MIXED FAMILY LIFE IN THE UK

AN ETHNOGRAPHIC STUDY OF JAPANESE-BRITISH FAMILIES

M. NAKAMURA LOPEZ

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M. Nakamura Lopez

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An Ethnographic Study of Japanese-British Families

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M. Nakamura Lopez
Tokyo, Japan

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To DD: May you one day learn to see your mixedness as a gift.

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1

Introduction

On Living Mixedness

My relationship with mixedness has been one of love/hate. I still remember how upset I would feel (and often still feel) when people try to pigeonhole me or when strangers disapprove of my family's existence simply because we are "different" and therefore belong elsewhere, although this "elsewhere" has always remained illusive. Yet it is perhaps this "elsewhere" that I continue to search for, both in my everyday life as well as in my research work. As a mixed child, I often felt isolated, even with support and care from my parents because, although well-meaning, I felt that my parents, as "non-mixed" people, could never truly understand what it meant to be "mixed". Yet upon becoming a parent to a mixed child myself and meeting and speaking to parents of mixed children during my fieldwork for this book, I have come to see that parents of mixed children *do* experience mixedness—although in a very different manner than their children. This study thus attempts to better understand mixedness from the parents' perspective, as they experience mixedness, in search of "social legitimacy" (Ali 2003), perhaps not for

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themselves, but for their family, under the often disapproving gaze of those around them who "cannot accommodate perceptions of mixture" (Olumide 2002, p. 65).

This book is about families who are redefining the boundaries of race and difference. Historically, mixedness has been the result of people on the move (Spickard 1989, p. 4); invading, conquering, trading and more recently, studying and travelling. While once holding a strong negative impression, mixedness is now generally viewed positively, as a sign of tolerance and globalisation. Nonetheless, it still fails to occupy a legitimate social space and has instead been institutionalised as a "third race" (Olumide 2002, p. 70). When this "third race" is referred to, it is usually in regard to (1) the increase of "mixed race couples" still often seen as "unnatural" or "taboo" or (2) call attention to achievements by mixed individuals, particularly in sports and entertainment. Yet mixedness is more than a word to describe the racial/ethnic makeup of couples or individuals; it is a way of life, a way of *doing family*. This research project was guided by questions such as: How do mixed families "do family" (Morgan 1996) and is mixedness a major feature in their everyday lives? How do parents choose which aspects of their respective cultures, rituals, languages, food, and preferences to pass on to their children and how do they distribute such responsibilities between themselves? What kind of aspirations do parents have regarding the transmission of their cultures to their children? How are differences negotiated in their everyday life, and to what extent do external forces (e.g. social networks) influence the mixed families. Such questions reinforce the need to better understand parenting in mixed families, particularly because child-rearing remains an important way that parents transmit culture to their children, and if all goes well, "a kind of hybridisation of child raising norms [occurs], with elements from both cultures incorporated relatively harmoniously; however, if this compromise cannot be reached, it may cause strife within the marriage and lead to, not only … frustration between the couple, but to difficult behaviour among the children" (Yamamoto 2010, pp. 17, 19). Studies surrounding mixedness, particularly ones that focus on the mixed family and give voice to both parents' perspectives surrounding the socialisation of their children and the intergenerational transmission of culture are still quite isolated. As such, this study, which

draws an intimate portrait of Japanese/British families, will hopefully contribute to our understanding of mixed families, where family and mixedness intersect.

Mixedness Scholarship

"First Wave"

While public discourse surrounding miscegenation began around the eighteenth and the nineteenth centuries (Luke and Luke 1999), it was not until the early 1900s that the "first wave" of mixedness scholarship, which tended to emphasise a "pathological" view of mixedness (Caballero 2004), was produced. Two well-known studies conducted during this period were by American sociologists Park (1928, p. 893) who saw mixedness as a relatively permanent "period of crisis" consisting of living in two worlds but being a stranger in both; and Stonequist (1937) who introduced his "Marginal Man" , similarly emphasising that mixed individuals, caught between two worlds, suffer psychological uncertainty. These early studies painted mixedness as pathological, unnatural and different, thus further marginalising those in mixed families (cf. Luke and Luke 1999). Yet in 1951, the United National Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation (UNESCO) released a statement that began to reverse this negative view of mixedness. This statement argued that, contrary to public view, the leading geneticists found no evidence to suggest that racial mixing produced inferior "results"; at its worst, mixedness was "harmless" (Olumide 2002, p. 47).

"Second Wave"

Beginning in the 1990s, a "second wave" framework began to normalise mixedness scholarship (Caballero 2004). This new literature explored mixedness at the individual level, and not only humanised mixedness, but also offered a different perspective, based on empirical evidence that

gave voice and agency to mixed individuals. While much of the "second wave" scholarship came from an American context (e.g. Root 1992; Spickard 1989; Waters 1990; Zach 2002), a rich body of work was also produced in Britain (e.g. Ali 2003; Bhabha 1990; Ifwekwunigwe 1999; Katz 1996; Olumide 2002; Phoenix and Owen 2000; Tikly et al. 2004; Tizard and Phoenix 1993; Wilson 1987). It is particularly important to examine British literature surrounding mixedness because the American construction of mixedness tends to be a more divisive concept when compared to the more open, "personal choice" approach found in Britain (Caballero 2004, p. 34). For example, instead of presenting mixed individuals with a binary choice of "choosing" one of their parents' ethnic backgrounds, as is done in the United States, the British approach to mixedness tends to focus more on what Ali (2003) refers to as "new ethnicities", which are not simply binary choices but options of identities that evolve and often metamorphose into "cultural hybrids" (Bhabha 1990).

In Britain, one of the first and most influential studies in mixedness was Wilson's (1987) research, conducted in London in the late 1980s, a time when the stereotype of the mixed child was still portrayed as the "social misfit, caught between the social worlds of black and white" (Wilson 1987, p. 176). To challenge such stereotypes, Wilson (1987) proposed a distinction between *primary* and *secondary* levels of racial identification, with the primary level being seen as the more "public" identity, and the secondary level the more "private" identity. Wilson concluded that, while mixed individuals may not be accepted as they self-identity, many nonetheless maintain a positive mixed race identity, "content to be both black and white without perceiving a contradiction between the two" (Wilson 1987, p. 176). Similarly, Tizard and Phoenix (1993, p. 161) found in their study of young mixed people in London that while the "Marginal Man" stereotype was still being perpetuated, 60% of their sample of mixed individuals claimed a positive racial identity, and many actually claimed pride in their mixed heritage, emphasising the advantages over the disadvantages. However, it should be noted that the positivity found among the young mixed people was not because of any exemption to common mixedness challenges in public (e.g. racism or pigeonholing), as this was indeed experienced by

the young people; instead, their healthy mixed identity stemmed from their relationship with their parents at home. Both Wilson's (1987) and Tizard and Phoenix's (1993) studies were fundamental to the literature surrounding mixedness because, not only did they begin to normalise mixedness, but they also increased our understanding of the mixedness experience through rich qualitative data gathered from mixed individuals themselves.

Nearly a decade later, Ali's (2003) work with mixed 8-year-old children (mostly Black/White, with some Asian and Chinese/White) in British schools challenged the inadequacy and complexity of "mixed-race" as a single and coherent identity, finding instead that mixed children reject a singular racial identity and instead choose to see their mixed identity as a process of negotiation. Ali (2003, p. 174) also argued for the importance of communication between parents and children, claiming that communication, along with residential location, socioeconomic class and parental connections to their "homeland", were important aspects of forming healthy ethnic identities. Continuing with this idea that the mixedness experience involves both parents and children, Twine (2010) conducted research specifically on White mothers in mixed families, coining the term "racial literacy". She explains that "racial literacy" is how parents (both White and non-White) prepare their mixed children to recognise, name, challenge and manage everyday racism, which is often common in the mixedness experience. Twine's (2010) research, among others (e.g. Song 2003; Tyler 2005), also began to challenge the notion of an unbalanced division of labour in "culture work" so to speak, with the transmission of cultural heritage and practices still resting heavily on the shoulders of women, the "culture carriers" (Song 2003). Finally, while studies focusing on mixedness and gender were increasing, McKenzie (2013) published a landmark study that explored the intersection between mixedness, gender and socioeconomic class. In her study, she explored working-class White mothers of mixed children living on a council estate and managing inequality, stigma and negative stereotypes associated with their race, gender, residence, class and mixed family. McKenzie (2013, p. 1344) concluded that, amidst their everyday challenges of being mixed, women and working-class, these mothers were persevering and finding

"local social capital" from within their community, in the form of respect and value from their partners' relatives and their own status as mothers. McKenzie's (2013) study contributed greatly to existing scholarship, widening our view of mixedness to include not only race and gender, but also socioeconomic class.

Mixedness Scholarship: Continuing to Develop

These most recent studies surrounding mixedness are perhaps signalling the emergence of the "third wave" of mixedness scholarship which Caballero (2004, p. 100) describes as approaching mixedness through a framework that takes into account both a personal and a socio-historical perspective, allowing research to move beyond a personal understanding of mixedness to locating its "place and influence within wider racial formation processes". In the last decade, studies that could be considered contributions to this "third wave" of scholarship have been on the rise (e.g. Ali 2003; Bauer 2010; Caballero et al. 2008a; Olumide 2002), although many are simultaneously considered part of the "second wave". One such study is Bauer's (2010) work, which explored mixed families, kinkeeping, migration and race/ethnicity. More specifically, Bauer focused on personal stories of mixed families, standing firm amidst racism and discrimination, and creolising London through the generations by the "rejection, borrowing and mixing of cultural elements from both Britain and the Caribbean", and ultimately, through struggle and resistance, forming their own mixed family culture and "asserting their claim of belonging in London" (Bauer 2010, p. 251).

This natural evolution of mixedness literature seems to be leading researchers to, as the "third wave" scholarship suggests, go beyond a personal understanding of mixedness and locate it within a wider racial formation process. Although mixedness, the "ideological enemy of pure race" (Olumide 2002, p. 2), does maintain a malleable and somewhat uncertain place in the socially constructed racial hierarchy; in everyday life, it remains lacking of "social legitimacy" (Ali 2003). As a result, mixedness seems to be finding a "third space" (Bhabha 1990,

p. 215) where "something different, something new and unrecognisable, a new area of negotiation of meaning and representation". Such spaces are found in various places, including the local community (cf. Bauer 2010; McKenzie 2013) and within mixed individuals themselves, as Ali (2003) found mixed children locating their mixedness as a process of negotiation, a process that often occurs in the family home, where parents not only offer their children a sense of belonging, but also prepare them for a society that acknowledges yet resists mixedness in the wider racial formation process because mixedness remains a "loophole" (Olumide 2002) in the socially constructed idea of "race".

Finally, while mixed-race has become a societal phenomenon, not only increasing academic research surrounding this topic, but also stirring up "societal interest, hostility and curiosity, especially given the historical and current obsession with 'mixing' and the offspring of such 'mixed' unions…" (Song 2009, p. 337), the majority of studies in both Britain and abroad generally remain focused on Black/White mixedness. While part of the reason for this is because of the dominance of Black/White mixed families and the persistent "threatening" stereotype of Black/White mixing, it is also, as Britton (2013, p. 1311) states, a reflection of the historical, binary division of Black and White. However, this study, which explores Japanese/British families, contributes to mixedness scholarship by addressing, among other things, the intersection of family, nationality, migration, gender and race (beyond Black/White).

Background and Context

Japanese in Britain

Japan has seen a significant increase in the number of Japanese nationals living abroad in the past decade. According to the Japanese Ministry of Foreign Affairs (2015), while there were only 586,972 Japanese nationals residing abroad in 1989; in 2013 the number had risen to more than

1 million (1,317,078). While Japanese were found in all six continents, the largest population of Japanese were found in North and Central America, with a significant number also in Europe, particularly Britain. Further, the Embassy of Japan in the UK (2010) reported that, while the majority of Japanese nationals (59,437) reside in England, there are 1225 Japanese nationals residing in Scotland. Finally, according to the Consulate-General of Japan in Edinburgh [personal communication] (the office which covers Scotland and the North East of England), 17 Japanese nationals reported marriages in 2010, compared to 262 in the rest of Britain. The majority of Japanese nationals (permanent residents) in Britain were found in the education sector, as students, researchers and professors, with women far outweighing men (Embassy of Japan in the UK 2010).

Japanese Women

While the higher number of Japanese women living abroad may be due to educational opportunities, it may also be due, in part, to international marriages. In their analysis of international unions, the Japanese Ministry of Health, Labour and Welfare (2010, Graph 2) found that, while Japanese men who marry internationally tend to marry women from neighbouring Asian countries (i.e. Philippines, China and Korea), Japanese women tend to marry men from the West, particularly the United States and the United Kingdom. In his study of intermarriages between Japanese and White Americans post World War II, Spickard (1989, p. 128) explored why Japanese women entered into relationships with Western men, finding that often the Japanese women hoped to "escape" their restrained lives in Japan and find more freedom and status as the wife of a White man, proudly carrying her half-White baby "as a badge of her association with an American and her liberation from the traditional role of a Japanese wife". More recently, particularly with the globalisation of educational institutions and workplaces, Japanese women who have lived in the West are finding themselves "unsuited to the expectations of Japanese men" and with their newly acquired education, having become a "deviance from normative Japanese femininity" (Nemoto 2008, p. 231).

Consequently, an increasing number of Japanese women are "escaping" and seeking out Western men who represent modernity, advancement, gender equality and romanticism, as opposed to Japanese men who are equated with conservativeness, sexism and backwardness (Jones and Shen 2008; Kelsky 2001), thus resulting in the formation of mixed unions.

Mixed Unions

In both Britain and Japan, the number of mixed unions or what Luken and colleagues (2015, p. 152) have referred to as the "internationalisation of intimacy" is increasing. In Britain, spousal migrants are currently the largest migrant group in the country (Charsley et al. 2012, p. 861). Further, the Office for National Statistics (2014) reported that in Britain, nearly one in ten couples (9% or 2.3 million) are in interethnic relationships, up from 7% or 1.7 million in 2001. In Japan, there was a rise in marriages between Japanese and foreign nationals from the late 1900s until the early 2000s, with the Japanese Ministry of Health, Labour and Welfare (2015, Tables 1–37) reporting the peak of intermarriages in 2005 (41,481 marriages). Interestingly, the number of intermarriages since 2005 has continued to decrease to nearly half of what it once was, to 21,130 intermarriages in 2014 (approximately 3 in 100 marriages), with non-Japanese spouses coming from a diverse number of countries. Intermarriages in Asia are interesting because, as Constable (2005, pp. 3–4) argues, "they do not represent a global free-for-all in which all combinations … are possible. Rather, they form marriage-scapes that are shaped and limited by existing and emerging cultural, social, historical and political-economic factors", such as the Southeast Asian brides who marry Japanese men in hopes of upward social mobility and the Japanese women who marry Western men to escape conservative and sexist Japanese men (Kelsky 2001). We thus also begin to see hierarchical attitudes among intermarriages, with some couples enjoying more inclusion and acceptance, while others with less human and cultural capital encountering more challenges (Morgan et al. 2016). This class diversity within intermarriages suggests that Merton's (1941) "exchange theory" continues to be challenged, and

although some individuals are still opting for intermarriage as a means for upward social mobility, others are choosing to intermarry because they are "internationally- minded" (Yamamoto 2010), and an international marriage supports their desire to explore difference (Katz 1996, p. 161). Furthermore, while there exist romantic views of intermarriage, such as couples serendipitously meeting and falling in love, with colour being irrelevant (Tizard and Phoenix 1993, p. 132); more than likely, individuals who intermarry, particularly more recently, seem to be more concerned with compatibility, taking into consideration aspects such as socioeconomic backgrounds and behaviours, including views of issues like gender roles, division of labour in the household and the upbringing of children (Feng, et al. 2012, p. 162). Finally, another consideration is that individuals enter into a mixed relationship because it gives them a sense of pride and value, making their lives more "interesting", and giving their children "a birth status 'of not being just white'" (Mckenzie 2013, p. 1353). Yet often partners transition from a place of admiring an outside culture to feeling threatened by it (Wilson 1987, p. 148), particularly when they realise that they will never truly belong to the culture that embraces their partner and to some extent, their children.

Mixed Offspring

British Story

Demographic shifts are being felt in Britain where, post-1960s, as Caballero (2004) observes, Britain has been experiencing a "biracial baby boom". Britain has also been characterised by "super-diversity" because of its large immigrant population which resulted from the process of globalisation (Vertovec 2007). It is interesting to note here that Vertovec does not feature mixedness in his definition of "super-diversity". Nonetheless, as Song (2016, p. 1) suggests, in addition to minority groups from Britain's colonial past and the streams of new migrants, "one of the most notable engines driving [the demographic change] in Britain is the growing numbers of interracial and interethnic unions, and the children borne of those unions". These children,

according to the 2011 Census (Office of National Statistics 2013), now exceed 1 million, with the number nearly doubling just within the last decade. Scotland specifically has also witnessed a significant growth in their mixed population, from 0.25% or 12,764 in 2001 (Scottish Government 2004) to 0.6% or 28,351 in 2009 (Annual Population Survey). While the growing number and recognition of mixedness in Britain may be symbolic of an open, pluralistic and tolerant British society, it also signals the breakdown of the ethnic stratification within the country (Platt 2012, p. 120). This is somewhat similar to what is happening in Japan, where the once homogenous society is diversifying and forcing the nation to rethink the racial "purity" of Japan and the notions of belonging within the nation (Morgan, et al. 2016, p. 5).

Japanese Story

According to the Japanese Ministry of Health, Labour and Welfare (2016), within the two last decades (1995–2015), the number of children born to one Japanese parent and one foreign parent has indeed increased, from 1 in every 58 babies in 1995, to 1 in every 44 babies in 2007. Afterwards, there seems to have been a general decline in births in Japan, but *hafu* babies decreased even more significantly than babies with two Japanese parents, with a total of 19,079 mixed babies born in 2015, which means that 1 in 52 babies in Japan were mixed. Regardless of such shifts in population, the country continues to maintain that they are an ethnically homogenous nation, and the figures support this claim: in 2013, foreign residents accounted for <1% of the total Japanese population. However, the figures are skewed since the Japanese Census does not take race or ethnicity into consideration. As a result, a naturalised citizen or a mixed individual would simply be counted as "Japanese". This is somewhat problematic because it perpetuates the idea that Japan is an ethnically homogenous society, yet in reality, as we see with the increase of international marriages and the mixed individuals, not to mention the growing migrant population, Japan is actually becoming quite diverse and slowly, more tolerant. Consider, for example, that mixed children were once only seen as "social problems", conjuring up

images of impurity and poverty. Today, the image of mixed people has changed dramatically, and *hafus*[1]— especially White ones—are associated with being attractive, cool and multilingual, assumed to hail from cosmopolitan, upper-middle class families. In particular, hafus have enjoyed much success on television, where Japanese people can feel that they are part of a tolerant, globalised society without actually having to deal with cultural, racial/ethnic or linguistic differences. This is what King-O'Riain (2014, p. 277) refers to as "democratic racism", recognising mixedness but maintaining racist beliefs and behaviour. As such, mixed people in Japan continue to face discrimination in their everyday lives, from being bullied at school to never being seen as anything more than a foreigner among their neighbours, friends and work colleagues.

Global Mixedness

In both Britain and Japan, we see a strenuous, ever-evolving history of mixedness. To begin with, we see how mixed people have continually been used as "emblems of multiculturalism" and at the same time, as "suspect because they are considered not pure or 'inauthentic'" (Small and King-O'Riain 2014, p. viii). In other words, mixed individuals, regardless of location, seem to experience the same sense of "othering", with "innocent" questions, all in an attempt to suggest that mixedness (both the mixed individual and their family) belong "elsewhere" (Olumide 2002, p. 132). Scholarship surrounding mixed children, particularly regarding their struggle with self-identity (e.g. Murphy-Shigematsu 1997; Root 1992; Tizard and Phoenix 1993; Wilson 1984) has grown alongside the increasing population of mixed individuals, yet studies focusing on other family members (i.e. mother, father, extended family) tend to be more limited. Such studies however are important, especially when considering that mixed children's identities are strongly influenced by their childhood family home. For instance, Wilson (1987, p. 146) finds that when parents foster a strong cultural awareness as well as encourage a mixed identity in the home, children are better able to create healthy identities. Further, Tizard and Phoenix (1993, pp. 120–121) also find that a mixed child's ability to maintain a

positive, confident identity is directly related to the support and advise offered by parents. Finally, while several researchers (e.g. Ali 2003; Twine 2010) have argued that mothers carry the bulk of responsibility surrounding everyday family life, in order to raise bicultural children, as Olumide (2002, p. 101) suggests, access to both "sides" or "communities" is ideal. In the present study, I thus focus on families where both parents are able to be "cultural blueprints" (Olumide 2002, p. 101) for their children while also creating a sense of belonging in their everyday lives, and in this way, positively influencing the child's self-identity in later life (cf Qian 2004, p. 747).

Terminology

First of all, ***mixed*** is used to describe the families composed of Japanese mothers, British fathers and their children. However, as Small and King-O'Riain (2014, p. vii) state, this term should be read with assumed scare quotes around it, to show its socially bound nature. The reason for choosing to use "mixed" is because it was the most frequently used term among the participant families, as well as by scholars (e.g. Caballero et al. 2008a; Song 2003; Tizard and Phoenix 1993; Wilson 1987). In addition, mixed is how the UK Census describes those who identify with more than one ethnic/racial background. There are however drawbacks to using this term, including Burke's (2009) argument that "mixing" sounds too mechanical. Nevertheless, using "mixed" in a study that attempts to encompass the perspectives of both parents seems ideal, emphasising both parents' dynamic and relational process of actively staying involved with their families (Caballero, et al. 2008a, p. vi), both in transmitting culture, as well as in everyday parenting.

Because this study is specifically on mixed families, the word ***family*** deserves discussion. I am not focusing on family in the sense of biological or blood connections; instead I am focusing more on "relatedness" (Carsten 2004) and how families interact with one another through practices and relationships, as they *do family* (Morgan 1996). Cheal's (2002) definition of how families work is used as a reference point:

> From the moment we are born, we are social beings. Somebody picks us up and holds us, comforts us, cleans us, and feeds us… Despite the many changes which we experience in our lives, family groups are often among the most enduring of our social experiences. The particular family group to which we belong may be small, consisting perhaps of only two people such as mother and child. Or, our family group may be very large, providing us with extensive social ties upon which we draw for many social purposes. Either way, there is a common experience of participation… (p. 152)

This participation that Cheal (2002) refers to is observed in the *everyday*, which Highmore (2002, p. 16) suggests is "both ordinary and extraordinary, self-evident and opaque, known and unknown, obvious and enigmatic". As such, when studying the family, Morgan (1996, pp. 189–190) emphasises the necessity to observe the everyday aspects of family life, even if they appear odd to the observer, and however mundane or regular, because "practises are often little fragments of daily life which are part of the normal taken-for-granted existence of the practitioners". This study of mixed families thus embarks from such aspects of sociology of the family; in addition, it is also influenced by research in migration studies, in particular, the study of transnational families. Bryceson and Vuorela (2002, p. 3) define transnational families as "families that live some or most of the time separated from each other, yet hold together and create something that can be seen as a feeling of collective welfare and unity, namely 'familyhood', even across national borders". How the mixed families balance, not only negotiating difference in their home, but also maintaining ties with their transnational kin, reveals how complex *doing mixed family* can be.

The third and final term that I draw attention to is ***culture***, since the key area in this study is on the negotiation and transmission of culture in mixed families. I begin by offering Marshall's (1994, p. 137) definition, which emphasises that "culture is all that in human society which is socially there than biologically transmitted". This social transmission that is found in humans is unique, particularly when considering how people acquire and are strongly affected by the skills, beliefs and values from others around them (Boyd and Richerson 2005). As such, transmitting a culture becomes a fluid way of sharing aspects of one's

"culture", which can include anything from "Scottish" music to the "Japanese" way of eating noodles. Culture however is a difficult term to define, as Hall (1980, pp. 59–60) states:

> The fact is that no single, unproblematic definition of 'culture' is to be found here. The concept remains a complex one … 'Culture' is not a practise; nor is it simply the descriptive sum of the 'mores and folkways' of societies … [Culture] is threaded through all social practises, and is the sum of their inter-relationships.

In this way, the Japanese/British families may assume that they are negotiating between "Japanese" and "British" practises or cultures, yet equating cultures to countries are much too arbitrary. Miller (1997, p. 36) argues that "national culture" typically contains a considerable element of myth. In other words, "Japanese" or "British" cultures per se are non-existent. Instead, national cultures are characterised by having a community of people who have something in common, what Miller (1997) refers to as a "common public culture":

> It extends to social norms such as honesty in filling in your tax return or queueing as a way of deciding who gets on to the bus first. It may also embrace certain cultural ideals, for instance religious beliefs or a commitment to preserve the purity of the national language. Its range will vary from case to case, but it will leave room for different private cultures within the nation. (p. 27)

This idea of a common public culture is perhaps best representative of the use of "culture" in this study and is in line with Katz's (1996, p. 173) argument, that culture is not a "unified set of sounds, tastes, practices or beliefs"; instead, its nature is negotiated and forged in the midst of everyday life.

The terms *mixed*, *family* and *culture* have been addressed to provide background on how the terms were selected for this study. Emphasising such terms can be controversial and may raise more questions than answers, but as Root (1992, p. 10) suggests, perhaps confusion is a "necessary element in the deconstruction and subsequent reconstruction of our social relationships in a qualitatively different way".

Methodology

Given my interest in mixed families and their everyday family life, a qualitative, ethnographic methodological approach was chosen for this study. The main reason for opting for this approach was because the research questions included sensitive material, and I felt that a more personal approach would allow me more access, as well as active participation and more elaborate answers from participants. In addition, while the traditional power imbalance between myself as the researcher and the participant families was never completely eliminated, by opting for a feminist approach to the researcher–participant relationship, I was able to, as Ali (2003, p. 37) accomplished with her participants, develop a relationship of trust that minimised the chance of deliberately misleading data. Further, by prioritising a feminist approach in my methodology, I was able to put aside my own ideas and knowledge about mixedness and listen instead to the mixed families themselves because, as England (1994, p. 82) advocates, "the knowledge of the person being researched … is greater than that of the researcher".

Sample

Families participating in the study were required to meet the following criteria: (1) self-identify as a mixed family, with one parent being British and one Japanese, (2) have at least one mixed child living at home and (3) be willing to speak openly about their experiences surrounding their family. Because Japanese/British families living in Edinburgh are such a small population and no databases for this specific population exist, interacting with and recruiting families directly was essential to my sampling method. Reasons for choosing one family over another were (1) to encourage a diverse group of families to participate (e.g. families at different life stages) and (2) to identify potential participant's general enthusiasm for the topic, their availability and, as Valentine (1997) stresses, the chemistry between myself and the participant, as this tends to increase participant commitment and stability.

The sample for the present study was 12 families. This number was chosen because it was large enough to allow for diversity, and small enough to make deep engagement feasible. The 12 families included 12 Japanese women and 12 White, British men. Two of the Japanese women came from Tokyo, Japan's capital; two from Osaka, Japan's second largest city and the remainder hailed from smaller Japanese towns. Regarding the men, four were from Edinburgh, five came from smaller towns throughout Scotland and the remaining three were from non-major cities in England. The age distribution of the parents ranged from 31 to 63. This was the first and only marriage thus far for all couples. The families had anywhere from one to four children, with the children's ages ranging from 9 months to 16 years old. Like the majority of families I encountered during my fieldwork, all 12 families had one breadwinner and one stay-at-home parent. For 11 of the families, the wives stayed home, and the husbands worked outside of the home; for one family, the husband identified himself as the househusband, and his wife worked outside the home.

Because I visited the families in their homes, I was able to acquire basic information regarding their type of housing and residential location. In respect to housing, the mixed families generally mirror the dominant population, with younger families residing in stereotypically temporary housing, such as rented flats; and more established families residing in permanent housing, owning their own flats, semi-detached homes or detached homes. This is in line with Caballero and colleagues' (2008a, p. 59) findings, which challenged negative stereotypes about mixed couples and replaced them with more realistic statistics, such as that mixed couples tend to own, rather than rent their own accommodation. Furthermore, during the interviews, the couples informed me of the occupation of the partner who worked outside the home. Using the National Statistics Socio-Economic Classification (2010), the 12 families offer diversity in their analytic classes, with each family's breadwinner ranging from class 1 "Higher Managerial and Professional" occupations (e.g. lawyer, scientist) to class 6 "Semi-Routine" occupations (e.g. bank clerk, nursing assistant). This socioeconomic diversity among the families suggests that, as Welty (2014) also found, mixedness is no longer confined to higher socioeconomic families; now, working-class individuals

also have transnational lives. Yet a family's socioeconomic class does indeed influence how they *do mixed family*, from their choice of extra-curricular activities to visits back to Japan. As such, regarding the families that identify as working-class or as having working-class roots, it seems that, somewhat similar to the White, working-class women in Mckenzie's (2013) study, working-class parents in this study also find value and respectability through their identity of being parents in mixed families because mixedness is often synonymous with being "highbrow", "fashionable" and "progressive". Finally, while intermarriage brings together two individuals from different backgrounds, in regard to socioeconomic class, it seems that, in line with other studies (e.g. Iceland and Nelson 2010), the couples in this study also tended to intermarry with those from similar socioeconomic backgrounds.

Research Sites

Edinburgh, UK

Edinburgh was chosen as this study's research site for a combination of personal, practical and methodological reasons. First of all, regarding personal reasons, Edinburgh was where I first lived (as a parent) in a mixed family, where my interracial family and I first experienced the "mixed race condition" (Olumide 2002) , including the "stares" from strangers and the challenges involved with proving our "social legitimacy" (Ali 2003, p. 8), our right to belong together. At the same time, Edinburgh is where we discovered our own way of doing mixed family. It was actually such personal experiences with mixedness that inspired me to base my study in Edinburgh, to see how others were *doing mixed family* in a predominantly White community. Second of all, regarding practical reasons, Edinburgh was where I resided, thus basing the study in Edinburgh allowed me to conduct an ethnographic study over a longer period of time without having to travel and leave my young son. Finally, studies on diversity continue to be based in major cities across England (e.g. London and Birmingham) primarily because, as Caballero and colleagues (2008b) found, mixed families reside in "multicultural metropolitan" areas, with

the top 50 "hotspot" wards for mixed couples mostly found in Outer London. Yet as the same researchers go on to note, today's mixed families are not restricted to the "multicultural metropolitan"; instead, they are dispersed around prospering wards as well as suburban areas (Smith et al. 2011). The present study is therefore an example of mixed families' growing diversity in residential locations, as I found a strong, vibrant mixed community in Edinburgh. Nonetheless, it should be noted here that, as King-O'Riain (2014, p. 268) suggests, there does not exist "one global mixed-race collective experience". Therefore, it goes without saying that the experiences of the participant families in the present study will differ somewhat from mixed families based in other parts of Britain, and certainly in other parts of the world. However, mixed families do have something that unites them, whether they be in London or Edinburgh or Los Angeles or Tokyo, and this is, among other things, their continued encounter with exoticisation, not only in global marketing and popular culture, but also in their everyday lives (King-O'Riain 2014, p. 271).

Data Collection

The participants' contributions were found to be invaluable, particularly because of the ethnographic approach taken which allowed me to learn from the participants rather than merely study them (Spradley 1979). Specifically, because of the focus on *doing family,* dynamic approaches that demonstrate everyday processes were sought (Gabb 2008), and triangulation, which included home observations of the 12 families, interviews with parents and extended family members, and participant observation at three local playgroups, was utilised. The participant observation in particular yielded much helpful data because, as Hendry (1999, p. ix) explains, there are differences between what people say they do, what they do and what they say they ought to do. By observing and interacting with the parents in the playgroups frequently and informally, I was able to become an "ethnographic snooper" (Ali 2003), overhearing, as well as participating in many informal conversations which allowed me to, not only compare formal answers to real life answers, but to also speak to non-participants and get their take on issues surrounding mixedness.

Research Access

As with most ethnographic studies, gaining access to the population being studied and finding participants can be challenging. At the same time, gaining access is one of the most important aspects of an ethnography because, as feminist ethnographers (e.g. Craven 2010; England 1994; McNamara 2009; Pillow and Mayo 2012; Reinharz 1992) stress, participants are not guinea pigs, they are more like *co-researchers* (McNamara 2009), living the research topic on a daily basis and then guiding researchers through their experiences.

The Road to the 12 Families

It can be very difficult to gain access to a population when the research topic is sensitive and personal in nature, when working with minority populations, and when coordinating with busy families. In particular, asking participants to share their experiences of being in a mixed family can be difficult, with potential participants often looking for "good" social scientists who, as Caballero (2009, p. 27) writes, are not going to pathologise mixed families, but are going to tell their stories realistically and fairly. One way I tried to help potential participants understand my motivation and earn their trust was by identifying as a mother and as mixed myself, with the hope that I could convince the participants that I was with them, not against them in studying mixedness (Ali 2003; Caballero 2009). Moreover, as both the participants and myself became more open with each other, our relationships, as well as the data, were enhanced (Hume and Mulcock 2004). My personal status of growing up in a mixed family and of now choosing to raise my son multiculturally allowed me to find common ground with the women; yet our differences, the fact that I am not a Japanese woman married to a British man, also allowed sufficient distance to encourage the women to explain things instead of using the cop-out answer, "You know how it is".

Playgroup Participant Observation

The first step I took was to become involved with the Japanese playgroups in Edinburgh, which I first came across while searching online for local markets that sold Japanese food. I conducted a pilot-participant observation from October to December 2011 at two Japanese playgroups. From this, I realised that my research was indeed feasible since there were sufficient Japanese/British families in Edinburgh, and because the Japanese women had welcomed me into their groups, both as a researcher and as a participant mother. From March 2012 to December 2013, I officially conducted participant observation at three playgroups. Because it was difficult to take notes while also participating in the playgroups, I chose to be in complete participant observation mode during the playgroups. I jotted down key happenings immediately after the playgroups and then typed up detailed field notes at night. I conducted my participant observation at the playgroups together with my son, to emphasise the ethnographic nature of the study. Yet conducting participant observation with my young son proved challenging, as I had to learn to be both a mother taking my son to the playgroups (wearing my participant hat) and a researcher observing the playgroups (wearing my observer hat) (Pillow and Mayo 2012, p. 195). At the same time, being in complete participant observation mode with my son proved rewarding in the end because it allowed me to stay close to and better identify with the other mothers, thus being able to produce a better representation of their world (Jamieson 2011).

Recruitment

The responses I received from the families that I approached about participating in the study varied from feeling honoured that they were being asked to participate, to being offended that I had dared to ask them to waste their time speaking to me about their private lives. The majority either agreed to participate or declined politely. There were however some misunderstandings. While some incidents caused me to feel both puzzled and frustrated, as Naumann (2011) writes, reflexivity

during research is both an intellectual endeavour as well as an emotional one, so I embraced such incidents and learned that, even if one is fluent in a language, so much is lost in the subtleties of non-verbal communication, which is often influenced by one's cultural background (cf. Nisbett 2003). I eventually recruited half of the families from the playgroups, and the remainder through my immersion into the Japanese/British families' circles and snowball sampling. Snowball sampling was ideal for this study because it allowed me to skip over the challenge of gaining participants' trust, since someone they already trusted was encouraging them to participate. This variation in recruitment efforts created a diverse sample regarding several factors, including number and ages of children.

Observations

Ethnographic research tends to develop out of a desire to better understand the world around us, the "ways of life of actual people from the 'inside', in the contexts of their everyday, lived experiences" (Cook 1997, p. 128). This study relies heavily on observations of the families in their everyday lives, in three different spaces: (1) playgroups, where much socialising occurs for the children as well as the mothers; (2) cultural events, where families publicly celebrate holidays and (3) at home, where families interact with one another in a more intimate, private setting.

Playgroup Observations

I conducted participant observation at three local Japanese playgroups, using this setting as an opportunity to both immerse myself in this community of mixed families and observe the organic, everyday interactions and conversations between the Japanese mothers and their children, between the Japanese mothers, and between the children themselves. My participant observation became an opportunity for me to move between *participating,* deliberately immersing myself into the

"everyday rhythms and routines", developing relationships with people who showed and told me what was "going on"; and *observing,* simply standing aside and watching activities unfold while later recording my thoughts and impressions in my field notes (Cook 1997, p. 128). The playgroups were ideal for my participant observation because they allowed me to interact with mixed families from the "inside", with my identity as a participant mother overshadowing my identity as an outsider, a researcher.

Events Observations

In an ethnographic study, researchers learn about the people they are studying by immersing themselves in their lives (e.g. Hammersley and Atikinson 2007; Hume and Mulcock 2004). The observations at local cultural events were an opportunity for me to further immerse myself in the community, and to observe the local mixed families in the public sphere. These observations allowed me to see how and if families choose to utilise local cultural public events to celebrate cultural holidays, particularly the Japanese ones. The events observations were much less intensive because not many events took place during my fieldwork. Further, during such events, there were generally no long speeches; instead, the events seemed to focus on cultural exchange, encouraging socialising and dialogue between the Japanese and the Scottish communities, and for the mixed families, providing opportunities for the Japanese parent to share her culture with those around her.

Home Observations

Realising that fieldwork is the "purposeful disruption of other people's lives" (England 1994, p. 85), and because I wanted to include the working parent as well, I decided to conduct home observations in the evenings and on weekends, surrounding family meals. The home observations were made using two distinct methods: in-person observations and virtual observations. The in-person observations were a bit awkward

and unnatural at first, but as I made more visits and as the family became more comfortable with me, the observations also become more natural. Regarding the visual observations, the families and I would both log on to Skype,[2] and after a quick face-to-face greeting, I would turn my camera off (so as to create a less intrusive atmosphere) and observe the family having dinner through the webcam. Initially, I gave families the option of virtual observations in order to encourage them to allow me to observe more of their mealtimes, as well as encourage the "fly no the wall" mentality; yet this was not so. Instead, in some ways, it seems that the webcam may have actually further distracted the family, particularly the younger children who wanted to see themselves on camera. While I realise that home observations (both in-person and virtual) are not ideal, they did allow me to familiarise myself with the everyday aspects involved in *doing mixed family,* what Gabb (2008, p. 144) refers to as the "verbal and non-verbal expressions of intimacy". Further, the home observations also gave me a deeper understanding of the subtle, unintentional ways in which culture is transmitted, and of how individuals operate within the context of family (Gabb 2008, p. 146). Finally, from spending time at the families' homes during the observations, I was better able to see how the parents' intentions and aspirations are put into practise in the home, amidst their busy everyday lives. While the families themselves may see these daily, subtle occurrences of cultural transmission as something ordinary and commonplace, it is these very moments that can be most revealing, as they help tell the "everyday social stories" (Murthy 2008, p. 838) of mixedness.

Interviews

While observations are critical to better understanding the families; to gain further insight, I conducted face-to-face, semi-structured, in-depth interviews which allowed for the "exploration of individual experiences and perceptions in great detail" (Curry et al. 2009). Through the interviews, I was able to supplement my observations and give both mothers and fathers, as well as extended family members, the opportunity to discuss mixedness one-on-one with me.

Interviewees

In order to present a more complete picture of the mixed families, I interviewed three members per family: the mother, the father and an extended family member.

Parents: I secured interviews with both parents in all families, resulting in 24 interviews. I conducted separate interviews with the couples because of the sensitive, personal information discussed during the interviews. This method was used successfully in research with mixed couples by Okita (2002) and Jackson (2009), both of whom demonstrate that individual interviews create more relaxed environments where participants feel more comfortable sharing. Another reason why I chose to conduct separate interviews is because many times, even in ethnographic research, "there remains a strong allegiance to traditionally gendered role definitions … a tendency of the father (when present) to dominate the responses in research interviews" (McNamara 2009, p. 171). Even with separate interviews though, I did encounter some challenges when both partners were home and there would be some hesitancy and long, awkward silences when the partner not being interviewed was in hearing distance of the partner being interviewed.

Extended family: One of the biggest challenges I anticipated with this set of interviews was geographic because, while the families in the study live in Edinburgh, the extended family members live anywhere from a few miles to several thousands of miles away. Nonetheless, I was able to speak to 13 extended family members. Because of geographic distances, the extended family members were given three interview options: in person, through video (Skype) or through email. While I preferred face-to-face interviews, in order to gather as many interviews as possible, I remained flexible and realistic, with the opinion that a combination of physical and "digital ethnography" can provide "a larger and more exciting array of methods to tell stories…" (Murthy 2008, p. 839). In the end, six interviews were conducted via Skype, five in person, and two through email.

Interview Locations

To create a relaxed, safe atmosphere for the participants, where possible, I conducted the interviews in their homes, in "familiar territory" (Valentine 1997, p. 117), where participants felt comfortable sharing their experiences while allowing me to "grasp 'reality' in its daily accomplishment" (Silverman 2005). An added benefit to conducting the interviews at the participant's home is that it allowed me to spend more time in their private sphere, observing daily occurrences, including customs such as being asked to take my shoes off when entering the home, as well as offering me a *cuppa* and biscuits. These observations contributed to making "good ethnography" which communicates a social story by focusing on everyday lives (Murthy 2008, p. 838). This is particularly true for a study on the intergenerational transmission of culture because it is usually the "humdrum of everyday lived culture…" (Brah 1996, p. 192) that forms habits which are rarely identified as cultural, but nonetheless, tend to be passed down to the next generation. Finally, while I did encounter challenges while conducting interviews in the homes of the participants, including interruptions by other family members as well as the constant background noise of a busy home, upon reflection, these "challenges" provided me valuable insight into the families' everyday home life.

