2001). These studies claim that these global aggressive players promote their products in a highly capitalistic and consumerist manner (c.f. Tomlinson 1991). In spite of these claims, the members of the Japanese overseas community consume these global products rather positively and actively. It can be said that the Japanese parents who consumed Japanese and global media, mainly from the U.S., considered their children's consuming such popular culture as a healthy process in their growth. Apart from anxieties over video games, which they feared would stunt their children's social development, they appeared to respect the advantages of these popular cultural forms, which will be shown below as a summary.

Currently in 2004, as seen in this study, the global media companies and products are much more powerful compared to national/diasporic broadcasters or other media companies. They have played various roles in the overseas community and will also play roles when children will return to Japan as seen in Chapter V and VI. The following points show how global media are positive to these children, and how these products were actively consumed and experienced:

#### **A) Children can share the same culture with local peers in London and in Japan.**

Through their birthday presents or pictures which they took by a digital camera, *BeyBlade*, *Harry Potter*, Disney's princesses, *Hello Kitty* and David Beckham<sup>2</sup> (England) were all consumed by the children in this study. They also shared these media products with their local peers.



**B) By experiencing the same culture, their absent time in Japan can be shortened.**

Two families who have already returned to Japan during the research, both reported that their children kept playing with *BeyBlade* or Playstation 2 with their new friends in Tokyo. The parents believed that these media mitigated their children's missing particular sub-cultural experiences and were quick ways to catch up or keep up with their peers in Japan.

**C) The Japanese global media gives those Japanese children confidence and help to establish friendships with local and Japanese peers.**

The eight year-old girl above and another girl started exchanging fancy stickers with TV characters (e.g. *Pokemon*) from Japan with their non-Japanese peers, and most of the boys who had the latest Japanese global cartoons games or toys have gained confidence by being accepted by local peers who also exchange their cultures via British pop idols or sports.

**D) Global media products are flexibly consumed: in a variety of media devices, in many languages, and expansion of products such as toys and clothes.**

The ways of experiencing the global media characters was highly varied: some started from books (i.e. *Harry Potter*, *the Lord of Rings*), some started watching videos in Japanese first, or some watched films in English first. Later, they expanded their consumption towards other goods with these global popular characters such as costumes, games, or even free gifts from McDonalds.

It can be said that children's media products more often cross cultural boundaries as seen in the communities. The businesses who license characters on 'educational' goods have been successful in the market (Buckingham & Scanlon 2003). The major players will continue to produce these products by developing synergies with the educational industry. Mistrust was shown by the Japanese mothers in Chapter VI. Using 'media power' (Couldry 2000), aggressive sales men tried to sell expensive Disney's English sets in Japn. If these high prices can contribute to developing their quality of educational materials or contents, consumers may find them attractive. If these brand images are merely symbolic forms without quality, consumers may have another impression of them as seen in Seiter's study (1993). As discussed in Chapter V, Seiter argues that such logos can weaken children's imagination or creative skills (Ibid). The



children of this study, however, had extended their imaginations and also creative skills with these characters which were shown in Chapter V, and were admired by their parents.

There is, however, no evidence that global characters in educational materials damage learning. In fact, Buckingham and Scanlon have found that some corporations (such as the giant supermarket chain in the U.K.- Tesco) have provided commodities which can fill in the some of the gaps that the government has failed to provide (2003: 190). Media consumption in educational purposes has expanded to parents who are unlikely to enter specialist bookshops (Buckingham and Scanlon: Ibid). Sub-cultural elements easily accepted by mothers and children in multi-national educational materials have the potentials to develop and help mothers' teaching children at home.

The contents and functions of new media such as TV/PC games, CD-ROM for children and interactive TV channels need to be explored and researched in relation to how effectively children can learn. In fact, Buckingham and Scanlon have reported that so-called 'fun learning' software bored children because they tended to be repetitive (2003: 176). Blurring the difference between learning and entertaining might cause a negative feeling from children who also play Gameboy or other TV/PC games whose software can be and certainly are more exciting. Through these experiences in educational CD-ROMs, they may easily give up using them as boring 'games', forgetting about the aims of their parents who provide so-called 'educational' CD-ROMs.

The global media, as seen in this study, did play positive roles in this overseas community. Through their acts of consumption, those children, who found it difficult and often traumatic to adjust to their new environments, as shown in Chapter IV, could be consoled by sharing common sub-cultures with their new friends in new environments. Socialising is one of the most important factors for the five to eight year-olds children's process of growth. In order to prevent future fears for *hikikomori* as discussed in Chapter VI, socialising their children is assumed as a healthy process of developing their communication skills no matter what kinds of media products they use



as a tool. Sharing the same cultures can prevent them from being isolated from dominant groups both in the U.K. and Japan. Through such everyday socialising process, children could construct hybridity.

Furthermore, as seen in Chapter V, through consuming global media such as Disneylands, value gaps between parents and children became evident. Expectations by parents who were enchanted by media power and became pilgrims of Disneylands were not reciprocated by children. Children tended to be confused by the locations of Disneyland due to their familiarity as seen in Chapter VI. Familiarity can give a sense of 'security' to families on the one hand, but also can lessen distinctions which parents expect to emphasise as sub-cultural capital in future or keep as family memories on the other. In addition, going to Disneyland is a symbolic act which shows where the parents belong. In Japan, as discussed above and explained in Chapter III, society is not based on individualism. If a child owns a popular game such as Gameboy, for example, other classmates also feel that they need it. Globalised and popular cultural products, in this sense, in Japan, are easier to be accepted rather than criticised. One mother of a mixed marriage who visited Mother F had a negative view of the wives of sojourners in a Japanese kindergarten and commented:

Friend: Most of the Japanese wives carry 'brand' [designers'] bags [i.e. Fendi, Gucci, Louis Vuitton, Prada, Burberry, etc.]. But these days, many people have Louis Vuitton's bags. Once one carries a new one, all have the same one...I can say, there are many people who want to have the things which others have.

Mother F: They always ask me where I bought it, don't they? I have been asked if she could buy the same one as mine.

Friend: They truly have the same things.

(at Mother F's house)

Having a certain product shows that they belong to a certain group: wives of expatriates whose children are in a Japanese kindergarten in London. In the same manner, Japanese children are provided with the same products in order to integrate them with others, as was seen in Chapter VI. Such symbolic products can express their sense of belonging which relates to their forming identities.

In the overseas community as a result of a lack of local information, globalised media



products are easier to purchase and also have ‘media power’ as recognisable characters (as well as mothers’ having the latest Louis Vuitton’s bags). In the children’s consumption of global media products, the feeling of ‘empty’ space was not evident. It became rather a tool of approaching local or new friends to obtain ‘lived space’. Sub-cultural consumption provides them their ‘lived space’ in the process of socialising themselves. Moreover, some families have already had experiences sojourning in other countries such as Australia, Germany, and the U.S.. Living under the spectre of dislocation to other countries, or even on holidays, they appreciate that their children can easily recognise globalised TV programmes and their products. These global media products clearly help these children to socialise in host countries and also when they return to Japan. In this sense, at least for those children in the overseas community, in order to catch up and keep up with the trends not only locally, but also globally, they can shorten their distances from other cities in the world, and also share the same sub-cultural capital which can help them to maintain and form friendships. In other words, their traumatic feeling of missing their friends all the time and welcoming new comers from Japan can be mitigated by global media. These children equally search for ‘lived place’ (Tsagarousianou 2001). The mothers expect such outcomes from these products and actively provide them. Therefore, in this study, global media products for children are admired and frequently exchanged within the diaspora.

#### ***4. ‘Chuzaiin’ sojourners and ‘kikokushijo’ returnees who are seen as ‘others’ in global cultural flows***

As explained in Chapter III, those children will be labelled as returnees (*kikokushijyo*) in Japan. Sojourners were often distinguished by their non-Japanese sojourners in host countries since they had upgraded lifestyles which was seen in Chapter IV, and will be differentiated from ordinary people in Japan when they return which was seen in Chapter VIII. These sojourners who have experienced other cultures and brought their home culture to host countries will be evaluated in this section, using Appadurai’s five dimensions.

The global cultural flows from Appadurai’s five dimensions (1990) within the overseas community will be summarised and evaluated concerning ‘cultural imperialism’



(Tomlinson 1991). The term 'globalization' in this study has been used in relation to by Appadurai's five dimensions (1990) and it has also applied Befu's definition which relates to Japan's economic development in the world since the late 1980s (2001: 3). This section will critically examine today's global cultural flows in Japan. Returnees as 'ethnoscapes' can play important roles in introducing other cultures.

Applying Appadurai's five dimensions of global cultural flow a) ethnoscapes; b) mediascapes; c) technoscapes; d) financescapes; and e) ideoscapes (1990: 296) to the case of the Japanese overseas community in London, complex cultural flows have been shown in this study. Each dimension can be summarised as;

- A) **Ethnoscapes**: needless to say, those sojourners who dominate the Japanese community and ethnic businesses in London have powerful influence compared to people of mixed marriages. They also contribute to local small businesses (e.g. lessons provided by local people, fishmongers or butchers who slice fish and meat for Japanese cooking). This financial power also relates to financescapes. Their children receive the latest toys from Japan and introduce them to their non-Japanese local peers. Non-Japanese local peers also introduce their cultures to those Japanese children through their socialising processes.
- B) **Mediascapes**: Through their consumptions in which they usually pay 'extra' to gain external information from Japan in the U.K., they subscribe to Japanese newspapers, a satellite TV (JSTV), and magazines. Those sojourners' political beliefs are still based on the ones which they have in Japan. This became clear when the Iraq War started. Alternatively, diasporic media does not influence locals, but global products such as *BeyBlade* (popular boy's Japanese cartoon) also reveals a hierarchy amongst the community and which also extended to the local community as it became global. Their biased media consumption, by which they do not consume local media products, can prevent them from gaining other popular cultures or political views in host countries. Here, again 'familiar outputs' from many choices were chosen by the Japanese sojourners in London.
- C) **Technoscapes**: Most of the households in this study had two TV-sets which were NTSC and PAL in order to watch local and Japanese videos. DVD, as a new device, was also used to widen their consumption patterns- choice of languages. New media have expanded these people's consumption acts and communication boundaries. The



compression of time and space was certainly witnessed. Through their daily based consumption of new media such as emails, they were also aware of becoming 'others' in Japan's society. Children, contrary to their parents, tended to be alienated from new media by parents who were concerned about their addiction to TV/PC games in future. Children, however, experienced new media at schools and knew how to gain information through the Internet. Even though technologies have been developed, the generation gap between mothers and children in using computers or Gameboy/Playstation 2 was evident in mothers' attitudes to new media.

Media regulation is still limited by the national boundaries. JSTV cannot cover all global events such as the World Cup, Olympics, F1, etc., where Japanese audiences expect reports about Japanese players. Simultaneously, small scale illegal businesses which fill this gap were witnessed. In the future, Internet TV (still illegal in terms of clearing broadcasting rights and copy rights within the national boundaries) will be a key player who can extend beyond time and space more efficiently. How these commercial media and regulators (especially for broadcasting rights and license for actors/productions) can challenge this issue will be the next stage for them.

- D) **Financescapes:** Japanese companies have ceaselessly sent workers from Japan abroad. With various financial supports from their employers, sojourners can have upgraded lifestyle by paying extra. Paying extra assures them of secured and comfortable lives in host countries. In addition, families with strong financial status provide alternative and different experiences for their children in comparison to ordinary children in Japan or U.K. In doing so they expect future cultural capital.
- E) **Ideoscapes:** these families' beliefs, especially, the mothers still practice their childrearing based on the Japanese traditional ideology of '*ie*' – family. This ideology has tremendous influence on their consumption patterns for their children. Clearly, as discussed in Chapter VII on identity, the gender issue cannot be ignored. Mothers differentiate their goals for childrearing depending on their children's gender. Through this ideology, the boys had all the same popular toys such as *BeyBlade*, and mothers wondered if they should provide TV games which are inevitable amongst children in Japan. Conversely, for daughters, the parents tended to encourage them to nourish and respect local cultures (non-Japanese) and friends



(non-Japanese) for their future cultural capital.

These dimensions explain the complexity of global cultural flows, especially, in relation to the local. This study is only on London's overseas community and locals who surround it. It is, however, also clear that the media, especially global and diasporic, play important roles and are an inevitable factor in the process of global cultural flows.

At least mothers experienced other cultures through their children and non-Japanese friends. In the overseas and local communities (e.g. schools), non-Japanese children experienced Japanese culture through these families as seen in previous chapters in their everyday lives and Japanese children experienced British or other cultures through their non-Japanese peers. As 'ethnoscapes', those children also brought their 'Japaneseness' via their Japanese global toys. Although Pang denies defining these Japanese children abroad as small ambassadors in Japan with specific identities (2000: 317), it can be argued that they can play such a role within their small community in host countries. The real issue is as Pang has concluded above that it may be difficult for them to become cosmopolitans or small ambassadors *in* Japan where dominant culture still requires them to belong to the group.

Simultaneously, the image of returnees still pictures them as intelligent, rich, and smart (Pang 2000: 272) in Japan because of their special exams for returnees and images from the mass media. John Lie in his article on the discourse of Japaneseness categorises this aspect as cultural superiority<sup>3</sup>:

The United States superseded Europe after 1945. The hold of Germany over Japanese high culture waned...In virtually all spheres of cultural life, whether sport or music, American influence became paramount (Lie 1999: 78). In this regard English has an hegemonic hold in Japanese life. For many Japanese, to be international means to learn English.

