

Kiyoko Sueda
Negotiating multiple identities
Shame and pride among Japanese returnees

This book uses a post-modern approach to explore how Japanese returnee students (ikokushijo) and former returnees who work in Japanese industry, negotiate multiple identities. Methodological triangulation is used to study inner perception of face, emotional state and the dynamics of negotiating multiple-layering of identities. The book considers the relationship between face and identities, and the function of the affective aspects of face, shame and pride in identity negotiation.

Readers will discover how Japanese returnees deal with shame and pride in face-threatening or face-promoting situations that affect their identity negotiation. Many of the returnees stayed abroad because of their parents' jobs, and the author explores variations among them, in terms of how they identify with their identity as a returnee. We discover how there are multiple levels of identities instead of 'identity' as a singular.

Two phases of research, carried out across ten years and involving some participants in both phases, are explored in this work. Although the participants in the research are Japanese returnees, the findings drawn from the study have implications for others who spend an extensive period of time overseas, who migrate from one place to another, or who have multiple cultural backgrounds.

The book incorporates ideas from Western and Eastern literature on intercultural communication, sociology and social psychology and it blends both micro and macro analysis.

This book is recommended for scholars, educators, students and practitioners who seek to understand better how people negotiate their multiple identities in this globalising world.

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*To my family, my friends, and my mentors
who supported me on sunny days and
rainy days and in memory of my father,
Keijiro Nakajima, who lived an ordinary life
in an extraordinary way.*

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Foreword

Kiyoko Sueda, Professor of communication studies at Aoyama Gakuin University in Tokyo, Japan, is a leading figure in the field of intercultural communication. In this book, she uses her research with Japanese 'returnees' (people who have spent substantial periods of time outside Japan and then returned) to illuminate important issues of personal and social identity. Returnees are often seen in Japan as both privileged, in particular because of their ability in the English language, a valuable resource in a globalising world, and in some ways disadvantaged, because their time abroad means that they may have problems of adjustment to Japanese society when they return. A key theme for Prof. Sueda is how far returnees identify themselves as such and the implications this has for their sense of themselves. In exploring this theme, the book draws upon both 'Eastern' and 'Western' scholarship to enhance our understanding of the impact at the individual level of processes of globalisation and shifting international relations.

A particular strength and interest of the book is Prof. Sueda's focus on emotions and their importance in the management of 'face' and the maintenance of identity. As she explains, 'face' is a concept whose origins lie in China, but in a different context and tradition, it is also central to the work of Erving Goffman on the presentation of self in interpersonal relations. Professor Sueda creatively combines Eastern and Western approaches in a powerful analysis of how returnees manage their emotions in situations of potentially threatened identity. She shows how 'face' is an indicator of one's emotional state within a particular identity and how when face is threatened the result can be the experience of shame. The degree to which one is secure and at home within a particular identity depends on how one manages that shame; psychological well-being depends on the individual's being able to recover a sense of pride within that identity. In this analysis Prof. Sueda makes creative use of the work of Thomas J. Scheff on the centrality in social life of the emotions of shame and pride. Her research provides convincing support for Scheff's argument that participants in a relationship need to acknowledge shame in order to create space for the restoration of pride and thus to avoid the escalation of hostility and potentially destructive conflict (Scheff, 1994, 1997).

Methodologically, Prof. Sueda's work is a good example of what Scheff calls 'part/whole analysis', in that she moves from detailed analysis of individuals' understandings of their identity in different social situations to a broader discussion of Japanese people's response to globalisation and its implications for policies in education and the development of intercultural understanding. In this way she achieves something arguably rare in the social sciences, in that she shows the social and psychological mechanisms that link individual experience to much broader processes of social change.

Kiyoko Sueda's book is a timely contribution to understanding of the impact of globalisation and internationalisation on Japanese society and of the implications of recent economic and cultural developments in China. Her work is potentially important for the study of intercultural communication in a world in which the meaning of national boundaries is changing and ideas long taken for granted about nation and identity are becoming problematic. Its importance has been recognised in Japan, and it is good to see it being made accessible to a wider audience.

Lancaster, UK
January, 2014

David Smith

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Preface

This book is partially based on my Ph.D. thesis *Shame and pride behind face: Japanese returnees' negotiation of multiple identities* submitted to the University of Lancaster in 2002 and on my follow-up research conducted 10 years after the initial research.

