

〔研究論文〕

## 日本における国際学校の役割

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### 要 旨

本稿は国際学校が、一般的には日本の教育システムの一部と考えられてこなかったにもかかわらず、明治時代以降、日本社会の中で重要な役割を果たしてきたことを立証するものである。また、現在では国際学校は、数も規模も大きくなり、これまで以上に、それが属する日本の学校や日本の社会との協力関係を構築する立場になってきている。国際学校は海外の企業、高度専門職者、研究者たちを引き寄せており、その存在は日本の国際化と経済成長の推進という目的にとってきわめて重要なものである。さらに、国際学校は日本の中で、しだいに増加しつつある多文化、多言語使用人口の必要に応えるものであり、日本の英語教育の進展にも刺激となるものである。

## The Roles of International Schools in Japan

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### Introduction

Books I have consulted about education in Japan (Cutts, 1997, Goodman, 1993, Okano & Tsuchiya, 1999) do not include information about international schools even when discussing the topic of internationalization in Japan. International schools, it seems, are considered peripheral or even irrelevant to the Japanese education system. This paper argues that international schools have played a significant role in Japanese society since the Meiji era, that they are growing in number and size, and that they are now in a position to collaborate more than ever before with Japanese schools and the Japanese communities they are part of. International schools attract companies, skilled technicians and researchers from abroad, and their presence is vital to promote Japan's goals of greater internationalization and economic growth. Furthermore, international schools are serving the needs of Japan's increasingly multi-cultural and multi-lingual population and can stimulate progress in Japan's English language teaching materials and methodology.

The first section of this paper will explore the past and current roles of international schools

in Japan by examining a variety of international schools, the reasons they were founded, and the special points that they illustrate about Japan's international schools in general. The next section will look at the changes that have taken place in Japan's demography since the end of the Second World War, especially the rise in number of international marriages and the new generation of children who have a dual cultural background as well as the large number of Japanese students who are choosing to attend an international school. The third section will discuss the roles of international school accrediting bodies and the International Baccalaureate Organization and the impact they are having on both international and national school education. The fourth section will examine future roles of international schools in Japan.

## **Section 1 International schools in Japan from past to present**

This section clarifies the types of international schools discussed in this paper and provides an overview of ten types of international school which have been founded at different times and for a variety of purposes. The first three categories include Japan's oldest international schools, founded by foreigners for the foreign community. They illustrate the dynamic growth of such institutions and their pioneering spirit in the field of educational innovation. Schools in the fourth category follow the national curriculum of another country, yet open their facilities and provide instruction to the local Japanese community. The fifth category consists of schools founded by Christian organizations while the sixth category of schools were founded to further Japan's goal of increased internationalization after the Second World War. Schools in the seventh and eighth categories have been founded by Japanese educators to provide a suitable education for Japanese returnees and English immersion education for Japanese nationals. The last two categories of schools cater specifically to the needs of the growing number of children of international marriages, in which one parent is Japanese, and children of immigrant temporary and long-term residents.

### **Section 1.1 Japan's many kinds of international schools**

Japan's international schools have an excellent worldwide reputation. The American publication *Newsweek* surveys international schools annually and produces a report on the best schools. On Wednesday, 20 Sep 2006, it said: "Japan offers the widest range of International Schools in the region, with quality education and high standards. There are excellent establishments on each major island so commuting need not be an issue." (<http://www.newsweekshowcase.com/international-schools/>)

There are more than 200 educational establishments in Japan that could be called "internation-

al schools”. The website “tokyowithkids.com” ([http://www.tokyowithkids.com/fyi/international\\_schools.html](http://www.tokyowithkids.com/fyi/international_schools.html)) provides links to 150 pre-schools, universities and schools specializing in learning and other disabilities through the medium of English. Another website, “Education in Japan”, makes the point that “many schools which are de facto functioning international schools are either called ‘free schools’ or have NPO status. The foremost reason for this anomaly compared to other countries is that the Japanese government does not grant recognition of the majority of international schools, especially ethnic schools. Instead it classifies such schools as ‘free schools’ or commercial schools or Non-Profit Organisations (NPO).” <http://www.education-in-japan.info/sub202011.html> This website currently lists 203 functioning international schools. The list includes schools that teach predominantly one ethnic group (for example Chinese, Korean, German or French speakers).

## 1.2 The international schools which are the focus of this study

The international community in Japan is very diverse. However, the main focus of this study is English-medium schools from grades 1–12 (elementary to high school). There are currently 27 such schools which belong to the Japan Council of International Schools (JCIS). (This organization was founded in 1972 and its aim is to support, to give advice and to protect the interest of international schools in Japan. For more information, see section 3.)

In addition to these longer-established JCIS schools, new English-medium international schools are being opened one after the other. Not all of them follow a national curriculum from a western country. An interesting example is Global Indian International School (GIIS), which opened on August 17, 2006 in Edogawa Ward, Tokyo. The elementary and middle schools follow the Central Board of Secondary Education (CBSE) curriculum, the major curriculum in India, which qualifies children for entrance to Indian universities. The school will be introducing the International Baccalaureate Diploma programme in its high school. The mayor of Yokohama has recently signed an agreement for another branch of this school to be opened and “the city government will cooperate in selecting a site for the school.” (Hanada, *Daily Yomiuri* 10.28.2006) Like other international schools, these schools welcome Japanese children and teach Japanese culture and language.

By describing schools such as those that belong to JCIS, which offer a western-style or International Baccalaureate curriculum taught in English, and which, like GIIS, are involved with the local community, this paper will demonstrate the current and future roles of international schools in Japan.

## Section 1.3 An overview of ten categories of international schools in Japan

International schools in Japan have been founded by a variety of people and for a wide range of

purposes. This section will provide an overview of ten categories of international schools from the earliest to the more recent.