Interview Structure

All interviews began with, as Valentine (1997, pp. 118–119) suggests, a general descriptive question: "Tell me about yourself". This, in turn, signalled to the interviewees that this was a conversation and that I wanted them to feel relaxed and speak freely. The rest of the interview was semi-structured with open-ended questions, allowing participants to interpret the questions themselves and voice their opinions freely, instead of being restricted to typical survey questions with binary responses of "yes" or "no" and/or filling in the blanks with short answers. As we began to develop rapport, I was able to begin asking more sensitive, difficult questions. Finally, to conclude the interviews,

I ended with an open-ended question: "Is there anything else you'd like to add?" This was especially important, as it signalled to the interviewees that, had we not touched on a certain topic, or had they forgotten to mention something, they were being given a final opportunity to bring it up. In the end, as envisioned, my interviews were laid-back and relaxed, resembling more of a conversation between friends instead of a formal interview between researcher and participant. The interviews ran for approximately 60–120 minutes. Notes were taken during the interviews, and the interviews were also audio-recorded (with consent of the interviewee) to guarantee accuracy during transcribing, not only regarding accuracy in words, but also in capturing other sounds that sometimes hint at the interviewee's hesitancy or humour.

Languages Used in Interviews

The interviews with the British fathers and their extended family were conducted in English; the interviews with the Japanese mothers were conducted predominantly in English (with exceptions for words/phrases that could not be literally translated); and the interviews with the Japanese extended family were conducted in Japanese. I am a native speaker of English and fluent in Japanese; therefore, I conducted all of the interviews myself and later transcribed them verbatim. However, because I am a heritage language learner of Japanese and my knowledge of the culture (e.g. idioms/phrases) is not at the native level, when necessary, I sought assistance from personal contacts that are bicultural and bilingual.

Ethics

Jamieson and colleagues (2011, p. 8) find that ethics surrounding research on the "private sphere" and family issues are particularly crucial because such data can contain details about family "troubles". Thus, I discussed ethics with the 12 families when they agreed to participate in the study and I sought to reassure them about what would happen

during the research, how the interviews and observations would later be used, how everything would remain confidential and later anonymised, and that they were free to withdraw from the project at any time, for whatever reason.

Children

Research involving children tends to be a complicated matter as they constitute a vulnerable population (cf. Hood et al. 1996; Thomas and O'Kane 1998). In the field of sociology, ethics surrounding research involving children is extensive (e.g. Christensen 2004; Punch 2002). Although I did not focus exclusively on children in this study, they do play a significant part, particularly the older ones. However, because my interaction with the children always included their parent(s), and because most of the children were quite young and pre-literate, I did not obtain consent from the children directly. Instead, one parent, on behalf of their family, signed the consent form for participation in this study. I did however have several opportunities to introduce, not only myself, but also, with the permission of the parents, to briefly explain my study to the children directly and help them better understand the situation. In particular, the home observations were valuable as I was often able to interact with the children in their own spaces, where they were relaxed and eager to converse with me. Nonetheless, because I did not formally set out to speak to the children directly, it was somewhat difficult to, as Valentine (1997, p. 146) put it, find a "private niche" to talk to the children, yet at the same time, perhaps because of my insider-status into their experience as mixed children or because they saw their parents interacting with me, the children often initiated conversations with me about various issues, including aspects of mixedness. This is in line with Mauthner (1997) and Thomas and O'Kane's (1998) findings, where they suggest that if space is made for the children to express themselves, children are indeed able to express themselves, their views and their experiences articulately and clearly. Finally, any observations or conversations involving the children remained confidential and were not discussed with anyone, including their parents, and were later anonymised.

Anonymity

All data, including interview transcripts and field notes were identified by a unique number to ensure anonymity and were not made available to anyone except those directly involved in the research project. Further, maintaining anonymity between husbands and wives was particularly difficult, because as Jamieson and colleagues (2011, p. 5) put it, "… family members often have to give explanations to each other about what they are doing and not all research topics make for comfortable accounts". As a result, because I wanted all participants to feel safe sharing their stories and experiences with me, I declined to discuss any interviews (besides their own) with participants, including those of their partners. Finally, given the small sample size as well as the close-knit community, protecting anonymity was a major challenge. As such, every attempt to anonymise was made, with pseudonyms provided for all individuals and locations.

Organisation of the Book

The first chapter is about the everyday lives of the mixed families and explores how the transmission of culture often happens while doing mixed family, through everyday aspects of life such as home décor and children's enrichment activities. The second and third chapters focus on specific aspects of culture (i.e. language and food) and how they are negotiated in the mixed families. The reason for this choice of chapter topics can be traced back to my pilot-participant observation at the playgroups where I had the opportunity to meet and speak to several parents from mixed families about my research project surrounding the negotiation of difference and the transmission of culture. When the playgroup participants first heard the word "culture", they tended to immediately mention language and food, thus two chapters are dedicated to these topics. In the penultimate findings chapter, the role that the mixed family's kin play in supporting the mixed families, and in particular, how they support the parents' desires to raise bicultural, bilingual children, is explored. In the last findings chapter, the migration

journeys of the mixed families, as well as their search for friends in their local community, both individually and as a family, are discussed. Finally, the Conclusions chapter offers some concluding thoughts, as well as reflections from the field and suggestions for further research.

Conclusions

When asked to describe their identity, Hall (2001, p. 29) reports that, similar to most children, mixed children first referenced their *family* and their *home*. "Biracial" was not a term they chose to identify with. This study, conducted in the US, contradicts Wilson (1987) and Tizard and Phoenix's (1993) earlier studies that found mixed young people in Britain, for the most part, positively identifying as "mixed". However, Hall's (2001) study is important to consider because it may be that these mixed children understood an important point, that regardless of how they self-identify, society will most likely not choose to identify them as such. At the same time, it also suggests that parents of mixed children are faced with a great responsibility. Imamura (1990) proposed that migrant mothers are faced with a twofold challenge; this study suggests that this twofold challenge needs revising: today's parents of mixed children are not only charged with socialising their young children, of negotiating between two cultures as they prepare their children for two societies, but they must also teach them "racial literacy" as they negotiate everyday concerns including the children's health and education alongside longer term goals such as raising bicultural, bilingual children with healthy mixed identities, and finally, giving their children a sense of safety and belonging at home. Rodríguez-García and colleagues (2016, p. 540) consider intermarriage a micro-laboratory of intercultural relations that aid in our understanding of intercultural dynamics at a macro-level. By examining the practises and negotiations surrounding mixed families, this study expands the "micro-laboratory" and gives us a better understanding of, not only intercultural relations and dynamics, but also of family, which now, in an increasingly pluralistic, global society, is beginning to encompass mixedness.

Notes

1. A Japanese word originating from the English word "half" (half foreigner and half Japanese). It has remained the most popular term to describe mixed Japanese people from the 1970s until now (Murphy-Shigematsu 2001, pp. 211–212).
2. A video-calling software program that allows individuals to connect via voice and image through the Internet.

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2

Doing Family: Exploring Everyday Lived Culture

Overview

This chapter is about mixed families' everyday lives, "from the 'inside', in the contexts of their … lived experiences" (Cook 1997, p. 128). Families' everyday experiences are important to examine because as Morgan (1996) finds, the reproduction of structural relations (e.g. class, gender and ethnicity) often happens here, while *doing family*. Further, it has been found that within everyday family experiences, parents can play a major role in children's early socialisation (Bisin and Verdier 2000; Grusec 2011; Rinaldi and Howe 2012), shaping and influencing their future values and beliefs (Min et al. 2012), teaching them how to live in and contribute to society (Burt 1995, p. 15), as well as how to represent and position themselves within the social constructs of race, social class, gender and culture (Luke and Luke 1999, p. 1). The family home thus becomes an important site, not only for kinship to be made (Carsten 2004, p. 37) and for children to find a sense of security and belonging; but also for families to learn to negotiate different aspects of their cultural heritages, and particularly for mixed families, a place to deal with society's reactions to difference (Caballero et al. 2008,

M. Nakamura Lopez, *Mixed Family Life in the UK*, Palgrave Macmillan Studies in Family and Intimate Life, DOI 10.1007/978-3-319-57756-2_2

p. 53). Exploring such ordinary, everyday lived experiences in the family home may seem insignificant, but as Morgan (1996) emphasises, it is in the everyday that we can best observe how individuals *do family,* and in this case, specifically how the Japanese/British families *do mixed family.* In this chapter, we will explore, not only how the mixed families do family, but also how they negotiate mixedness and the transmission of culture in their everyday lives, with specific sections in the chapter devoted to home life, religion, leisure and rituals.

The Home

Family homes are typically considered the "structural properties of dwellings [that] provide the affordance for the complex set of activities related to 'homemaking'" (Giorgi and Fasulo 2013, p. 129). Yet as Ali (2003, p. 126) suggests, the concept of home is also closely intertwined with the concept of family since families are created by and create their homes, which are social, spatial and spiritual, "constructed through family practices, stories and imaginings". For mixed individuals, the concept of home can also become an important part of identity formation. In this section, we explore whether or not the Japanese/British families purposefully create Japanese-centred home interiors as a form of "racial literacy" (Twine 2010) or whether personal preferences are more influential when deciding how to decorate their homes. Further, because the domestic sphere has traditionally been the "woman's space", we will examine whether "reproductive labour"[1] extends to culture work, responsibilities associated with the transmission of culture. Finally, we will explore the spaces of different members of the family and see how they are creating a sense of home and belonging amidst mixedness.

Home Décor

While research surrounding migration and homemaking (e.g. Datta 2009; Giorgi and Fasulo 2013) have tended to emphasise migrants'

need or desire to make their new homes a haven of sorts or to serve as a reminder of "home", it seems that, in the present study, the Japanese women do not always share this sentiment. Instead, interviews with the couples regarding the domestic sphere, instead of focusing on "culture clashes", tend to hint more at traditional gender stereotypes which emphasise an unequal division of labour, with women generally assuming sole responsibility for the home décor, accepting it as part of being the "housewife".

When I first visited the McGregor home, which houses the couple and their young son, I was immediately impressed with the display of beautiful Japanese antiques, from the furniture all the way to the dishes. Not only was it aesthetically pleasing, it was also orderly and clean. As I interviewed David McGregor in their sitting room and asked him about the interior of his home, he looked around with a sense of pride and credited his wife of nearly 20 years:

> I think, you know — it's very much Risa's! I mean, I'm a very tidy person, very orderly, but … I think she just makes the house look so nice … Aesthetics. Wherever we've lived, she's always made the home look really nice, and there is probably a bit of a conscious blend of — well, I'm not sure if it's conscious or not, but obviously she likes Japanese things … We've got some nice antique Japanese chests and things in the other rooms as well. So yeah, I think it just reflects her, her personality really. Very little input from me, I'm afraid! … I don't really — I don't really do too much there!

Risa thus assumes the role of making her family's home "look so nice" while incorporating her personal preferences into the home décor, preferences which coincide with her Japanese heritage. In her interview, Risa put it this way: "*I love Japanese antiques, Oriental antiques, I was collecting and then, um, so I love everything handmade …am searching for some old Japanese furniture or, you know, pictures or something like that*." In this case, perhaps it is indeed Risa's migrant background that influences her decorating the house with remnants from Japan and creating a space to remind her of Japan; at the same time, in both a material and a metaphorical sense, perhaps she is also attempting to make belonging,

negotiating and adapting to her new home bearable (Datta 2009, p. 4). By Risa choosing to decorate her home in a stereotypical Japanese fashion, we observe a straightforward representation of "national culture": Risa is Japanese, she likes Japanese antiques, and thus she transmits Japanese "culture" to her family via their home décor. Nonetheless, "national culture" is not always as simplistic as it appears; for instance, although Risa's antiques may be considered "Japanese", each piece more than likely has had other cultural influences as well. Further, in this case, we see the role of class in the mixed family homes, as Japanese antiques tend to be costly, which suggests that perhaps creating a stereotypical "Japanese" home is not something all of the families can afford.

Contributions from Men

While there is a tendency for the Japanese women to be more involved in the everyday homemaking responsibilities, several of the British men were found actively participating in creating visual "landscape representations" (cf. Tolia-Kelly 2004) of Japan inside their homes. The reasons for this were often not so much to transmit the Japanese culture to their children, but to make their migrants wives feel at home and/or because Japanese home décor was a personal preference.

Junko and Adam Mcleod, whose relationship first began as a long-distance relationship, have now been married for 2 years and have owned and resided in their flat for a little over a year, together with their baby son. Here, Junko McLeod describes her home:

> I think yeah, people can feel a bit of Japanese taste here as well. I'm not that bothered about bringing in Japanese things, but Adam likes it so. Like this chair in kind of Japanese-ish pattern [points to flower pattern on couch] … it's a bit more like Adam, who insists having them. Yeah, but I don't — I — yeah, I mean, after we decided to put that, I feel quite home. Yeah, so it's really working well.

Junko's comment that she is "not that bothered about bringing in Japanese things" is noteworthy because it emphasises a different

experience from that of Black/White families for whom home interior is seen as an opportunity to teach the mixed children "racial literacy" (Twine 2010) and build up their self-esteem, particularly amidst negative representation of Black people in society. Instead, in the McLeod family, we see Adam pushing for Japanese culture in their home interior, however, stereotypical his choices may be. In earlier studies of intermarriage between Japanese women and White men, the men tended to show "less enthusiasm for things Japanese" (Spickard 1989, p. 137), as such, perhaps we are seeing progress in both cultural tolerance and the division of labour, with men like Adam being more receptive to Japanese culture and more actively involved in homemaking.

Because Adam has never lived in Japan, he may have simply chosen stereotypically Japanese-looking furniture for his family's home, thus further emphasising the complexity involved with "national culture" and equating cultures to countries. Yet when British men actually spend time in Japan, like Cameron Walker who lived in Japan for a decade, they often become better able to contribute "material cultures" (Datta 2009) to their mixed family home. Cameron and Hiroko Walker have been together for about 5 years, and their detached home in the suburb neighbourhood of Abingdon, where they have lived for the last 2 years, is their first home together. Hiroko, who moved to Edinburgh to be with Cameron, shares her thoughts regarding their home:

> Um, yeah, I think it just happened … The house was supposed to be the house of people living in it, it's quite normal that people coming from Japan, they bring more Japanese stuff, so yeah. But I'm quite surprised that — [well], we've got *kakejiku* — that's not belong to me, but my husband. My husband collected those things, so we've got those things and yeah, lots of things from Japan. In a way, that's good for our son as well — he can see and touch Japanese things.

In this case, as Hiroko shares, it was her British husband who brought aspects of Japanese culture into their home. This again challenges our notion of cultures being tied to countries, of each parent contributing to the family home items from their own "cultures". Instead, we see the

complexity of "national culture", with parents transmitting and sharing their own preferences which, in the case of Cameron, a British man, happen to be traditionally Japanese. Additionally, Cameron bringing his collection of Japanese items into the family home was not done primarily to transmit culture to their son; instead, Cameron seems to have brought Japanese "stuff" into their home because he appreciates Japanese culture personally and collected many Japanese items while living in Japan. While this may seem ideal in regard to sharing the responsibility of homemaking and transmitting culture, it can also mean that Hiroko will not have the opportunity to live in a home with more of her preferences, which may not coincide with her Japanese heritage. As such, why the Walker home has a Japanese feel to it may not be based on Hiroko's desire as a migrant to recreate a Japanese home or even the couple's desire to create a Japanese atmosphere for their son; instead, it may be because of Cameron's personal preference for "Japanese stuff". We thus see that mixed families do not tend to view their homes as primarily a place to transmit culture; instead, they view their homes as normal living spaces, backdrops for doing family, as one participant put it: "*I suppose there are some symbols of Japanese culture, and Japan itself, but most of it is just kind of pictures and bits and pieces that you could find in any home…*"

Exploring Children's Spaces

The children's space at home is important to discuss because children tend to identify "home" as more than where they currently live; "home" is linked to identity, nationality and ethnicity (Ali 2003, p. 124). Further, childhood homes are important to explore because they are one of the first places where mixed children begin to feel a "pull of both cultures" (Tizard and Phoenix 1993, p. 28) . As such, the family home, among other things, may serve to prepare mixed children for future negotiations between their cultural heritages.

In this section, we examine two bedrooms of children in two families: the Potters and the Patersons. These two bedrooms were selected because the two bedrooms provide us spaces that belong to three

children of different ages and genders, as well as a single occupant and a shared bedroom. We begin with the Potter children's bedroom. The Potter family live in a small two-bedroom flat, and the master bedroom, which used to be the parents' bedroom, has now been converted into the children's bedroom, where their daughter and son, aged 13 and 7, respectively, play, study and sleep. Following are field notes from one of my visits to their home:

> The Potter Family is made up of Dad, Mum, Daughter, and Son. They live in the Botley neighbourhood, in a second-story flat. I arrive for a home observation, climb one flight of stairs, and knock on their door. Dad greets me and welcomes me inside. Mum and children are behind Dad. I notice everyone is shoe-less and see several shoes lined up neatly, so I ask if I should take my shoes off, and Mum says, "Yes, if you don't mind." The flat has wooden floors, somewhat reminiscent of Japanese homes, yet that seems to be the extent of the home's Japanese-ness. The family lead me to the living room/dining room, and offer me a seat on the sofa… On the wall are several pictures of the family, particularly school photos – not at all stereotypical of Japanese homes, where private family photos are not usually displayed for guests to see. As Mum and Dad finish preparing lunch, the children show me their room… It is very spacious, with two single beds on either corner, a star light in their ceiling, and a bookcase and wardrobe on the side. It has a very comfortable, relaxing feel to it. There are also lots of toys in a corner, including a whole drawer full of cars. There are also some posters on the wall, including one of the GB Olympic Team. There are also some Japanese picture books on the bookshelf, along with several English books for older children…

While the Potter children have visited Japan three times, this has been the only home for both children, a home that most would probably consider a "normal" Western-style home. When the children were younger, their mother Setsuko and her father in Japan made an effort to supply the children with toys and books from Japan. Years later though, the Potter children's room mirrors the dominant, popular society, with English books, posters and videos games, and no sign of a desk or corner dedicated to studying, as is fairly common in Japanese children's rooms. This British "feel" to their bedroom is somewhat expected, as the

dominant society and peers can heavily influence children, particularly adolescents, when their desire to "belong" and "fit in" is high. However, the fact that the Potter children have held on to several Japanese toys and books from their pre-school years is noteworthy, possibly signalling an attempt to maintain some sort of connection or identity to Japan, or perhaps even to their Japanese mother. In other words, perhaps holding on to their pre-school Japanese toys and books may be their way of rejecting a sole British identity which is often seen by mixed children as a "form of betrayal, or at least rejection … [preferring] to think of themselves as 'half and half'" (Tizard and Phoenix 1993, p. 164), and in this way, choosing both of their identities by leaving their Japanese pre-school books on the bookshelf, alongside their British books.

While the Potters have lived and owned their flat for nearly two decades, the Paterson has only been at their rented flat for about 3 years. Further, while the Potter children are much older, the Paterson's little daughter is only a year old, as such, her parents seem to manage her living space at the moment, with the bedroom looking much like a stereotypical baby girl's space:

> The Paterson family live in a large building with about 100 flats in Cowley, a more diverse neighbourhood in Edinburgh. Their building reminds me of an old motel from American films. It's quite a lonely building, and they are on the second floor. Right outside of their building is a park and some shops. Their home is a two-bedroom furnished, rented flat, and it is quite spacious, with a hall that easily fits three buggies. Their living room is made up of the typical couch/TV set-up and is connected to their dining room, where a table that seats up to six people is placed. Their kitchen is directly behind the dining table, and is separated by doors that they keep open, to hang the baby's bouncer on. Their daughter's bedroom has her cot, a double-bed for Mum to lie on during the night feedings, and a large humidifier. The room is decorated in a stereotypically baby girl fashion: with lots of pink and princesses and toys and picture books, all in English, with the exception of one interactive baby book in Japanese. This book, as Dad proudly showed me, is meant to teach the little girl Japanese words.

Because of the Paterson's flat being a fully furnished rental, their choice of furniture and home décor is somewhat limited; however, they have attempted to make their flat a "home". In particular, while most Japanese co-sleep with their young children and share a bedroom with them, the Patersons have chosen not only to sleep apart from their daughter, but also to give her a bedroom of her own, which they have decorated in a stereotypically Western manner, with princesses and English language décor. Further, while several of the families with older children, including the Potters, made an effort to give their younger children (almost exclusively) Japanese toys and books, the Patersons do not seem as concerned with providing their daughter with such items, perhaps because they see this home as temporary or because their idea of culture is not tied to the décor of their daughter's room, nor to her toys and books. In Twine's (2010, p. 127) study of mixed Black and White families, parents viewed black art, material objects, music, toys and symbols as important for their mixed children's self-esteem and identity formation. In the Japanese/British family homes, however, there does not seem to be an emphasis on the minority Japanese culture. This may be due to the fact that Japanese, when compared to the Black population, are not depicted as negatively in mainstream society. Nonetheless, it is important to note that, although Japanese people are considered a minority group in Britain, the Japanese/British parents are not choosing to consciously use their home space for their children's self-esteem and identity formation. Finally, with the rise of globalisation and the consequent increase in international travel and trade, as well as the complexity associated with "national culture", it is difficult to define a "Japanese" or "British" home. Instead, it seems that personal preferences (often influenced by parents' cultural heritage) and practicalities are influencing the décor in mixed family homes.

Religion

The second aspect of everyday family life that will be discussed is religion. Religion is important to discuss, as difference in religion has been found to be the dominant factor for rejection in mixed couples by

their extended family (Rodríguez-García et al. 2016, p. 531). Further, when mixed-race, mixed-faith couples have children, they must learn to negotiate which aspects of their religions, if any, they want to pass on to their children. Literature surrounding religion has found that the transmission of religion in monofaith families tends to be determined by the intensity of the parents' religious practises, their investment in their children's "religious capital", and their desire to transmit religion to their children (cf. Patacchini and Zenou 2011). In interfaith families, the situation is somewhat different, with school being the most significant source of religious influence on children's faith (Arweck and Nesbitt 2010), encouraging them to carry a more pluralistic and tolerant view of religious beliefs and practises. In early literature surrounding mixed families, religion was seldom found to be problematic since most couples rarely held strong religious affiliations (Spickard 1989, p. 141). More recently, while schools are encouraging a pluralistic approach to religion, Caballero and colleagues (2008) have found that ironically, parents in mixed families are encouraging a single approach to religion, although they encourage pluralism in other aspects of life.

Christianity, Buddhism or "No Religion"

According to the 2011 UK Census (Office for National Statistics 2012), Britain's largest religion is Christianity (59.3%), with the second largest religious group being Muslims (4.8%). Further, about a quarter of the British population claim "no religion". In Japan, Buddhism and Shintoism co-exist and continue to be the two largest religions, with 48% of the population being Shintoist and 46% Buddhist (Agency for Cultural Affairs 2017). While the majority of the Japanese women in the present study were brought up Buddhist and Shintoist, most are not presently practicing either, while some have dabbled in Christianity, and most describe themselves as not strongly religious, with none having *kamidana* or *butsudan* in their homes, a widely spread custom in Japan. For the majority of the women, this does not seem to be a major concern, but because Japanese culture tends to hold religion and family close together, the passing on of ancestral worship,

for example, may be a lost opportunity for sharing an important aspect of Japanese culture.

Andrew and Taeko Clark have been married for nearly a decade, and while Andrew recognises the importance of his mother's Christian faith, he himself is not religious. Taeko, on the other hand, grew up in a traditional Japanese home and believes that ancestral worship is particularly important, not only to the Buddhist faith, but also to the Japanese culture. Yet because her children are being raised in Britain, she has accepted that she will probably not be able to pass this aspect of her culture on to her children:

> For my family, religion is — all Japanese are like this, but we treasure our deceased relatives. So for us, our grandparents' graveyards are close to our home in Japan, so throughout the year, we visit them and bring them flowers and water quite often… I would like to sometimes remember our deceased ancestors and, if possible, visit their graveyards, at least that's my opinion. But my husband's family doesn't have a graveyard, they say, so I honestly — if there was a graveyard, I would like to visit his grandparents, his aunt, from whom our daughter received her name, and other relatives, but they are people who don't have graveyards. At first, I was very shocked and disappointed. When they die, that's it. Our children also — that's why while we're here in the UK, I realise I won't be able to pass this on to them, and I think that's a shame.

Traditions that surround ancestors and graveyards are indeed an important aspect of religion in Japan; yet for various reasons, including not being able to find temples or shrines or graveyards nearby, religion is an aspect of Japanese culture that is proving to be difficult to transmit to the mixed children. However, this may be seen as an opportunity for mixed families to receive support from extended family, particularly during visits back to Japan, as Jim Miller, whose family has only lived in the UK, shares:

> Well, Fumi's parents… I'm quite pleased with the way that they do it, so when we go out to Japan, they teach my sons Japanese stuff, and they go out of their way to do it, but it's not over the top. What's the shrine, Fumi, in the house? <Fumi replies: *butsudan*>. So zuzudan [sic] in the house, which they briefly pray at every morning, Fumi's parents, and so

> the boys have started to do the same thing, Fumi's dad has been showing them what to do and how to ring the bell and clapping and what-have-you, and so yeah, they're learning that and it's fun and I don't understand what it means, but they're learning it, and Fumi's parents are teaching them that stuff, and that's cool. So we can't do that here, so easily, um, so I think certainly Fumi's parents have a quite large role to play in the boys' understanding of being raised Japanese.

While Jim appreciates his Japanese in-laws teaching his sons about Buddhism, it is interesting to note that he discourages his own mother from sharing her Christian faith with his sons. Further, while Jim equates Buddhism with Japanese culture, he does not, in any way, equate Britishness with Christianity, even though more of the British population identify as Christian when compared to Japanese identifying as Buddhist. Similarly, it is interesting to note that several of the British men who identified as non-religious refused to marry in a church and are also adamantly against their parents sharing their Christian religion with their children, yet they did not oppose to being married in a Shinto shrine, appreciate their wives teaching their children the Buddhist and Shinto approach to life, and encourage their Japanese in-laws to share their religion with their children. As such, perhaps Buddhism is seen as more complimentary to the mixed families' emerging culture because it has traditionally been practised as a familial and cultural tradition (cf. Reader 1991), as opposed to Christianity in Britain, which resembles individualistic organised religion, separate from family and the British culture.

Negotiating Religions

While Buddhism and Shintoism are able to coexist in Japan, an addition of a third religion (Christianity) in the mixed families seems rather challenging. In the Potter family, Lewis, who remembers saying his bedtime prayers as a young child, admits he's come *"full circle"*, going from atheist to agnostic, back to Christian: *"I would say, in the last 8 years - it's now a stage where, for me personally, my Christian faith is building, it's becoming more important."* His wife Setsuko, on the other hand,

although raised Buddhist, has also begun attending a Christian church with him, yet as she explains, the possibility of mixing Buddhism and Christianity remains unclear:

> In Japan, because my, both parents died, and we more like care for afterlife, you know, to do, so it's quite different way. And when it comes to gods things, we have — for me, it's just, all the religions is the same, for me — whatever you're believing and all the things you're taught is actually the same way in the Buddhist house, all the morals and things, so that's fine, but how can I say? I find it difficult to see like, when, because I pray sometimes, for my father or my mum, you know, that's in Japan we do, after they die. So that case, that's a Buddhism things, I believe, so I always wondered, if I become to the Christian, how, what's going to happen to this?

Setsuko's dilemma is not unique; many other women shared similar thoughts. This is perhaps because, as Caballero and colleagues (2008) found, mothers tend to be more responsible for the transmission of religion(s). Interestingly, in this study, several of the British men admitted to being fascinated with Buddhism both as an indirect result of living in Japan, as well as being attracted to Japanese culture as a result of their interest in Buddhism. Religion thus provides us with examples of the horizontal transmission of culture, as the British men learn more about Buddhism through their wives who attempt to share this aspect of their culture with their partners. For such couples, perhaps there is not so much a "religious clash" so to speak, but rather a convenient acceptance and interest from the British partner. Interestingly, this was not found to be the case once the couple had children. Instead, while some men, like Ryan Ramsey, were once fascinated with Buddhism, this fascination abruptly ended once the children were born, and a single approach to religion (Caballero et al. 2008) was chosen. Ryan shares his families' experience with religion:

> I don't hear — Miyuki doesn't mention anything about Japanese religion, oddly enough. It's me that answers the questions about religion, it's from a Christian point of view … there was no uh, no resistance to

> raise the children Christian! <laughs> It wasn't a question that we sort of asked each other, "What are we going to do about this?" It was not a question we asked. I'm still not sure — because it's not a subject she talks about, there's no way I can engage…

Several couples in the study also admitted that they did not know where their partners stand regarding religion. This suggests that perhaps having different religious backgrounds is not a major obstacle for the Japanese/British families, as religion in general does not seem to be a significant part of their family lives. This in turn suggests that religion may no longer be an aspect of culture that is passed on at home; instead, as Arweck and Nesbitt (2011) find, children may learn more about religion at school, among their peers. Setsuko Potter, whose daughter is 13 years old, agrees:

> I think for the children, probably more Christian is the more, the knowledge-wise, from schools and nativities and everything, yes. Yeah, so I find it difficult, hard to explain, but can't pick one. Yeah, I did definitely teach my daughter to pray [for ancestors], but I don't know if she's taking that as Buddhism or just, pray for at the graveyard, those, you know, something like that. So, I don't know — I can't explain. I don't know if that's religion or not, difficult. But my daughter, one of the best friends, not from school, but from local, best friend — their family is very Christian, and so she's been to church quite often with the friend, and involved lots of things, so she knows lots of Bible things, so probably in her knowledge is definitely Christian is more…

While Setsuko, like other parents in the study, attempts to pass on her religious heritage to her children, it seems the children are influenced more by their peers and religious education at school. In this way, perhaps the negotiation that takes place in the mixed families' homes regarding religion is not so much Buddhism/Shintoism versus Christianity, but how the family deal with religion in general, with most parents eventually concluding that the children should choose for themselves. This relaxed manner in which most parents address religion is perhaps because religion is more easily separated from culture and is not an aspect of doing mixed family where children feel a strong "pull

of both cultures" (Tizard and Phoenix 1993, p. 28). Instead, while children are indeed influenced by their parents' religions (or lack thereof), as well as religious education at school and their peers; in the end, they must make up their own mind surrounding religion, perhaps not so much based on cultural transmission, but more on personal choice.

Leisure

In this section, we discuss leisure by exploring *television*, which Castells (1996, pp. 333–334) describes as an almost constant background presence in our lives, and the children's *enrichment activities*, considered an important aspect of everyday family life. The way the mixed families, particularly the children, choose to spend their leisure time is revealing because these activities occupy much of a child's time outside school and are not mandated, but chosen.

Television

The first aspect of leisure that we consider is television viewing in the home. While other forms of media, including music and films, were mentioned by some participants, they were somewhat brief and general. An exception to this was Hayao Miyazaki's films (e.g. *My Neighbor Totoro*) which tend to focus on traditional Japan in the 1940s and 1950s (Mayumi et al. 2005). Watching these films seems to hold significance in mixed families, signalling to outsiders that although mixed, the children are indeed Japanese. In this section, however, the focus is on television because, not only was it most frequently mentioned, but it was also often in the background during interviews and home observations.

To begin, we explore the parents' television preferences. Most of the couples admit that they mostly watch British television programmes, although whether or not the Japanese women enjoy this remains doubtful. Miyuki Ramsey describes watching British programmes, quietly chuckling to herself and lowering her head, "*I just watch together and [shout out] 'Ooh…!*" Chiyoki Hamilton also admits "… *for me—it's*

quite difficult to understand English jokes, jokes in English, and… yeah, so we can't share the fun, the delight." While the Japanese women are attempting to watch British television with their partners, even when they may not fully understand the programmes, most of the British men have no interest in watching Japanese television (accessed through the Internet), describing it as "nonsense" and "weird". Here, Ewan Ross explains why he does not watch Japanese television with his wife:

> My wife watches some Japanese TV online. I think it's nonsense, so I don't watch any of it. These like — panel shows where there's like ten comedians or celebrities and they show little snippets of stories, and then they sit and comment on them, and it just seems to go on forever. I try to avoid all that.

Ewan is not alone in his opinion of Japanese language television, with the majority of the other British men either turned off or disinterested in Japanese television. These findings differ from Sharaievska and colleagues' (2013, p. 355) study, which found husbands in intercultural marriages watching television programmes in their wives' native languages (which they did not understand) simply to share leisure time with them and learn about their culture and language. However, in the present study, this was not the case, with couples admitting that they (1) do not spend much time watching television, and (2) when they do, they tend to watch television separately. One exception to this seems to be when television is used as white noise in the background, while the family is relaxing at home and/or sharing a meal. However, while there were several mentions of Japanese television programming, during interviews and home observations, the only television heard in the background was English (e.g. the news, *In the Night Garden*, and *EastEnders*).

Programming Choices for Older Children

Lull (1990, p. 93) found that fathers controlled the majority of the family's selection of television programming, and that mothers least influenced television programming. In the Japanese/British families,

while the fathers do seem to have more control of the selection of programming when watching television as a family, the mothers seem to influence the programming choices of the children. Miyuki and Ryan Ramsey, together with their two sons (aged 16 and 8) have two televisions in their home: one in the living room/dining room and one in the boys' bedroom, which seems to be dedicated to video games. While the family enjoy watching television together while sharing meals, in the evenings after dinner, Miyuki, as she shares here, often finds herself watching Japanese *dramas* with her two sons:

> … And then I was watching sometimes the Japanese drama by the Internet [plugged into the television], and then one of my children came around and then, "What you're watching?" And "That one and that one." "Oh, that's very interesting," especially for the older one, some of the programmes was, "Mum! Do not watch that by yourself," and "Is that coming up yet?" And we just watching together and then he just sometimes asking, "Why they do like that?" and "Because in Japan like that." And he quite understands the Japanese culture and the eh, and the systems and things, you know. And the younger one was also eh, he quite likes to watch the Japanese dramas as well, and I was showing some of the old dramas and also like uh, more comedy things, and when he was eh, start to learn swimming … he wasn't good at all, and he scared of water and he didn't like to put the face under the water, but and then I showed some of the boys are doing synchronised swimming, that's called Water Boys, in the Japanese dramas, like high school boys are doing synchronised swimming, and it's quite fun to watch it, and then I just showed him, and then he was so amazed and then, "I want to do that!" … "Well then you must work very hard!" And you know … I was just using like Japanese drama to encourage them!

While Miyuki uses Japanese dramas to encourage her children, she is also subtly transmitting the Japanese language and culture as she explains to them aspects of the Japanese culture that they are unfamiliar with. Further, because of the lack of Japanese or Asian representation in British media, the Japanese dramas that Miyuki's children are watching may indirectly be building their self-esteem (Twine 2010) while also teaching them the non-verbal side of Japanese culture (e.g.

facial expressions and hand gestures) (cf. Choi 2012). Nonetheless, while mixed children may watch Japanese dramas with their mothers, ultimately, their main television consumption is British programmes, as they are better able to understand and relate to such programmes, particularly with their peers.

Programming Choices for Younger Viewers

Regarding families with younger children, their choice of television seems to be CBBC.[2] This is interesting because, as previously stated, the families with older children constantly emphasise the effort they made to introduce their young children to Japanese children's programmes by purchasing DVDs when they were in Japan and then relying on extended family to record and send additional, newer television programmes. Nevertheless, now the families with younger children, even with the convenience of being able to watch Japanese television programmes online, do not seem eager to have their children watch Japanese television programmes. While this may suggest that the younger Japanese mothers are more integrated into British society and thus encourage their children to watch more English television programmes, it may also suggest that the importance of teaching their children language and culture through Japanese television programmes has diminished and has perhaps been replaced by others things, including participation in the Japanese playgroups.

Regardless, television, whether in English or in Japanese, continues to hold a dominant presence in the homes of the mixed families, whether the children are throwing a tantrum because they want to continue watching CBBC, or casually glancing over at *EastEnders* as the television plays in the background of a family meal, or watching Japanese dramas with their mothers before bedtime. The transmission of culture through television thus exists, although it tends to be unintentional, as parents are not choosing television programmes specifically to transmit their respective cultures to the mixed children. Instead, they are simply watching television programmes that they enjoy, which often happen to

coincide with their cultural background and native language, and sharing this with their children.

Enrichment Activities

When referring to enrichment activities, we use Holloway and Pimlott-Wilson's (2014) description:

> diverse sports opportunities (from archery, to football, martial arts, swimming, etc.), uniformed organisations (e.g., Brownies/Cubs), and cultural activities (including chess, dance, drama, languages, and music classes) [offering] children the opportunity to learn new skills beyond the standard education curriculum. (pp. 614–615)

Enrichment activities have been found to positively affect children by providing a space for their development, improving their educational outcomes and encouraging new friendships (Schaefer et al. 2011, p. 1151). An important factor affecting participation in enrichment activities is the socioeconomic status of the family, with Vincent and Ball (2007) suggesting that enrichment activities may be part of the middle-class parents' strategy for class reproduction. In a similar way, we explore whether parents of mixed children strategically choose enrichment activities that encourage their respective national culture's reproduction. Finally, while there seems to be a growing urgency, particularly in middle-class families, to enrol children under 5 in enrichment activities (Vincent and Ball 2007), in the present study, none of the parents mentioned such activities for their younger children. We therefore focus on families with older children.

To begin with, we explore the enrichment activities of the Potter and Ramsey children (four in total), all of whom are avid Scottish harp players, a traditional Celtic instrument. The Potters and the Ramseys are family friends, and as a result, it was Miyuki Ramsey who recommended that Setsuko Potter enrol her daughter in the local Gaelic school where, as Miyuki recalls, not only did they teach her son Gaelic, but they also offered her much-needed encouragement in continuing

to teach her son Japanese. Now, more than 10 years later, all four of the Potter and Ramsey children are enrolled in Gaelic school. Further, while both of the younger children (7 and 8 years of age) are just beginning to play the harp, the two older children (16 and 13 years of age) have experienced much success with their harp playing, both locally and nationally. The reasons why the four children began their journey with the Celtic harp are because (1) their mothers are fans and students of Scottish music (fiddle and harp) and (2) the children were exposed to the instrument at Gaelic school. In a somewhat similar way to our discussion on British men being more interested in Buddhism than the Japanese women, we again encounter this complexity of "national culture", with the Japanese women being more interested in Scottish music than their Scottish husbands. We therefore find the Japanese mother, instead of transmitting her national culture, sharing her personal interests with her children, as Setsuko Potter explains:

> I love Scottish culture, like music and things! I love Scottish music. Myself and — before, or when I had my daughter, or just before I had my daughter, after I lost my job, I went to start learning fiddle lessons. So that's all the Scottish music, and actually, my daughter was with me at that time, and maybe that's why she start learning — she wanted to learn the violin lessons, so that she took as well…

While Setsuko beams when she speaks of her daughter's success in playing the Celtic harp, she takes little credit for this, explaining that before her first competition, Setsuko did not even know how well her daughter played the harp, as she practised only at school. In this way, the Potter daughter has quite independently chosen to pursue harp playing. On the other hand, for the Ramsey boys, it seems that their mother Miyuki played a stronger role in pushing the Scottish harp on her sons or perhaps as she herself describes, she simply has a more "Japanese" parenting style, with *"a lot of scolding"*. Here, Miyuki shares both her own as well as her older son's journey with the harp:

> I was [initially] interested to do some Scottish step-dance, and I did for around 10 years, but there is some break because of I had two

> boys <laughs> … I'm learning harp, classic harp, with my elder son because he had uh, a class offered at primary school, and then he was uh, at first he didn't do so much because we didn't have a [harp] in the house, and we just borrowed the [harp] from the school, and then in uh, we decide to buy a [harp] for him and then after that, I'm from Japan, and especially my hometown, and quite mean! And then, "We bought the instrument, you must use it!" <laughs> And then so, I sent him to the Classical Harp Society, and every month they have some practise to do and like big ensemble, orchestra things and then while I was sitting watching he was playing and I thought, it's very fun to do it … eventually, the next springtime, there is another Harp Festival, every time in the spring time, and then lots of suppliers coming, and then I thought I should buy a smaller harp, to carry for myself! <laughs> And also I can join to the [Harp] Society myself, with my son, and then I got the little one for myself, and now I'm now in the Society, like every month, my son and me go to play the [harp] together at Society.

This is indeed a very interesting situation because, not only is the Japanese mother encouraging her son to play the Scottish harp, but she herself has joined the Harp Society, thus suggesting that perhaps the vertical transmission of culture can also occur from child to parent.