(Manabe 1990: 6 in Lie 1999: 78)

This image can be a conspirator who helps booming English education businesses for early aged children. Such programmes seem to go beyond the boundaries of 'education' and accelerate its market and global media players to enter this business. Although this



study has looked at children in an English speaking country, returnees are from all over the world. Nevertheless Pang argues that all returnees are not the same. They are not all smart and not all of them speak English (2000).

Again, as discussed above, contrary to this tendency in Japan, the mothers in the overseas community were very keen on their children's acquisition of accurate Japanese which will become proof that their children are 'Japanese'. In this sense, 'Japaneseness' in mothers' minds, means that their sons who are expected to be international businessmen must need efficient communication skills more than English linguistic abilities within major Japanese companies. For their daughter, as seen in Chapter VII, being returnees or educated in the U.K. can be their future cultural and social capital as some mothers of ex-returnees have already experienced and actually used their English linguistic skills in their work as secretarial positions. A contradiction has been found in Chapter VIII when those ex-returnee mothers also expected their daughters to have such skills for their future, but eventually found their real interest in their careers as a therapists or theatre managers which offered different identities for them away from their language skills. The single image of returnee (especially female) remains the same: speaking fluent English and a promising future working as a translator or in related jobs.

Pang has expanded global cultural flows by guest workers in Japan and argued in relation to their immigration policy:

Japanese immigration policy still reflects very much this [unlike Germany, Japan chose to encourage capital-intensive production at home, and invest in labour-intensive production in nearby countries with low-cost labour] closed-door policy.

(2000: 124)

On the other hand, professional or high-skilled people who obtained legal residence status in Japan have also increased. Japan's immigration policy concerns mostly the capital-assisted, high manpower migration (Muto 1993: 349 in Pang 2000 124-5). This has also led to the issue of cultural imperialism amongst these ethnic minorities in Japan. As seen in chapter III, Tomlinson interpreted cultural imperialism as the spread of culture of consumerism. The issue which Pang raised above is one of the results of



‘consumerism’ in a capitalist country.

Recently, actresses or singers from South Korea have become accepted in the main stream of Japanese popular culture. In 2003, the Korean soap opera *Fuyu no Sonata* [Winter Sonata] became very popular and was aired on NHK and achieved from DVD, CD, and related books’ products top sales on Amazon Japan (Chosun 2003). These representations in the media can encourage these minorities. In addition, not only English, but also other languages such as Chinese or Korean, which are major foreign languages in Japan due to the large population of immigrants, should be given more attentions.<sup>4</sup> Indeed, a member of a Japanese popular idol group, SMAP, has learned Hangul between his busy schedules and shown his new talent in a film or in his own programmes by speaking the language. His challenging attitude can give audiences new views on bilingualism and South Korea (Kankoku-go [Hangul] Journal 2004). The sales of Hangul text books for NHK’s educational programme have more than doubled from 90,000 in 2003 to 200,000 books in 2004 (Chusun 2004).

Although the element of consumerism in those pop idols and their market values (especially after the World Cup) cannot be ignored, global cultural flows, in this sense, can be also carried out by other type of ‘ethnoscapes’. The children in this study can also help incoming foreign cultural flows into Japanese society on the level of ethnoscapes. It may be easier for these children to introduce their experiences in London which has power both ‘high’ (c.f. art, theatre, ballet, literature and so forth) and popular culture (such as *Harry Potter*, David Beckham, *Thomas the Tank Engine*). Returnees from all over the world have experienced cultures different from their everyday lives, at least in terms of language and rituals. As Pang has argued, those returnees are all in one category (2000: 8), returnees from countries where English is not spoken and who went to Japanese schools full time should be also given equal respect, away from the image of returnees who are smart, rich and speak fluent English.

The five dimensions of global cultural flows are a useful tool to examine those Japanese sojourners’ lives in a host country. In addition, Befu’s definition of ‘globalization’ (2001) was adequate in examining the flows of Japanese expatriates. Needless to say,



each Japanese overseas community can have different characteristics influenced by local communities or host countries' cultures. In fact, some people in this study who used to sojourn in other European cities or the U.S. said that their overseas communities are different from the one in London which was given in Chapter III. Furthermore, recent global cultural flows are not only from the dominant Western countries, but also from other countries to Japan. It cannot be ignored that media market also target potential consumers by providing new types of foreign cultures. As a result, it can be also argued that there will appear more complex global cultural flows in Japan in future, not only from each country's economy, but also from the view of 'ethnoscapes'; how people accept and revise their old ideas against dominant cultures commercialised positions, which are still mostly from U.S. and Europe via mass media in Japan.

### ***5. Hybrid identities and social expectations***

This study has examined an ethnic minority's media consumption from the perspective of time and space. Within space, how and why parents, peers, schools, and society impose particular ideologies and cultures on children became clear in this study. Experiencing such processes, they develop identities. It will not be necessary to discuss hybridity if people do not become categorised or seen as 'Others'. In other words, seeing people as 'Others' is rooted in their sense of security and risks. It can be also said that it is because globalised and transnational cultural products and contents are popular globally. These global products and contents still provide different meanings to locals. What people mean 'international/global' is also changing. The social uses of cultural products are also varied. Time also cannot be ignored. From national history and social trends to people's life-courses and generations, lifestyles are changing with related commodities.

The media has power in representing images and bears influence on markets (c.f. Lull 2000, Couldry 2003). Within the micro level, for example, London's Japanese overseas community, children, especially girls, exchange cultures, and boys introduce Japanese global popular culture in their everyday lives. On the macro level, the media (global, local, diasporic, and ethnic) and society need to consider gaps which have not been filled. The media as a trend leader for audiences and consumers have potential roles to



gradually change dominant images or views on cultures as they have done in the past. Through such patterns of media consumption, the process of children's developing identities was seen in Chapter VII. These are mostly imposed by the micro level of 'institutional self' between home and schools which help minors construct hybrid rather than homogeneous identities. In future, some may want to hide such hybridity in Japan since they may have developed other type of ontological security through their everyday lives in London. These children are positioned between two hegemonies: media power and the dominant culture in Japan's society. Japanese society still tends to assume that such 'hybrid' children who have been educated abroad can disturb harmony in classrooms. Consequently, the parents may try to hide their children's 'Britishness' in Japan, which was seen in Chapter VII. Although Pang concludes that returnee children's identities are 'in-between' (2000), the children in this study did not show such behaviour. They switched their behaviour according to each situation.

In this sense, different from Pang's conclusion above, children's identities in this study cannot be defined as simply 'in-between'. They are more oriented towards individual environments and social contexts. The side which they feel comfortable with is their 'selves', while simultaneously they are forced to adjust their external personas in relation to other social actors. At least they have consciousness of having two sides: 'self/others and inner/outside' (Bhabha 1994). Through their mothers' education, they learn how to hide and show selves. In future, if society and their parents, who tend to place value on academic achievement, become more generous in accepting various 'selves' which are often hybrid, this will allow returnees to show themselves more readily in Japan. The children of this study have shown their lively and active everyday lives. They have budding 'selves', which should not be wasted or hidden when they return to Japan, and not merely reveal their English linguistic abilities as cultural and social capital.

In addition, mothers as the gatekeepers for their children need to integrate themselves more into their local community/society in host countries and provided with local information via local and ethnic media. Through their experiencing real foreign cultures or politics, they can have more critical and objective views of Japanese society where



academic success is the only recognised form of a success for children. In the process of reproducing Japanese middle-class structures, their childrearing can be changed and supplemented through their experiences in host countries. As witnessed in previous chapters, fathers also changed their attitudes towards childrearing in the U.K., though it seemed to be not much compared to mothers.

Mothers were also able to develop their identities. While they, as the wives of expatriates enjoyed their upgraded overseas lifestyles on one hand, they also suffered from the unstable situation (they could not calculate exactly when they would return to Japan) with their family. As a result of this they lost and found new and re-formed themselves according to their life-courses. Mothers who have become aware of these matters and wish to work as social workers or teach their skills in Japan as their new careers should be respected not merely as affluent housewives of expatriates, but *as* experienced and educated individuals. The traditional social expectation for mothers in Japan should be critically re-examined in order to give more opportunities for women to work or go out by leaving their children with baby sitters ('the others', not kin) without feeling guilty. Without feeling such guilt, those women finally can work more actively outside of their homes. If these mothers can realise their goals for themselves according to their life-course, their daughters can be encouraged to have more options in their lives. Japanese society, yet, seems to need more time to accept these changes.

Although mothers were not confident to continue their activities when they return to Japan, they should not waste or hide their talents and skills. As Mother H suggested in Chapter VIII, if someone contests traditional ideology, women's hidden efforts and talents will appear and be displayed in public. Although Goodman examined only returnee children, hoping that these talented girls should be valued in society in future (1990: 228), mothers also who have also experienced different cultures should not be ignored or treated as 'snobbish'. Even though the rate of women with jobs has increased, it is still difficult for women, who had left their career to devote themselves to childrearing as a full time housewife, to retain or restart their careers. If they can prove their successes in alternative roles apart from mothers or wives, they may change their goals of childrearing especially for their daughters. The media has the potential power



to change this trend and encourage women to work again. Returnee children have already won more attentions from Japanese society. Women, however, need to be paid more respect as hidden figures with talents. Their traditional way of setting their children's goals in childrearing can be influenced by 'brave' mothers and returnees.

The children of this study have generously shown their lively and active everyday lives for a year and half to me. Their mothers described their changing children's attitudes or behaviours in a negative fashion, 'my son is becoming British, or my daughter is becoming more British' considering their future in Japan. For example, they can say 'yes' or 'no' directly according to their wills which they cannot do in Japan since this may disturb harmony. Mothers said that they would not mind such attitudes in their children if they could stay in the U.K. forever. As seen in Chapter VII, at disco parties of their daughters' British friends, the mothers grew to admire British peers' expressing themselves freely.

The children also learn at homes by watching their parents. When I asked the children about their fathers, the images of fathers are: busy, not at home, and not playing with me. But when a father participates in housekeeping such as cooking, the children are pleased and impressed as seen in Chapter VII. Japanese companies provide enough support financially to families, but also need to consider their private time to be able to spend more with families as bankers do. From the study of the workers of City of London by Sakai (2000), fathers are also faced with cultural differences in their work between Japanese and non-Japanese staff. Not imposing Japanese work cultures in Japanese companies in London on other staff or giving up doing so by seeing them as 'Other', they have many opportunities to learn how British families spend their free time with their families which were witnessed by the mothers. From those mothers' views, fathers in Britain seemed to participate in childrearing more than Japanese businessmen. In truth, some fathers were found picking their children up around half three from schools. If Japanese fathers participate in childrearing more in their everyday lives, children can change their images of Japanese middle-class 'traditional fathers and mothers'.

Not only such social expectation upon gender roles in Japan, but also the ideal images



of returnees in Japan cannot be ignored. All mothers in this study appreciated their children's experiences in the U.K as 'precious'. Children were able to learn about ethnic and cultural diversity in their everyday lives and holidays. The children also became aware of different cultures through their experiences: constructing their hybrid identities through their media consumption such as *BeyBlade* which is 'made in Japan' and the timing when they owned them earlier than local children in London as seen in Chapter IV. The sons of family D pointed out the Japanese rap musicians' unsophisticated way of dressing and mixing English and Japanese words compared to native rap musicians in London and on MTV in Chapter VII. These media products help children reflect on their everyday lives in London: who the 'Others' are, and how they are seen. In addition, their friendship between Japanese and non-Japanese also enable them to differentiate their way of playing: with local friends, they were apt to play with only one non-Japanese peer according to the British way, and with Japanese, they appeared to play with several friends at the same time.

Here, however, there seems to be a contradiction in mothers' understanding and appreciation of diversity. The mothers' expectation and interpretations of 'international' or hybridity were oriented towards obtaining symbolic forms: English acquisitions, and knowing and experiencing 'globally known' British high and popular cultures such as Royal Ballet, musicals, museums, *Harry Potter* or David Beckham. Such understanding can be also applied to Japanese society. However, real cultural exchange can be seen in the case of the daughter of family J in Chapter VII which bolstered her confidence. It can be argued that such progress by children's using symbolic forms or cultural products should be more valued in the process of developing their hybridity. It is because of Japan's social expectations for returnees that they must be 'rich and smart' as international students (Pang 2000). On the other hand, it is easier for the Japanese children to be accepted and respected by peers in the U.K. where individualism is valued. The main problem for those Japanese children, however, will still remain when they return.

The mothers were still unsure that they would be able to reveal experiences of their sojourn in public where they had the danger of being received as social pretension or



displays of superiority. Kaori Okano and Tsuchiya Motonori argue concerning contemporary Japanese schools' attitudes to new comers, mostly Brazilians, returnees from China (not from expatriates), *burakumin*<sup>5</sup>, and third generation Koreans, 'the assumption that equal opportunities mean providing the same education to everyone has now been undermined, and a new approach to address quality and diversity is called for' (1999: 140). Although they eliminated the possibility of returnees of expatriates being discriminated against, mothers and children also had the same fears of facing problems in Japan. Mothers in this study also realised that private schools for returnees seem to aim at rehabilitation for returnees to become accustomed to Japanese schools rather than developing those children's particular identities which have been nourished abroad (Mother G). In this sense, even if children can be accepted by prestigious private schools as returnees, they have to yield to the dominant traditional Japanese educational policy. Therefore, as Okano and Tsuchiya have suggested above (1999) and this study also emphasises their point if society becomes more generous in acknowledging and admiring diversity, those children and mothers will be more confident to return to Japanese society.