The first international school in Japan was established in 1872 in Yokohama. A small fishing village until Commodore Matthew Perry arrived, Yokohama quickly became the base of foreign trade after its port was opened in 1852. As the foreign population grew, the need for a school became apparent and Saint Maur International School was founded by the missionary Sisters of the Infant Jesus “to provide children from the international community, of all nationalities and religious denominations, with a quality education based upon respect and a deep understanding and appreciation of people’s differences.” (<http://www.stmaur.ac.jp/>)

Although the word “international” did not exist at that time, the concept of an international community did. The student population was cosmopolitan and there was support from more than 15 legations, including the UK, the USA, France, Holland, Austria and Germany. The school received generous support from powerful individuals in European countries as well as from more humble sources. Throughout its history, the buildings have been destroyed by typhoons, earthquakes and bombs. It has been rebuilt and has grown in size each time through the support of individuals, the local community and companies. Although it was established by Catholic nuns, the school does not try to convert students to Catholicism or Christianity; it caters to children of all nationalities and religious denominations, and offers a broad-based religious education program. The school is recognized by the Japanese Ministry of Education, Science and Culture as a school corporation (*gakko hojin*), is accredited by the Council of International Schools (CIS) and the New England Association of Schools and Colleges (NEASC) and is authorized to teach the International Primary Curriculum as well as the International Baccalaureate Curriculum. It is a member of the East Asian Regional Council of Overseas Schools (EARCOS), the Japan Council of International Schools (JCIS), and Lions-Quest International. The importance of these kinds of authorization from different organizations will be explained in section 3.

Another very long established international school is the American School in Japan (ASIJ). It was started in 1902 by a “dynamic group of women who recognized the need for a school among the growing foreign community.” It was called the Tokyo School for Foreign Children and classes were held in rented rooms in the Kanda YMCA. Today, it has a faculty of over 140, and over 1,500 students from more than 30 nations. With its 5.5 hectare campus, it is the largest international school in Japan. In spite of its size, places at the school are in high demand, entrance is highly competitive and there is a long waiting list because it is one of the leading international schools in Asia. The vast majority of students are there temporarily while their parents work for companies or legations. The curriculum is based on the American education system, but “. . . the School community embodies its

long-standing ideals of cultural diversity and global perspective. With more than 30 nationalities usually represented each year within the student body, students learn global awareness in and out of the classroom as they share their cultures and study world issues. . ." (<http://www.asij.ac.jp>) With extensive facilities and financial resources, ASIJ and other large international schools have the means to keep abreast of the latest developments in education and to take advantage of the latest learning tools, especially in the field of information technology. They no doubt act as an incentive for overseas employees and researchers to move to Japan with their families.

Yokohama International School (YIS) also has a long history. It was founded in 1924 by a group of foreign residents, who were inspired by and wished to promote the spirit of internationalism that prevailed following the formation of the League of Nations in Geneva. It was the second school in the world to use the word "international" in their school name (Geneva International School was a few days ahead of them.) The school grew steadily until the buildings were destroyed by allied bombing. However, the Japanese government paid an indemnity, which was used to construct a new building, and the school reopened in 1955 with one teacher and 9 students. The school prospered and was the first international school in Japan to be granted legal status as a *gakko hojin* in 1969. The school has been a pioneer among Japan's international schools in many other ways. It began its first class for the International Baccalaureate Diploma in 1986 and was the first school in Japan to offer the Reggio Emilia programme in the Early Learning Centre in 2000. The following year it became the first school in Japan to be authorized to offer the Primary Years Programme (PYP) of the International Baccalaureate Organization (IBO). Although, as an IB World school, the academic programme has enabled YIS graduates to attend many of the world's leading universities, YIS tries to create a balance between the academic and the non-academic, both of which, the school feels, are equally important for an education to be complete. Moreover, YIS continues to promote the spirit of internationalism through a programme of study that follows no national system. (<http://www.yis.ac.jp/>)

A number of international schools, such as the American School in Japan, follow the national curriculum of one country. Other examples include: Canadian International School in Tokyo and Columbia International School in Saitama, which both follow a Canadian curriculum, and The British School in Tokyo and St. Michael's School in Kobe, which follow the British National Curriculum. The recently established Global International School of India (GIIS) in Edogawa, Tokyo and the soon to be opened Global Indian Education Foundation (GIEF) school in Yokohama follow the national curriculum of India. These schools have been established to provide the children of Indian businessmen and engineers in Japan "with good quality education". (Hanada, *Daily Yomiuri*, 10.28.2006) GIEF Chairman Atul Temurnikar said that they would like "Japanese children who are

interested in an Indian education program, with the emphasis on advanced science and math classes taught in English to enter (the) school.” (ibid.) GIIS was founded by GIEF, an Indian NPO sponsored by an IT company. It is part of a chain of GIIS schools in SE Asia. The school is expected to expand from 134 students in August 2006 to 200 students by the end of this school year (March 2007) and to increase enrollment to 1,000 in 4–5 years. This may seem ambitious but GIEF opened a GIIS school in Singapore in 2002 with 48 students. Already they have 2,500 students and 2 campuses and the school was selected as one of the best international schools in Singapore in a *Newsweek* survey in 2004 and 2005. It seems reasonable to take this school as an example of the expected growth in the numbers of families choosing an international school in Japan over the next few years.