David and Risa McGregor have one child, a boy with a very energetic personality. When it comes to enrichment activities, unlike the Potters or Ramseys, neither Risa nor David has pushed stereotypical "Scottish" activities on their son. On the contrary, the McGregors, who have lived in Japan for half of their son's life, are now encouraging him to explore more traditionally Japanese activities, in particular, martial arts. However, because such activities are now routinely offered in cities across Britain, whether or not martial arts can be considered "Japanese" culture is questionable. Nonetheless, during one of my home observations in the McGregor home, it was interesting to observe the family negotiating the son's enrichment activities; yet far from emphasising transmitting culture, it seems that the McGregors, particularly Risa, is stereotypically being what Miyuki Ramsey's defines as the Japanese

mothering style: "*very strict*" and making sure their children practice whatever activity they choose:

> After dinner, Mum says that son's got to practise his guitar more. He's been playing for about six months now, and likes it. Dad says young McGregor wants to be a rock guitar player. Son looks at him and says, there's no way I'm going to be a professional musician. But he plays for fun. Mum says he doesn't practise enough… they then begin talking about his *kendo* classes. His *kendo* teacher was at his school today, doing a judo demonstration. Mum says there are two *kendo* teachers, one is very traditional and does *seiza* and *mokusou*. The other one doesn't, so Mum prefers the traditional one. Dad says he practises every Friday evening, and Mum says that in Japan, they practise a lot more, some kids practise every day. Son says there are about ten kids, and everyone meets together at first, very egalitarian, adds Dad. Son's friends also used to practise *kendo*, but they now do *aikido*. Son wonders what will happen if he continues *kendo*… Dad says he's probably ready to be tested, but son seems a bit hesitant. The family wonders how that will work, they believe someone will come and examine him fighting, and that they'll then have to go to Glasgow…

As such, while neither Risa nor David seems to be transmitting their respective cultures via the choice of enrichment activity for their son, they do seem to be attempting to pass on to him a strong work ethic. A strong work ethic is a universal ideal, but because Risa is more persistent, in his memory, the son may categorise it as a "Japanese" trait. Further, yet again, this idea of a "national culture" is complicated: instead of Risa pushing *kendo*, I observed David taking an interest in and encouraging and pushing his son to continue *kendo*, perhaps, in some ways, due to a personal interest in traditional Japanese martial arts. Finally, while the Potter and Ramsey children seem to be in agreement with their parent(s) regarding choice of enrichment activity, in the McGregor home, it seems that there is more negotiation between the parents and the son, with the son agreeing to practise *kendo*, but also wanting to play the guitar "for fun". In this way, although we see a strong influence of parents in the choice of enrichment activities, ultimately, the children seem to decide what activities to continue. Further, while parents can use enrichment activities as a vehicle

for the transmission of culture, most of the time, they are simply attempting to share their interests with their children, and sometimes even joining them, emphasising that the transmission of culture need not be tied to a country, but is instead about sharing personal interests.

Rituals

In this final section, the focus shifts somewhat to more infrequent activities or *rituals*. Rosenthal and Marshall (1988, p. 671) define a *ritual* as "a pattern of prescribed formal behaviour, pertaining to some specific event, occasion or situation, which tends to be repeated over again". Rituals are an important aspect of family life because, particularly when children are born, couples must negotiate (and often re-negotiate) with one another "what family practise or set of practises to adopt, which traditions [are] better or nicer" (Mason and Muir 2013, p. 616). This is especially true for mixed families, where they are not only negotiating between their family practices, but also between different cultures.

Traditional celebrations within families can play an important role in how families stay connected and do family, yet it may also be the other way around, with family actually being the "refuge of stability and continuity in a world where change seems otherwise inevitable" (Mason and Muir 2013, p. 617). Moreover, the celebration of holidays as a family can influence the lives of children and their familial identity:

> Families are the most critical site in this process of inclusion and exclusion where loyalties are shaped through habits and rituals. Ceremonies attached to rites of passage such as christenings, weddings or funerals join people together and heighten their awareness of themselves as a group. (Davidoff et al. 1999, p. 91)

Finally, the observance of public holidays and the celebrations of more intimate moments can not only positively influence familial identities, but can also allow for the "development of unique family cultures and traditions" (Ali 2003, p. 110). However, it seems that the burden surrounding rituals remains largely on the woman, the traditional *kinkeeper*

(Rosenthal 1985) who takes it upon herself to maintain contact with, and then organise and host family gatherings. More recently, researchers have found that, although women are still more likely to take primary responsibility for kinkeeping, both men and women report similar levels of appreciation for such rituals and realise that such responsibilities should not be placed on a single person. This is important to note because, particularly in mixed families, for the children to become familiar with both cultures, having both parents remain actively involved in *kinkeeping* can be helpful.

Holidays

While literature on *kinkeeping* stresses the woman's dominance in this area, in the present study, most of the women claim they are "too lazy" to celebrate holidays from either country. On the other hand, the men seem more enthusiastic about holidays, as we see with Tim Paterson, who very much looks forward to returning to his hometown every Christmas, along with his parents, wife and daughter, and celebrating this special holiday with his extended family. Here, Tim shares his thoughts on negotiating holidays:

> I think, from the Japanese culture, kind of some of the celebrations and things like that are really interesting and they are in a bit of a contrast to British traditions, where, for example like Easter and things like that, it doesn't really mean anything anymore. And people just have a holiday, whereas in Japan, they kind of still respect the traditions and celebrate it with the right spirit, so I think that's something that we want to maintain in our daughter's upbringing, and celebrate as well. And um, British celebrations and things like that, obviously Christmas is one of the most important ones, and I think I was very — more important than birthdays in my childhood, and I think it probably will be in my daughter's as well. We make quite a big deal out of Christmas as a family time, everybody's together and food and drinks and lots of presents and things like that, and I think maybe in Japan it's not such a big deal, I know I used to work at Christmas, so it wasn't a big deal <smirks>, but no, I think combining both of those things — so you celebrate the extra

> holidays from Japan, but you also celebrate the British holidays in combination. It's fine, I think, it's good for my daughter.

Tim, along with other fathers in the study, seems quite optimistic about the idea of celebrating both Japanese and British holidays. This may be because men tend to place the responsibility of preparing for such celebrations in the hands of women, including their wives, mothers and sisters. Nonetheless, the British men, both those who are familiar with Japanese holidays, as well as those who know nothing of the Japanese culture, seem eager to learn about Japanese holidays, as well as become more informed and involved with celebrations from their own culture. While Waters (1990) and Katz (1996) found that parents often begin to identify more closely with their cultural background when they become parents, this present study shows that, in addition to identifying more closely with their own cultural backgrounds, parents, particularly fathers, also want to better know and celebrate the holidays from their partners' homelands. When I first visited Adam and Junko McLeod's home, which happened to be around Children's Day, I was struck by how festive it looked—they had all the traditional decorations up, as well as little Japanese flags pinned to the walls in the living room. Here, Adam shares his thoughts on holidays and on wanting to become more engaged in celebrations, both Japanese and British:

> Probably the Children's Day [Japanese holiday]. We'd celebrate an event like that, to some extent, just by displaying flags and we talked to my wife's parents in the webcam, but uh, nothing big, but we keep an eye out for any events that are coming up in the area, you know, like the supermarket in the neighbourhood and there's a gala coming up in a couple of weeks time, just at a local school there, and there are a lot of activities going on, and we can take our son there and see what's going on and try to engage with the community and go to local events. But national events, like Burns Day or St Andrews Night, I mean, practicality, it's difficult for us to go to an event like that because we'd need a babysitter. But yeah, sometimes we go to things like — but we take our son with us… Oh right, and obviously we celebrate Christmas — I didn't think of that, but yeah, we do celebrate Christmas. Uh, we had our first Christmas sort of a few months ago, and yeah, that was good. We had the

> Christmas tree up and got some presents for our son … Christmas dinner, enjoyed our time, watch a movie, put some music on, but it was just a small Christmas gathering. We didn't have a big family Christmas sort of thing.

Although Adam had never considered Christmas a part of his "culture", by marrying his Japanese wife, he has come to accept and embrace Christmas as a part of his British or "White" identity (Ali 2003, p. 113). Furthermore, it is encouraging to see that Adam is interested in embracing his wife's Japanese cultural celebrations as well as trying to find new celebrations and rituals within their local community. This suggests that fathers find ritual meaningful (cf. Friedman and Weissbrod 2004), and that they are becoming more involved in kinkeeping activities. However, such men may also simply be idealistic, not realising how much work is involved in celebrating holidays. Here, Taeko Clark, who migrated to Britain two years ago, together with her husband and two daughters (ages 8 and 2), shares how difficult it has become for her family to continue celebrating Japanese holidays in Britain:

> Well, when we were in Japan, on New Years Day, we always made traditional Japanese, New Years Day food, and in February, we celebrated a special holiday to mark the end of winter — on the day that the Devil comes, we throw beans at him. In March, we celebrated Girls' Day and brought out the dolls, and then there's Grandmother and Grandfather's Day or the Day for Respecting the Aged, when we would go visit the grandparents. We were celebrating everything, but since coming to Scotland, on Girls' Day, to celebrate, we — we weren't able to bring out big dolls, but we brought little substitute dolls, so we took those out of the boxes and set them out, with flowers surrounding them. And also had *chirashi-zushi*, a special dish that we have in March… Since coming to the UK, we haven't been able to eat this as well, so the kids haven't even been able to enjoy eating this, neither have they been able to celebrate New Years properly. It's become very difficult…

Taeko's husband Andrew, who lived in Japan for nearly a decade feels that, in addition to the challenge of celebrating Japanese holidays in Britain, there also seems to be a larger cultural difference in the general

celebration of holidays. He feels that the Japanese celebrate holidays differently than the more laid-back British, which in turn has demanded negotiation between himself and Taeko, particularly after the family relocated to Britain:

> … whereas [holidays such as Girls Day] would be an annual thing and quite important in Japan, um, I tend to sort of pick up on British traditions and festivals just — not every year, so maybe we have things like Pancake Day, so this year, I did nothing for Pancake Day, but last year, I made some pancakes… much more sort of laid-back … I think Taeko gets a bit upset that I'm not sort of paying attention to the fact that it's Girl's Day or —but I mean, some of the festivals don't sort of translate. You know, if you have something like Marine Day, I remember we used to always try to get to the beach in Japan on Marine Day. Marine Day here … we probably won't end up at the beach! … between a Scottish person and a Japanese person, there's a big inconsistency about New Year because New Year's Day for a Scottish person is a day to be hungover and sick on; whereas for Japanese people, it's a day for family to have a meal. So I haven't been hungover and sick for a long time… But it … caused a bit of friction in Japan, occasionally, because I'd want to go out and get very drunk on Hogmanay, the last day of the year, and then be invited to struggle with eating mochi the next day, so. Yeah, it's a bit difficult…

The Clarks, like other mixed couples, must therefore negotiate both their personal preferences as well as cultural differences surrounding holidays. Yet even when couples are united in their commitment to introduce their children to holidays from both Japan and Britain, challenges remain, as David McGregor, who lived in Japan, first by himself, then as a couple, and then as a family, explains:

> [Regarding Scottish holidays] No, not really. I've never attended a Burns Supper or anything like that … no… when my son was going to the Japanese school on Saturdays, I think they — if he'd continued going there we would have done it more, there was a setsubun festival, so he did that at the school, but apart from that, not really Japanese um, festivals, you know, it's difficult, like how do you do obon or something like that when you're here, you know? <laughs> We did it in Japan all the time, of

> course, but here —it's really just not on the radar screen, you know? Um, Christmas is a big — we had Christmas — this Christmas, last Christmas was our first one back in Scotland, so we had a big Christmas dinner here, um, so my mum, Mum, my sister, my brother, and his partner all came along for that, so we had a big Christmas, a big Christmas dinner here. When my dad was alive, um, we'd go to their house for Christmas, Christmas is a big, you know, big, central um, festival, I suppose, that we would participate in…

It is interesting to note here that, because of his long residence in Japan, David seems quite familiar with Japanese holidays. On the other hand, even though he is Scottish, David has never attended a Burns Supper, a traditional annual dinner celebrated throughout Scotland. The McGregor son, however, was introduced to this holiday at school soon after moving to Edinburgh, and when he asked his mother how their family would be celebrating Burns Night, his mother was somewhat at a loss. Risa recalls: "*I remember Burns Night day, but that was, you know, I've been here about 12 months, we didn't have Burns'Night in London, so I had no idea what was it, what is it? But my Japanese friend told me about haggis, and [stab] haggis and read poem or something…*" Risa managed to prepare a traditional Burns Supper for her family, with the aid of her Japanese friend who instructed her in this traditional Scottish ritual. This is another example of the horizontal transmission of culture, migrant to migrant, with a Japanese woman teaching another Japanese woman about a Scottish tradition. Further, it also shows that yet again, "national culture" is problematic because often individuals are not familiar with their own "culture" and are instead more familiar with a foreign culture, as we see David McGregor seeming more familiar with *Obon* than Burns' Night.

Public Celebrations

During my fieldwork, I attended special events in the Japanese community, such as the annual *Tanabata* Celebration, an astronomically based holiday in Japan, celebrated on the 7th of July (cf. Renshaw 2011). What follows are notes from my journal:

> Today, at the Tanabata Celebration at the Museum, they had an Arts & Crafts corner, so the children could experience the custom of writing their wishes down on colourful pieces of paper and hanging them on trees… Many of the children were dressed up in traditional Japanese dress… I recognised some people from the playgroups and the study and said hello to them. But I also noticed that there were hardly any fathers. Since it was on a Saturday, I had expected to see more dads… but maybe only the Japanese mums and children attend this type of event? Many of the parents, both mothers and fathers that I've talked to so far have emphasised the importance of raising bicultural children, of sharing and introducing both cultures and celebration to their children, but how can they do that if they're not here with their children?

This observation is somewhat in line with Beagan and colleagues' (2008, p. 659) finding that, even on weekends, when men are home, women continue to do the majority of *foodwork*.[3] In a similar way, even on weekends, when the British men could be attending public celebrations of Japanese holidays and supporting the transmission of the minority culture to their children, they are absent from culture work. Raising bicultural children was a self-identified goal for all the parents in the present study; yet, as my field notes show, sometimes the everyday, hands-on "invisible work" (Okita 2002) of transmitting culture is felt more by one parent, usually the migrant parent. Nonetheless, while the children may become familiar with Japanese rituals and traditions through their migrant mother's effort, along with the assistance of the greater Japanese community, because the children reside in Britain, the holidays they see on television and celebrate with their British kin and their peers at school, may soon overshadow the Japanese celebrations.

Conclusions

In this chapter, four areas of the mixed family's everyday culture were explored: home, religion, leisure and rituals. On one hand, the findings indicate that the mixed family are just "normal" families, and "mixedness is just one part of these family's everyday lives" (Caballero 2007,

p. 23); on the other hand, mixedness is a dominant part of the everyday lives of the mixed families, particularly as families decide to hang a picture of a cathedral or a *kakejiku* in their hallway, to christen their newborn or take them to the Shinto shrine for *shichi go san,* or both; to encourage the children to choose activities that are part of their "national cultures" or simply something they enjoy, and to put up the Christmas tree, but not forget Pancake Day.

While differences in "Japanese" and "British" cultures may be apparent in everyday family life, there is actually much more happening than a "culture clash" because culture is not equated to nationality. In other words, it is often the British man, instead of the Japanese woman, who prefers Japanese furniture and décor in their home, and as was discussed regarding enrichment activities, we find the Japanese women sharing with their children activities in line with their personal interests, not always their cultural heritages. Thus, we find the transmission of culture to be fluid, with both parents contributing to the transmission of both cultures. However, we must bear in mind that there is a limit to how much a non-native parent can "transmit". For example, while the British man can push his children towards Buddhism, ultimately, the Japanese woman, along with her kin, will bear more of the responsibility since they are more familiar with the religion. Nonetheless, we do see the British men becoming more involved in several aspects of family life, including contributing their opinions to home décor, organising Christmas dinner with the extended family, and looking for different local holiday celebrations to join in. Yet mothers still continue to carry a heavier burden and be more responsible for everyday matters such as actually decorating the homes, cooking a traditional British Christmas dinner and taking the children to the public celebrations. Nonetheless, we do see the gendered divisions of labour gently being challenged, and homemaking, kinkeeping and parenting becoming, not the sole responsibility of the woman, but a joint effort.

Notes

1. Defined as the sexual division of labour which gives women primary responsibility "not only for domestic work involving childcare, family health and food provision, but also, for the community managing of housing and basic services, along with the capacity to earn an income through productive work" (Moser 1989, p. 1803).
2. Children's British Broadcasting Corporation.
3. Term used by Beagan et al. (2008) to refer to responsibilities associated with feeding a family, which goes beyond simply preparing meals, and includes food shopping, menu planning, serving meals and cleaning-up afterwards.

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3

Bilingualism: A Gift or a Burden?

In this chapter, the use of language within the mixed family home is explored. As we saw in the previous chapter, while everyday experiences surrounding the family home can be a significant aspect of a mixed child's upbringing, so too is the communication that takes place among the family:

> [Families] talk as they go about their family routines in the household. They talk when they visit or phone distant family members who want to be informed about what is going on within the family. By communicating the meanings they give to experiences, family members construct a shared knowledge of each other's lives and their relationships with one another. (Cheal 2002, p. 12)

In interlingual, mixed families, communicating with one another can be more complicated, as parents negotiate languages within their family and make important decisions including whether or not the children are raised bilingually; what language(s) are spoken in the home and by whom; how (and if) they will share the responsibility of teaching the children the different languages; who will assist with their homework; whether or not the children will attend external Japanese

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language lessons and how they will find a compromise between their linguistic ambitions for the children and the children's own wishes. Further, while both parents in each participant family are determined to raise bilingual children, are the mothers, the "cultural carriers" (Song 2003) more responsible than the fathers for teaching and supporting the mixed children and preparing them linguistically for two societies (Imamura 1990). In addition, because transmitting language is a labour-intensive responsibility, we will explore what forms of support the families are accessing (i.e. external language lessons and support from kin and friends), as well as compare families with younger children and those with older children to see how linguistic aspirations are sometimes re-adjusted depending on the children themselves and other circumstances. Language is an interesting phenomenon because misunderstandings are one of the most frequently mentioned challenges in international marriages, yet bilingualism remains one of the main aspects of culture that parents want to pass on to their mixed children.

Bilingualism

When referring to bilingualism, I am using Saunders' (1988, p. 8) definition:

> Bilingualism, therefore, simply means having two languages … Bilinguals can be ranged along a continuum from the rare equilingual who is indistinguishable from a native speaker in both languages at one end to the person who has just begun to acquire a second language at the other end. They are all bilinguals, but possessing different degrees of bilingualism.

In past generations, interlingual parents were discouraged from speaking to their children in more than one language because it was believed that bilingual children suffered from a delay in linguistic development and lagged behind in vocabulary when compared to monolinguals (cf. Arnberg 1984; Diamond 2010; Piller 2008). More recently, as Ballard (1994) explains, bilingualism has come to be seen differently:

> … the capacity to switch from one linguistic and conceptual code to another is not a recipe for psychological confusion. Quite the contrary: the ability to express oneself with equal fluency in two or more languages is a wholly normal human capacity, with which our brains can cope with ease. (pp. 30–31)

Besides seeing bilingualism as normal, Crippen and Brew (2013, p. 269) argue that bilingual children may actually be better off than monolingual children because being in a bilingual environment allows them to develop the ability to "codeswitch and navigate between cultures". Further, it seems that early bilingualism is even more beneficial, with bilingual infants becoming "flexible learners" (Kovacs and Mehler 2009), able to learn twice as much as monolinguals because they were exposed to both languages during early infancy, allowing for competence in two different languages simultaneously. Similarly, Arnberg (1984), in her study of bilingual children in Sweden, found that a second language is easier to learn within a natural situation, as opposed to a formal school setting, since it provides children a stronger connection to the language as they learned it organically and directly, as opposed to more formally and via another language or later in life when, even with intensive study, it is unlikely that the adult language learner will reach the level of a native speaker (Sundberg et al. 1996, p. 21).

With such positive aspects of bilingualism highlighted, it seems understandable that interlingual mixed families be encouraged to raise their children bilingually, particularly with the common belief that mixed children "naturally and spontaneously acquire both of the parents' native languages, just as monolingual children acquire their parents' shared native language as their own native language" (Yamamoto 2001, p. 1). However, children do not always become bilingual as naturally and effortlessly as supposed, particularly in the minority, non-dominant language, which must be "actively cultivated" (Yamamoto 2001, p. 127). As such, passing on a parent's native language, particularly a non-dominant one, can be identified as being a labour-intensive and emotionally demanding pursuit (Jackson 2009), one that requires a strong commitment (Fought 2006) and continual monitoring, making sure that the children are receiving adequate exposure to both languages

(Grosjean 2010, p. 211). Consequently, parents with younger children may be more hopeful of their children's bilingualism, as opposed to parents of older children, who are often characterised by what Fries (1998, pp. 136–137), in her first-person case study poignantly describes as a "sense of grief": "I was sorry to see that my strong desire to speak English to my children has been replaced in my daughter's case by a feeling of obligation; the gift has become a burden."

Heritage Language Speakers

While some parents may feel a sense of grief or disappointment, this may be more related to unrealistic linguistic expectations for their children, particularly considering there are different degrees of bilingualism: passive, active and absolute (Arnberg 1984). In the passive state, there is comprehension of the second language, but the child may not actively use it. In the active state, comprehension of the second language exists, and the child is somewhat proficient in its production. Finally, in the absolute state, the child exhibits native-like or near native-like proficiency in both languages. Many ambitious parents in bilingual households, including some in the present study, desire for their children to possess native-like proficiency in two languages; yet experts agree that there are actually very few individuals like this, since the "contexts in which people acquire and use their languages will always be different" (Piller 2001, p. 76). More realistically, children in mixed families will become heritage language speakers. In 2000, the Steering Committee at the University of California at Los Angeles (UCLA) made a clear distinction between heritage language and foreign language acquisition:

> A defining distinction … is that heritage language acquisition begins in the home, as opposed to foreign language acquisition which, at least initially, usually begins in a classroom setting. (Kondo-Brown 2003, p. 2)

Like bilingual individuals and their different degrees of fluency, there is also a range among heritage language learners' levels of fluency, with even non-speakers considered heritage language learners because

of their cultural connection to the language (Van Deusen-Scholl 2003, p. 221). While this cultural connection to a heritage language is crucial, Pearson (2007, p. 399) argues that children are strongly attracted to the majority language, naturally learning it regardless of whether or not their parents learn it, often because of pressures that surrounding them, both internally and externally (Pearson 2007, p. 402). In other words, those brought up in a minority heritage language realise they are different because they have not mastered the societal, dominant language which is heard, not only outside the home, but inside the home as well (Fillmore 1991, p. 342). Minority-language children in an English-speaking country thus conclude that they must learn English to belong and feel accepted. Yet when children, particularly second-generation migrants, acquire the dominant language, they risk losing their heritage language, and in addition, parents who are not fluent in the dominant language risk being less able to socialise with and influence their children, causing rifts to develop and families to lose the intimacy that comes from a shared language, which is often closely tied to shared beliefs and understandings (Fillmore 1991, p. 343).

Languages and Families

Bilingualism plays a major role in how migrant families communicate, since the parents' native language is different from that spoken in the dominant society. In mixed, migrant families, the situation can become more complicated because the native languages of the two parents often differ, with one parent's language usually being the "dominant language" and the other parent's language becoming the "minority language". As a result, in order for both parents to be able to share their languages with the children, many mixed families make a conscious effort to raise bilingual children. Yet when one language, usually the dominant language, begins to overpower the minority language, the minority language parent can be significantly affected, as this monolingual father in a bilingual Japanese/English family in Japan conveys:

> It's frustrating, knowing that my son is still not comfortable speaking to me. He has much more meaningful conversations with his mum in Japanese … And I feel like I am missing out a bit … He tells me certain things, but I know there are certain things he doesn't, because it is just not worth the trouble to explain. Or he can't explain, so he doesn't or just stops… (Jackson 2009, p. 66)

Moreover, while a parent can be bilingual, they may never reach a level in which they feel free to express themselves completely (cf. Takeda 2012). Further, as Okita (2002, p. 230) found, in addition to not being able to express themselves completely, Japanese mothers carry a double burden: coping in a new land and shouldering the burden of raising bilingual children with little support from their husbands, leading them to feel "disempowerment, intensified pressure, guilt and personal trauma". In order to ease this burden of the migrant mothers, the mixed families may need to rely on external support, including friends, schools and playgroups. Additionally, when available, support from their extended family should not be overlooked because, as Grosjean (2010, p. 174) stresses, interactions in the minority language makes the language seem natural. Another factor that influences the language acquisition of children in mixed families is the child's own agency. In other words, language acquisition is a two-way street, "an interactive process involving both the child and a sensitive adult" (Gleason 1975, p. 289). Parents can thus attempt to teach and support their child's acquisition of a second language, but the involvement and desire of the child to become bilingual is also necessary. As such, language becomes an important aspect of doing mixed family, particularly because cultural values and traditions are often transmitted through language (Bankston and Zhou 1995, p. 14). While parents were once discouraged from speaking to their children in more than one language, parents are now encouraged, almost expected, to introduce their children to more than one language. As such, the idea that mixed children be raised in more than one language is not extraordinary, but it does come with challenges. As the analyses of interviews and observations in the following sections demonstrate, for the Japanese/British families, negotiating and juggling between two languages is an uphill battle, but the families persist because they see language as a tool

for communicating and sharing what Murphy-Shigematsu (1997, p. 15) describes as "the most basic cultural skill that enables a person to say with confidence that they belong to a group". Becoming bilingual therefore may represent an important element of becoming bicultural.

Learning a Language

One's native language is often referred to as one's "mother tongue". We thus begin by examining the role of mothers in language acquisition. The mothers in the Japanese/British families are of particular interest because, like migrant mothers, they face a difficult decision: to speak to their children in the language of the country in which they reside or in their native language. All of the Japanese women that I encountered during my fieldwork, as well as the 12 women in the study, have chosen to speak to their children in Japanese, at least initially. Reasons for this include being able to confidently and freely express themselves by speaking their native language (cf. Takeda 2012), as well as a fear of teaching their children errors if they use a language other than their own (cf. Piller 2008). Here, Hiroko Walker, who is actually fluent in English, explains why she has decided to speak to her newborn son only in Japanese:

> I think I will [speak Japanese], that is normal, I think, yeah. And my parents-in-law—not my parents, my husband's family also encourage me to speak Japanese to [my son] because that's the most important, and especially mother—if she is struggling to, you know, their son, their child speak language, that's not good. And also my friend said that, for kids, for babies, it's difficult to understand lots of variations or dialects of English, not English —English, but Japanese-English or Scottish-English or whatever, you know, it's—just my friend said it's not so good to building up language, so it's—I shouldn't speak lots of English in front of him because he will be confused.

Hiroko seems somewhat hesitant of her decision to speak to her son in Japanese because for one thing, she is fluent in English and enjoys speaking English, yet for the sake of raising her son bilingually, she has

decided to only speak to him in Japanese. As such, perhaps her hesitancy is partly due to a "linguistic sacrifice" she is making, and partly to the fact that she has no role models because she, along with her mixed family, have destabilised and blurred the "continuities and taken-for-granted normative values and practices" that tend to be reproduced in monocultural families (Luke and Luke 1999, p. 31). In this case therefore, while most families around them "naturally" and "normally" pass their language on to their children, for Hiroko and her husband, language has become an area of negotiation and uncertainty. As such, Hiroko attempts to justify her decision by stating that it is "normal", and that those around her, including her friends and in-laws, advised her to do so.

Two Languages

In the present study, there are 22 children across the 12 families. Eight of the children are under the age of 3 and are therefore not included in this section because the Census does not include them in language-related questions and because they have not reached the vocabulary spurt that typically occurs later in the toddler years (Ayoub and Fischer 2006, p. 69). The remaining 14 children, ages 3–16, are all in nursery or school and are referenced in this section.

Young and Ambitious

When asked about their linguistic aspirations for their children, all parents stated bilingualism. Consistent with Piller's (2008) findings, this optimism seemed especially strong among parents with younger children. As an example, we look more closely at the Patersons and the McLeods, both of whom have 1 year olds. While both couples intend to raise their children bilingually, we see their specific aspirations, both individually and as a couple, differ somewhat.

To begin with, we examine the Patersons. Tim and Kikuko met in Japan while Tim was teaching English near Kikuko's hometown in Hokkaido. Although Tim lived in Japan for 3 years, he only acquired

basic Japanese and thus communicates with Kikuko and their daughter in English; yet he expects Kikuko to speak to their daughter in Japanese, to ensure she becomes bilingual:

> [I want my daughter] to be as close as possible to learning both languages… I'd say near-fluency in Japanese, especially speaking, and … intermediate level in terms of reading and writing by the time she goes, leaves school.

Kikuko personally understands the difficultly of acquiring a second language, frequently struggling with her command of English, particularly when trying to communicate with her husband, as she shares, "*Sometimes I just say a word, in English and mix the, the Japanese, so—my husband can understand Japanese little bit—but he wants me to speak the sentence all in English."* Nonetheless, or perhaps because of her own struggle with English, she is determined that her daughter will be fluent in Japanese, in "everything":

> I speak Japanese [with my daughter], because I want her to speak Japanese in the future… Oh, I want to teaching the character, the kanji as well. Um, so I want—she—I want her to read the book and speaking and listening and everything, yeah. Hopefully everything.

Junko McLeod was always interested in going abroad, yet when the opportunity came for her to study abroad, she was *"a bit scared, but Mum was like, 'Go'!"* Yet after 2 years of studying English in Britain, she still claims to *"not that good English talking skill".* Junko, soon after moving to Edinburgh to be with her husband, was actually scared to interact with people in English, yet she is now determined that her son be fluent in Japanese and English, perhaps as a result of her own experiences:

> … I don't want my son to pick up any bad English, because I have a very strong Japanese accent, because I find it very difficult to make people to listen to or take me seriously, especially as I got a strong dialect, so I sometimes felt like a wee bit second citizen. I am treated like that sometimes, and I never want my son to have it, so I think same thing apply to

> Japanese, if he goes to Japanese—Japan, and if he's got kind of strange, wee bit silly accent, it's a bit difficult for him…

Unlike the Patersons, the McLeods met in Britain, at a pub, while Junko was on holiday near Adam's hometown. As such, Junko was Adam's first introduction to the Japanese language. Since their son was born, Adam has resolved to learn some basic Japanese, to better understand his wife and grasp at least a few words of the conversations that take place between Junko and their son. Junko admits that she is quite happy with her husband's eagerness to learn Japanese:

> I can see he's very willing to and eager to learn Japanese, which makes me feel yeah, kind of very happy about that … I used to feel kind of, it's always me who has to make effort to make him understand, because it's not totally fair.

In this way, even though Adam does not speak Japanese, by making an effort to learn Japanese, he is signalling the importance of the minority language in his home and perhaps also influencing his son's acquisition and acceptance of the Japanese language. Furthermore, although Adam is monolingual (or perhaps because of this) he has set a very realistic linguistic goal for his son:

> Yes, I hope he'll be bilingual, but it's not our number one priority or anything like that. I mean, it would be great if he did, but it's not the end of the world if he didn't. He could get by with just English, but it would be great—I would prefer if he could speak Japanese. Yeah, we'll see what comes…. I try to get some kind of bond between my son and I, we try to get on as best we can and communicate, you know, it's what I want, for him to be able to communicate with his parents in due course…

While others parents in the study mentioned raising their children bilingually for future work-related benefits, perhaps parents in mixed families should strive to raise their children bilingually for the reason that Adam states, to communicate, because for many mixed, interlingual families, simply being able to communicate with one another is a challenge.

Communication Challenges

Somewhat expectedly, two different languages in one household can bring about communication challenges. Further, while misunderstandings based on language proficiency may decrease with time, misunderstandings based on differences in communication styles, often based on cultural background, only become more noticeable with years (Sharaievska et al. 2013, p. 453). I frequently observed such communication challenges during my fieldwork, and in my notes, I recall a dinner observation at the multilingual Ramsey home. In the Ramsey family, Ryan speaks English and Gaelic, Miyuki speaks Japanese and conversational English, and their two sons speak English, Gaelic, and Japanese. When conversing with one another, Ryan speaks to everyone in English, as he explains, *"My sons speak more Japanese in the house than the Gaelic, because the mother is always talking, she's quite firm, 'They must speak Japanese.'"*; Miyuki speaks to their sons in Japanese, and in English to Ryan; and their sons speak to one another in English. My field notes show how the Ramseys negotiate their languages at the dinner table:

> Mum talks about a story she read online today, about an Olympic torch being sold on eBay. She recounts this story for the boys in Japanese, and then interprets everything for Dad in English… The older son comments on the eBay story, in Japanese, to Mum. Dinner is winding down… Older son finishes his dinner and takes his plates to the sink. He then makes some comments to Mum, in Japanese, complaining that the kettle is hot enough already, but Dad is asking him to heat up the water some more. Mum replies, in Japanese, "You know how your father is… he likes his water very hot." All this conversation takes place in Japanese, right in front of Dad, who seems somewhat oblivious to everything… Dad suddenly asks about all the flies flying around… Mum says it's after she started recycling. Older son says, in English, that it's because of the Chip Shop nearby, and that they should put a recycle point in front of all chip shops. Mum adds, in English, that there's also so much trash especially from the local high school kids who stop at the Chip Shop after school. Younger son says they should make a law against throwing trash on the ground. Dad says such a law exists in Glasgow… Older son and

> Dad continue discussing the garbage situation … Mum quiets down for a while as the boys and Dad speak in English.

This is an excellent example of how mixed families negotiate language as part of their everyday lives, including at the dinner table. While Miyuki and the boys do try to interpret much of their Japanese conversations for Ryan, and Miyuki makes an effort to understand the English conversations, it seems that there are times when the conversations are simply reserved for parent–child, in their native languages. Although this may sound somewhat divisive, the mixed families generally look at linguistic challenges in a positive manner. Keiko and Ewan Ross, for example, first met while Ewan was on a business trip to Tokyo about four years ago. They married soon after, and as Keiko shares with me, in Japanese, they are still struggling to communicate, as neither is fluent in their partner's language:

> Yeah. It's kind of like—to some extent, up to like 70%, I can express myself, but the small things—I can't explain things like I can in Japanese. So like when we fight, it's just too much trouble, so I can only express myself up to a certain point, but on the other hand, this doesn't lead to bigger fights. Because if you can express yourself 100%, the fights gets bigger, so maybe it's actually better this way. Because you can't express yourself, you're forced to endure, so you just say, "Oh well," and maybe that's why we've had good results.

Not being able to completely express oneself with their partner may be a compromise that some individuals, like Keiko, are willing to make. However, when it involves the children, things may become more complicated, as I later observed in the same home:

> Mum and son speak in Japanese, Dad and son speak in English, and Mum and Dad also speak in English. Annoyed, Mum says, *asonderu*! [He's playing!] Dad is clueless and asks, "What? Is he eating it?" … Son says, owari [finished!], and Mum says, "*Zenbu tabete*!" [Eat it all!]. She also adds that, if he doesn't finish everything, he won't be getting any dessert. Dad continues feeding the little boy while Mum continues eating her meal. The son then stands on his highchair and attempts to speak, but neither

> understand… was it English? Japanese? He drinks his water, and then babbles on and on. The little boy then spits up some of his food, and is scolded twice, in two languages. Once by Mum: "*Nande souyuukotosuruno*?" [Why do you do things like that?] and then by Dad: "Don't do that, son!"

Negotiating between two languages can indeed be a challenge, particularly when Dad cannot understand what Mum and child are saying. This is not unfamiliar to the other mixed families. Jim Miller, for example, met his wife Fumiko at university in Britain, has never lived in Japan, and speaks no Japanese, and he claims to enjoy "voluntarily" excluding himself from family conversations in Japanese, particularly while visiting his Japanese in-laws. Yet during more heated moments, such as when his wife Fumiko is scolding the children, Jim admits to feeling frustrated:

> I mean, I think the one time it does get slightly frustrating is when something happens and I don't know what the context is, and I see it's quite an emotional service and quite a bit going on between the kids or between Fumi and the kids and she's telling them off or something, and I can't understand it, that's frustrating and a bit difficult, because I can't back her up or if—I might know something about it or an issue going on, but I can't really understand what it is, so I can't contribute…

While mixed, interlingual families with a monolingual father not understanding what is happening between his own wife and children can be frustrating, the Japanese women also experience frustration when, due to their limited command of English, they are not able to completely be involved in conversations between their husbands and children. For instance, in the Clark family, I often observed Taeko, because of her limited English, excluding herself from conversations between her husband and daughter, particularly regarding her daughter's English homework and school life in general. Again, while this may seem somewhat divisive, it also means that the British men are becoming more involved in both parenting responsibilities and to some extent culture work, as they are helping their children acquire the English language and integrate into British school life. Thus we observe a division of labour here, with the British fathers taking on the bulk of

responsibility surrounding the children's English homework, mostly due to practical reasons: the Japanese mothers do not seem capable and/or confident enough to assist the children with their English homework.

Furthermore, even in families with two bilingual parents, challenges remain. For example, Hiroko Walker shares that for her, having a husband who is fluent in Japanese means that she loses the opportunity to improve her English:

> Yeah, my husband's Japanese is quite well… Hmm, yeah, getting better and better, because he speaks in Japanese in house, with me, quite a lot, because—well, that's good thing because he wants to maintain his Japanese because he doesn't use Japanese in his office, in his work… [At home] Mostly Japanese, 90% we speak Japanese in our house, and then my husband sometimes speak English to our son, but um, yeah.

As a result, sometimes, in order to raise bilingual children or help their partner improve their Japanese, women like Hiroko must "sacrifice" their own advancement in the English language. Among the 12 families in the present study, only two men (Colin Hamilton and Cameron Walker) have made a commitment to speak Japanese at home with their wives. While Cameron seems to want to better his Japanese for his own sake, Colin seems to believe that speaking Japanese at home can somehow raise the status of the language for his children:

> The common language between myself and Chiyoki is Japanese, so the kids know that, uh, so I think that raises the language as—in importance… With us, there's a struggle there, too, but it's less of a struggle because, no matter what happens, myself and Chiyoki are speaking in Japanese, so it's always got that status. The kids will want to understand that, you know, they want to understand, "What are they talking about?" So they'll want to learn, too.

While Colin believes that speaking to his wife in Japanese will motivate his children to want to learn Japanese, ultimately, it seems that the children decide whether or not to speak Japanese based on different criteria, most frequently the strong attraction to the dominant language (Pearson 2007).

During my fieldwork, I often witnessed children, particularly after starting school and becoming fluent in English, choosing to stop speaking Japanese. In particular, I observed children who understand and speak Japanese, consciously pausing for a moment after having been spoken to in Japanese to think, and then replying in English, or sometimes beginning to respond in Japanese and then catching themselves "slipping up". This hesitancy or refusal to speak Japanese was observed in several families including the Barclays, where Liam and Yuzuki are attempting to raise two bilingual children (ages 3 and 1). While Liam speaks only English with the children, Yuzuki has chosen to speak to the children in Japanese. Nonetheless, their daughter, although only three years old, is already starting to resist speaking Japanese. This resistance to Japanese is surprising and somewhat perplexing to Yuzuki, as she shares:

> [I speak in] Japanese, and my daughter replies me in English … [In Japan], my daughter is always speaking English, so people come and ask us, "Why is she speaking English? Why can't she, you know, speak Japanese?" … [Even at the Japanese playgroup] … some of the Japanese kids, they're from both Japanese family, and one girl … was speaking Japanese all the time to my daughter, but she doesn't reply her back in Japanese, she always replies in English, so the little girl [now] speaks English, and they were speaking English together, and I was quite surprised.

While the attraction to the dominant language can be strong, in the case of the Barclays, we see that, even when participating in the Japanese playgroup, where the dominant language is Japanese, the little girl is refusing to speak Japanese. This case however is not unique as I observed most of the children in the Japanese playgroups conversing with one another in English. Further, such behaviours are also in line with Arnberg (1984) and Pearson's (2007) studies, which found children in minority-language contexts continuing to use the dominant language among their peers, even when they were more competent in the minority language. Finally, when speaking to Liam, the little girl's father, about bilingualism, it was interesting to note his response: *"I'm happy for [my daughter], but on one hand, I think, 'Oh, it would be*

better if she speaks English sometimes,' but then, it's ok, I don't think it's a problem." As such, in this case, the Barclay daughter's refusal to speak Japanese may be related to her father's hesitancy, and perhaps because she feels that, by speaking Japanese, a language that her father does not understand, she is somehow betraying or rejecting him. Language negotiation in the mixed families can therefore be a delicate process, and while the parents in mixed families are attempting to raise their children bilingually, take them to Japanese playgroups, interact with other Japanese people, and speak to them in Japanese at home, raising bilingual children is proving to be anything but a natural occurrence, but instead an uphill battle, and one that requires strong, continual commitment (Fought 2006) from both parents and children, and perhaps additional support along the way.