### ***6. Multiculturalism policy and practice***

In this section, the roles of diasporic and community media in London will be critically discussed from both the U.K's policy on multiculturalism and Japan's media policies. In this study, how the Japanese families consumed the media was shown and discussed in Chapters V and VI. Through their experiences as an ethnic minority in a host country, this section will re-examine related policies on multiculturalism. The small Japanese population in the U.K., has fewer choices of media products and less information about their local area compared to other minorities such as Indians or Chinese. Furthermore, Japan's media policies which relate directly to diasporic media products such as JSTV or major newspapers, and which were consumed in their households as a main source of information and entertainment should also be discussed.

In Chapter V, the use of diasporic media in the overseas community was discussed. The Japanese families consume various Japanese media depending on their purposes (news, information, entertainment, education, fashion, on-line shopping, etc.). At the same time,



it became clear that they do not consume local media on a daily basis. At every last visit, I asked the mothers to describe their life in London in a word. The answers were mostly very positive: 'golden age', 'happiest and richest life', 'fulfilled life/ treasure for children', 'precious experiences', 'composure', 'good life' 'good experiences', 'long vacation', 'not reality', 'rootless life', and 'half-life, half-vacation'. In addition to this, they wondered if they really would like to live in Britain as British (gaining a permanent visa, for example) and admitted that they loved their lifestyle as sojourners.

Furthermore, gradually and slowly they gained local information or experiences through their Japanese friends of mixed marriages. Through the mothers' experiences in their everyday lives abroad an objective view of Japanese society was developed, including global events, politics, culture, the media, educational system, children's market, women's statuses, and companies by comparing issues in the U.K. which were shown in Chapter VII. These led them to reform their identities. Mothers also showed their consciousness of being 'middle-class', differentiating themselves from people from lower classes including Japanese who got married with working-class husbands. There were not so many occasions for them to share the same space such as at schools or lessons, with people from different social backgrounds. A mother, for example, described Japanese women who married British working class husbands, 'they are hiding from us' (Mother B). Clearly, their social identity as middle class and their narrow social sphere in London is shown from such statements. When those families sojourn in a host country, they can obtain upgraded lifestyles and avoid 'the Others' whom they may face in Japan. Mother G described her life in Tokyo when her daughter was in a kindergarten and troubled with a working mother from a different social background. She acknowledged the environment of the overseas community where the sojourners dominate. Children in the overseas community were trusted and not regarded as risk. Mothers admitted that all children in the overseas community are safe for their children to play with because they know they are from the same social class.

This, however, can be argued that it is also caused by their lack of knowledge about their local community or politics in London, and by their biased media consumption patterns. From the mothers' media consumption such as newspaper or broadcasting, it is



clear that they were not active in gaining information on politics or current affairs in Britain. Instead sojourners love Wedgwood's dinner sets, enjoy galleries, museums or theatres which could be their cultural capital in Japan. This attitude can be fed by the lack of information which is rooted in the community, and the overabundant information and advertisement about 'Britain' or 'England' from Japan or the overseas community via diasporic media such as JSTV and newspapers. As Cunningham and Sinclair titled their study on the Asian Diaspora in Australia as 'floating lives' (2001), this can be seen that those sojourners' lives lack a certain sense of gravity from their comments such as half-life, half-vacation, or rootless life. Perhaps their upgraded lifestyle has isolated them from the 'Others'. Or perhaps, rather, they do not intend to participate or interact with the 'Others' who they see as posing risks or incalculable matters.

'Rootless' may imply that they were uprooted from their daily lives at home and in some unwilling sense sent to live abroad. Fathers and children may not feel this so as much as mothers do since they belong to certain institutions whereas mothers do not. Their children's local schools are the main places where they have to participate in events with non-Japanese. Moreover, in London, they did not have relatives or families to visit or invite every weekends and instead travelled to European cities. It is also because they do not feel that they belong either to the local community or to Japan, and feel that they belong only to the Japanese overseas community. As seen in Chapter IV and VIII, the parents do not integrate in British society, staying instead in isolated overseas communities. Tsagarousianou's study on London's South Asians and Greek Cypriot has shown that minorities can distinguish 'lived space' from 'empty place' (2001: 27) through their ethnic community media. The Japanese sojourners seem to still feel their lived place as 'empty' due to a lack of dedicated community media. This emptiness has been witnessed in the mothers' dilemma which emerged gradually while they lived in this small community and become aware of experiencing real cultures in the host country in Chapter VIII. In other words, lack of knowledge on local community and the media has caused them to loose out on opportunities to participate or experience real/lived foreign cultures except from their children's schools. This has increased of their fears of 'incalculable' risks. If they had found 'lived space' in a host country, they



would not have commented on their lives as floating. Their feeling of 'emptiness' can only be filled by participation in local communities. This, perhaps, would enable them to integrate and socially mix more and loose their anxieties, themselves a product of their imagination.

Diverse lifestyles are a result of a variety of choices in contemporary society. In London's overseas community, especially, where children cannot go outside alone and need appointments to meet friends, the choices of lifestyles become limited. From the view of citizenship in a local community, lack of local information can be unfair to these minorities. Barry Hindess defines Western citizenship as the status of an independent member of a community that is self-governing in two rather different respects, 'First, in relation to outsiders, the community is free to determine its own laws and its own government...Second, with regard to its own membership, the community is a republic, in which any governing minority should be seen as answerable to the community as a whole' (1993: 34). From this view, certainly their Western local neighbours respected those sojourners and invited them to their local events (e.g. Christmas services, local cultural events, information for childminders, etc). The mothers, however, tended to participate in such events if their Japanese friends of mixed marriage did, and not act independently since they were not confident enough to challenge to experience them in 'incalculable' settings. Consequently, their source of information was mostly from word of mouth communications amongst Japanese mothers in the overseas community. Stories of events which happened in their area sometimes became exaggerated or gossip and caused their misunderstanding of real facts. If they had known what was actually happening, at least in London, they would have become more objective. From their interviews, the phrases 'I heard from a mother of my daughter's friend at school...' had been often recorded. Fears or anxieties are clearly operative on their imagined level.

On the micro level, it became clear that they were externally information rich and internally information poor. That is, they were very knowledgeable about events in Japan and global affairs which occurred or would occur outside of the U.K. through their media consumption, but knew little about local politics (e.g. firemen's strikes in



London or Congestion charges). On the macro level, the British beliefs/policy on multiculturalism by liberals tries to develop diversity in the media for ethnic minorities.

Bhikhu Parekh sees Britain as a multicultural nation and describes this as:

To call it multicultural is to imply that its traditional culture should not be given pride of place, the minority cultures are equally central to its identity, that they should be respected and even cherished and not encouraged to disappear over time, and that the ethnic minorities consist not of individuals but of organised communities entitled to make collective claims.

(2000: 6)

Despite this claim of being a multicultural country, many ethnic media contents are mainly transmitted from each original country via commercial media such as Sky in the U.K. The BBC, for example, has launched BBC Asian Network radio via digital for Asian people (not for Far East Asians) in Britain as an ethnic community media. Needless to say, 'mass' media targets at minorities who have larger population. On the other hand, other minorities whose population are small consume their diasporic media via satellite, the Internet, or videos from their countries.

In the same way, in the Japanese overseas community, people can have JSTV as a diasporic broadcaster and other newspapers with high rates fees<sup>6</sup>. Brian Lewis argues concerning Japanese media policy, 'Japan pins its hope for economic reform and renewal on the development and implementation of the very information technologies which challenge the hegemony of its bureaucracies' (1997: 1-2). Lewis shows the main reforms in Japanese communication as:

This report [by the Ministry of Posts and Telecommunications (MPT), the Telecommunications Technology Council who also regulates broadcasting services], 'reforms toward the intellectually creative society of the 21<sup>st</sup> century', named seven social issues that could be concretely addressed by its implementation, including: the isolation of a rapidly aging population; enhanced leisure time possibilities; and promotion of international understanding. In short, the information infrastructure was offered as a way to democratize and open up Japanese society, both internally and externally.

(1997: 13)

The government has funded the infrastructure for the new media such as digital



television or high speed Internet connections in order to aim at economic success in Japan. As a consequent of this policy, this study suggests that the problems of these Japanese diasporic media which exclude people who cannot afford them has caused the segregation of people as information rich and poor from Japan. In London, for example, Japanese people of mixed marriage are highly motivated to keep in touch with their original country and teach Japanese to their children by using such media (also see Kondo 2001). Mr. Kitagawa, the head of JSTV, emphasized the role of JSTV as a medium for not only Japanese but also non-Japanese who want to learn Japanese and culture, even though the majority of their customers are sojourners. Lewis evaluates the future policy in developed countries and in the age of information society:

Much as we were confronted with the global harmonization of economic forces, objectives and policies over the past decade, so now we are faced with the globalisation of ideas: the uncontrolled circulation of information, and the resulting development of transnational networks of interests working outside of states.

(1997: 15)

As he suggests, if at least two countries policies fit each other for broadcasting, these can provide more ethnic media services from diasporic media via satellite at lower prices. In addition, if countries or the public broadcaster want to promote their culture beyond boundaries, they should improve their services by providing subtitles or translation in the language which is spoken in the host country. Furthermore, domestic media productions also need to be aware of distribution in relation to their global audiences as Mr. Kitagawa pointed out. If they solve these problems, time-gaps will decrease.

In this sense, even though these diasporic Japanese media aim at winning non-Japanese consumers, they do not play the role of introducing Japanese culture to Britain. At the same time, contemporary media environment in the world also isolates audiences from host countries. As a result of this, mothers and children did not consume local media at all because they had many alternatives and tended to consume 'familiar outputs' (Scannell 1996). The mothers valued and trusted these 'familiar outputs' which they had in their childhood above non-familiar outputs such as American made cartoons which was shown in Chapter VI. In future, if they can watch local news at least in their own



language (for example, in the case of their lack of understanding English) or within their familiar outputs, they can also feel closer to local affairs, reduce their fears and share common topics with locals. The NHK International's website provides news in 20 languages. This can help minorities in Japan to know the news in Japan in 20 languages. The BBC also provides the same services in 48 languages, but Japanese is not served. This may be because of the small population of Japanese in the U.K. and also the assumption of BBC that there are many alternative media services from Japan for the Japanese. Considering these public broadcasters' statuses which are the largest in the world and these services which they have already provided on their website, they can cooperate with each other in more efficient way. Needless to say, the population of Japanese in the U.K. is not defined as mass audiences, but NHK for example, can invest in the BBC at least for making news in Japanese if they cannot afford to produce daily news for local people on JSTV.

The local news can also make incalculable risks calculable at a certain level. For example, if the mothers had known why firemen in London were standing in front of fire stations without doing anything, they would not have had felt 'they are strange' or questioned 'what are they doing?'. In everyday lives, probably they have faced such small scenes and questioned them as 'strange' (incalculable) scenes or events for them. Later, probably they would be able to know through the Japanese mothers of mixed marriage at schools who know more about local affairs.

## **Reflections**

This research on the Japanese overseas community in London has revealed several key issues. The ethnographic research has produced rich data which might not have been available through structured questionnaires or quantitative research methods. In addition, this study proved that study involving children needs to be flexible and in a natural setting where they can feel relaxed: not the same tasks for all children and not in a particular set up environment. Individuals are different. Some children express their identities through their drawings, some show them through their talk, some were good at showing through their plays or collected items, etc. The only one common task for the children in this study was to take pictures by digital camera of their favourite or



important things in their lives. This method also did not disturb their busy days and also reduced such skill gaps amongst children, and produced rich data as well as interviews and participant observations. Interviewing with the children and mothers was conducted in a flexible manner: the more I got to know each family, the more flexible I became in my questions which in turn became more focused.

This study could have been done more precisely to analyse constructing hybrid identities. Firstly, concerning Japan's multiculturalism and the degree of acceptance of diversity, this study was not able to give precise data. It is because of my lack of time and budget. As two families who have returned to Japan had already given their different views on sojourning lives after returning, if I could continue to track all families after returning to Japan, I could have more data. In addition, the lack of father figures in each household in this study can be also pointed out. Fathers who are very busy and seldom stay at homes were not considered as the core figure of influencing children's media consumption compared to mothers who are full-time housewives. At least, however, this study was able to fill gaps in the returnee issues (being bullied at school in Japan, identity crisis, etc.) which focused on their school lives in Japan, the media consumption pattern in a diaspora as a non-major minority group and its consequences, and the social uses of global and diasporic media by the children of an ethnic middle-class minority.

Parents' goals for childrearing and life-course have influenced children's patterns of media consumption and everyday lives. It can be also said that these points are inevitable in studying children and their media consumption, especially, children from ethnic minorities whose cultures are different from host countries'. Coexistence of new (technology) and old (ideology) aspects in media consumption was also found throughout this study. Through this coexistence, cultures have been exchanged actively and in a particular way by members of the diaspora. Within a small community, social uses of popular culture have been observed through friendships. Hybridity was constructed in their homes and at schools. At homes which are the micro unit of the ethnic institution, parents have ceaselessly emphasised 'Japaneseness' and 'the others'. Through school life where children spend most of their day, they have been also



educated according to the National Curriculum or education policy in Britain. The acts of media consumption have also given children awareness of ethnicity and hybridity, though Disney has appeared as universal/transnational phenomena for children. Time and space in contemporary lives was compressed by new technologies. This, however, created competition to gain symbolic objects. The time when they can consume and obtain the popular products is very important in the diaspora. Children's sub-cultural capital, which is based on obtaining and finding 'cool and new' objects (Buckingham 2002), links with building up confidence amongst peers and developing their identities.