My series of research projects began when I worked on my master's dissertation, *A cross-cultural study of embarrassment: The U.S. culture and the Japanese culture*, submitted to the Department of Speech Communication, California State University, Fullerton, in 1990. The dissertation was a contrastive and comparative study on the strategies to cope with an embarrassing situation in US and Japanese business organisations. At that time, I reencountered the concept of face. The reason I put here 'reencountered' was because my first degree in a Japanese university and my first master's degree were both in sociology and the study of Goffman was something I had to go through at both stages. In the dissertation, I looked at cultural patterns such as individualism versus collectivism, or high-context versus low-context communication styles, and compared the communicative strategies in an embarrassing situation between the US Americans and the Japanese.

However, on returning to Japan, I faced something that could not be explained by the framework of 'Western' culture and 'Eastern' culture. That happened when I started to teach Chinese students at a university in Tokyo. Then, I was shocked by the diversity within Asia or East Asia. I was surprised when I noticed not all but many Chinese students hardly apologised and would make excuses for not having done whatever they were supposed to do. Through a series of interviews, I found that their communication styles exhibited their sense of face and that Chinese and Japanese are different in the perception and experience of face. Then, I collaborated with researchers from other Asian countries such as Taiwan and Thailand and conducted a series of research projects to explore similarities and differences in the perception of face in Asian contexts. I, at that time, was opposed to putting various Asian countries or cultures into one bracket, 'Asia'. I continued this line of research when I had a chance to teach at a university in Sapporo.

Then, after I completed collaborative work with researchers from other Asian countries, I started to wonder which direction I should take. It is meaningful to

explore differences in the perception and experience of face within Asian cultures, taking an emic approach.¹ However, what is beyond them? By deepening my understanding of epistemology, methodology and methods, I found the answer. Something 'universal' exists in particulars, and particulars state what is 'universal' in individual ways. Thus, the reason why I studied historical changes in the perception of face (*lian*, *mian* and *mianzi*) is because I tried to perceive one part of face as a 'universal' concept through the window of China. Likewise, another part of face is exhibited clearly through the window of Japan. Culturally indigenous concepts or thoughts teach us various kinds of things, but if I stress cultural 'uniqueness', I would end up isolating something culturally unique from the rest of the world. It would be something like a huge elephant viewed from different angles. From China, the trunk could be seen clearly but not from Japan. However, from Japan, the elephant's tail could be seen vividly instead. Then, all the parts constitute the picture of the whole elephant.

In April 1998, I moved back from Sapporo to Tokyo and started to teach at a private university in Tokyo. Then, I encountered many 'returnees', who had stayed abroad because of their parents' jobs. There were variations among them. Some of them claimed that they are returnees, and others did not. Some of them stuck to the fact that they were returnees, but others did not seem to care much about this. Moreover, the same person behaved differently depending on the situation, sometimes being a returnee and sometimes not. The literature up to then seemed to take it for granted that returnees' identity with their identity as a returnee and whatever differences there were in returnees' behaviour were considered to be due to differences in personality. However, there seemed to be something more than differences in personality. I was fascinated by what I had observed and wanted to explore how they negotiated their identity/identities. Then, I started to look at the literature on social identity theory and self-categorisation theory, and I was thrilled by the idea of multiple levels of identities instead of 'identity' as a singular. Through a series of pilot studies, I sensed that one of the key factors for negotiating identities is face and its affective elements, shame and pride.

Between August 2001 and August 2002, I was granted a sabbatical year at the University of Lancaster, and based on the accumulated data, I wrote a Ph.D. thesis. I once thought of trying to publish the essential part of my Ph.D. thesis right after I came back to Japan. However, I desired to make sure of its 'transferability'. That is, I felt that I had to check that what I found in the research can be found in other contexts. I was lucky that many of my research participants kept in contact with me even after they graduated from university and entered Japanese industry and commerce, so that I was able to keep up to date on what they were doing and feeling. As there is little research on former returnees, I decided to conduct the second-phase study 10 years after my first-phase study, and some of the participants kindly repeated the process of research. Other than that, I was curious to see if what I discovered in my first-phase research could be found in a completely different kind

¹I will explain an emic approach in detail in Chap. 5.

of research participants and a different context. Then, with a government grant, I conducted some research on domestic violence survivors² and their supporters with my research partners from 2006 to 2009. The survivors of domestic violence were most of the time stuck with one kind of identity, victim or survivor. However, in the process of their reintegration in the society, the survivors often faced their own shame, restored pride and realised other kinds of identity: woman, mother, sister, friend, person, etc. It took me more than 10 years to achieve transferability in this way.

