Mixed Cultures, Mono Cultures, Future Cultures:

Multicultural Education, International Schools, and the Future of World Education

by *David B. Willis* and *Satoko Fukuhori*

ABSTRACT

International schools, one of the more exotic settings imaginable, present the contours of varied and striking landscapes. These schools, which we have studied as anthropologist, student, teacher and sociologist since the early 1980s, provide a special example of a living multicultural education.

International schools provide a rich field of study for those interested in the phenomena of cultural pluralism, identity, and internationalization. Their experiences help us look through the larger perspective of multicultural rather than monocultural dynamics (multiple, not singular, patterns of change or growth).

There are many international schools in the world today and a large number of students — at least 221,516 students in 564 schools located in 125 countries (not including the United States) by the late 1980s. If we specify only those schools which use the word 'international' in their title, we find that Japan has the largest number of 'international' schools in the developed world with more than 20 (7,229 students), while Switzerland has 12 (6,224 students).

After discussing theories and terms related to multicultural education (especially concepts of culture, education, and learning), we will introduce the context of mixed and mono cultures found in international schools. A hypothesis will then be raised that in their curriculum, extra-curriculum, and hidden curriculum, international schools provide an ideal multicultural education. While the facts will reveal that this hypothesis is not always accurate. the main stream of findings from the study will support the significance of these schools.

To understand their ethos (a primary feature of any education), we will first examine a) monocultural patterns of dominance and power (primarily American) and b) cross-cultural contact, conflict and (ultimately) community. This will be followed by a discussion of the special educational features of these schools with regard to their curriculum, extra-curriculum and 'cultural capital.'

In conclusion, we will note how international schools are focal points of a new and lively 'world culture.' In this essay we will explore the implications of the experience of international schools in

developing goals for multicultural education for large national school systems like Japan's and America's. Prospects for promoting Awareness, Consciousness-Raising and Human Rights Education will be noted, as well as the roles of mixed cultures and global mobility in the development of what will likely be key themes for the 21st Century: Multiculturalism and Transculturalism.

Introduction

Being international, I am proud. I have two kinds of blood in my body. One is Japanese and the other one is Israeli. It's not that I am half Japanese and half Israeli, but I am double.

> — Rachel, Israeli-Japanese, Grade 10, in an international
> school in Japan from kindergarten

The study of the international school, one of the more exotic settings imaginable, presents the contours of a varied and striking landscape. International schools are not ordinary schools. In Japan, for example, a blending of American and European curricula with doses of Japanese color in language or cultural studies, students with multiple allegiances (linguistic, national, and cultural) and a faculty/staff that is bewildering in its variety and experiences, are considered 'normal.'

International schools present unique perspectives for the study of 'a living multicultural education.' This paper will explore the many dimensions associated with the multicultural education found in international schools, particularly in Japan. An active transnational culture. bilinguality and the fostering of a transcultural consciousness are a special focus here.

There are many international schools in Japan (more than 20) and in the world today and a large number of students, at least 221,516 students in 564 schools located in 125 countries (not including the united States), according to conservative estimates (International Schools Services, 1985). More recent figures which liberally define an international school suggest the figure of three to four million international school students (Jonietz, 1991, p.3). Wherever we decide to define this range, what we are seeing is a major, little-studied phenomenon.

Moreover, at least six million adults from developed countries (according to conservative estimates) have already spent a significant part of their formative years in international schools. International schools help us look through the larger perspective of multicultural rather than monocultural dynamics. An active transnational culture, bilin-

guality and the fostering of a transcultural consciousness are key features.

Theoretical Background

The theoretical basis of our approach follows Geerts (1973, 1983), Bourdieu (1977), Turner and Bruner (1986), Appadurai (1990), Hannerz (1992), and Minoura (1992). It is primarily hermeneutic or interpretive. Our conception of social life is organized in terms of symbols whose meanings must be grasped if the culture and its principles are to be understood. Experience is one of the key theoretical concepts.

Culture is defined as commonly shared patterns of generated, transmitted, learned, and utilized socialization. Explicit and implicit symbols, values and experiences are significant aspects of culture. Cultures are not static. They are dynamic, developmental, living phenomena. They provide their members with a sense of identity, of self, and of space. Cultures also include what Wurzel (1988) calls subjective dimensions (beliefs, attitudes, values), interactive dimensions(verbal and nonverbal language), and material dimensions (artifacts). Part of a culture's definition of itself is a reference to a comparison of differences with 'Other' cultures. Such comparison need not be viewed as only negative. The enhancement of self-awareness, an expanded knowledge of other realities, and improved communication skills can all result.

