Taiwan Fellowship 2019

The Educational Views of Marriage Migrants in Taiwan: The Life Stories of Japanese Fathers

(Serial no.: MOFATF20190056)

Name: WATANABE, Yukinori
Home institution: Sagami Women's University, JAPAN
Host institution: College of European and Asian Languages, Wenzao Ursuline University of Languages
Duration of the Fellowship: From August to December 2019
Contact: watanabe_yukinori@isc.sagami-wu.ac.jp
Submitted: May 15, 2020

The Educational Views of Marriage Migrants in Taiwan: The Life Stories of Japanese Fathers

WATANABE, Yukinori[1]

Summary

This paper reports the research outcome of a study funded by the 2019Taiwan Fellowship. In this study, the researcher conducted 18 life-story interviews to understand how educational belief is constructed through the complicated process of migration from Japan to Taiwan. Past studies have predominantly focused on the mothers' perspectives and left fathers' stories unstudied, especially in intermarriages. Therefore, this study adopted an experimental method to provide necessary information about fathers by generating three integrated cartoon stories with annotations. As a result, the following aspects of paternal identity were revealed: (1) fathers are in conflict between traditional and modern discourses, more specifically, being the prime provider of both financial and moral support to the family (*Daikokubashira*) and being the one who voluntarily takes care of his children (*Ikumen*), respectively; however, being *Daikokubashira* is considered more important than being *Ikumen*; and (2) for fathers, being *Ikumen* includes being responsible for teaching Japanese to children; therefore, they tend to feel remorse if they fail to raise children's Japanese to the level they expect. Furthermore, as they advance their careers in Taiwan as the *Daikokubashira,* their job skills are optimized to Taiwanese society, which makes it more difficult to move back to Japan or a third country. In contrast, some individuals with flexible skills, such as business owners and highly skilled professionals, may choose to relocate. In this manner, *Daikokubashira* discourse binds the choice of fathers' essential decisions, including the education of their children. Finally, most fathers show tolerance toward deviation from Taiwanese or Japanese standard education models, as if their migration and intermarriage experiences were stepping stones to becoming more accepting and flexible about education.

[1] Sagami Women's University, 2-1-1, Bunkyo, Minami Ward, Sagamihara City, Kanagawa Prefecture 252-0383 Japan (watanabe_yukinori@isc.sagami-wu.ac.jp)

台湾における結婚移住者の教育観：
日本人父親のライフストーリーから

渡辺幸倫

概要

本稿は 2019 年の台湾奨助金(Taiwan Fellowship)の助成を受けて実施した The educational views of marriage migrants in Taiwan: The life stories of Japanese fathers の調査結果をまとめたものである。本研究では、日本から結婚移住を経て台湾で子育てする父親の様相をライフストーリーの手法を使って聞き取りを行った。日本と台湾の関係の中で生起する移住した親の自己形成プロセスを分析することで、アジアへの日本人結婚移民の教育意識がどのように構築されているのかを考察した。教育意識には世代を超えたアイデンティティ変容の枠組みが象徴的に表れる。しかし、既存の「親の教育観」に関わる研究は母親を対象にしたものが大半で、父親に関するもの、特に国際結婚を前提とするものはほとんどなされてこなかった。そこで本研究では台湾で子育てする父親たちについての基礎的な理解の醸成を目指し、収集した様々な事例を 3 つのモデルに集約して描写し、それぞれのモデルの背景理解と解釈を深めるための注釈をつけながら論点を提示するという実験的な形式をとった。

考察の結果、父親たちは「大黒柱」と「イクメン」の二つの言説の中で葛藤をしていること、「大黒柱」として機能するためには台湾と日本の間に立つ仕事が選ばれやすいこと、「イクメン」には日本語教育の責任も含まれていることなどがわかった。さらに、「大黒柱」であることは「イクメン」であることより重要であると考えられているものの、十分に「イクメン」をできていなければ自責の念を覚えることも見て取れた。また、「大黒柱」として台湾でキャリアを積んでいくことは自身の「稼ぐ力」が台湾社会に最適化していくことを意味し、日本への帰国や他国への再移住が容易ではなくなっていくこと、また台湾の親日的雰囲気も相まって台湾社会を選好する気持ちが強いことなども観察できた。

このような状況を前提に、台湾で子どもが育つことを受け入れたうえで、日本的な教育をどのように行うのかが課題となっている。学校選択は重要な指標であった。現地校の教育競争には概して懐疑的だが、一定程度の水準にあるという理解もある。一方、日本人学校は高校の部がないため、どこかの段階で日本への「帰国」を考慮する必要がある。これらの状況下では、「稼ぐ力」が台湾社会に最適化されている程度の高い父親たちは台湾滞在を選び、現地校を選択し、付加的に日本語を教えていくという選択になりやすい。逆に日台間の貿易などを扱う自営業や日本でも仕事を見つけやすい技術者などは日本への帰国なども考慮しやすくなっていた。このような形で、「大黒柱」であることと子どもの教育はつながっているとみてよいだろう。無論、父親たちの生活は多様である。しかし、あえて全体に共通している点をあげれば、「標準」からの逸脱に寛容ということが言えそうだ。国際結婚は日本台湾両国で一定数あるものの非標準であり、この決断をした人生の中で、子どもの教育を考えている。彼らが子どもの教育も非標準であってもよいという柔軟な考えを持つのだろう。

婚後移居台灣者的教育觀：從日籍父親的生活故事談起

渡辺幸倫

概要

本稿為 2019 年獲得台灣獎助金所實施之研究關於「婚後移居台灣者的教育觀：日籍父親的生活故事」的調查結果所整理而成，本研究係透過訪談方式窺知婚後從日本移居台灣的日籍父親對教育子女的樣貌,以這樣的人生故事來進行此項研究。分析在日台關係中的父親角色形成的過程，針對亞洲的日籍人士結婚移民者的教育意識是如何建構而成進行考察。對於教育意識，象徵性地顯現了跨越世代身分認同框架的轉變。然而，對於既存的「父母的教育觀」相關研究，以母親作為研究對象者佔大多數；有關父親的研究，特別是以國際結婚為前提條件下作為研究對象者卻寥寥無幾。故本案以關於婚後移居台灣的外籍父親們教養子女方式的基本認識做為初步醞釀本研究的目標，並收集各種實例，匯集三個範例為主軸,描寫而成，為了更深入說明每一個範例其中的背景認知與解釋，並提出採用實驗性的方式所得結果來論證。

考察結果指出，父親們常在「經濟支柱」與「育兒父親」的兩種說法之間產生矛盾，因為父親身為「經濟支柱」的功能，會傾向選擇能成為台日之間橋樑的職業，對於「育兒父親」一詞中也清楚可知兼負了教育子女日語的責任。雖然「經濟支柱」比起包含負責教育子女的「育兒父親」被認為更為重要，卻也看出無法兼顧「育兒父親」之責的期望而感到自責。再者，在台灣身為「經濟支柱」本身所累積的職業謀生能力即意味著他們在台灣社會地位層級正邁向優化，加上台灣親日情節相輔之下，可觀察到他們偏向選擇移居台灣的感覺較為強烈。

在這類狀況的前提之下，讓子女在台灣接受教育抑或是實施日本式的教育將成為他們的課題，而選擇學校也成為了重要指標。一般而言在地學校的教育競爭雖是抱持質疑的，但可理解的是台灣教育標準仍具有一定程度之水準。另一方面，因為在台灣尚無日本學校高中部的關係，必須考慮到讓子女在哪個階段歸國就學。像這類的情況，具備「謀生能力」且在台灣有高階職涯發展的父親們選擇讓子女滯留台灣就讀當地學校，也便於選擇附有教授日語的學校。反之，在台日間從事貿易等的自有營業者及高端的技術人士也可能會選擇返回日本。在這事件的決擇上，讓身為「經濟支柱」的父親角色可以說是含括了子女的教育責任。總結可知，雖說國際結婚在日台中有一定程度的族群對於兩國的標準教育模式期望不盡相同，但各種在台日籍父親們的生活具有多樣性，若要說全體的共通點的話，可以說成是從「標準」中灑脫地寬容接受台日間教育差異。他們必須在這種決斷的人生當中，考量子女的教育方式。推論他們對子女教育即使並非標準化，但也抱持了彈性接受的想法。

1. Introduction

This paper reports the research outcomes of a study funded by the 2019 Taiwan Fellowship 2019. The study aims to explore and understand the construction of educational views of Japanese migrant fathers. Until now, most research on the educational beliefs of marriage migrants has been limited to mothers, with fathers left largely unexamined. In this field of study in educational beliefs, the researcher and his colleagues have collected life stories from Japanese-Korean, Japanese-Chinese, Korean-Chinese, Japanese-Thai, and Japanese-Filipino couples including migrant husbands, using two consecutive grants from the Japan Society for the Promotion of Science (2013–2015, 2016–2018).[2]

Concerning Japanese husbands, the first round of funding revealed that Japanese migrant fathers in intermarriages in Korea are accepted into the middle class of the host country. Furthermore, these fathers often consciously embrace behaviors that fit the culture of their wives' families—a culture constructed through education and parenting experience. In addition, fathers struggle with being unable to meet expectations as the providers of Japanese language education due to long working hours, which partially results in outsourcing Japanese language education to outside institutions, including Japanese schools (Watanabe, Fujita-Round, & Sun 2016).

The research conducted with the funding from the second grant dealt mainly with Japanese people living in Bangkok, Thailand, and Manila, Philippines. One study completed in Bangkok revealed similar, yet different issues regarding educational beliefs among Japanese fathers. For example, while the struggle of being responsible for Japanese language education given the limited time available for that education appeared the same as in other researched countries, the language focuses in Thailand and the Philippines were different. In both countries, the common belief that English possesses a superior investment value than Japanese, Thai, or Filipino has led to the development of multilingual—rather than bilingual—educational settings. Such positioning of English above Japanese and Thai/Filipino seems to have given rise to a structure in which the Japanese and Thai/Filipino cultures are rarely opposed. This linguistic setting also mitigates the struggle husbands face, as there is less importance placed on Japanese education. As a result, raising children in more global environments at international schools where it is easy to gain access to English education, though expensive, is a more favored strategy (Watanabe & Kubo 2018, Watanabe, Fujita-Round, & Sun 2019).

With these considerations in mind, this study explores the narratives of Japanese men married to Taiwanese women, paying particular attention to educational perspectives. It also aims to publicize the subjects' life stories to inform and encourage Japanese fathers in Taiwan who may struggle with childrearing.

2. Background

2.1. Demography of Japanese People in Taiwan

The proportion of Japanese marriages registered in Japan and overseas involving a non-Japanese partner increased from 4.4% in 1995 to 5.5% in 2000, before peaking at 7.4% in 2006. After that, there was a moderate fall to 4.6% in 2013 and 2014; then, in the most recent survey in 2016, there was another slight increase to 4.9% (30,747 marriages).

There is a considerable difference in gender regarding the country of registration, which is also the country where the couples are most likely to be living: Most marriages involving Japanese husbands and non-Japanese wives are registered in Japan (90.4%), whereas the majority of marriages involving Japanese wives and non-Japanese husbands are registered at government offices overseas (55.8%).[3] Although there are some differences among the partner countries, the figures suggest that, overall, it is women who are more likely to migrate for international marriages involving Japanese partners.

According to a demographic survey conducted by the Ministry of the Interior, National Immigration

---

[2] Japan Society for the Promotion of Science (JSPS), Grants-in-Aid for Scientific Research (C) (KAHENHI), Grant Number 25381142, *Educational Strategy of Intermarried Japanese, Korean, and Chinese Couples* (2013-2015), Japan Society for the Promotion of Science (JSPS), Grants-in-Aid for Scientific Research (C) (KAHENHI), Grant Number 16K04630, *Educational Beliefs of Marriage Migrants: Analyzing Discourses of Japanese Husbands Intermarried with Chinese, Filipina, Korean, and Thai Wives* (2016–2018).

[3] Government offices overseas are not necessarily those located in the spouse's country but also include a third country.

Agency (2019), there has been an increase in the number of foreign residents with Alien Resident Certificates (*外僑居留証*)—which must be obtained by foreigners who intend to stay in Taiwan longer than six months—especially in the last 20 years, peaking at 785,000 in 2019 (Figure 1). Among those with Alien Resident Certificates, 48,000 are spouses of Taiwanese people.

The proportion of Taiwanese marriages involving a non-Taiwanese partner decreased from 7.74% in 2005 to 2.44% in 2011, and then gradually increased to 4.84% in 2019.[4] There is also a considerable difference in gender: About 70% of foreign spouses are female. Japanese people show a slightly different trend. The number of Japanese residents varied between 8,000 in 2005 and 12,000 in 2011. Then, it gradually increased to reach its peak of 13,400 in 2019 (Figure 1). Among these 13,400, 3,405 are spouses of Taiwanese people. As shown in Figure 2, compared with all foreign spouses, the overall ratio by gender is much closer to even, and 46% of Japanese husbands choose to live in Taiwan. This trend of a Japanese husband and non-Japanese wife choosing to live in the wife's country is much higher in Taiwan than it is in other Asian countries, where it is evident in 9.6% of all marriages, 2.1% in Korea, 7.2% in China, 2.9% in the Philippines, and 13.8% in Thailand in 2016.[5] This suggests that a relatively large number of Japanese husband–Taiwanese wife couples choose to live in Taiwan, making the situation of Japanese fathers in Taiwan even more unique. Therefore, unlike marriages between Taiwanese and people from Southeast Asian countries or mainland China, the gender ratio of Japanese-Taiwanese couples is close to even, suggesting that much work remains to be done in terms of understanding the lives of Japanese husbands.

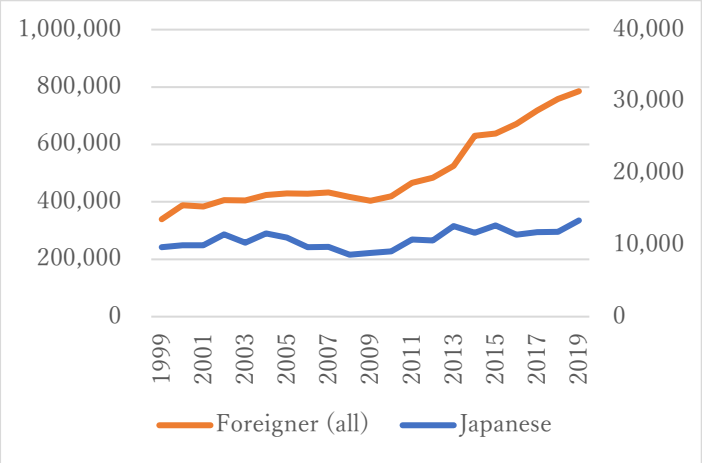
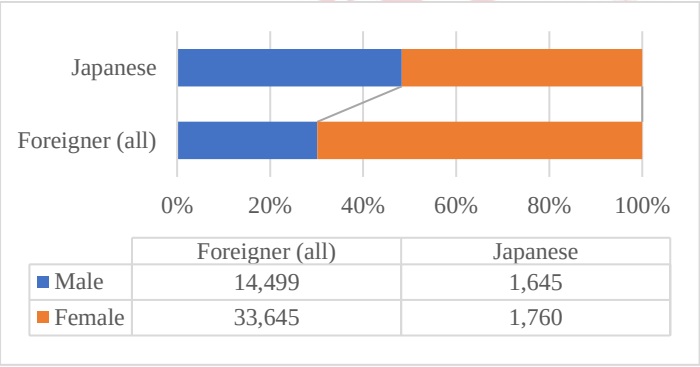


Figure 1: Foreigners (all) and Japanese in Taiwan (Ministry of the Interior, 1999–2019).



	Foreigner (all)	Japanese
Male	14,499	1,645
Female	33,645	1,760

Figure 2: Spouses of Taiwanese, foreigners (all), and Japanese by gender (Ministry of the Interior, 2019).

[4] It is of interest for Japanese residents in Taiwan to know the demography of fellow Japanese. Some bloggers give deep insights on the issue. The most popular one would be "Not Eating Beef Noodle. Information that Captures Taiwanese Lovers" (https://taiwan-gyunikumen.style/population/).

[5] The proportions of "Japanese husband–non-Japanese wife" marriages registered overseas from "Vital Statistics" (Ministry of Health, Labour and Welfare, 2016).

2.2. Literature Review

2.2.1. The Absence of Fathers Abroad in Studies on Intermarriage: A Gendered Area of Study

There are three areas of study that constitute the framework of this research: Japanese migration overseas, intermarriage of Japanese people, and the father's participation in childrearing. A recent study on Japanese migration overseas showed that it is based on a preference for life, in that the migrants link the circumstances of emigration to the feeling of satisfaction with life in the new location (Sato 1993, Yamashita 1999, Fujita 2008, Matsutani 2014, Saito 2017). Such research has also examined Japanese migration from the perspective of greater mental satisfaction, known as "lifestyle migration," in relation to international marriage. Suartini (2014) has argued that a rise of "lifestyle migration" is behind the current trend of the non-hypergamous nature of intermarriage between Japanese women and Balinese men in Bali, Indonesia. A study by Niwa and Nakagawa (2015) found that one characteristic among young Japanese living in Bangkok was the prevalence of people who chose to be employed locally based on their preference to live in Thailand; there was a strong tendency to be satisfied with life in Thailand; and many of the people who were already married had Thai partners.