This book consists of eight chapters. In Chap. 1, I try to show how identities as plural differ from identity as singular and review the literature on identities from the perspectives of symbolic interactionism, social identity theory and self-categorisation theory. It is suggested that affective elements in negotiating multiple identities need to be explored. In Chap. 2, I review the literature on face in sociology, communication studies and other related areas. Through the literature review, I found the emotions behind face, such as shame and pride, need to be further researched. In Chap. 3, I try to identify the common 'missing link' between the literature of identities and that of face and suggest research questions: (1) What is the relationship between face and identities? and (2) How do shame and pride affect people's negotiation of their multiple identities? In Chap. 4, I review the literature on returnees and try to show how the general public have a unified image of the returnees as having a high command of English and as forerunners of globalisation. More than 40 years have passed since the lack of sufficient educational support for the returnees was pointed out in the 1970s. Forty years is long enough for the stereotypical image of returnees as good speakers of English to have been maintained, and it is worth noting that the largest number of returnees resides in Asia nowadays, and many of them even go to a full-time Japanese school. Yet, the general public in Japan still retain the stereotypical image. Moreover, the existing research on returnees has not shed light on returnees at university level, nor have researchers done any work on former returnees in Japanese industry. In Chap. 5, my epistemological and methodological approach is explained, and three research methods, which go along with my methodological position, are described. I emphasise that I apply the approach of triangulation and explain how I analyse the data from the three methods holistically. In Chap. 6, I share part of the first-phase research done between February 2000 and July 2001 and, in Chap. 7, part of the second-phase research done between March 2010 and October 2011. Some of the first-phase participants participated in the second phase, and it was interesting to see how they negotiate their identities in the workplace. In Chap. 8, I try to answer my research questions and discuss the relationship between face and identities and the function of the affective aspects of face, shame and pride, in identity negotiation.

To come to this stage, I have been fortunate to encounter wonderful supervisors and friends. On top of them is Emeritus Professor David Smith at Lancaster

²The participants of our study were mostly women, but that does not mean that all the survivors in Japan are women all the time.

University. He was the most generous and insightful supervisor I have ever had. I enjoyed every discussion I had with him on my Ph.D. thesis, and after more than 10 years he was still generous to go through my manuscript and give valuable suggestions. I cannot thank him enough. The late Dr. Naoharu Shimoda at Rikkyo University and Dr. Richard Wiseman at California State University, Fullerton, were among the first professors who had faith in me as a researcher. Dr. Tetsuo Naito not only taught me how to conduct the PAC research but also gave me various insights in conducting research. I would like to thank Dr. Adair Nagata for being a wonderful friend and my role model to be a theoretically and practically 'good communicator'. I would also like to extend my sincere appreciation to Mr Yoshitaka Shishikura and Ms Akane Yamamoto at Nakanishiya Shuppan Co. Ltd. for allowing me to modify some of the tables and figures that appeared in the Japanese book I published in 2012. Moreover, I cannot express my deep appreciation enough to Ms Jayanthie Krishnan, Mr Vishal Daryanomel and Ms Shanthi Gounasegarane at Springer, Asia, for having answered my emails promptly, collaborating with me and being always supportive since I contacted with them initially.

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Abbreviations

The PAC	The Personal Attitude Construct
SCT	Self-categorisation theory
SIT	Social identity theory
The WAI	The 'Who am I?' test

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Introduction

The purpose of this book is to explore (1) the relationship between face and identities and (2) the role of shame and pride in negotiating multiple identities. In reviewing the literature on face and identity/identities, there is a scarcity of research in at least three areas: (1) Few researchers have attempted to explore a possible relationship between the two terms 'face' and 'identities'; (2) the issue of the emotions behind face has not been fully addressed; and (3) although the multiplicity of identities is suggested theoretically, the dynamics of identity negotiation has not been studied much empirically. By looking at the emotions behind face, such as shame and pride, I intend to explore a possible relationship between face and identities and the affective aspects of identity negotiation.

Japanese returnee students (*kikokushijo*), who spent a considerable amount of time overseas because of their parent's overseas assignment, were chosen as research participants for the first phase of research (from February 2000 to July 2001). Through interaction with at least 300 returnees for more than 15 years, I have found that some returnees identify strongly with the category of 'returnees' and some do not. For the second phase of research (from March 2010 to October 2011) participants, former Japanese returnees, who work in Japanese industry and commerce, were chosen. Three methods (the 'Who am I?' test, the PAC method and participant observation) are used for the same participants. Methodological triangulation, utilising multiple methods for the same research participants, is considered to lead me to the participants' inner perception of face, their emotional state and the dynamics of negotiating their multiple layering of identities in the real world.