There are also Macro-Cultures (large units such as national, ethnic, or racial groups) and Micro-Cultures (by work-place, age, sex, etc.) Of course, what may be a micro-culture for some observers will be a macro-culture for others(e.g., the gender culture of being female). To understand others we need to expand our macrocultural and microcultural perspectives.

When we see culture in this light, we become aware that societies such as Japan's which are typically seen as homogeneous are in fact living in a multicultural world. That they have not viewed themselves as multicultural indicates taboos on discourse, outright discrimination and neglect of certain communities, and continuing emphasis on 'the national project.'

The vividly different cultures defined by occupation, age, gender, and geographic regions in 'homogeneous' Japan (not to mention minority communities) are some examples that come to mind. Another more politic way to refer to multicultural contexts is seen in the terms Majority Culture and Minority Culture. Such terms ultimately refer to cultural/power relations between majority Identity/Identities and those of 'The Other'

minority (or 'Others') in our midst. Clearly, multiculturalism is not a phenomenon confined to areas that are clearly and emphatically ethnically mixed alone. Even in a country like Japan. we are living in a multicultural world.

Multicultural Education

In the field of education the needs of non-majority, non-mainstream Others have led to curricular insertions, manipulations, overlays and even systematic program changes. Multicultural Education is a broad term which encompasses a wide variety of these educational concepts, policies, theories, and practices. Sleeter and Grant (1987, p.422) view these developments as constituted under the following approaches, all of which attempt to master social change:

Teaching the Culturally Different (Assimilation of 'students of color' into the cultural mainstream)

Human Relations (Helping students of different backgrounds get along better and appreciate each other)

Single Group Studies (Teaching about distinct ethnic, gender and social class groups)

Multicultural Education (Reforming the school program to reflect cultural pluralism and social equality)

Education That is Multicultural and Social Reconstructionist (Prepares students to challenge inequality and promote diversity)

Conspicuous by its absence from this list is *Global or International Education.* reflecting the biases of the authors and of national educational systems which, if they mention international education at all, usually compartmentalize as a single concept meant to be taught as a unit of ninth-grade social studies rather than a holisitic approach to all learning, be it in the curriculum/extra-curriculum/ or hidden curriculum.

Global or International Education can in fact be viewed as a new paradigm under which all of the above multicultural education concepts fall. Like other fields of study, which are gradually moving towards unified theories suggestive of new paradigms (note

the standardization of economic theory around capitalism or the GES, Grand Evolutionary Synthesis, of biology: Lazslo, 1987), educators in the 21st Century will likely discover the elegance of a theory of Global Education which both reveals world-wide convergence and allows for local diversity. What happens in an international school is a foreshadowing of this process.

Mixed Cultures, Mono Cultures:
Transnational and Transcultural Flows

Recently an important discourse has emerged around the concepts of transnational nad transcultural flows that has projected new images of socialization and the role of educational agents in socialization. It is a new global cultural economy, an economy characterized by complex, overlapping, and disjunctive cultural cross-roads.

Flow, uncertainty, and disjuncture are the images of the future, replacing older visions of order, stability and systems. This shifting world can be viewed with special insight through the persona of those people who have had the multicultural education found in international schools (in our research purview. those international schools in Japan). These highly mobile groups have had a surprising influence on policy and politics, perhaps because they have the most active of all contemporary imaginations, a flexibility, a resiliency singularly appropriate to operating among the complexities of the Late 20th Century World. Transculturals act as agents who 'continuously inject new meaning-streams' into the discourses of contemporary landscapes (Appadurai, 1990, p.11). They may show us how the globalization of culture is not the same as its homogenization.

A Hypothesis and a Methodology for Multicultural Education
In the Global Settings of International Schools

In order to 'test' the phenomenon, a hypothesis regarding Multicultural Education in International Schools was proposed:

> *International schools, in their curriculum, extra-curriculum and hidden*
> *curriculum, provide an ideal multicultural education.*

While the facts reveal certain weaknesses in this hypothesis (notably regarding the roles

of administration/the organization), the main findings concerning human learning in international school settings support the significance of these schools as models for multicultural education. Educational Ethnography, with its multiple perspectives, has been utilized by us as an appropriate holistic methodology for revealing the intended and unintended effects of international schools.

Ethos and Expreience:
History and Recent Trends in International Schools

The ethos, the culture of international schools, the experiences of friendships and cross-cultural communication occuring naturally in such transnational communities can be seen as key lessons for global/multicultural education. An image of humanity which assumes interdependencies, cooperation and the common nature of humankind is foremost in these relationships. While these aspects stand out in international schools, they can be emphasized anywhere, depending on the enthusiasm of teachers and administrators.