International marriage can be regarded as one archetypal pattern of a consequence of people's preference for life overseas. While these studies are quite significant, most researchers focus on the motivation for migration or a life abroad that is a result of personal choice. In contrast, the present study focuses on the process of the father's decision making on educational choice for children as a family, or a member of the family, during intermarriage and childrearing.

Research on intermarriages is noticeably gendered, focusing predominantly on migrant wives or mothers (Kuramoto 2017). Most studies on marriage migrants in Asia and Japan also tend to describe foreign wives/mothers as weak and vulnerable, requiring support from local governments, nongovernmental organizations, or the community (Piper & Roces 2004, Kawahara & Okado 2009, Takeda 2011, Ishii 2016, Satake & Kim 2017). Although foreign husbands face specific challenges, they have remained invisible. In this field of research, when Japanese husbands are mentioned, they tend to be discussed in relation to economic and political power, with stronger ties to society through work.

Similar gendered patterns can be observed regarding studies about intermarriage overseas (Takeshita 2000, Hamano 2019). Investigations on marriage migrants in Taiwan do not seem to be an exception to this. Research on parenting issues, for example, the development of "New Taiwanese Children" who are born of intermarriages, invokes the need to support foreign mothers (Se et al. 2007, Huang 2014). However, these studies do not mention foreign fathers.[6]

Research on the "father" in Japan has drawn more attention recently. According to the National Institute of Informatics Japan (CiNii), research that includes both the terms "father" (父親) and "childrearing" (子育て) increased over time. There were only nine entries in the 1980s, 81 in the 1990s, 264 in the 2000s, and 275 in the 2010s. With this trend, research on fathers' childrearing experience and the associated discourse analysis are showing accumulating findings (Ishii-Kuntz 2013, Taga 2016, Takahashi 2016). However, these studies include neither fathers in intermarriages nor fathers overseas.

The gap to be addressed here is the absence of studies on Japanese marriage migrant fathers, especially in intermarriage. This study intends to contribute to this gendered area of study.

2.2.2. Japanese Fathers: Invisible Factors that Affect the Educational Strategies of Intermarried Couples in Taiwan

Japanese and Taiwanese people have a long history of intermarriage. Takeshita (2004) and Katayama (2015) have illustrated the adaptation process of Japanese wives. In one of the pioneering works in this field, Takeshita (2004) describes Japanese wives' feelings along with historical development of Japan–Taiwan relationship since colonial ear. In contrast, according to Katayama (2015), while Japanese wives find official support from Taiwanese governments beneficial, they also organize nongovernmental self-help groups to consult with one another and exchange information about life in Taiwan from the Japanese perspective. Katayama (2015) uses life history methods like this study and captures the process of intermarriage, including couples' meeting, marriage, migration, and

[6] The only research identified was that of Yoon et al. (2011a, b), who dealt with mental stress and abuse against foreign husbands in Taiwan.

settlement. However, both studies focus primarily on the adaptation process of Japanese wives to Taiwanese society. Although they offer an invaluable framework of studies on Japanese and Taiwanese intermarriage, they appear to deal with Japanese fathers and the education of children as secondary concerns.

Kaneto (2007, 2009) analyzes Japanese migrants who have chosen to live in Taiwan for greater life satisfaction using the concept of "voluntary migration" (自発的移住). She employs the life history method to interview a wide range of Japanese migrants in Taiwan, with the participant group neither limited to intermarried couples nor females. While the study mainly focuses on migration from Japan to Taiwan between the 1990s and 2000s, it partially deals with the educational beliefs of intermarried couples, which makes this study an extension of Kaneto's work.

As for the education of Japanese-Taiwanese couples, Takeda (2016) has conducted an extensive survey on such intermarried families and presented important issues to foster global human capital. Her claim that both societies should have a new framework to raise children who understand both Japan and Taiwan is particularly important. The study includes household income, which gives the study high credibility: Household income is a vital factor for families to plan their educational pathways, although it is rather difficult to collect information on due to its private nature. While this does not diminish the study's credibility, 95% of respondents were Japanese mothers.

Japanese language education is a prime concern for researchers in Taiwan in this field. In contrast to the post-war era policy that banned the use of the Japanese language in this country, recent efforts to maintain the languages of both parents in children of intermarried families have been somewhat successful. Taniguchi (2013, 2014) points out that the increase in people exchange in the last few decades has fostered favorable attitudes toward other groups, resulting in the diversification of meeting patterns of intermarriage between Japanese and Taiwanese. This diversification forms complicated factors of deciding the place of residence and the emphasis on teaching Japanese.

In this line of study, a series of research (Hattori 2015, Ito 2015, Taniguchi 2019) has analyzed the language use and educational strategies of Japanese-Taiwanese families in Taiwan, illustrating previously understudied aspects of education for Japanese people living in this country. The researchers have focused on Japanese mothers' attempts to teach Japanese as the heritage language to their children who go to local school. They suggest that Japanese mothers struggle to find a way to pass on their heritage language to their children. Their dedicated actions are viewed as fulfilling for the mothers, not as sacrificing.

Researchers have conducted a few studies on Taiwanese-Japanese couples in Taiwan, but again, their study subjects were Japanese wives, not Japanese husbands. Given that about half of Japanese marriage migrants are men, this study attempts to fill this gap in the knowledge, which is crucial for comprehending the educational beliefs of Japanese people in Taiwan.

3. Research Design

3.1. Overview of the Survey

This study is conducted using a qualitative approach. Due to the study's descriptive nature, formal in-depth interviews and fieldwork, including additional informal interviews, have been utilized to collect material for analysis and interpretation. To establish a comparative framework, the narratives of Japanese spouses of Taiwanese nationals were gathered through semi-structured interviews, as in the work of Watanabe et al. (2016, 2019) and Watanabe and Kubo (2018).

3.2. Formal Interviews

Interview participants were recruited using snowball sampling, with the researcher as the starting point, and selected based on the three following conditions: (1) being married to a Taiwanese person, preferably but not exclusively Japanese fathers; (2) having experienced parenting in Taiwan; and (3) still living in Taiwan at the time of the survey. Formal interviews were conducted with 18 participants in September–December 2019 (Table 1). All the participants were interviewed separately. The age of the interview participants ranged from the 20s to 50s, and most had lived in Taiwan for about 15–35 years. Generally, one of the characteristics of snowball sampling is that the interpersonal relations of the informants who introduce others are easily reflected in the participant sample. In the same way, the attributes of the participants in the present study may have reflected those of the author.

The interviews were conducted face to face in Japanese, at locations like cafés and the interviewees' offices. Before the interviews, the purpose of the study and rights of the participants were explained. The interviews were conducted after receiving the participants' oral consent.

The interview questions were designed to elicit the participants' histories chronologically from the time of their childhood, including the following: (1) their arrival in Taiwan, (2) the history of their marriage, and (3) their experiences with childrearing. The participants were invited to speak relatively freely to elaborate on their narratives so the researcher could understand their narratives in the context of their lives.

All interviews lasted from one to three hours and were digitally recorded for subsequent analysis. Ongoing data analysis took place throughout the study. The materials were examined to identify underlying themes across interviews using the Kawakita Jiro (KJ) method (Kawakita 1967), which is like the grounded theory technique (Glaser & Strauss 1967) for constant comparison. However, the goal of grounded theory is to generate a theory, whereas the KJ method aims to produce a comprehensive explanation that emerges from the analysis and provide a new perspective/framework to better understand the phenomenon. This feature of the KJ method—putting greater emphasis on technical aspects than on creating a theory—is more suitable for the exploratory purpose of the study.

	Time	Name	Age/Sex	Place	Duration of recording	Remarks
1	SEP	A	40s / M	Taipei	1 : 11	
2	OCT	B	50s / M	Kaohsiung	1 : 06	
3	OCT	C	40s / F	Kaohsiung	1 : 46	Mother
4	OCT	D	40s / M	Kaohsiung	1 : 42	
5	OCT	E	20s / F	Kaohsiung	0 : 51	Child of JPF/TWM
6	OCT	F	40s / M	Kaohsiung	1 : 15	
7	OCT	G	20s / M	Kaohsiung	1 : 19	Child of JPF/TWM
8	NOV	H	50s / M	Taipei	1 : 28	
9	NOV	I	40s / M	Taipei	3 : 09	
10	DEC	J	40s / M	Taipei	3 : 23	
11	DEC	K	40s / M	Taipei	1 : 32	
12	DEC	L	50s / F	Kaohsiung	3 : 05	Mother
13	DEC	M	40s / M	Nantou	1 : 46	
14	DEC	N	60s / M	Nantou	0 : 53	Spouse's child
15	DEC	O	50s / M	Nantou	1 : 15	
16	DEC	P	40s / F	Kaohsiung	1 : 20	Mother
17	DEC	Q	40s / F	Kaohsiung	1 : 59	Mother // Child of JPM/TWF
18	DEC	R	40s / M	Kaohsiung	1:31	

JPF=Japanese father, JPM=Japanese mother, TWM=Taiwanese mother

Table 1: List of formal interviews (Fathers: 12, Mothers: 4, Children: 3)

- Questions asked

1) Basic information
   Educational background, occupation, history with the spouse, and current family
2) Language education
   Language beliefs, the ratio of language(s) used with the child, future plans
3) School choice
   Reason for choosing the current school, degree of satisfaction, future plans
4) About Japan and Taiwan
   How to teach children, what should be taught, and why?

3.3. Fieldwork and Informal Interview

In addition to formal interviews, fieldwork and informal interviews were conducted to explore the broader context of Japanese-Taiwanese families. In the fieldwork, which was designed to explore general childrearing conditions in Taiwan, the researcher visited important sites, including the following: Hsinchu Japanese Supplementary School; Terakoya Kaohsiung; Asobokai Kaohsiung (Japanese preschool playgroup); Society for Considering Residential Issues (Taichung, Kaohsiung); Japanese Association of Kaohsiung; Japanese School of Kaohsiung; Japanese School of Taichung; Jhong-Jheng Elementary School of Kaohsiung; and Children's center of Kaohsiung.

During these visits, the researcher conducted not only observations but also informal interviews with intermarried couples, administrative staff, teachers at local and Japanese schools, and local community members. In other informal interviews, the interviewer collected comments from non-intermarried Japanese families who were raising children in Taiwan and other Japanese residents with close relationships with such families.

A review of relevant scholarly literature, government papers, and newspapers was conducted at the National Central Library, as well as online, after the thorough seminar held by the Center for Chinese Studies for fellowship recipients. Therefore, the materials include not just interview transcripts and observational field notes but also a wide variety of records and documents, including statistical data.

4. Results

4.1. In Search of a Mode of Display

This study collected life stories of Japanese fathers in Taiwan to form an understanding of their experience in childrearing. Because the study may be one of the first few pieces of research that have tried to incorporate fathers' perspectives on childrearing, it is necessary to consider how the results will be presented.

The researcher has tried a few modes of displaying and outreaching the research findings. Watanabe (2012) presented 100 life stories of newcomer Koreans in Tokyo in the form of booklets and web publications. This multiple case study illustrates the diversity of people's lives by providing as many stories as were collected in the study. As we expected, it received significant positive feedback; readers could feel the variety of foreign residents in Japan, who are often described monolithically. However, there were some voices stating that the amount of material was too much to read through.

In the last project, in addition to a standard academic paper (Watanabe, Sun, & Fujita-Round 2019), we made a cartoon of stories of Japanese fathers overseas in response to Japanese fathers' need to consider their childrearing. The cartoon, published on the university webpage,[7] has been downloaded a few hundred times more than its academic paper version has. The two publications are designed for different purposes, but their reception proves that the format of display can significantly alter the penetration power of a publication. Nevertheless, the content was highly abstracted from the research findings; moreover, since it did not have annotations, some parts of the cartoon may have been misleading.

By developing these previous attempts, this study adopted an experimental method to provide necessary information about fathers by generating three integrated cartoon stories with annotations. First, the researcher wrote three original stories with annotations. These stories were intended to show different types of fathers by incorporating symbolic elements of stories from the interviews. Then, a professional cartoonist transformed them into a cartoon. The annotations were added to give background information of the characters so that readers could form a deeper interpretation.

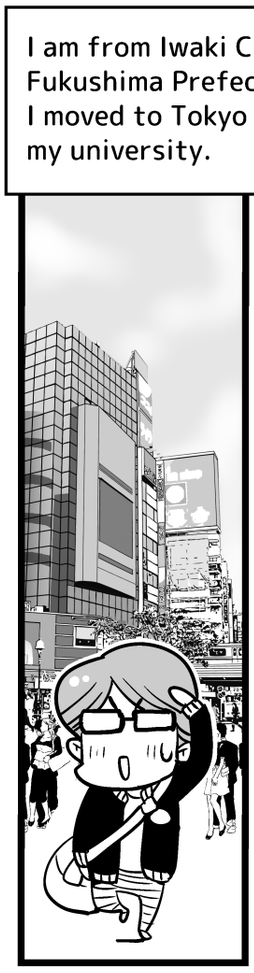
4.2. Three Stories of Japanese Fathers

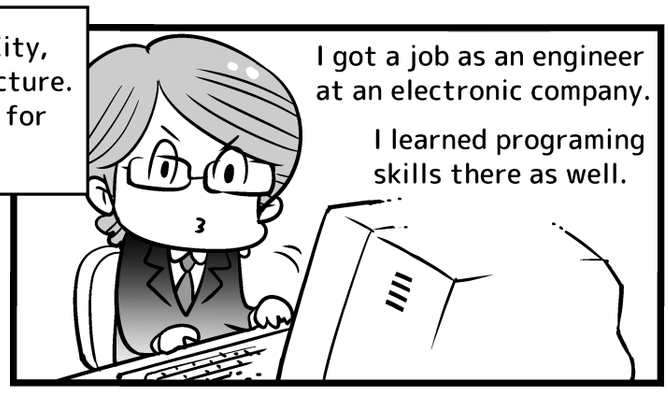
[7] Available at http://www.sagami-wu.ac.jp/faculty/arts_sciences/english/teacher/details/sub/watanabe_eng.html.

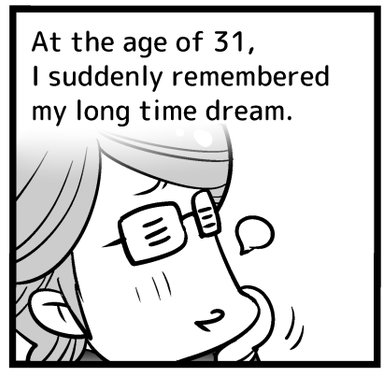
My life in Taiwan began as an expatriate

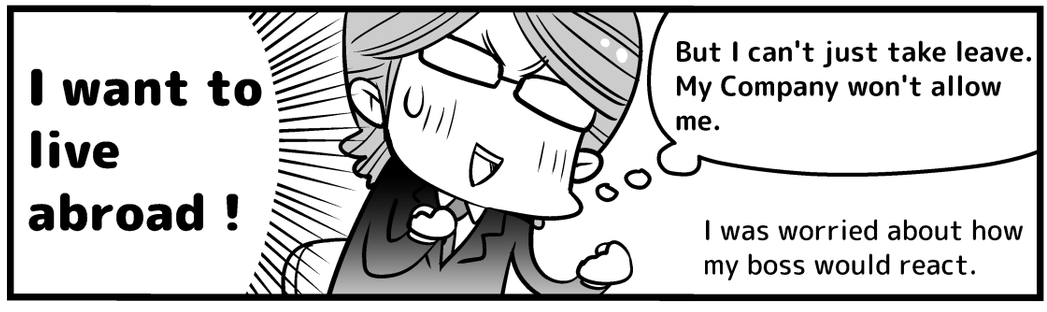
TOCHIGI Hiroki (Age 53)

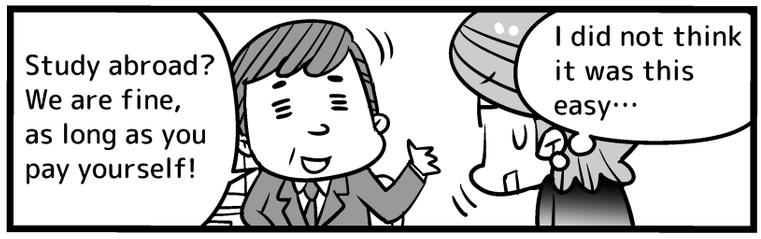
WATANABE Yukinori (Story)
MAEDA Musashi (Manga)