At this Indian school, all classes are taught in English. However, it is the curriculum which is considered to be a selling point for the school above the fact that the classes are taught in English. The elementary and middle school follow the Central Board of Secondary Education (CBSE) curriculum, the major curriculum in India, which qualifies children for entrance to Indian universities. The International Baccalaureate will be offered at high school, a programme which is recognized as an entrance qualification by universities around the world. The children also learn Japanese and either Hindi, Tamil or French. Apart from establishing high academic standards, it is important to the school to be part of the local Japanese community. The school director makes the point that “the local people welcome us . . . Japanese living in the area teach calligraphy, table tennis, golf and other activities . . . on an extracurricular basis.” (Mizui, *Daily Yomiuri*, 9.21.2006) Furthermore, the school is planning to start exchange programmes with local Japanese primary schools as well as offering English and computer classes to local residents. The school wants to be open to the local community and demonstrate this through the school slogan on their website: GIIS is “A School That Cares” ([http://www.giisjapan.org/contact\\_us/contactus.htm](http://www.giisjapan.org/contact_us/contactus.htm))

A fifth category of international schools in Japan are schools founded in the 1950s by Christian missionaries or organizations, either for the education of their own children or to promote Christianity. St. Mary’s International School in Tokyo was founded by the Brothers of Christian Instruction for foreign boys in 1954. Marist Brothers International School in Kobe was founded in 1951 by two Brothers who belonged to a religious congregation of Catholic educators. They had been forced to leave St. Louis International School in Tientsin, China, because of pressure from communist authorities. Unlike St. Mary’s International School, Marist Brothers International School is co-educational. Both schools teach Catholic values and include religious studies in their curriculum. Similarly, the International School of the Sacred Heart (ISSH), located in Hiroo, Tokyo was founded in 1908 and belongs to a worldwide network of the Schools of the Sacred Heart. (There are

six other Sacred Heart schools for girls in Japan, but they do not offer an international curriculum to prepare students for tertiary study at universities around the world.)

Kyoto International School (KIS) was started in 1957 by a small group of missionaries wishing to educate their children after the Kyoto American School, located in the Botanical gardens U.S. Army Base was closed down at the end of the occupation of Japan. It was called the Kyoto Christian Day School at that time and followed the American Calvert home schooling curriculum. It is now a secular school following the IBO PYP curriculum and it “serves as a community resource for internationally-minded families.” (<http://www.kyoto-is.org>)

Hokkaido International School was founded a year after KIS by foreigners living in and around Sapporo after the closing of the Camp Crawford U.S. Army Dependents School in Makomanai that year. Unlike KIS, it has always been a secular school. It is now a fully accredited school teaching Pre-Kindergarten to Grade 12. In 1995, with the assistance of the city of Sapporo and the Prefecture of Hokkaido, the school moved into a new, purpose built facility in Hiragishi, in Sapporo’s South Ward and the new campus includes a dormitory which can house up to 20 students.

Nagoya International School also started after the end of WWII. The school website explains how it was not just the foreign community that realized the need for an international school, but also the local Japanese community:

The arrival of Occupation forces signaled the opening of Japan and raised the attention of residents to the need for internationalization. During the 1950s and early 1960s, small, often sectarian, schools provided for the children of Nagoya-based foreigners. With the increase in the foreign population, however, came an understanding by the greater Nagoya community that a broader-based, non-sectarian educational institution was needed to meet the educational needs of the foreign children and to further the regional goals of internationalization.

<http://www.nisjapan.net/nis/nishistory/index.htm>

With support from the U.S. and local municipal governments as well as local businesses, parents were able to open the school in 1964 in an old school building which they had renovated.

The students and faculty at the new school were the beneficiaries of an outpouring of goodwill from people throughout the region. Invitations to events hosted by Rotary Clubs, members of the community, and local schools and universities were received with much gratitude by the school. Tea ceremonies, visits to local pottery and washi-papermaking studios, excursions to view autumn foliage, trips to Ise and Kyoto, and numerous other cultural exchanges enlivened

the education and fulfilled the greater dreams of enhancing internationalism through cultural understanding and appreciation. These activities were helpful in forging new ties within the community, while at the same time introducing Nagoya and Japanese culture to the teachers and students who were new to Japan.

(ibid.)

Again with support from local government bodies, local businesses, and the U.S. government, the school was able to raise funds to purchase land for a new school building in 1966. The school grew from about 80 students in the 1960s to 400 in the early 1990s. Funds for a new building were raised once more and the school moved into its splendid current building in 1999. The fact that the school has received the support of the local government at both city and prefectural levels throughout its history has undoubtedly enabled it to prosper. Not all international schools have received this level of support from their local governments. Kyoto International School has received little support and no funding from either Kyoto City or Prefecture at the time of writing.

The seventh category of international schools are those founded by Japanese individuals. Keimei Gakuen was established in April, 1940 in the home of Takasumi Mitsui, in Tokyo. Its objectives were to educate Japanese students returning from overseas in areas of Japanese education which they had not covered in their studies abroad. The school also encouraged a broad, international outlook, and emphasized the study of English and other foreign languages. Later, the school was expanded to include Japanese students who had not lived overseas. Takasumi Mitsui explains how she realized that returnees were a precious resource to Japan but there were no schools catering for the needs of these students and so resolved to meet their needs and promote an international outlook among Japanese people.

Students who are educated abroad are a precious treasure to the nation. The students' overseas experiences richly benefit their native country. Since more than 6,000 students return to Japan from studies abroad each year, I feel the uniqueness of their situation should not be ignored. In this belief I am supported by the Japanese Ministry of Education which has appointed Keimei Gakuen to aid these "returning students" in their readjustment to life in Japan, both academically and culturally.

At Keimei, readjustment is accompanied by the encouragement of a broad international view. I firmly believe that these two goals are mutually supportive. . .

. . . My dream was of a school that would encourage the continued study of a second language so that the returning student(s) could retain their places as world citizens and

ambassadors of peace and good will for Japan. I realized that, in other schools, these students would be lost in a world from which they had absented themselves in order to study abroad. In my dream, the students could function happily as both world citizens and Japanese citizens. It was to this end that I strove, with a firm belief in my convictions, and hence Keimei became a reality in April, 1940.

(<http://www.keimei.ac.jp/english-v.html>)

Nishimachi International School was established nine years after Keimei by Tane Matsukata in the Azabu area of Tokyo. She lived for seventeen years in the U.S., where she received her education and spent the war years. When she returned to Japan, she found Tokyo still badly damaged from the war although the slow process of rebuilding the city had begun. She believed that there was moral rebuilding to be done as well. She and a group of mothers, after considering the options, decided that a new approach to traditional education was needed, “one that stressed the human side of learning and had peaceful coexistence among neighbors as an objective.” (<http://www.nishimachi.ac.jp/>) They believed that learning a second language, in this case English, was an essential first step to extend “the children’s understanding beyond the boundaries of their own culture and into others.” (ibid.) Now, over 430 students, representing 26 countries, attend Nishimachi. 168 of the students hold dual or multiple citizenships. 233 students hold U.S. citizenship, 236 are Japanese nationals (23 are returnees), and 124 represent some 24 countries. More than half of the students are bilingual, some fluent in three or more languages.