A caveat is called for, however. When international education becomes only 'we are international because of our multinational clientele' or 'because we are in a foreign country'; or when such education becomes merely the study of 'strange lands and friendly peoples,' a study of *other* countries, peoples, and cultures, an 'other than us' mentality, is built directly into the spirit of the program. The differences between peoples then becomes, at least implicitly, a focus. Those 'not like us' are thus subtly judged as 'second-class citizens,' while we are 'the first-class citizens.' Not all international schools can be said to be moving in progressive directions, and some of them are following the kind of reactionary thinking ('the old colonialism')these phrases suggest.

Yet the overall, irresistable trend towards thinking globally and acting locally ('the new internationalism') is a major consensus. The hidden curriculum found in international schools is increasingly positive.

Monoculturalism: Patterns of Dominance, Patterns of Power

Before World War II most international schools clearly reflected their national origins, usually American or British, but the post-war period withnessed the proliferation of a variety of 'international' schools. Not only were many new schools started, but almost all schools began catering to a much more diverse clientele.

Confusion naturally arose as to what exactly defined an international school. To allay this confusion many institutions called themselves 'overseas' schools. It was at this time (late 1960s, early 1970s) that organizetions like the Japan Conference of Overseas Schools (JCOS) were established. The term 'overseas' unfortunately compounded the confusion, allowing many types of institutions to be classified as international schools. An important question arose as distances shrunk and student populations became more diverse: 'overseas'from where? The implication was apparently America, the term 'overseas school' originating in the 1950s when Americans were the dominant cultural and political influence. A former principal of one of the Japan's international schools stated the emphasis on monoculturalism in the mid-1970s: "Always remenber, you are advancing a rather evasive U.S. culture in a foreign setting. Your curriculum must be geared to the mechanizations of American articulation." (Thomas, 1974, pp.121)

Yet by the mid 1970s Americans were numerically a minority in most of these schools. It became apparent with the changed world situation that use of the word 'overseas' could be taken as revealing a lack of commitment to the idea of internationalism. A distinctively new 'international school' concept began to emerge in the late Sixties, a concept at one stroke implying a new and broader acceptance of children from a diversity of backgrounds yet still including the original image of the international school as an enclave for diplomatic, missionary, and business children. On the surface the change was mirrored by the mid-1980s in a change in the name of the organization of these schools in Japan from JCOS (Japan Conference of Overseas Schools) to JCIS (Japan Conference of International Schools). Similar trends could be seen elsewhere.

The model for curricular and institutional planning which most international schools employ has traditionally centered around a standard American approach: the sustaining drive of the organization to materially satisfy clientele with transferability, college acceptances, good grades, and order. International schools are essentially conservative institutions which continually re-affirm that it is best to follow the tried-and-true, even if this means disregarding the cultural background and values of many of their members. Although few of those in charge of international schools as educational organizations would admit to such exclusiveness, many have *behaved* on this basis. The most striking of 'pure' overseas schools is the flourishing network of *Nihonjingakko*. Yet in Japan, following a specific recommendation made by the Extraordinary Ad Hoc Committee on Education in 1987 for 'new international schools', Japanese international schools have opened in Tokyo and Osaka.

As the numbers of local and transnational children admitted has risen dramatically, conflict has emerged over non-native speakers of English 'lowering the school's standards.' By this some people seem to mean the level of English spoken — and their own 'cultural standard or dominance.' Yet the increasingly 'multilateral policy' of many international schools is a realistic reflection of the polycultural direction of the Late 20th Century world. In fact, the evidence often shows that, while scores on verbal tests may drop somewhat as fewer native speakers of English are enrolled, this is usually more than offset by a rise in non-verbal scores.

The question of the place of English/ESL remains a critical one for the future of international schools, both pedagogically and culturally. If the schools wish to continue to strive for excellence new programs and curriculums must be developed. There are already encouraging developments along these lines such as courses which combine content teaching of subjects such as world history or science with ESL. Today these schools are proud and fiercely independent, illustrating by their educational product (students) the effectiveness of decision-making at the local level. Most significantly, they have been a fertile proving ground for the high-powered curriculum/degree program of the International Baccalaureate (I.B.) and other innovations.