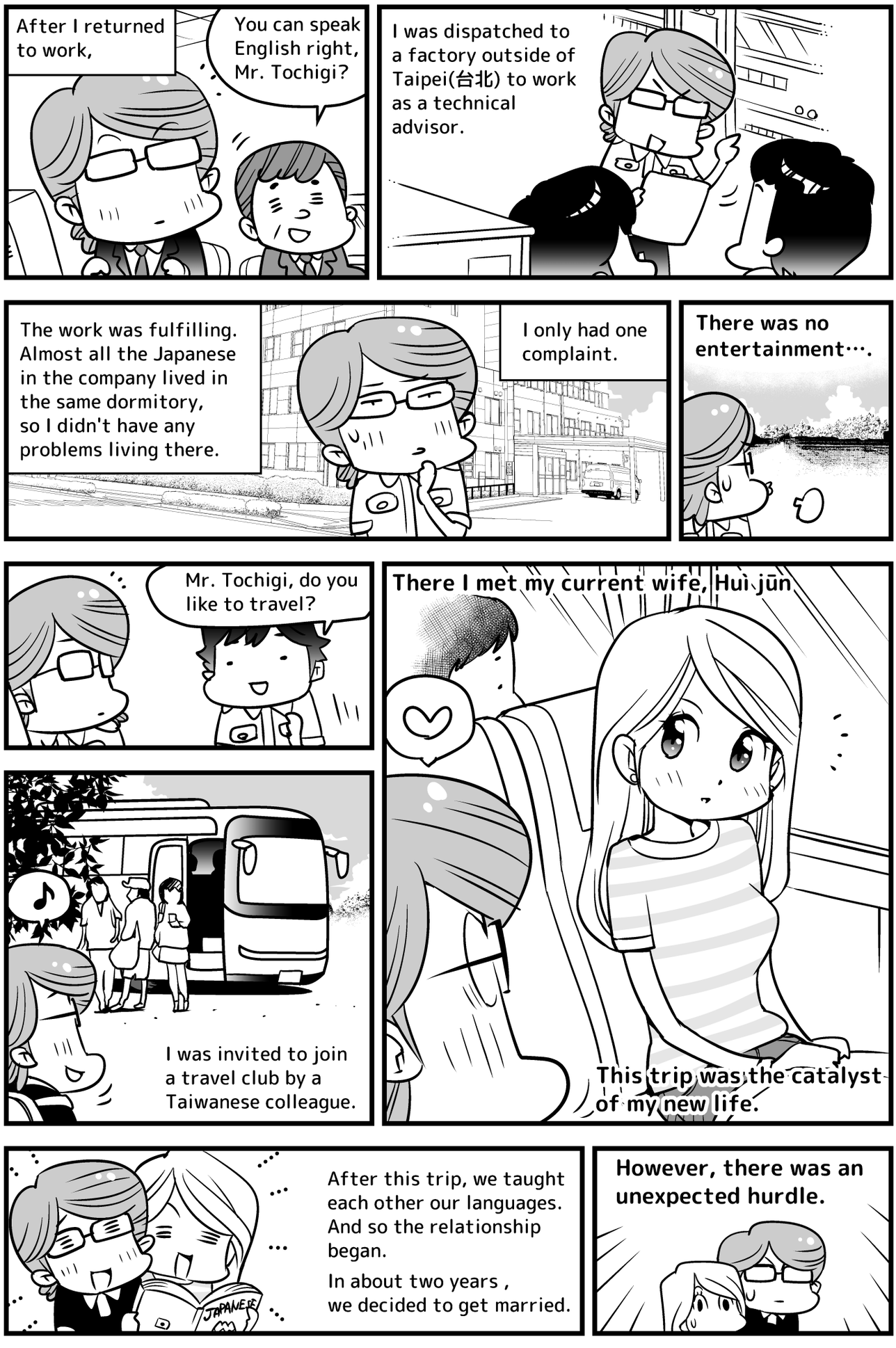


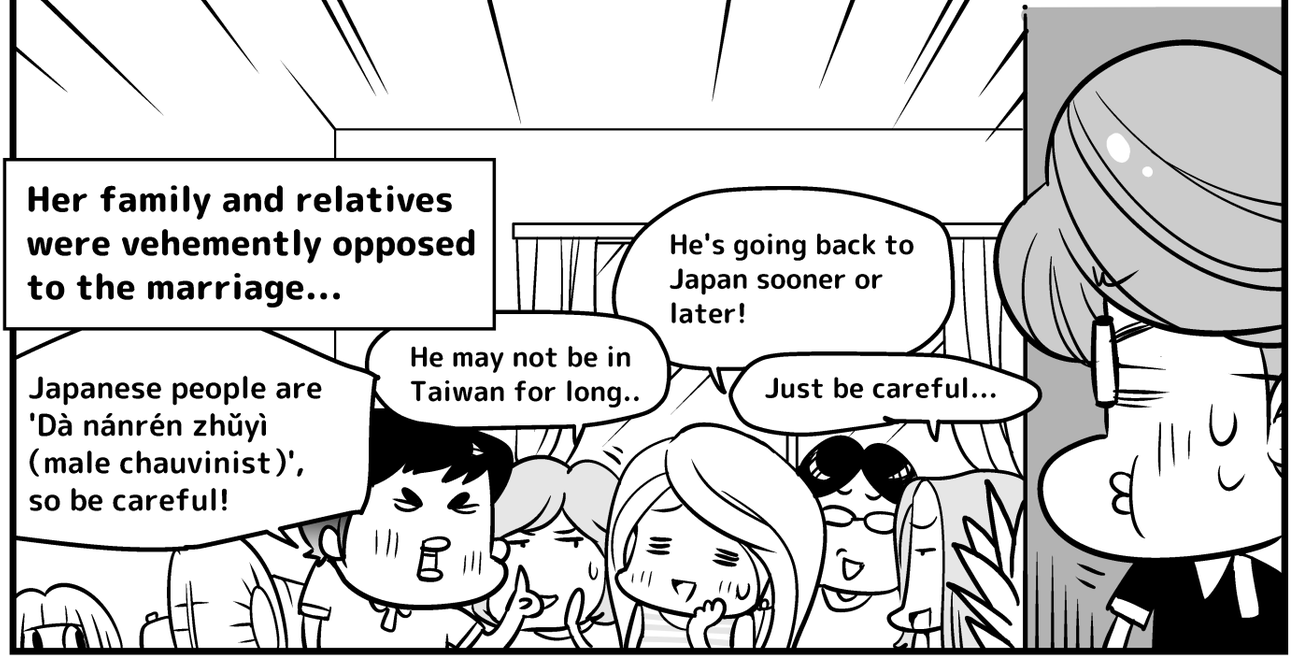






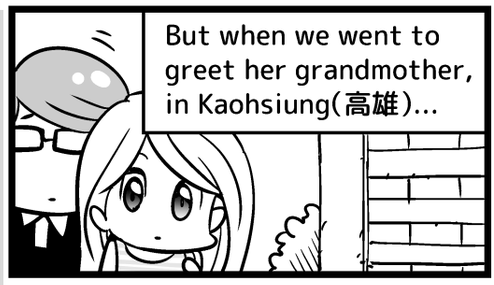
Then, I took a half year off and went to Canada for studying.

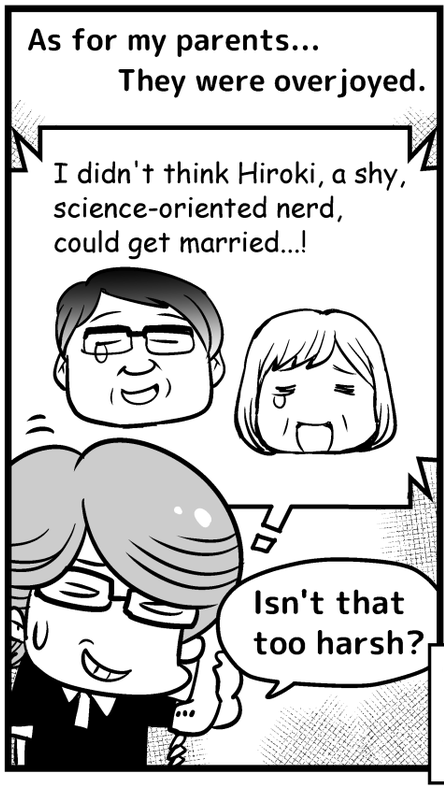

After I returned to work,
You can speak English right, Mr. Tochigi?
I was dispatched to a factory outside of Taipei(台北) to work as a technical advisor.
The work was fulfilling. Almost all the Japanese in the company lived in the same dormitory, so I didn't have any problems living there.
I only had one complaint.
There was no entertainment….
Mr. Tochigi, do you like to travel?
There I met my current wife, Huì jūn
I was invited to join a travel club by a Taiwanese colleague.
This trip was the catalyst of my new life.
JAPANESE
After this trip, we taught each other our languages. And so the relationship began.
In about two years , we decided to get married.
However, there was an unexpected hurdle.

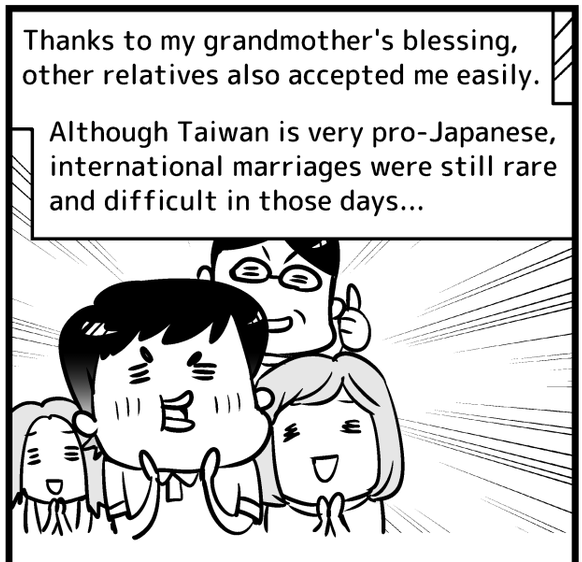


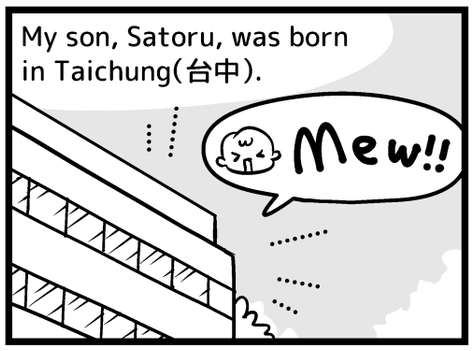
Dà nánrén zhǔyì (chauvinistic: 大男人主義)

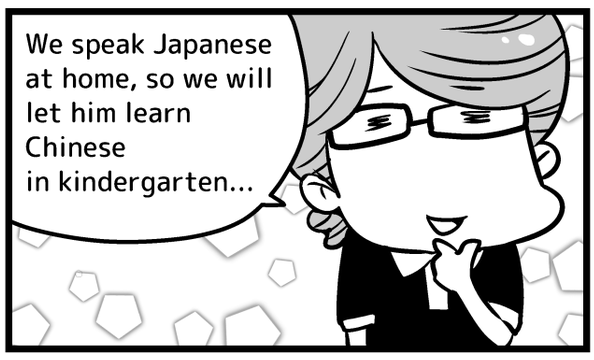
In Taiwanese society, Japanese males are often referred to as Dà nánrén zhǔyì (chauvinistic: 大男人主義). The Chinese word Dà nánrén zhǔyì is usually understood simply as the concept of male dominance over women. However, some fathers claimed that it also includes the idea that males must be the protectors and guardians of the family financially and morally, like the Japanese Daikokubashira (大黒柱).





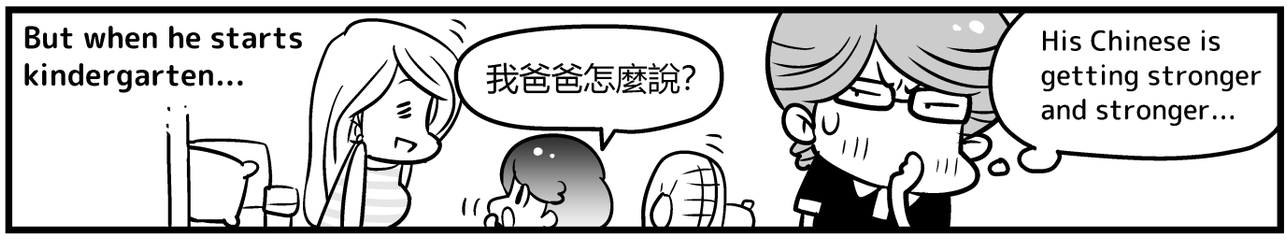


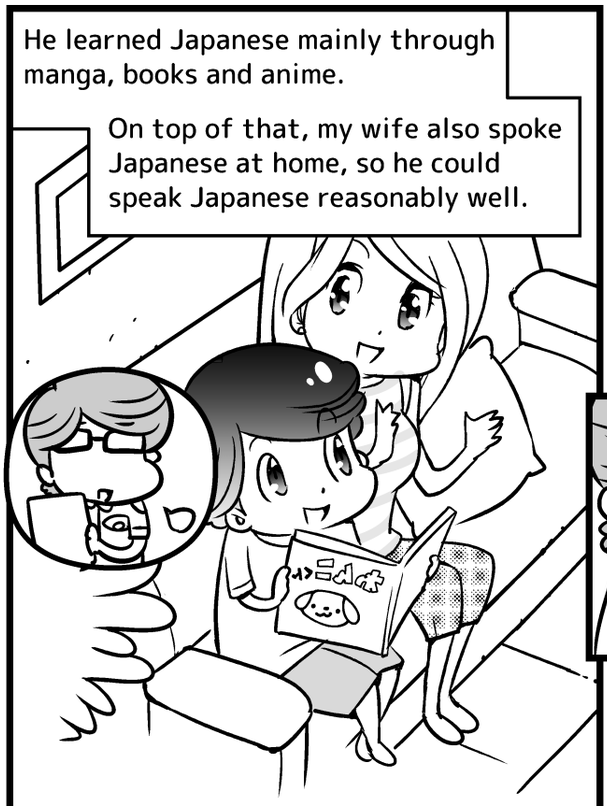


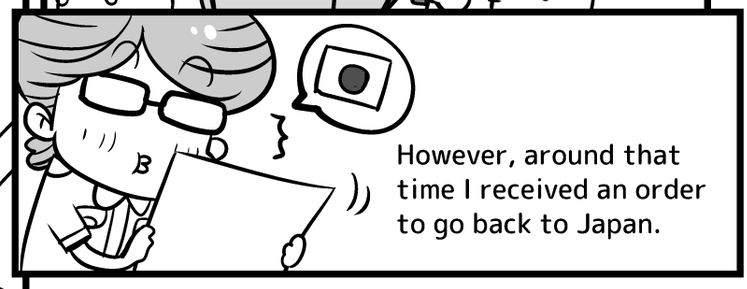


Bilingual in Japanese and Chinese! !

Language education is prioritized for intermarried families from their children's birth. It is perceived that the language(s) to be learned decides the course of a child's life. It was a common practice that, given the presence of Japanese and Chinese members in the family, they tried to make the children Japanese/Chinese bilingual from the beginning.







Yes, we can go to Japan!

My wife was delighted at first.

But when we started living in Japan...

It's a completely different atmosphere from Taiwan...

In the end, she didn't quite fit in...

I want to go back to Taiwan...

About 3 years later, I got a call from a friend in Taiwan...

Prrrrr!

Really! Are you going to start a business?

Why don't you join us, Mr. Tochigi?

We can go back to Taiwan?

I wasn't sure if I could make it in Taiwan...but I decided to go back there!

At that time, my son was in the fourth grade of elementary school and was completely accustomed to life in Japan.

What!? I don't want to go to Taiwanese school at all!

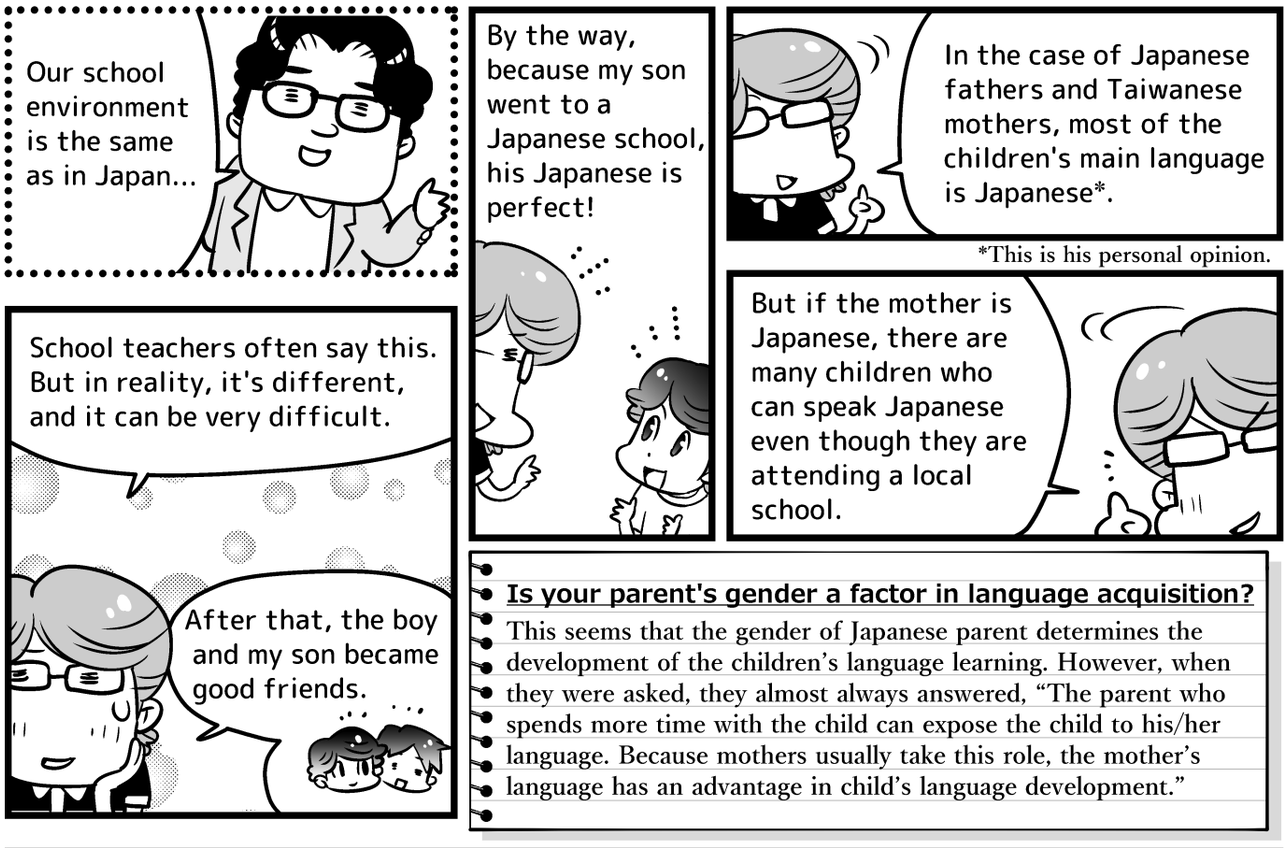
So I enrolled him in a Japanese school in Taipei(台北).