The following conclusions are drawn: (1) Face is an indicator of one's emotional state and the degree of how much one identifies with a particular kind of identity; (2) when one's face is threatened or lost within a particular kind of identity, whether or not the pertinent identity can be strengthened depends on how one goes about managing shame; and (3) when one has lost one's face within a particular kind of identity, one has to restore a sense of pride within the same kind of identity.

The present study has possible educational, social and political implications and makes a theoretical as well as methodological contribution. Particularly, by looking at how Japanese returnees and former returnees exhibit or hide their English ability at school and workplace, Japanese people's ideas on globalisation can be explored.

Chapter 1

Multiple Identities

1.1 Purpose of This Chapter

In this chapter, I will review the literature on symbolic interactionism, social identity theory and self-categorisation theory. Through a review of the literature, it was found important to analyse the negotiation of multiple identities in terms of the affective aspect of identities and explore the dynamics of identity negotiation empirically.

1.2 Identity as Singular

It is also essential to review the work of Erikson (1959, 1963, 1968), as he is considered to be one of the first scholars to be associated with the term identity (Tatara, Yamamoto, & Miyashita, 1984). Erikson (1959) covers a wide range of its usage as follows:

At one time, then, it will appear to refer to a conscious sense of individual identity; at another to an unconscious striving for a continuity of synthesis; at a third, as a criterion for the silent doings of ego synthesis, and finally, as a maintenance of an inner solidarity with a group's ideals and identity. (Erikson, 1959, p. 109)

Instead of the term 'identity', Erikson (1959) uses the term 'ego identity' and offers an explanation of ego identity as follows:

The conscious feeling of having a *personal identity* is based on two simultaneous observations: the immediate perception of one's selfsameness and continuity in time; and the simultaneous perception of the fact that others recognize one's sameness and continuity. What I propose to call ego identity concerns more than the mere fact of existence, as conveyed by personal identity; it is the ego quality of this existence. Ego identity, then, in its subjective aspect, is the awareness of the fact that there is a selfsameness and continuity to the ego's synthesizing methods and that these methods are effective in safeguarding the sameness and continuity of one's meaning for others. (p. 22)

Chapter 5

Research Methodology and Methods

5.1 Purpose of This Chapter

In this chapter, my epistemological and methodological position is clarified. Moreover, I discuss the rationale and the process of the following three methods: the 'Who am I?' test, the Personal Attitude Construct method and participant observation.

5.2 Epistemological and Methodological Standing

5.2.1 *Epistemological Approach*

As a researcher, I would like to go back and forth between two sets of different positions. First, I go back and forth between an emic approach and an etic approach. In the emic approach, researchers examine a specific cultural system from within its own cultural framework. On the other hand, in the etic approach, researchers examine a phenomenon based on 'universal' criteria. The terms emic and etic were originated by Pike (1954), a linguist, and the two terms came from phonemic and phonetic. Pike extended this distinction to nonlinguistic cultural phenomena. In an etic approach, scholars study concepts and systems that could be applied cross-culturally without reference to the culture's own frame, and in an emic approach, scholars describe cultural phenomena from within the relevant cultural framework (Befu, 1989; Harris, 1968).

Among emicians, there is a shared assumption that a concept used for generating a theory, and the research topics chosen, should be something meaningful to the real world (Yamagishi, 1994). For example, they claim that theories of indigenous concepts such as *on* (the social or psychological indebtedness incurred upon receiving a favour) and *amae* (dependency or interdependency) should be generated

from a Japanese perspective, as these concepts are crucial in building interpersonal relationships in Japan. This argument is supported by those who are dissatisfied with 'Western bias' or a mere translation of Western theories into Japanese.

On the other hand, there is a counterargument among eticians that if cultural indigenosity is stressed too much, this will not allow any comparative studies, and this cultural indigenosity sets a limitation to itself. Moreover, as Yamagishi (1994) points out, they claim that the emic approach merely leads researchers to at most a 'common sense' but not to a 'scientific' argument. Fay (1996) uses another term, *solipsism* (p. 9), to refer to an extreme emic approach and raised the question of 'Do you have to be one to know one?' Fay claims it is a fallacy that one has to be one to know one and distinguishes between 'being' and 'knowing'. It is helpful to be a Japanese in order to understand Japanese society. However, that alone does not allow a Japanese to understand his/her own society fully. Being a non-Japanese does not inhibit him/her from understanding Japanese society, either. As Fay suggests, 'Knowledge consists not in the experience itself but in grasping the sense of this experience' (p. 27).