Cross-Cultural Contact, Conflict and Community

In contrast to the formal academic setting of international schools, in their social setting certain personal, curricular and cultural forces have lead to a diversity of groupings based on language, gender, academic performance, extracurricular interests/activities, family income, and life-style. The manner in which international school communities meet the challenges of differing personal interests and world views recommends these schools to those interested in an effective multicultural education.

Teachers are the primary adult role models and mediators in this process, playing the central role in the running of international schools. They promote a setting characterized by tolerance, empathy, and mutual respect. Moreover, there is a committed effort to actualize such values. Displays of intolerance, discrimination, or chauvinism are social taboos.

The strength of any school ultimately lies in its faculty, and the specialized requirements for a teacher in an international school mean that many faculty will be unique, sensitive, committed, tough, flexible, and resilient. Their backgrounds are diverse, they

are experienced in many countries, they are usually more often women than men, many have MAs and some PhDs, and they are mostly Americans, British and host nationals.

The influence of the local setting can be seen in international schools in Japan, where Japanese form and customs are ever-present. Similar patterns can be observed around the world. Even though some teachers and administrators wish to ban the speaking of Japanese on campus, the Japanese world-view cannot be ignored. For teachers, the respect which it engenders for the position of the 'teacher' is a boon which most faculty in America can only dream of. The school becomes a "home" for students and teachers, a place where they feel comfortable and where they belong. Part of the stability of this system derives from the surrounding Japanese culture's emphasis on harmony, cooperation, and shared interest.

At the same time, international school students operate in a conceptual arena where 'horizons' are a key symbol. They continually chase after them, forcing confrontations with a wider reality. Horizons express a broad vision, a search for understanding. In one respect, an international school can be viewed as a collection of many out-groups, all contained within the three categories of foreigners, natives who mix with foreigners, and international children, the products of unions between these two groups. None of the three is entirely a part of the other — or indeed of their own nation either. The international school provides a unique, in some cases ideal, setting for multicultural education.

Special Educational Features of International Schools: Curricula and Cultural Capital

Curricula

Most international schools are 'educational department stores,' but a standardization is taking placing. At the more high-powered international schools the International Baccalaureate provides a course of study and set of examinations similar to the English 'A' Levels. But the IB is broader and more demanding in scope. These exams may be taken as a whole program (with the goal of an *IB Diploma*) or they may be taken separately for *Certificates*. Either way,college credit can be received later.

The curriculum consists of six subject areas: Language A, Language B, Study of Man in Society, Experimental Sciences, Mathematics, and an Optional Subject. The Optional Subject can be chosen either from a school-based syllabus approved by the IB Office or from the following: Art/Design, Music, Latin, Classical Greek, or Computing Studies.

High marks on the Certificates enable students to receive credit for basic college courses before they enter college. A full diploma will usually guarantee that a student can skip the entire first year of university (including elite universities such as Oxford, Yale, and Harvard) since it is regarded as equivalent to study of basic subjects at that level. Arrangements for recognition and entry using the IB Diploma and Certificates have been completed with 75 countries (Blackburn, 1991, p.24).

Part of the rationale for the establishment of the IB curriculum is also that of multicultural education: to further international understanding. This perhaps explains one of the most interesting developments in the history of the IB program: the spread of the IB to hundreds of national public schools in dozens of countries.

These national schools are not ordinary high schools. Leading schools in Norway, Sweden, Denmark, Finland, Spain, the Netherlands, and the USA, for instance, have elected to participate in the IB. There are 160 schools in the USA and Canada, many of which, like the national schools in Europe, see the IB not so much as an alternative to their national system of education as a supplement to it (Jonietz, 1991, p.219).

Since the IB curriculum only reaches the very best students, and only for the 17–19 age range, moves began in the late 1980s and early 1990s to establish.

New international curricula for...

   – the middle school years (ISAC)

   – a secondary school graduation certificate/diploma

      similar to English 'O' Levels (International GCSE)

   – and, most recently, for the elementary years (ISCP)

These curricula are the 'hot topics' in international schools as we move into the 1990s (Renaud, 1991; Sadler, 1991; and Bartlett, 1992), with many schools already either practicing some of the ideals in these programs or seriously interested in full implementation. The first, the International Schools Association Curriculum (ISAC) for middle school students, addresses many of the same needs felt by multicultural educators: learning how to learn, development of the whole person, an international/intercultural perspective, and "the acquisition of attitudes in the learning process in the context of cultural exchanges" are guiding principles of these programs (Renaud, 1991, pp.8–9). their spirit has been defined by Gerard Renaud, one of the fathers of the IB, as 'international humanism.'