Bilingualism: Fantasy Versus Reality

External Support

In order to raise bilingual children, the mixed families often seek support from their friends and family to create a "need" for the Japanese language (Grosjean 2010) because, as Pearson (2007, p. 406) found: "A cohesive community of heritage language speakers can make a difference in the vigour of that language and its ability to motivate and create opportunities for young speakers…". In the present study, the families are accessing external Japanese language support in the form of language lessons. Out of the 14 school-age children, two attend no Japanese lessons, five attend the Japanese playgroup lessons, three attend the Japanese language school, three attend the Japanese church lessons and one attends both the playgroup lessons and the language school. Although the Japanese women speak to their children in Japanese at home, they rely heavily on the support of external Japanese lessons, particularly when it comes to literacy. This is in line with Noguchi's (1996, p. 10) findings: although it is common to teach one's children to speak, teaching them to read and write is another matter, usually reserved for trained professionals in a school setting. Miyuki Ramsey agrees, as she

shares that, although she was able to teach her son to speak in Japanese, she struggled with literacy:

> I tried like uh, more than 10 years ago, before my younger son was born, between me and Setsuko Potter, like every Friday, or sometimes coming you know, Setsuko's daughter coming here and my son stay here and try to teach them to the *hiragana* and *katakana*. But from mum to children isn't—you know, wasn't good. And then, at that time, they mostly want to play together, you know, so that's it, it's finished, they just go—so doesn't work…

Fortunately for Miyuki and Setsuko, about five years ago, the local Japanese church, with the assistance of Japanese missionaries and university students, began offering free Japanese lessons at various levels. As Miyuki recalls, it seemed ideal for her children, "*And then we went to there … and [the church] offered like, one versus one lessons, so it was quite good, and [my son] was quite catch it, all* hiraganas *in like, just couple of weeks…".*

Another place where Japanese lessons are offered is at the Japanese playgroups, where the mothers hire a Japanese language instructor to teach the older children while they remain downstairs in the playgroup with the younger children. Andrew and Taeko Clark excitedly send their daughter to these lessons because her Japanese (particularly literacy) has been somewhat declining since migrating to Edinburgh two years ago. At the same time, as Taeko admits that their daughter is also struggling with English, since back in Japan, they lived a *"99% Japanese lifestyle".* Once in Edinburgh, the Clark daughter was put into an English as a second language course at the local school, and as Taeko explains, *"She's beginning to understand and speak more. I think her English is still very problematic, but she's trying her best."* Amidst learning English, the Clarks do not want their daughter to lose her Japanese language ability, as Taeko shares:

> Regarding Japanese, I don't want her to forget it, to be able to speak it. And if possible, if she can write. In Japanese, there are three forms of writing: *hiragana*, *katakana*, and *kanji*. I definitely want her to be able to

> write and read *hiragana* and *katakana*, and *kanjis*, I realise she can't learn all of them, but at least if she is able to write a few, that's my hope … I just hope she never forget Japanese, and that's why I'm going to push her to learn Japanese. She attends—not the Japanese language school, but the Japanese playgroup lessons, for 45 min, once a week.

While external Japanese language lessons can be of assistance to the mixed families; attendance at the lessons does not guarantee the production of native Japanese speakers. Having said that, the Japanese language school that runs on Saturdays, although most expensive, comes closest to guaranteeing basic knowledge of the Japanese language. The Hamilton children attend this school. In the Hamilton home, Colin is fluent in Japanese, yet his wife Chiyoki's command of the English language is very limited, perhaps because she has no "need" (cf. Grosjean 2010) to improve her English as the family speaks Japanese at home, her husband takes care of things outside the home, and she mostly socialises with other Japanese women. As such, while the children can speak Japanese fluently, when it comes to literacy, Colin and Chiyoki have chosen to send the children to Saturday school, which, as Colin describes, incorporates both literacy and culture into their curriculum: *"The school, the Japanese school is—I'm sure you're aware—they follow the same curriculum as the, any school in Japan. They [also] have the* undoukai *and the* happyoukai*, and* nyuugaku-shiki*, all of that, yeah."* Interestingly, in Twine's (2010, p. 132) study, the Saturday schools that she references actively sought to "foster black children's self-esteem and racial and cultural pride". However, in the Japanese Saturday schools, while several cultural traditions are celebrated, there is no mention of teaching the children cultural pride; instead, literacy and remaining on par with their monolingual counterparts in Japan remains top-priority.

A Labour of Whose Love?

While external language lessons can offer parents assistance in raising bilingual children, extended family can also offer valuable support in the area of language acquisition, particularly the Japanese kin, as they create the "need" to communicate in the minority language (Grosjean

2010). Andrew Clark, for example, whose eight-year-old daughter was monolingual in Japanese until two years ago, is now worried that, as his daughter's English improves, her Japanese will suffer. As such, he hopes spending time with Japanese grandparents, particulalry during visits to Japan, will boost with his daughter's Japanese:

> Um, what I'd like my daughter to be … bilingual and comfortable in both languages. I mean, I hope she can achieve that, which I think is very important, that my daughter has the Japanese part, and I hope that in the future, maybe she can go to Japan to stay with her Japanese relatives for an extended period, so she can get, get um, the language … If she only stays here, and only uses Skype, you know, once a week, to talk to her relatives, I think her Japanese will start to, level will start to go down as English level increases. So hopefully once she gets a little older, she can go for extended stays, um, with them, to brush up on her Japanese.

While the Japanese extended family can indeed play an important part in the mixed children's acquisition of the Japanese language, ultimately, it seems that languages are best learned in the midst of everyday family life. Yet because the Japanese/British families live in an English-speaking country, the minority language (Japanese) becomes more difficult to share. Further, because the women are the native Japanese speakers, they feel a heavier burden to teach their children Japanese. In the Paterson household, for example, even though Tim speaks some Japanese, it is Kikuko alone who will take on this challenge: *"I live in Britain, and because I live here, for her, it's might be difficult to learn Japanese, only I can teach her, I think."* Kikuko does not specify how she views this responsibility. On one hand, teaching one's child one's native language may be a positive thing, as such a responsibility allows for, among other things, a space for mother/child to bond, as well as the possibility that the child could grow up to be the mother's Japanese communication partner (Brahic 2013). This is somewhat in line with what one mother half-jokingly mentioned, *"I keep telling my daughter I want her to be around when I get old because lots of older foreigners in Britain with dementia forget English and only start being able to communicate in their native languages!"* On the other hand, this responsibility of teaching

one's child one's native language can also be burdensome, even "painstaking" (Yamamoto 2001, p. 130) for the parent, as well as the child, since becoming bilingual entails extra work that piles up in addition to school homework, as well as becoming more distinctly "different" when most children desperately want to fit in.

Okita's (2002) work highlights the Japanese migrant mother's struggle with both coping in a new land and raising bilingual children with little support from her husband. In the present study, we find a similar situation, as I continually observed the women being responsible for all aspects of the children's Japanese language acquisition, including finding, signing up for and transporting the children to and from their lessons, as well as helping with their Japanese homework and speaking to them in Japanese. While the responsibility for helping the children with their Japanese homework may naturally fall on the Japanese woman since it is her native language, the "invisible work" (Okita 2002), including transportation to and from lessons, which could be accomplished by either parent, further perpetuates this idea of "reproductive labour" (Moser 1989).

Bilingualism: An Uphill Battle

In this section, we explore the idea of the transmission of language by looking more closely at the Potter family's eldest daughter (age 13) and the McGregor family's only son (age 8), as they are both school age and have different linguistic and geographic histories, with one spending her entire life in Edinburgh and the other spending half of his life in Japan and half in Britain.

Lewis and Setsuko Potter met via a pen-pal programme in the late 1980s; they later met in person for the first time when Setsuko enrolled at an English language school in Edinburgh. After they married, settled in Edinburgh, and had their first daughter, they moved to Japan for 3 months when their daughter was about 2 years old, as Setsuko explains: *"So we went to Japan and like uh, to see what [it is] like living for a long time, but basically, it's not easy for Lewis, too. He had to learn more Japanese…"* While Lewis struggled with the Japanese language,

their daughter thrived, as Setsuko remembers, *"And at that time, her speaking, you know, her speech coming out—because we were in Japan, so that time, lots of words was Japanese, she was speaking Japanese, most of all."* Upon returning to Britain however, their daughter's Japanese slowly began to be replaced with English. One of the reasons for this being the natural attraction of the dominant language (cf. Pearson 2007) for both mother and daughter. Setsuko recalls this period of linguistic transition:

> We start going to the toddlers group—Mothers and Toddlers around here, then she start making friends, and myself as well, started making other mums, you know become friends. Then, English is kind of introduced more to her, and also myself as well—I was try to learn the, you know, the English—Scottish nursery rhymes, nursery song, because we try to sing in the toddlers, altogether, so of course my daughter wanted to know, and myself—I had to learn as well. So I think—at that point, I kind of tried to learn English side of the, you know, childhood, you know, myself, how they do it. So you know, half, her friends started coming to our house, visiting, sometimes I find myself speaking English to my daughter as well. So from that—from that point, she's kind of getting, kind of mixture: English and Japanese, starting, and when she start nursery, I think that time, English start taking over quite a lot. But she still understand what I'm saying, but come back by English. I think—I think before was because I was speaking Japanese and—to her, then when start having friends, I start speaking English sometimes to her, when the friends are there, so probably she knows I can speak English, and then, I think children is a very clever—they know the easy way to go.

Although the Potters had originally envisioned their daughter speaking both English and Japanese fluently, the reality that, through their surroundings, through her friends and through Setsuko's own desire to acculturate and her consequent switch to the dominant language, raising their daughter bilingually is slowly becoming an ambitious goal. Interestingly, around this time, the Potters decided to enrol their daughter in the local Gaelic school and introduce her to a third language, Scottish Gaelic, which Setsuko admits she *"loves very much"*. While introducing children to a third language may suggest that parents in mixed families, like the Potters, are unfazed by languages, it also points

to the fact that sometimes, for various reasons, including formal schooling, a child can be more successful in one language versus another. In the case of the Potters, for example, while their daughter gained a stronger command of English through friends and at home, and her Gaelic grew stronger through school, her Japanese was neglected and thus suffered. Setsuko admits this freely, laughing nervously:

> So, but then, kind of—my daughter was Gaelic, Japanese, English; but now, suppose English comes, you know, top probably, then Gaelic, Japanese—maybe Gaelic because, properly she learned grammar and everything, so unfortunately, Japanese is the bottom.

Although Setsuko spoke at great length regarding her daughter's language acquisition, regarding her son, she only says she *"lost touch",* after she started working and her husband Lewis became the stay-at-home parent; however, she does admit that her son's Japanese is *"very, very bad".* During observations of the dinner table at the Potter home, I was able to observe language being used between the different family members. What follows are my notes:

> The family all sit down and begin their meal by saying *Itadakimasu*! … The younger son struggles with the word and must take it slowly, one syllable at a time… The language used at the dinner table is predominantly English, although Mum keeps attempting to speak Japanese to the children. Older daughter seems to understand Mum, but responds in English, and younger son doesn't seem to understand much Japanese, although he is sometimes helped by his sister, who tries to interpret Mum's questions sometimes. They talk about younger son's day at school. He mentions wall climbing in gym class… Mum asks, "PE *nanisurono*? [PE what are you doing?]" Younger son is clueless. Older daughter then subtly translates for him by answering the question herself: "You decide what you want to do on that day." Apparently, last time he chose to do Bingo for PE time. So Mum asks him, "*Darega* BINGO *shiteruno*? [Who's doing BINGO?] Blank stare – > "*Dono* teacher?" [What teacher?] He then exclaims, "Oh! What teacher?" Older sister prods and encourages him to share more, often acting as the family interpreter and explaining things in further detail, since she attended the same school… The

> older daughter is going to be learning how to start a fire tomorrow, and mum asks, "*Jya* fire start *suruno*?" [So you're going to start a fire?] A bit of Japanglish: instead of using the Japanese words for fire and start, she uses the English words… As dinner progresses, Mum's language seems to become more English-based, perhaps to include Dad? No, it seems as if the children don't understand much Japanese either … Mum keeps trying to speak Japanese, a bit awkwardly, and everyone else continues to speak English … She eventually switches over as well… All family members end the meal with *gochisousamadeshita*!

Although the Potter household still begins and ends their meals with the traditional Japanese greetings, and Setsuko continues to attempt to speak to her children in Japanese at the dinner table, it seems that she has come to the realisation that she cannot communicate with her children in Japanese:

> When I'm trying to speak Japanese, and often, I notice that my son can't understand, and but try to explain by the other Japanese, but can't. So I have to speak English, to make them under- … I think my daughter as well happens, occasionally happens, she doesn't know all the Japanese word, so then I have to explain by English as well…

Setsuko, although obviously somewhat disappointed, seems to be rather easygoing about her children not being able to speak to her in Japanese, perhaps because she herself is comfortable in English, and also because, as the breadwinner of the family, she may simply not be able to dedicate as much time to her children's Japanese as she would like. Nonetheless, there is no "deep sense of grief" (Fries 1998).

The McGregor family has also attempted to raise a bilingual child, with Risa having invested much time, effort and money into her son's Japanese language acquisition. Yet her son now refuses to speak Japanese, and a sense of disappointment is obvious, from the frequent times Risa mentions *"Oh, we used to do … but then our son quit Japanese school"* to the way she lowers her head every time she talks about her son quitting Japanese school. Risa and David McGregor first met while David was working in Japan. They later married, had one son, and settled in Japan. Because David himself was fluent in Japanese, the only

language spoken in their home was Japanese. When their son was 4 years old, after a 20-year residence in Japan, David wanted to return to Britain, so the family relocated to London. However, because they had not raised their son bilingually, as Risa recalls, when their son arrived in Britain, he was faced with a new life and language:

> When [we] came here, he was four, and he couldn't English—he couldn't speak English at all, and his first friend was Polish—they could communicate own language, you know? I don't know what's going on, but kids. So I was worried, but he was very, quickly absorbed, you know?

In their study of Black/White mixed students, Caballero and colleagues (2007, p. 348) found that teachers tended to have low expectations because of stereotypes that included the mixed students' confused identities. For the Japanese/British families, there seems to be a different type of stereotype that exists, having more to do with being seen as the "perpetual foreigner" (Tsuda 2014) and struggling to learn English. In the case of the McGregor's son however, he soon became fluent in English, and after 3 years in London, due to David's mother's declining health, the McGregors decided to move to Edinburgh. Once in Edinburgh, their son started attending Japanese language school on Saturdays. Yet as Risa explains, he soon quit *"because he had so many homework and he was not happy…"* This is not rare. Oriyama (2011, p. 676), in his study of Japanese heritage language learners in Australia also found many students having difficulty keeping up with Japanese Saturday schools, particularly because of the amount of homework and the fact that they follow the same rigorous curriculum as they do in Japan. Risa shares how she finally came to terms with her son's general disinterest in the Japanese language:

> Well, it was shame, because I wanted to keep—I wanted him to carry on [with Japanese school], but um, because he had so many homework, and I have to look after his homework everyday, it's took half an hour to one hour, and he can't concentrate, and then sometimes he didn't want to do, so sometimes I argued with him. As Japanese mum, you know, "Do it, if you don't do it, you have to do more tomorrow!" And he started, you

> know, little bit crying, and then I was, "Don't cry!" And then, you know, argument gets worse, so that was not good to me, so it was—definitely stressful for him and then, you know, um, he had tantrum and then I thought, this is not totally good, not totally good. So maybe he should quit Japanese school … he can start Japanese whenever he want to, you know, so Japanese school is not important for him anymore … So maybe I was, you know, still competitive about my son's Japanese … Too competitive. There are a bunch of Japanese parents in his Japanese school, and then they always talk about how many homework he did and, you know, homework is very important, must be finished, all of them. You know, in here, Scottish mums don't push their children, but Japanese mums just push, push, to do it! That's not good, I realised, and you know, I talked with GP and his schoolteacher, and they just said, "Why don't you quit? "Quit?! Not that easy!" But after he quit Japanese, everything changed, it's easier. No stress! Well, I stopped worrying about his Japanese situation, ability, but you know, now I don't have to. Maybe he can start when—anytime he wants to.

Although Risa is concerned about her son's Japanese language skills for various reasons, she and her husband seem to have come to the conclusion that bilingualism should be considered in a long-term perspective. Further, Grosjean (2010, p. 172) suggests that children can go in and out of bilingualism in a short time, and the main factor affecting this is a "need" for the language (e.g. to communicate with family members or friends, to watch television). The McGregor son, at this point, has stepped out of bilingualism and is not in a place where he "needs" Japanese, nor is he ready to accept and maintain the Japanese language; however, this is not to say that he may later try to re-learn the lost language.

Fought (2006, p. 21) argues that a continual commitment to maintaining a heritage language is crucial because, "just as identity can be fluid and changing throughout an individual's life, so can a person's relationship to the minority and dominant languages". As a result, while the McGregors have agreed to allow their son to quit Japanese language school, Risa continues to speak to him in Japanese, as my observation notes show:

> At the dinner table, Mum speaks Japanese to both Dad and their son. The son, however, speaks only English, and Dad speaks English to the son and

> Japanese to Mum. The conversations centre on the son's friends… Mum names all of them. She continues to ask him questions about school in Japanese… son obviously comprehends the Japanese language, but refuses to speak, always answering her in English. While I've read about code-switching that happens among bilingual/bicultural children, I wonder what kind of work it must take on the child's part to constantly listen to Japanese, but always respond in English, never slipping up and uttering a word in Japanese.

The linguistic dynamics in the McGregor family are interesting because, although the family are all bilingual and actually once conversed only in Japanese, they have now almost completely switched over to the dominant language of their new home, English. As a result, it seems that Risa is beginning to feel both the exclusion that English-speaking fathers in Japan often feel (cf. Jackson 2009) and a sense of disappointment as her son, at least for the time being, has rejected the Japanese language: Risa's gift to her son has become a burden. Yet she is does not experience the "deep sense of grief" that Fries (1998) felt, perhaps because she has been able to accept that her work until now of teaching her son Japanese has not been in waste, and has instead provided him with a grounding that will allow him to pick up the language at a later point, if he wants to.

Although both the Potters and McGregors had great expectations of their children growing up bilingually, the reality is that they are, at the moment, *passive bilinguals* (Arnberg 1984). While the first words of both children were in Japanese; today, at the ages of 13 and 8, both answer their mothers only in English, even when their mothers speak to them in Japanese. While both Setsuko and Risa cannot have a conversation with their children in Japanese, their reactions have been somewhat different, and this may be due to their initial expectations. In other words, Setsuko seems to have accepted early on that, because she was raising her daughter in an English-dominant society, English would most likely become her daughter's native language. On the other hand, Risa and her son first began speaking in Japanese, and then migrated to Britain together. Once in Britain, Risa invested much time, effort and money into her son's Japanese language maintenance, thus her expectations for her son's bilingualism may have been more ambitious and may

not have taken into account the pressure from Japanese school as well as the strong attraction to the dominant language (Pearson 2007). Thus, while some migrant parents may persist in making their children bilingual, both Setsuko and Risa have come to accept that, at least for the time being, regardless of whether they speak to their children in English or Japanese, or a bit of Japanglish, their children will only respond in English.

Conclusions

Individuals become multilingual for various reasons, including a desire to communicate in more than one language, to increase employment opportunities and social mobility (Grosjean 2010, p. 100), and perhaps even to signal a cosmopolitan persona. For the Japanese/British children, multilingualism is somewhat part of their identity, part of their cultural heritages, although as Pearson (2007) points out, not everyone who grows up in a bilingual environment becomes bilingual. Conversely, as we have seen in this chapter, the journey to multilingualism can be a challenging experience for both parent(s) and children.

In the present study, all of the parents clearly stated that they desire to raise bilingual children. Yet regarding the transmission of the Japanese language, there seems to be a heavier burden placed on the Japanese women, even in cases where the British men are fluent in Japanese. While this is somewhat inevitable since the women are native Japanese speakers, the British fathers generally remain uninvolved, even with "invisible work" (Okita 2002) (e.g. driving the children to and from Japanese lessons) which does not require any knowledge of the Japanese language. However, we do see the British men contributing to the children's English acquisition in the form of staying involved in school affairs and providing homework help. In this case, conversely, the mothers tend to remain uninvolved. As a result, in regard to language acquisition, perhaps the parents have simply divided the labour up, with each parents being responsible for their respective native language. For some participants, the labour involved in passing one's native language on to one's child is too great, and it does become a burden; yet for others who

choose to persist, it becomes a gift, not only for the child but also for the parent, who may someday find in their mixed child alleviation for the loneliness and incommunicability found while living abroad (Brahic 2013, p. 712). Nonetheless, whatever the end result, it is important to remember that, just as identity is fluid and dynamic (Wilson 1984, p. 42), so too can bilingualism be. In other words, while some children may resist Japanese today, and use a variation of code switching—actively refusing to speak a language that they are fluent in—tomorrow, or a year from now, or 10 years from now, the same child may suddenly choose to embrace bilingualism, and because of their experience with the Japanese language as children, they will have the grounding necessary to continue studying Japanese where they left off.

In the meantime, it may sound like chaos at the dinner table, with not all members of the family understanding what is being said, with simultaneous interpretation becoming almost as natural as an echo, and with the continual mixing of languages, yet for the mixed family, this is part of doing mixed family. As such, the British father will continue to speak to his children in the dominant language (English), the Japanese mother will continue to share her native language (Japanese) with her children, and together, the family will negotiate and re-negotiate how languages are used amongst themselves. In this way, even with no shared language, cultural values and traditions will be passed on (Bankston and Zhou 1995), and the mixed family will find its unique way of communicating.

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4

Food Choices in Mixed Families

Overview

In this chapter, the food choices of mixed families are discussed, as food choice is a major cultural symbol, a "central marker of ethnic boundaries and identities" (Twine 2010, p. 230). Verbeke and Lopez (2005, p. 824) suggest food choice is one of the cultural traits that humans first learn, and one that they are most reluctant to change when older. In mixed families, food is an important aspect of culture that parents seem eager to share with their children. This seems to be in line with Fox's (2003, p. 1) suggestion, that a strong link exists between family and food, particularly because food is frequently a shared experience. Further, while food sustains and nourishes our bodies, cooking and mealtimes are also opportunities to gather together and promote family unity, as well as share cultural dishes and stories with the next generation. While scholarship surrounding mixed families and how they negotiate different culinary traditions is limited, there is a small body of work (e.g. Bauer2010; Caballero 2010; Mckenzie 2013; Twine 2010). Building on such pioneering scholarship, the everyday food choices of the mixed families are explored. Food choices and the sharing of meals

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is especially important to examine because it is through such ritualised practises of everyday family life that identities are constructed, culinary traditions are transmitted, food habits are formed, palates are developed, and kinship is produced and transformed.

Reading About Eating

Although food is generally associated with being pleasing to the senses of *taste*, *smell* and *sight*, it can also be appealing to the *mind.* While several researchers have found food habits to be static and unchanging (e.g. Brown et al. 2010; Siu 1952; Verbeke and Lopez 2005), Asp (1999) argues that food habits are continually evolving through travel, migration and socio-economic environment. Yet even while somewhat fluid, there are some food habits that are difficult to change, such as the concept of meals, meal patterns, the number of meals eaten in a day, when to eat what during the day, how food is acquired and prepared, the etiquette of eating and what is considered edible as food (Asp 1999, p. 288). The topic of food may seem somewhat straightforward: humans eat in order to satisfy hunger needs and maintain life; however, because individuals choose what foods to consume, what people eat becomes a powerful symbol of who they are (Fox 2003). Furthermore, while food individualism allows for individuals to "consume food differently from each other, thus accommodating partners' dietary differences" (Bove et al. 2003, p. 34); in this chapter, we focus on food as a social aspect (Douglas 1972; DeVault 1991), on food choices that families (generally mothers) make, not only for themselves individually, but also for their partners and their children, under the influence of financial and time constraints, as well as different food preferences, diets and culinary traditions.

Marriage and Food

Food choices between couples are important to consider because food is a central aspect of a marriage, with the "capacity to create both conflict as well as pleasure…" (Bove et al. 2003, p. 36). Although the word

marry is generally used to refer to two individuals officially promising their lives to one other, it is also a term often overheard in the kitchen, when referring to blending or combining two or more foods. It is therefore fitting to consider that when two individuals marry, not only do their families and living spaces often merge, but so too do their culinary traditions. In their study of food choices among newly married couples, Bove and colleagues (2003) found that each partner brought to the marriage gendered, ethnic, class-based and other food preferences and intolerances, and while some individuals welcomed new, unfamiliar or previously rejected foods, others resisted such changes. Eventually, however, both partners' pre-existing personal foods systems merged into a "new joint family food system" (Bove et al. 2003, p. 28). When negotiating two different personal food systems, both partners must make an effort, yet the burden tends to fall more heavily on one partner, usually the woman. Marshall and Anderson (2000, p. 64) conducted a qualitative study of new Scottish couples and their food shopping habits as they transitioned into living together. What they found was that, although men seem to be more involved in foodwork by, for example, accompanying their female partners to the market and pushing the trolley or helping to carry the groceries, they maintain supporting roles instead of sharing equal responsibility.

Mothers and Food

When children are born, women become the "gatekeepers" of food (Anving and Thorsted 2010, p. 38), as well as the "health guardians" (Cairns et al. 2010, p. 602) of their families. In addition, women have also been found to deny their own food preferences in order to privilege the food preferences of others (Anving and Thorsted 2010; Bove et al. 2003; Charles and Kerr 1986; DeVault 1991), "sacrific[ing] herself in order to provide the best items of food to her husband or to the growing children…" (Morgan 1996, p. 161) . While this mostly refers to households near the poverty line, it could also be used in mixed families, where a similar compromise or "sacrifice" regarding type of food may have to be made. Motherhood therefore brings about more

foodwork for women, including teaching children cultural and social ideals of eating properly (Anving and Thorsted 2010, p. 30) and constantly monitoring and controlling children's behaviour at the table (DeVault 1991, p. 50). Part of this monitoring may include instilling social ideals surrounding food:

> A whole host of expressions link food and morality in the exchanges between a parent and a child. "Waste not, want not", "Willful waste makes woeful want", "Think of the starving millions"; these and many other phrases indicate that the business of eating is not simply a question of satisfying immediate needs but is enmeshed in issues of morality and social being (Morgan 1996, p. 162).

Besides instilling social ideals into their mixed children's food habits, mothers must also take care of other needs involved in "feeding the family" (DeVault 1991), such as solving the puzzle of finding a dish that takes into account her children and husband's food preferences, their dietary needs, financial constraints and presenting the meals as appealingly as possible. In addition, while mothers in mixed families may want to introduce their children to foods from both of their children's culinary heritages, the women may struggle with preparing dishes from their partners' culture, as they are not familiar with such foods. As a result, we find women choosing to emphasise dishes, social ideals and table etiquette from their own heritage, often resorting to using memories of their own mothers as a reference point when preparing meals for their families (cf. Cairns et al. 2010, p. 593).

Children and Food

Issues of feeding dominate the relationship between mother and child (Morgan 1996) . A mother's influence on her children's food choice is particularly strong during the newborn stage, where often, their first introduction to food is their mother's milk. Around 6 months, the process of weaning a baby usually begins, and solids are introduced into their diet. As a variety of solids are introduced, the infant becomes

exposed to various flavours, with several factors influencing the acceptance of particular foods including repeated exposure to foods, the mother's consumption of foods while breastfeeding and the introduction of a variety of foods (Nicklaus 2009, p. 253). Parents therefore attempt to expose their children to a variety of foods at a young age, yet as Mouristen and Styrbaek (2014, p. 36) argue, taste preference during childhood is also dependent on country of residence and age. Similarly, sensitivity to bitter tastes, which is hypothesised to have co-evolved with the use of spices in cooking, also tends to be unique to different cultural traditions (Krebs 2009). Nonetheless, because mothers tend to be responsible for most of the *foodwork* during early childhood, their influence on their children's food habits and preferences are strong; yet as Anving and Thorsted (2010, p. 33) conclude, children also have a significant influence on food choices and should be seen as active social actors.

Migration and Food

Food preference is one of the first forms of cultural transmission that children receive from their parents, and it is also one of the most persistent (Verbeke and Lopez 2005), particularly for migrants who "struggle to break away from their habituated food choices…" (Brown et al. 2010, p. 203). In their study of the Hispanic population in Belgium, Verbeke and Lopez (2005) found that the longer time migrants resided in Belgium, the more acculturated they became, consuming more Belgian food and eating less foods from their homeland. Moreover, migrants who continue to consume foods from their home countries may not do so purely to satisfy their hunger needs or for health reasons. On the contrary, eating food from the homeland may symbolise a hesitancy to fully acculturate into the host country, as Carrus and colleagues (2009) found, individuals who reported the most ethnic food purchases were also the highest ethnic identifiers. However, in order to consume the comfort foods of their homelands while living in a foreign country, migrants need to search for "authentic", delicious and affordable restaurants, or learn to cook the dishes of their homelands themselves, with

available ingredients. Not surprisingly, low availability of ingredients and the fact that cooking dishes from the homeland is time-consuming were found to be the two determining factors for migrants preparing meals from their homelands (Verbeke and Lopez 2005). Nonetheless, even with such challenges, migrants may still attempt to prepare meals dishes from their homeland, not only to satisfy their hunger needs, but also their emotional needs. In their study of international students, Brown and colleagues (2010, p. 204) found that eating food from the home country was associated with feelings of comfort and reassurance, soothing feelings of stress, grief and loneliness while stimulating fond nostalgia and transporting the international student back home. While Brown and colleagues' (2010) study focused on students (temporary migrants); this study focuses on Japanese/British families, made up of long-term spousal migrants with partners from the dominant society and their mixed children. We thus explore whether spousal migrants are more keen on eating foods from their home, experience dietary acculturation, or turn to *fusion cuisine*[1], which seems like an ideal solution for the mixed families, but whether or not it will be explored.

Children's Evolving Food Preferences

In this section, we explore how the Japanese/British families negotiate food in their everyday lives, and how the parents' different culinary heritages and preferences, as well as the children themselves influence the dishes the families consume. For most of the mixed families, even if their everyday diet is generally more Western, the Japanese mothers maintain a strong desire to expose their children to Japanese dishes during the weaning process. This was the case for Hiroko Walker who admits that, although her family has more of a British diet, she longs to cook more Japanese foods, but because of a shortage of ingredients and her husband Cameron being vegetarian, this has been difficult. Nonetheless, Hiroko shares that when it comes to weaning her baby boy, she wants to do it the Japanese way: *"I'm actually trying to follow Japanese way, in terms of—when it comes to solids and weaning, yeah,*

started from rice porridge, lots of vegetables, and um. I got books about weaning [in Japanese].”

According to Hiroko, her described weaning process is “Japanese”, because she gained this information from Japanese books. This suggests, among other things, that Hiroko is more comfortable reading books in Japanese, and that she prefers weaning her child according to “the Japanese way”. At the same time, we again encounter the complexity of “national culture”, with no definitive “Japanese” style of weaning, as the way she describes weaning her son is not dissimilar, for example, to the British way of weaning. There are however subtle differences that make weaning more “Japanese”, including the use of Japanese-style rice for rice porridge and adding soy sauce to the vegetables, which could also be considered the mother’s personal preference, as opposed to her culinary culture.

While Hiroko seems to be primarily responsible for the weaning process of her son, Ayaka and Stuart MacFarlane, who is also a vegetarian, jointly participated in the weaning process of their sons, as they shared with me during a home observation:

> As Ayaka is cooking, she mentions that they started to wean the boys at six months, and that by like nine months, because her husband insisted, they tried eating as many meals with the children as possible (baby-led weaning?)… Mum also mentioned that Dad would always give them big pieces and that she liked to cut the food up really small, and that this caused quite a bit of tension between them…

As such, even before negotiating different foods, the MacFarlanes began their food journey as a family by negotiating different weaning “styles” for their two sons, now ages 6 and 4. While Stuart was more influenced by “baby-led weaning”, a somewhat non-traditional approach which allows the baby more independence, many Japanese women, including Ayaka, have concerns about this approach because it skips more traditional “weaning” foods like purees. Moreover, it is interesting to note that, far from a “culture clash” of sorts creating tension between the couple, it is instead the size of cut pieces of food that has caused friction between the couple. This suggests that perhaps mixed families do ultimately struggle with more “ordinary” concerns than stereotypical “culture clashes”.

Another aspect of *foodwork* is actually feeding the younger children, and in particular, the dialogues that ensue between parent(s) and their children. For the Japanese women, their conversations frequently include typical Japanese language usage of the inanimate as animate in a playful context (Yoshida and Smith 2003), and the use of feeling-related words (Nisbett 2003, p. 59). Here are my field notes from an observation of Kikuko Paterson feeding her 1-year-old daughter:

> Mum feeds daughter more of her rice and then asks, "Ninjin-san oishii?" [Is Mr. carrot delicious?] … Mum attempts to feed daughter some salmon, but daughter refuses, and Mum says, "Osakana kawaisou!" [Poor little fish!]. Dad doesn't get it, and asks Mum who she's feeling sorry for, and she explains that she's talking about Mr. Fish. He gives her a puzzled look and continues eating.

As such, particularly during the early years, parents' cultural background can significantly influence, not only the foods that children consume, but also their eating habits and their views on food and eating in general. While food attitudes are heavily influenced at home during early childhood, as the children grow older, this sense of negotiating between their two culinary heritages becomes their own struggle. It is also during this time that children begin to be more influenced by the dominant culture and their peers, as opposed to their mothers and the foods consumed at home. For example, Miyuki Ramsey proudly shares that her older son (age 16) never had chips until very recently:

> He hated, he didn't like the chips at all, but it was very healthy option, but then, at that time, it wasn't like uh, people didn't talk about healthy options, and then he was suffer that he can't have, he doesn't want to have chips and then he only got the, like, he just have to have like soup or he even got something with chips and just eat something. And giving chips to—especially like school trip or something, have to give the chips to the friends or something like that. But then he went to the high school and then uh, one of the child, schoolfriend was buying chips beside the school, and he just pinching it and, "Oh, that's nice!" And he start to eat chips!

Miyuki and some of the other Japanese women tend to shudder when they think of their children's diets potentially including greasy chips and deep-fried Mars bars. Fortunately for the Japanese women, they all claim that their children prefer Japanese foods. This is interesting to note because other researchers (e.g. Ali 2003; Caballero 2010) have found that mothers in mixed families attempt to impart the father's cultural and racial knowledge to their mixed children through food. Yet in the case of the Japanese/British families, we find the Japanese women maintaining a strong preference for Japanese foods, and no mention of using British foods to encourage their children's identity with their father's culture. This is perhaps party due to the fact that British culture is the dominant culture, and may also have something to do with the general positive opinion towards Japanese foods (i.e. Japanese food being seen as healthy and sushi being stylish). As such, food may be an aspect of Japanese culture that mixed families can more fully embrace because, as several parents, including Setsuko Potter mentioned, taking a Japanese *bento* to school tends to give the children a popularity boost: *"When [my daughter] was primary [school], and some of the friends, they always wanting her lunch box—'What do you have for lunch today? It's nice.'"* Thus, while bringing Japanese food to school for lunch can give the mixed children positive attention from their peers, the Japanese women sharing Japanese foods can also make them very popular among the parents, as Miyuki Ramsey proudly shares, "… *and then the mum and dad asked, when I went to collect up there, and said, 'Miyuki, you should make more because I couldn't eat the* onigiris!*'"* Both Miyuki and Setsuko seem very proud of how well-loved Japanese food is both locally and nationally, yet while having people love their Japanese cuisine can be considered a positive aspect of migration, it may further emphasise that they, along with their mixed children are *different*.

The Horizontal Transmission of Food

The perception of Japanese food as healthy was frequently cited, especially by the British men, emphasising this idea of the horizontal transmission of culture, where culture or preferences are transmitted

horizontally, as opposed to vertically. Junko McLeod speaks about the horizontal transmission of culture that happened between herself and her husband, when she took her husband on as a "food project" (Bove et al. 2003, p. 37):

> We usually eat Japanese food. And Adam's very fond of Japanese food, find it very healthy. Um, since we started going out together, I taught him how to cook, on Internet, and he managed to lose about 10 kilos. Yeah! It's quite good, and now he mastered how to use chopsticks and quite like eating food and serving quite artistic way, in small plates. He feels more satisfaction, rather than dumping everything in one plate, which could be rather quite convenient for me.

In such cases, it seems that, not only are the women transmitting their food preferences, which tend to be Japanese, to their partners, but because Japanese foods tend to be stereotypically healthy, they are also encouraging a healthy lifestyle. This can be seen as a positive occurrence, especially because many migrants tend to live more unhealthy lifestyles abroad, often resulting in increased alcohol and BMI[2] (cf. Brown et al. 2010). Nonetheless, while set on serving their families a healthy Japanese diet, sometimes the same women, because of various issues including stress surrounding migration, marriage and child-rearing, end up consuming an unhealthy diet and gaining weight themselves. This, for example, happened to one respondent who, soon after arriving in Edinburgh, found herself lonely, bored at home, pregnant, and turning to food (cf. Charles and Kerr 1986). In addition, several Japanese women also mentioned that an additional stress factor has been not being able to run to the grocery store and pick up their favourite comfort foods from home. This could be considered one of the stresses and "sacrifices" associated with food practises in a foreign country. In addition to comfort foods, all 12 families, regardless of whether or not they normally eat Japanese dishes, enjoy a cup of *ocha* or *mugicha* at mealtimes. Interestingly, when I visited the families in their homes, I was only offered black tea, yet when I visited the same homes with other Japanese women, we were offered green tea. As such, perhaps serving Japanese tea is a subtle sign of inclusion and exclusion (cf. Douglas 1972).

Japanese Foods Abroad

While teas may be an important aspect of Japanese cuisine, so too is short-grain Japanese-style rice. In the mixed families' homes, I observed that all families had a Japanese-style rice cooker. Yet because of the parents' different culinary traditions and food preferences, not all of the British men like Japanese rice; as such, the families' rice consumption varies from daily to occasionally. Furthermore, finding authentic, quality Japanese rice can be difficult and expensive; thus, most families resort to eating Chinese or Korean-style rice or American-produced Japanese rice and/or directly transporting rice from Japan.

While some Japanese women mentioned the difficulty of finding Japanese-specific foods and ingredients, most eventually find Japanese foods and ingredients, or near substitutes necessary for making Japanese dishes after a thorough search and/or through word of mouth. The next obstacle is the price of such specialty foods, as one participant put it, *"Japanese foods are expensive, but nonetheless, we manage somehow…"* Because of high prices and lack of authenticity, many Japanese women import items themselves, like Miyuki Ramsey. During a home observation, I noted that the family was eating *somen*; when I asked Miyuki where she had found the noodles, she said she had brought them, along with *owan* and *yunomi* and various other items from Japan when she last visited.

Another way that the mixed families obtain necessary ingredients for cooking Japanese dishes and satisfying their cravings for Japanese foods is through extended family. Several families shared that the meals they had prepared during my observations were made possible by extended family in Japan who had sent them packets of necessary ingredients, as well as special treats for the children, as I observed at the Clarks:

> *Mum and older daughter ate* Pocky *earlier, some Japanese sweets that the grandparents from Japan had sent them. Mum says that was the last box, so older daughter will now have to ask them to send some more… and older daughter excitedly replies that she'll save the box to show them when she asks them for more.*

Finally, because Japanese speciality foods or "treats" can be difficult to locate and quite expensive, the Japanese women tend to "ration" these foods for themselves and their children, often excluding the fathers. For example, because I had made a trip to Japan during my ethnography, I brought each family a bag of *mochiko*. Apparently, this is a favourite of the oldest daughter in the Clark family who, at this point in her life, has spent more of her life in Japan. As soon as she saw the *mochiko,* she ran to her mother and asked, in English *"Can we make it tomorrow?"* Mum then said, in English, *"Maybe after Christmas, since these are busy days,"* but then turned to her daughter and whispered in Japanese, *"Maybe we'll have it for lunch, while Daddy's at work?"* The older daughter smiled and nodded. In the Clark family, the father is not a big fan of Japanese-style rice, but there is no mention of his take on *mochi.* As such, Taeko may be trying to spare her husband from having to eat *mochi*, or she may be rationing this special treat for her daughter and herself, thus creating a special bonding space through the sharing of Japanese food. During another home observation, I witnessed a similar situation, where Miyuki Ramsey also seemed to be rationing or reserving special Japanese tea for her son and herself:

> *The family has finished dinner, and Mum is putting away the dishes and trying to explain to Dad what their son is drinking:* mugicha*. She says it's made from* barley*, but he can't understand her pronunciation of barley. She then pulls out the flour, and says—they roast this. Dad still thinks it's fermented tea, which is the same thing as beer. But Mum persists, "No, it's not the same thing! It's* ***roasted*** *and there's no caffeine!" So Dad asks, "So it's a good thing then?" She replies, "No, just refreshing!" Younger son tells Dad to try some, from Mum's cup. She immediately darts towards the table to stop Dad: "No! It's too expensive!" Younger son jokes around and says Mum paid £100 for the tea. Mum tells him to stop lying…*

In literature surrounding food and mothers, there tends to be an emphasis on mothers sacrificing their own food preferences for other members of the family (e.g. Anving and Thorsted 2010; Bove et al. 2003; Charles and Kerr 1986; DeVault 1991; Morgan 1996) . In the present study, we see that obviously, the women are sacrificing by living

in Britain because everyday Japanese foods have now become treats. Yet in many ways, the Japanese women are also refusing to sacrifice their Japanese foods by rationing and reserving them for themselves and their children, often covertly, because the British partner is not keen on certain Japanese foods, and/or because they simply want to share these foods with their children.