A third school founded by a Japanese woman with a pioneering outlook is Katoh Gakuen. Mrs. Fuji Katoh studied at the University of Chicago and spent 15 years in the USA. When she returned to Japan, she founded this private Japanese school in 1926. Her son, Dr. Masahide Katoh took over the operation of the school in 1972. He is a man of vision and straight away made the school the first open-plan school in Japan and set up a bilingual Research and Training Centre. In 1992, the school began the first elementary school English immersion programme in Japan. The school now offers its immersion programme from kindergarten through to senior high school (grades K-12). The high school students study for the IB Diploma and graduates attend top universities in Japan and overseas. The junior high school was the first in Japan to be awarded authorization from the IBO for the Middle Years Programme and the high school was also the first Japanese school to receive official authorization for the IB Diploma Programme. The number of students enrolled has grown dramatically from 28 students in the first year to a current enrollment of over 570 students (K-12). (<http://www.bi-lingual.com/School/history.htm>)

The interesting point about Katoh Gakuen, and which places it in a new category, is that it is

*not* an international school. The “school culture mirrors that of the local community. Katoh Gakuen is not an international school nor do we impose Western values or expectations on the students or parents.” (<http://www.bi-lingual.com/School/WhatIsImmersion.htm>) It is a Japanese school for Japanese students and it follows the Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science and Technology (MEXT) curriculum in its elementary school and has adapted the way the MEXT curriculum is taught to match the requirements of the IBO Middle Years Programme and Diploma course. The school aims to develop high levels of bilingualism and bi-literacy (Japanese and English) in the students so that they maintain native level proficiency in their first language (Japanese) while developing academic functional proficiency in English. (<http://www.bi-lingual.com/School/history.htm>) Several other Japanese schools are following this example and introducing immersion programmes (Seibo in Kyoto, Gyosei Kokusai Kindergarten in Chiba and Lindenhall in Fukuoka.) It is no longer just the international schools which are providing an education in the medium of English in Japan, or which are following internationally recognized curricula. Also, it is no longer just the children of foreign nationals who are learning in the medium of English. An increasing number of Japanese people are choosing this educational option. Linden Hall Elementary School, established in 2004, explains the philosophy behind its decision to provide an English immersion education.

In an age of internationalization and movement towards the information society, how to develop the individual talents and abilities of pupils is one of the most important themes in education, and the cultivation of people able to act on an international stage, able to use English freely and easily, is essential to Japan’s future.

(<http://www.lindenhall.ed.jp/english/policye.html>)

There is one more category of school that is catering for new kinds of Japanese nationals who are growing steadily in numbers: the children of “international marriages”, in which one parent is Japanese and the other a non-Japanese national. New International School Tokyo is one example.

Founded in 2001, New International School offers a new and innovative style of education in the context of international schools in Japan. Currently serving about 135 children from preschool (age 2 years, 9 months) to Grade 9, it is the first international school specifically established to meet the needs of permanent, international marriage, and/or long-term residents of Japan, regardless of nationality, in the clear and research-based recognition that bilingual and multiage education is good for children! Families temporarily in Japan but with an interest in Japanese as well as English are also welcome.

(<http://www.newinternationalschool.com>)

At this school, the children learn bilingually in both English and Japanese through team-taught multiage classes. There are two full time homeroom teachers for fewer than 20 children in each classroom because the school recognizes the bilingual educational needs of children whose parents speak different mother tongues.

Another new school catering to the needs of dual nationality children, as well as the children of immigrant workers from Brazil and other countries, is International Community School in Maebashi, Gunma Prefecture. The school is governed by a non-profit organization (NPO) called the Multilingual Education Research Institute whose mission is multilingual and multicultural education and consciousness-raising. It was started by and is still run by local Gunma residents, both long-term resident foreigners as well as Japanese who have lived abroad. It is not a Japanese school, although they teach Japanese language and culture. ICS is not an American or Brazilian school either, although they teach those languages and cultures, as well as Tagalog and Urdu. It is international and multilingual in every way, from the administration to the teaching. The ICS mission is “to give kids a place to openly proclaim their unique identities and learn with joy and creativity, regardless of their nationality, languages spoken, or appearance. To develop children’s fluency and literacy in English, Portuguese, and Japanese . . . To insist that parents have quality alternatives to the public education system in Gunma.” (<http://www5.ocn.ne.jp/~meri/english.htm>)

The last school to be introduced in this section, Canadian Academy in Kobe, illustrates very clearly the developments that have been taking place in the roles and demography of international schools in Japan. Like many other international schools, it was founded to serve the educational needs of children of missionaries who were working in Japan, China and other parts of Asia. At the time of its foundation in 1913, there were few other such schools in Asia, so missionaries of all denominations sent their children to Kobe where they could study and stay in the dormitory. In the early years, the students were predominantly North American, especially as employees of American companies resident in Japan sent their children to the school. However, in the 1970s an intensive English programme was started for Japanese students who had just finished junior high school. This proved extremely successful and since that time the number of Japanese students has grown steadily. The English programme has been phased out but has had a lasting effect on the numbers of Japanese students at the school. “By 2001, Japanese students had grown to become the dominant population, a trend that continues today.” (Quinn, *Daily Yomiuri*, 6.8.2006) The school’s top nationalities in terms of numbers are 182 Japanese, 126 Americans, 69 South Koreans, 67 Indians and 41 Filipinos. These figures reflect the greater diversification in Japan’s foreign population these days.

Multinational corporations are employing many more Asians than before in Japan. Consequently, Japan's international schools are no longer predominantly North American and the mother tongue of the vast majority of the students is not English. The majority of students are bilingual and being "trilingual is nothing unusual either." (ibid.)