The ISAC curriculum is based on three guiding principles: globality. communication, and intellectual awareness. A program for developing a secondary school graduation certificate/diploma similar to the English 'O' Levels (the International GCSE) has also

begun, as has, most recently, an ambitious curriculum project for the elementary years (ISCP). The schematic study plans, areas of interaction, and evaluation procedures for the ISAC, ISCP and International GCSE curricula are available upon request.

Cultural Capital

Probably more significant in the long run for individuals, the international school rite of passage is infused with a peculiar sort of 'cultural capital.' The aim is for a philosophical emphasis on a 'whole person,' but prestige accumulates for those who follow the right college prep track and satisfy the necessary details of the production/regulation subsystem of the organization. For the organization this is its ideology, that has been predominantly american but that is now becoming international. Some aspects and perspectives of this cultural capital are as follows:

Cultural Capital in International Schools — The Institution View:

1 . Maintenance of the system (steady state)

2 . Public relations: For college entrance, stability, idealized picture of student life are presented to the public.

3 . Cultural capital: An infusion of an American/Local (e.g., Japanese) ideology which stresses hierarchy and regulation, competition and achievement, independence, individualism, and nationality. Does not include interdependence or learning to cope with a variety of sociolinguistic backgrounds. Teachers act as a bridge between student values and the institution's purposes, but cross-cultural encounters are played down.

Cultural Capital in International Schools — The Student View:

1 . Maintenance of self (growth)

2 . Social relations: An emphasis on the bonds of friendship, group values, and cultural awareness. Appreciation of one's own ethnic group, other cultural groups, other languages, and different lifestyles.

3 . Cultural capital: An acquisition from an international context of the values of friendship, cooperation, interdependence, the group over individual needs,

and personality as the primary defining feature of other students. Not that this means that much time and energy is devoted to learning to cope with a variety of linguistic and cultural backgrounds.

Under 'cultural capital' for the individual are the following acquired skills self-reported by our research populations:

Maintenance of the self
Social Preparation
Mobile and transitory relationships
Group and friendship values (in-group, out-group)
Cooperative values
Interdependence
Emphasis on the group rather than on individuals
Personality as the defining feature of students
Attention to whether the school is really an international school
A picture of students closer to reality
Lots of coping with linguistic and cultural backgrounds
Cross-cultural encounters highlighted
Family and peer group pressures

Students participate in a wide range of learnign activities, many unrelated to the official goals of the organization. Typologies of general student education and multicultural education in an international school are useful here (See Figures 1 and 2).

Language/Languages

A major defining feature of student education and social structure is the use of language/languages and the subsequent perceptions of reality which these language/languages endorse. In one sense, all groups are formed first around the premise of a common language, but this language is more complex than simply "English" or "Japanese" (or whatever local language or languages may be present), verbally and non-verbally transmitting a wide array of rich, complex meaning systems replete with signs of mutual affirmation and purpose. Taboos, for example, are clearly understood, many of them related to the host country. In Japan, for instance, discretion is valued when it comes to public discussions of sex, smoking or drinking. Unless one is within one's own group, secure from the outside world, silence is considered instructive and desirable. Reticence in

Figure 1. A typology of the education of international school students in Japan — by student peer groups (group names selected by peer consensus). (After Kerckhoff, 1972, p.95).

GROUP	GENERAL EDUCATIONAL ACTIVITY				
	Academic Performance	Extracurric. Activities	Youth Culture Activities	Adult Role	Host Country Activities
Burrikkos	+/−	+/−	+	−	+
Partiers	−	−	+	−	−/+
Intensives					
Boys	+/−	−	+	−	+
Girls	+	−/+	+	−	+
Athletes	−/+	+	+	−	−/+
Coop Group	+	+	+	+	+/−
Brains	+	+/−	−	+	−/+
Dormy girls	−/+	+	+	−	+/−
Rejects	−/+	+/−	+	−	+/−
Musicians	+/−	+	+	−	+/−
Kakko-Ii	+/−	−	+	−	+

Figure 2. A typology of the multicultural education of international school students in Japan. By student peer groups (group names selected by peer consensus). (After Kerckhoff, 1972, p.95).