Willig (2001) uses the terms inside and outside to mean 'emic' and 'etic'. According to her, in an emic approach, researchers interpret their research participants' world from the insiders' viewpoint or the perspective of the research participants. Shimoda (1994) states that the way to assure the researcher's access to social reality is not the researcher's logical observation of the research participants but his/her interpretation of the research participants' worldview. At this point, the researcher is required to be a marginal person and understand another culture. Being in the field of intercultural communication myself, I think, at this stage, researchers should have the ability to access the research participants' world as closely as possible and go back and forth between their own framework and that of the research participants (subjects, informants, samples and whatever they are called depending on the culture of inquiry).

Kakai (2011) also stresses the importance of approaching research participants' meaning world as much as possible and then stepping outside of the data and analysing it from the outsider's or researcher's perspective.

Second, I am going to transfer between local knowledge and global knowledge. Kitayama (1994) claims that indigenous research in Asia and Africa is not aimed for indigenous theories, but it should give researchers some clues to go beyond indigenosity and explore interactions between culture and psychology. Fay (1996) states that something 'universal' exists in particular phenomena, and particularity does not limit itself to explain something 'particular' in certain areas of the world.

In this book, I argue that the perception of face contains a core element which is 'universal' or shared by many parts of the world and some elements that could be exhibited more clearly in particular areas than any other areas of the world. I actively take various local forms of knowledge found in 'indigenous' studies from Asia to explore a holistic view of the perception of face.

5.2.2 Methodological Approach

Based on my epistemological position as illustrated in the previous section, I would like to mention three characteristics of my methodological approach.

5.2.2.1 Interpretive Approach

First, in this study, I am taking an interpretive approach. The underlying notion behind the interpretive approach (Willig, 2001) is that multiple realities exist around us and what we can grasp is a handful of reality, not a single 'objective' truth. There are three main characteristics of the interpretive approach (Sueda, 2011a; Willig, 2001). First, in an interpretive approach, researchers try to make sense out of the research participants' social reality/realities not from their own but from their research participants' viewpoint. Second, in an interpretive approach, the process of data collection and that of data analysis proceed simultaneously. Repeating the cycle of data collection and data analysis, a hypothesis or theory is being built. Third, in an interpretive approach, researchers are actively engaged and the researchers' perspective and the way to interact with the research participants become a part of the data.

5.2.2.2 Methodological Triangulation

Second, in the present research, triangulation is used. Triangulation (e.g. Lindlof & Taylor, 2002; Silverman, 1993) or methodological triangulation (e.g. Seale, 1999; Tsutsui et al., 2005), utilising the multiple methods for the same research participants, is considered to enable researchers to understand the research participants' inner world holistically. According to Lindlof and Taylor (2002), when data obtained from multiple methods coincide with one another on a common explanation, validation of the claim is intensified. In addition, sometimes the data obtained from one method contradict those from another method, and this could reveal a discrepancy between what research participants say and what they actually do.

In order to make sense of participants' inner perception of face, their emotional state and the dynamics of negotiating their multiple layering of face in a real world, I used the following three methods, which will be elaborated in Sect. 5.3.

5.2.2.3 Application of a Critical Approach

In a critical approach, researchers examine what has been taken for granted (Belenky, Clinchy, Goldberger, & Tarule, 1986; Parker, 2004). Although those researchers who take a critical approach prefer media and text analysis, this

approach can also be used in empirical research. That is, researchers could reflect on what has been taken for granted in the literature and change their research design accordingly (Sueda, 2011a). For example, as was discussed in Chap. 2, a dichotomy such as individualistic versus collectivistic cultures (Triandis, 1995) is considered to make a difference in communication styles. Usually, individualistic cultures are represented by Western countries such as the USA, and collectivistic cultures are represented by Eastern Asian countries. However, an ethnographic study conducted at some schools in the USA (Omi, 2012) found that children are guided to be selectively independent from their peers but not from the parents in the USA. Thus, this study told us how important it is to examine the context and environment of the research settings and the meaning of the dichotomy of individualism versus collectivism.

A review of the literature on Japanese returnees tells me that it was taken for granted that the returnees always more strongly identify with the category of returnee than any other category of identity. Thus, the questions asked to the research participants always include the term 'returnees', such as 'Would you please explain your experience as a returnee?' However, as presented in my research questions, research participants were not always 'returnees', but they become 'returnees' in certain circumstances. Moreover, some returnees identify more strongly with the identity of returnee, and others identify more with another kind of identity than that of returnee. Thus, particularly in the first phase of the research, I tried to avoid presenting this presumption to my research participants. Instead, I asked them to reflect repeatedly on the question of 'Who am I?' and had them list categories of identities. In this sense, I applied a critical approach in this study.