## **Section 2 Demographic changes and the educational needs of the foreign and Japanese populations in Japan**

This section explains why the number of long-term and short-term foreign residents increased steadily in the 20<sup>th</sup> century and the impact this has had on Japanese and international schools. It also explores changes in attitudes to Japanese children returning from overseas and the role of international school curricula in their education.

The number of foreign residents in Japan surpassed 2 million at the end of 2005. The figure has increased 1.5 times over the last 10 years (*Daily Yomiuri*, 9.6.2006). With the current low birthrate and the resultant need to increase the size of the workforce over the next few decades, it is highly likely that this fast increase will continue.

The greatest proportion of foreign residents are of Korean and Chinese descent and they, or their parents or grandparents, were brought to Japan to work in factories and on the land during the Second World War. Many of them have chosen to integrate into mainstream Japanese society and send their children to Japanese schools and universities. Others send their children to ethnic Korean and Chinese schools where they receive a bilingual and bicultural education. The roles of these schools are fascinating but are not the topic of this paper.

The more recent influx of foreigners to Japan started in the 1970s when the post-war economic boom made Japan an attractive destination for migrants. In the 1980s, the labour shortage in the construction and manufacturing industries attracted unskilled workers from Asia and the Middle East. When the Japanese government made it easier for people of Japanese ancestry (*Nikkei-jin*) to obtain work visas in 1990, a large number of *Nikkei-jin* immigrated from South America. In addition to legal immigrants, a steady stream of illegal immigrants has been supplying the employment market with workers for jobs that Japanese people spurn. A small number of refugees has also sought asylum in Japan.

Apart from manual workers, many North Americans and Europeans came to study Japanese business practices, or the educational system, or to learn Japanese traditional and martial arts. Others came to teach English in language schools, universities and junior and senior high schools. The JET Program started in 1987 and there are currently about 6,000 participants working in

Japanese public schools and government offices. (<http://www.mofa.go.jp/j-info/visit/jet/outline.html>) Japanese speakers came to work as translators or copywriters. The working holiday visa programme started in 1980 between Japan and Australia and has gradually expanded to include many other English-speaking countries. By 1995, there were 4,000 student workers in Japan. The Japanese government has also encouraged foreign students to study in Japan in larger numbers. In 1983, it launched its “100,000 Foreign Students Plan” (there were only 10,428 foreign students that year but by 1995 there were 53,847). (Vaipé, 2002: 185)

This steady rise in the number of foreign residents has led to an increase in the number of children of foreign nationals attending Japanese public and private schools as well as international schools. By 1997, there were more than 17,000 such children studying in Japanese public schools who were identified as “needing Japanese language instruction” (ibid.) These are mainly children of unskilled or manual workers who speak little or no Japanese. Japanese as a Second Language (JSL) teachers have been sent into schools to help these children, but most cannot learn Japanese quickly enough to be able to study effectively and, as a result, tend to drop out of the Japanese school system. To address the needs of such children, small NPO schools such as International Community School in Gunma have been founded. The fees are kept as low as possible. Many of these children expect to return to their home country in the future so it is essential for them to receive their education in their mother tongue as well as the language of their host community.

Many foreign workers, on the other hand, marry a Japanese national and settle in Japan. Also, as more Japanese workers are posted overseas or travel abroad, many of them marry a non-Japanese national then return with their spouse to settle in Japan. In the 1990s, 1 in 30 marriages in Japan were between a Japanese and a non-Japanese national (Goebel Noguchi, 2001: 236). In 1996, 32,434 children were born with at least one foreign parent. (This was 2.7% of all births in that year.) Many parents of such children would like their children to be assimilated into Japanese society and choose to send their children to Japanese schools in order to help them achieve this. A survey carried out by the Association of Foreign Wives of Japanese in 1990 found that 88% of these wives were sending their children to Japanese schools (Goebel Noguchi, 2002: 239). Only 12% of these families chose international schools or some other form of schooling. Although the vast majority of children of international marriages attend Japanese public schools, in some cases they do so because they live too far from an international school or because their family cannot afford the tuition fees. In other words, they are not in a position to choose an international school education. In 1990, when this survey was carried out, Japanese schools had a very positive reputation following a number of reports in the 1980s about Japanese students outperforming their peers from other countries in a number of comparative tests. It would be interesting to see if an equally high proportion of

international families would choose Japanese schools now that their worldwide reputation has slipped and that English language education in Japanese schools is being criticized as inadequate.

One further change that is taking place, and which is starting to lead to an increase in enrolment in international schools, is a loosening of the requirement for Japanese nationals to attend Japanese schools. Most children with one Japanese parent have Japanese nationality. (Under Japanese law they are allowed to have dual nationality until they are 20, and from then they may hold only one nationality.) Local education boards are growing more flexible these days and parents can obtain approval to send their child to an international or other kind of “miscellaneous” category of school (*kakushugakko*) if they can satisfy the board of education that their child has a specific need for this alternative form of education.

In addition to the long-term foreign or dual nationality residents of Japan, the educational needs of short-term foreign residents have to be met. Let us look at the example of Kyoto, which is arguably Japan’s primary academic centre. With its many prestigious universities, it attracts large numbers of foreign scholars every year. Many of these scholars come with scholarships and bring their families. However, if they have children of school age, most have to send them to a Japanese school because they cannot afford the tuition fees of Kyoto International School. Kyoto City provides International Classes in a few designated schools and sends teaching assistants to schools where such a class does not exist. However, it is impossible for foreign children to follow the Japanese curriculum, especially if they are older than first grade when they enter the school. Although the curriculum of the lower grades is taught by high-context oral methods, by 4<sup>th</sup> grade literacy demands are far greater. Japanese students are expected to know all the kana and about 400 kanji by the start of 4<sup>th</sup> grade. When all the teaching materials are in Japanese, a foreign student newly arrived in Japan will not be able to understand, let alone learn much, even with the provision of an assistant teacher or basic lessons in Japanese. For students from countries with similar linguistic roots, such as Korea or China, the challenge may be less daunting, but for students from a completely different linguistic background, an English-medium education would be more accessible. One simple reason is that it takes 2,300 hours for children to learn English orthography, whereas it takes 10–12 years to learn Japanese. (Bostwick, 2002: 273) A second reason is that English has become the lingua franca of the world and children are likely to have studied a little already or be willing to learn knowing that knowledge of English will definitely benefit them in their future.