Beyond Food

While the Japanese women are introducing their children to Japanese foods, perhaps somewhat more unconsciously, they are also transmitting other aspects of their culture. In the following meal observation, my field notes offer a very candid view of the Ramsey family, particularly of how Miyuki is transmitting, through different methods, unique aspects of the Japanese culture to her children, and to some extent, to her husband Ryan, beginning with his use of the traditional Japanese greeting upon returning home:

> *As I enter the living room/dining room/kitchen, I see an* omamori *right by the hob. I also find younger son at the table, hungry and waiting for Dad, with the TV on in the background… The table is set with chopsticks, and Mum continually catches and scolds younger son for picking at the food. The menu is* somen. *On a side plate, there's thin, neatly cut slices of ham, cucumber, scrambled eggs, and Japanese pickles. There's also miso soup and cold tofu carefully decorated with ginger and green onions on the top… The older son soon joins us, greets me in Japanese, and then sits down on the couch in front of the TV to check his facebook page. Dad finally arrives home with the traditional Japanese greeting of* "Tadaima." *Mum quickly finishes setting the table, using glass bowls for the* somen *sauce and* owan *for the miso soup*. The family all sit down at the table and say "Itadakimasu." *Mum and the children say this in unison, and Dad trails behind… Although everyone seems to be using chopsticks, I slowly notice that younger son is using a fork while watching TV and drinking* mugicha *… Because they are eating noodles, I also hear* slurping, *a customary way of eating noodles in Japan. I look up from my notes and notice that the slurping sounds are coming from Mum and older son. Is this cultural? … Older son helps himself to more noodles, and younger*

son follows, but Mum scolds him and tells him to wait until his older brother is done. Everyone is getting noodles from a shared bowl, but Dad continues to ask Mum to get him more noodles, perhaps because he's not as good with his chopsticks or because he prefers being served by Mum? … Soon, only Dad and younger son are left at the table… Mum comes back and begins washing the dishes. Dad and younger son continue arguing about whether or not he's drinking beer or mugicha. *Younger son says Dad once told him that in Ireland–, they say "have a wee taste!" Dad says well, of course—it's a custom to say, "Have a drink!" Younger son then says something about apple tea, he is in a very silly mood. Mum scolds him again in Japanese, telling him to quit playing with the food and just hurry up and eat quickly! He finally finishes his food and places the* chawan *in the sink, and Mum scolds him again, in Japanese, saying not to set it down so roughly because it will break! The family is now finished, and Dad gets up to prepares a cuppa for Mum and himself.*

While food may be an everyday part of life, through mealtimes, the sharing of a meal, and the conversations had, many aspects of the parents' culture and personal preferences are being transmitted, much of this unconsciously, including the younger brother having to give way to his older brother, the Japanese-style of eating noodles, the way in which Mum serves Dad his noodles, and even the Irish custom of sharing drinks with one another (i.e. "Have a wee taste!"). Another custom that was observed with all the families was the Japanese mothers quite rigorously enforcing the usage of *Itadakimasu* and *Gochisousamadeshita* before and after meals. In this way, although we have seen "national culture" often problematised in mixed families, here we see a stereotypical and somewhat expected representation of "national culture" with the Japanese mothers transmitting traditional Japanese food etiquette and eating habits, both vertically to her children, as well as horizontally to her husband. Finally, we also see how Ryan is also transmitting part of his British culture horizontally to his wife when, at the end of dinner, he prepares tea for them. This everyday act is perhaps as revealing as saying "*Itadakimasu*" before beginning to eat, as tea is an important aspect of British culture that Ryan is sharing with his wife.

Finally, the Japanese mothers seem quite strict and/or frugal regarding their children (and at times their husbands as well) cleaning their plates. For example, at the Clark home, Taeko asks that her 8-year-old

daughter show Mum a completely bare apple core before she is allowed to throw it away, and at mealtimes, Taeko examines her daughter's plate, making sure it is clean enough. In the Ross home as well, Keiko goes a step further and asks that her husband also clean his plate before asking for seconds. By cleaning their plates, *Itadakimasu* comes to symbolise gratitude towards, not only giving thanks to the plants and animals who gave their lives for the meal, but also to the preparer of the food, all of which is closely linked to Buddhist philosophy. Yet there exists a universal link surrounding food and morality (Morgan 1996) , with parents almost universally referencing the "starving millions" as they encourage their children to clean their plates. Therefore, this social ideal of cleaning one's plate, for example, is not necessarily tied to any particular culture. What is important to stress here however is that only the mothers are concerned with the children cleaning their plates. Consequently, more than a cultural difference, this issue seems to be more about the gendered division of labour surrounding foodwork and parenting.

Where to Eat?

Regarding the location of the meals, the mixed families tend to consume their meals on Western-style tables and chairs, as opposed to the traditional *kotatsu,* which in Japan is not merely a traditional source of heat and a place to gather together as a family, but also the family's dining table. Thus, while the mixed families do maintain many important aspects of traditional Japanese mealtimes, only one family, the Walkers, have their meals at the *kotatsu.* In his interview, Cameron Walker, who has a personal preference for Japanese living spaces, spoke passionately about the *kotatsu*:

> I think when we went to Japan though, it did really change my view on um, the environment we were providing for [our son]. Japan is, Japan is, uh, amazing, brilliant! That's why when we came back, we put the kotatsu out, because it's like—when we used to sit around the table—our son just wasn't comfortable in the seat, and then you take him out of the seat and put him on the floor, and he's kind of looking up at you,

> just going— <makes sad face>… Um, and in the meantime, I start seeing other things, like I think the environment we provide is quite, quite rigid, um, like bathrooms and kitchens and everything, it's just like—eeh.

The Walker family thus provides another example of how mixed families problematise the idea of "national culture", as we observe a British man advocating for the Japanese *kotatsu*. In other words, the Japanese culture is not tied to the Japanese parent, and the British father is thus able to share, perhaps not his culture per se, but his eating preferences, in this case, his preference for eating on the floor, at the *kotatsu*, with his mixed child and his Japanese wife.

Negotiating Foodwork Responsibilities

Most of the meal preparation in the 12 families is done by the Japanese mothers, as is the norm for most couples in Western society (e.g. Cairns et al. 2010; DeVault 1991; Morgan 1996). While the roles are straightforward for ten of the families, with the women responsible for feeding their families, the MacFarlanes and the Potters are somewhat different because they are trying to balance the responsibilities more equally between the two partners. The MacFarlanes are doing so in order to diversify their children's palate, and the Potters because of practical reasons, as Setsuko works full-time and Lewis identifies as the househusband.

Stuart and Ayaka MacFarlane first met in Japan while Stuart was teaching English near Ayaka's hometown in Hiroshima. During his three years in Japan, because Stuart is a vegetarian, he encountered some challenges with Japanese cuisine and the many dishes which revolve around fish. Here, Ayaka recalls her husband's experience of being a vegetarian in Japan:

> Yes, it seems easy, it seemed easy, but actually, lots of—we visited lots of restaurants or some—yeah, lots of ingredients use bonito, katsuobushi, or yasai pasta—it's called yasai pasta but got bacon in it, but so—eating out wasn't—sometimes little bit tricky, but eh, he enjoyed going to mawaru sushi—that, he can choose which he likes, and he cooked …

As a result of Stuart being vegetarian, in the MacFarlane home, although Stuart is the self-identified breadwinner and Ayaka is the full-time parent, in order to diversify their children's palate and introduce them to a wide range of dishes, including vegetarian dishes with which Ayaka is not familiar, the couple have decided to take turns preparing meals. This is in line with research (Ali 2003; Beagan et al. 2008; Marshall and Anderson 2000) that finds that, while most men maintain the role of "helper" in the kitchen, in mixed families, because fathers feel a sort of responsibility to transmit their own culinary preferences to their children, they often take on the role of actually preparing and serving foods for their families, and in this way, creating that special link between food and their culture. While Stuart is trying to contribute more to meal preparations, reasons such as late nights at work make sharing foodwork responsibilities difficult. As a result, Ayaka carries more of the burden and becomes the primary person in charge of meal preparations even on weekends, when Stuart is home. However, because Stuart and Ayaka are determined to raise their children with diverse palates, they persist in sharing the foodwork responsibilities. Here, Ayaka explains the set-up in more detail:

> Yes, for example, I'm in charge next week, so I'm trying to introduce, maybe two days Japanese, and maybe two European dish, or just two other, maybe Asian or Thai, Chinese, or whatever, and something left over, or sometimes can just go for pizza! So I'm trying to just mix any culture, about dish. [When Stuart's in charge]: Sometimes—yes, yesterday he cooked Japanese donburi, so he cooks various as well, using various carbohydrates, like rice, pasta, potatoes, so—and he also makes European dish, or sometimes Asian or—quite mixed.

Although Ayaka and Stuart make an effort to share *foodwork* responsibilities in order to diversify their children's palates, through my observations, it seems that in the end, not only does Ayaka tend to do more of the cooking, but she is also found serving the meals and cleaning up afterwards. This is somewhat different from other studies (i.e. Ali 2003; Beagan et al. 2008) which found men, while not responsible for everyday cooking, at least helping in the kitchen. What follows are field notes from my dinner observation at the MacFarlane home, via Skype.

> *Menu:* nabemono… *traditional Japanese food where a pot is set in the middle of the table and all sit around and eat together from the shared pot. The boys are very excited, as they all want* konyaku. *When mum finally joins them at the table, they all say "*Itadakimasu.*" They are all using chopsticks and eating vegetables with Japanese rice. … Mum serves everyone from the pot… then, after a few minutes, she gets up from the table and goes to the hob. She's working on the second course—more* nabemono*, this time, she's making some* udon *noodles. Dad remains at the table talking to the boys… Mum finally returns to the table and asks,* "Udon taberu hito?" [Who wants udon?] *They all answer* "Hai!" [Yes!] …*She comes back to the table to grab the pot, fills it up, and then returns to the table. Once she puts the pot down, she begins to serve everyone* udon… *The boys giggle as they eat their noodles and tofu…*

For the MacFarlanes who are determined to globalise their children's palates, dishes such as *nabemono* seem ideal, as it is a Japanese vegetarian dish. However, because meats, and particularly fish, are somewhat of a staple food for Japanese cuisine, Ayaka struggles at times, trying to decide which to "sacrifice": her husband's vegetarian diet or fish, which is not only her personal preference, but also what she considers an important aspect of Japanese cuisine. Her solution has been to eat fish for lunch, just with her sons, while Stuart is away at work. The MacFarlanes thus find themselves negotiating "Japanese" cuisine and vegetarianism, which is an important aspect of Stuart's culinary heritage. Further, the idea of "national culture" is also further complicated here because while Ayaka may feel that transmitting sushi equals passing on her Japanese culture, she is more likely passing on her food preference, which in this case, happens to be Japanese, but could also now be considered a global food, as one can find sushi in most major cities around the world. Further complicating this idea of "national culture" is Stuart encouraging his children to eat vegetarian dishes, which could also be considering his passing on to his children both his food preference and an important aspect of his culture. Another similar case was observed in the Walker home, where husband Cameron shares Stuart's culinary heritage:

> We grew up being vegetarians, my family, um, and that meant food became very important because most people said, "You're crazy, bringing up your kids as vegetarians," especially because I was also huge – I was

> massive – I was like 5 kilos when I was born, and I was always really big! Um, and um, so my mum spent a lot of time focused on food, like um, she would order like, organic milk from Wales and have it sent especially, and she'd make iron bread and she's spend a lot of time thinking about food and stuff like that.

However, upon moving to Japan, Cameron felt forced to become a pescetarian due to very limited vegetarian meal choices. When he married Hiroko years later, she converted from being a carnivore to a pescetarian, and as she explains, this has actually had a positive spin-off effect on her own diet (Falk et al. 2000): "*So yeah, that's good for me, but still he's really strictly looking after himself, and what he's eating, so that is actually influenced me a lot, although I'm still eating a little bit junk food!*" As such, we see how two families have learned to negotiate different parental diets: for the MacFarlanes, the mother and sons have chosen to be pescetarians only during lunchtime; and for the Walkers, we see both partners compromising, with one going from vegetarian to pescetarian and the other from carnivore to pescetarian. Further, while we saw Junko McLeod take on her husband Adam as a food project, we also see how women, like Hiroko Walker, is being encouraged by her husband Cameron to eat more healthily. In addition, we also see that the transmission of culture can work both horizontally and vertically, with, for example, Cameron sharing his food habits with Hiroko, and then Hiroko choosing to vertically pass these food habits on to their son.

In this way, because the Japanese women are the main food providers in their families, unless they deliberately choose to include typical British or Western dishes into their family's diet, the children will mostly be brought up with Japanese and Japanese-influenced dishes. In addition, the idea of the Japanese woman serving her family British or Western dishes further complicates the idea of "national culture" and further encourages the fluidity of the transmission of culture, allowing the Japanese mother to transmit the British "culture" to her mixed children by preparing British dishes. On the other hand, the mother preparing a meal from her partner's culture may further perpetuate gender stereotypes of women belonging in the kitchen because, instead of the father preparing a meal from his culture for his mixed family, the mother

is having to learn his cultural dishes, thus not only being responsible for foodwork, but also culture work. When I visited the MacFarlanes one Saturday morning, I found that, although it was Ayaka's "week", she had chosen to prepare a typical British breakfast for her family:

> *The table is set, with bowls of porridge, and milk and orange juice on the side… When they begin to eat, Mum says* "Itadakimasu"*, and older son and Dad follow along… However, younger son refuses, and also says he doesn't want porridge. Mum says that he's got to eat what he's served, and if he doesn't like it, he can just not eat anything at all. He begins to throw a tantrum, and Dad takes him outside. He comes back with tears drying on his face, sits down, says* "Itadakimasu"*, and begins to eat. He can't cut through the porridge, so Dad suggests he puts some milk in it, which he does, as well as adding quite a bit of strawberry jam. Perhaps this is one way Dad contributes to "culture work"? Older son is soon done with his porridge and goes back to his study/play area… At this time, Mom is up by the hob, making their next course… The next meal is soon ready: it's potato scones, scrambled eggs, toast, and baked beans, apparently a very traditional Scottish breakfast. As the family sits down to eat, younger son begins to say* "Itadakimasu" *again, and everyone laughs, saying it's ok to not say it before every course.*

In many ways, meals at the MacFarlane home may resemble other British families' meals, particularly with porridge and baked beans on the menu, laughter at the table, and in general, a predominantly mother-based cuisine, as well as a father who both disciplines and helps with the feeding of the children. In other ways though, the MacFarlane family also differ from the British norm, from the observation of traditional Japanese table greetings, the frequent appearance of Japanese dishes or Japanese-influenced Western dishes, and the use of two languages at the table, resulting perhaps as different aspects of the mixed family's "new joint family food system" (Bove et al. 2003).

In a similar way, the Potters are also attempting to transmit to their children both Japanese and Western foods and table manners. Setsuko and Lewis Potter began their relationship in Edinburgh, and when they later married, they decided to stay in town, near Lewis's family. In the early years, because Setsuko was not familiar with Scottish cuisine, her mother-in-law taught her how to prepare some Scottish dishes. This is

similar to Twine's (2010) findings where she also observed women learning to make special cultural dishes through the help of their in-laws. However, for the Potters, about 2 years ago, Lewis was made redundant at work, and as a result, their roles were reversed: Setsuko became the breadwinner, and Lewis became the househusband. As such, the family now tends to consume more father-based cooking, and line with what Cairns and colleagues (2010) found, the theme of family health is generally absent from men's concerns, including Lewis, as Setsuko explains:

> We have kind of a mixture [of foods]. I'm trying to now—when I wasn't working, I usually—maybe four times a week like Japanese, and you know, like a twice, three times, pastas and things, you know. And for the Japanese food, mainly rice, we have rice and miso soup, mundane, like fish and meat or vegetables, those typical things, but since I'm working, Lewis taking over, at least half a week. And one time, I think he was cooking lots of eh, oven-ready meals, maybe he couldn't do very much, then, actually, he found out he put so much weight! And he realised that we have to do something about it, so he start to kind of doing healthy food for himself, and that time, I was a little bit worried about—when Lewis put so much weight, I start to be a little bit worried about my kids as well, because they have a same meal when I'm working. So kind of, I guide him off from the like, those pies and chips and—still they have pizza quite often, maybe once a week, probably, but try—instead of chips, try use potato or anything. So Lewis start cooking like frying sometimes fish, but he can't cook rice …

The Potter family's diet has been through some dramatic changes in the past couple of years, with Setsuko returning to the workforce and Lewis becoming the stay-at- home parent and taking over most of the food-work responsibilities. Another factor to consider is that, like Lewis, men do not initially seem as concerned about healthy eating, confirming that women are the ones who monitor the family's health (cf. Beagan et al. 2008). In Lewis' case though, as he began to gain weight, his concern about the health of himself and his family began to rise and he sought Setsuko's help in making their family's meals healthier. Here, Lewis himself reflects on how he is now starting to think more carefully about his family's diet:

> Well, Setsuko does all the Japanese side of it, because I've not got a clue how to—I still don't know how to boil rice. Erm, so that's the healthy side. But with Setsuko working, in the last couple of years, maybe there's been less Japanese food. When I worked full-time, there was maybe more Japanese food. Yeah. Erm, I can't recall the names, but just your basic Japanese food. As for me, it's your sausage, beans, and chips, and—well, it was. I've been house-husband for now, over two years, so—it's developing. Erm, like it's not—it's sausage, beans and mash and peas and stuff like that, or breaded fish and always vegetables and something like that.

During my home observations at the Potter home, I was able to observe meals that were prepared by both Setsuko and Lewis. This is another interesting observation because, while Setsuko is the breadwinner of the family, she still shares foodwork responsibilities with her husband. This was not the case for any of the male breadwinners in the study, with the exception of Stuart MacFarlane. In the following observation notes, we find the Potter family, who usually eat meals prepared by Lewis, enjoying a meal cooked by Setsuko:

> *When I arrive at their home, their usually busy dinner table is set very neatly … with only the essentials left: black cork board place mats, chopsticks,* tonkatsu *sauce, and two* furikake *containers. Mum is busy in the kitchen putting the finishing touches on the meal, the children are setting the table, and Dad sits on his armchair. He soon gets up and helps out as well. The menu: Mum's* korokke *with cabbage and rice on the side. The* korokke *and cabbage are served on a plain white plate while the rice is served in a traditional Japanese rice bowl. As they sit down, Dad gets right back up and goes to grab the mayonnaise from the fridge, for the cabbage. They then all sit down and begin their meal by saying "*Itadakimasu*!" … The son attempts to use chopsticks, but then resorts to using a fork. Dad also doesn't seem to be able to use chopsticks properly. Mum and older daughter are natural chopstick users. As they begin their meal and pour sauce on their* korokke*, Dad asks if the sauce is BBQ sauce. Mum and daughter laugh and explain that it's* tonkatsu *sauce, the sauce they always use with* korokke*. … Dad then asks about* korokke*. Mum informs him that they include potatoes, carrots, onions, and mince meat. Dad continues to ask about this dish… what other types are there? Is there chicken* korokke*? Mum and daughter giggle again, no. But Mum explains that there is cream* korokke *… Mum then asks son,*

> *"*Oshimai*?" [Done?] And Dad answers for him, "Yeah, I think so." … It seems as if son doesn't like Japanese food that much… perhaps because he's used to Dad's cooking… All family members then end the meal with "*gochisousamadeshita*", with son requiring a bit of assistance from Mum.*

Although this home observation may have started off as a sort of performance, it ended up being quite revealing. In particular, while Setsuko casually told me, "Oh, we're just having *korokke."* It seems like her cooking, as well as this dish specifically, is somewhat of a special treat for the family, particularly for the daughter, who seemed especially excited. Further, the mother and daughter seem to be insiders and experts on *korokke* and in this way, we find them transmitting culture to Lewis, both vertically (daughter–father) and horizontally (wife–husband). Yet as they explain *korokke* and giggle, they also seem to be poking fun at Lewis, who is somewhat clueless about the different sauces and types of *korokke*. Perhaps knowledge about Japanese cuisine is another space for bonding and the sharing of culture between the Japanese mother and her children.

While a meal prepared by Setsuko seemed to be a treat for all, on another day, when I observed a meal prepared by Lewis, there seemed to be less excitement, as if this was more of the norm for the family. As my field notes below confirm, although the menu did become more British or Western when Lewis was in charge, other aspects of the meal remained more or less consistent, perhaps suggesting that, while contents of the menu may shift, there are aspects of the "new joint family food system" (Bove et al. 2003), including the table settings, that remain unchanged, thus emphasising their unique family food culture:

> *Today, I visited the Potter family. The kids are on summer vacation from school, and Mum was on her annual leave from work, so everyone was home on a Tuesday afternoon for lunch. Menu: Pasta (Pesto and Tomato) + Salad + Squash Juice = Dad's Meal. When I arrive, Mum lets me inside and I am greeted by both children who are in the living room awaiting lunch. Dad is busy in the kitchen, and Mum offers me a cuppa. Dad then pops his head in from the kitchen as he sets the table. He brings in the plates of pasta and salad, except for the younger son, who doesn't like salad. They are soon all sat at the table and Dad says, "*Itadakimasu*." Mum*

follows, and so does the older daughter, but younger son struggles with the word and must take it slowly, one syllable at a time. Older daughter asks if the pasta sauce is the same as what they had the other day, or if it's a different brand. Dad says it's a cheaper brand but, "What matters is, how does it taste? Do you like it?" She nods … After everyone finishes, Mum makes son say Gochisousamadeshita. *Dad and daughter follow along, and this ends the meal.*

While what the families eat at home can be an important part of doing family, in mixed families, it can be even more important because it is often through food choices that the transmission of the parents' culinary heritage and personal food preferences happens. Further, while parents may in part be preparing meals that they are familiar with and that they themselves enjoy eating, it also seems that the parents, particularly the mothers, go beyond the mantra of "eating to live", to using food to introduce the children to Japanese cuisine, as well as, to some extent, British/ Western cuisine. We also see that, regardless of the menu, there are obviously hints of Japanese influence in the mixed families' meals, including mothers using chopsticks to cook, drinking Japanese green tea and saying the traditional Japanese greetings before and after meals; however, at the same time, there are also hints of a Western/British influence, including the ingredients, the individual corkboard place mats, the way in which the table is set, and of course the actual table in which they sit.

Eating with the Relatives

We have thus far focused on the mixed families' food habits within the home, amongst their nuclear family. In this final section, we discuss how the extended family also plays an important role in the transmission of culture via food. This is true, particularly when we consider that British kin can be a strong support system for the Japanese women attempting to learn the foods of her husband and his family and thus locate themselves in their husbands' extended family (Caballero 2010; Twine 2010). Although this was not mentioned frequently in the

present study, Setsuko Potter did share how food connected her to her husband's family, particularly her mother-in-law:

> And also, lots of soup, I really enjoy here: Scotch Broth or like, Leek and Potato, yes. And actually, my mother-in-law eh, when—before I had my daughter, between the time when I lost the job and before I had her, I think once, once a week, she came around to teach me some baking, so I learned a few Scottish baking stuff as well, yes. And also, we always – I think once a week, at that time, we always went for the Sunday meals and things there. And after my daughter was born, apart from altogether going once a week, on the plus, myself and my daughter, we visited, I think Wednesday, every Wednesday in the lunchtime, we visited to have, you know, time together as well, yes.

While this type of horizontal transmission of culture, from mother-in-law to daughter-in-law is rare, several families did share how food creates opportunities for them to interact with extended family members, often on a weekly basis. The Patersons, for example, have the paternal grandparents visit them for dinner every Monday, and Kikuko prepares a Japanese dish for everyone while her mother-in-law watches her daughter and often prepares "Western" side dishes and desserts. The Hamiltons, on the other hand, go over to Granny's for Sunday dinner every week, where Granny prepares dinner for 14 people, and according to son Colin: *"she does love it, she really does."* The Hamiltons' Sunday dinners were particularly interesting to hear about because, as paternal grandparents Scarlett and George explain, Sunday dinners were once very important for Scottish families. For the Hamiltons, they still are, and the children in particular seem to enjoy this special time with their grandparents and cousins, as their mother Chiyoki shares,

> And [we eat] not just them, my parents-in-law, it's uh, 14 of us, my sister-in-law and granny-in-law, aunt-in-law—everybody … I can see my parents-in-law love my children a lot, and my children love my parents-in-law.

The central part that food plays in families is well observed in the ritual that the Hamiltons follow, with their Sunday dinners centred around

food and stories, and often, as granddad George admits, *"We discuss! <laughs> But it gets very loud! Oh, that's something to remember, with our discussions—our granddaughter used to do that <covers ears>, so—but that's us—."* Such experiences are especially valuable because they provide the children with a sense of belonging and familial identity, and at the same time, an opportunity to transmit culture (traditions, foods and rituals) to the next generation. While scholarship surrounding the feeding of the family has tended to focus on the relationship between mothers and children (e.g. Morgan 1996; Nicklaus 2009), it seems that while mothers obviously influence the food choices and habits of the children, so too do the fathers and even the extended family.

Conclusions

In his study of food and memory, Sutton (2008, p. 157) came across the following comment from one of his colleagues, "Food and memory? Why would anyone want to remember anything they had eaten?" Yet we do remember, and in this chapter, I asked participants to share their memories surrounding food habits and mealtimes. What was found was that foods people eat can indeed be powerful symbols of who they are, and that food is strongly linked to family (Fox 2003). Further, as Morgan (1996) finds, food is also connected to national identity:

> Every time a French person buys a baguette or visits a charcuterie and every time an English person stops for fish and chips or prepares a Sunday lunch, they are also reproducing a sense of national distinction and national identity (p. 170).

Yet in today's globalised world, it is quite common to see a French person eating *fish and chips*, or an English person buying a *baguette,* again problematising this sense of "national culture". In a similar way, because of the consequences of gloablisation as well as mixedness, a Japanese woman can serve porridge to her children for breakfast, and her British husband can choose to sit at the *kotatsu* instead of the table. In this way, we see that, in mixed families, the transmission of culture through food

is diverse and can include anything from passing on national dishes to sharing familial or individual food preferences or mealtime rituals.

One of the major findings from this chapter is that, in line with past studies, women continue to be responsible for foodwork. While reasons for this may include the fact that the majority are full-time stay-at-home mothers, it could also be due to the burden the women feel of being the "culture carriers" (Song 2003). Further, while several researchers (e.g. Beagan et al. 2008; Marshall and Anderson 2000) found men to be more involved in foodwork, at least in supporting or helping roles, in the present study, the men generally remain uninvolved. Similarly, while Ali (2003) found that men in mixed families seem to feel a sort of responsibility to transmit their own culinary heritages to their children and thus may assist with *foodwork* as a vehicle for sharing their food preferences with their children, this was very rarely observed in the Japanese/British families. Instead, women continue to carry a heavier burden regarding the feeding of the family, and this is problematic on at least two accounts: (1) it perpetuates the unequal division of labour and (2) the children may lack cultural foods from their father's side.

Finally, both the British men and the Japanese women seem to be open to compromise and in this way, seem to be creating a "new joint family food system" (Bove et al. 2003) alongside their new mixed family culture. In this new food system, we find parents generally remaining more focused on ordinary concerns (Caballero et al. 2008a), such as their children's diets and health, as opposed to the transmission of their respective culinary heritages. Nonetheless, we do see that the parents, particularly mothers, view eating as more than simply meeting the physiological needs of their families, but also as an opportunity to transmit their culture and food preferences to their children. At the same time, while parents may be determined to influence their mixed children's food habits, we must also remember that children are active social actors and influence their own food choices and habits, like the young man who suddenly realised, alongside his peers, that he liked chips. As such, the food choices that parents and families make are never unintentional (Fox 2003), but far from being an attempt to transmit culture to their children, they are usually influenced more by the parents' personal preferences, including their childhood diets (i.e. vegetarianism), health

concerns, and now, the children's own dietary needs and preferences. In this way, food choices, along with the ritualised practises of sharing meals become important aspects of doing family because it is here that intimate emotional ties are made (Falicov 2007, p. 159), cultural dishes and favourite foods are shared and transmitted, and the mixed families forge a new *mixed family food system* that may be described as a different type of fusion cuisine, "careful to keep differences distinct even as the ingredients are tweaked into new combinations [because] only then will the result be genuinely new and exciting" (Goldstein 2005, p. iv) and delicious.

Notes

1. Fusion cuisine originated as different groups interacted through intermarriage and migration (Takaki 1983), and more recently, through media and technologies (Duruz 2011, p. 56).
2. Body Mass Index.

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5

Kin: Intergenerational Transnational Relationships

Overview

In this chapter, the mixed family's extended family is discussed. Cheal (2002, p. 152) suggests that despite the many changes in our lives, family remains "among the most enduring of our social experiences". By family, we refer to Baldassar and Merla's (2014, p. 12) definition which "includes both nuclear and extended types whose members are actively engaged [both in caring *for* and caring *about*] in family survival and maintenance". While extended family members can play an important role in the lives of the next generation, they can play a particularly significant role in mixed families, where parents are negotiating and attempting to transmit two cultures to their children, as opposed to one shared culture.

While a significant body of literature exists surrounding the kin of mixed families (e.g. Ali 2003; Bauer 2010; Caballero et al. 2008a; Caballero 2010; Spickard 1989; Twine 2010; Tyler 2005), in order to present a thorough picture of kin relations, literature from various disciplines will also be included, from sociology to family studies to psychology to migration studies, all in an effort to better understand the

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relationships that mixed families have with their kin. Further, a specific exploration of the labour division in kinkeeping, which is defined as "keeping family members in touch with one another" (Rosenthal 1985, p. 966), as well as the relationships of kin with the mixed families, will be discussed. Finally, the parents have shared their aspirations for their children to become bicultural and bilingual. What part then, if any, do extended family members play in supporting such aspirations? In the same vein: is cultural transmission as important to the mixed families' kin as it is to the parents, or are they more interested in simply being grandparents, aunts and uncles? Through becoming familiar with the available literature, revisiting the research questions, and analysing the data from the present study, particularly the interviews with extended family members, a discussion on the relationships with extended family members is presented.

All About Family

Parsons' (1949, p. 243) classic diagram of the traditional family identifies individuals as being born into a "family of orientation", which consists of a father, mother and child(ren). The children then eventually move on to begin their own family of procreation. Yet recent scholarship, including Cheal's (2002, p. 5) work, suggests that Parsons' idealisation of the 1950s family is restrictive, particularly in cross-cultural family studies, since such families are often considered to exist outside the "norm". This is further emphasised by Naumann (2011, p. 36), who argues that, in every society, there exist cultural assumptions and norms of what family *should* look like. As a result, instead of focusing on traditional blood relations, contemporary studies on family now focus more on the intimate relations with one another (Gabb 2008, p. 16), family practises, and the everyday aspects of doing family (Morgan 1996, 2011) .

One important aspect of doing family is taking into account the lifecycle of relationships (cf. Sweetser 1963; Fischer 1981), which often culminates into the paradox of "distant intimacy" where "each party realises that the other party has different needs and limitations requiring a new degree of distance… [thus] distance improves the relationship

and can be said to serve as a bridge to a different kind of intimacy" (Fingerman 2001, p. 26). In line with this idea of distant intimacy, nuclear families realise that they are separate from their extended family, defined as people who have "relational connections", both biological and blood connections, as well as kinship established through marriage (McCarthy and Edwards 2011, pp. 127, 129). Conversely, nuclear families also realise that they do not exist in isolation, that they are connected to a larger group that they depend on for (and that depend on them), among other things, support and resources (Cheal 2002, p. 13). In particular, this wider family can play an important role in mixed families because they provide a familial identification that is "raced" or ethnicised (Ali 2003, p. 108), allowing the children to belong in two extended family groups, on different continents, in different languages, each with their own set of traditions, preferences, values and beliefs.

In-Laws

Finch (1989, p. 51) suggests that sometimes in-law relationships are conducted "through and in a sense for the sake of, a third party". While that third party may initially be their partners, eventually, it can include their children, and thus it is important to include a discussion on in-laws when exploring mixed families. The relationship with one's partner's families is often difficult for any couple, but particularly in mixed unions, and even more so when transitioning from casual dating to marriage, where children become a higher possibility (Rodríguez-García et al. 2016, p. 533). Further, upon marriage, the in-law connection is confirmed, making up the outer-circle family, "the only one of those [circles] linked to ego's inner circle to which he [sic] is bound not by descent and consanguinity but only by affinity…", only a code of conduct, so to speak (Parsons 1949, p. 246) . Again, while in-law relationships in general can be difficult, homogenous couples tend to be more likely to find "approval" from their partner's family, and have an easier time fitting into their social networks (Feng et al. 2012, p. 162). Mixed couples, on the other hand, may have a harder time being "approved" and "fitting into" their partners' social networks, especially their

partner's family. However, Rodríguez-García and colleagues (2016, p. 533) suggest that, while there are cases where rejection, tension and conflict arise because of the mixed relationship, in most cases, such conflict already existed between the individual and their family of origin before they entered into a mixed relationship. In-laws therefore become another important set of relationships to explore as they tend to influence future kin relationships.

Kin

Scholarship has thus far supported a general matrilineal bias (e.g. Fischer 1983; Monserud 2008; Sweetser 1963) concerning kin relations, particularly as women become mothers and re-establish with their own mothers a "maternally oriented intimacy" (Fischer 1983, p. 191). While women may thus favour their own family over their husband's, this bias is far less common in men, as they do not tend to give any relative preference (Marx et al. 2011, p. 1216). Moreover, regarding the children, one often highlighted relationship is the grandparent–grandchild relationship because of their "interesting and distinctive blend of closeness and distance" (Finch 1989, p. 41): on one end, the central parent–child bond, and on the other end, the great age gap. With today's technology, much of this intergenerational interaction happens regardless of geographic location, with children themselves identifying visual and telephonic contact as aspects of supportive kin relationships (Creasey and Koblewski 1991, p. 384). Finally, intergenerational kin relationships can be important to a child's identity, particularly a mixed child's identity because as Waters (1990, p. 62) found, individuals who strongly identify with a particular ancestral ethnicity attribute this strong link to a grandparent or other relative who shared their knowledge and interest of this particular ethnicity with the young person. Extended family members can thus play an influential role in the lives of the mixed children, yet factors such as the parents' own relationships with their parents (McCarthy and Edwards 2011, p. 107) as well as migration can also influence such relationships.

Migration

Migration is a concern that family studies have identified as one of the most important variables in the maintenance of intergenerational relationships (Baldassar and Baldock 2000). One reason for this may be because geographic distance caused by migration can limit practical methods of support such as household assistance and meal preparations (Ackers and Stalford 2004, p. 136). For transnational families, this becomes especially problematic because, as Morgan (1996, p. 138) claims, the "specialness" of family is often found amidst caring. In Finch's (1989) classic work, she identified five types of caring or "support" given between family members: *economic* (usually from older to younger generations); *accommodation; personal* (e.g. nursing); *practical* (e.g. childcare); and *emotional and moral* (routine support and crisis support, especially between mother and daughter). For kin separated by geographic distance, alternative forms of support are often sought, including visits from both sides. These visits not only offer an opportunity to provide practical support, but also serve to strengthen connections and bonds. In particular, visits with grandparents have been identified as giving children a "sense of cultural heritage" (Caballero et al. 2008a, p. 48). This is particularly true for minority ethnic grandparents who often see themselves as carrying the "responsibility for handing down religious and cultural traditions and rituals…" (McCarthy and Edwards 2011, p. 109). Intergenerational kin relationships are therefore important to discuss because it is in these relationships that culture is made "and remade, in the prayers, around the dining room table … and in the midst of family arguments" (Sirin and Fine 2007, p. 161). Yet when cultural differences and geographic distance exist, relationships can become more complicated.

Transnational Families

There has recently been a rise in the usage of the term "transnational migration", yet it is not a new phenomenon: "Interaction between individuals in home and host countries has generally always occurred,

though distinctions can be made regarding pattern, frequency, consistency and type" (Baldassar 2007, p. 285). Nonetheless, regarding *transnational families*, in the present study, Bryceson and Vuorela's (2002, p. 3) definition will be used: "families that live some or most of the time separated from each other, yet hold together and create something that can be seen as a feeling of collective welfare and unity, namely 'familyhood', even across national borders." With technological advancements, including cheaper phone rates, the Internet, and the convenience of air travel, it is now easier than ever for transnational families to maintain contact with one another. As a result, as Fingerman (2001, p. 30) suggests, even transnational families who may not be actively involved in one another's day-to-day lives can share a sense of intimacy. Further, Ackers and Stalford (2004, p. 137) actually suggest that, somewhat ironically, migration often makes individuals more keen on maintaining contact with their families of origin. However, as Svašek (2008, p. 216) argues, the migrants' desire to be in two places at once, to maintain emotional connections with those back in their homeland while also trying to make their new surroundings feel more like home, never disappears, even with technological advancements.

Family: As Self

Revisiting the Family of Origin

In this section, we examine the parents' families of origin since, as Bauer (2010) suggests, mixed families cannot be understood without including their families of origin as current kin relationships tend to be a reflection of the history between individuals. In addition, it is important to examine the couples' families of origin because early childhood experiences tend to influence the way they and their families of procreation later maintain relationships with their extended family. To begin our discussion on the family of origin, we turn to 34-year-old Cameron Walker, born and raised in a small city in England, the youngest of three boys. Here, Cameron shares about his experience with his grandparents, which seems to have been influenced by his parents' relationship with them:

> I used to see my mum's mum and dad once a year, maybe, um, and I just disliked going to their house—I just remember going like, "Oh, I really don't want to go there!" And I really—I couldn't understand what they were talking about it was just a little bit like—I remember we used to go and as soon as we got old enough, we would say, "Can we go outside now?" And we'd just go walking… They were both nice people, um, and interesting people, but I just didn't—I don't know—it didn't feel like—I think it was probably because my parents were not able to be themselves in that environment… I kind of got this sense that when we'd go and see them, they would kind of be looking at us and saying—they'd kind of make judgments about my parents, and I just wasn't comfortable with that…

In this way, parents' relationship with their family of origin, as well as the quality and frequency of contact with kin can influence, among other things, the development of the child's familial identity and their consequent kin relationships. Nonetheless, as an adult, Cameron has chosen to maintain close ties with his parents and two brothers, and he is determined that his wife and son also enjoy a close relationship with them, which includes frequent and regular visits between the family. In addition, Cameron, from the beginning of his relationship with Hiroko, has also advocated for Hiroko's family in Japan to be involved in their lives, particularly during special moments, such as their wedding:

> I was absolutely delighted that Hiroko's family were coming [to our wedding], and I think that was—I felt that was really, really important, to kind of get that initial start, that we had that commitment from both of our families to come. I don't think I would have got married in the UK if Hiroko's parents hadn't of come, and her family— I don't know, there's hardly any point…I really felt that that was quite important, that first step, because I think we're both aware you need to make—it's harder, the distance and the culture, you need something to uh, to get people to kind of associate with us, because we want both of our families to be involved in our lives.

Cameron's desire is that both his family of origin and his in-laws be actively involved in his new family. Interestingly, Cameron's effort to

maintain relationships with both sides of kin contradicts literature surrounding kinkeeping (e.g. Sweetser 1963, Marx et al. 2011) which stresses the woman as the kinkeeper, responsible for maintaining contact with both sides of the family. In the present study however, several men, like Cameron, were found to be actively sharing the responsibilities of kinkeeping by assisting their wives, and sometimes even taking the lead in maintaining and encouraging relationships with both sides of kin. For example, although the Walkers are more in contact with Cameron's parents, Hiroko admits that Cameron also encourages her to maintain contact with her parents:

> And we spoke—we speak to Cameron's parents on Skype, quite regularly, they sang songs for [my son] and yeah. [We speak to them] probably twice a week, twice or three times a week, maybe not all the time Skype, but. [With my family], maybe once a two weeks or yeah—I don't—I normally don't talk to my family quite often, but my husband encourage me to talk more, because they talk a lot inside family, so.

In this way, we see that, because it is the norm for Cameron and his family to maintain frequent contact with one another, he is trying to "transmit" or share this aspect of his culture with his wife and her family. Colin Hamilton is also in a similar situation. He maintains a close relationship to his parents, while he describes his wife Chiyoki's relationship with her family as a "*cold relationship*" which is now affecting his children's relationships with their Japanese kin:

> When Chiyoki was away, say living in England, she might not phone her parents for, three, four, five months, "I'm still alive" sort of thing. Whereas, when I lived – three years I lived in Japan, I phoned my mum and dad once a week… so I think that continues now… When we lived for the four months in Japan, I was Skyping my mum and dad and allowing them to see the grandkids as well, more than once a week, during that period. We tried to get Chiyoki's mum and dad to Skype, where they can see their grandchildren, they are not interested. They're really like, they don't want to know, and they're their only grandchildren—which is some evidence of what we said earlier, a lack of closeness that's there with my—was there between my mum and dad, but wasn't there between her mum

> and dad, that's continuing with the grandchildren, so that's why I say, even if we lived in Japan, I don't think there would be the relationship that they have with their grandparents here. I very much doubt it. I suppose it's the way they are as a couple, the way they brought up their child, that's then—that child's child is an extension of them, as it were, so it's a continuation of that relationship. I'm not sure that it's 100% cultural, although I have to admit, in my limited experience and understanding of how Japanese families work, um, they're not as in each other's back-pockets sort of thing, you know, they're not as close as, well—I have to watch what I'm saying here, but they're not as close as typical working-class British families.