5.3 Methods

5.3.1 The Methods Used in the Present Research

For the first phase and part of the second phase of research, three methods will be utilised: (1) the 'Who am I?' test (Kuhn & McPartland, 1967; Takahashi, 1993), (2) the Personal Attitude Construct or the PAC method¹ (Naito, 2002, 2008) and (3) participant observation including informal interview. Before conducting the PAC method, the participants were asked to fill out the 'Who am I?' test,² the list of identifications, and to number the items in order of their relevance to the term face.³

¹It is described as the PAC hereafter.

²The 'Who am I?' test is described as the WAI hereafter unless it needs to be written without abbreviation.

³For economy and to avoid redundancy, in this chapter, hereafter I stop writing 'face (*mentsu*)'. However, when research participants use the term *mentsu*, I will write as it is stated.

There are two purposes in using the WAI. First, the list of identifications should reveal whether or not the participants perceive themselves to have multiple layering of face and identities. Second, the list of identifications helps the research participant become aware of salient identities or categories in terms of face. Thus, it should allow the participant to recall a relevant face-threatening or face-honouring episode. It is suggested that an individual responds to even a minor amount of stimuli with the most salient category or identity (Kuhn & McPartland, 1967; Takahashi, 1993).

As an initial stage of the PAC analysis, the participants were asked to list as many words as possible to associate with a face-threatening or a face-honouring event in terms of the most salient identity or category based on the WAI. I think it is as important to ask research participants about a face-threatening event as to ask about a face-honouring event. Rosenberg and Gara (1985) mention,

The indirect question about 'possible loss' appears to be as good as, and in some cases superior to, the direct question about 'importance' in yielding a positive relationship between subjective importance and prominence. (p. 104)

To supplement the result obtained from the previous two methods, participant observation including an informal interview was adopted. As will be explained later, the PAC is significant in exploring research participants' emotional as well as cognitive aspects of a face-threatening or face-honouring event. However, the present study explores not only what people think and feel about their multiplicity of identity and face but also how people actually negotiate the multiple identities through a face-threatening or face-honouring interaction with people in a real setting. Therefore, the same participants were analysed through participant observation.

5.3.2 The 'Who Am I?' Test

5.3.2.1 The Standard Procedure of the 'Who Am I?' Test

The WAI is a tool for an empirical investigation based on symbolic interactionism (Kuhn & McPartland, 1967; Takahashi, 1993), and Kuhn and McPartland (1967) assume that self-attitude can be studied by collecting research participants' role preference, role avoidance, role expectations, role models, etc. The instructions are given as follows:

There are twenty numbered blanks on the page below. Please write twenty answers to the simple question 'Who am I?' in the blanks. Just give twenty different answers to this question. Answer as if you were giving the answers to yourself, not to somebody else. Write the answers in the order that they occur to you. Don't worry about logic or 'importance.' Go along fairly fast, for time is limited. (Kuhn & McPartland, 1967, p. 122)

In analysing the results, Kuhn and McPartland (1967) distinguish between two types of references: consensual references and subconsensual references. The former refer to 'groups and classes whose limits and conditions of membership

are matters of common knowledge' (p. 122), and the latter refer to 'statements without positional reference, or with references to consensual classes obscured by ambiguous modifiers' (p. 123).

Kuhn and McPartland (1967) stress the importance of consensual references as they are 'objectively' known and subconsensual references are not easily known from outside. It is suggested that when a researcher knows his/her research participant personally, the participant tends to fill out subconsensual references more than consensual references (Kuhn & McPartland, 1967; Takahashi, 1993).

5.3.2.2 Modifications Made for the Present Study

In the present study, I modified the WAI (Kuhn & McPartland, 1967) in three ways. First, instead of 20 blanks, only 5 blanks were prepared, because of the risk that 20 blanks might make the participants feel overwhelmed. However, at the same time, participants could list as many answers as they would like. Second, I asked my research participants to choose the most salient answer to their perception of face. For example, one of the participants wrote: (1) a human being, (2) a woman, (3) water, (4) a rock and (5) an electric bulb. Then, she chose 'a rock' as the most salient answer to her face. Third, participants were told to fill out identities in the form of nouns (e.g. student, girl, husband, son, etc.) so that the descriptions made the participants aware of their personal, social or superordinate identities. Also, abstract nouns which could indicate the participants' emotional status (e.g. rock, water, flower, etc.) were not to be excluded, and subconsensual responses (Kuhn & McPartland, 1967) were encouraged. However, participants were told not to fill out identities in the form of adjectives (e.g. active, dynamic, quiet, angry, etc.), because the indication of emotional state or personal characteristics without connection to any identity may lead to a loss of research focus.