Multicultural Education Themes: Self-Awareness, The Human Condition and Human Differences, Cognitive Imposition vs. Cognitive Choice, Inquiry vs. Dogmatism, Experiential Learning and the Personalization of Knowledge

GROUP	MULTICULTURAL EDUCATION THEMES				
	Self Awareness	Human Condit. Human Diffs.	Cognit. Choice	Inquiry Spirit	Exper Learning Personal/ Knowledge
Burrikkos	−/+	+/−	−	−	+
Partiers	+	−/+	+	−	+/−
Intensives					
Boys	+/−	−	−	−/+	−/+
Girls	+	−/+	−	−/+	−/+
Athletes	−/+	+	−	−/+	−/+
Coop Group	+	+	+	+	+/−
Brains	+	+/−	+	+	−/+
Dormy girls	−/+	−/+	−	−	+/−
Rejects	−/+	+/−	−	−	+/−
Musicians	+/−	+	+	+	+/−
Kakko-Ii	+/−	−/+	−	−	+

NOTES ON TERMS: (Self/Peer Selection of Terms)

Burrikkos	— Girls concerned with teenage pop singers and pop trends
Partiers	— Highly social group, active in personal relationships
Intensives	— School program for Japanese Jr. High graduates post 9th grade
Athletes	— Sports as main activity and social focus
Coop Group	— Social group centered around the student store
Brains	— Academically active group
Dormy girls	— Girls living in dormitory away from home
Rejects	— Students who do not 'fit in' with any particular groups
Musicians	— Band and Choral Music is these students life and focus
Kakko-Ii	— Boys concerned with 'the look,' being fashionable and 'cool'

students is one of the banes of English teachers, but the students' silence is understandable. This, of course, is much like the local Japanese community which surrounds these international schools.

Individuals who have experienced international schools report a set of basic universal symbols that are held in common, a set of values which newcomers who enter the system become socialized to and long-term members take for granted. Tolerance of others, an abhorrence of ethnocentrism, flexibility, patience, prudence, and the value of knowing more than one language are all examples in addition to those listed above. But at a deeper level for each individual is a specific set of skills which deliver shared meaning: mobility: smooth handling of transitions/transience, adaptability, resilience, and tolerance:

If schools wish to improve and enhance their quality they should pay less attention to their formal structure and more to the particular socia-cultural contexts where values, constraints, and encouragement are expressed. It is in these contexts that opportunities for personal, and therefore institutional, transformation are offered.

Conclusion — Prospects for a 21st Century World Education: Learning from International Schools

What recommendations might the experiences of international schools have for world education? Is the school's purpose to solely be an 'objective' purveyor of knowledge or does it have a defined role to play in acculturation? The general materialization of modern culture and the high value placed on technique as opposed to imagination have seen education degenerate into instruction. The view then literally becomes that education is instruction. Instruction literally means "to build into," whereas education, *educes*, means "to lead forth," connoting much more responsibility for socialization. What is regarded as an appropriate institutional focus becomes 'instruction' alone rather than the much wider and richer meaning implied by 'education.'

What is meant by 'education' can be found in UNESCO's 1974 *Recommendation on Education for International Understanding and Human Rights*. Seven principles are set forth which in fact describe what many international schools do through their physical, personal and educational settings:

　（ a ） an international dimension and a global perspective in education at all
　　　　 levels and in all its forms

　（ b ） understanding and respect for all peoples, their culture, civilizations,

values and ways of life, including domestic ethnic cultures and cultures of other nations

(c) awareness of the increasing global interdependence between peoples and nations

(d) abilities to communicate with others

(e) awareness not only of the rights but also of the duties incumbent upon individuals, social groups and nations towards each other

(f) understanding of the necessity for international solidarity and cooperation

(g) readiness on the part of the individual to participate in solving the problems of his community, his country and the world at large

The international school's role in cultural transmission thus recommends to us the importance of facilitating transcultural educational encounters, especially knowledge that has social utility. Other recommendations include:

Recommendations from the Experience of International Schools

1 . Instructional product: Attention to students. Recognition of the wide range of individual, creative student talents/experiences and their possible academic or social contributions.

2 . Continuous process: Curricular reform. Flexible analysis/appraisal at the local level. World plus local curriculum. What do students need as special individuals in a special context?

3 . Creation of an Ethos for a 21st Century Social Setting

4 . Effective utilization of teacher potential. The organization of the school neglects the enormous potential contribution of cross-culturally experienced teachers. These people's talents could be applied towards an analysis and appraisal of an effective program contributing to multicultural communication.

5 . A democratization of the decision-making process. Rather than acting primarily as evaluators and supervisors, administrators shoul facilitate the educational process in schools by sharing decision-making with those who are closest to the actual experience: teachers and students.

6 . Provision for encouragement and support of more language and cross-cultural studies (as graduation requirements, for example).

7 . An enhancement of extra-curricular opportunities for cross-cultural communication.