His school life in Taiwan seemed to get off to a good start, but then one day...

Hey Dad

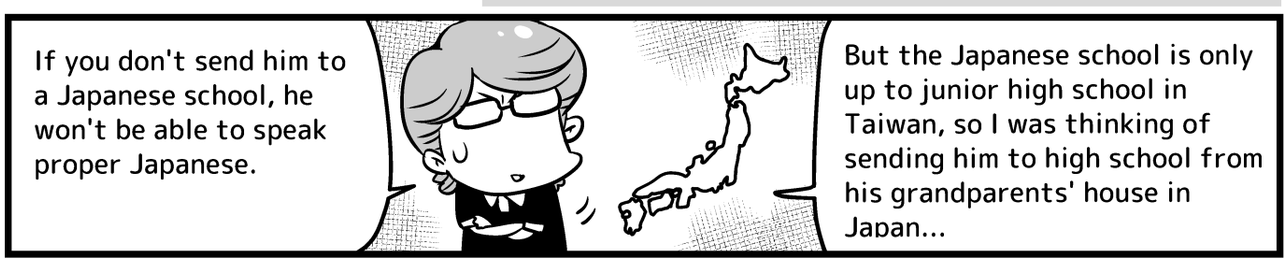
There's a kid being bullied at school!

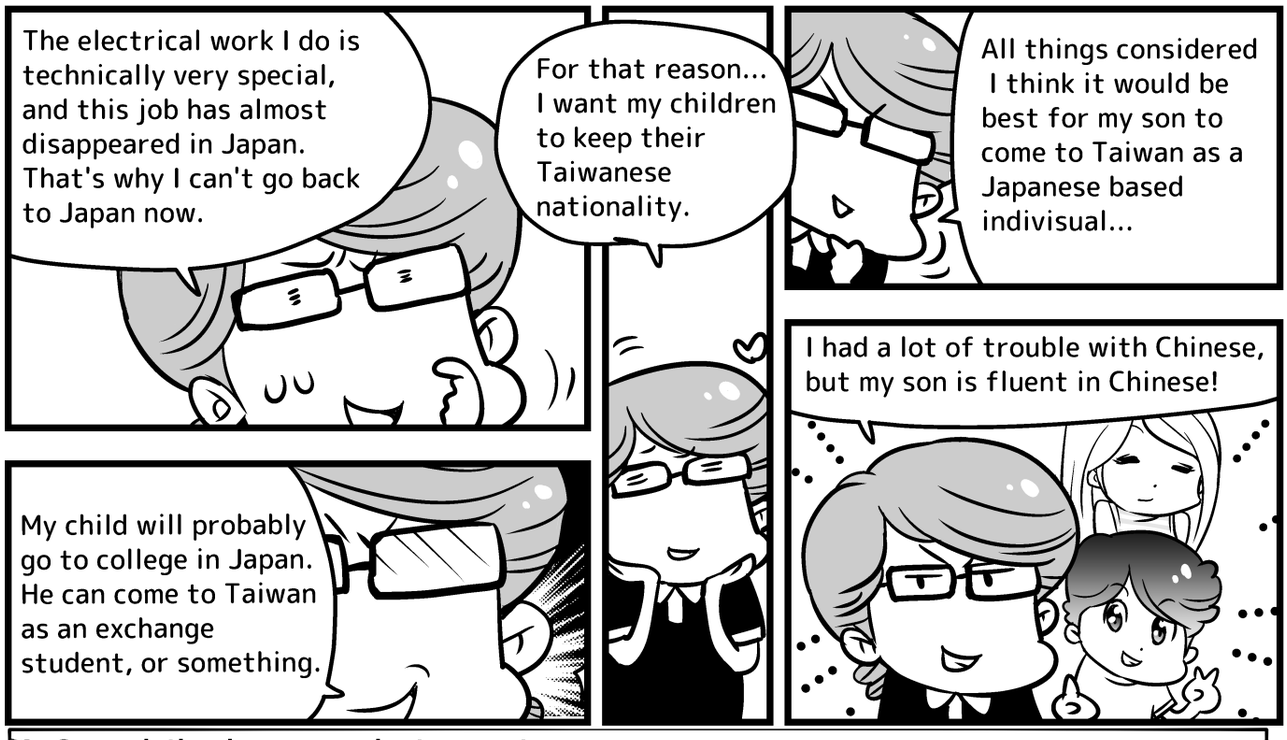
The boy was half Japanese, half Taiwanese, and he was being teased for his language problems.



Is your parent's gender a factor in language acquisition?

This seems that the gender of Japanese parent determines the development of the children's language learning. However, when they were asked, they almost always answered, "The parent who spends more time with the child can expose the child to his/her language. Because mothers usually take this role, the mother's language has an advantage in child's language development."





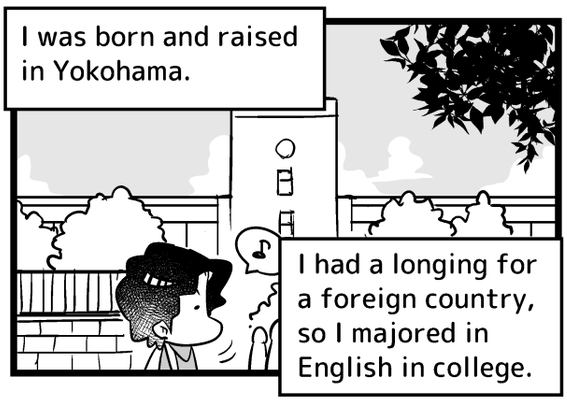
Conscription is now a volunteer system...

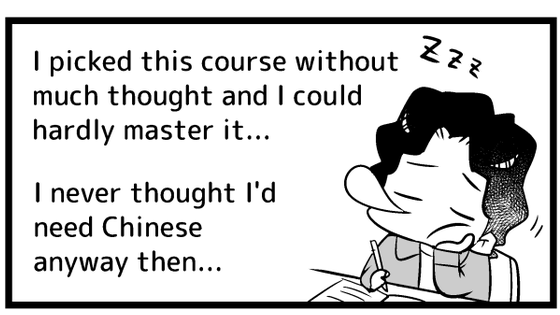
The common notion of dual nationality is that parents want their children to keep both nationalities until they are legal adults and can decide which nationality to keep. In 2018, the Taiwanese conscription system —which has over 60 years of history—was abolished and changed to a voluntary system. Although four months of military training is still mandatory, this can be divided into two training periods of two months in length. Until this change, some men expatriated to avoid being drafted.

Backpaker goes to Taiwan

YOSHIZAWA Daisuke (age 47)

WATANABE Yukinori (Story)
MAEDA Musashi (Manga)





But then one day it hit me...

If I became a Japanese teacher, I could work in a foreign country!

So I went back to Japan and enrolled in a Japanese language teacher training school and completed the official 420-hour course!

When it came time to look for a job as a Japanese language teacher...

Yeah!

If you want to gain experience, I recommend you go to Taiwan.

The employment counselor at my school told me that...

I came to Taiwan when I was 25 years old...

I got a job at a language school in Taipei(台北).

Occupations for Japanese in Taiwan

Kaneto (2007) asks, "Why do Japanese tend to choose to become Japanese teachers in Taiwan?" She gathers information about the employment reality and policy on foreign workers at the time to answer this question. She also, points out the increasing trend of Japanese males with Taiwanese wives seeking a job. This is a very interesting paper.

I managed to do my daily work in Japanese and broken Chinese..

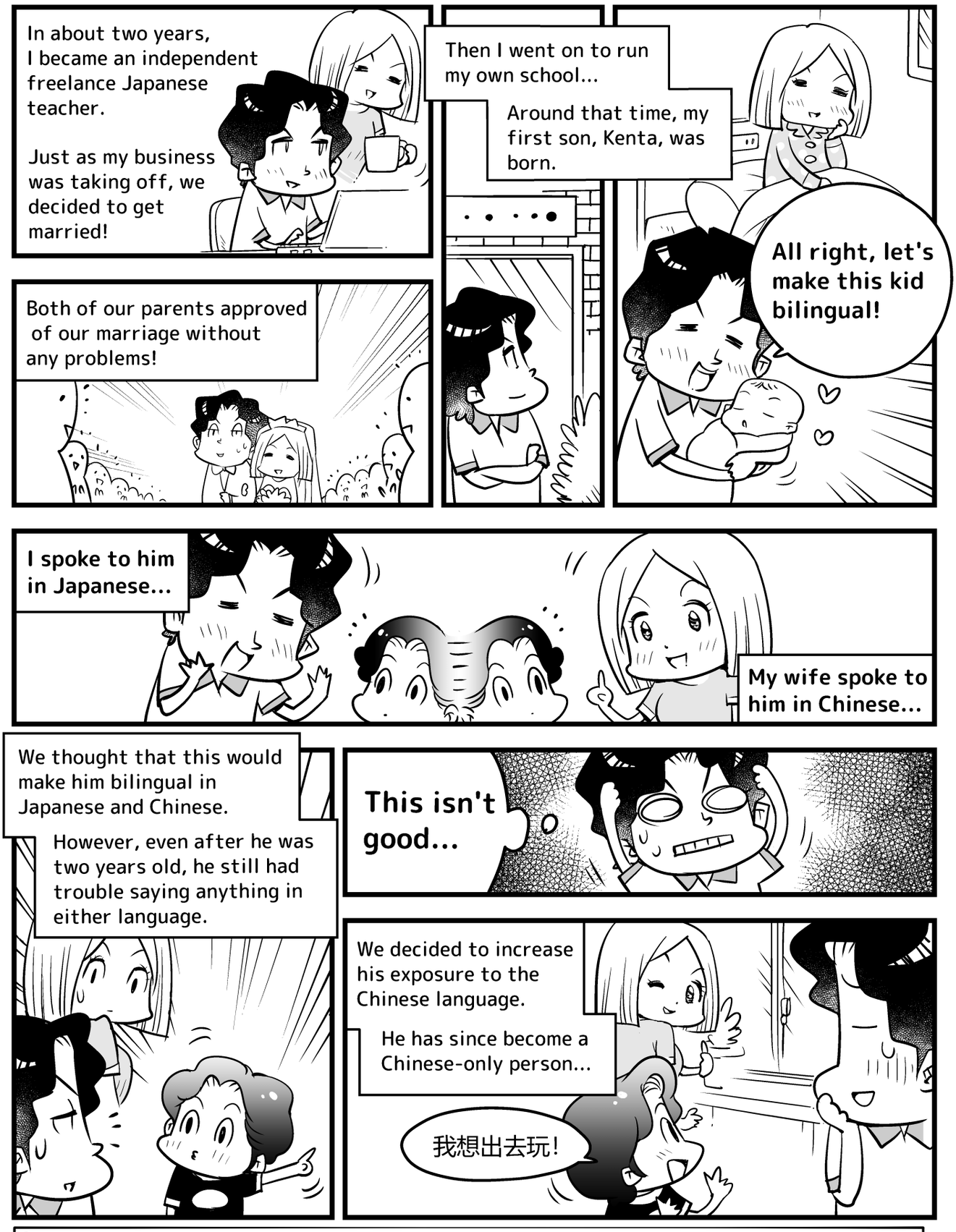
After about five years of experience, I was promoted to the head of a branch.

My salary went up, but I struggled as a middle manager.

I moved to another language school when I was 30.

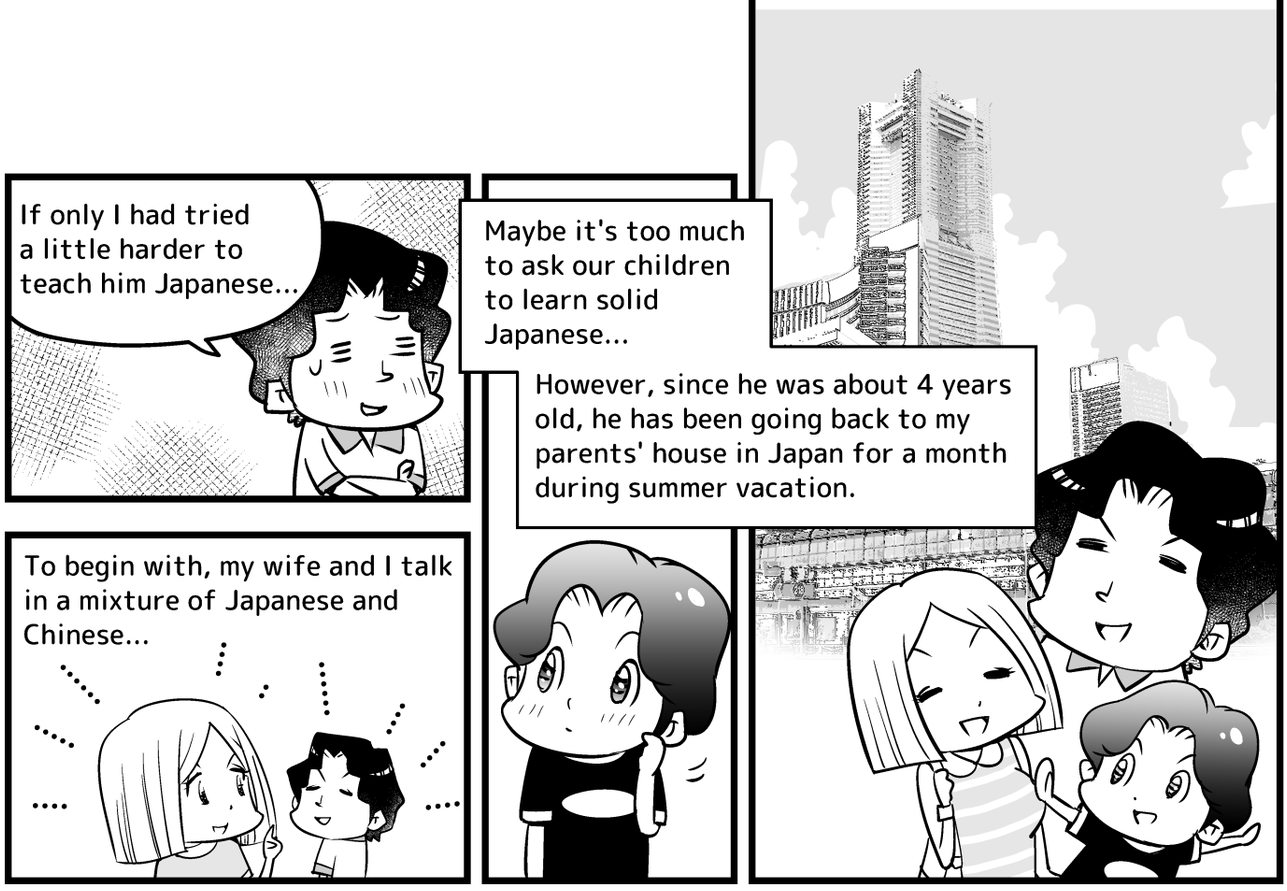
That's where I met my wife, Meili.

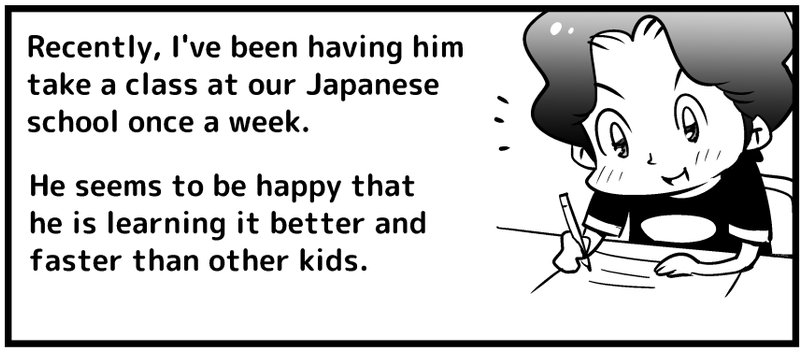
She was a colleague and teacher who had studied in Japan.



"He has since become a Chinese-only person..."