At a meta-methodological level, it should be kept in mind that descriptions in the WAI may become rather subconsensual if I know the participant well.

5.3.3 The PAC (Personal Attitude Construct) Method

5.3.3.1 The Characteristics of the PAC Method

The PAC method is a hybrid of quantitative and qualitative methods and was originated by a Japanese psychologist, Dr Tetsuo Naito. It is now listed as an item in a dictionary of clinical psychology in Japan (Onda & Itoh, 1999). When I used the database CiNii (Citation Information by National Institute of Informatics) to search articles with the keyword 'the PAC method', I hit 213 articles as of February 14, 2013. It started to be used in the 1990s in various fields such as psychology, sociology, communication studies and education and applied to various topics such as the image of a place (Naito, 1995), educational climate (Naito, 1993; Shimabukuro

& Naito, 1996), stress (Naito, 1993), language education (Fujita & Sato, 1995; Watanabe, An, & Naito, 1995; Watanabe et al., 1994), intercultural communication (Sueda, 2001; Sueda & Tsai, 1999; Tsai & Sueda, 1998; Yokobayashi, 1998) and counselling (Inoue, 1997, 1998). Now, it has been extended into other fields such as political science (e.g. Matsumoto, 2012), architecture (e.g., Tsuchida, 2012), social welfare (Makiyama, 2011; Nagaishi, 2012) and nursing (Tsushima, Mikami, & Nishizawa, 2010).

The PAC method is based on the assumption that an individual has three components: (1) a part that is shared with everyone else, (2) a part that is shared with people in a given group and (3) a part that is unique to him/her. Therefore, in analysing an individual thoroughly, researchers can identify not only the idiosyncrasy of the individual but also something universal, which the individual shares with people surrounding him/her.

Scheff (1990, 1997) acknowledges the fact that social psychology and social science overall will develop further if researchers deal carefully with single cases and they will be able to understand the complexity of human behaviour far better. Scheff (1997) says,

The combination of single case and comparative study in botanical morphology enabled researchers to understand both structure and process, by observing both the single plant as a system, and also the system of many plants as a functioning community. The most important aspect of this approach is more subtle, however: one understands the single plant in the context of knowing a great deal about the plant community, and the plant community in the context of knowing a great deal about the single specimen. (p. 5)

The PAC method is qualitative in the sense that researchers conduct an in-depth interview with their research participants and try to understand their view from the perspectives of their research participants. On the other hand, the PAC method goes beyond an interview in that a cluster analysis is used for research participants to rate the cards in pairs on the degree of how close they are in their connotative meaning. Thus, researchers identify not only factors for a given phenomenon but also the relationships among the factors, which cannot be achieved by conventional in-depth interviews. Consequently, the PAC attempts to explore the richness of the data and at the same time to discover the rules governing a phenomenon.

The PAC (Naito, 2002) has the following five major characteristics. First, it is not based on the idea of random sampling. When asking 200 people about the image of Japan, for example, 'technology' may be listed as the image shared most frequently in the survey. This does not necessarily mean that 'technology' is the most representative part of Japan, and 'technology' could obscure the reality of Japan. Someone might say that 'pressure for conformity' is his/her image of Japan. This 'pressure for conformity' may be listed as the tenth conspicuous characteristic in the response of 200 people, but this may lead to a fruitful insight into an aspect of Japan. Moreover, if the 200 people in the quantitative study are unmotivated, the result will not be useful.

Second, and in relation to the first point, the participants of the study should be selected 'strategically'. In this study, possible factors influencing how much research participants identify with the category of returnee are the places they stayed

when abroad, the educational arrangements in their host countries, the educational arrangement on returning to Japan and the years spent abroad. Thus, research participants were selected to cover the above-mentioned varieties.

Third, the PAC is not intended to make a generalisation on the data. By handling the richness of the data very carefully, researchers are to explore general rules governing a phenomenon. With other methods such as an interview, researchers could identify various factors relevant to the phenomenon being studied. However, the relationships between and among the factors are difficult to identify with other methods.