While several British men, like Colin, are attempting to share with and transmit to their Japanese wives the "closeness" they value in their families, such situations further complicate the idea of "national culture" because we are yet again left with the question of where to draw the line between "culture" and "preferences". Further, this sense of "closeness" or intimacy that the British men describe with their families of origin may simply hold a different meaning for the Japanese women, whose relationships with their families may be characterised by "silent intimacy" (Jamieson 1998, p. 8). In other words, while the British men may not consider the relationships between their wives and her family "close" per se, their relationships may be as intimate as the British men's relationships with their families. As such, assuming all the Japanese women are not "close" to their families is unfair. Nonetheless, I did encounter several Japanese women who did maintain "distant" relationships with their families in Japan, yet most likely, this had more to do with their relationships prior to their mixed relationship and family (Rodríguez-García et al. 2016) than with anything else, including geographic distance, as some women shared that, even when living in Japan with their mixed families, they simply do not choose "closeness" in their familial relationships, even with the many nudges from the husbands to speak to and visit with their families more regularly. As such, we see that the relationships of the parents in the mixed families with their families of origin can be influenced not only by culture, but also by individual and familial preferences.

Family: As a Couple

In-Law Relationships

Finch (1989, p. 51) suggests that sometimes in-law relationships are conducted "through and in a sense for the sake of, a third party". While that third party may initially be one's partner, it also often comes to include the children. In this section, we explore how the mixed couples negotiate relationships with their in-laws.

Women and in-Laws

The Japanese women and, their relationships with their British in-laws, like other relationships involving relatives by marriage, are affected by various factors including geographic proximity and personalities. For the Japanese women, language barriers as well as cultural differences can further challenge the relationships. The reason I chose to first focus on the mother-in-law/daughter-in-law relationship is because this relationship was the most frequently mentioned in-law relationship during my fieldwork. Further, although most women did not directly say negative things about their mothers-in-law, they did hint at deeper issues. For example, much research has suggested that mixed couples struggle with rejection from their families, yet the Japanese/British families, for the most part, seem to have avoided such negative experiences. However, there were a few instances of subtle rejections felt by the Japanese women, including one woman who, after attempting to make various excuses for her mother-in-law's attitude towards her, finally admitted that her mother-in-law was "*disappointed*" that "*he—her son got married with Japanese*". Today, this woman maintains a somewhat distant yet manageable relationship with her mother-in-law, and she claims no negative feelings towards her. This type of attitude is not uncommon in the Japanese women and may be influenced by their Confucian upbringing which places daughters-in-law in a central role for providing care for their families, particularly their parents-in-law (Nishi et al. 2010).

Another daughter-in-law/mother-in-law relationship to consider is Kikuko and Patricia Paterson. Sixty-seven-year-old Patricia first met Kikuko in Japan when she was visiting her son, who was teaching English near Kikuko's hometown. According to Patricia, she and Kikuko got on "*very well from the moment we first met … and we have just become closer as time's moved on",* particularly as Kikuko moved to Britain and Patricia stepped into help by organising her wedding and then helping her during her pregnancy and labour:

> I like to think that Kikuko thinks of me as her other mum because obviously her mum's in Japan, and especially when you're—I know how important my mother was, and has been to me, um, since I became a mother, and so I know that Kikuko obviously hasn't got her mother close by, and I hope that she thinks of me as her second mum, so therefore, all the way through the pregnancy, I went up to see her, each week, and then when they—she went into labour, I rushed up there and I took them to hospital. So I was there when the baby was born, I wasn't in the room because there was only two people could be in the room, and her mum had come over for the birth… [but] I saw the baby as soon as she was born. And um, I think it's important for Kikuko to know that I'm there, you know.

While Patricia, like most of the other British mothers-in-law describe their relationships with their Japanese daughters-in-law positively, their daughters-in-law do not always reciprocate this feeling of closeness. This is in line with Koelet and de Valk's (2016, p. 14) finding, that in-laws cannot fill the "relational deficit" from the absence of their relatives back home. As such, while most mothers-in-law see their relationships as warm and open, most daughters-in-law tend to describe their mothers-in-law as a mixed blessing: on one hand, they provide much-needed practical help, yet geographic closeness can sometimes border intrusiveness (Mason 1999, p. 156). In addition, the Japanese women are also dealing with a culture clash of sorts, often desiring to be "un-Japanese" and confront their British mothers-in-law instead of simply "dragging their heels" (Spickard 1989, p. 148), as Japanese daughters-in-law are expected to do. This relationship between daughters-in-law and mothers-in-law therefore often results in a stressful experience, as one Japanese woman shared:

> I think in England– I get along with my mother-in-law, but I think most of my other friends … say that relationship is very different, in Japan, Japanese mother-in- laws. I think because mother-in-laws, in Japan, is very strict. I need to—my mother always says, to my mother-in-law, we cannot say no to my mother-in-law because we have to respect the older people in Japan, but here, I think we can say directly, if I don't want mother-in-law to do it, I can say no, but which I cannot say, because I'm Japanese!

Further, because the British men realise the challenging relationship between these two women in their lives, their role can often become that of interpreters, perhaps not of language, but of behaviours. Liam Barclay, for example, maintains very close relationships with his parents and receives much support (financial and practical) from both of them. Yet because his wife Yuzuki views Liam's parents' desire to be involved in their lives as interfering or intrusive (Mason 1999), he finds their relationship extremely stressful:

> And because generally Japanese are quite reserved about revealing their full emotion, you know, so [my parents] misunderstand that as almost rudeness or not warm and friendly. And then, Yuzuki interprets just their natural instinct for looking after grandkids as interference.

Liam consequently feels pulled in two directions. While the British men in general seem to realise that no in-law relationship is free from trouble, as one man put it, they also realise that, particularly regarding the relationship with their mothers and wives, "*cultural issues make it a little bit more difficult than normal…*".

We now turn to the sisters-in-law relationship because, as Finch (1989, p. 49) found, women do not tend to consider a sister-in-law the equivalent of a sister. However, in mixed families, the two women are considered "culture carriers" (Song 2003) for their respective "cultures"; as such, how they negotiate their differences, and how their relationships with one another influence the children will be explored.

Emma Hamilton is Andrew Hamilton's older sister and Taeko's only sibling-in-law. The two women first met shortly after Taeko and Andrew

got engaged, on Taeko's first trip to Britain, as Taeko recalls, "*Before the wedding day, I came to meet Andrew's parents. While I was here, together with his mum and sister, I chose a wedding dress, and I took it back to Japan, and we had our wedding."* Since their first meeting, Emma and Taeko have maintained a transnational relationship, with both having never resided in the same country together. Thus, while geographic constraints have obviously challenged their relationship, Emma sees the largest hurdle to overcome being that feeling of awkwardness, of constantly walking on eggshells, so as not to offend:

> I think [our relationship]—um, it was quite difficult linguistically, for both of us, because I don't speak any Japanese … our cultures are so different … I find the Japanese culture is, you know—our European culture is so different, I think, to the Japanese culture—and what um, what's considered the right way of doing something and a wrong way of doing something—it's quite interesting. I, I find—for us—because I think Scottish people are quite informal—and I find um, Japanese politeness and formality go very much together, which is lovely, it's a beautiful thing, because we could do with more politeness. Um, but it, it takes longer to get to know somebody well, when it's such a different way of doing things, and you don't want to um, you know, give offence, and you don't want to—you know, it's harder to work out if you are intruding on somebody or helping somebody. I think you often make those judgments by very subliminal, unspoken understandings. Whereas when the culture's pretty different, you're not—those signals are projected differently.

Perhaps quite fittingly, when Taeko spoke about Emma and her parents-in-laws, her only comment was, *"They're very nice people".* As a result, the indirectness of the Japanese culture may be one of the factors that keep the Japanese women from forming more intimate ties with their British kin. This finding, in turn, seems to be in line with Nisbett (2003, p. 61): "Westerners… are apt to find Asians hard to read because Asians are likely to assume that their point has been made indirectly and with finesse. Meanwhile, the Westerner is in fact very much in the dark." This idea of being in the dark about their Japanese daughters-in-laws was frequently mentioned in interviews with the British kin. Liam Barclay's mother Margaret Barclay, for example, desperately tried to

understand why her daughter-in-law hesitates to tell her things directly, reaching the conclusion that Japanese culture must be like Chinese culture, concerned with "saving face". Besides this, however, Margaret also shares that she continues to struggle to simply understand Yuzuki:

> I must say I do find it quite difficult because Yuzuki—I think she might be—she's perhaps very shy. And I don't know if she, if she doesn't understand what people say, I don't know whether she would not want them to know that she doesn't understand, so maybe um—so sometimes I think, if she doesn't answer, it's perhaps because she doesn't understand, but she doesn't want people to know she doesn't understand, so she's covering up, but maybe that's just—I don't know… Um, I don't see her an awful lot. Um, because I do find it difficult to know what to say, because she's not very chatty, and I talk a lot …

In this way, while cultural differences tend to be emphasised in mixed in-law relationships, often, as Margaret describes, personality differences influence the relationships more. Nonetheless, while women generally tend to have a more difficult time integrating into their husband's families (Marx et al. 2011), we find that, because the Japanese women are living in Britain, geographically closer to their in-laws, they may have to rely on them more, particularly during important life events such as motherhood, as they do not have any female relatives (e.g. mother or sister) nearby. This was what Hiroko Walker's sister Tomoko Suzuki, who only left Japan for the first time to attend her sister's wedding, soon realised:

> And when my sister got pregnant, she also had to make decisions about things such as antenatal care and check-ups, and I found many differences between the two cultures. I shared my experiences with her. But as the proverb goes, "When in Rome, do as the Romans do." So my advice to my sister was: go to your husband's mummy and let her encourage you, instead of me.

Regardless of the type of relationship, the Japanese women and their in-laws face some of the same challenges as most in-law relationships, yet in addition, they must also overcome challenges associated with linguistic and cultural differences, and in the end, often learn to lean on each other.

Men and in-Laws

Marx and colleagues (2011) find that men tend to integrate more into their wife's family when compared to women integrating into their husband's families. The same general sense was found in the Japanese/British families. This more natural integration on the part of the British men into their wife's family in Japan seems to occur even amidst linguistic, cultural and geographic barriers. It should however be noted that, because of geographic distance, British men generally have less contact with their wives' families, and when they do, language remains the main barrier, as one participant put it, *"I get my wife to translate what I'm trying to say! Hmm, although I don't know if that's what she tells them!"* In this section, we examine men and their in-laws, as such relationships have been found to positively benefit marriages (cf. Högnäs and Carlson 2010) and consequently, the children's relationships with their wife's kin.

Two cases are looked at in detail because they represent both the type of British man who has never lived in Japan, knows no Japanese, and is not familiar with the Japanese culture whatsoever; as well as the British man that has lived in Japan and understands the language and to some degree the culture. To begin with, we examine Adam McLeod, whose future wife Junko was his first introduction to anything Japanese. Like several other parents, when Junko first told her parents about her Scottish boyfriend, they were surprised, and when they first met Adam, as Junko recalls: *"I have never seen my mum as scary as that… she was like a pale statue."* Junko's parents were initially against the marriage mainly because they realised that such a union would most likely equal their daughter's permanent migration as well as that of any future grandchildren. Nonetheless, Junko's parents eventually conceded and accepted their daughter's wish to marry Adam. Two years after becoming in-laws, Adam's relationship with Junko's parents has improved, especially after the birth of his son, as Adam describes:

> While language is a problem, I think we seem to get on well, and it's certainly improved, particularly since my son's been born, and I think at the beginning, there was maybe a bit of tension. I think that's

> understandable. I think they were worried about Junko and obviously they would have particular concerns: their daughter, their only child is leaving Japan and coming over here, they'd obviously feel a bit, perhaps guarded at times and a bit suspicious of me, and that's perfectly understandable, but I think we've overcome those things and I think they trust me more than perhaps they did in the beginning.

This situation is similar to what Bauer (2010, p. 220) describes, that when disapproval regarding a mixed relationship exists among the parents, the birth of a grandchildren becomes a major factor contributing to their acceptance of the mixed union and family. However, unlike British mothers-in-law who feel a sense of closeness between themselves and their daughters-in-law, the Japanese in-laws seem somewhat more hesitant to trust their sons-in-law, particularly across thousands of miles and when linguistic, cultural and gender differences are present, as Adam's mother-in-law, Mrs Tanaka elaborates:

> Yes, it's very—well, we've got the language barrier, definitely. So I haven't really figured him out. And also, I've only got one daughter, I don't have any boys, so I can't even imagine what it's like to be a boy, so because of this, I still don't feel like I understand him. That, the gender differences, plus the cultural differences. We also have a cultural barrier, so it's even harder to grasp him, you know? But basically, I think he's sincere, maybe? Honest … he's kind of a straight arrow—I'm not sure how to put it. You know, it's like the old Samurai—I think he's got that type of personality, including the stubbornness! But like I said, I don't really think I've figured him out.

It is interesting to note here that, although Mrs Tanaka mentions cultural differences several times, she describes Adam *"like the old Samurai"*. This again emphasises the complexity found in the idea of "national culture" and culture not being tied to a country, but instead to individual choice and knowledge, like Mrs Tanaka choosing to compare Adam, a Scotsman, to the Japanese Samurai. Thus, while linguistic barriers do indeed make communication between in-laws challenging, with some effort from the British men as well as the Japanese kin, along with

the assistance of the Japanese women (and perhaps eventually their own children), communication becomes possible.

On the other hand, for some of the British men who are fluent in Japanese, this linguistic barrier is somewhat lifted; however, as Cameron Walker's story shows, such men still encounter various in-law challenges. Cameron and Hiroko have been married for two years, and Cameron is fluent in Japanese and well acquainted with Japanese culture and traditions after having studied and worked in Japan for several years. As such, there do not seem to exist major cultural barriers between Cameron and his Japanese in-laws, and he seems to enjoy a good relationship with them, as Hiroko explains:

> [Cameron] gets along with my family very well! I'm so lucky because I think the language is most important factor, he can talk with *my parents*, my family in Japanese quite well, and then also … Cameron did master degree in Asian culture or something like that, so he knows a lot of Japanese culture, instruments and music and uh, maybe more than me! And my, my dad plays shakuhachi *and he do lots of* shougi, and my mother also likes haiku and tanka, so those culture things—he can keep talking with them, although he maybe not understand what they're really talking about! But anyway, my parents enjoy talking with him …

Perhaps because there is less of a linguistic and cultural barrier, Cameron has more smoothly been able to integrate into his wife's family. Further, he shares that there is no special treatment from his in-laws, especially his siblings-in-law:

> So the first time I went to see them, I guess um, I got on well with them, and they didn't treat me —Hiroko's got a younger brother … but he treats me very much—and judges me very much as who I am, which I do respect a lot, um, in that, he's not going to be like, "Oh yeah, that's really interesting." He's not interested in the UK, and he will tell me that, "That's rubbish, like. I just don't want to talk about that." Um, and—which is nice… I think he was treating me as an in-law, whereas I was kind of impressing him about what I could do and what I could not do, and stuff like that … And he was like, "You're my sister's—boyfriend, husband" basically, in his head, and I'll treat you as that. And—which,

> I was a little bit surprised by at first, actually, I think it's really good… I think Hiroko's sister, it's her big sister, so I'm always a bit worried that she's saying, "Are you treating her right?!" "Are you —" It's nice, the way relationships should be, right? So, I think that's probably—I feel more like, I think that's like a good family connection, they know who I am, but that's probably more to do with them, than me. I probably would have wanted to go down and impress them and make them all think I'm a brilliant person, and they were a little bit like, "You're Hiroko's husband, and I'm going to treat you like that" which is nice…

The reaction that Cameron received from Hiroko's family is not uncommon, with several Japanese kin admitting that, while it was initially exciting to welcome a foreigner into their family, after a while, it simply became the norm. In this way, while not originally what Cameron had expected, perhaps a sign of true acceptance and integration into a family is not having special treatment because you are foreign and instead, just being accepted as, in Cameron's case, *"Hiroko's husband"*. Consequently, such "normal" treatment may also encourage the Japanese kin to accept the mixed children simply as grandchildren/nephews/nieces, instead of seeing them as their "foreign" or "different".

Family: With Children

Early familial relationships with one's family of origin, as well as relationships with one's in-laws have been discussed because these relationships tend to influence children's future relationships with kin (cf. McCarthy and Edwards 2011), and conversely, the birth of children can also influence the mixed couple's relationships with kin (cf. Rodríguez-García et al. 2016; Spickard 1989). In this section, we explore the relationships between the children and their extended family.

One observation made regarding the children and their extended family is that their relationship does indeed tend to mirror that of their parents' relationship with their family of origin (e.g. Davey et al. 2009; McCarthy and Edwards 2011). As discussed earlier, Chiyoki Hamilton has somewhat of an estranged relationship with her family, yet her

husband Colin is very close to his family, and their children's relationships mirror this, as Chiyoki explains:

> With my brother and my children—erm, hasn't got any connection. My parents and my children—my mum—it's difficult to answer. I think my mum enjoys to spend time with my children, so does my children. My dad— he's trying to be good granddad, but probably it's sometimes stressful to him… they don't speak to my parents a lot … [but my in-laws], we see them every weekend… Even—if we don't see them for like 5 days, 6 days, they phone us or we phone them or children phone them or—we speak to them quite regularly. And if my children gets reward from school or they did something good, something—they wants to tell their Granny and Granddad all the time!

This idea that children's relationships with kin are affected by their parents' relationships with their families of origin is important to consider, particularly in mixed families because close relationship with kin can, not only create strong bonds with that "side" of their kin, but also facilitate the mixed child's "inheritance" of their racial and cultural identities (Tyler 2005, p. 484). In the above example, because Chiyoki has a somewhat estranged relationship with her family in Japan, her children have become closer to their British kin while becoming more distant from their Japanese kin and as a result, to some extent, more distant from the Japanese culture and their sense of a Japanese identity.

"What Are They?"

Identity issues are one of the most dominant features of scholarship surrounding mixedness. While the forging of a healthy self-identity is obviously crucial, the way parents and kin choose to identify the mixed children can also influence mixed identities. On the Japanese side, several kin, like the MacFarlane children's maternal grandmother, Chifumi Yonemura, identify their mixed grandchildren as British because, not only do they live in Britain, but *"they are a British man's children"*. Such statements are noteworthy because, on one level, they suggest complete acceptance of their daughters' mixed family. However, on another

level, it can be interpreted in a problematic way because, by identifying their grandchildren as "British", they are labelling their grandchildren as "other" and "foreign", while also negating their daughter's maternal connection to her children (Tyler 2005, p. 484). On the other hand, extended family members on the British side tend to take a more balanced approach regarding the mixed children's identities, as Ewan Ross's mother Julie put it, *"I wouldn't like to see [my grandson] identify more with one than the other. I would like to think that it would be a balance."* While raising the mixed children with a balance of both cultures and encouraging them to embrace and identify with both of their heritages may be ideal, for many mixed children, their appearance determines how they are identified and accepted (cf. Song and Aspinall 2012). In Britain, for example, because the majority of the mixed children have Japanese phenotypes, they are immediately seen as "different". Nonetheless, as Jim Miller's mother Beatrix explains, the attention that her mixed grandchildren receive never seems negative:

> "Oh, aren't they gorgeous!" That's about it, really! Nothing negative at all, ever… we are such now, our generation's children are such a mixed bunch! And there's so much international intermarriage … don't forget that I'm from an educated background, and an educated middle class, and therefore, um, this isn't always—I know that this would be more difficult… for some families…

While Beatrix emphasises a changed world and a possible class difference, the acceptance of mixed children, at least by their grandparents, seems to transcend class. Self-proclaimed "working-class folk" Scarlett, mother of Colin Hamilton for instance, shares that, like other grandparents, she has absolutely no issues with her grandchildren being mixed, yet she is also learning how to deal with other peoples' perceptions of her their mixed identities:

> Well, I don't notice anything; however, I will say that, once I did… The kids were here, and they were decorating the Christmas tree, and my trainer brought some dog food, and I says to him, "Oh, my grandchildren are half Japanese," and he says, "Oh, I wondered!" So obviously

> he would notice immediately, I suppose, people do… But I don't think, "They're half Japanese," you know? I mean, I suppose it crosses my mind, because they **are**, but you know—and I don't know what other people—most people, when I tell people my grandchildren are half Japanese, they say, "Oh, they'll be beautiful!"

As such, to some extent, extended family must also learn to negotiate the mixed children's identity. Yet while the extended family receive mostly positive comments from friends and strangers alike regarding the mixed children, as Caballero (2004) suggests, even "positive" comments, such as mixed people being more beautiful, arise from the premise that mixed people are different, thus further othering the mixed children. Within their homes however, most kin, not unlike the Hamilton's paternal grandparents Scarlett and George emphasise that, while there may be some differential treatment between the different grandchildren, it is *"not because [they're] British and they're half-Japanese",* but more likely because of other differences, such as age. This sense of seeing the mixed children as "normal" and emphasising their familial connection instead of their mixedness is what Hiroko Walker's sister Tomoko also highlights when speaking of her nephew:

> My nephew is mixed, and how he will accept that, how he will live… I'm a little worried about that… For me, either one is fine. My nephew is my nephew. He's the child that my dear sister birthed. He's the child that was born between my sister and the man she loves. My cute nephew, that's all. He can be Japanese or British, whatever he wants.

Tomoko's statement is revealing. On one hand, it is somewhat idealistic, as she claims that her nephew will have the choice of being *"whatever he wants".* Yet at the same time, it is encouraging to hear Tomoko realise that although her nephew will one day have to negotiate his own identity, in her eyes, he is simply family, no nationality required. This is perhaps one of the most important ways kin can support mixed children, by giving them space to explore their identities and be *"whatever they want".*

Support and Maintenance

While both the Japanese and the British kin support the mixed families, they tend to do so in different ways, largely due to their geographic location. For example, when British kin were asked how they support the mixed families, the most frequently mentioned form of support was practical, such as answering questions regarding children's health scares in the middle of the night and babysitting. Tim Paterson's mother Patricia, for example, cares for her granddaughter regularly, so as to allow the couple some free time together and give her daughter-in-law a break *"to go shopping or whatever she wants"*. Another form of practical help that British kin give the mixed families is during sudden emergencies, as Colin Hamilton's mother Scarlett shares:

> My daughter-in-law is at Citizen's Advice today, because they've been given two months to get out [of their flat]… obviously, well, George and I would say, "Don't worry about it, you're welcome to come here." But you know, to be truthful, it's not—it wouldn't be ideal, you know? … Colin said to me, "You mean to say you'd want six people coming to live with you?" And I said, "Not really." I was, you know, honest, but certainly they wouldn't be out in the street, and we would just have to cope.

On the other hand, when the Japanese kin were asked how they support the mixed families, they tended to mention financial support, emotional and moral support, and practical support (i.e. childcare and accommodation) during visits to Japan. Further, although the Japanese kin failed to mention this, several of the Japanese grandmothers supported the families during childbirth by flying to Britain to assist their daughters (cf. Lie 2010). Moreover, some of the families receive other unique types of support from the Japanese kin, including care packages, as one woman describes, *"My mum, she sends me uh, kind of special box … to cheer me up, with lots of Japanese goodies, like food and sometimes clothes and sometimes for children, like books and stuff, that's how she supports."* Finally, through observations and casual conversations with the parents,

it seems that the Japanese kin also offer linguistic support to the mixed children simply by being monolingual and speaking little to no English, which in turn gives the children the "need" (cf. Grosjean 2010) to speak Japanese–. On the other hand, while the British kin may generally offer more practical support to the mixed families, they can also face barriers including geographic distance, lack of transportation and health concerns. In such cases, as Ewan Ross explains, his parents, similarly to the Japanese kin, offer emotional support to substitute the practical support they are unable to give:

> [My parents support us] in the attention that they show my son … they obviously adore him, so that's really nice to see. And they're always asking how he is, um, he had … a bad fever last weekend, lasted about three days… my parents were quite concerned about it, so they were calling to find out how he was, um, they were very pleased to hear that he was now better… so emotional support, I think, is the main thing.

In this way, as Morgan (1996) suggests, "family" becomes more than simply blood ties, but instead evolves into an emphasis on personal relationships which include different types of support, from babysitting the children to inquiring after them when they are unwell.

Maintaining Contact

When British kin were asked how they stay in touch with the mixed families, the most frequent responses were phone calls and visits. On the other hand, for the Japanese kin, visits are not always realistic, and Skype was most frequently referenced. This is in line with Fingerman's (2001) finding, that technological advancements help transnational families maintain frequent contact, creating a shared sense of intimacy, regardless of geographic distance. As such, for far-away kin, Skype has become a way of life, as Junko McLeod's mother Mrs Tanaka, who has only visited Junko and her family once, when her grandson was born, shares:

> My relationship with my grandson is mostly just through a computer lens, unfortunately. So if he can learn to recognise me, using these props (points to hats and glasses and toys), then I'll be fine, that's what I've come to accept now. And then, when he comes to visit me here, I want to hold him with both arms wide open!

While Skype can provide transnational families with voices and images, it cannot provide the "unique form of intimacy which is irreplaceable by communication at a distance" (Svašek 2008, p. 219). In order to build that intimacy with their Japanese kin and to create that "home desire" (Ali 2003, p. 124), that closeness to a physical location, many of the mixed families actually visit Japan.

Visits to Japan

While regular visits to Japan are now somewhat of the norm for mixed families, it was not always so, as Ayaka MacFarlane's mother Chifumi Yonemura explains,

> One time, I sat next to a woman [on a plane] … she had married a French man and was on her way to Japan. That woman was about 70, and she was telling me that before, when you got married to someone in Europe, you never thought you'd be able to return to Japan since you had to travel by sea and it took about one month… So when I hear stories like that, I feel happy that, even though we're far away, we're ok.

Today, visits to Japan are not just for the migrant spouse, they are also for her children to be "co-present" (Mason 2004), to establish and maintain links with their Japanese kin, and sometimes even to include Japan in their definition of "home" (Olumide 2002, p. 144). These visits back to Japan are especially important for the mixed children because it helps them make better sense of home, nationality and family, as they negotiate their own mixed-race identity (Ali 2003, p. 124). At the same time, trips back to Japan offer the mixed children opportunities to improve and practice their Japanese, diversify their palates, and be exposed to Japanese traditions and customs, not always intentionally,

but simply by living alongside their Japanese kin and being immersed in Japanese culture. David McGregor, whose wife and son visit Japan regularly, believes such visits are crucial to the transmission of Japanese culture:

> When my son and wife go visit her sister, the family there transmit culture… maybe not in any kind of conscious way, but you know, they are very—they're a pretty standard you know, kind of Japanese family. They speak a bit of English, but maybe not that much, so when he goes to stay with them, he'll be living in a pretty mainstream, ordinary Japanese house, so they've got—the bedrooms are all tatami mats, the food of course will be completely Japanese, language will be completely Japanese, so I think … he gets a good dose of uh, you know, mainstream Japanese culture when he stays with them, and also it's outside Tokyo, because Tokyo's great, but Tokyo's such a—it's a mega-city, isn't it, it's a global city. When he goes up to Hokkaido, he'll be getting a, a much more traditional kind of input.

While ten of the Japanese women in the present study mentioned returning to their *jikka* for visits, for two of the families, the McGregors and the Potters, this is not possible as the maternal grandparents are both deceased. In their study, Baldassar and Baldock (2000) found that visits back to the homeland can continue even after the death of parents if the migrants develop strong ties with their kin. While this is the case for the McGregors, who still visit Risa's sister; for the Potters, there is no one left, and as a result, the family has not visited Japan for several years.

Developing strong ties with kin can therefore be an important factor in, not only allowing the children to fully experience Japan, but also in allowing long-term kin relationships to form. For example, when Ayaka MacFarlane sent her oldest son on an "Admissions Experience" at the local primary school in Japan during one of their visits back to her *jikka*, having Japanese cousins made the whole experience possible and less scary, as Ayaka's mother Chifumi Yonemura elaborates:

> Well, this year, my grandson was in first grade … He has a cousin that was born around the same time, and she's a girl, but both of them went to the

> same school … And his other cousin let him use his old randoseru. It was almost during summer vacation, so he didn't get to go for that long, but he seemed to get used to it and liked it, especially because he had his cousin…

In this way, extended family members, including cousins, can play a significant role in the visits to Japan by lending the children necessary items (e.g. *randoseru* or *kimono*) and helping the children navigate and integrate into everyday Japanese life. However, while the Japanese kin may, on one level, be excited and happy when the mixed families come and visit them in Japan, there are also many challenges, as Chifumi Yonemura candidly shares:

> Ayaka's sons are the fifth and sixth grandchildren, so I was quite used [to being a grandmother], but it's a bit—her boys come over every year, to Japan, but it's very different from the UK, and the children are bothered—I'm also bothered! For example, the toilet. The toilet seat—it's warm. And the older boy—he later got the hang of it, but at first, he was disgusted with the warm seat and couldn't go to the bathroom. When I asked him why, he said he couldn't go unless it was cold. So those little differences are just too much… They come every year. Even this year, they came over for three weeks… but we only get to see them once in a while, so I'm very happy.

This case provides us with an example of a clear but embodied difference. Even though the MacFarlane boys are able to communicate with their Japanese kin, and their appearance allows them to blend in with the Japanese population, as their grandmother explains, there remain cultural differences that make the visits "*a bother*". As such, while Ayaka and Stuart may be attempting to introduce their children to the Japanese language, cuisine, and culture in general, there are some aspects of culture, albeit minor, that cannot be taught, but must be experienced, including a warm toilet seat. Further, visits back to Japan can also provide the Japanese women with parenting "reinforcement" from kin, as most friends do not provide such support but instead contribute more to the parent's personal needs (Cochran and Walker 2005, p. 247). Here, Ayaka shares how she particularly appreciates the *shitsuke* support that her parents provide:

> … when we visit [Japan], my parents—especially my mother helped about—how can I say? Not discipline, shitsuke give if—if they did something naughty or just tried to—I'm getting tired just to say, and my mother really help, letting them know what is good and what is bad. Also, not just about shitsuke, also give affection—how can I say? So it's nice to have different view from, yeah, look after children, she looks after lots, and have experience, so it's nice to see someone—because I think it's hard to—because yeah, I have friends, but friends hardly say, "Oh, you should do that," or that kind of things, so it's nice to have that kind of people who let me know.

This form of support that Ayaka is speaking about as she searches for the right English word for *shitsuke* has to do with the upbringing of children. In other words, disciplining and giving affection to her boys is something that only Ayaka and her husband do on a regular basis. However, as Ayaka emphasises, she very much appreciates that her mother steps into ease her burden as she also teaches the MacFarlane boys right from wrong, scolds them when they do wrong and praises them when they do good. As a result, while there are obviously many benefits that the mixed families derive from visits to Japan, visits back to Japan can also be difficult for everyone involved. In particular, for the children, while they may be accustomed to the infamous "looks" that most mixed people are all too familiar with, they must also come to terms with Japanese women staring at them and finally blurting out, *"They're hafu right? So cute! I want to have a hafu baby!"* This is somewhat similar to what King-O'Riain (2014, p. 277) terms "mixed-race tourism, even voyeurism". Regardless of such challenges, however, the parents remain eager to have their children visit and experience Japan.

Sharing Cultures

In order to raise bicultural, bilingual mixed children, parents realise that they need help, and the support of kin becomes especially valuable. Yet at the same time, such joint efforts between the parents and their extended family members can often present further challenges, as they require negotiation between, not only cultures, but also personalities. Junko McLeod shares her perspective:

> I mean, in this house, we've got a rule: British things, Adam's task, Adam's responsibility, and our son's Japanese is my responsibility… my mother-in-law is also aware and she feels that she's Scottish ambassador, to pass on Scottish things. So I think she likes tradition… I don't want to leave her behind, feel all alone, it's not fair, so I want to take things equally, to be fair, but it's a bit difficult.

Junko and Adam focus on their own cultures, hoping to give their son equal exposure to both. However, Junko also realises that her mother-in-law can contribute to her son's Scottish identity, yet because of the difficult personalities, she finds sharing culture work with her mother-in-law somewhat difficult. Furthermore, while the McLeods have divided the culture work into "national cultures", this is somewhat problematic because Junko's perceptions of Scottish "culture" differ from Adam's. While Junko wants her son to be familiar with "kilts and tartan", Adam tends to equate Scottish culture with his hometown of Oban, as well as his mother and the family *croft*[1]. Moreover, while parents assume most of the responsibility for culture work, kin can also play a significant role in the transmission of culture, often unintentionally. However, there are several kin that intentionally make it a point to not share their culture with the mixed children, for fear of pushing their culture on them, as Ewan Ross' mother Julie shares:

> If my grandson does show an interest in anything Scottish or Highland, I will certainly talk to, encourage him in that, but I certainly wouldn't want to push it on him… So I certainly wouldn't want to—I wouldn't push any cultural things on him, but if he did show an interest, I would certainly help him along and help him understand a bit more of our culture.

Another participant who was very hesitant when speaking about "passing on culture" because she did not want to "push" culture on her nephew was Hiroko Walker's sister, Tomoko Suzuki:

> I would like to teach my nephew about the ways of Japan. But of course, it will depend on whether or not he shows an interest. Even for Japanese, unless one has an interest, you don't become familiar with the traditional ways of Japan. Just because he is mixed doesn't mean he has the responsibility to learn the Japanese ways. I want him to live freely.

Extended family members often hesitate transmitting their culture to the mixed children for fear of pushing their culture on to the children. At the same time, this hesitancy could also suggest a distance between the mixed family and their kin, as Chifumi Yonemura admits, "*Right now, I've got seven grandchildren… I've got very good relationships with all of them, but especially with the ones who are close by, we're very close…"* In her interview, Chifumi shared that, because of cultural differences and geographic distance, she does not feel as close to her mixed grandchildren. This, in turn, may be why she does not feel a strong urge to share her culture with them. Nonetheless, Katz (1996) and Waters (1990) found that parenthood often encourages individuals to identify more closely with their cultural background. As such, we may have expected Chifumi and other kin to want to share more of their culture with the mixed children, yet it seems that somewhat of the opposite has happened, as Chifumi shares: *"I would be very glad if they inherited some of the Japanese culture, too. But because they're in the UK, I also don't mind if they're just into the British culture."* Thus, the degree of support that kin are able to offer the mixed families in regard to culture work seems to be affected by the kin's hesitancy to become involved in the intergenerational transmission of culture. Regardless, because so much of culture is transmitted in the everyday aspects of doing family, the majority of the relatives, including those who hesitate sharing their culture with the children may, whether they realise it or not, be playing an important, active role in the transmission of culture simply by being themselves, as Jim Miller realises: "*Just by being herself, my mother is being extremely British!"*

What to Pass on?

When speaking to the mixed families' kin, I found some kin hesitating to pass on their culture to the mixed children, while others have no desire to pass on anything to the mixed children, but most kin seemed to genuinely want to pass on something of value. Several kin mentioned somewhat traditional, transcultural values (e.g. kindness, honesty) while others mentioned personal interests that they feel are closely connected to their cultures (e.g. architecture, history and politics). Ultimately

however, for the mixed families' kin, they seem to simply see the mixed children as family, and passing on culture is secondary to spending quality time with them. This was particularly evident with the British kin who seem better able to express themselves, perhaps because they feel less pressure and expectation to "transmit culture" to the mixed children. Jim Miller's mother Beatrix explains:

> I don't see it as my job to teach them about British culture, um, I leave that to Jim. Um, but I suppose just in modelling it—just in demonstrating it through being me, but I don't try to um, influence them in any way, really… they're living here, and so—if it was the other way around, perhaps if they were in Japan, I would feel like I wanted to do more teaching about British culture, but as they're here, I don't feel it's necessary, really… I'd like—because I'm a reasonably political person—it's not that I take part in any, in any major political party, but I'm interested in politics, I'm interested in how the country is run, and I'm interested in social aspects of life in this country. I would like them to be aware of that, because I think it's quite different from, from the Japanese way of life…

While Beatrix desires to pass on her personal interest in politics, Liam Barclay's mother Margaret wishes to pass on to her grandchildren her love of the Scottish Highlands which, as well as being an important aspect of British culture, is also a personal preference for Margaret, as she elaborates:

> The landscape, I think… mountains, I like, and um, I like the Highland Dancing, and um—crumbs… I have a wee cottage up in the Highlands… I would like them to come up and enjoy the life there because I feel life in the Highlands is like a different country, people are more polite and um, they have time to do things, and you exist up there, and sometimes in the city, I have to pinch myself and think, "Am I a ghost? Do I really exist?" No one has time for anyone else, and it's um, a very cut-throat existence in the city, whereas in the Highlands, it's different because there are fewer people, people have more time for each other.

Like Margaret, many Scottish kin spoke about hopes of sharing the Highland culture with their grandchildren, perhaps because it is painted

as a richer layer of British culture. Regardless, several Scottish kin also emphasised the importance of family, including Adam McLeod's cousin Mary:

> Doesn't matter where you go in the world, Scottish people are always accepted. And being Scottish is different from being English! You know, although we speak the same language, we are more friendlier, more approachable … caring, family- *oriented…* we've got big extended families… You know, and so-and-so's coming, and—say my mum phoned, but youse are coming down, and my sister says, "I'm going to come down in 10 min." I'd say, "Well, there's people down, but if you want to come, come." … I would like that encouraged, for my nephew to know extended family and how important family is…

While the British kin shared values that tend to transcend culture, the importance of family was most frequently mentioned. On the other hand, the Japanese kin were somewhat more abstract in their answers. Junko McLeod's mother Mrs Tanaka, for example, says she would like to pass on to her grandson the *complexity* of the Japanese culture:

> … but what I'm aiming for—as a grandmother what I'm aiming for is "The soul of a three year old until one hundred." That's it. That feeling that, this seems really familiar, I wonder what it is, if he can think like that… In the Japanese culture, this idea of building upon—are you familiar with a Japanese bedroom? In a very simple space, you throw in a complex thing, that's what I want to pass on. It might seem like a simple space, but it's actually very complex, that's the kind of culture I want him to understand.

The kind of culture Mrs Tanaka describes is difficult for non-natives to grasp, particularly because of linguistic and cultural barriers. Yet behind this, Mrs Tanaka is emphasising the aspect of Japanese culture that is "'uniquely unique': fundamentally and qualitatively different" (Sugimoto 2014, p. 192). At the same time, however, ideas of maintaining a young soul and of creating complexity in simple spaces, can also be thought of as more universal ideas as opposed to something specifically Japanese. Thus, we return once more to the problem of "national culture". What is important in this case though is that Mrs Tanaka

will teach her grandson these aspects of life as part of the Japanese culture. Thus, her grandson will learn about such universal ideas through a Japanese perspective, through his grandmother, and in this way, the intergenerational transmission of "Japanese culture" will occur. However, even if the extended family members overcome cultural barriers, language will continue to stand in the way because, as discussed in Chap. 3, there are very few equilingual individuals (cf. Saunders 1988). This therefore is what Hiroko Walker's sister Tomoko Suzuki worries about most:

> "Sharing your culture"—that's a hard question… How can I explain sharing a culture…? Not only with words, but with the five senses, seeing, hearing, sensing, that's the way I think culture is shared and passed on. So if culture is shared through words, then it's going to be difficult…

We thus see how language can affect, not only communication, but also the transmission of culture, suggesting that perhaps the biggest barrier that the mixed families' extended family will have to overcome is language, if they are to have strong, healthy, "natural" relationships, as opposed to "somewhat artificial" relationships with the mixed children (cf. Ackers and Stalford 2004, p. 138).

Conclusions

The focus of this chapter has been on the kin of mixed families, and what we find is that, as the mixed families attempt to raise bilingual, bicultural children, reinforcement and support from kin becomes invaluable, yet it does not come without negotiations, both between the parents' familial and national cultures, as well as between different personalities and preferences. Further, regarding culture work, the parents in mixed families do indeed enlist the support of both sides of kin in various ways; however, the parents remain ultimately responsible for the transmission of culture. This is particularly true as we saw several extended family members hesitating to share their cultures with the mixed children, not wanting to "push" or "force" their cultures on

the mixed children. This observation remains somewhat perplexing, since most individuals long to "pass on" their culture and traditions to the next generation. While for some kin, this hesitancy may be due to fear that they may push their culture on the children, others may choose not to assist in culture work because they see their mixed grandchildren/nephews/nieces as *different* or *foreign*. Still others may hesitate in sharing transmitting their cultures to the mixed children because they see the children simply as their grandchildren/nieces/nephews as family, as opposed to half Japanese and half British mixed children to whom they must impart their culture with.

Moreover, it seems that the existence of their mixed grandchild/niece/nephew often encourages, or even forces kin to know and identify more closely with their own cultural background (Katz 1996; Waters 1990). In other words, if the mixed children were not half Japanese, would the Scottish grandparents have thought twice about taking their Scottish grandchildren to the Highlands and introducing them to the culture there, or would they have simply assumed that it was the "normal" thing to do since it was the child's cultural heritage, or alternatively, would they have perhaps considered such culture work unnecessary? In this way, we find that relating to mixed children tends to racialise and push parents, as well as extended family members, to identify more closely with their "national cultures". At the same time, mixed families' kin do not merely exist to transmit their "national cultures" to the children; instead, like most extended family members, they also often desire to share their personal preferences and interests with the children. Finally, quite interestingly, while the Japanese kin may play a more significant role in the transmission of culture in the mixed children's lives, the British kin, due to proximity, seem to have more "normal" relationships with the children, as opposed to the somewhat artificial ones that they have with their transnational Japanese kin (Ackers and Stalford 2004, p. 138). As a result, while relationships between the mixed families and their kin continue to be affected by various factors, most significantly distance and language, in the midst of such factors is *choice,* initially the parents' choices to maintain contact with their extended family, and later, the children's own choice as to whether they will view having a transnational, interlingual mixed family as a *gift* or a *burden*.