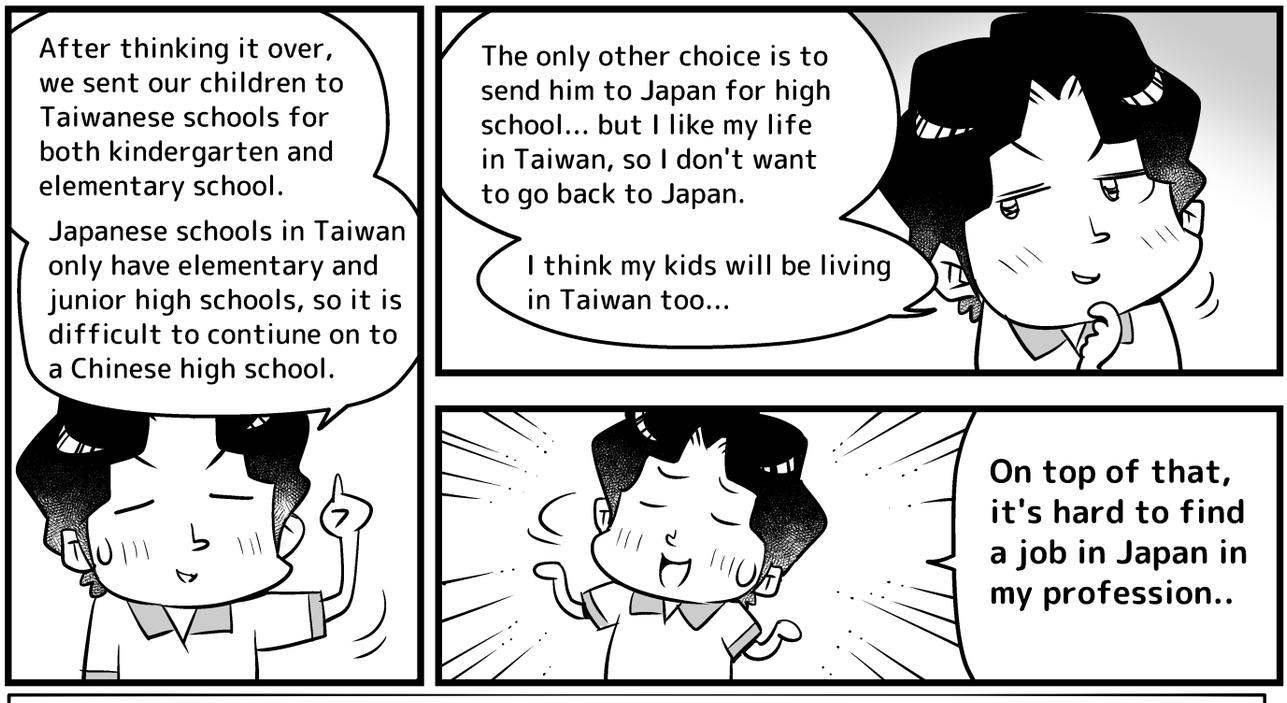
A setup whereby each parent speaks a specific language to the child is widely shared among parents in Taiwan. Literature in bilingual education in the Japanese language predominantly focuses on Japanese/English bilingualism. Relatively little information is available on Japanese/Chinese bilingualism. Under this circumstance, the website of the Taipei Japanese Supplementary School (https://www.tjss.org.tw/blank-26) offers concise and accessible information about bilingualism in Taiwan.





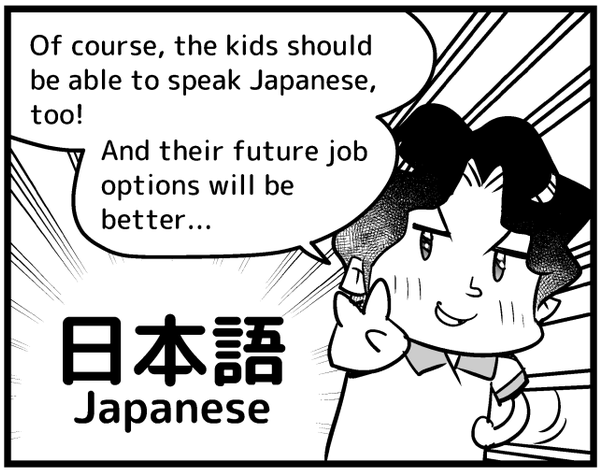
Fathers as sole Japanese resource in family

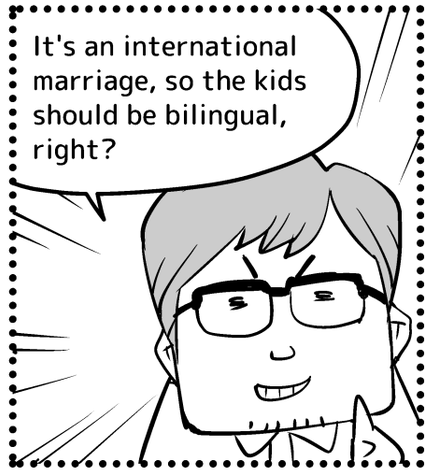
Fathers realize that they are the sole native Japanese resource in the family, making them responsible for teaching Japanese.



The skills for earning money

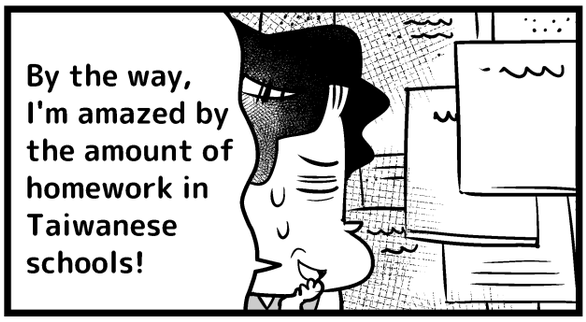
As they gain experience working in Taiwan, their skills for earning money are optimized to function in this country. The more their skills are optimized to Taiwan, the more distance may be created from being functional in Japan because the skills valued in Taiwan and Japanare different.

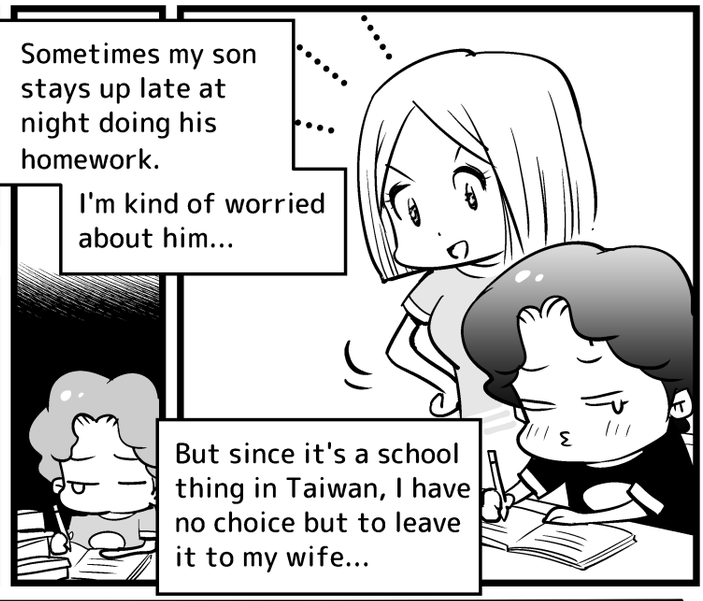




Japanese as an investment

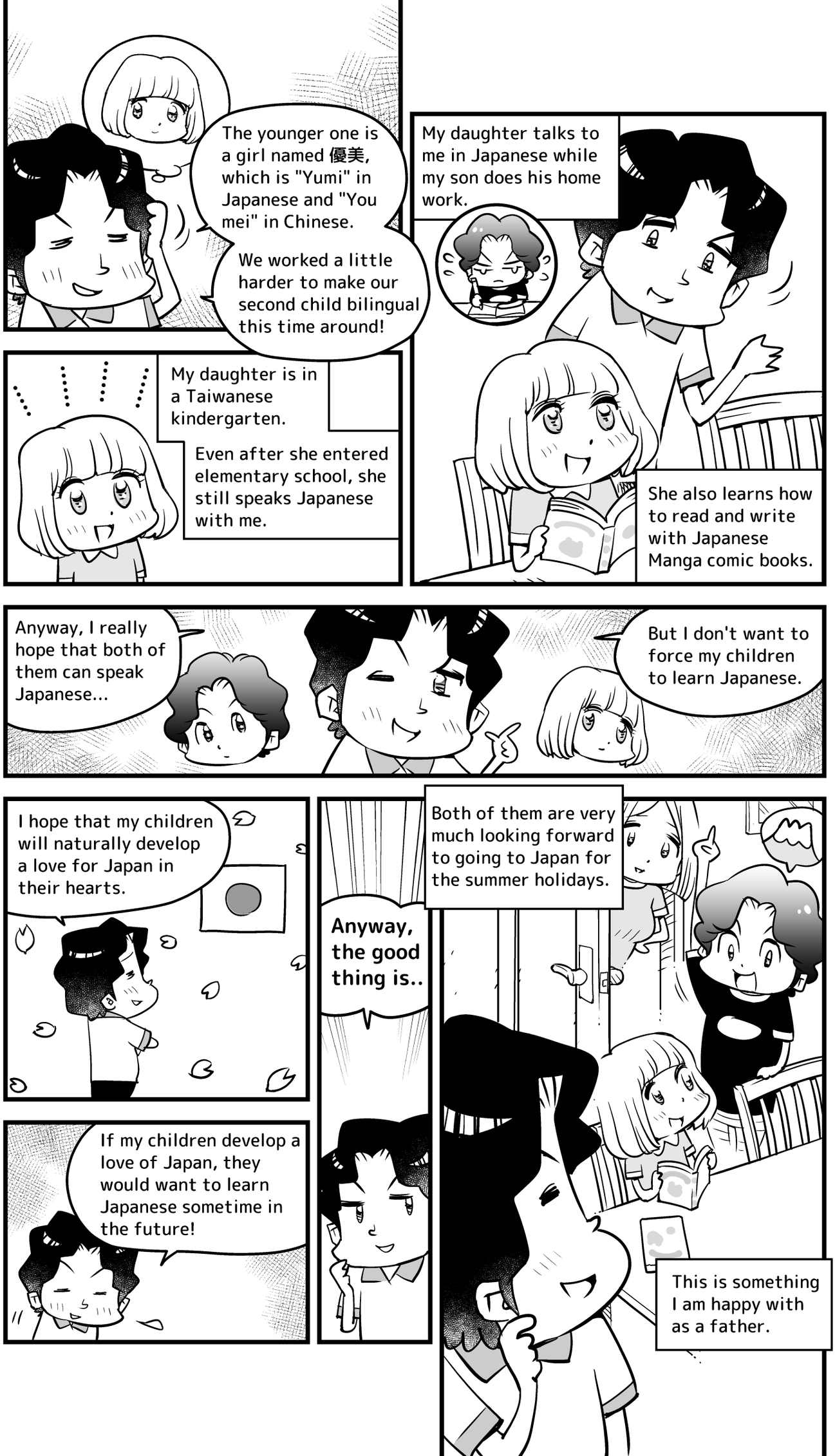
Learning Japanese is considered important not only because it guarantees the continuity of ethnic identity across generations but also because it functions as an investment for the future. N1, the highest band, of the Japanese language proficiency test (JLPT), would increase the salary by 10–20% even for new graduates.





Parenting and Gender

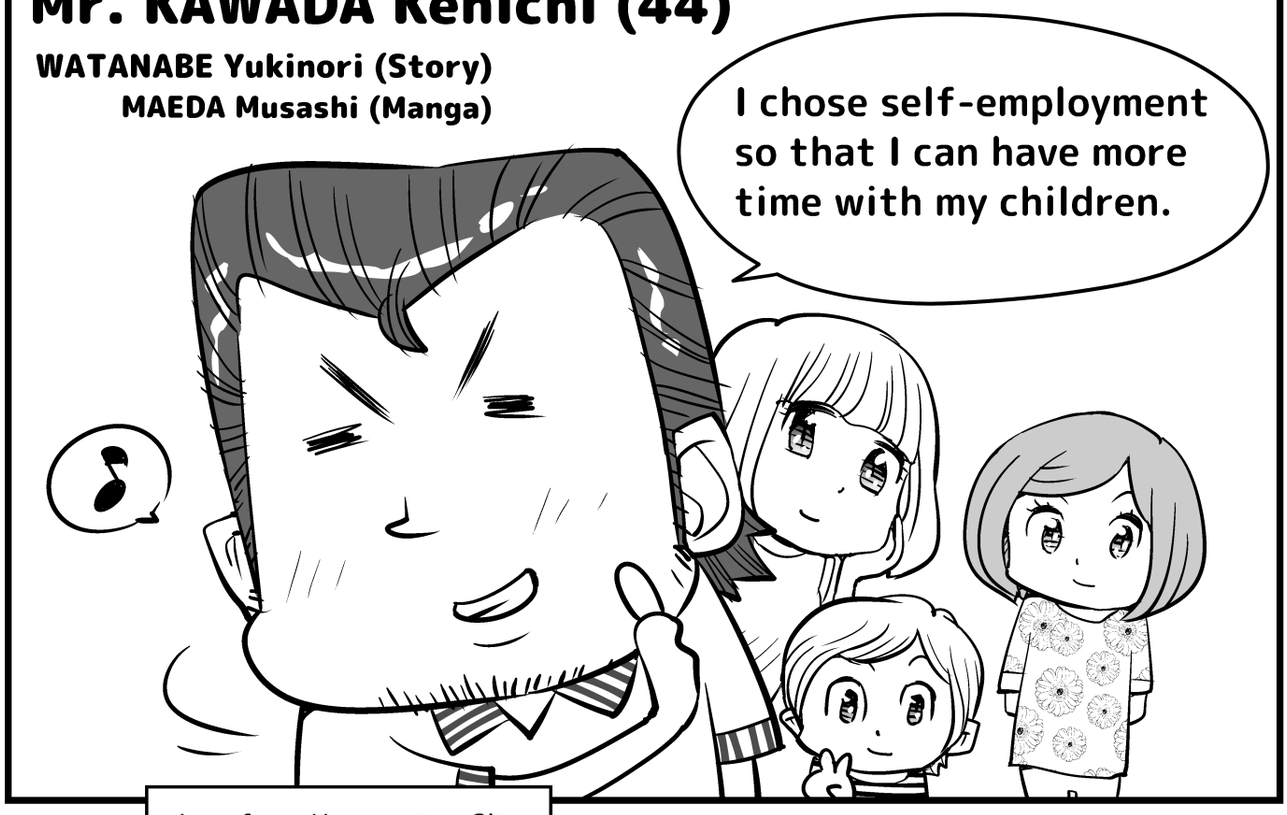
The shift of gender roles is an ongoing issue in Taiwan as well. Although fathers understand that the dual-income family is common in Taiwan, and they support their wives' being employed, relatively few wives do work full time.

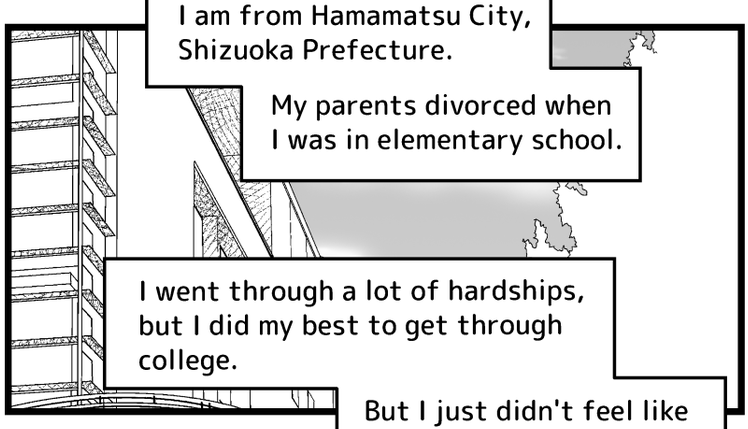

The younger one is a girl named 優美, which is "Yumi" in Japanese and "You mei" in Chinese.
We worked a little harder to make our second child bilingual this time around!
My daughter talks to me in Japanese while my son does his home work.
She also learns how to read and write with Japanese Manga comic books.
My daughter is in a Taiwanese kindergarten.
Even after she entered elementary school, she still speaks Japanese with me.
Anyway, I really hope that both of them can speak Japanese...
But I don't want to force my children to learn Japanese.
I hope that my children will naturally develop a love for Japan in their hearts.
Anyway, the good thing is..
Both of them are very much looking forward to going to Japan for the summer holidays.
If my children develop a love of Japan, they would want to learn Japanese sometime in the future!
This is something I am happy with as a father.