8 . Greater attention to the selection of teachers and administrators who display an active committment to a diverse education rather than simply to a narrow, rule-driven education.

The globalization of culture' is marked, not by a monolithic political transformation, but by a series of cultural processes. These processes transcend the state-society level, operating at trans-national, trans-societal, trans-cultural levels. Globalization also entails — at the local and international levels — 1) reduced cultural homogeneity, 2) increased cultural disorder, and 3) the formation of true transnational cultures. As cultures which were formerly isolated pockets of relative homogeneity are linked, increasingly diverse portraits of The Other are created as well as reactions that reinforce one's own special identity (Featherstone, 1990, p.6).

A variety of strategies are then produced, both for relating to outsiders (who are increasingly on the inside) and for re-constituting one's own identity (which is seen to be more and more on the outside, on display to curious Others). Boundaries, cultural and national, are easily re-drawn and even more easily crossed, letting us know in subtle (and some not-so-subtle) ways about the postmodern era we have entered. We have begun a time where 'borderlands' are less and less on the margin and more and more at the heart of contemporary discourse.

Transcultural students who attended international schools are especially adept at 'managing meaning.' This competence is both generalized and specialized. Transculturals are "people who can afford to experiment, who do not stand to lose a treasured but threatened, uprooted sense of self" (Hannerz, 1990, p.243). The real significance of the growth of transnational cultures lies in the mediating possibilities they offer. An awareness of this identity transcends the other bonds that hold individuals in international schools. The differences of language that normally hinder communication are also recognized in an international school as avenues for wider shared meaning. Multiple linguistic skills are a given.

Transcultural people see the individual human being as a whole dynamic entity rather than as an assortment of parts, processes, and traits. They know that if we equate our fellow humans with a single characteristic such as gender, age, race, or nationality, or even with an aggregate of such categories, we are perceiving our own labels rather than that person's reality. The result is the tendency to treat each other as objects, or, at best, as fragments of whole persons. If we could see each other as complex systems the world might be able to achieve a revolution of harmony.

Although de facto loss of elements of major national sovereignty/cultures will be (and are being) accepted for practical advantages, this is without de jure negation (a giving up) of national sovereignty/culture. National indentities, challenged as never before, find themselves preserved in strong new forms *and* enriched by the possibilities offered by those multiple Others in their midst. Rather than becoming impoverished shells of their former selves, the experience of international schools indicates that national cultures will experience a renaissance while simultaneously encouraging the significance of Others as new brothers and sisters.

This view, a truly international view, is best voiced by one of the students of an international school in Japan. Let us conclude this essay with her thoughts:

> Victoria, British, 11th grade, in japan five years:

> Being in an international school makes people a lot more open-minded, not only to cultures and nationality, but to everything. It makes you more ready to accept new ideas and things different from what you've ever known. But it also makes you question things a lot more, too

> International people are constantly changing, too. They will pick up some custom, and then a couple of years later they will drop it. People who do not travel around, usually chose certain views and customs, then they become very set in their ways, like old people. They do not add new ideas, and the cling to all their old ones. They don't like changes. International people are like gypsies. They have to move on from one place to the next, and see new things and encounter new ways of life. International people are the ones who really work for advances in everything for the good of the world, not just the good of their own nation.

References

Appadurai, Arjun. (1990). "Disjuncture and Difference in the Global Cultural Economy," *Public Culture*, Vol. 2, No. 2, Spring, pp.1–24.

Banks, James A. (1994). *Multiethnic Education*. Boston: Allynland Bacon.

Bartlett, Kevin. (1992). "Defining International Education: A Proposal for the Future," *International Schools Journal*, No.23, Spring 1992, pp.45–52.

Blackburn, Robert. (1991). The International Baccalaureate: a curriculum at upper secondary level and a university entrance examination. In Jonietz, Patricia L. and Harris, Duncan, *World Yearbook of Education 1991 — International Schools and International Education*. London: Kogan Page, pp.15–24.

Bourdieu, Pierre, and Passeron, Jean-Claude. (1977). *Reproduction in Education, Society and Culture*. Richard Nice, trans. London: Sage.

Ebuchi, K. (1986). "Kikokushijo o Torimaku Nihon Shakai no Kankyoteki Tokushitsu ni Kansuru Kenkyu: Nihon Shakai no Sakokusei to Kikokushijo," in Kawabata Matsundo et al., (1986). *Kokusaika Jidai no Kyoiku: Kikokushijo Kyoiku no Kadai to Tenbo (Education in the Era of Internationalization: Themes and Views on Returnee's Education)*, Tokyo: Soyusha.