Note

1. A small unit of agricultural land, unique to Scotland, often includes a house, farm and some land with sheep and cows.

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6

Forming a Mixed Family Culture: In Search of Home and Friends

Overview

In this chapter, we continue exploring the forging of a mixed family culture and identity by looking at two areas of everyday life: (1) the search for home, from the parents' migration experiences to the family's present residential location and (2) the search for friends in the local community, both individually and as a family. The chapter begins with an exploration of literature surrounding migration and social networks. Following this, the migration journeys of the Japanese women in Britain and, where applicable, the British men in Japan are discussed. Additionally, we also examine how the mixed family chose to live in their present residential location. The focus then shifts to the mixed families' interaction with the wider community, their social networks, and in particular, the balancing act between *bridging* relationships, "ties to people who are unlike me in some important way" and *bonding* relationships "ties to people who are like me in some important way" (Putnam 2007, p. 143). In particular, we will see if the Japanese playgroups may be seen as an active resistance to integration, or if the women are simply choosing homophily (Kandel 1978) and actively associating with those similar to themselves (cf. Blieszner and Adams 1992; Britton 2013), or if a third

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option exists: women seek out similar mothers in order to find support for raising bicultural, bilingual children. Finally, Chambers (2006, p. 74) found that women "naturally" take on the responsibility of *kinkeeping*, yet in mixed families, we saw that this responsibility is often shared, or even handed over to the men. Now, we will see how the couples negotiate responsibilities regarding their wider social network or *friend-keeping*, and how they choose to create a continuity between work and non-work, home and work, the public and the private (Morgan 1996).

Migrating in Search of "Home"

Social scientists have long been fascinated with migration: the push/pull factors that motivate people to leave their home countries and migrate to foreign lands, as well as the degree to which migrants ultimately integrate into the host society. Classical assimilation theories, particularly in the United States, used the migrants' length of time in the host country as an indicator of their degree of assimilation: "Time, or generational status, denotes the processes of learning the English language, acquiring labour market skills, establishing contact with other social groups, especially the dominant group in society, adopting American ways and ultimately becoming American" (Zhou 2005, p. 132). In Britain, researchers (e.g. Anwar 1979; Song 2009) have tended to avoid speaking of assimilation, and particularly from the mid-1960s, there seems to have been an emphasis on a *multicultural society* and *ethnic pluralism*, "with different groups co-existing but retaining their independent cultural identities" (Ager and Strang 2008, p. 174). A discussion on migration is important to include in a study surrounding mixed families because intermarriage can be the "most intimate form of cross-border relationship" (Morgan et al. 2016, p. 18) and often leads to the formation of mixed families.

Marriage and Migration

Marriage with an individual from the host country, until recently, was one of the most obvious indications of a fully integrated migrant

(Alba and Nee 2003) because it highlights the existence of interaction between individuals from different backgrounds and integration into all areas of the new country. Yet as Jones and Shen (2008, p. 20) suggest, while such marriages may provide new opportunities for social integration, they can also create new inequalities. This is especially true for spousal migrants who face prejudice in their partner's home country, thus resulting in one of the two types of reactions: a direct, negative reaction, or an indirect, positive reaction that suppresses the discrimination by identifying more closely with the minority community (Branscombe et al. 1999). In this way, while a migrant who marries an individual from the host society may be perceived as fully integrated, we often find that individuals who intermarry were "distant-thinking" (Mason 1999) and "internationally-minded" (Yamamoto 2010) to begin with. In other words, such individuals may have ended up living abroad regardless of whether or not they intermarried. It is therefore somewhat problematic to generalise a marriage between a migrant and someone from the dominant society as a sign of integration. Moreover, perhaps a better indicator of a migrant's integration into the host society is when they have a mixed child, since this may indicate that they are more fully integrated into the fabric of the dominant society, including family life. Yet as Song (2009, p. 341) further challenges, "Can a minority spouse be fully 'integrated' if his or her own 'mixed' child were to experience discrimination and marginalisation?".

Searching for a Community of Friends

One aspect of intermarriage and mixed families that remains true is that external support, particularly when attempting to raise bicultural children, can be helpful since, as McGoldrick and colleagues (1982, p. 2) find, culture is "reinforced by the surrounding community". At the same time, Feng and colleagues (2012, p. 161) argue that mixed couples do not tend to receive much support from their social networks when compared to "more conventional partnership arrangements". As such, we explore the mixed families' social networks, defined as "sets of social relationships between people who understand themselves to share

specific social ties … usually involve friendship, advice and information exchange and practical and emotional support" (Britton 2013, p. 1318). In particular, we explore the migrant mothers' friendships because, as migrants far from home, they must often rely on those around them, including friends and in-laws, to support them and "[combat] loneliness and isolation as well as [provide] practical assistance" (Ryan 2007, p. 297) while they do mixed family.

Women's Social Networks

To begin with, this idea that women in mixed unions with a partner from the host society are expected to undergo an "automatic integration" must be challenged (Song 2009). In particular, as Luken and colleagues' (2015) study of mixedness in Spain suggests, in mixed unions, *quantity* of social networks is more affected than *quality.* In other words, although belonging to a mixed union implies a greater presence of natives in the migrant spouse's social network, the natives are mostly their partner's family. As a result, migrant spouses, particularly women, are often found with a smaller social network to rely on and more feelings of social loneliness when compared to women in native/native couples (Koelet and de Valk 2016). In order to expand their social network beyond their husband's family, migrant women, often also lacking work colleagues, venture instead, together with their children, into their neighbourhoods, which can be considered an extension of the domestic arena (cf. Moser 1989, p. 1801), in search of opportunities to socialise. One such space where many new mothers find "mummy friends" is in playgroups: regular, informal, organised gatherings of parents (usually mothers) and their young children. According to Mize and Petit's (2010, p. 1271) study on relationship dynamics in playgroups, playgroups are organised "for the purposes of providing children with social experiences and for providing parents with child-rearing guidance and social support." Similarly, in her study of playgroups in Sweden, Arnberg (1984, p. 69) found migrant mothers attending playgroups in order "to socialise, offer linguistic and psychological support to one another, provide a means of identification with the minority

community, and to encourage each other in their child's language development." Another aspect of women's social networks, particularly as her children get older, surrounds school-related networks, which tend to be women-dominated (Chambers 2006, p. 76), such as parent-teacher associations. Yet migrant mothers are somewhat removed from such networks due to linguistic barriers and/or self-segregation. Thus, this lack of the migrant women's involvement in such networks surrounding their children's everyday lives may, in some ways, be an attempt to challenge the minority woman's maternal competency (cf. Twine 2010). However, we must also consider that perhaps the lack of the minority mother's presence in school and other school-related networks is beneficial to the mixed child since, as Olumide (2002, p. 143) found, the absence of a minority father (or mother) may help the child better "fit in" by drawing less attention to the child, thus avoiding further marginalisation due to their mixed parentage.

Men's Social Networks

Similar to the neighbourhood being an extension of the domestic arena, part of the woman's space, we find that such "third places" are also important for men. In his research of "third places," Oldenburg (1989, p. 22) explains that places such as bars, coffeehouses, taverns, beer gardens, and other such neutral grounds where "individuals may come and go as they please, in which none are required to play host, and in which all feel at home and comfortable" are necessary for individuals to develop relationships with others. While *home* is the first place and *work* is the second place, this idea of the *third place* is crucial, particularly for men, because not only is it where they find their own space, but it is also often where they feel they are best able to bond with other men. In this sense, although most of the women have no second place since the majority do not work outside the home, as Moser (1989) found, they have perhaps found in the playgroups, an extension of the domestic arena, a pseudo-third place. On the other hand, while the British men in the present study do have a second place (i.e. work), we will consider whether or not they have found a third place where they can develop

and maintain friendships outside marriage and family. In particular, we will see whether they, like their wives, value friendships with those in similar situations (cf. Bauer 2010; Caballero 2010), specifically men in mixed marriages and families, or if this does not factor into their selection of friends.

The Mixed Family's Social Networks

It is important to explore the mixed family's social network as a support system because, especially as the mixed children grow older, they naturally become more influenced by those outside the immediate family, particularly friends and peers. This seems to be a constant challenge for migrant parent(s) who are attempting to transmit their culture to their children while living in a foreign land, and this is precisely why support systems become important:

> Immigrant families living in isolation may find it hard to instil proper values and expectations in children. However, when the ethnic community in which families are embedded also insists on consistent values, standards, and expectations and is organised in such a way that it offers support and control, these families are in a better position to guide their children. (Zhou 2005, p. 152)

This idea of transmitting culture with the support of others who belong to the same minority community can positively affect families since the migrant community can assist in passing on cultural values and traditions such as academic achievement (e.g. Bankston and Zhou 1995*)* and language literacy (e.g. Oriyama 2011). Further, for mixed, migrant families specifically, we must consider that, although integrated, migrant parents in mixed families were once thought to simply forget their cultures of origin and adopt the host country's new ways of life, this is not so. On the contrary, migrant parents (in mixed and non-mixed families), often actually begin expressing pride in their cultural heritage and identifying more closely with their cultural group when they have children and begin considering the intergenerational

transmission of culture (Katz 1996; Waters 1990) . Nonetheless, in the case of the mixed children, because they live in Britain and are exposed to the dominant culture everyday, it may be more important for them to prioritise involvement with the local Japanese community, as well as the more general mixed community because being involved in a larger community can later protect the children from rejection and give them the opportunity to develop racial self-esteem through a sense of belonging (Wilson 1987, p. 114).

As societies become more diverse and pluralistic, migrant families are "transforming the host societies even as those host societies transform the migrants and their children" (Sanders 2002, p. 334). This "bidirectional nature of processes of integration" (Törngren et al. 2016, p. 11) between migrant families and individuals from the host society seems straightforward and is not unlike Putnam's idea of bridging and bonding relationships. Yet how such a two-way street works when the dominant and minority cultures are represented within one family, under one roof, can be complicated. Yabuki (2009, p. 78), in her study of mixed families in Japan, explored mixed families' relationships with their local community and identified three possibilities: (1) the first type have close relations with their local community, and their family culture is very similar to that of the dominant society; (2) the second type have close relations with their local community, but equally share their migrant/minority family culture with the local community; and (3) the third type have high boundaries with the local community and hold a very different family culture to that of the dominant society. While there is no essentialism to how families should relate to their local community, the mixed families' interaction with (or lack thereof) the local community is discussed.

Finding "Home"

Home is an important part of everyday life because one's identity is often found in relation to a place (cf. Luke and Luke 1999). As such, we now explore the mixed families' search for home. First, we focus on the

parents' migration stories, and then we explore how the mixed families decided on a place to call "home" for themselves and their children.

Reasons Behind Migration

In their study of intermarriage in Japan, Morgan and colleagues (2016, p. 17) found intermarriage to be "the consequence, not the cause of migration to Japan", with the motivations behind migration basically being split between necessity and opportunity. In the present study, six of the British men have never migrated, while the other six have temporarily migrated to Japan, all for opportunity: four to work (three as English teachers, one in sales) and two (initially) to further their education. The migration journeys of the Japanese women, on the other hand, differ somewhat and tend to be split between both opportunity and necessity, with five migrating (initially) as students (three enrolling in English language courses and two at universities), and the remaining seven as spousal migrants. Although half of the British men have been migrants to Japan, none of the British men went to Japan out of necessity. On the contrary, the migration journeys of the British men to Japan highlight the push factors of migration, the opportunities, as Andrew Clark explains:

> I was doing several things: self-employed, working there, and I was also um, sort of producing artwork, but I kind of hit a dead-end with them, and I thought, I need to do something interesting, so I went to Japan to study…

In a somewhat similar situation, Tim Paterson credits a need for change as his push factor for moving to Japan:

> I never really thought about what I wanted to do after I finished university, so I graduated and looked for a job, and I found a job… I worked there for a year, but I didn't like it… it was really tiring. So I changed jobs… And while I was working there, one of my trainees was a woman who had been teaching in Japan, and she recommended going to Japan, because I was looking for a change of career as well…

In the stories of the men and their migration experiences, a frequent reason given for migrating to Japan was the desire to live in Japan and experience life overseas, while also escaping their everyday lives that seemed somewhat "boring." None of the men went to Japan as spousal migrants, yet several met their future wives while living in Japan. This further problematises the idea of marriage with an individual from the dominant society indicating full integration (Alba and Nee 2003) because the British men were only temporary migrants to Japan, and after marrying their Japanese brides, most of them, instead of making Japan their permanent home, actually chose to return to Britain, together with their Japanese wives.

Regarding the Japanese women, some first migrated to Britain as a result of pull factors, including the opportunity to live abroad, learn the English language, and be close to the British and Scottish music scenes. Here, Fumiko Miller, who has now spent almost half of her life living in Britain, recalls her pull factors:

> I, I think I always wanted to come to the UK to study, so I studied English a lot, in order to get here. Um, um, I guess – when I was 11, I went to London and stayed there for three weeks, as a part of a home-staying program, and I liked there, and maybe subconsciously thought I could go back to the UK, um, but it was really no – I just felt very comfortable in the UK.

While Fumiko dreamed of a life in Britain, many of the Japanese women in the present study migrated out of necessity, because of their commitment to their British husbands. Hiroko Walker shares her migration story:

> [My husband], by the time, he started a bit tired, or I don't know, started looking for another opportunities in his career, and then so he was looking for a job, I knew that. And then, also he's got a couple of interviews, oh maybe in [Japan] or—but anyway, he's got opportunities to—he's got job interview, which has, is very surprise for me, but uh, ok! And he came Edinburgh to interview and uh, still not sure whether he's going to get job or not, but anyway, he got job. By that time, I'm quite ready to go

> anywhere, with him—I'm not sure whether—how he felt, but uh, then, when he decided to go back to UK, it's uh—he'd been away for a while, so it made sense for me as well, um, and then, at the time, I was living in Tokyo. And Tokyo, I didn't feel Tokyo is my place either—I can go anywhere, and so I said, "Yeah, I'll come with you."

Thus, while some of the Japanese women may have initially migrated for various reasons, ultimately, after the women entered into committed relationships with their British partners, the main migration pull factor became keeping their families intact. The Japanese women may thus be described as having transitioned from *voluntary* to *involuntary* migrants (Ogbu 1990), from opportunity to necessity.

Migration Experiences

In the same way that the mixed couples' reasons for migrating are diverse, so too are their experiences of living in a foreign country. The migration experiences that parents in mixed families experience are important to explore because this tends to influence where they choose to live as a family. According to the stories of the British men in the present study, it seems that their reception in Japan was somewhat complex. While seemingly positive on the surface, a few men described their time in Japan as a period tainted with subtle discrimination. Stuart MacFarlane, who lived in Japan for 3 years while teaching English, describes his experience:

> I only really encountered discrimination in Japan in a very kind of benign way of, you know, people being extraordinarily helpful and complimentary to you if you spoke Japanese and if you could um, use chopsticks and things like that.

While Stuart perceived such extra attention as discriminatory, others, including Colin Hamilton, seem to have enjoyed the extra attention and compliments they received while in Japan. Colin explains:

> I find Japan, for me particularly, it's more interesting, more interesting things happen, there's more opportunities, maybe not if you're Japanese, but if you're a Japanese-speaking *gaijin*, it's much more interesting, your everyday is more interesting.

While both Stuart and Colin seem to have had mostly positive experiences living in Japan, their time in Japan, like the other British men, was always only temporary. As a result, their opinions may have differed had they lived there on a permanent basis, as their Japanese wives live in Britain.

Finally, an interesting concept to consider when studying the migration patterns of mixed families is the "return migrant", in this case, the British men. While such men are not migrants in Britain, for those who have resided in Japan for several years, like Andrew Hamilton, there can be a bit of reverse culture shock upon their return to Britain. Here, Andrew, who lived in Japan for nearly a decade, and has been back in Britain for a couple of years elaborates:

> … in Japan, people are very, very conscious of giving you a good service and supplying what they say they will do. In this country, it's much more lax, this idea of service, this idea of standards is much more lax. For me to come back to it is actually quite difficult, you know, I get—on more than one occasion I've got quite annoyed with how I've been treated and thought, "Oh, well, this wouldn't happen in Japan."

Andrew's comment regarding Japanese customer service is revealing because, on one hand, having lived in Japan for so long, he is knowledgeable of the everyday Japanese way of life. On the other hand, his preference for aspects of Japanese culture, such as customer service, is somewhat problematic if we see each parent sharing customs from their own cultures with their mixed children. Thus once again we encounter the complexity of "national culture" in the Japanese/British families, with the parent of the opposite culture transmitting and sharing aspects of their partner's cultural heritage with their mixed children.

There's no Place like Home

For the Japanese/British couples, when they reside in Britain or Japan, one partner becomes a migrant. Further, while husbands' earning power was indeed found to be a major factor in deciding where to live (Yamamoto 2010), other factors influencing the mixed families' decision to reside in Britain included their wives being somewhat bilingual, the superior British educational system, and the pluralistic, multicultural British society. Among the 12 couples, only two have lived in Japan as a family. While many have expressed a desire to experience living in Japan as a family, one of the most common obstacles that stand in the way is the British man's lack of fluency in the Japanese language, which in turn tends to affect his earning potential. Adam McLeod shares how he and his wife Junko, who met in Britain, decided to stay and live in Britain:

> I think we had briefly just talked about it, when we decided to get married. We did consider whether I could go over to Japan, and I thought about it, but I thought you know, it would probably be better if she came over here … we talked about her job and my job, and my job was quite secure and there's potential for promotion and stuff like that. And because Junko speaks two languages, it might be easier for her to get a job here than for me in Japan. … You know, the financial security, if we started a family, what would be better. Obviously, with my almost non-existent Japanese language skills, it would be more of a problem with me going over to Japan…

Nonetheless, even when families decide to live somewhere, sometimes factors such as immigration stand in the way of their plans. For example, after spending their first four years as a family in Britain, the McLeods are now in the process of moving away from Britain since Junko was denied an extension to her spousal visa because of an error in her application form. While the McLeods attempted to fight this case, they were unsuccessful, and Junko returned to Japan with their two children while Adam continues trying to find a solution to staying in his homeland with his family. The challenges that mixed, migrant families face becomes apparent when reading through the lengthy application

form (FLR(M) 2015) that migrant spouses must fill out in order to stay in the UK indefinitely. In the application form, among other things, are questions regarding the couples' relationship, as well as required evidence of the couple sharing a residence. In addition, there are financial and English language requirements, as well as the "Life in the UK" Test. The McGregors, whose wife Risa recently received her Indefinite Leave to Remain status, shared with me their thoughts on the process:

> We then begin talking about immigration issues, and I ask Mum about her experience when coming to this country. She says she has Indefinite Leave to Remain (ILR) status, but she's still a Japanese citizen. In order to get her ILR, however, she had to fill in lots of "detailised"—she looks to Dad and asks him how to say "detailised?" He thinks she means "deteriorated". She finally says it in Japanese: kuwashii. He says, "Oh, detailed." In order to be granted ILR, besides the high price, there is also the exam on British history and politics and the English language. She said it wasn't too hard, but you definitely have to study for the exam. Dad says it's quite discriminatory, because fortunately, Mum had strong English language skills and the time to study for the exam, but he argued that even he didn't know some of the answers to some of the questions, and that a lot of people from more disadvantaged situations wouldn't be able to pass because they don't have time to study, and/or their English language skills aren't that great.

Dealing with immigration and visas is an inevitable part of the migrant, mixed family, and even though the Japanese women are married to British men, there is no guarantee that they will be free of immigration troubles, as we saw with the McLeod family. Further, even when immigration is straightforward, there still remains the high fees that the couples must pay each time they attempt to lengthen the migrant spouse's stay in Britain, unless the Japanese women choose to renounce their Japanese citizenship and become British citizens.[1]

In the present study, four of the couples met in Japan, so the British men had already experienced living and working in Japan prior to marriage. As a result, the men's job potential was less of a concern. Nonetheless, before their children were born, two couples decided that they wanted to live in Britain as a family, for various reasons. Here,

Stuart MacFarlane explains why he believes Britain is the ideal place for his mixed family:

> … looking in the long run—the, the problem I always thought about in Japan and living there and raising children was that—at least here you had a multicultural society, and um, there—and I knew [my wife] would fit in better to that here, than I would ever fit into Japanese society. I'd always be something of an outsider—no matter how many years I lived there, it would always be, "That's amazing you can use chopsticks!" and "Oh, you can speak Japanese!" and things like that.

The assumption that Stuart makes, that his wife will "fit in" to British society, seems somewhat naive because the MacFarlanes are a mixed couple, and at least one partner will always be a migrant, an outsider. Who takes on this role of spousal migrant and "sacrifices" living in their homeland seems to be the determining factor of where the mixed family will live, in addition to more practical factors, including the husband's earning potential. However, because of a strong sense of responsibility to fulfil familial obligations (cf. Takeda 2012), many of the Japanese women envision returning to Japan one day, as Ayaka MacFarlane explains:

> Yes, my husband used to say, maybe we can move back after 10 years or something like that, but at the moment, it's after 10 years, and it's getting—not yet easy—how can I say? My husband seems to have settled his work, just now, and um, so—but probably he's still saying, in the future, when my parents get old…

As Ayaka's quote suggests, this is a contentious and difficult process that has no easy solution and instead further complicates the families' search for home. Further, this idea of returning to Japan is somewhat surprising because Luke and Luke (1999, p. 11), in their study of mixed families in Australia, found the "absence of 'yearning' for origins and home." Yet this sense of "yearning" for origins and home seems to continue for many Japanese women, and while it sometimes revolves around their aging parents, it is often simply the women wanting to return "home." While this sense of returning to Japan is somewhat similar to Anwar's

(1979) "myth of return," it is also different because there is no "Joint Myth": the Japanese woman and the British man cannot both return to their "home" as long as they remain together because it is their commitment to one another that requires one or both of them to give up their homeland. However, this is not always seen as a "sacrifice" since many individuals who enter international marriages tend to be "internationally-minded" (Yamamoto 2010) to begin with, so conversely, both partners may actually desire to live abroad. Risa McGregor, who has now lived in Britain for four years, shares her thoughts on returning to Japan:

> I don't want to go back to Aomori! … I'm very lucky being here, being Scotland, Edinburgh, it's a beautiful place … this house is 110 years old, and then we can still live here—it won't be happen in Japan. And you know, um, people know how to relax, you know? It's uh, that's Japanese people forgot… But yeah, I'm quite lucky and you know, I like here.

This also seems to happen the other way around. For example, Lewis and Setsuko Potter have resided in Britain since they married 17 years ago, yet as Lewis explains, he holds on to the idea of a cosmopolitan life that includes living in both Japan and Scotland:

> Certainly in the future, I see myself living in Japan, yeah. Maybe once the kids are grown up or—I have this great idea that I'll live 6 months in Japan, and 6 months in Scotland. I'm not good with heat, just—I've never really experienced a Japanese summer yet. I've been in Japan, I think the latest—well, the middle of June and the beginning of September, so I've never been in Japan in July or August, which is—that would be—I would be living in the shopping malls all the time, with the air conditioner, so we'd have to work on that one. It would be a case of being—living in Japan in the winter and Scotland in the summer. That's my dream.

What Lewis is describing is what I refer to as the "Myth of Cosmopolitanism", when parents in mixed families want the apparently "glamorous" cosmopolitan life that includes a transnational lifestyle and family, basically what their mixed children were born into. In

her research, Song (2016, p. 11) observes something similar: "having a minority spouse with whom they did *not* share ethnic ancestry afforded them … with a strong sense of the cosmopolitan…"In reality however, as most mixed children can attest to, this myth of being cosmopolitan and flying around the world unimpeded tends to be somewhat exaggerated, with reality being that there exist significant barriers for mixed people which often "strongly regulate [their] ability to belong" (King-O'Riain 2014, p. 273), not only regarding national identities, but also racial and ethnic identities. Furthermore, while Lewis shares his dream scenario of living in Japan in the winter, and Scotland in the summer, this further complicates the mixed families' search for a "home" because, if he and his wife Setsuko do "return" to Japan, where will the *jikka* of the mixed children become as their nuclear family transitions into a transnational family*?*

Moreover, whether or not the couples or the families are able to "return" to Japan in the near future or later in life is also dependent on Japanese immigration laws. Japanese laws regarding spousal visas generally tend to be accommodating, taken on a case-by-case basis. In addition, Japanese citizenship laws have also recently become more lenient, and now, if either of the child's parents are Japanese, the child is eligible for Japanese citizenship, as long as their Japanese parent registers their birth with the local Japanese Consulate within three months of their birth. However, when the child turns 22-years-old, they must choose one nationality, as Japan does not allow adults to possess dual citizenship. This situation, of being forced to choose between one's two heritages seems to mirror other aspects of the everyday mixedness experience. King-O'Riain (2014, p. 272) elaborates, "The experience of being caught between two socially recognised categories—being put under pressure to choose one, or being thought of as suspect or less than 'authentic' because one is not purely one thing or the other—is common across many groups of mixed people." On the other hand, for the parents in the mixed families, the situation is different, but also somewhat similar. For example, while the Japanese women do have the option to maintain their Japanese citizenship and live on "spousal visas" in Britain, they also have the option of renouncing their Japanese citizenship and becoming British citizens. Yet all of the Japanese women

encountered during my fieldwork maintain their Japanese citizenship and refuse to renounce their Japanese citizenship. This may be further proof of the "Myth of Return," or it may simply be their desire to maintain their identity, as Junko McLeod, who strongly stated that she would die as a Japanese citizen, shares:

> I don't think I'm going to give [my Japanese citizenship] away or change to British one. Yeah, my mum thought when I'm getting to married to British, she thought I'm going to be British, so she actually could be, had really big tears. When I told my mum no, I'm going to be Japanese, and will die as Japanese. And it's kind of my originality and identity, that's what I am, who I am. It's a part of myself, so can't really give it away.

It is interesting to note here that, although I did not specifically ask about citizenship, almost all of the women proudly informed me that they were still Japanese citizens, and there were also several mentions, particularly by the Japanese women and their family, of the children's dual-citizenship status. While the majority of the mixed children in the study have both a Japanese, and a British passport, Fumiko Miller shared that she chose not to give her children Japanese citizenship:

> No Japanese citizenship… they're recognised in Japan, under my name. But nothing, it just shows that they are mixed, nothing else. I don't know—as long as they've only got British passports. Not really, not really [important to me]. I thought it would bother me, but no. <laughs>

Fumiko does not seem to mind that her children are not Japanese nationals, further confirming the idea that, for mixed children, their identity is highly dependent on their parents' choices in matters such as giving the children a second nationality or ticking a box on national censuses. Nevertheless, the majority of parents and Japanese kin encourage Japanese citizenship for the children. Kikuko Paterson's mother Masako Ishihara shares:

> My granddaughter actually has Japanese citizenship, too, my granddaughter and my daughter both still have residency in Japan. So just in case

> something happens, they can come back. If they moved everything over there, I would be a bit sad. So they still have their Japanese citizenship.

This possibility of returning to Japan is yet again different from Anwar's (1979) "myth of return" because this "possibility of return" is more about security. By maintaining their Japanese citizenship, the Japanese women and their kin know that "if something were to happen," the women could return to Japan with their children and live there legally, as Japanese citizens. At the same time, this also means that, while the Japanese women are living in Britain, they do not enjoy certain rights that British citizens have, such as the ability to travel and live freely within the European Union and the right to vote in local and national elections. Setsuko Potter, for example, shared with me that she would very much like to become more involved in her local community, particularly by having her voice heard in local elections. Yet she feels caught in the middle because her children are presently Japanese nationals; however, if she renounces her Japanese nationality, they would lose their Japanese nationality as well. As such, we see that citizenship(s) can become another aspect of the mixedness experience to be negotiated by the mixed families.

Finding Friends in Their New Home

In this section, we focus on the mixed families' interaction with the wider community and how they, particularly the Japanese women, balance bridging relationships and bonding relationships (Putnam 2007). Further, using Yabuki's (2009) three types of relationships with the local community, we see if the mixed families tend to have closer relationships with individuals from the dominant society, the minority community, or both.

The Mother's Social Network

During an individual's lifetime, social networks can shift, particularly when women become mothers, and perhaps more so for migrant mothers (cf. Maehara 2010; Ryan 2007). One network that many new

mothers discover is playgroups. From my interviews and observations, it seems that, similar to the parents' in Arnberg's (1984) study, the Japanese mothers are also attending the Japanese playgroups to socialise with other Japanese women and to find support from other parents who are also attempting to raise bicultural, bilingual children. During interviews with the Japanese women, I asked about playgroups that they attend/attended with their children. Hiroko Walker shared with me that she wants more opportunities to speak English, since her husband is fluent in Japanese and she therefore does not get to practice English very much. As such, she attends a different English-speaking playgroup almost every day of the week apart from Fridays, which are reserved for the Japanese playgroups. Here, she talks about her desire for a more diverse group of friends, but also her continual need for Japanese friends:

> … maybe because I don't work outside, and just wherever I go is some playgroups, so [my friends are] Scottish and English and yeah… I'd like to have more international friends because they you know, can understand our situation or what's the issue or—and also it's very interesting to talk to those international people… [But my Japanese friends], yeah, probably makes me feel better or comfortable!

Hiroko is unique in her attendance at the English-speaking playgroups, as the majority of the other Japanese women exclusively attend Japanese playgroups where they feel a sense of identity and belonging (Caballero 2010, p. 36), and while such friendships may not compensate for limits in their partners (Jamieson 1998, p. 103), they can find empathy with one another, as one woman exclaimed, "*I can share, you know, when I was very frustrated with Scottish husband, they understand!*" As such, most of the Japanese women participate in the Japanese playgroups exclusively and actually report being "scared" of attending English playgroups, particularly because of their limited English. Soon after having her first child, Chiyoki Hamilton attempted to participate in English playgroups and proactively interact with other British mothers in her neighbourhood; yet, as her mother and father-in-law recount, she was somewhat disappointed at the reception she received from the British

mothers: *"I think Chiyoki was expecting to be invited into the Scots homes, due to them being a novelty, and she felt isolated, but she never told us, and I'm very surprised… I think she found that a bit difficult. Making friends. Now, I—I personally don't think it was because Chiyoki was Japanese, I think it's just— I don't know whether—She felt a bit strange or awkward…"* As a result of similar experiences, as well as needing support in passing on the Japanese language and culture to their mixed children, a handful of Japanese women began organising playgroups in their own homes approximately ten years ago. Setsuko Potter fondly recalls those days:

> We have—when [my son] was little, we didn't have so many Japanese here, just yet, not many. So like, myself and another about three mums, they were all married to Scots, and then they had children of similar age. So that time, we did, once a week—that time there was no Japanese toddlers, and no playgroups, so we were doing at the house. We started meeting at the house, and then going down the house once a week, different houses, and just play together, kind of try use Japanese and things…

There are now three formal Japanese playgroups in Edinburgh, and while the Japanese playgroups do continue to offer support for the women in transmitting different aspects of the Japanese culture to their children, they also act as a space for the women to socialise with one other. As such, the Japanese women tend to have predominantly Japanese friends, which in turn may be an act of active resistance to integration (cf. Branscombe et al. 1999), particularly as these very relationships seem responsible for creating distance between the Japanese women and the dominant culture, since their social needs are being met by their Japanese friends, leaving little reason to reach out and find friends in the dominant society (Sanders 2002). As I waited for the bus after one of the playgroups, I wrote the following in my notebook:

> A couple of women from the playgroup walked by me as I waited for the bus… I barely recognised them because they go from being lively and animated and smiling and laughing and loud and talkative in the playgroups to suddenly being uncertain, nervous, and quiet in the outside

> world, in the streets of Edinburgh. But somehow, they manage. They're thousands of miles away from their homes, from anything familiar, but in these playgroups, they find friendship, support, and for at least two hours every other week, they feel normal, they feel confident, they feel at home, they feel at ease, they belong.

As such, while the women may, in one sense, be self-segregating themselves by having mostly Japanese friends, it may be that the Japanese women are simply choosing friends who can empathise with them, both linguistically and emotionally, and particularly surrounding parenting mixed children and being in mixed marriages. Yet although the Japanese playgroups are a close-knit community, there also seems to be a lack of sharing each other's needs or vulnerabilities, what Jamieson (1998) refers to as "disclosing intimacy" in the relationships between the women. For example, one woman was pregnant and suddenly stopped attending the playgroups for about 3 months. Apparently, there had been complications, and her new son ended up in a hospital in England. Upon her return, I asked her how she was managing everything, and whether she had help from friends or in-laws. She said she didn't, but had asked her parents in Japan to come and help her. Because the Japanese women are geographically separated from their families, it would seem that perhaps some of the Japanese women would have been more willing to offer practical assistance to this new mother, but perhaps this is one type of help reserved for family, or perhaps this is an example of cultural differences regarding the expectations of friendship. This is in line with what Jamieson (1998, pp. 7–8) found, that many societies, even within Euro-North American cultures, are still characterised by virtues associated with maintaining one's privacy, and thus this concept of "disclosing intimacy" or sharing one's own "private business" is still viewed as new and different.

Another such incident occurred when one mother emailed me regarding a dinner observation that we had scheduled in advance, saying that her son had a fever and had been hospitalised, and she would thus have to cancel. She very clearly asked me to *not* tell any of the other Japanese mums about her son being hospitalised. This suggests that perhaps the "strength" of the relationships between the Japanese women may be

somewhat weak (Granovetter 1973, p. 1361). However, such broad generalisations cannot be made, particularly in a study on cross-cultural relationships and when considering Japanese culture surrounding relationships. In particular, two words surface when discussing relationships in a Japanese context: *honne* and *tatemae,* the Japanese words that describe the dichotomy that permeates through Japanese society between true feelings that people withhold (*honne*) and *tatemae,* "a cultural concern by which the Japanese feel forced to act according to what they feel the community expects from them" (Ishii et al. 2011, p. 86). As such, perhaps the woman with the hospitalised child did not want the other Japanese women to know that her family was in trouble, that she was worried about her son (*honne*), and instead only show the women what they expected, that she was capable of taking care of her family and that there was no need to worry or bother anyone. In this way, although the women have formed friendships in another country, they may still behave in the way they were socialised (Gershuny et al. 2005, p. 657) and continue to adhere to *honne tatemae.* Finally, as Jamieson (1998, p. 90) has also suggested, we should also consider that, while there seems to be a lack of "disclosing intimacy" among the Japanese women, this may be a class issue, as "disclosing intimacy" requires time and effort and may therefore be considered a luxury which many women cannot afford amidst their many responsibilities as wives and mothers.

The Father's Social Network

While the women were quick to reply when asked about their social networks, the men were somewhat more hesitant. During interviews, several men admitted that their wives (and children) have a livelier social network than they do. Here, Ewan Ross, an IT technician who spends most of his days at his desk, explains his family's social life:

> I would say my wife and son have a far better social life than I do, he's always out at playgroups or going to the thing at the museum or going to the park and—yeah, Keiko gets to see her other mother friends and their kids quite a lot.

Further, because the majority of the men work outside the home, several also mentioned their struggle in balancing work, family, and their social lives. Here, Adam McLeod, a civil servant for the Scottish government, talks about his situation:

> I don't really have much of a social life, unfortunately, mainly because I myself am so tired when I come home from work, then you know, trying to help around the house and tend to my son…

During interviews, the British men claim that they have little time for socialising and maintaining personal ties, yet through triangulation (i.e. my observations of the family and continued conversations with the women at the playgroups), a different image surfaced, as I recounted in my field notes after some reflection:

> As I've been spending more time with the women at the playgroups and on other occasions, I'm starting to get a different image of their husbands' social lives. According to the women, their husbands regularly and often are at ***nomikai*** with their work colleagues. Several times, for example, I overheard conversations between couples, with the men calling to tell their wives that they would be home late. The Japanese women never complain and always simply respond, "Ok, thank you for letting me know. What time will you be home?" And tonight, when my family and another family had dinner together, the British man actually expected me to stay with his wife and children while he and my husband went out for a drink. Is this the norm for British men or are they getting away with shunning familial responsibilities because they are married to Japanese women? Do Japanese women put up with more because their expectations of the male fatherly role are different? Most of them admit they grew up with absent fathers who were always at work and at nomikai… do they expect the same from their husbands, even though many were attracted to Western men because they are stereotypically seen as more progressive and family-oriented when compared to Japanese men.

While the Japanese women may have been seeking modern, family-oriented husbands, it could be that the Western men may have been seeking more traditional women. This is somewhat similar to Spickard's

(1989, p. 131) findings in his historical account of Japanese/American couples post-World War II: "Many of the men were looking for the docile Asian women that American stereotypes had led them to expect, while many of the women were looking for men who would allow them to leave that role. It was a situation ripe for conflict." This may indicate that, while the times have changed and the number of intermarriages have increased, the expectations of partners in mixed unions may be evolving more slowly. Further evidence of gender issues in the mixed marriages is seen when we consider that eleven out of twelve of the participant families have men providing economically and the women maintaining the domestic affairs. While it may be assumed that the Japanese women simply do not want to be in the workforce, only one woman emphasised this during an interview: *"I'm not a career person, uh, always wanted to have a family."* For other women, particularly for those who were in jobs that they enjoyed before marrying and migrating to Britain, there seems to be a continued desire of working outside of the home, but at the same time, because of the consequences of migration and the language barrier, most remain hesitant to join the British workforce. Hiroko Walker, for example, loved her job back in Japan, but since migrating to Britain, and particularly after having a baby, her prospect of returning to the workforce has become somewhat bleak:

> I really love to work, if I could get a job like which I used to in Japan, if I could get the job, that would be superb. But it's very difficult to get that job in Edinburgh not so many opportunities, and yeah, considering my English-level, it should be very hard to get a job in the UK or in everywhere anyway, so—and also my husband wants me to look after my son, our son, until maybe 5 years or until he goes to primary school, because it's very important time for him, so… But yeah, sometimes—not sometimes, quite often, I feel like, "Oh! You know, I want to go back to work. I want to work in the office, I sometimes want to enjoy after-five!" But totally different life now…

To further complicate matters, while Hiroko's husband Cameron talks of living in Japan once again and having Hiroko work, she does not see this happening as she is from a somewhat rural area and her kin would not approve of a woman—breadwinner household. The employment

situation of the Japanese women thus become intertwined with familial ideologies of both Britain and Japan, making this yet another area of negotiation for the mixed families. In Britain, with decreasing job security for men and increasing work opportunities for women, as well as more participation from men in domestic tasks, there seems to be what MacInnes (1998, p. 55) refers to as an attitudinal change favouring a move towards modern, egalitarian gender ideologies as opposed to more traditional ones. However, in Japan, there still remains a strong, traditional familial ideology based on the *soto/uchi* divide.

Nonetheless, most of the British men's social networks revolve around their work colleagues. Yet some men do manage to maintain friends from school, like Liam Barclay, whose two best friends are his school buddies, a second-generation Indian and a second-generation Russian. When it comes to socialising as a couple or family, however, all of the men tend to rely on the networks of their wives, including Liam, as he describes such encounters:

> They're very nice… the hubbies, [they're] very nice guys. Um, and another girl… her husband… they're both a bit older than the other couple so, a bit more—yeah, different personalities, but it's interesting to meet them…. I don't really know them so well. But yeah, a couple of girls are very, very nice to chat with, and the hubbies, yeah, it's nice, interesting… but yeah, they're nice.

While such awkward relationships between partners' friends is somewhat expected, what makes this situation more complicated is that, on one end, the Japanese women emphasise the importance of having friends with other women in mixed marriages/families. However, it seems that the men do not share this need to be able to relate to other men in mixed families. This then begs the question of whether the situation would be different if the mixed families lived in Japan and the British men were the migrant spouses: would they then feel the need for friendships with others migrant, minority men and mixed families?

Literature surrounding families and their social networks tend to focus on the women's shift in friendships during milestones such as getting married and becoming a mother, yet it seems that family formation

can also influence the fathers' social ties. The British men's social networks generally seem to be dominated by weak ties with their British work colleagues, with only a few men mentioning friends from their childhood and university days. Further, in line with literature surrounding the maintenance of friends (e.g. Chambers 2006), the British men do not seem to stay in touch with friends from their past, many of whom still live nearby. Here, Adam McLeod explains how his social life has transitioned somewhat, with his new role as husband and father:

> Um, I don't really have many close friends… I probably keep in touch with my older friends who I grew up with or I knew them through work, who have seen me through my career or things like that. Um, we try—I guess we try to stay in touch through streams of social networking, but I don't sign into facebook and things like that—I'm offline—it's one of the things I'm trying to do, is trying to get in touch with my friends more… I just don't have time for friends, which is unfortunate… I should have a social life… but there's just no time, and money as well, it makes it difficult. So it's been a bit—last couple of years have been a bit difficult to maintain friends… keep in contact with friends…

For both the Japanese women and the British men, it seems that, like most parents with busy schedules and young children, they are not as concerned about maintaining their friendships from the past. Instead, both parents seem more concerned with their friendships in the present, placing priority on their relationships with kin and other mixed families (cf. Bost et al. 2002). In this way, mixed families seem to consider social networks an important element of support in their endeavour to parent mixed children.