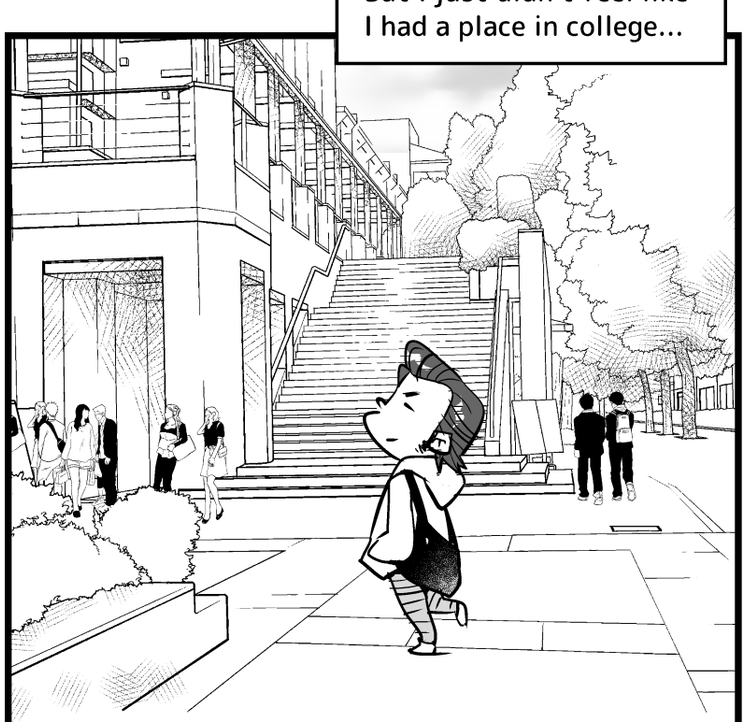
My way of balancing life and work

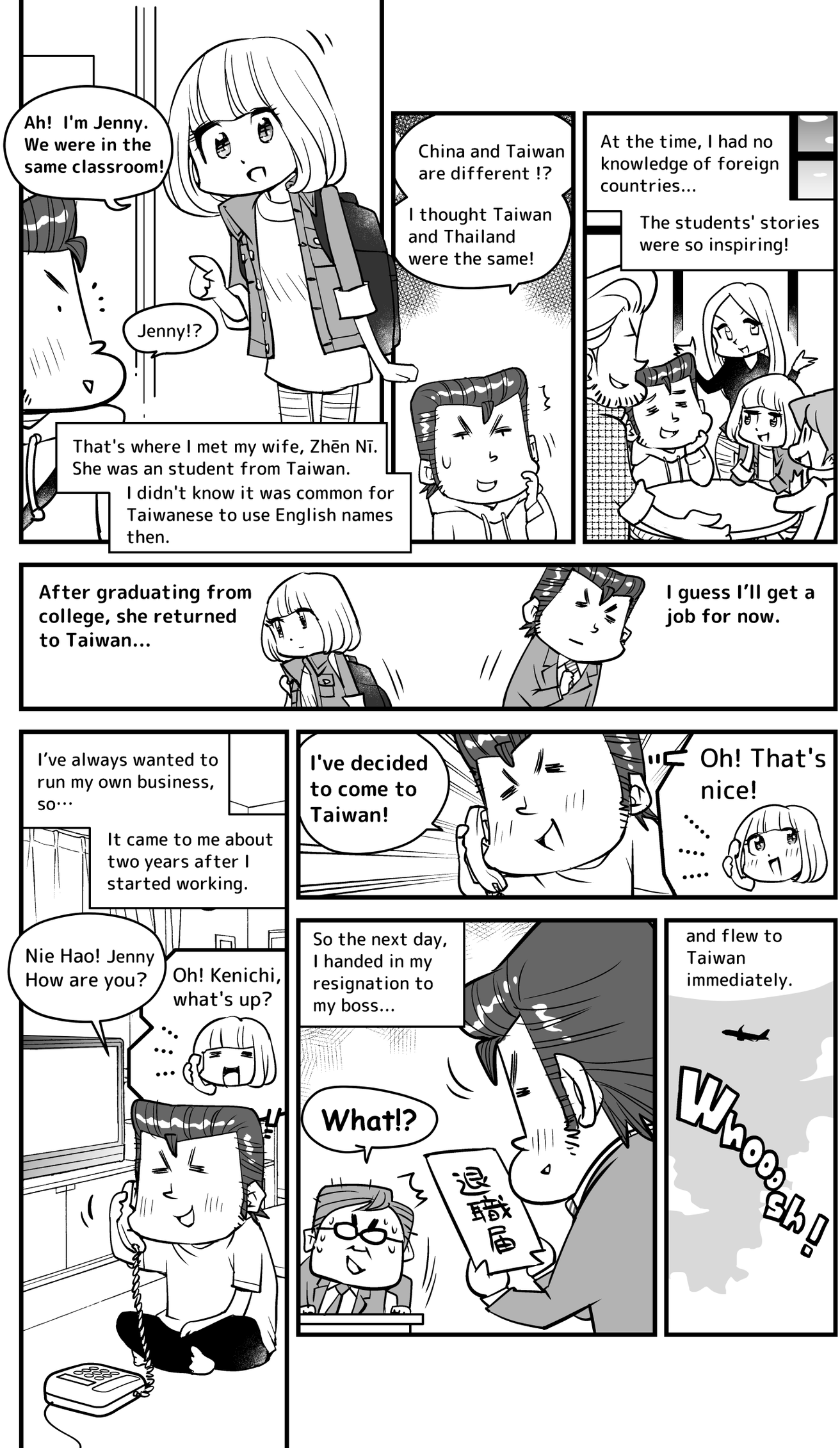
Mr. KAWADA Kenichi (44)

WATANABE Yukinori (Story)
MAEDA Musashi (Manga)








Ah! I'm Jenny. We were in the same classroom!
Jenny!?
That's where I met my wife, Zhēn Nī. She was an student from Taiwan.
I didn't know it was common for Taiwanese to use English names then.
China and Taiwan are different !?
I thought Taiwan and Thailand were the same!
At the time, I had no knowledge of foreign countries...
The students' stories were so inspiring!
After graduating from college, she returned to Taiwan...
I guess I'll get a job for now.
I've decided to come to Taiwan!
Oh! That's nice!
I've always wanted to run my own business, so…
It came to me about two years after I started working.
Nie Hao! Jenny How are you?
Oh! Kenichi, what's up?
So the next day, I handed in my resignation to my boss...
What!?
退職届
and flew to Taiwan immediately.
Whoosh!

We were not married at the time and I didn't even have a visa.

When I think about it now, I feel like I was a big idiot.

But I looked for a company that would hire me any way...

Would you like to come to our office?

Yes! Please, please!

I got a job at a trading company.

And soon after, we got married!

When I came to Taiwan, I couldn't speak Chinese at all.

Actually, even after 13 years, I still can't speak very well.

I can do no more than asking for coffee...

I didn't come to learn Chinese, and...

I came to Taiwan to start a business, so...

I was never interested in studying languages.

I now run my own company.

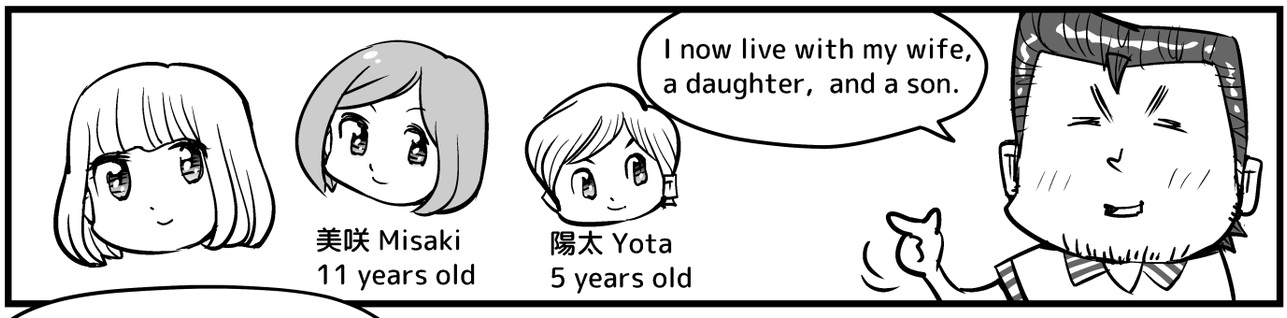
My father-in-law can speak a little Japanese too, thanks to his job.

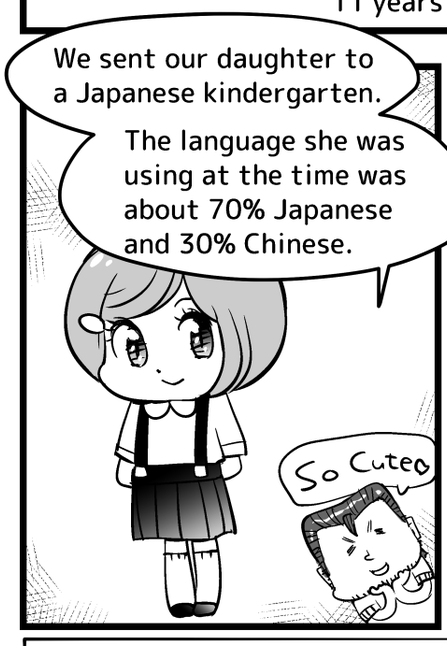
My mother-in-law can't speak Japanese at all.

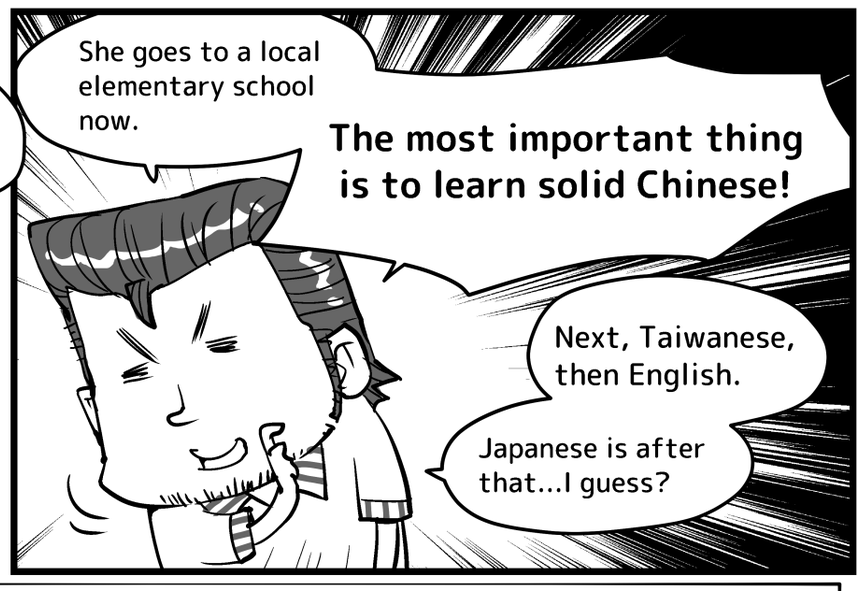
But my grandparents-in-law spoke very good Japanese.

Especially in the beginning of our marriage, there was a lingering sense that the ideas of the grandparents' generation were absolute in the family.

It was very helpful that we could speak with my grandparents-in-law in Japanese.

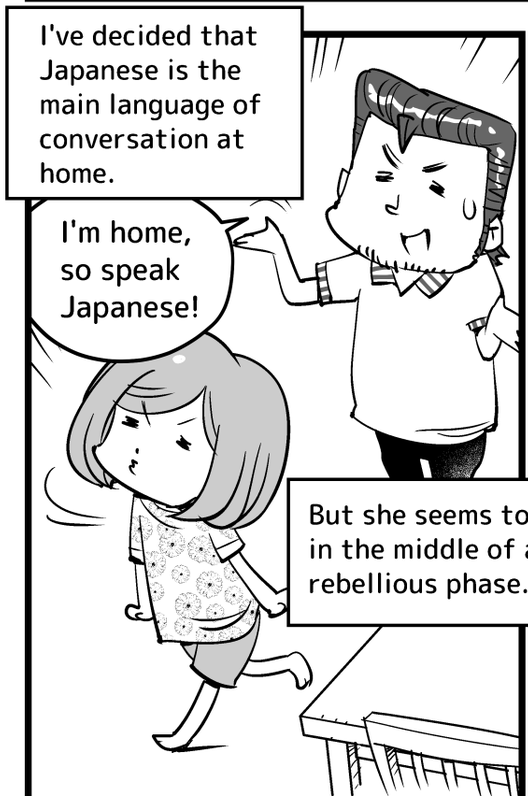


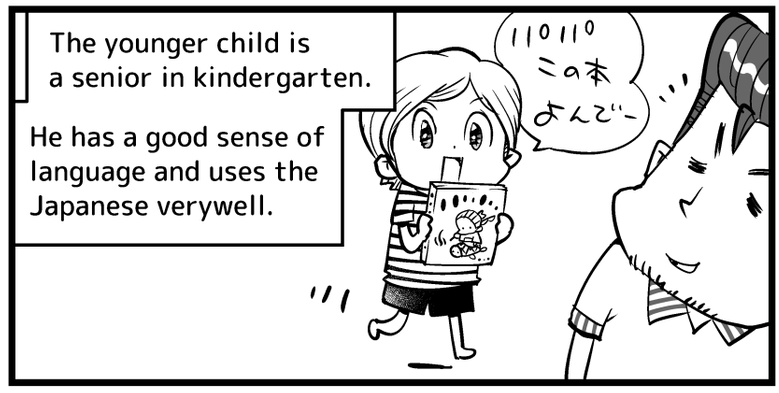


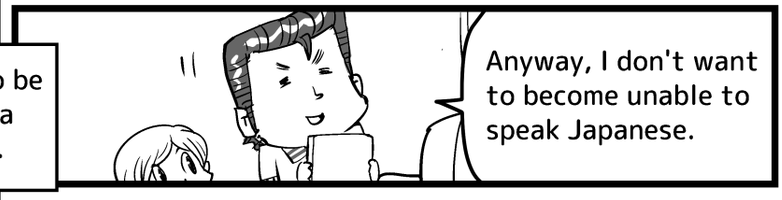


The Taiwanese Minnan language(台湾閩南語)

The Taiwanese Minnan language, like other ethnic languages, signifies a tool of a succession of ethnic identity, as well as a signal to show that one belongs to the ethnic group that shares the same language.







It doesn't have to be so native kind of Japanese.

At least they can talk and read..., and write a little...

I didn't put a lot of effort into languages, so it was hard.

After all, I don't want my children to have the same hardship with languages like I have.

I want to prepare my children for things they might want to do in the future.

In the future, I think it's a good idea for them to go to a Japanese university...

and to use Japanese as a second language

Last school holiday, we went back to my parents' house in Japan.

At that time, I put my daughter into a nearby elementary school for three days (I had negotiated this many times before).

Taiwan is very individualistic, for better or worse.

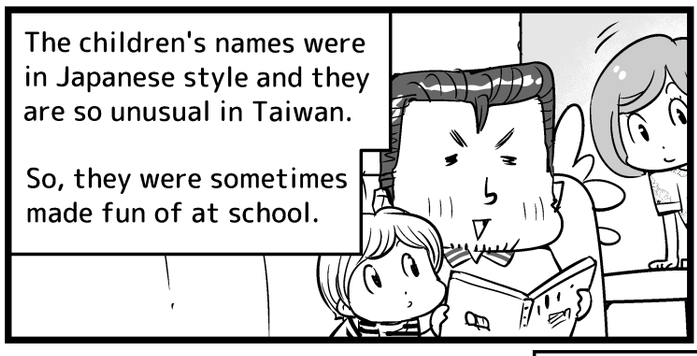
For example, a sports day.

They come at different times, and when their own activities are over, they each go home without watching the others play.

My wife said, the way of holding sports day used to be similar to Japan, but it's changed in the last 20 years.

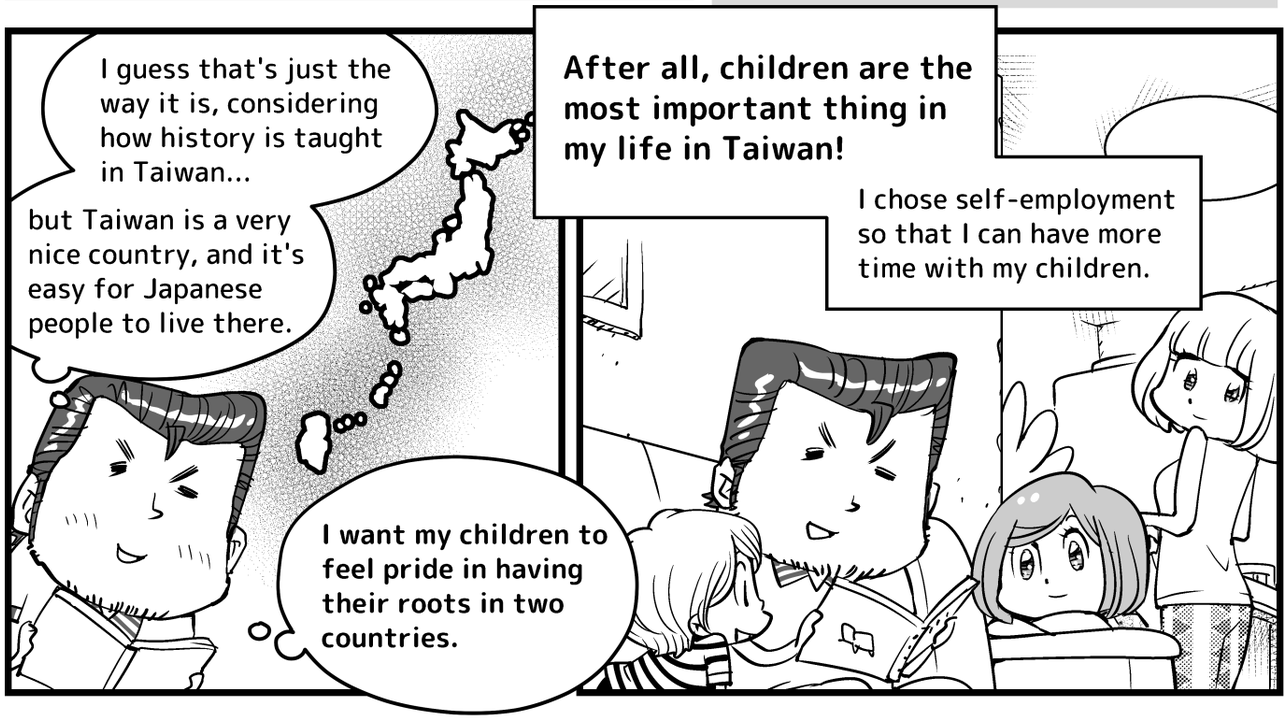
They learn a lot, but they don't even know how to clean, they don't know how to squeeze a rag...