The urban lifestyles in London have reduced children's freedom for playing outside freely due to the rise of crime rates. Choices of consumption are large in cosmopolitan cities and extend beyond boundaries (Beaverstock *et al* 2003). This was especially the case for those sojourners whose lifestyle was upgraded. Ironically, however, the choices of 'lived space' for children did not seem to be enough. They spent more time in domestic spheres. Consequently today's parents must consider alternative activities after school, paying 'extra' to certain institutions or providing other activities at homes such as academic drills or TV games. For the market, such lifestyles offer opportunities. Socially, however, this can also produce social exclusions or gaps in different socio-economic classes (Buckingham & Scanlon 2003). An overprotected lifestyle can also weaken children's health, physical strength and social skills

Schools have also heavily relied on parents to help their children's academic work at homes. As a result of this urban lifestyle, the amount of time when mothers must look after their children has become enormous and intensive. It can lead to difficulties for mothers to find full-time job outside of the home. Such urban issues matter to everyone who shares the same space – rich and poor, or British and non-British. Hybridity, therefore, can be difficult to nourish if each minority group always stay at home. Alternatively, it can be assumed that staying at home as a lifestyle can become a part of the children's 'Britishness' or 'Londeness', especially, under modern conditions with the variety of media products. These media products have also possibilities to make minorities feel that they do not belong to their actual space. From the findings of this study, it would be suggested that both in London and Japan, or any other developed



urban cities, environmental influences on childhood and motherhood need to be examined and evaluated more than the scepticism of the media contents themselves in the field of children and the media.

This study has given an example of the complexity of contemporary individuals' lifestyles. The micro level of time and space expanded towards the macro level. In the process of making policies or marketing, not only large scale of surveys, but also small scale studies which contains detailed individuals' thoughts and lifestyles should be considered more in future. Not only children who liked to be asked about their favourite toys, but also mothers seemed to be delighted to give and display their opinions and lives during this research. It is necessary to give opportunities to women to speak out about their dilemmas, ambitions, and problems, which may not be found through quantitative methods. This thesis examined the Japanese overseas community in London through the use of participant observation. I have been able to critically engage in key issues concerning media consumption, global media and children, hybrid identities, and roles of diasporic media under British and Japanese media policies on multiculturalism. The time which I spent with the families gave me an in-depth understanding of the complexity of the Japanese diaspora. The ways in which mothers and children have consumed and experienced the media revealed media's roles in their everyday lives. These include wide implications for childrearing in society in the U.K. and Japan and amongst the diaspora in London. Firstly, critical views on the environment where children actually live in relation to their media usage can lead to further research on urban environment where children cannot play outside freely and stay home. As Livingstone has explained (2002), how children spend their time is more significant rather than simply criticising media contents. Secondly, competitive educational systems both in Britain and Japan can occupy children's everyday lives with many lessons and homework. These two factors can lessen opportunities to experience different cultures. Finally, in relation to the implications above, the situation where most mothers have to constantly supervise and take care of children under eleven in the U.K. needs to be more seriously considered. In Japan, social pressure on women at home and men at work can reproduce traditional roles and prevent them from challenging their new roles.



## Notes;

---

The programme showed a student in a crammer school's intensive course who kept making mistakes was still studying even it was 2 am.

<sup>2</sup> For example, Manchester United where Beckham used to belong organizes football lessons for children in the U.K. during summer using his pictures (Mother C).

<sup>3</sup> The postwar Japanese economic miracle has once again distinguished Japan from its poor Asian counterparts. Just as Westerners represent upper class and signify cultural superiority, Asians come to stand for lower class and denote cultural inferiority (Lei 1999: 79).

<sup>4</sup> From the total foreign population excluding people stay less than 90 days in Japan in 2002, the ratio of countries: Korea (including North Koreans) is 33.8%, China 22.9%, Brazil 14.5%, Philippine 9.1%, Peru 2.8%, U.S.A 2.6%, and Others 14.3% (The Ministry of Justice May 2003).

<sup>5</sup> Under classes since the Edo period.

<sup>6</sup> At least the news programmes are free if they have a satellite dish which receives the signals from JSTV.



## References

### Bibliography

Abercrombie, Nicholas & Longhurst, Brian (1998) *Audiences*, London: Sage

Aksoy, Asu & Robins, Kevin (2001) 'From space of identity to mental spaces: lessons from Turkish-Cypriot cultural experience in Britain, *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, Vol. 27, No.4: 685-711 October 2001

Aksoy, Asu & Robins, Kevin (2000) 'Thinking across spaces: Transnational television from Turkey' in *European Journal of Cultural Studies* Vol. 3(3), pp.345-365

Ang, Ien (2000) 'Introduction' in Ang, Ien et al (eds), *Alter/Asian Cultural Interventions for 21st Century Australia*, Sydney: Pluto Press

Appadurai, Arjun (1990) 'Disjuncture and Difference in the Global Cultural Economy' in Featherstone, Michael (ed.), *Global Culture: Nationalism, Globalization and Modernity*, London: Sage.

Aries, Philippe (1986) *Centuries of Childhood*, London: Penguin

Asakura, Reiji (2000) *Revolutionaries at Sony: The Making of the Sony PlayStation and the Visionaries Who conquered the World of Video Games*, London: McGraw-Hill

Bachmair, Ben (1999) 'Children's television in transformation? Something is going on in children's bedrooms' in Lohr, Paul & Meyer, Manfred (eds), *Children, Television and the New Media*, Luton: University of Luton Press.

Ball, Ray (1982) *The Silent Minority: The Report of a National Conference on Chinese Families in Great Britain*, National Children's Centre (ed.), London: Commonwealth Institute London.

Bauer, Marin W. & Gaskell, George (2000) *Qualitative Researching with Text, Image, and Sound*, London: Sage

Beaverstock, Jonathan, Smith, Richard & Taylor, Peter (2003) 'The Global Capacity of a World City: A relational study of London', in Kofman, Elenore & Yongs, Gillian (eds), *Globalization: Theory and Practice Second Edition*, London: Continuum

Beck, Ulrich (1999) *World Risk Society*, Cambridge: Polity

Befu, Harumi (2001) 'The global context of Japan outside Japan', in Befu, Harumi & Guichard-Anguis, Sylvie (eds.), *Globalizing Japan: Ethnography of the Japanese presence in Asia, Europe, and America*, London: RoutledgeCurzon



- Befu, Harumi (1971) *Japan: an Anthropological Introduction*, London: Chandler Publishing Company
- Ben-Ari, Eyal (2000) "'Global Talk'? Discourse and Cognition among Japanese business Managers in Singapore' in Ben-Ari, Eyal & Clammer, John (eds) *Japan in Singapore: Cultural Occurrences and Cultural Flows*, Surrey: Curzon
- Ben-Ari, Eyal (1998) 'Golf, organisation, and "body projects": Japanese businessmen executives in Singapore', in Linhart, Sepp and Frunstuck, Sabine (eds), *The Culture of Japan as Seen Through its Leisure*, New York: State University of New York Press
- Ben-Ari, Eyal (1997) *Body Project in Japanese Childcare: Culture, Organization and Emotions in a Preschool*, Richmond: Curzon
- Bennie, David (2002) *Soccer Samurai: A Couch Potato's Dialectical Deconstruction of World Cup 2002*, London: Mainstream Publishing
- Berry, Gordon L & Asamen, Joy Keiko (2001) 'Television, children, and Multicultural awareness' in Singer, Dorothy G and Singer, Jerome L (eds), *Handbook of Children and the Media*, London: Sage
- Bhabha, Homi K. (1994) *The Location of Culture*, London: Routledge
- Brah, Avtar (1996) *Cartographies of Diaspora: Contesting Identities*, London: Routledge
- Bryman, Alan (2000) *Ethnography*, Buckingham: Open University Press
- Bourdieu, Pierre (1979) *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgment of Taste*, London: Routledge & Kegan Paul
- Buckingham, David & Scanlon, Margaret (2003) *Education, Entertainment and Learning in the Home*, Buckingham: Open University Press
- Buckingham, David (2003) *Media Education: literacy, learning and contemporary culture*, Cambridge: Polity
- Buckingham, David (2002) 'GOTTA CATCH "EM ALL"', (Unpublished paper and a draft for Media Culture & Society 2003)
- Buckingham, David (2001) 'United Kingdom: Disney Dialectics: debating the politics of children's media culture', in Wasko, Janet *et al* (eds), *Dazzled by Disney?*, London: Leicester University Press
- Buckingham, David (1998) 'Children and television: a critical overview of the research' in Dickinson, Roger, Harindranath, Ramasswami & Linne, Olga (eds), *Approaches to Audiences: a Reader*, London: Arnold.



Buckingham, David (1997) 'Electronic child abuse' in Barker, Martin & Petley, Julian, (eds), *Ill Effect*, London: Routledge

Cairncross, Frances (1997) *The Death of Distance: How the Communications Revolution Will Change Our Lives*, Boston: Harvard Business School Press

Chen, Wenhong, Boase, Jeffrey and Wellman, Barry (2002) 'The Global Villagers: Comparing Internet Users and Uses Around the World', in Wellman, Barry & Haythornthwaite (eds), *The Internet in Everyday Life*, Oxford: Blackwell

Clammer, John (1997) *Contemporary Urban Japan: A Sociology of Consumption*, Cambridge: Blackwell Publishers.

Clancy, Patricia M (1986) 'The Acquisition of communicative style in Japanese.' in Schieffelin, Bambi. B & Ochs, Elinor (eds), *Language Socialization across Cultures*, Cambridge: Cambridge University press

Cortes, Carlos E (2000) *The Children are Watching: How the Media Teach about Diversity*, London: Teachers College Press

Couldry, Nick (2003) *Media Rituals: A Critical Approach*, London: Routledge

Couldry, Nick (2000) *The Place of Media Power: Pilgrims and Witnesses of the Media Age*, London: Routledge

Cunningham, Stuart & Sinclair, John (2001) *Floating Lives: The Media and Asian Diaspora: Negotiating Cultural Identity through Media*, Queensland: University of Queensland Press

Cunningham, Stuart & Sinclair, John (2000) 'Go with the Flow' in Miller, Toby (ed.), *Television & New Media* Vol.1 February 2000, London: Sage

Davies, Maire Messenger (1997) *Fake, Fact, and Fantasy: Children's Interpretations of Television Reality*, Mahwah: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, Publishers

Davies, Maire Messenger (1989) *Television is Good for Your Kids*, London: Hilary Shipman Limited.

De Certeau, Michel (1984) *The Practice of Everyday Life*, London: University of California Press

Dex, Shirely (1991) *Life and Work History Analyses*, London: Routledge

Dickason, Renee (2000) *British Television Advertising: Cultural Identity and Communication*, Luton: University of Luton Press



Doi, Takeo (1973) *The Anatomy of Dependence*, Tokyo: Kodansya International Ltd.

Dore, Ronald (1990) *British Factory-Japanese Factory: The Origin of National Diversity in Industrial Relations*, Oxford: University of California Press (Original version was published in 1973)

Douglas, Mary (1982) *In the Active Voice*, London: Routledge & Kegan Paul

Fine, Gary Alan & Sandstrom, Kent. L. (1988) *Knowing Children: Participant Observation with Minors*, London: Sage

Gans, Herbert. J (1980) 'The audience for television- and in television research', in Whitley, Stephen. B & Abeles, Ronald. P(eds), *Television and Social Behavior*, Hillsdale: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates

Gauntlett, David & Hill, Annette (1999) *TV Living: Television, Culture and Everyday Life*, London: Routledge

Gauntlett, David (2002) *Media, Gender and Identity: Introduction*, London: Routledge

Gauntlett, David (1998) 'Ten things wrong with the "effect model"' in Dickinson, Roger, Harindranath, Ramasswami & Linne, Olga (eds), *Approaches to Audiences: a Reader*, London: Arnold

Gauntlett, David (1996) *Video Critical: Children, the Environment and Media Practice*, Luton: University of Luton Press.

Giddens, Anthony (1991) *Modernity and Self-Identity*, Cambridge: Polity Press

Gill, Tom (1998) 'Transformational Magic: Some Japanese Super-Heroes and Monsters', in Martinez, D.P (ed.), *The Worlds of Japanese Popular Culture: Gender, Shifting Boundaries and Global Cultures*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press

Gillespie, Marie (1995) *Television, Ethnicity and Cultural Change*, London: Rutledge

Goodman, Roger (1990) *Japan's 'International Youth'. The Emergence of a New Class of Schoolchildren*, Oxford: Clarendon Press.

Gray, Ann (1992) *Video Playtime: The Gendering of a Leisure Technology*, London: Routledge

Greenfield, Patricia Marks & Suzuki, Lalita K (1998) 'Culture and Human development: Implications for parenting, education, pediatrics, and mental health.' in Damon, William and *et al.*(eds), *Handbook of Child Psychology Fifth edition Volume 4: Child Psychology in Practice*, New York: John Wiley & Sons, Inc.