Children's Friends

During the pre-school years, the mixed children have little choice in regard to who they socialise with. This period tends to coincide with the time that their Japanese mothers seem to be exposing them almost exclusively to the Japanese community. This is relevant because children's early friendships can provide them with glimpses of what to

expect about inclusion and expectations regarding social groups in the future (Twine 2010, p. 129). How then are the mixed children at that young age influenced by the Japanese playgroups? Because I did not interview the children directly, I can only rely on my observations and my interviews with their parents. When I asked the parents about their children's experiences at playgroups, most answered positively, but here, one mother wonders whether or not her children would choose to attend the Japanese playgroups, if it were not for her:

> I would say [my children] have a couple of Japanese friends, they quite like to socialise with, they recognise each other, obviously. Yeah, I'm quite interested in as well, how much they are aware that they are friends, or they just come, they just come with me because I want to see the mums. I never know.

When children are able to choose their own friends, it does not seem that they deliberately choose to be friends with other mixed Japanese/British children. This is most likely due to the fact that, as they get older, other Japanese/British mixed children become such a small minority and thus limit their potential for friends. As such, the idea of homophily (Kandel 1978) may not directly apply here, but at the same time, the mixed children, like most children, are choosing friends who are like them in an everyday sense (e.g. same age, same school, same neighbourhood), since these children may have more similarities with them than their parents' friends' mixed children whom they only see occasionally and with whom they only share a distinct Japanese/British "culture". At the same time, while the mixed children may indeed share more similarities with their local peers, they are still somehow different, as one respondent shared with me:

> She talked about her son's schooling and how she and her husband are struggling with this. She thinks he can just go to the local state school. She thinks it's good enough, it's where all their neighbours's kids, go and besides, she thinks it will be nice for all the kids to grow up together. But Dad doesn't want this. He said, "Those kids are all just Scottish. Our son's not like them - he's half-Japanese, he's bilingual, he's special."

This again emphasises that mixed families must negotiate with one another surrounding many issues, as they make important decisions, acknowledging that their children are not the norm (in Edinburgh at any rate), but at the same time, creating space for them to feel a sense of belonging (Ali 2003; Caballero et al. 2008a), so as to give them the necessary foundation on which to build a healthy identity.

Family Friends

The individual members of the mixed family all have their own friends, yet they also share some family friends. For most families looking for other families to befriend, considerations of language barriers and cultural sensitivity are not the first things that come to mind. However, mixed families must often consider such issues, including, "Will everyone be able to communicate?" and "Will the parents and the children be culturally sensitive—but not to a point where it becomes awkward?" As a result, perhaps it is not surprising to find the Japanese women attempting to find other Japanese/British families for their families to interact with. Like most of the families in the present study, the Hamiltons also seem to rely on mother Chiyoki when it comes to recruiting family friends and setting up family dates for their family of six. Here, her husband Colin explains the reason behind this:

> I suppose it's because, in most cases, the man is working, so he's got his work friends, but then his outside of work, it tends to be the woman's relationships, so like with Chiyoki, she's got several female friends, and they'll have a partner, generally, so it might be, let's get together and meet up for a meal, so it's Chiyoki who has almost instigated that friendship between families, and that's why it tends to be Japanese women married to Scottish men, because it's Chiyoki's friendship…

While kinkeeping was found to be a shared responsibility between the parents in mixed families, we see that the responsibility surrounding *friend-keeping*, somewhat like homemaking, seems to be more of what Moser (1989) refers to as "reproductive labour", perpetuating the unequal division of labour and the Japanese *soto/uchi* familial model

which places the responsibility of all domestic affairs, including social networking, on the women. However, in mixed families, it may be that the Japanese women are taking the lead in regard to finding family friends, not because of gendered stereotypes but because of the women's minority status, which makes them ideal for the role of "gatekeeper" regarding friends for their families. This is somewhat reminiscent of Wilson's (1987, p. 181) discussion of mothers of mixed children being wary of attitudes regarding mixedness when befriending new people, all of which take time and can involve many "sharp disappointments." Accepting such realities, Jim Miller admits that, in his family, his wife Fumiko has become the sort of "filter" for the family when it comes to socialising with new people:

> I mean, I always used to think Fumi was a really good kind of filter for people, in terms of moving to a place and making new friends, because almost certainly some people were—not comfortable with Fumi because she wasn't British, or she doesn't look British… I think, people who might have a problem with it—don't come close, so it's a—if we're in a new place, obviously you don't want to uh, spend too much time, wasting time with people you're not eventually going to be quite good friends with, and so if you can get rid of all the people who've got a problem about your nationality, that's fine, we can get rid of those people and focus on the people that don't have a problem with it. So in that way, there's a kind of a rapid filter for a lot of idiots!

While Jim attempts to describe discrimination against his wife positively, he may be describing something similar to what Tizard and Phoenix (1993) found, that mixed marriages can often restrict the individual partners' social lives, and perhaps even their family's social network. In other words, would the British men have a different and/or larger social network if they were married to a White British women instead of their Japanese wives. In the case of the Japanese/British families, however it seems that neither parent feels restricted in their social lives, but instead, they have deliberately chosen to invest in the minority culture and encourage their mixed children to socialise and interact more with members of the Japanese community.

Nonetheless, family friends are not only influenced by the Japanese women, they are also influenced by the children, developing a complex web of relationships (Schindler 2010, p. 318) in which individual family members exist together in bidirectional relationships. For example, while the mixed children may have their own social networks, the parents, at least when the children are younger, inevitably must also interact with one another. Colin Hamilton explains his relationship with his children's friend's parents:

> And it's—there isn't really anything that you would call a relationship, it's just a—we chat whenever there's a children's party or some sort of event, like tomorrow, for example, we're going to the Olympics, and I know Billy's father, I've spoken to him a few times, I know what he does, where he works, that he likes bicycles, um, but you know, there's a limit to the conversations that we've had, or could have, um, so I don't really have any relationship, to speak of.

While such relationships may not be the same as relationships with friends chosen directly, adult friendships can indeed be strengthened through their children's friendships (Mellor et al. 2010, p. 131), and can also perhaps be seen as opportunities to build more bridging relationships with families from the dominant society (Putman 2007). For example, the twelve participant families observe the Japanese custom of taking one's shoes off inside the home. While some Japanese women mentioned receiving negative responses when asking guests to remove their shoes before entering their homes, Setsuko Potter shares how she was able to "bridge" this difference with her daughter's friend's family:

> I suppose starts with shoes: taking off shoes, usually ask people to take off, so maybe that's the one things, and people come regularly—they know they have to take shoes off, and actually, one of my daughter's friend and mum—they never did before, but since they noticed we are taking off the shoes, actually, they started doing their house as well! So thought that's quite nice and keep it clean.

Through this example, we see how mixed families, in their everyday lives, are sharing aspects of their culture with their local community,

often through their children's school friends. Nonetheless, although the children may have many local friends, and the British men may have local British acquaintances at work, the lack of a larger social network with local people for the family as a whole may leave the family lacking important resources, as my field notes show:

> The other day, I was at the park with my son and another family with two children. The older child is that point in life where you begin to seriously think about the future. Yet this young man, like many people, is still confused. He is somewhat interested in going to university, but he has no idea about the process, and neither do his parents. While most would quickly identify this situation as a class issue, I'm hesitant to do so. Yes, the parents didn't attend university, so perhaps it should not be too surprising that the son is struggling with the whole process, but is there is an additional complexity that comes from having a migrant mother who is responsible for the everyday parenting, particularly considering that, first of all, she doesn't know where to turn to because she is not connected to the local social networks at school, and second of all, while she can attempt to help her son by, for example, looking online, she still struggles with English.

This example shows us that, while it is important to maintain relationships with those from the Japanese community, it is also important to have a strong network of friends from the local community. However, class must not be forgotten, as it ultimately may be more pertinent because, even if the mixed families have many local friends, if they are all of a working-class background, they may be equally as clueless about the university system, as was the British father in this example. In other words, a foreigner can be a much better resource than a local person regarding the university system if the foreigner is, for example, educated themselves and employed in the university sector, with friends in professional careers. Thus, it seems necessary to extend this idea of creating a diverse social network to include, not only *bridging* and *bonding* relationships (Putnam 2007) in regard to nationality, but also socioeconomic class.

Conclusions

In this chapter, we specifically looked at two areas that tend to influence a family's culture: their search for a place to call home, and once settled into their new home, their choice of friends. Clearly, migration is inevitable for mixed families such as the Japanese/British families because, wherever the families choose to live, at least one person will always be a migrant. As such, we explored the mixed couples' migration journeys. What we found was that the migration stories of the men and women tend to vary, with most British men migrating to Japan temporarily and in conjunction with work or study, and some Japanese women initially migrating to Britain for personal reasons, but eventually becoming permanent migrants in order to keep their mixed family together. Moreover, when participants were asked about the mixed children's identity and their familiarity with their respective cultural heritages, almost all participants mentioned *"it all depends on where they live."* As such, the fact that the families have decided to settle down in Britain and call Edinburgh home becomes significant, not only in the everyday transmission of culture, but also in creating a place of belonging for the mixed children and for the parents themselves.

Yabuki (2009) identified three types of relationships that mixed families have with their local community; for the Japanese/British families, it seems that different family members have different types of relationships with those in their local community. The Japanese women seem to occupy the third type, having predominantly Japanese friends and remaining hesitant to reach out and form bridging relationships with individuals from the local community. This is contrary to previous studies of mothers of mixed children which found women valuing a diverse set of friendships (e.g. Britton 2013; Harman 2013; Luken et al. 2015), seeing such relationships as opportunities to bridge social capital and provide a different support system from their extended family. Further, the Japanese women were found to have generally "weak ties" in their friendships with other Japanese women, yet it is important to consider, among other things, that as Jamieson (1998, p. 105) suggests, a stereotypical "close" friendship characterised by "disclosing intimacy" may simply be an ideological construct rather than an

"everyday lived reality", particularly for the women at this busy stage in their lives. Finally, in Imamura's (1990) study of foreign wives in Japan, isolation and loneliness were their most difficult struggles; similarly, Spickard (1989, p. 41) found that because their partners were often unable to understand their Japanese wives linguistically or emotionally, the women were left to cope by themselves with "loneliness, fear, and uncertainty about social relationships or the future." Yet unlike their predecessors, the women in the present study are not simply accepting isolation and loneliness and fear; instead, in their own way, they are resisting such feelings, often through their friendships with other Japanese women as well as their relationships with their British husbands who, also in their own way, are attempting to support their migrant wives.

The British men and the mixed children seem to occupy the first type of relationship with their local community (Yabuki 2009), with most of their social contacts and friends being from the dominant culture, particularly their work colleagues and schoolmates. Regarding the men's social networks specifically, we see that most of their socialising occurs in the workplace, their "second space." Further, while women's shifts in friendships during milestones tend to be emphasised, men also seem to be influenced by milestones, particularly marriage and fatherhood. Regarding the children's friends, we find that, like most children, they choose friends who are like themselves (e.g. age, interests, neighbourhood) instead of specifically looking for mixed children. Finally, regarding family friends, the Japanese women tend to be largely responsible for organising and planning their families' social lives (e.g. Chambers 2006; Song 2003), although the British men and the mixed children do cooperate and participate on such "family dates". However, it does seems as if there only exists a strong sense of camaraderie between the Japanese women, and not between the British men or the mixed children. This is not completely unexpected given that the women spend much more time together when compared to the men and children, particularly after the children start school and they begin to form their own friendships.

In conclusion, the relationships that the mixed families have with those around them, in some ways, seems to be a reflection of each family members' degree of integration, or lack thereof, into the dominant

society. However, as a family, the Japanese/British families tend to identify most with Yabuki's (2009) second option, maintaining a balanced approach to both the local community and the migrant/minority community. This seems ideal, as "children need both parts of their racial heritage accepted and affirmed" (Mass 1992, p. 277), and creating and maintaining positive connections with both of their cultural heritages through relationships with friends, neighbours, the local community, and the Japanese community can indeed provide the mixed children with a healthy balance of both sides of their cultural heritages. However, while a bicultural upbringing and social network seems ideal for the Japanese/British children, considering that they are being brought up in Britain, their British side will always dominate in public (i.e. school, media and peers), as such, a more dominant Japanese home and social life may be essential for the children to truly grow up biculturally and bilingually.

Note

1. The discussion surrounding citizenship continues later in this chapter.

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7

Conclusions

Concluding Thoughts

When Caballero and colleagues (2008, p. 15) asked parents in mixed families about the most important thing they wanted to pass on to their children, *family history* and *cultural traditions* or *way of life* were frequently mentioned. In this study, in addition to cultural traditions, parents specifically emphasised wanting to share their languages and foods with their children, both aspects of culture which require a conscious commitment from both parents and children. At the same time, as we have seen in the previous chapters, sharing culture can also take place unintentionally, in the midst of everyday life, as the children "witness and experience [culture] within the family" (Fabes et al. 2006, p. 303). Such an organic way of transmitting culture often happens when parents create a positive family environment in their home that allows for, among other things, a safe exploration of both of their cultural heritages, a place to find refuge and belonging, and a place to decode and challenge messages about race and ethnicity (Root 2001, p. 63). This book highlighted such everyday family life, with a specific focus on different aspects of "culture" that parents in mixed families negotiate, both

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inside and outside the home, as they not only attempt to raise bicultural, bilingual children, but also forge their own mixed identity and culture as a family, and in this way, challenge the boundaries of difference.

While much mixedness scholarship has been dedicated to mixed individuals, with a particular emphasis on "identity issues", literature surrounding both mixed couples and mixed families remain isolated, although some important contributions have been made (e.g. Ali 2003; Bauer 2010; Spickard 1989). Nonetheless, it is important to include intermarriage in mixedness scholarship because the mixed couples' encounter with the "consequence of intermarriage" (Kalmijn 1998) could be considered a precursor for what Olumide (2002) refers to as the "mixed race condition" or what I see as the mixedness experience, as we are dealing with experiencing differences beyond race, including language and religion. One one hand, the "consequence of intermarriage" can be positive since it can reduce negative stereotypes and prejudices towards other groups (Muttarak 2004), challenging the idea of *us* and *them,* of who belongs together and who does not (Törngren 2011, p. 245). At the same time, intermarriage can also be less than positive, particularly when we consider, as Song (2016, p. 13) observed, a sense of "dilution" or "loss" of culture among minorities with White partners, particularly as they consider the intergenerational transmission of culture. Yet as ethnic competition theorists argue, migrants who marry someone from the dominant society do not automatically lose their ethnic identity or "culture"; instead intermarriage, like mixed parentage, can actually increase identification with one's origin culture (cf. Katz 1996; Waters 1990). Moreover, mixed children can also experience the "consequence of intermarriage", yet instead of reducing negative stereotypes and prejudices towards their parents' racial and ethnic groups, as Malcolm Gladwell (cited in O'Hearn 1998, p. 124) reflects, they may merely create a third category to discriminate against, emphasising that mixed families do not belong together. Olumide (2002, p. 102) therefore emphasises the importance of a positive family environment which can provide space for the mixed children to explore, talk through, and make sense of mixedness, as well as a place where their sense of difference and unacceptability is minimised, and where mixed children can

learn how to deal with society's racial hierarchy (Mass 1992, p. 277). When considering such "third spaces" (Bhabha 1990) that allow mixed individuals the freedom to explore their ethnic options and find belonging, the family home comes to mind. This study therefore explored the mixed family home, particularly their everyday lives and the parents' thoughts, choices, and decisions surrounding the transmission of culture, which includes more than "national culture" but personal preferences and interests as well. Moreover, we find that mixed families are no longer confined to transmitting one or both or neither "national cultures" because, as Luke and Luke (1999) advocate, amidst the "looks of strangers", mixed families are moving beyond the binary identities thrust upon them, beyond needing to belong to one or the other or neither racial or ethnic groups, to forging their own meanings of mixedness and finding their own identity and culture within mixedness.

Contributions from the Study

One study that greatly influenced my own research was Caballero and colleagues' (2008) work, which focused on dealing with difference and creating a sense of belonging for mixed children in the family home. The researchers identified three typical parenting approaches surrounding the upbringing of mixed children: (1) an individual approach, where parents stress their children's *cosmopolitan* identity and children *choose* their own identities; (2) a mixed approach, where parents stress a *mixed* identity and attempt to instil pride in their children's heritages; and (3) a single approach, where parents emphasise one aspect of the child's background and let it take priority over other differences. While I did consider these three approaches when speaking to the parents in this study, it was difficult to assign parents to a specific type of parenting approach because of the parents' and children's changing relationships and their evolving sense of *difference* and *belonging* and its effect on the parent-child relationship. As a result, as Caballero and colleagues (2008) themselves found, I also often found the three approaches overlapping, particularly the first two (i.e. individual and mixed). For example, several parents emphasised the positive aspects of the notion

of their children being cosmopolitan "citizens of the world"; but at the same time, the same parents wanted to firmly instil in their children mixedness as an identity in and of itself, a sense of not being distinctly Japanese or British, but of being *hafu* or mixed. Interestingly, there was a strong sense of the "individual approach" when speaking to the mixed family's kin, with the majority emphasising a cosmopolitan identity for the mixed children and the importance of the child's agency in cultural acquisition. This suggests that grandparents and aunts and uncles see their role in the upbringing of mixed children very differently than the parents, perhaps feeling that they can emphasise the positive aspects of being "mixed" without dealing with the more challenging aspects. Finally, several studies (e.g. Ali 2003; Caballero et al. 2008; Mass 1992; Root 2001) have emphasised the importance of parents in the identity formation of mixed children, in assisting in their development of self-esteem, and in giving them a sense of belonging. This connection between parents and their mixed children is particularly important because, as Olumide (2002, p. 176) finds, children who are unable to explore their histories and cultural backgrounds with their parents often cite this lack of opportunity as "confusing and debilitating." As such, the fact that the children in the present study have parents that are considering and negotiating familial, cultural, and personal differences, as well as staying open to evolving as a family and helping their children find their own identity and culture as they do mixed family is encouraging.

While several significant contributions have been made to mixedness scholarship, studies that focus specifically on the parents' perspective in mixed families (e.g. Caballero et al. 2008) remain scarce, despite the significant increase of mixed families. Having said that, another study that greatly influenced my own study was Phoenix and Husain's (2007), which highlighted the lack of studies surrounding mixed parentage, particularly those that include the voice of the father. In this study, I therefore made an effort to include both parents, and as we find, fathers can play a significant role in the raising of bilingual, bicultural children and in the forging of a new mixed family culture and identity. Moreover, one important contribution from this study was regarding the White British men in mixed families learning "racial literacy"

(Twine 2010) and voicing their opinions regarding discrimination. While in general there were infrequent mentions of racial comments and slurs received individually or as a family, some men recalled occasions when they felt discrimination through their children, what Twine (2010) refers to as "interracial intimacy." Again, while very few mentions of racial discrimination and/or prejudice were voiced during my fieldwork, the few mentions interestingly came from the British men. While this may be positive in that the White men in the mixed families are learning "racial literacy" (Twine 2010), it is also somewhat problematic when we consider that the Japanese women, the minority parent, the ones who can "empathise" with their non-White children, do not seem racially literate or conscious. Yet before reaching such conclusions, we must consider that perhaps the Japanese women's absence in addressing discrimination or racism is due to the different way in which the Japanese construct and discuss race and discrimination. If this is the case, then perhaps it will take a joint effort between the White British men and the Japanese women, to help their mixed children navigate race relations in Britain.

When initially beginning my research for this study, I was curious about the division of labour in mixed families, not only regarding practical homemaking and foodwork tasks, but also regarding aspects such as kinkeeping and culture work in general. Building on the work of several researchers (e.g. Ali 2003; Caballero et al. 2008; Wilson 1987) who found that mothers tend to be primarily responsible for the everyday aspects of parenting, I also found mothers carrying a heavier burden of responsibility surrounding the traditional aspects of the domestic sphere (e.g. child-rearing, housekeeping and foodwork). However, I also found the men actively contributing to everyday family activities including kinkeeping, helping with homework and accompanying the children to doctor's visits. One of the main reasons for this seems to be because the Japanese women are migrants and non-native English speakers. As a result, mixed families in which the mother is a migrant from a non-English-speaking country may increase the father's involvement in various everyday aspects of child-rearing, particularly when such aspects include interaction with the dominant society and/or when they feel responsible for transmitting their own culture to their children

(e.g. showing the children their hometowns and cooking their cultural dishes). As such, while I did find women carrying a heavier burden in most areas of everyday parenting, I also observed the men making an effort to be more than the breadwinners of their families, to be present and involved in the home (Brannen and Nilsen 2006) and more involved in everyday family life. In particular, in this study surrounding the transmission of culture, it was interesting to see how men are beginning to take part in the role that until now has generally been reserved for women, what Song (2003) refers to as "culture carriers". In other words, we find the men, not only sharing their own "culture" with their children and sometimes even their wives, but also sharing aspects of the Japanese culture with their children and encouraging them to explore the language and religion and traditions of their mothers' homeland. As such, while women may still be responsible for the majority of everyday aspects of parenting; the responsibility surrounding culture work and the sharing of culture(s) , whether this be traditions, preferences or values, may not rest solely on the mother, but may instead be shared willingly by the fathers as well.

Negotiating the everyday aspects of difference while parenting mixed children can be stressful at times, yet as Yabuki (2009) suggests, difficulties within the marriage and in finding common ground as parents should be classified as a normal part of constructing a new family culture. While I did encounter parents and children negotiating different aspects of their cultures while constructing their new family culture, there were no cases where differences or "culture clashes" caused the couples or families to become especially heated or fraught. Instead, this study found that intermarriage tends to bring together individuals who may obviously come from different parts of the world, but who share similar perspectives on family issues (Feng et al. 2012). At the same time however, mixed families and the concept of transmitting culture were found to complicate and perhaps even problematise the idea of passing on one's own respective "national cultures". For example, while it may be expected for the Scottish man to "transmit" and encourage his child to play the Scottish harp, it is actually the Japanese woman pushing her child to play the instrument, thus "transmitting" her personal interest in Scottish music to her mixed child. As such, we see that the

transmission of culture is not tied to nationality, and parents do not feel restricted to passing on only their "national cultures". Instead, the transmission of culture is fluid, occurring in everyday family life, with both parents contributing to the transmission and sharing of both cultures, whether this be language, interests, foods or preferences.

Another area of mixed family life that I sought to better understand through this study was the aspirations that the couples have for their mixed children, particularly regarding the transmission of culture. In this area, what I found was that, while all parents desire to raise bicultural, bilingual children, they tend to have low expectations regarding aspects of culture that are often transmitted unintentionally while doing family, such as saying "Itadakimasu" before meals and "Tadaima" when they return home, or taking one's shoes off before entering the home. Yet the same parents tend to have high aspirations (often unrealistic) for their children regarding aspects of culture that are conscious and often labour-intensive, particularly regarding language. As such, continually negotiating and re-negotiating goals and definitions of bicultural and bilingual become necessary, not only between the parents, but also with the children. Additionally, we also find that, similar to past studies (e.g. Caballero et al. 2008), parents in the mixed families generally remain focused more on ordinary concerns, such as their children's general well-being, as opposed to the transmission of their respective "cultures". Yet during my fieldwork, I have come to see that perhaps mixedness is a "concern" or "need" that inevitably affects mixed families' everyday life. In Maslow's Hierarchy of Needs, five levels of needs are proposed, beginning at the bottom: physiological, security, love and belonging, esteem, and self-actualisation (Daniel et al. 2011). For the mixed families, while eating and belonging are basic human needs, when intertwined with mixedness, *mixed* eating and *mixed* belonging add another layer of complexity and negotiation to everyday life. Finally, parents tend to view the transmission of their respective cultures as a gift, thus they are determined to pass this "gift" on to their children. However, this study also found that while parents can pass their cultures on to the mixed children, ultimately, the mixed children themselves will choose what aspects of their cultural heritages to accept as *gifts* and what to reject as *burdens*.

Reflections from the Field

Towards the end of my fieldwork, it seemed as if almost every other day, I would run into a member of a Japanese/British mixed family. Sometimes it was a family who participated in my study, other times it is a family from one of the playgroups that had heard about my study and somehow, eerily, knew everything about me and more specifically, my mixed background. Sometimes I would run into Japanese mothers, out and about with their children, other times it would be the British fathers on their way to/from work, and sometimes it would be just the children, out with their friends, waving shyly at me and my young son. Looking at this, I suppose I should be proud of my ethnographic fieldwork. I truly immersed myself in the small community of mixed Japanese/British families in Edinburgh. Yet this was not always the case.

I remember the first times I went to the playgroups with my son. Not only was I a new mother, but I was also a new researcher, trying to balance my role as participant observer, between being a mother and a researcher. Being somewhat familiar with the Japanese familial culture and their strong emphasis on the *soto*/*uchi* divide (cf. Yamamoto 2010), I was also feeling doubtful that I would be able to convince one family, let alone 12, to let me into their homes and share their time, their stories, and even their dinner tables with me, a complete stranger. The first playgroup sessions were particularly stressful, as everyone seemed a bit hesitant to have me in their midst. I typically encountered two types of women: the ones that assumed I was a fellow Japanese mother in a mixed family and were therefore genuinely interested in connecting with me and setting up playdates and family dates; and the ones who, having heard that there was a researcher among them, were simply curious and either wanted to make suggestions or could not quite understand what was so interesting about families such as theirs that could merit a sociological investigation. In both types of conversations, the first questions were always questions of legitimacy: first of all, was I qualified to be at a Japanese mother and toddler playgroup? Was I Japanese? Did I speak Japanese? Was I teaching my son Japanese? And second of all, was I qualified to undertake research on mixed families?

Was I "safe"? Could I be trusted to represent the mixed families fairly and accurately? For the ones that assumed I was a Japanese mother in a mixed family, there was some surprise upon hearing that I was actually only half Japanese, and for those who were interested in my study, there was a sense of relief when they heard that I was *hafu*. My own mixed background, as well as my ability to converse with them in Japanese, allowed me to be accepted by the Japanese mothers, perhaps not as their equal, but as someone who represented who their mixed children would someday become. Furthermore, when I did have the opportunity to speak to the mixed children directly, I felt most at ease, as my field notes from one of my conversations with a young boy convey:

> Today, I got to speak at great length with one of the children from my participant families. He's nine years old, almost ten… and he was asking me about my son's favourite foods. When I asked him what his favourite food was, he got very shy. He didn't say anything for a while and then finally said, "Something my mum cooks." I persisted, and he finally whispered, Do you know what *yakisoba* is?" I said yes, of course."And do you know what *yakiudon* is?" "Yes," I said. He smiled and said, "Well, my mum mixed both of them the other day and it was great—that's my favourite food." … What a great conversation! Just two mixed kids. For at least a while, we both didn't have to worry about cultural or linguistic interpretation—I knew exactly what he meant, and he found that unbelievable and he talked and talked…

As I analyse and re-analyse my field notes, I have noticed that, while I initially saw the benefits of such an encounter for the child, it was actually a mutually beneficial encounter because, as feminist ethnography stresses, research is a two-way street, with the researcher and those being researched learning from one another. In other words, not only did the mixed boy find another mixed person like himself to converse with, but I also finally found in this encounter a glimpse of that illusive "elsewhere" that I have been searching for, that "third space" (Bhabha 1990) where, at least for a while, we can simply be "mixed" and feel normal, a strange sense of belonging outside our mixed family homes. Moreover, while the parents in the mixed families did indeed

welcome me into their playgroups, and some, even into their homes, there always remained a distance between us because, as Kich (1992, p. 313) explains, "being interracial is different from being in an interracial relationship". In retrospect however, perhaps it was exactly my semi-insider/semi-outsider status of being mixed yet not in an international relationship that allowed me to connect more deeply with the families, as one participant excitedly introduced me to her daughter, *"She's like you—mixed"*. Through this common factor of mixedness, a relationship of mutual trust was formed with the families, and as we both shared our mixedness experiences, I was also able to gain valuable insight surrounding each family's unique mixedness story.

Limitations

As with most research projects one of the major limitations was regarding the practicalities of the study. First of all, regarding the timeframe, although I conducted fieldwork for a little over two years, this was not, by any means, a longitudinal study. However, a longitudinal study would be beneficial for, not only a better understanding of the mixed families, but also for specifically observing how children assume more agency as they get older, and what comes to influence different aspects of their lives including food choices, language usage, friends, enrichment activities and their relationships with extended family. Another limitation regarding practicalities associated with research was that this study was based on a single site (Edinburgh), as opposed to multiple locations, which may have provided a broader picture of Japanese/British families. However, as Smith and colleagues (2011) found, today's mixed families are not restricted to the "multicultural metropolitan" ; instead, they are scattered across cities and towns in Britain, and because Edinburgh does not have any obvious unique features, there is little reason to question the generalisability of this study's findings.

Further limitations were found regarding the small sample size; however, a large sample was not realistic because I was dealing with a visibly rare category of family (i.e. Japanese/British). A large sample also would

not have allowed for the level of deep engagement that my small sample produced, particularly since the small sample allowed for methodological triangulation, with data coming from participant observation, home and playgroup observations, and interviews with the couples as well as extended family members. This, in turn, allowed me as the researcher to "enter the subjective world of other people and groups through interviews and rich descriptions [from participant observations], which is not achieved through quantitative methods" (Jourdan 2006, p. 330), and come out of the ethnographic experience having gained valuable insights surrounding doing mixed family. In line with this, another common challenge regarding the generalisability of the study, one which I also encountered, was regarding the small sample size and consequent difficulty in generalising knowledge gained from the research. In other words, explicit generalisations that are common among quantitative studies with large sample sizes are difficult to reach with a small sample size because the interviews and observations are fluid and individual in nature, which means that, although similar studies may be conducted and yield similar results, replication is impossible (Valentine 1997, p. 111). Regardless, Payne and Williams (2005, p. 296) emphasise that qualitative studies do produce *moderatum generalisations,* modest, pragmatic generalisations from personal experience, "bringing a semblance of order and consistency to social interaction" and making everyday observations quantifiable, valuable and generalisable. Finally, having a small sample allowed me to work with fewer people longer and with greater care, as opposed to working with more people superficially (McCracken 1988, p. 17). This, in turn, resulted in valuable data being collected, through strong relationships with the families as individuals and, to some extent as "co- researchers" (McNamara 2009), since I lived among the participants during my fieldwork as well as while analysing the data, and I often discussed literature and issues surrounding mixedness with them.

A somewhat minor yet important limitation that deserves mention is regarding the sample and the lack of diversity in the participant couples (i.e. only couples made up of Japanese women and British men participated, as opposed to British women and Japanese men). In order to see how gender affects the negotiations that take place in mixed families

regarding different cultures, I attempted to include both Japanese men/British women couples as well as Japanese women/British men couples. However, I was unable to find any Japanese men/British women couples because of the very limited number of such couples. This emphasises that the Japanese man/British woman couple is still quite rare among international unions.

An additional limitation was encountered during home observations, as having someone observing a family in and of itself creates an unnatural, artificial setting, frequently resulting in the Hawthorne effect of participants altering their speech and/or behaviour because they are being watched (Curry et al. 2009, p. 1446). For example, in the case of the meal observations, it seems that even the families' choice of dishes may have been influenced by my presence, as many women later admitted that they had struggled to think of dishes that would impress me. However, my home observations, particularly of the family around the dinner table did allow me to depict a "conscious crafting of family and relationships" revealing how individual family members operate within the context of family (Gabb 2008, p. 146). Further, the families, particularly the children, did eventually become more accustomed to my observing them, and even joining them at the table occasionally, which allowed them to relax more, and me to observe them in something that better resembled their everyday lives.

Finally, one of the biggest limitations of this study was the fact that no children were interviewed directly. In a study on families, children are obviously integral; however, because this study is a sociological endeavour examining the intergenerational transmission of culture in mixed families, I focused on the voices of the adults that surround them: their mothers, fathers and various extended family members. In addition, although it would have certainly been worthwhile to interview the children, because I was initially recruiting families from playgroups, most of the children were too young to be interviewed. However, while I did not interview any of the children, the children did play a crucial role in both the home and playgroup observations. By observing their conversations at the playgroups and at their dinner tables, as well as by chatting with them informally, I was able to gain a better sense of the importance of the children's role in the transmission of culture because

ultimately, as Olumide (2002, p. 105) suggests, while parents can create a family home where the mixed children can belong and explore, contest and define their realities, the children themselves must eventually learn to resolve and negotiate issues surrounding mixedness for themselves.

Further Research

This study addressed many issues included under the umbrella of "mixed families", such as how heritage language learners learn a language, how responsibilities surrounding foodwork are divided, how the Japanese women choose friends in their local community, how the parents, who come from different cultures not only raise their children but also transmit their national cultures and interests to the mixed children, as well as how visits to Japan can be used to maintain intergenerational, transnational relationships. While the present study was able to shed some light on these issues as well as several others, there is still much further research needed among this growing population:

- One of the areas where further research is required is among the mixed children themselves. While there are various studies focusing on identity issues among mixed people, there need to be more studies that focus on their perception of the intergenerational transmission of culture in their childhood homes because this will allow us to better understand how parenting styles and attitudes are interpreted by mixed children.
- Somewhat in line with this, another area for further research is found regarding the transmission of culture. While I discussed the complexities involved in the transmission of culture (i.e. national culture and traditions as well as personal preferences, values, interests), particularly regarding passing culture horizontally and vertically, more studies surrounding the horizontal transmission of culture (couple to couple) as well as how the vertical transmission of culture happens, particularly from bottom to top, child to parent, seems like a natural progression of this present study.

- Studies on mixed couples (e.g. Bratter and King 2008; Jones 2012; Kalmijn 1998; Zhang and Van Hook 2009) claim high divorce rates among such unions; however, these studies have mostly been conducted in the United States. As such, how divorce affects mixed families, and in particular the children and their racial identity, in a British context, would be a valuable contribution to the study of mixedness.
- The families that participated in this study all had Japanese mothers and British fathers; however, in order to see how and if gender roles influence the transmission of culture, further research should include both types of couples. Additionally, the mixed families in this study resided in the father's country (i.e. Britain); as such, future research should also attempt to include mixed families that reside in the mother's origin country (i.e. Japan), as this will allow us to examine, among other things, if there do exist some universal characteristics surrounding the mixedness experience.
- Finally, one important aspect of mixed families that I was unable to discuss thoroughly, due to space limitations was appearance because, as Caballero and colleagues (2008, p. 50) found, parents tend to tailor their approaches to negotiating a sense of belonging according to their child's physical appearance. Furthermore, there is also a difference between *identity declaration* (what individuals themselves think they are) and *identity differentiation* (what others say they are), both of which are shaped by a narrative often excluding mixedness (King-O'Riain 2014, p. 267) . In the present study, it is clear that all of the mixed children have inherited Asian phenotypes from their mothers, with most kin and parents agreeing that the children are generally seen as East Asian (i.e. Japanese or Chinese) in Britain, and either Japanese or *hafu* when visiting Japan. As such, further studies in line with Tsuda's (2014) research (which focused on Japanese Americans and their state of being "perpetual foreigners" in the United States because of their Asian appearance) is needed. While Tsuda's interviewees agreed that they are never accepted as Americans because they are not White, what about mixed individuals like the children in the present study? Will they always be seen as foreigners in Britain, even though they were brought up in this country and are half

> British, or will they someday be accepted as "British"? Conversely, will the mixed children ever "fit in" when they visit (or perhaps live in) Japan, or will they continue to perpetuate the industry of "mixed-race tourism" (King-O'Riain 2014, p. 277), with strangers discreetly pulling their smartphones out and trying to get snapshots of the mixed children, as if they are exotic zoo animals.

Final Words

In her study of mixed children, Mass (1992, p. 277) suggests that, rather than ask, "What will happen to the children?", a more appropriate question is, "What is the best way to facilitate a positive growing-up experience for interracial children?" While several studies have focused on the plight of the mixed child and their identity struggles, in this study, I focused instead on the family home, and in particular the parents because, as Grusec (2011, p. 244) argues, "families—more specifically, parent–child relationships—are the major context in which early socialisation occurs". More specifically, the parent–child relationship in the mixed families is where identity begins to form, where the transmission of culture occurs, and where mixed children find a sense of belonging. In this study, I have explored several aspects of the mixed family life, and although challenges for both the parents and the children are found along the mixedness journey, we also find the gifts of mixedness, particularly through the transmission and sharing of national culture and personal preferences, from parent to child, from parent to parent and sometimes even from child to parent. While some researchers have suggested that mixed parentage tends to lead to a possible dilution of the mixed children's cultural heritages, the mixed families in this study have shown that, rather than fearing the dilution of their respective cultures, they are instead choosing to actively embrace and negotiate their different "cultures" as they forge a new mixed family identity and create a sense of belonging amidst difference, for both themselves and their children. It is these new emerging family cultures, found while doing mixed family, that I have tried to better understand and illustrate in this book.

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Glossary

Aikido: Literally: "the path of unifying spirit or energy." Japanese martial art developed by Morihei Ueshiba.

Bento: Japanese home-packed lunch usually in a box-shaped container, traditionally packed with rice, fish or meat, pickles and vegetables.

Butsudan: A Buddhist altar commonly found in Japanese homes.

Chawan: Bowl used specifically for rice.

Chirashi-zushi: "Scattered sushi" a dish that has sushi rice on the bottom and seafood and vegetable on top.

Donburi: Japanese rice bowl dish that consist of fish, meat or vegetables served over rice.

Dramas: Popular Japanese television programs usually broadcast weekly on major Japanese television networks with various genres including romance, comedy, detective and horror.

Furikake: Dry Japanese seasoning made up of sesame seeds, seaweed, bonito flakes, fried vegetables, and other spices, and sprinkled on top of rice.

Gaijin "Outside person", foreigner.

Haiku/Tanka: Genres of Japanese poetry.

Happyoukai: Recital, performance.

Hiragana: The most basic type of Japanese syllabary [set of written symbols], consists of 46 characters.

Itadakimasu: "I humbly receive!" Phrase used before a meal.

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Jikka: Hometown.
Kakejiku: Hanging scroll.
Kamidana: "God-shelf." Household altar for Shinto gods.
Kanji: The third and final component of the Japanese syllabary [set of written symbols], consists of Chinese characters.
Katakana: The second component of the Japanese syllabary [set of written symbols], mostly used for foreign words, consists of 46 characters.
Katsuobushi: Small pieces of bonito.
Kendo: "Way of the Sword." Japanese martial art.
Kimono: Literally: "thing to wear." A traditional Japanese garment used nowadays for important festivals or occasions, very formal.
Konyaku: Konjac, also known as the Devil's tongue plant. Has a jelly-like texture, popular in Japanese dishes.
Korokke: Japanese-style croquette.
Kotatsu: Low table covered by a futon frequently has a heat source under the table, commonly used in Japan.
Mawaru-sushi: Sushi on a conveyor belt, usually referred to as Kaiten-zushi.
Mochi: Japanese rice cake.
Mochiko: Rice flour used to make rice cake.
Mokusou: Meditation, bowing down to the martial arts training hall's shrine and teachers.
Mugicha: Roasted barley tea served chilled.
Nabemono: "Cooking Pot." Used to make various Japanese pot dishes at the table.
Nomikai: Drinking session, after-work drinks.
Nyuugaku-shiki: School entrance ceremony.
Obon: "Lantern Festival", Japanese Buddhist custom for honouring ancestors.
Ocha: Japanese green tea.
Omamori: Buddhist lucky charm.
Onigiri: Japanese-style rice balls (rice formed into a ball or a triangle usually wrapped in roasted sheets of seaweed).
Owan: Wooden (now often plastic) Japanese bowl generally used for miso soup.
Randoseru: Elementary school backpack.
Seiza: "Proper sitting." Kneeling on the floor with folded legs under thighs. The traditional form of sitting in Japan.
Setsubun: Holiday to celebrate the end of winter.
Shakuhachi: Bamboo flute.

Shitsuke: The upbringing and discipling of a child.

Shougi: Japanese chess.

Shichi-go-san: Literally: "7-5-3." A traditional rite of passage for 3- and 5-year-old boys and 3- and 7-year-old girls as children at these ages were thought to be particularly vulnerable to sickness and injury. The official festival day is 15 November, when the children, together with their parents and grandparents, visit the shrine and pray for the children's health.

Somen: Thin white Japanese noodles made of wheat flour, usually served cold with a soy sauce-based dipping sauce.

Soto/uchi: Outside/inside.

Tadaima: "I've returned home." Customary greeting when one returns home.

Tanababta: "Evening of the Seventh." Japanese astronomical festival celebrating the meeting of two stars with festivals and trees adorned with wishes written on colourful pieces of paper.

Tatami: Flooring mats traditionally made of rice straw, used in Japanese-style rooms

Tonkatsu: Deep-friend pork cutlet.

Udon: Thick wheat flour noodles.

Tonkatsu Sauce: Sauce used for Japanese pork cutlet as well as other deep-fried dishes including Japanese-style croquette. The sauce itself contains, among other ingredients, ketchup, soy sauce, Worcestershire sauce and sugar.

Undoukai: Sports Day held once a year in schools all over Japan.

Yakisoba: "Fried wheat flour noodles." Noodles served with meat and vegetables on top. Popular dish in Japan.

Yakiudon: "Fried udon noodles." Meat and vegetables served over thick wheat flour noodles.

Yasai: Vegetable.

Yunomi: Japanese tea cup.

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