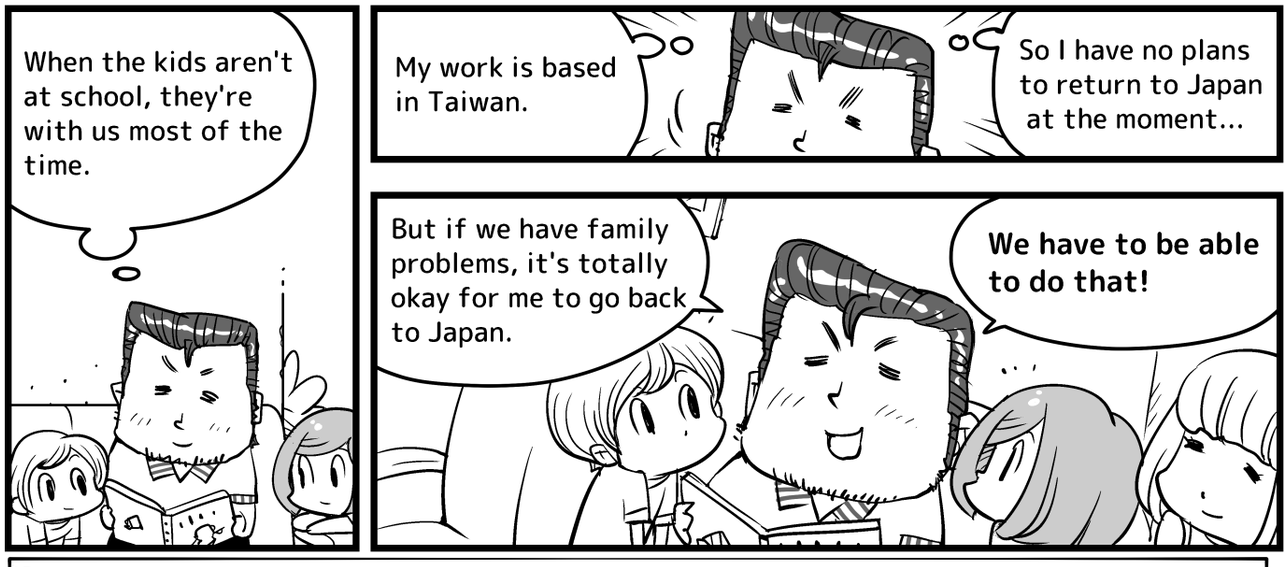
So, I think it was very good for her that I was able to give her even a short experience of Japanese school.



Naming of children

Naming of children symbolizes parents' thoughts on the child. There are three major patterns,: 1) two sets of names (Japanese and Chinese); 2) Japanese names only; and 3) two family names (Japanese and Chinese), and one given name in the same Chinese character. In some cases, characters that have similar pronunciation in Japanese and Chinese are chosen.





The "Ikumen"a father who voluntarily takes care of his children

Japanese fathers in Taiwan also share the "Ikumen" discourse. They think they are different from their father's generation, and it is an important role they must fulfill to actively and voluntarily participate in child rearing. Some say they just do it because they like it.

5. Issues Surfacing from the Interview

In this section, five crucial points that surfaced through the analysis are presented. The fathers showed different responses to these points, but their responses are vital clues to interpreting and understanding their characteristics.

5.1. The Elements that Constitute the "Japanese Father" Character

5.1.1. *Daikokubashira* (大黒柱) and *Ikumen* (イクメン)

The first and central theme that surfaced was the identity of the Japanese father. Throughout the interviews, two primary concepts constituting Japanese fatherhood in Taiwan appeared, namely, *Daikokubashira* (大黒柱), or the concept of being the prime provider of both financial and moral support to the family, which symbolizes the traditional yet internalized gender role of the fathers, and *Ikumen* (イクメン), which is the relatively new concept of a father who voluntarily takes care of his children. Most fathers are experiencing a conflict between these traditional and modern concepts of the good father in modern society, not only in Japan but also in Taiwan.

As for *Daikokubashira*, all the fathers interviewed expressed that being the prime provider of the family is a prominent and unquestionable role they bear, and fulfilling this financial role, it is efficient to choose a profession playing mediator between Japanese and Taiwanese (business) cultures for living, more specifically, Japanese teachers, local hires for Japanese companies, and Japanese sections of Taiwanese companies. In these occupations, they are expected to work according to Japanese working practices, which often results in long working hours. Unlike Japanese mothers, in the interviews, the fathers never mentioned their wives' financial background as a concern, which suggests they intended to work as the prime provider of their family at the time of marriage, no matter what the background of the future wife was. In fact, the financial status of Taiwanese wives is notably diverse.

In addition to accepting the *Daikokubashira* role, the fathers were aware that being *Ikumen*, or actively participating in childrearing, is also essential. However, thinking this did not necessarily mean they did it well. Instead, they often considered *Daikokubashira* and *Ikumen* as mutually exclusive. The most obvious case was Japanese language education for children. Participation in parenting as a father of Japanese and Taiwanese families means not only active involvement in anything related to parenting but also being responsible for Japanese language education as the only native speaker of Japanese in the family. As a result, in some cases, fathers felt remorse if not enough time was devoted to education due to the Japanese-style business customs, and as a result, children's Japanese language skills did not develop as expected. In some cases, to avoid such situations, the fathers sent their children to Japanese schools or supplementary schools so they could outsource the Japanese education (Watanabe et al. 2016).

Some people, such as self-employed individuals—who can set their work hours independently—taught their children Japanese well and noticed a good result. Although these individuals were proud of participating in childrearing, there were still few ideas that prioritized Japanese language education over work. Such an attitude can be interpreted as an indication that the *Daikokubashira* role is more central than is the *Ikumen* role, which is considered subordinate. In any case, Japanese fathers living in Taiwan are required to take on the role of economic and spiritual support and participate in childcare, including the responsibility for Japanese language education. In this regard, it can be said that there is a higher likelihood of a conflict between the *Daikokubashira* role and *Ikumen* role compared with the experience of fathers in Japan.

5.1.2. The Wife's Employment

While dual-income families are common in Taiwanese society, many of the Taiwanese wives of the fathers interviewed were full-time housewives. The husbands often told the same story—the wife's friends, sometimes asked whether she worked as a full-time housewife because her Japanese husband would restrict her going out to work under *Dà nánrén zhǔyì* (大男人主義), or male chauvinism. A typical response from the husbands was that the wife of a traditionally wealthy house in Taiwan does not go out to work; if the wife chose not to work, the husband respected her decision. These explanations were often related with the pride of being able to make that choice because the husband's earnings were sufficient, fulfilling the *Daikokubashira* role. However, it should be noted that this tendency is not unique to fathers in Taiwan. Similar reactions were observed in previous studies (Watanabe et al. 2015,

Watanabe et al. 2016, Watanabe et al. 2019).

As for Japanese wives with Taiwanese husbands, due to a methodological limitation of this survey employing life-story, the trend of the population cannot be discussed; however, various insights on Japanese wives were accumulated through the research. One point is that the labor participation rate of wives seems to be low. Reasons behind this phenomenon may be more complicated than they appear, but the following explanations surfaced: (1) wives are more careful to determine the general financial status of the spouse before marriage; (2) a lack of Chinese language proficiency may restrict their employment, especially at the early stage of migration; and (3) adherence to the "three-year-old myth," which recommends that mothers should raise children until the age of three. In addition, as seen in a study of Japanese wives in Korea (Watanabe et al. 2015), some Japanese wives become housewives and need an outlet for their abilities, as they have high education and employment experience as professionals. These wives run children's playgroups and mutual-help groups as places where they can freely demonstrate their skills and realize their potential.

5.2. Viewpoints to Understand Language Education

5.2.1. The Positioning of Languages and Their Education

Language education is the symbol of child education, and it has always been the central concern of intermarried families from the birth of their children. The languages mentioned in the interviews were diverse, including Chinese (Mandarin Chinese), Japanese, Taiwanese (Minnan), Hakka, aboriginal languages, and English. Each language was given a different meaning, which was directly linked to the teaching style of that language.

First, in every family, Chinese was regarded as the most useful and essential language because it is the mainstream language in Taiwanese society. Although fathers thought that the study pressure on children at Taiwanese schools is too high compared with Japan, they also thought the standard of education, especially subject matters, at Taiwanese schools was high. The Chinese language would naturally be acquired by attending a local school.

Japanese was primarily meant to symbolize ethnic identity, like other minority languages. However, it was also given the meaning of investment and insurance in the future. One common understanding for Japanese as investment was that Japanese language education help children to accumulate human capital that broadens the possibilities for children's future economic activity (Becker 1976). In Thailand and the Philippines, if individuals can speak Japanese, their salaries will change dramatically (Watanabe et al. 2019). In Taiwan, the situation is not that dramatic, but there is still a difference of about 20% of new graduates' salary. Thus, fathers are conscious that employment opportunities will increase if their children are proficient in Japanese.

Japanese proficiency can function as insurance in the sense that it enables children to enter or transfer to a Japanese school. This aspect of learning Japanese was especially appealing to parents who are critical about the competitive nature of Taiwanese public education. For them, studying Japanese was viewed as securing an escape route from Taiwanese education. However, the interviewed fathers also understood that they needed to create a reliable Japanese environment from the time their children were infants and teach consciously, not only at home but also using external resources, such as Japanese schools, Japanese language supplementary schools, and private schools. Otherwise, the children would not develop enough Japanese ability.

Taiwanese, Hakka, and aboriginal languages were viewed as tools for the inheritance of each ethnic identity and to demonstrate that the speaker belonged to the group that speaks the same ethnic language. Typical reasons for this that were related in the interviews were as follows: "It is necessary to talk with grandparents" and "It seems that if you can speak Taiwanese, you can get much closer to Taiwanese people. And they treat you much better. Especially in the southern part, Taiwanese is still overwhelmingly alive." However, while the usefulness of ethnic languages was well understood, the necessity of conscious learning of these languages was not. The respondents thought that conversations with grandparents and friends, as well as some lessons at school, would be a sufficient effort to acquire the necessary level of those languages.

There seemed to be no objection that English education was highly valued in Taiwanese society. However, the degree of emphasis varied significantly for each household. In addition, although English education for their children was often assigned reasons like "to become a global and transnational player," the real situation was similar to that of English education in Korea and China (Watanabe et al.

2016). In other words, unlike in Thailand and the Philippines—where English is learned as a measure to connect individuals directly to the global stage, such as by allowing them to be hired by a foreign company or move overseas (Watanabe et al. 2019)—in Taiwan, English is mostly learned as a school subject.

5.2.2. Language at Home

Kawahara (2009) lists the following six factors that determine the language at home: (1) the language of the place of residence, (2) the number of speakers of the language in the world, (3) the economic size of the language, (4) the financial power of each spouse, (5) the age of each spouse, and (6) the pre-learning history before marriage. In the interviews, their intentions concerning their place of residence in the future, their willingness to learn and educate their families, their evaluation of their language-learning experience, and how they understood Japanese prestige in society also became evident.

It is often mentioned that the dominant language in the family is somewhat patterned depending on whether the couple met in Japan, Taiwan, or a third country. This makes it easy to understand the cases in which the flow of the people is limited to between Japan and Taiwan. For example, if a Japanese person marries a Taiwanese person studying in Japan, the family language tends to be Japanese because there is good chance the Taiwanese spouse can speak Japanese, whereas the Japanese spouse may not speak Chinese. Consequently, they will develop a positive atmosphere of Japanese language education even if they move to Taiwan later. In contrast, if a person marries a Taiwanese individual he or she met while studying or working in Taiwan, the Japanese spouse is often proficient in Chinese, whereas the Taiwanese spouse may not be able to speak Japanese at all. Subsequently, Chinese is likely to become the home language. In this case, effort required to maintain Japanese in the family tends to be greater. From these insights, it can be interpreted that, if the reason for the original movement between the countries that leads to the encounter is based on interest in the country, the language of the country is easily selected as the home language.

In recent years, the number of cases where individuals have met in a third country and chosen Taiwan as their country of residence after marriage has increased (Kaneto 2007; Taniguchi 2013). Such phenomena were observed in studies in Korea and Thailand, in which it was found that the couple often moved from third countries to the husband's country (Watanabe and Kubo 2018; Watanabe et al. 2015). The present study also found an increasing number of Japanese wives who met their Taiwanese husbands in a third country, while some Japanese husbands had also done so. In such cases, the home language was more complicated than it was for couples who met in either Japan or Taiwan. In some cases, the home language was consciously determined according to a particular belief in language education. For example, one parent should use one language, his or her mother tongue, when addressing the child. However, there were more cases where, even though the husband and wife spoke in English—the language of the third country where they initially met—as the Japanese spouse made progress in Chinese while living in Taiwan, they would begin to speak Chinese as a family. In some other cases, both spouses learned the partner's language, and they start using three languages. It is important to note that home languages may change over time.

5.2.3. Naming of Children

Children's names greatly influence how they relate to their peers, and on reflection, how they understand themselves. The language the name is based on will cause peers to associate the child with a certain ethnicity; therefore, it directly affects how people around the child recognize them. Thus, the impact on the child's growth is significant.

In the interviews, there were three significant naming patterns, which were as follows[8]: (1) two sets of names (completely different surnames and given names in Japanese and Chinese); (2) Japanese names only; and (3) two surnames (Japanese and Chinese surnames) and one given name (the same

[8] The English name was used in some cases. Family, friends and teachers call them by this name as early as kindergarten. The English name is often taken from an Anglo-Saxon name that has a similar sound to the Japanese or Chinese name. However, some names are taken from celebrities or cartoon characters. Either way, this creates a kind of ambiguity that eases the tension caused by using a Japanese name in Taiwanese schools. This is another good example of the complicity of the naming of children.

Chinese character. In some cases, almost the same pronunciation). In (1), two different names are selectively used depending on who the child is interacting with; the Chinese name is used at local schools, while the Japanese name is used at weekend supplementary schools. In contrast, in (2), there will be few problems when the child goes to a Japanese school because there is no conflict between language of the name and peer's, but various things may happen when they go to a local school. Regardless of the level of Japanese language proficiency, it is not difficult to imagine that the child's growing up in a context where his or her name continuously reminds peers that he or she is Japanese would affect the child's self-understanding. A father who works as a university faculty member stated, "I often meet students who use Japanese names but do not speak much Japanese. It is my observation that, in general, they hold relatively low self-esteem." When he was asked the reason for this, he answered, "While there might be other reasons, I can't help but think their level of Japanese—which does not meet their peer's expectations—must have a negative impact on their development." The naming practice in (3) has elements of both (1) and (2). The balance is determined by how Japanese or Chinese the name sounds.

5.3. Accumulating Reasons to Stay

Many fathers did not initially think they were moving to Taiwan permanently. This is an important point of contrast from Japanese mothers, who often emigrate to Taiwan with the idea of "marrying into a Taiwanese family." Nevertheless, as the fathers continued to live in Taiwan, they gave the impression that their reasons to stay were accumulating. In other words, rather than being determined by one significant reason, it appears that the effects of multiple reasons gradually changed, resulting in more extended stays in Taiwan. For example, developing confidence in financial success, or at least stability, in Taiwan could be a big reason to stay. Nevertheless, there was also a process of accumulation. This required optimization of earning skills to Taiwanese society. More specifically, as the interviewees worked in Taiwan, they became fluent in the Chinese language in their field, expanded their connections, and gained experience in responding to changes in the social structure and industry of Taiwan. The best form of earning skills in Taiwan often decreased the likelihood of employment in Japan, as a different set of skills would be required in that country. This process, combined with the necessity of being *Daikokubashira* in the family, was reflected in the accumulating reasons for prolonging their stay in Taiwan.

Household income is almost the same in Japan and Taiwan.[9] The economic benefits of relocating to Japan are diminishing. This changing economic climate may be another factor in choosing to stay in Taiwan.

Child growth is also a significant factor. Fathers considered that moving back to Japan would not be a big problem until the lower grades of elementary school. However, as the child's grade advanced, the complexity of the language used and differences in the curricula increased. Once the child started junior high school, moving between two educational systems would require substantial preparation and effort. Because of these foreseeable difficulties, combined with the fact that individuals would have to send their children to Japan for high school due to lack of Japanese high schools in Taiwan, parents need decide which educational system their children would complete by the lower grades of elementary school.

One possible reason why the fathers gave the impression that they were accumulating reasons to stay in Taiwan is that they are asked to speak their experience retrospectively. It was inevitable that a new interpretation of the experience would be constructed as if it had been planned from the beginning. In such cases, it is impossible for interviewer to know which part of his narrative is describing the original intention and which part is retrospective interpretation that is reconstructed as it is told, intentionally or unintentionally to fit the reality of his life now. Nevertheless, the situation at the time of the interview is a result of balancing the needs of the father, child, and mother. Furthermore, there is no doubt that their prolonged stay in Taiwan is one of the results of balancing the needs of them.