Greenfield, Patricia Marks (1984a) *Mind and Media: the Effect of Television*,



*Computers and Video Games*, Great Britain: Fontana Paperbacks

Greenfield, Patricia Marks (1984b) *Media and the Mind of the Child: From Print to Television, Video Games and Computers*, Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press

Greig, Anne & Taylor, Jayne (1999) *Doing Research with Children*, London: Sage

Gubrium, Jaber F & Holstein, James A (2001) *Institutional Selves: Troubled Identities in a Postmodern World*, Oxford: Oxford University Press

Gunter, Barrie & Furnham, Adrian (1998) *Children as Consumers: A Psychological Analysis of the Young People's Market*, London: Routledge

Gunter, Barrie & Harrison, Jackie (1998) *Violence on Television*, London: Routledge

Gunter, Barrie & McAleer, Jill (1997) *Children & Television Second Edition*, London: Routledge.

Gunter, Barrie (1998) *The Effects of Video Games on Children*, Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press

Gunter, Barrie (1995) *Television and Gender Representation*, London: John Libbey & Company Ltd.

Hall, Stuart (2001) 'The Multicultural Question' in Pavis Papers in *Social and Cultural Research* Number 4, Milton Keynes: The Open University

Hall, Stuart (1990) 'Cultural Identity and Diaspora' in Rutherford, Jonathan (ed.), *Identity: Community, Culture, Difference*, London: Lawrence & Wishart Ltd.

Hammersley, Martyn & Atkinson, Paul (1996) *Ethnography*, London: Routledge

Harvey, David (1989) *The Condition of Postmodernity: An Enquiry into the Origins of Cultural Change*, Oxford: Basil Blackwell

Hendry, Joy (1986) *Becoming Japanese: The World of the Pre-School Child*, Manchester: Manchester University Press.

Henshall, Kenneth G. (1999) *Dimensions of Japanese Society*, London: Macmillan Press Ltd.

Hepworth, Mike (1987) 'The mid life phase' in Cohen, Gaynor (ed.), *Social Change and the Life Course*. London: Tabistock Publications.

Hindess, Barry (1993) 'Multiculturalism and Citizenship' in Kukathas, Chandran (ed.) *Multicultural Citizens: the Philosophy and Politics of Identity*, Australia: The Centre for Independent Studies Limited.



- Hodge, Robert & Tripp, David (1987) *Children and Television*, Cambridge: Polity Press
- Holloway, Dorothy (2000) *Contested Childhood: Diversity and Change in Japanese Preschool*, London: Routledge
- Hunt, Pauline & Frankenberg, Ronald (1990) 'It's a small world: Disneyland, the family and the multiple re-representations of American childhood' in Alan, P & James, A (eds), *Constructing and Reconstructing Childhood: Contemporary Issues in the Sociological Study of Childhood*, London: The Falmer Press.
- Huntemann, Nina & Morgan, Michael (2001) 'Mass media and identity Development' in Singer, Dorothy G and Singer, Jerome L (eds), *Handbook of Children and the Media*, London: Sage
- Huston, Aletha C & Wright, John C (1998) 'Mass Media and Children's Development' in Damon, William and et al (eds), *Handbook of Child Psychology Fifth edition Volume 4: Child Psychology Practice*, New York: John Wiley & Sons, Inc.
- Ikegami, Eiko (1995) *The Taming of the Samurai: Honorific Individualism and the Making of Modern Japan*, London: Harvard University Press
- Ito, Mizuko (2004) 'Technologies of the Childhood Imagination: Yugioh, Media Mixes, and Everyday Cultural Production', the paper was given at "Digital Generation and Children" Conference by Institute of Education, London: Institute of Education University of London on the 27<sup>th</sup> July 2004
- Ito, Youichi (1999) 'Theories on the Mass Media and Ethnicity' in Goonasekera, Anura & Ito, Youichi(eds), *Mass Media and Cultural Identity*, London: Pluto Press
- James, Allison (1993) *Childhood Identities: Self and Social Relationships in the Experience of the Child*, Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press
- Johansson, Thomas & Miegel, Fredrik (1992) *Do the Right Thing: Lifestyle and Identity in Contemporary Youth Culture*, Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell International
- Katzenstein, Peter J.& Shiraishi, Takashi (1997) *Network Power. Japan and Asia*, London: Cornell University Press.
- Kline, Stephen (1999) 'Viewing Wars: Action Heroes and Canadian Mothers Concerns about Violent Television for Boys 3-6', a draft paper at Media Analysis Laboratory, Canada: Simon Fraiser University.
- Kline, Stephen (1993) *Out of the Garden*, London: Verso
- Kraidy, Marwan M (2001) 'The global, the local, and the hybrid: a native ethnography of glocalization' in Taylor, Stephanie (ed.) *Ethnographic Research: A Reader*, London:



Sage

Kondo, Dorinne, K (1990) *Crafting Selves: Power, Gender, and Discourses of Identity in a Japanese Workplace*, London: The University of Chicago Press

Kondo, Kaoruko (2001) 'Understanding Media Experiences for Japanese Children in London', a MA dissertation, Harrow: University of Westminster

Lareau, Annette (1989) *Home Advantage: Social Class and Parental Intervention in Elementary Education*, London: The Falmer Press

Leavitt, Robin Lynn (1998) 'Webs of Trust and Deception' in Graue, M. Elizabeth *et al* (eds) *Studying Children in Context: theories, methods and ethics*, London: Sage

Lebra, Takie Sugiyama (1992) 'Self in Japanese culture' in Rosenberger, Nancy R. (ed.), *Japanese Sense of Self*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press

Lewis, Brian (1997) *National Media Policy in a Global Age? : The Case of Japan and Canada*, Vancouver: Asia Pacific Foundation of Canada

Le Quesne, Pippa (2002) *Disney Princess: Cinderella Pretty as a Princess*, London: Puffin (Penguin Group)

Lie, John (1999) The discourse of Japaneseness, in Douglass, Mike & Roberts, Gldenda. S (eds), *Japan and Global Migration: Foreign workers and the advent of a multicultural society*, London: Routledge

Livingstone, Sonia (2004) 'Regulating the Internet at home: Contrasting the perspectives of children and parents', this paper was given at "Digital Generation and Children" Conference by Institute of Education, London: Institute of Education University of London on the 28<sup>th</sup> July 2004

Livingstone, Sonia (2002) *Young People and New Media*, London: Sage

Livingstone, Sonia (1992) 'The meaning of domestic technologies : a personal construct analysis of familial gender relations' in Silverstone, Roger & Hirsch, Eric (eds), *Consuming Technologies*, London: Routledge

Lone, Stewart (2001) *The Japanese Community in Brazil, 1908-1940: Between Samurai and Carnival*, New York: Palgrave

Lull, James (2000) *Media, Communication, Culture: a global approach*, Cambridge: Polity Press

Lull, James (1990) *Inside Family Viewing: Ethnographic Research on Television's Audiences*, London: Routledge



- Lull, James (1988) *World Families Watch Television*, London: Sage
- Lunt, Peter. K & Livingstone, Sonia. M (1992) *Mass Consumption and Personal Identity*, Buckingham: Open University Press
- Macdonald, Gaynor (1995) 'A Non-Japanese Japanese: On Being a Returnee' in Maher, John C & Macdonald, Gaynor (eds), *Diversity in Japanese Culture and Language*, London: Kegan
- Markus, Hazel Roze & Kitayama, Shinobu. (1999) "Culture and the self: implications for cognition, emotion, and motivation" in Baumeister, Roy. F (ed.), *The Self in Social Psychology*, Philadelphia: Psychology Press
- Maxwell, Joseph A. (1996) *Qualitative Research Design: an Interactive Approach*, London: Sage
- McCracken, Grant (1988) *The Long Interview*, London: Sage
- McCreery, John L (2000) *Japanese Consumer Behaviour: From Worker Bees to Wary Shoppers*, Surrey: Curzon.
- Meyrowitz, Joshua (1985) *No Sense of Place*, Oxford: Oxford University Press
- Minami, Yasusuke (2000) *Understanding Identity of Japanese Children Overseas and Reentering: Their Life Experiences and Inter-Cultural Development (Kaigai Kikokusijyo no Identity)*, Tokyo: Toshindo
- Mittel, Jason (2000) 'The Cultural Power of an Anti-Television Metaphor: Questioning the "Plug-in Drug" and a TV-Free America, in *Television & New Media* vol.1 (2) May 2000, pp215-238, London: Sage Publications, Inc.
- Miyata, Kakuko (2002) 'Social Support for Japanese Mothers Online and Offline' in Wellman, Barry & Haythornthwaite (eds), *The Internet in Everyday Life*, Oxford: Blackwell
- Morley, David (2000) *Home Territories: Media, Mobility and Identity*, London: Routledge
- Morley, David (1988) *Family Television: Cultural Power and Domestic Leisure*, London: Routledge
- Negroponte, Nicholas (1996), *Being Digital*, Reading: Hodder & Stoughton
- Nissel, Muriel (1987) 'Social change and the family cycle' in Cohen, Gaynor (ed.) *Social Change and the Life Course*, London: Tabistock Publications.
- O'Brien, Martin (1995) 'Health and lifestyle: a critical mess? Notes on the



dedifferentiation of health' in Bunton, Robin, Nettleton, Sarah, and Burrows, Roger (eds), *The Sociology of Health Promotion*, London: Routledge

Ogawa, Yoko (1994) 'Nichijo Seikastu to shite no Global communication: Jikan/kukan no Saihensei no nakano ethnic identity' [Global communication as a daily life: ethnic identity in the time/space rearrangement], *Mass Communication Kenkyu*, 44, pp.43-57 Tokyo.

Okano, Kaori & Tuchiya, Motonori (1999) *Education in Contemporary Japan: Inequality and Diversity*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press

Paik, Haejung (2001) 'The history of children's use of electric media' in Singer, Dorothy G and Singer, Jerome L. (eds), *Handbook of Children and the Media*, London: Sage

Pang, Chin Lin (2000) *Negotiating Identity in Contemporary Japan: The Case of Kikokushijo*, London: Kegan Paul International

Parekh, Bhikhu (2000) *Rethinking Multiculturalism*, London: Macmillan Press LTD.

Piaget, Jean (1997) *The Child's Conception of Space*, E.J. Langdon and J.L. Lunzer (translation and eds.), London: Routledge

Rizter, George (2000) *McDonaldization of Society: A New Century Edition*, London: Sage

Roberts, Helen Smith, Susan J & Bryce, Carol (1995) *Children at Risk?: safety as a social value*, Buckingham: Open University Press

Sakai, Junko (2000) *Japanese Bankers in the City of London: Language, Culture and Identity in the Japanese Diaspora*, London: Rutledge

Scannel, Paddy (1996) *Radio, Television & Modern Life*, Oxford: Blackwell

Sedgwick, Mitchell W (2001) 'Positioning "globalization" at overseas subsidiaries of Japanese multinational corporations' in Befu, Harumi & Guichard-Anguis, Sylvie (eds), *Globalizing Japan: Ethnography of the Japanese Presence in Asia, Europe, and America*, London: RoutledgeCurzon

Seiter, Ellen (2002) 'Do Computers Make Good Toys?', the paper was presented at "Toys, Media and Games" Conference by International Toy Research Association, London: Institute of Education University of London on the 19th August 2002

Seiter, Ellen (1999) *Television and New Media Audiences*, Oxford: Oxford University Press

Seiter, Ellen (1993) *Sold Separately: Children and Parents in Consumer Culture*, New



Brunswick: Rutgers University Press

Shwalb, David W & Shwalb, Barbara J (1996) *Japanese Childrearing*, London: The Guilford Press

Signorielli, Nancy (2001) 'Television;s Gender Role: Images and Contribution to Stereotyping' in Singer, Dorothy G and Singer, Jerome L (eds), *Handbook of Children and the Media*, London: Sage

Signorielli, Nancy (1991) *A Sourcebook on Children and Television*, London: Greenwood Press

Signorielli, Nancy & Morgan, Michael (2001) 'Television and the family: the cultivation perspective' in Bryant, Jennings&Bryant, Alison (eds.), *Television and the American Family Second Edition*. London: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates Inc.