Although there are clear merits in encouraging the children of visiting academics to attend Japanese public schools and to mix with Japanese children from the point of view of Japan’s goals of greater internationalization, many of these foreign children will be at an educational disadvantage. If subsidies were provided for children who choose to attend an international school, undoubtedly

more would choose to do so. Furthermore, if Japan's international schools continue to participate extensively in their local communities, these children and their Japanese peers will have a chance to meet and interact.

All Japanese children who have lived overseas are called *kikokushijo*, even if their experiences and length of stay have been very different. They include the children of Japanese expatriate workers and diplomats as well as the descendents of Japanese war orphans stranded in China (Okano and Tsuchiya, 1999). Goodman points out that, in the view of Japanese society, *kikokushijo*, all have "identifiable qualities often associated with western values, such as individualism and directness." (1993: 212) Cutts (1997) estimates that in 1994 there were 14,500 expatriate *kikokushijo*, ranging from elementary school age to college age and 50,000 Japanese children living abroad in the same year. The number of Japanese living abroad has increased steadily and by 2004 there were 961,307 in total. (659,003 were on a long stay overseas and 302,304 were permanent residents overseas.) (<http://web-jpn.org/stat/stats/21MIG31.html>) In the school year 2004-2005, 10,068 Japanese school age children returned from abroad. (<http://www.mext.go.jp/english/statist/06060808/xls/117.xls>)

Goodman argues that in the 1960s-1970s *kikokushijo* were seen as "problematic children rather than a new breed of Japanese". This view suited the concept of the homogeneity of the Japanese people propounded through the *Nihojinron*. It also meant that educators did not have to consider adapting the education system to these children. It was the children who had to adapt to life in Japan. (1993: 219-220) "The parents of *kikokushijo* played an important role in bringing the problems of their children to a wider audience and ensuring that something was done to help them." (ibid.) These parents had high status in Japanese society so had access to the media and important establishment figures. By 1977, 4,000 *kikokushijo* were returning every year and special schools (*ukeireko*) and a university entrance system (*tokubetsu waku*) were set up. There were some parents of *kikokushijo*, however, who "insisted that it was not their children who needed to change, but Japanese society, and particularly the educational system, which needed to be more flexible and adapt to the children." (ibid.) In 1985, a Monbusho report sought to find a compromise between complete re-adaptation to the Japanese educational and social system and the retention of linguistic and cultural skills learnt overseas. The report did not recommend bilingual education, arguing that children soon forget the second language if they have spent less than five years overseas. (Goodman, 1993: 207)

Since the mid 1980s, experience overseas has been valued more highly, especially by companies, who are actively recruiting such people in the belief that they are more creative, individualistic workers who can 'invent' new products (Goodman, 1993: 227) This new image as Japan's international elite has been very helpful to *kikokushijo*, and has led to a change in educational policy, which

no longer focuses on re-adapting them to mainstream culture but now aims to develop their international qualities. Schools for *kikokushijo* have also become increasingly popular as they can offer an ‘international’ education alongside ‘international’ students. Competition for places at such schools has become very fierce now that parents of children who have not been overseas want them to be educated alongside ‘international’ students.

In spite of all this apparent opening up to international educational standards and influences, Goodman (1993) pointed out that this ‘international’ education “has to be founded in Japaneseness to be acceptable to mainstream society. Children who go to the international schools in Japan do not receive the same status as those who go to the *ukeireko*.” (p. 229)

Now, more than 10 years later, Japanese parents are sending their children to schools overseas so that they can gain international experience and qualify as the prestigious *kikokushijo* on their return to Japan. An increasing number of Japanese high schools with an international section are also arranging for their students to study at overseas institutions on exchange programmes.

Will it be possible for international schools in Japan to break through this barrier and be perceived as equally suitable as institutions for the education of Japanese nationals as overseas high schools and Japanese high schools with an international section? This will depend, to large extent, on the recognition that the Japanese government gives to international curricula followed in international schools such as the IB Diploma. Many *kikokushijo* have been attending international schools overseas which follow the IBO curricula and, on their return, their parents are now choosing Japanese international schools offering the same curricula, where they can continue their studies smoothly and obtain the highly prestigious IB Diploma. As entry requirements to Japanese universities become more flexible for IB Diploma holders, the role that international schools can fulfill for *kikokushijo* by enabling them to maintain their bilingual skills and gain entry to a Japanese university will no doubt gain in significance.

### **Section 3 The roles of EARCOS, WASC, CIS, and the IBO and their influences on international education programmes**

International schools seek accreditation to demonstrate that they are reliable institutions and to ensure that they are continually improving the quality of the education they provide. International schools have also created regional organizations to offer mutual support and to provide opportunities for professional development. This section will look at the main organizations that promote the development of international schools in Japan and will make recommendations for greater collaboration in experimentation in new teaching approaches between Japanese and international schools.