---

[9] According to *Comprehensive Survey of Living Conditions* by Ministry of Health, Labour and Welfare (2019), the average household income was 5.52 million yen in 2017. *Taiwan's Economy Data Book* by the Japan-Taiwan Exchange Association indicates the same index as 1.23 million yuan (4.55 million yen) and 1.65 million yuan (6.09 million Yen) in 2017. The exchange rate is as of October 1st, 2017.

5.4. Locating Fathers in Taiwan: A Comparison with Fathers in China, Korea, Thailand, and the Philippines

Prior to this study, similar research was conducted in China, Korea, Thailand, and the Philippines (Watanabe 2014; Watanabe, Kubo 2018; Watanabe et al. 2019; Watanabe et al. 2016). If we raise the level of abstraction, all people do pretty much the same thing. However, there were some differences between countries. Here, three such points are discussed, specifically, feelings toward Japan, a declining birthrate and aging society, and trust in public education.

First, sentiment toward Japan is an important point to compare. Throughout the interviews, all the interview participants pointed out the warm attitude of Taiwanese people toward Japan. In other countries, the participants also talked about their encounters with people who had an affinity for Japan, but the degree and intensity in Taiwan were by far greatest. Many researchers have analyzed the "pro-Japanese attitude" of Taiwanese people. For example, Kanto (2007) points out that the image of Taiwan that the Japanese media have created and postcolonial elements constitute the comfort of Taiwan experienced by Japanese people. Indeed, these factors are important. In the context of Thailand, Kubo et al. (2019) report that the image created by the media and the distribution of real Japanese products seem to have had a significant influence on the positive presence of Japan in Thailand in recent years. However, Japan–Thailand relations pose significantly little postcolonial elements compared with Japan–Taiwan relations.

The interview participants frequently talked about their interaction with the Japanese generation (日本語世代) or spouse's grandparents. In Korea and China, relations with Japan in the colonial era have often had a negative effect on current international relations, and it is an important difference that Japanese migrants are sometimes nervous in everyday life in those countries (Watanabe et al. 2016). Considering the framework, in relation to other countries, the uniqueness of Japan–Taiwan relations stands out.

In terms of the comparison with other countries, the declining birthrate should also be considered (total fertility rates for 2017: 1.43 in Japan, 1.25 in Taiwan, 1.05 in Korea, 1.53 in Thailand, 1.68 in China, 2.64 in the Philippines).[10] In Japan, some time has passed since the falling birthrate was widely recognized in society, but in other countries, the period has been relatively shorter. However, in Taiwan, the social atmosphere has drastically changed since it recorded 0.895 in 2010. Demographic change also affects national immigration policies. Not only will the change accelerate the willingness to accept foreign workers and marriage migrants, but it is also expected that the movement to tolerate dual nationals like South Koreans will increase (Sun 2019). The immigration policy influences on future demography of Taiwan, especially as their intention is to attract immigrants from other Asian countries including Japan, which may change international standings of the Republic of China.

Trust in local public education is also an important factor to compare. The present study showed that Japanese residents have a certain level of trust in the education provided by local public schools, especially in subject matters. In previous surveys, we frequently heard stories about children going to private schools, Japanese schools, or international schools in Thailand and the Philippines due to strong distrust in the education at local public schools. However, in Taiwan, while concerns about education competition were frequently mentioned, many families eventually chose local public schools. This trend is common in Korea and China as well, where not only a certain level of trust in the educational standards of the local schools but also all educational opportunities, including nonformal Japanese language schools, fulfill the expected level of education for children.

The items listed here were significant in all countries researched so far. Therefore, considering how each issue is structured in each state and what options are available in each household will make it easier to understand the characteristics of each society.

5.5. Future Prospects

In the interviews, as mentioned above, the focus was on the interviewees' educational beliefs, which stemmed from their past and current experiences. Among them, the future of children was also

---

[10] All figures are from 2017. Numbers from Taiwan are cited from *Major Indexes of Vital Statistics* (統計資料動態查詢主目錄), Department of Statistics Ministry of Interior. Others are from *Fertility Rate, Total (Births per Woman)* by the World Bank.

discussed. In most interviews, the participants wanted to educate their children up to university. They said that the location was up to the children to decide, and Taiwan, Japan, and third countries—their assumption being English-speaking countries—were mentioned as possible places. They also stated that what they could do now was to give children linguistic training and chances to develop their interests, as well as preparing to support them financially. However, for their own future, most said they would like to continue advancing their careers in Taiwan, and few had the idea of moving back to Japan anytime soon.

The exception to the trend of expecting to live in Taiwan had to do with parental care. This issue was raised as a matter that could force them to return to Japan. In fact, some had experienced going back and forth between Taiwan and Japan to take care of their parents for a while, or temporarily having them come to Taiwan. This was especially true if there were no siblings in Japan. Elder care is also a social problem in Taiwan. There are common issues, such as caregiving, keeping deathwatch, inheritance, and building and tending graves of both parents, for both Japanese and Taiwanese spouses. These problems are expected to materialize as unavoidable issues, regardless of other wishes or circumstances. While their own and their spouses' aging are real, they reported that they try not to think about it, and most could not articulate any solution.

Taiwan's international positioning was often mentioned as an uncertain factor for the future. This concern subsumes two worries—the extent the interviewees can discuss the sensitive relationship with the People's Republic of China as a foreigner, as this evokes various strong feelings among Taiwanese people, and how they want their children to think about this issue. Regarding this, the general idea was that, while maintaining a certain political distance, they generally supported the Status Quo policy with China.

6. Conclusion

As a result of interviews and fieldwork, it was found that, as a premise of education, fathers are in a conflict between the *Daikokubashira* and *Ikumen* roles when it comes to pursuing the ideal father image.

Daikokubashira can be understood as being the prime provider of both financial and moral support to the family, while *Imumen* can be recognized as being one who voluntarily takes care of his children. However, in general, being *Daikokubashira* is considered more important than being *Ikumen*. When fathers function as the *Daikokubashira*, they tend to choose a job that bridges Japan and Taiwan, which easily results in adopting Japanese-style long working hours. Furthermore, as they advance their careers in Taiwan as the *Daikokubashira,* their job skills are optimized to Taiwanese society, which makes it more difficult to move back to Japan or a third country. In contrast, for fathers, being *Ikumen* includes being responsible for teaching Japanese to their children. Therefore, they tend to feel remorseful if they fail to raise children's Japanese to the expected level. It was also observed that Taiwan's affinity toward Japan partially supported the interviewees' preference for living in Taiwan.

Considering these preconditions, most Japanese fathers accepted their children growing up as more Taiwanese, and their concern became how to incorporate teaching the Japanese language and culture in the process. Choosing between a local and Japanese school is an important indicator. They were quite skeptical about the competitive nature of Taiwanese public education, although they recognized the standard of education was good, especially subject matters. Meanwhile, the absence of Japanese high schools in Taiwan made them consider either returning to Japan as a family or sending their children to Japan at some point. This is the rationale behind their tendency to choose a local school and teach Japanese as an additional or heritage language, especially for the fathers whose careers were optimized to work in Taiwan.

Some interviewees with flexible skills, such as business owners and highly skilled professionals, might choose to relocate. In this manner, it can be said that the *Daikokubashira* discourse binds the choice of fathers' essential decisions, including the education of their children. On a final note, most fathers showed tolerance toward deviation from the Taiwanese and Japanese standard education models, as if their migration and intermarriage experiences were stepping stones to becoming more accepting and flexible about education.

In this study, the contemporary characteristics of the educational views of Japanese fathers of intermarried families in Taiwan were explored. The interview method used has limitations. For example, the fathers were interviewed as they reflected on their lives. Sometimes, they were asked questions they

had never considered. They might have answered differently if they are given more time. Another limitation is that the interviewed fathers were living in Taiwan at the time. People who moved back to Japan may have a completely different set of stories, but these have not been included in the study. It was also not possible to access a whole picture of the population. Nevertheless, the study certainly provides a clue to understanding their lives in Taiwan. Comparing the present findings with the spouse's narrative may make a great research topic for the next step to attain a more holistic understanding.

Reference

Becker, S. G. (1976). *Human Capital: A Theoretical and Empirical Analysis, with Special Reference to Education*. Translated into Japanese by Yoko Sano. Toyo Keizai Shinposha.

Department of Statistics Ministry of Interior. *Major Indexes of Vital Statistics*. https://statis.moi.gov.tw/micst/stmain.jsp?sys=100. (Retrieved on March 3rd, 2020).

Fujita, Y. (2008). *Cultural Migrants*. Shinyosha.

Glaser, B. G., and Strauss, A. L. (1967). *The Discovery of Grounded Theory: Strategies for Qualitative Research*. Aldine Publishing.

Hamano, T. *Marriage Migrants of Japanese Women in Australia: Remoulding Gendered Selves in Suburban Community*: Springer. 2019.

Hattori, M. (2015). *Bilingualism of Taiwanese-Japanese Children in Taiwan*. Series on Japanese Studies, Vol. 16: National Taiwan University Press.

Huang, W. (2014). A psychological study of foreign spouses who raise their new Taiwanese children: Through interviews, *Social Science Review*, 107, 75–93.

Ishii K. S. (2016). *Marriage Migration in Asia: Emerging Minorities at the Frontiers of Nation-States*. Kyoto University Press.

Ishii-Kuntz, M. (2013). S*ociology of "Ikumen" Phenomena: To Fulfill Wishes of Parenting Participation*. Minerva Shobo.

Ito, K. (2015). *The Language Heritage and Educational Strategies of Japanese and Taiwanese International Families in Taiwan* (Doctoral dissertation submitted).

Japan-Taiwan Exchange Association (2018). *Taiwan's Economy Data Book*. Japan-Taiwan Exchange Association.

Kaneto, S. (2007). *Voluntary Migration to Taiwan of Contemporary Japanese: Interview Analysis of Migration Experience*. Exchange Association.

Kaneto, S. (2009). A Japanese lifestyle of border transgression: "Another" multiculturalization contemporary Japan, *Forum for Dialogue between Practitioner and Researcher*. pp. 138–165.

Katayama, R. (2015). The capacity for Japanese wives to adapt in cross-cultural environments and the importance of social networks: A case study of Nadeshiko in Taiwan, *Bulletin of Seinan Gakuin University Graduate School*, 1, 171–180.

Kawahara, T. (2009). International marriage and language. In Kawahara, T., and Okado, H. eds. *International Marriage: Multilingual Families and Identity*: Akashi Press. pp. 276–309.

Kawahara, T., and Okado, H. ed. (2009). *International Marriage: Multilingual Families and Identity*: Akashi Press.

Kawakita, J. (1967). *A Method of Idea Generation*. Chuokoron-Shinsha.

Kubo, Y., Watanabe, Y., Suzuki, R., Nakanishi, D., and Iguchi, S. (2019). *Vulnerable Shoppers and Internet Shopping: Implication from Japanese Families Overseas*. Kumpul.

Kuramoto, M. (2017). Intercultural marriages: A review of the literature and future outlook, *Bulletin of College of Education*, *Psychology and Human Studies*, 8, 91–107.

Lan, P. (2008). Migrant women's bodies as boundary markers: reproductive crisis and sexual control in the ethic frontier of Taiwan. *Signs*: *Journal of Women in Cultural Society*, 33(4), 833–861.

Matsutani, M. (2014). Introduction to the migration of locally employed workers: A sociological study on a variation of new migration under globalization. *Kyoto Journal of Sociology*, 22, 49–69.

Ministry of Health, Labour, and Welfare. (2019). *Comprehensive Survey of Living Conditions*. https://www.mhlw.go.jp/toukei/list/20-21kekka.html (Retrieved on March 3rd, 2020).

Ministry of Health, Labour, and Welfare. (2019). *Vital Statistics*. Portal Site of Official Statistics of Japan website https://www.e-stat.go.jp/dbview?sid=0003214861. (Retrieved on March 3rd, 2020).

Miyazaki. S. (2014). Discourses of childrearing in contemporary Taiwan and gender, *Studies on Asian Women*, 23, 17–25.
Ni Nengah, S. (2014). The change of cross-cultural marriage and the emergence of lifestyle migration: The case study of Japanese Women in Bali, Indonesia. *Culture*, 77 (3–4), 89–103.
Niwa, T., Nakagawa, S. (2015). Is Bangkok "The City of Angels" for young Japanese workers?, *Geographical Sciences*, 70(3), 157–167.
Onode, S. (2007). Housework, child rearing, and elderly care in the middle class of Bangkok Thailand: Social frameworks of reproductive labor. In Ochiai, E., Yamane, M., and Miyasaka, Y., eds. *The Asian Family and Gender*. Keiso Shobo. pp. 168–186.
Piper, N., and Mina, R. (2004). *Wife or Worker?: Asian Women and Migration*. Rowman & Littlefield Publishers.
Saito, D. (2017). Forms of cross-border migration in modern society: Perspectives of Japanese people employed locally in Bangkok, Thailand, *The Aoyama Journal of Global Studies and Collaboration*, 2, 169–185.
Satake, M., and Kim, E. (2017). *International Marriage and Multicultural Cohabitation: Support for Multicultural Families*. Akashi Press.
Sato, G. (2019). Challenges for designing global human resources in Japanese schools, *International Education*, 25, 47–56.
Sato, M. (1993). *Farewell to Nippon: Japanese Lifestyle Migrants in Australia*. Shincho-Sha.
Se, A., Chen C., Hsu S., and Katsurada, A. (2007). A study on Taiwan's educational problem and policy on "new Taiwanese children" from the background on spouses immigrating from mainland China and Southeast Asia, *The Bulletin of Central Research Institute Fukuoka University Series A: Humanities*, 6, 121–138.
Shibano, J. (2014). Teachers' practice and conflict of "Japaneseness" in transnationalized Japanese educational institutions overseas: A case study of the Japanese School of Guam, *Studies of Educational Sociology*. 95, 111–130.
Sun, W. (2019). Why did Korea steer to allowing multiple nationality?, *Migration Policy Review*, 11, 19–30.
Taga, F. (2016). *The Age of Boys' Problems?: Conflicting Politics of Gender and Education*. GakubunSha.
Takahashi, H. (2016). Subjection of fathers: Discourse analysis of parenting magazines in the 2000s. In Tendo, M., Takahashi, H., and Kato, M., eds. *Sociology of Child-Rearing Discourse: Family, Gender, and Reproduction.* Sekaishisosha-Kyogakusha. 78–113.
Takeda, S. (2011). *Rethinking International Marriage in the Village: Female Marriage Migrants and Social Change in an Agricultural Community*. Mekong.
Takeda, S. (2016). Discussion on global human resources and Japanese international children: From a survey in Taiwan in 2015, *Annual Report of Centre for Asia Pacific Partnership*. Osaka University of Economics and Law. 17–24.
Takeshita, S. (2000). *Sociology of International Marriage*. Gakubunsha.
Takeshita, S. (2004). *Aspects of International Marriage*, Gakubunsya.
Taniguchi, R. (2013). From rejection to acceptance of Japanese—In relationship with language policy in post-war Taiwan, socio-environmental changes and trends of Japanese succession, *Area and Culture Studies*, 86, 159–173.
Taniguchi, R. (2019). How do they want to be understood: A trial on Japanese-Taiwanese bilingual narrative analysis, *Area and Culture Studies*, 98, 149–166.
Watanabe, Y. (ed.). (2012). *Documenting the Life Stories of Korean Newcomers in Tokyo's Shinjuku Ward: Fundamental Research to Create a More United Multiethnic Community*, Toyota Foundation.
Watanabe, Y. (2014). Issues of child rearing in multicultural families in Japan: Narratives of Japanese husbands of Chinese and Korean wives. In Kawamura, C., ed. *Educational Challenges in a Multicultural Society: Diversity and the Right to Learn.* Akashi Publishing. 258–279.
Watanabe, Y., Fujita-Round, S., and Sun, W. (2016). Educational strategy of Japanese-Korean couples: Analytical review of Japanese fathers and mothers in Korea, *The Journal of Sagami Women's University, Sagami Women's University*, 79, 9–24.
Watanabe, Y., Fujita-Round, S., & Sun, W. (2019). Educational beliefs of marriage migrants:

Analyzing discourses of Japanese husbands intermarried with Chinese, Filipino, Korean, and Thai Wives. *Studies in Culture of Sagami Women's University*, 34, 55–77.
Watanabe, Y., Fujita-Round, S., Sun, S., Lee, H., and Qui, X. (2016). Educational strategies of intermarried Japanese, Korean, and Chinese couples: Based on an interview survey, *Studies in Culture of Sagami Women's University*, 34, 1–26.
Watanabe, Y., and Kubo, Y. (2018). Educational views of Japanese-Thai couples in Thailand: A narrative inquiry on the procurement of educational commodities, *The Journal of Sagami Women's University*, 81, 1–18.
World Bank, *Fertility Rate, Total (Births Per Woman).* World Bank Group. https://data.worldbank.org/indicator/SP.DYN.TFRT.IN. (Retrieved on March 3rd, 2020).
Yamashita, S. (1999). *Bali and Beyond: Explorations in the Anthropology of Tourism*. University of Tokyo Press.
Yoon J., Momose H., Kuroki Y., and Nakajima K. (2011). Multicultural family husband in Taiwan maltreated by wife. *Social Science Review*, 95, 1–18.
Yoon J., Momose H., Kuroki Y., and Nakajima K. (2011). Stress related to daily life of multi-cultural family husband in Taiwan, *Social Science Review*, 97, 41–58.