Singer, Jerome & Singer, Dorothy (1998) 'Barney & Friends as entertainment and education: evaluating the quality and effectiveness of television series for preschool children' in Keiko, Joy Asamen & Berry, Gordon L (eds.), *Research, Paradigms, Television and Social Behavior*, London: Sage

Smith, Sidonie & Watson, Julia (2001) *Reading Autobiography: A Guide for Interpreting Life Narratives*, London: University of Minnesota Press

Sonyel, Salahi Ramadan (1988) *The Silent Minority: Turkish Muslim Children in British Schools*, Cambridge: The Islamic Academy

Sowell, Thomas (1994) *Race & Culture*, New York: BasicBooks

Sreberny, Annabelle (2000) 'Media and Diasporic Consciousness: an Exploration among Iranians in London' in Cotte, Simon (ed.), *Ethnic Minorities and the Media*, Buckingham: Open University Press

Stefansson, Halldor (1998) 'Media Stories of Bliss and Mixed Blessings' in D.P Martinez (ed.) *The World of Japanese Popular Culture: Gender, Shifting Boundaries and Global Cultures*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press

Strauss, Anselm & Corbin, Juliet (1997) *Grounded Theory in Practice*, London: Sage

Strauss, Anselm L (1959) *Mirrors and Masks: The Search for Identity*, Illinois: The Freen Press of Glencoe

Sugiyama, Mitsunobu (2000) 'Media and power in Japan' in Curran, James & Park, Myung-Jin (eds), *De-Westernizing Media Studies*, London Routledge

Takahashi, Toshie (2003) 'Media, Audience Activity and Everyday Life' (a Ph.D thesis), London: London School of Economics and Political Science



- Takanishi, Ruby (1982) 'The influence of television on the ethnic identity of minority children: conceptual framework' in Berry, Gordon L. & Michelle-Karnan, Claudia (eds), *Television and the Socialization of the Minority Child*, London: Academic Press
- Tanaka, Keiko (1998) 'Japanese Women's Magazines', in Martinez, D.P (ed.), *The Worlds of Japanese Popular Culture: Gender, Shifting Boundaries, and Global Cultures*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press
- Tobin, Joseph. J *et al* (1989) *Preschool in Three Cultures: Japan, China, and the United States*, London: Yale University Press
- Tomlinson, John (1991) *Cultural Imperialism*, London: Pinter
- Tsagarousianou, Roza (2001) 'Ethnic Minority Media Audiences, Community and Identity: the case of London's South Asian and Greek-Cypriot Communities' in Ross, Karen & Playdon, Peter (eds), *Black Marks*, Aldershot: Ashgate Publishing Limited.
- Tuffin, Rachel (1996) 'There Ain't Much to Play', 'Most Things Are for Adults': *Children in an Urban Environment*, London: University of East London
- Turnock, Robert (2000) *Interpreting Diana: Television Audiences and the Death of a Princess*, London: British Film Institute
- Veblen, Thorstein (1994) *The Theory of the Leisure Class*, New York: Dover Publications, INC. (original in 1899)
- Warren, Ron (2001) 'Do As I Say, Not As I Do: Video Stores and Parental Mediation of Children's Video Consumption', in *Mass Communication & Society*, 2001, 4 (1) 77-101
- Wasko, Janet (2001a) *Understanding Disney*, Cambridge: Polity
- Wasko, Janet (2001b) 'Is it a Small World, After All?' in Wasko, Janet, Phillips, Mark, and Meehan, Elieen R (eds), *Dazzled by Disney?: The global Disney Audiences Project*, London: Leicester University Press.
- Werbner, Pnina (1997) 'Essentialising essentialism, essentialising silence: ambivalence and multiplicity in the construction of racism and ethnicity' in Werbner, Pnina & Moddod, Tariq (eds), *Debating Cultural Hybridity: Multi-Cultural Identities and the Politics of Anti-Racism*, London: Zed Books
- White, Merry (1996) 'Renewing the new middle class: Japan's next families' in Shwalb, David W & Shwalb, Barbara J (eds), *Japanese Childrearing*, London: The Guilford Press
- White, Paul (2003) 'Japanese in London' in Goodman Roger, Peach, Ceri, Takenaka, Ayumi & White, Paul (eds) *Global Japan*, London: Routledge



Whitburn, Julia (2002) *UK-Japan Social Policy Forum Proceedings of the 2001 Seminar Series*, London: The Daiwa Anglo-Japanese Foundation

Yamada-Yamamoto, Asako & Richards, Brian J. (1998) *Japanese Children Abroad*, Clevedon: Multilingual Matters Ltd.

Yamamoto, Masayo (2001) 'Towards Bilingualism: A Survey & its Implications' in Noguchi, Mary Goebel & Fotos, Sandra (eds), *Studies in Japanese Bilingualism*, Clevedon: Multilingual Matters Ltd.

Yano, Christine (2002) 'KIMONO KITTY: CREEPING TOWARD CUTENESS IN JAPANESE GLOBAL PRODUCTS', the paper was given at "Toys, Media and Games" Conference by International Toy Research Association, London: Institute of Education University of London on the 19<sup>th</sup> August 2002

Yoshimi, Shyunya (2001) 'Japan: America in Japan/Japan in Disneyfication: the Disney image and the transformation of 'America' in contemporary Japan' in Wasko *et al* (eds), *Dazzled by Disney*, London: Leicester University Press

### Articles;

*Das Leban in Europe* (Europe no kurashi) (1978) 'Japanese school in London', Dusseldorf, © Dusseldorf Office July, 1978, No.8

McGray, Douglas (2002) 'The other superpower', *the Guardian G2*, 1 June 2002: pp21-22.

*Yomiuri Shinbun* (2002) 'Do you read books?: Short-tempered "Game Players" Brain' (Dokusyo Shiteimasuka? Kireyasui 'Gemu Nou', *Yomiuri Shinbun*, 13 October 2002, p1.

*The Economist* (2003) 'Read all about us: Triumphalist books about Japan have given way to gloomier tomes' (a picture) *The Economist*, March 27 2003

### Websites;

*Chosun Journal* website (2003) 'Revived popularity of Winter Sonata in Japan' in *Chosun Journal* 28 December 2003, <[http://japanese.chosun.com/site/data/html\\_dir/2003/12/28/20031228000028.html](http://japanese.chosun.com/site/data/html_dir/2003/12/28/20031228000028.html)> (accessed 27 May 2004).

*Chosun Journal* website (2004)- 'Social Phenomena of Korean Boom in Japan by Winter Sonata' in *Chosun Journal* May 19th 2004 <[http://japanese.chosun.com/site/data/html\\_dir/2004/05/19/20040519000013.html](http://japanese.chosun.com/site/data/html_dir/2004/05/19/20040519000013.html)> (accessed 27 May 2004).

Embassy of Japan (2003) Homepage <<http://www.embjapan.org.uk/jpn/kyoiku.html>>



(accessed 1 April 2003).

ISEC (2001) 'Since September the 11th' <<http://www.isec-j.co.jp/>> (accessed 12 December 2001).

The Japanese School London (2003) 'The High School Entrance of the Graduates in 2001-2', (Sotsugyo Shin-ro Jyokyo in Heisei 13th)  
<<http://dialspace.dial.pipex.com/town/lane/abh98/gakkoshokai/gaiyo.htm#shinro>>  
(accessed 25 March 2003).

*Kankoku-go (Hangul) Journal* vol.8 (2004) The introduction for the volume  
<<http://www.alc.co.jp/kj/>> (accessed 27 May 2004).

Kyusui (2002) 'Short-tempered Game Players' Brain and Lost Newspaper Readers' Brain',  
in *Magayoi no Mori*,  
<<http://www.dab.hi-ho.ne.jp/katze/m/konoha/newspaper.html>> (accessed 25 July 2004).

Hakuhodo Lifestyle Research Institute (2002a) 'What today's children are thinking about' (Imadoki no Kodomoga Kangaeteirukototte)  
<<http://www.hakuhodo.co.jp/news/directNews.html?20020415>> (accessed 12 May 2004).

Hakuhodo Lifestyle Research Institute (2002b) 'The Brand Power in "made in Japan" amongst young businessmen in London, New York, and Tokyo' (Nichi-Bei-Oh no Wakate Business person ni Kiita 'Made in Japan' no Brand Power)  
<<http://www.hakuhodo.co.jp/news/directNews.html?20020603>> (accessed 12 May 2004).

Mastushima, Kastuhito *et al.* (2003) Educational Industry Market Research Press Release, November 6th 2003, Yano Research Institute, PDF Download Page:  
<<http://www.yanoresearch.jp/pdf/press/031106.pdf>> (accessed 27 May 2004).

Mimo's Homepage (2003) 'My daughter's school life in London'  
<<http://users.skynet.be/mimomimo/school2.html>>, (accessed 20 March 2003).

The Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science, and Technology (2004) Emergency Appeal: the Question of safety in schools, The Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science, and Technology Home Page  
<[http://www.mext.go.jp/b\\_menu/houdou/16/01/04012002.htm](http://www.mext.go.jp/b_menu/houdou/16/01/04012002.htm)> (accessed 26 May 2004).

The Ministry of Health, Labour and Welfare (2004) 'The Commission Minutes: The Fifth Social Welfares Commission on Population, January 30<sup>th</sup> 2002', The Ministry of Health, Labour and Welfare Home Page  
<http://www.mhlw.go.jp/shingi/2002/01/txt/s0130-4.txt>> (accessed 26 May 2004).

The Ministry of Justice (2004) 'The population of foreigners in Japan in 2002', The



Ministry of Justice Home Page

<<http://www.moj.go.jp/PRESS/030530-1/030530-1-3.html>>(accessed 26 August 2004)

Rees, Phil (2002) 'Japan: The Missing Million', in *BBC website* <<http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/programmes/correspondent/2334893.stm>> (accessed 20 November 2002).

Seiter, Ellen & Davis, Susan (2000) 'Selling Safety: Ellen Seiter and Susan Davis in Conversation', *Framework: The Journal of Cinema and Media* <[www.frameworkonline.com/41essd.htm](http://www.frameworkonline.com/41essd.htm)> (accessed 4 September 2002).

Scott, Jenny (2002) 'UK wealth gap yawns wider' BBC News Business Thursday, 7 March 2002 <<http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/business/1859070.stm>>, (accessed 20 March 2003).

Thomas, Gillian & Thompson, Guy (2004) 'A Child's Place: Why Environment matters to Children', A Green Alliance & Demos Report: London. PDF file download page: <<http://www.demos.co.uk/catalogue/achildsplacebook/>> (accessed 28 May 2004).

Tokyo Metropolitan Government (2003) 'The Research on the lives of citizens in Tokyo 2002' <[http://www.fukushi.metro.tokyo.jp/press\\_reles/2002/pr1021\\_1.htm](http://www.fukushi.metro.tokyo.jp/press_reles/2002/pr1021_1.htm)> (accessed 25 March 2003).

Quality-of-Life Policy Bureau (2002) 'Kokumin-Seikastu-Hakusyo Heisei 13nen-do: Kazoku no Kurashi to Kouzou-Kaikaku' (White Paper on National Lifestyle Fiscal Year 2001: Family Lifestyles and Changes in their Structures), <<http://www5.cao.go.jp/j-j/wp-pl/wp-pl01/html/13101300.html/>> (accessed 12 December 2004)

World Family (2004) World Family Web (Disney English System), <<http://www.world-family.co.jp/>> (accessed 25 March 2004)

### **Television programmes;**

*Beybalde* (2001-2003) TV Tokyo (a boy's cartoon) 52 episodes.

*Hajimete no Ostukai (First Errand) Series* (1991-2004) NTV (a long-run Reality TV shows not regularly aired)

*Japan: The Missing Million* (2002) BBC (a documentary), on the 20th October 2002

*Winter Sonata* [Fuyu No Sonata] (2002) NHK BS (Satellite)



## **Appendices**

Appendix 1a: The Introduction of Family (English version)

Appendix 1b: The Introduction of Family (Japanese version)

Appendix 1c: The Introduction of the Families (from the participants of this study)

Appendix 2a: Statement of informed consent and permission to use information for families (English version)

Appendix 2b: Statement of informed consent and permission to use information for JSTV (English version)

Appendix 2c: Statement of informed consent and permission (Japanese version)

Appendix 3: Statement of informed consent and clearance note (English version only)

Appendix 4: Main Interview Questions



Family Introduction

Please fill in the following questions before we start the fieldwork. (If you do not want to answer to certain questions, you do not have to fill in your answer)

Family Name:

When did you move to London: Year/Month

Where did you move from (give a name of prefecture/city’s name)

1. About your husband

Place of birth:

Business type: Occupation:

The history of his lived experience abroad: Year (country/city)  
Year (country/city)  
Year (country/city)

His final academic degree and major:

Annual income (including tax and supports from company)

A. more than £50K B. £25-50K C less than £25K

Within this income, my company supports (housing/ education/health insurance/ others ( )) are included. (please circle the one/s which is/are included)

2. About yourself (to mother)

Place of birth:

Main Occupation: (for how many years, and which role)

The history of your lived experience abroad: Year (country/city)  
Year (country/city)  
Year (country/city)

Your final academic degree and major:

3. When did you marry? (year and place)

4. About your children

Child 1 (sex: M/F) Date of birth:

School: state/private

Lessons:

Does he/she go to the Saturday school? : Yes/No

Education in Japan:

Child 2 (sex: M/F) Date of birth:

School: state/private

Lessons:

Does he/she go to the Saturday school? : Yes/No

Education in Japan:

Child 3 (sex: M/F) Date of birth:

School: state/private

Lessons:

Does he/she go to the Saturday school? : Yes/No

Education in Japan:

5. About media consumption

Newspaper (either Japanese or English) :Yes:(the name of the newspaper: ), No

TV: Do you subscribe to JSTV? Yes/No

Do you adjust tuning in order to be able to watch local broadcasting? Yes/No

Other subscription (Sky...):

Magazines:



家族略歴紹介

調査の前に以下の項目に記入してください。(お答えにくいものは記入しなくても結構です。)

家族名：

ロンドンへの移住日時： 年 月

どこから移住されましたか？

場所：(都道府県名を記入ください) \_\_\_\_\_

1. ご主人について

出生地：

業種：

職種：

以前の海外在住経験： 年から 年 (国・市) \_\_\_\_\_

年から 年 (国・市) \_\_\_\_\_

年から 年 (国・市) \_\_\_\_\_

最終学歴：

専攻：

年収入(税込み及びその他支給を含む)

A. 50,000 ポンド以上 B. 25-50,000 ポンド C. 25,000 ポンド以下

この中には、会社から(住居費・学費・医療費・その他( ) )が支給されています。(○で囲んでください)

2. 貴方について

出生地：

主な職歴： 年間

職種：

以前の海外在住経験： 年から 年 (国・市) \_\_\_\_\_

年から 年 (国・市) \_\_\_\_\_

年から 年 (国・市) \_\_\_\_\_

最終学歴：

専攻：

3. 結婚されたのはいつですか？

いつ：

どこで：

4. お子様について

子供1. (性別：男・女) 生年月日

学校：公立・私立(英国・インターナショナル・日本人学校または幼稚園)

お稽古事：

補修校に通っているか否か： はい・いいえ

日本での教育暦：

子供2. (性別：男・女) 生年月日

学校：公立・私立(英国・インターナショナル・日本人学校または幼稚園)

お稽古事：

補修校に通っているか否か： はい・いいえ

日本での教育暦：

5. メディアについて

新聞購読(英国日本のもの問わず) はい(新聞) いいえ

テレビ：JSTVに加入しているか？ はい・いいえ

BBCなどの英国の地上波をチューニングしているか？ はい・いいえ

その他(スカイ、など)

雑誌など：(日本からの購読している雑誌や通信教育などがあれば記入して下さい。)

(例：ベネッセ 子供チャレンジなど) ( 年前より)



## **Appendix 1c: Family introduction**

### **Family A (Lived West London)**

#### **General**

The date of moving to London: August 21 2001

From where: Tokyo Japan

#### **About the father**

The place of birth: Fukushima, Japan

Company: a major Japanese media company

Occupation: TV Producer

The last academic degree: University of Tokyo: BA in Russian Literature

The overseas experiences: 1986-1987 London, U.K.