### Section 3.1 EARCOS

EARCOS (East Asia Regional Council of Overseas Schools) was founded in 1968. Its purpose was to provide support and collaboration among U.S. schools in East Asia and to run professional development activities for member schools. In many cases, the schools were geographically isolated, both from one another and from mainstream U.S. education. The first EARCOS Conference was held the following year at Hong Kong International School and the Constitution was officially adopted. It originally focused on school administrators. In addition, for many years following, there existed four sub-organizations in Asia, KORCOS (Korean Council of Overseas Schools), JCIS (Japan Council of International schools) CERCOS (Central E Regional Council of Overseas Schools) and SEATCCO (Southeast Asia Teachers' and Counselors' Conference). These organizations were primarily run by teachers' organizations with some administrative assistance and were designed to bring professional development activities to faculty. EARCOS now holds two large conferences each year, one for school administrators and one for teachers, with dozens of workshops and training sessions. Most international schools are run by a school board made up of volunteers (mainly parents or local citizens). For the school to function well, it is vital that these board members understand their role and the board training sessions provided at the EARCOS conferences are extremely useful. Administrators are able to discuss issues they are facing and exchange information. Teachers are able to keep up with the latest developments in research, materials and methodologies. (<http://www.earcos.org/>)

### Section 3.2 JCIS

The Japan Council of International Schools (JCIS) represents 27 international schools operating in Japan. The role of JCIS is to support, to give advice and to protect the interests of international schools in Japan. On many occasions it has acted as a link between some Government Ministries (Finance, Education, Science and Culture) and the schools. Representatives of Japan's international schools met together for the first time in 1965. The value of such meetings to discuss matters of administration and curriculum was immediately recognized and so in 1972 the Japan Council of Overseas Schools (JCOS) was established. Membership was based at first on membership of EARCOS, but in 1982, membership was extended to schools offering an English-based curriculum, irrespective of membership in EARCOS, and in 1987, the name of the organization was changed to the Japan Council of International Schools, or JCIS, following the lead of the European Council of International Schools (ECIS). These days, there are three annual administrators' meetings, and annual regional JCIS conferences which offer lectures, workshops, departments meetings, and displays by textbook distributors to the faculty of all of the member schools. JCIS also sponsors

the East Asia writing project and various presentations and workshops throughout every school year. In these ways it provides in-service and professional growth opportunities for its members. (<http://www.jcis.jp/index.asp>)

### **Section 3.3 CIS**

The Council of International Schools (CIS) is a not-for-profit association of schools and post-secondary institutions working collaboratively for the continuous improvement of international education. Originally based in Europe, it now operates worldwide. CIS offers a wide range of services. These include: i) accreditation in order to ensure continuous improvement through peer and self evaluation, ii) assistance in finding a head of school and recruiting teachers, iii) assistance in developing effective school boards, iv) promoting research and disseminating information, v) helping schools develop cost effective financial strategies, and vi) providing professional advice through a consultancy service. Its training materials and professional advice are of very high quality. (<http://www.cois.org/>)

### **Section 3.4 WASC**

The Western Association of Schools and Colleges (WASC) is one of six regional accrediting associations in the United States. It includes schools in East Asia. WASC is not a governmental agency but does work collaboratively with state governments and divisions of the federal government such as the Department of Education and the Department of State. Accreditation with WASC is a voluntary process that schools undertake in order to demonstrate that they are worthy of the trust placed in them to provide high-quality learning opportunities and that they are undergoing continual self-improvement. A WASC accredited school is focused on a mission and goals for students; “it is student-oriented and examines its students’ performance continuously; it accepts objective evaluation from a team of outside peer professionals trained by WASC; it maintains a qualified faculty within an effectively organized school; it collaboratively assesses the quality of its educational programs on a regular basis; and it plans for the future.” (<http://www.wascweb.org/>)

These accrediting bodies and support organizations fill the role of a national Ministry of Education by making sure that standards are maintained and that professional development is taking place.

### **Section 3.5 International Baccalaureate Organization (IBO)**

The International Baccalaureate Organization is a non-profit organization based in Geneva, Switzerland. The first seed of what would become the IBO was planted around the same time that

Yokohama International School was founded. “In the uneasy peace of the 1920s and 1930s, national leaders began the first tentative steps toward global cooperation, including the establishment of the League of Nations and the International Labor Office in Geneva.” (Matthews & Hill, 2006: 5) The staff of these organizations came from many countries and needed a school for their children. A group of parents started a small school that grew into the prestigious Ecole Internationale and which later became a driving force behind the creation of a unified school-leaving exam which would be recognized by universities around the world as an entrance qualification. The term “International Baccalaureate” was used for the first time in 1962. The word “baccalaureate” is derived from the French school-leaving qualification, which covers several required subjects, but the new term shows that this diploma is designed for students from all over the world. Through the hard work and dedication of a number of educators, the International Baccalaureate Organization has grown slowly but steadily in scope and recognition. It now offers three education programmes for students from 3–19 to some 1,400 schools around the world. It also offers teacher training and other services and is a pioneer in the field of international education research and innovation.

In 1979 the IB Diploma was officially recognized by the Japanese government. That year, it donated 5,000 Swiss francs to the IBO and has continued to donate 3,000 Swiss francs every year since then. The Minister of Education, Science, Sports and Culture notified all Japanese national, local public and private universities in 1979 that IB Diploma holders who have reached the age of 18 were eligible candidates for university admission. To gain the IB Diploma, students must successfully complete examinations in six required subjects and receive passing marks in three core areas. These are: an extended essay of 4,000 words (primary research), a theory of knowledge course, and 150 hours of supervised CAS (creativity, action, service) time. (<http://www.english-schools.org/ib-versus-a-levels.htm>) IB Diploma holders now enjoy special privileges in Japan. For example, most national and local public universities and many private universities exempt IB Diploma holders from having to take the National Center Examinations. IB Diploma holders also qualify to be screened through special selection procedures offered by about three hundred universities. (<http://japan.english-schools.org/international-baccalaureate.htm>)

In addition to the IB Diploma programme, the IBO offers two programmes that span the primary and middle school years. The Primary Years Programme (PYP) is designed for students aged 3–10 and the Middle Years Programme (MYP) for students aged 11–16. The Primary Years Programme (PYP) is “a transdisciplinary programme of international education designed to foster the development of the whole child.” (<http://www.ibo.org/pyp/>) Only IB World Schools (schools authorized by the IBO) and candidate schools can offer the Primary Years Programme (PYP). The school’s delivery of the programme is evaluated by the IBO three years after authorization and then

every five years.