Ebuchi, K. (1994). An Anthropological Study on Intercultural Education: A Comparative Ethnographic Analysis of Cross-Cultural Adaptation and Education of Immigrant Ethnic Minorities and Sojourners. Fukuoka: Kyushu University Press.

Featherstone, Mike, Global culture: an introduction. In Featherstone, Mike, ed., *Global Culture — Nationalism. Globalization and Modernity*. London: Sage, 1990, pp.1–14.

Geertz, Clifford. (1973). *The Interpretation of Cultures*. New York: Basic Books.

Geertz, Clifford. (1973). *The Interpretation of Cultures*. New York: Basic Books.

Gleason, T.P. (1973). The overseas-experienced American adolescent and patterns of worldmindedness. *Adolescence*, Winter, 8(32), 481–490.

Goodman, Nelson. (1978). *Ways of Worldmaking*. Indianapolis: Hackett Publishing Co.

Hannerz, Ulf, Cosmopolitans and locals in world culture. In Featherstone, Mike, ed. *Global Culture — Nationalism. Globalization and Modernity*. London: Sage, 1990, pp.237–252.

Hannerz, Ulf. (1992). *Cultural Complexity*. New York: Columbia.

Hoshino, Akira. (1983). Seinen no Ibunka Taiken to Nashyonaru Aidentitii: Jijyoden to Shuki ni yoru Koosatsu [Intercultural Experiences of Youths and Their National Identities: A Study of Personal Histories and Anecdotes]. In *Gendai Seinen no Shinri* [Psychology of Contemporary Youths]. Tokyo: fukumura Shuppan.

International Schools Service. (1985). *The ISS Directory of Overseas Schools*. Princeton: ISS.

Jonietz, Patricia L. and Harris, Duncan. (1991). *World Yearbook of Education 1991 — International Schools and International Education*. London: Kogan Page.

Kobayashi, Tetsuya. (1989). Educational problems of "returning children," in J.J. Shields, Jr. (ed.), *Japanese Schooling: Patterns of Socialization. Equality, and Political Control*. University Park: The Pennsylvania State University Press.

Kobayashi, Tetsuya. (1994). Ethnic disputes, the Post Cold War Era and Inter/Cross Cultural Education, *International Education*, Vol.25: 13–26.

Laszlo, Ervin. (1987). *Evolutin — The Grand Synthesis*. Boston: New Science Library.

Leach, Robert J. (1969) *International Schools and Their Role in the Field of Interntional Education*. Oxford: Pergamon Press.

Minoura, Yasuko. (1992). A sensitive period for the incorporation of a cultural meaning system — a study of Japanese children growing up in the United States. *Ethos*, Fall.

Mitter, Wolfgang. (1993). Education and a new world order. Ms. 1993 Waseda International Symposium, Modernization and Educational Reform, Tokyo, Japan.

Renaud, Gerard. (1991). The International Schools Association (ISA): historical and philosophical background. In Jonietz, Patricia L. and Harris, Durcan, *World Yearbook of Education 1991 — International Schools and International Education*. London: Kogan Page, pp.6–14.

Sadler, John. (1991). The International General Certificate of Secondary Education. In Jonietz, Patricia L. and Harris, Duncan, *World Yearbook of Education 1991 — International Schools and International Education*. London: Kogan Page, pp.45–49.

Sleeter, Christine E. and Grant, Carl A. (1987). An analysis of multicultural education in the United States. *Harvard Educational Review*, 57, No.4, November 1987.

Thomas, W.G. (Ed.). (1974). *American Education Abroad*. Macmillan, New York.

Turner, Victor W. and Bruner, Edward M., eds. (1986). *The Anthropology of Experience*. (Urbana: University of Illinois Press).

Uehara, Asako. (1987). Comparison of reentry adjustment between Japanese and American students: an interactionist perspective. Ms., Hiroshima University.

Willis, David. (1990). International People: Generational Profiles of Experience and Consciousness, *Soai Daigaku Kenkyu Ronshu* (Annual Research Report of Soai University), Vol.6, March.

Willis, David, and Enloe, Walter. (1990). Lessons of International Schools: Global Education in the 1990s, *The Educational Forum*, Vol.54, No.2, Winter.

Willis, David: Enloe, Walter; and Minoura, Yasuko. (1994). Transculturals, Transnationals: The New Diaspora, The International Schools Journal, *Fall*.

Wurzel, Jaime S., Ed. (1988). *Toward Multiculturalism — A Reader in Multicultural Education*. Yarmouth, Maine: Intercultural Press, Inc.