Annual income (incl. Tax and supports): Over £50,000 (including housing expenses)

#### **About the mother**

The place of birth: Tokyo, Japan

The last academic degree: Queen Mary College, University of London (Diploma in English literature)

The overseas experiences: 1970-1975 Los Angeles, USA  
1986-1987 London, U.K.

The careers: American finance company for 2.5 years  
Translator at theatres

When did you marry: 1988

The place where they married: Tokyo

#### **About the Child 1 (birth February 11 1992) F**

The educational experiences in Japan: State primary school in Tokyo until the first term of Year 4

School: Local state primary school

Lessons: English

The Saturday school: Yes.

#### **About the Child 2 (birth January 14 1995) F**

The educational experiences in Japan: State primary school in Tokyo until the first term of Year 1

School: Local state primary school

Lessons: English

The Saturday school: Yes.

#### **About the Child 1 (birth July 20 1997) M**

The educational experiences in Japan: Private kindergarten in Tokyo until the first term of youngest grade

School: Local state primary school

Lessons: None

The Saturday school: The Japanese kindergarten's Saturday course

#### **About their media consumption**

TV: Sky, JSTV, and local TV

Newspaper: Asahi

Magazines: None

Educational magazines: The second child subscribes to educational correspondent of Overseas Returnee Foundation

Family A was about to apply for Benesse which they used to subscribe to in Tokyo



**Appendix 1c: Family introduction**

**Family B (Lived North London)**

**General**

The date of moving to London: February 2002

From where: Yokohama, Japan

**About the father**

The place of birth: Kanagawa, Japan

Company: a major Japanese media company

Occupation: Media producer

The last academic degree: BA in Law

The overseas experiences: None

Annual income (incl. Tax and supports): Over £50,000 (including housing expenses)

**About the mother**

The place of birth: Chiba, Japan

The last academic degree: BA in Education

The overseas experiences: None

The careers: Finance

Whey did you marry: 1995

The place where they married: Tokyo

**About the Child 1 (birth April 15 1997) F**

The educational experiences in Japan: None

School: Japanese kindergarten (full-time)

Lessons: Gymnastic by a Japanese instructor and ballet by an English instructor at the Japanese kindergarten

The Saturday school: No.

**About the Child 2 (birth October 26 2000) F**

The educational experiences in Japan: None

School: Not yet (from September to the Japanese kindergarten’s nursery)

Lessons: None

The Saturday school: N/A

**About their media consumption**

TV: JSTV and Local

Newspaper: Nikkei

Magazines:None

Educational magazines: Benesse from August 2001



## **Appendix 1c: Family introduction**

### **Family C (Lived South London)**

#### **General**

The date of moving to London: May 1997

From where: Yokohama, Japan

#### **About the father**

The place of birth: Aichi, Japan

Company: Bank

Occupation: Sales

The last academic degree: BA in Law

The overseas experiences: None

Annual income (incl. Tax and supports): Over £50,000 (including housing, medical and educational expenses)

#### **About the mother**

The place of birth: Aichi, Japan

The last academic degree: BSC in Domestic Science

The overseas experiences: None

The careers: Publisher as sales for 7 years

When did you marry: 1992

The place where they married: Japan

#### **About the Child 1 (birth November 29 1993) M**

The educational experiences in Japan: None

School: Private local school for boys

Lessons: Football and Kumon (cram school)

The Saturday school: Yes.

#### **About the Child 2 (birth July 31 1996) F**

The educational experiences in Japan: None

School: Private local school for girls

Lessons: Piano, Kumon, Jazz dance, and gymnastic

The Saturday school: N/A (from April 2003)

#### **About the Child 1 (birth July 17 2000) M**

The educational experiences in Japan: None

School: None

Lessons: None

The Saturday school: N/A

#### **About their media consumption**

TV: Sky and local TV

Newspaper: Yomiuri

Magazines:

Educational magazines: *Monthly Year 3* for the eldest son, Benesse for the second daughter and Benesse's Shimajiro for the youngest son.



**Appendix 1c: Family introduction**

**Family D (Lived South London)**

**General**

The date of moving to London: October 1997

From where: Frankfurt, Germany

**About the father**

The place of birth:Tochigi, Japan

Company: Bank

Occupation: Finance

The last academic degree: University graduate

The overseas experiences: ?[she did not know exactly] for five years New York, USA  
(before marriage)

1989-1994 Sydney, Australia

1994-1996 Frankfurt, Germany

Annual income (incl. Tax and supports): Not answer

**About the mother**

The place of birth:Tokyo, Japan

The last academic degree: BSC in Domestic Science

The overseas experiences: 1989-1994 Sydney, Australia

1994-1996 Frankfurt, Germany

The careers: Bank for 8 years

Whey did you marry: 1988

The place where they married: Tokyo

**About the Child 1 (birth September 14 1989) M**

The educational experiences in Japan: None

School: Private local school

Lessons: Tennis

The Saturday school: Yes.

**About the Child 2 (birth March 1 1992) M**

The educational experiences in Japan: None

School: Private local school

Lessons: Tennis

The Saturday school: Yes.

**About the Child 1 (birth May 14 1995) M**

The educational experiences in Japan: None

School: Private local school

Lessons: Tennis

The Saturday school: Yes

**About their media consumption**

TV: Telewest (CATV) and local TV

Newspaper: Yomiuri

Magazines: None

Educational magazines: None



**Appendix 1c: Family introduction**

**Family E (Lived West London)**

**General**

The date of moving to London: June 1998

From where: Amsterdam, Holland

**About the father**

The place of birth: Kyoto, Japan

Company: Bank

Occupation: Finance

The last academic degree: MBA (INSEAD)

The overseas experiences: 1991-1993 Paris, France

1996-1998 Amsterdam, Holland

Annual income (incl. Tax and supports): Over £50,000 (including Housing, medical and educational expenses)

**About the mother**

The place of birth: Saitama, Japan

The last academic degree: Poly-tech in English

The overseas experiences: 1991-1993 Paris, France

1996-1998 Amsterdam, Holland

The careers: work at a company for 8 years

When they did you marry: 1991

The place where they married: Tokyo

**About the Child 1 (birth December 26 1991) F**

The educational experiences in Japan: None

School: The Japanese school (full-time)

Lessons: piano

The Saturday school: N/A

**About the Child 2 (birth May 20 1995) F**

The educational experiences in Japan: None

School: The Japanese school (full-time)

Lessons: Tennis

The Saturday school: N/A

**About the Child 1 (birth October 27 1996) M**

The educational experiences in Japan: None

School: Japanese kindergarten (full-time)

Lessons: English at the kindergarten

The Saturday school: N/A

**About their media consumption**

TV: JSTV and local TV

Newspaper: No

Magazines: No

Educational magazines: Gakysyu- Youchien (Learning kindergarten), Year 1, Bennese's Kodomo Challenge for five years



## **Appendix 1c: Family introduction**

### **Family F (Lived West London)**

#### **General**

The date of moving to London: October 2000

From where: Aichi, Japan

#### **About the father**

The place of birth: Aichi, Japan

Company: a car-parts maker for a major car company

Occupation: Sales

The last academic degree: University of Kansai BA

The overseas experiences: None

Annual income (incl. Tax and supports): £25,000- £50,000 (including housing, medical and educational expenses)

#### **About the mother**

The place of birth: Yamagata, Japan

The last academic degree: high school

The overseas experiences: None

The careers: Admin job for five years

When did you marry: 1994

The place where they married: N/A

#### **About the Child 1 (birth May 29 1996) M**

The educational experiences in Japan: Kindergarten until the first term for the youngest grade

School: Local state primary school

Lessons: None

The Saturday school: No

#### **About the Child 2 (birth October 4 1998) M**

The educational experiences in Japan: None

School: Private local nursery

Lessons: None

The Saturday school: N/A

#### **About their media consumption**

TV: Local

Newspaper: Nikkei

Magazines :None

Educational magazines: None



## **Appendix 1c: Family introduction**

### **Family G(Lived West London)**

#### **General**

The date of moving to London: July 1999

From where: Tokyo, Japan

#### **About the father**

The place of birth: Tokyo, Japan

Company: Pharmaceutical company Occupation: Pharmacist

The last academic degree: MSC in Pharmacy

The overseas experiences: 1971-1974 Beirut Lebanon

#### **About the mother**

The place of birth: Tokyo, Japan

The last academic degree: ICU BA in Communication

The overseas experiences: 1980-1981 Utah, USA

The careers: secretary for 8 years

When did you marry: 1988

The place where they married: Tokyo

#### **About the Child 1 (birth August 28 1992) F**

The educational experiences in Japan: State primary school until the first term of Year 1.

School: Local state primary school

Lessons: Tap, ballet, tennis and flute

The Saturday school: Yes.

#### **About the Child 2 (birth October 9 1996) M**

The educational experiences in Japan: None

School: Local state primary school

Lessons: Tennis and swimming

The Saturday school: Yes.

#### **About their media consumption**

TV: JSTV and local

Newspaper: Yomiuri

Magazines :None

Educational magazines: Benesse, and Kodomo Challenge for both children



## **Appendix 1c: Family introduction**

### **Family H (Lived West London)**

#### **General**

The date of moving to London: July 1999

From where: Chiba, Japan

#### **About the father**

The place of birth: Tokyo, Japan

Company: Telecommunication

Occupation: Planning

The last academic degree: ICU BA

The overseas experiences: 1972-1978 Vancouver, Canada

1979-1985 New York, USA

1995-1996 San Francisco, USA

Annual income (incl. Tax and supports): Over £50,000 (including educational expenses)

#### **About the mother**

The place of birth: Tokyo Japan

The last academic degree: BA in Child Education

The overseas experiences: 1995-1996 San Francisco, USA

The careers: secretary for 7 years

When they did you marry: 1991

The place where they married: Tokyo

#### **About the Child 1 (birth November 23 1993) F**

The educational experiences in Japan: Kindergarten for two years

School: Local state primary school

Lessons: drawing and tennis

The Saturday school: Yes.

#### **About the Child 2 (birth October 21 1996) M**

The educational experiences in Japan: None

School: Local state primary school

Lessons: Tennis

The Saturday school: Yes (the Japanese kindergarten's Saturday course)

#### **About their media consumption**

TV: JSTV and Local

Newspaper: Yomiuri

Magazines :

Educational magazines: Kodomo no tomo (Friends of children), Takusan no Fushigi (lots of mystery), and Kagaku no tomo (Friends of Science) for a few years.



**Appendix 1c: Family introduction**

**Family I (Lived Central London)**

**General**

The date of moving to London: April 2001

From where: Tokyo, Japan

**About the father**

The place of birth: Japan

Company: Bank

Occupation: Finance

The last academic degree: University Graduate

The overseas experiences: None

Annual income (incl. Tax and supports): Over £50,000 (including housing, medical and educational expenses)

**About the mother**

The place of birth: Japan

The last academic degree: University Graduate

The overseas experiences: None

The careers:

Why did you marry:

The place where they married: Tokyo

**About the Child 1 (birth 1996) F**

The educational experiences in Japan: Kindergarten until the end of the youngest grade

School: Private primary school for girls

Lessons: ballet

The Saturday school: From April

**About the Child 2 (birth 2000) M**

The educational experiences in Japan: None

School: The Japanese kindergarten (full-time)

Lessons: None

The Saturday school: N/A

**About their media consumption**

TV: JSTV via CATV and Local

Newspaper: Nikkei

Magazines : Very

Educational magazines: Benesse for both children



## **Appendix 1c: Family introduction**

### **Family J (Lived South London)**

#### **General**

The date of moving to London: April 2002

From where: Tokyo, Japan

#### **About the father**

The place of birth: Tokyo, Japan

Company: Trading company (corporation)

Occupation: Insurance Broker

The last academic degree: University of Waseda BA in Economics

The overseas experiences: 1995-1999 London, U.K.

Annual income (incl. Tax and supports): Over £50,000 (including housing and educational expenses)

#### **About the mother**

The place of birth: Tokyo Japan

The last academic degree: University of Waseda BA in Psychology

The overseas experiences: 1995-1999 London, U.K.

The careers: Stock trader for six years

When did you marry: 1990

The place where they married: Tokyo

#### **About the Child 1 (birth May 2 1994) F**

The educational experiences in Japan: Kindergarten 1999 and state primary school until the end of Year 1

School: Local private primary school for girls

Lessons: No

The Saturday school: No.