The PYP is radically different to traditional primary school programmes in that it is inquiry-based. The children research the topic of study and present their findings by making posters, models, slide shows, songs, quizzes, and so on to their classmates and other children in the school, and sometimes to parents. They learn through discovering for themselves and then teaching others. The teachers plan the units of inquiry, model activities, guide the children's research, monitor their work and evaluate the learning. The topics usually cover more than one discipline. For example, mathematical calculations, artwork, language arts as well as science will be included in a unit of inquiry about the vital organs of the human body.

The MYP five-year curriculum follows the PYP and serves as preparation for the IB Diploma. The MYP insists on a thorough study of eight subject groups and the emphasis is again on their interrelatedness. The programme covers learning strategies, community service, creativity, environmental awareness and physical, social and emotional health. Teachers use criteria established by the IBO to assess all student work, but the organization does not set or mark examinations. The IBO validates the school's assessment standards, however, by providing external moderation.

A key point in the IBO philosophy is that, although English, French or Spanish are the languages of instruction, the child's mother tongue should be respected at all times and be allowed to develop fully alongside the language of the curriculum. Until children become fluent enough in the language of instruction to be able to learn independently, they should be given language support. Children in English-medium IB schools are not expected to be proficient English speakers at the time of admission. However, their parents must undertake to support actively their child's English language development. The IBO promotes multilingualism and celebrates diversity in its schools.

Teachers receive training for the IBO programmes before and after a school becomes authorized. They are expected to attend workshops and pursue their professional development. For a full explanation, see the IBO website at <http://www.ibo.org/>.

The IBO is steadily gaining recognition around the world. Apart from international schools, national schools in the USA, Australia and Indonesia have adopted the curriculum. In fact, 40% of IB schools are state schools. (Walker, 2000: 203) The Japanese government is also lending support to the growth of the IBO in Japan. The first IBO Symposium was held in Japan at Tamagawa University in Tokyo on November 25, 2006. It was attended by over 200 delegates and Mr. Shinichi Tamura from the Japanese Ministry of Education, Culture and Science gave a plenary talk. Walker makes the point that, "The combination of the IB's language policy, its breadth of curricular studies and its students' engagement with a variety of modes of learning, does, indeed, give those of us committed to the IB the right to say to national educators 'we believe we have something well worth sharing

with you.” (Walker, 2000: 202–203) It seems that Japan is ready to listen to what the IBO has to offer.

#### **Section 4 A new role for Japan’s international schools**

As has been explained above, international schools in Japan are at the cutting edge of educational innovation and are able to access the latest educational tools and technology and to try out new techniques. They are in a very good position to emulate the work of The International Schools Association of Thailand (ISAT), which assists in in-service training by arranging placement for Thai teachers and administrators in international schools where they are able to observe modern approaches to teaching and learning first hand. ([http://www.isat.or.th/about\\_isat.asp](http://www.isat.or.th/about_isat.asp))

In fact, Japanese international schools could go several steps farther by offering training and teaching practice to student teachers in university education departments. They could offer insights into bilingual education approaches and effective English language teaching and learning practices. Other resources, such as English and other language library books, magazines, audio and visual materials could be lent and facilities such as gymnasiums, swimming pools, recording studios could be made available. In the same way that the populations of Japan’s international schools are becoming more diverse, so could the roles of the schools in Japanese society.

#### **Conclusion**

Among the earliest international schools were those established to educate the children of foreign residents, both temporary and long-term. They were the children of diplomats, businessmen, scholars, educators, artists and missionaries and were predominantly North American. Other early schools were founded by Japanese people who had lived overseas and who wished to provide their own and other Japanese children returning from abroad with an education that would allow them to take full advantage of the international experience and outlook that overseas life had given them.

Many international schools continue to cater to the needs of the temporary and long-term foreign community, but this community is now far more diverse. Among the student population there is an increasing number of Japanese returnees. There are also more and more children with one Japanese and one non-Japanese parent. Moreover, an increasing number of Japanese families wish their child to have a chance to become bilingual and to have an international experience here in Japan, and are sending their children to international schools rather than Japanese schools.

As Japanese university entrance requirements become more flexible, and internationally

recognized qualifications such as the International Baccalaureate Diploma are regarded as suitable university entrance requirements, it is likely that a growing number of Japanese nationals will choose an international high school course and even prefer their children to follow an international curriculum from kindergarten. More attention is being paid to the importance of the mother tongue in bilingual education in international schools and so greater emphasis is being placed on attaining high levels of language ability in both English and the child's first language. So there is less need for apprehension among Japanese parents that their child will not be fully literate in both Japanese and English. Moreover, with increased globalization, there is a greater expectancy that young people can function in more than one language. International schools can provide children living in Japan with a multilingual learning environment as well as a global outlook.

Many Japanese international schools are already playing an active role in introducing foreign cultures and languages to their local communities. At the same time, these schools invite Japanese experts to teach the students traditional Japanese arts as well as Japanese language. The students will, in turn, be able to teach others around the world about Japanese culture.

There is a further role that the international schools can play. Through fund-raising activities and corporate sponsorship, many schools are investing in the latest educational technology and are pioneers in educational methods such as Montessori, Emilio Reggio, and the IBO inquiry-based learning. They are in a position to share this knowledge and expertise with Japanese educators by running workshops and training sessions for Japanese teachers and university education departments.

Japanese graduates from international schools can serve as role models and show younger generations that it is normal for most people in the world to speak more than one language in their daily life. These graduates will also be able to help Japan to participate even more fully on the world stage by articulating the Japanese point of view and by teaching about Japanese culture outside Japan or to visitors to Japan.

Japan's international schools already have a very good reputation in the region. Good international schools attract more business investment from overseas and greater numbers of researchers. Yokohama has seen the potential increased business opportunities that an Indian international school can bring to the local community and is helping a new Indian international school to start up. Kyoto could greatly enhance its appeal as a business and research hub if it were to help its small international school to grow and prosper and to take advantage of all it has to offer in return.

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