#### **About the Child 2 (birth May 22 1998) F**

The educational experiences in Japan: None

School: Local private primary school for girls

Lessons: Tennis

The Saturday school: No

#### **About their media consumption**

TV: JSTV (only news) and Local

Newspaper: No

Magazines :No

Educational magazines: None



## **Appendix 1c: Family introduction**

### **Family K (Lived South London)**

#### **General**

The date of moving to London: June 1999

From where: Tokyo, Japan

#### **About the father**

The place of birth: Kanagawa, Japan

Company: Trading company (corporation)

Occupation: Sales developer

The last academic degree: University BA in International Economics

The overseas experiences: 1983-1987 Colorado USA

Annual income (incl. Tax and supports): Over £50,000 (including educational and expenses)

#### **About the mother**

The place of birth: Tokyo Japan

The last academic degree: University BA in Japanese Literature

The overseas experiences: None

The careers: Secretary for four years

When did you marry: 1994 May

The place where they married: Tokyo

#### **About the Child 1 (birth November 14 1996) F**

The educational experiences in Japan: None

School: Local private primary school

Lessons: Ballet

The Saturday school: No.

#### **About the Child 2 (birth November 3 1999) F**

The educational experiences in Japan: None

School: Local private primary school

Lessons: None

The Saturday school: No

#### **About their media consumption**

TV: Local

Newspaper: N/A (Nikkei from husband's office)

Magazines : Very, Grazia, Engine for adults

Educational magazines: Benesse, Kodomo Challenge (for four years)



## **Appendix 1c: Family introduction**

### **Family L (Lived West London)**

#### **General**

The date of moving to London: June 1998

From where: Tokyo, Japan

#### **About the father**

The place of birth: Fukuoka, Japan

Company: Electronic company

Occupation: Vice-manger

The last academic degree: University BA in Commerce

The overseas experiences: None

Annual income (incl. Tax and supports): Over £50,000 (including housing, medical and educational expenses)

#### **About the mother**

The place of birth: Kumamoto, Japan

The last academic degree: University Graduate: Education for nurses (nurse trainer)

The overseas experiences: None

The careers: Nurse for eight years

Whey did you marry: 1994

The place where they married: Fukuoka

#### **About the Child 1 (birth May 2 1994) F**

The educational experiences in Japan: None

School: Local state primary school

Lessons: Art class, reading club for Japanese kids.

The Saturday school: N/A (from April)

#### **About their media consumption**

TV: Local

Newspaper: Yomiuri

Magazines : Vantene

Educational magazines: Kodomo no tomo (Friends of Children) for four years

\* The form was filled in by the mothers when I started each interview for the first time. Later, the data such as schools/lessons or subscribing to newspaper had been changed.



**STATEMENT OF INFORMED CONSENT  
AND PERMISSION TO USE INFORMATION.**

Research project: The Media & Japanese Children in London: Understanding Media Consumption & Everyday Life in an Overseas Community.  
Institution: University of Westminster CCIS  
Principal Investigator: Kaoruko Kondo

---

To the families participating in the research above  
We would like to understand these children’s everyday experiences, especially focus on the media and these children aged 5-8. Today’s globalised media such as the Japanese popular cartoons or games are likely to be close to children’s everyday life. In addition, the availabilities to obtain the Japanese programmes, news, or information via such as a satellite television, or Japanese newspapers beyond space have given more choices to suit individual own lifestyle or needs. This study will be helpful for the media regulations/programming, and market, and also for the comparison with other counties’ cases.  
If you agree to participate in this research, the following will happen;

1. I will visit you every two months for a year (2002-2003) to give interviews with the mother, and the child/ren. (basically with the mother, but sometimes, during the period if the child/ren are available, I would like to chat with him/her/them).
2. I will also observe your children, and their media lives when I visit. I may use a digital camera or camera recorder. However, these data will be kept entirely confidential.
3. while interviewing you, I will record on audio-cassette recorder/MD.

The research will follow guidelines by Social Research Association (British ethnical codes). The study will simultaneously follow the customs and conventions of Japanese society. The research will be published in PhD dissertation which will be written in English by the researcher and be submitted to the institution above. The names of the participants will never appear in the dissertation, nor will they be revealed even to supervisors of the research.  
If you can participate in the research above, please sign the following;

---

I agree to take part in the research project conducted by Kaoruko Kondo. At the same time, I agree that the copyright in my contribution assign to University of Westminster.

1. I agree to give my name in her dissertation or any published materials.
  2. I do not agree to reveal my name in her dissertation or any published materials.
- (please chose either 1 or 2)

Signed \_\_\_\_\_  
Date    /       / 2003  
Address: \_\_\_\_\_

Signed \_\_\_\_\_ (Research investigator)  
Date    /       / 2003

---



**STATEMENT OF INFORMED CONSENT  
AND PERMISSION TO USE INFORMATION.**

Research project: The Media & Japanese Children in London: Understanding Media Consumption & Everyday Life in an Overseas Community.  
Institution: University of Westminster CCIS  
Principal Investigator: Kaoruko Kondo

---

To the families participating in the research above  
We would like to understand these children’s everyday experiences, especially focus on the media and these children aged 5-8. Today’s globalised media such as the Japanese popular cartoons or games are likely to be close to children’s everyday life. In addition, the availabilities to obtain the Japanese programmes, news, or information via such as a satellite television, or Japanese newspapers beyond space have given more choices to suit individual own lifestyle or needs. This study will be helpful for the media regulations/programming, and market, and also for the comparison with other counties’ cases.  
If you agree to participate in this research, the following will happen;  
1. I will give interviews with people who work at JSTV.  
2. While interviewing you, I will record on audio-cassette recorder/ MD.

The research will follow guidelines by Social Research Association (British ethnical codes). The study will simultaneously follow the customs and conventions of Japanese society. The research will be published in PhD dissertation which will be written in English by the researcher and be submitted to the institution above.  
If you can participate in the research above, please sign the following;

---

I agree to take part in the research project conducted by Kaoruko Kondo. At the same time, I agree that the copyright in my contribution assign to University of Westminster.

- 1. I agree to give my name in her dissertation or any published materials.
  - 2. I do not agree to reveal my name in her dissertation or any published materials.
- (please chose either 1 or 2)

Signed \_\_\_\_\_  
Date    /    / 2003  
Address: \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
Signed \_\_\_\_\_ (Research investigator)  
Date    /    / 2003

---



同意書

研究名：ロンドン在住の日本の子供の日常とメディア

研究機関：University of Westminster CCIS

研究者：近藤 薫子

私は、上記の近藤薫子が行う研究に対して私及び私の家族である\_\_\_\_\_がこの調査に参加することの同意及び承諾をいたします。

私の貢献における著作権が University of Westminster に譲渡することにも同意します。

署名：

日付：

住所

研究者署名：

日付



データーの利用・整理・保管に関する同意書

研究名：ロンドン在住の日本の子供の日常とメディア

研究機関：University of Westminster CCIS

研究者：近藤 薫子

この同意書の目的は、貴方の貢献（データー）を上記の研究に利用することと、それに継起する利用に関して厳密な同意の上で保障するためのものです。もし、このデーターが後に公的な重要なデーターの保存として置かれる際に、そのデーターは研究や出版での利用目的で永久的な公的参考文献・資料として保管される場合があります。

いずれかの番号に○をつけてください。

- 1. 私は上記の研究のための私の貢献（データー）に対して、匿名のままで利用することを承諾します。
- 2. 私は上記の研究のための私の貢献に対して匿名のままでなくても利用することを承諾します。
- 3. 私は上記の研究のための私の貢献に対して 10 年間、上記の研究に関するも荷に限り利用することを承諾します。

私はここに私の貢献に対する版權が、近藤 薫子（研究者名）に譲渡します。

署名：

日付：

住所：

研究者署名：

日付：



2002 年 月

各位 殿

調査協力をお願い

近年の日本の経済発展の結果、海外に長期在住する邦人のコミュニティーもすっかり定着してきております。それに伴う子供も、異国にて、文化、教育などを通していろいろな体験をしていること存じます。

私共は、このような子供たちの海外滞在中の日常を理解したいと思います。特に、メディアを中心にどのように過ごしているかを研究しております。昨今のメディアのグローバル化（日本の人気アニメーション、ゲーム等を含め）は子供の生活に密着しています。また、邦人コミュニティーにおける JSTV、日本の新聞などを通して、日本の番組、情報等を時空を超えて入手することも可能になり、いろいろな選択が各人の生活様式、要望に応じて広がりました。この研究により、今後のメディアのあり方や他国との比較などに活かしていくことにも役立てれば幸いです。

昨年、私はロンドン在住の日本人のお母様 13 人に家庭におけるメディア生活のお話を伺いました。その調査の結果、それぞれの考え、経験に基づいて各人のメディアの使い方や受け取り方など多様であることがわかりました。今回の研究ではこれを更に深めていきたいと存じます。5 歳から 8 歳のお子さんのいるご家庭を対象とし、しいては、アンケートなどではわからないような個人個人のご意見、日常生活の様子を伺いたく、ご多忙とは重々承知の上で下記の点にご理解、ご協力をお願いします。

記

1. 子供は日々成長するので、インタビューは 2 ヶ月に一度、始めたときより 1 年間にわたり実施します。（例：2002 年 5 月開始、2003 年 3 月終了）（時間などは柔軟に対応いたします。）
2. その際に、インタビューは録音させていただきます。
3. お子様がもし時間があればその期間中におしゃべりなどさせていただければ幸いです。またはお子様の様子やお子様の好きな雑誌やおもちゃなどを記録させていただくかもしれませんが、あくまでも研究目的（データー収集および分析）の際に利用するのが目的であり、（1 のインタビューも含め）機密などは厳重に保守されます。

この研究は英国社会調査連（SRA Code）のガイドラインに法的に従い、同時に日本社会における慣行にも順守されます。すべての名前は匿名になりこの研究における大学の論文、発表上、及び指導教員である Dr. Annette Hill にさえ、本名が明かされることはありません。

以上

この調査に共鳴し、お話を聞かせていただけるお母様とお子様を募集しております。もし、ご協力いただける際は別紙の同意書にご署名をいただきたくお願い申し上げます。不明な点がございましたら下記までご連絡ください。何卒よろしく申し上げます。

ウエストミンスター大学  
コミュニケーション学科  
Mphil/PhD 課程  
近藤 薫子

Tel:020-7250-3467, Email: kakosv@hotmail.com



SATEMENT OF INFORMED CONSENT AND CLEARANCE NOTE

**Research project:** The Media & Japanese Children in London: Understanding Media Consumption & Everyday Life in an Overseas Community.  
**Institution:** University of Westminster CCIS  
**Principal Investigator:** Kaoruko Kondo

---

The purpose of this agreement is to ensure that your contribution to the above research project and any subsequent usage is in strict accordance with your wishes. If material is later to be deposited in a repository of national significance material it will be preserved as a permanent public reference resource primarily for use in research and publication.

Please circle either:

1. I agree that access to my contribution to the above project for research purpose will be available on completion subject to preservation of anonymity.

OR

2. I agree that access to my contribution to the above project for research purposes will be available on completion without preservation of anonymity.

OR

3. I agree that access to my contribution will be limited for a period of 10 years to research purposes in connection with the project above.

I hereby assign the copyright in my contribution to:  
Kaoruko Kondo (Research Investigator)

---

Signed \_\_\_\_\_

Date \_\_\_\_\_

Address \_\_\_\_\_

---

Signed \_\_\_\_\_ (Research investigator)

Data \_\_\_\_\_



## Appendix 4: Main Interview Questions

### **1<sup>st</sup> visit: General questions based on the questionnaire (Appendix 1).**

1. How long have you lived in London so far?
2. Do you subscribe to JSTV? Or any satellite/Cable TVs?
3. Any other media consumption such as magazines?
4. About schools. (how they find their children's school)
5. About after school. (friendship or lessons)
6. About mother's background/career.

### **2<sup>nd</sup> visit: Children's bedrooms and holiday**

1. Can I see your children's rooms?
2. How did you spend last holiday?(Summer/Easter- depending on the interview date).
3. Are there any changes in your children's life? such as lessons? Friendships?
4. What kind of lessons do you take? (mother)
5. About after school- how do they play?

### **3<sup>rd</sup> Visit: Parents' childhood**

1. Could you tell me your childhood?
2. How did you play in your childhood? How about your husband?
3. What kind of programmes do you and your children watch? Or videos these days?
4. How did you spend last holiday? How about future plans?
5. Any more lessons?
6. Any changes since I visited last time? (i.e. more lessons)
7. (to children) Can you take pictures of your 'favourite stuff' or important things by this digital camera? And will you explain to me why you took them?

### **4<sup>th</sup>/ 5<sup>th</sup> Visit: compared to the last visit**

1. About the overseas community
2. Any changes since I visited last time? (i.e. starting the Saturday school)
3. About schools (i.e. school events, friends, and academic achievement)
4. About during holidays
5. About media consumption: any changes? (i.e. increasing *Beyblades*)
6. About their future plans in Japan
7. About your husband at home: has he changed his lifestyle and attitude towards childrearing?
8. Do you differentiate your attitudes towards your son and daughter?

### **6<sup>th</sup> Visit: Future plans, reflection of sojourning and visiting their schools/kindergarten**

1. How has your lifestyle changed since you moved to London compared to one you used to have in Japan?
2. What do you expect your children to become in future?
3. Do you have any plans to do something in Japan? (i.e. therapist)
4. Do you think the media products help your children's development?
5. Please describe your life in London with a word.
6. Could you take me to your children's school/kindergarten when you pick them up?