Fourth, instead of interpreting the data from their own framework, the researchers are to interpret the data within their research participants' framework. When researchers conduct research with other methods, they always use their own perceptual filters to analyse the phenomenon concerned, and the framework brought by their research participants is considered as an 'idiosyncrasy' and is likely to be ignored. However, using the PAC method, researchers make the maximum use of their research participants' framework with the aid of a dendrogram to analyse the phenomenon concerned. That is, there is intersubjectivity between the researcher and the research participant. Shibusaki (1961) offers an insightful comment from the perspective of symbolic interactionism:

There is intersubjectivity in that the participants are oriented to one another's plans of action. By appreciating the other's definition, one can make inferences about their interests and thereby impute motives. Successful role taking requires developing an appreciation of someone else's subjective experience. (p. 142)

Thus, in the PAC method, a researcher and his/her research participants repeatedly discuss the images provided in the dendrogram, and sometimes even emotions which cannot be verbalised clearly are identified.⁴

Last, the interview is based on the dendrogram in the PAC method, and this means that the research process itself can be reproduced easily, and even a single case has a high reliability. Naito (personal communication, Oct. 11, 2000) mentions:

A research participant's report is based on the clusters in his/her dendrogram. As what he/she reports is controlled by the stimuli provided by the clusters, the results naturally can be easily reproduced. Thus, the result is stable, reliable, and high in inter-coder reliability.

Naito's claim is supported by subsequent research (e.g. Sueda, 2004; Ueda, Watanabe, & King, 2010).

5.3.3.2 The Rationale for Using the PAC Method

In reviewing the characteristics of the PAC method, there are at least four reasons why the PAC method was used for the purpose of this study. First, free association of words or images, which is part of the PAC procedures, has been utilised to explore

⁴This process is known as 'focusing' (Gendlin, 1986; Ikemi, 1995) in the field of counselling.

the structure and function of constructs such as inferiority complex, cognitive framework and recognition of one's social category/categories (Naito, 2002). The items provided by the research participants represent a particular identity they have in mind. It seems that the PAC goes in line with social identity theory (e.g. Tajfel, 1978, 1981) and self-categorisation theory (Turner, 1987) theoretically.

Second, as part/whole analysis (Scheff, 1990, 1997) suggests, utilising single cases effectively allows researchers access to the complex dynamics of human behaviour. Stanley and Wise (1991) also mention that there is a possibility of going beyond a personal episode and reaching a larger societal and political framework. Therefore, the PAC method, which is established as a 'comparative analysis of single cases', is in line with part/whole analysis on both theoretical and methodological levels. For example, in the data of my research participant, participant # A, the part/whole connection is depicted. His earlier stage of experience with the memorial day of Pearl Harbor in the USA as 'part' leads to his sense of shame as 'whole'. He was very ashamed of the existence of the memorial day of Pearl Harbor, and part of him justified this as he was born much later than 1941, and he decided not to go to school on that day. However, he became ashamed of what he did later, since he had made another naïve Japanese girl who had just come to the same school a victim of possible criticism in their social studies class. Moreover, he felt a tremendous sense of shame as he was ignorant and powerless in the situation. The data illustrate a complex dimension of the concept of shame. Also, this past experience is connected with his present state, and #A is now interested in peace studies, particularly the study of global security, and in the future he wants to pursue his career as a civil servant in an international organisation. The PAC method should allow researchers to discover the complex dynamics underlying negotiation of face and identity by putting the whole into the part and the part into the whole and linking the past, present and future of the research participants.

Third, the PAC method requires affective as well as cognitive analysis on the part of both researchers and participants. In dealing with shame and pride, which link to the notion of face and identity, the video scripts as presented in Scheff's (1990, 1997) studies may not be enough. The complexity of affective dimensions should be analysed on different levels ranging from a personal episode to a social or societal context. The PAC seems to present the dynamics of how people control the sense of shame and face, and how that is presented as face, more clearly than other methods such as analysing video scripts.

Last, the interaction between the researcher and his/her research participant plays an important role in the process of conducting the PAC method. As Stanley and Wise (1991) claim, the influence of the interaction between the researcher and the researched used to be and still is considered to be 'unscientific' by some researchers, but it in itself should offer an insight into a social reality. For example, some of my research participants may look ashamed of talking about a certain topic to me, and some may look proud of talking about the same topic. This gives me an insight into the complexity of shame and pride.

- 1 Stimulating instructions are given.
- 2 Words associated with stimulation are written on cards.
- 3 The cards are sorted in the order of importance.
- 4 Each pair is rated by their degree of similarity.
- 5 Cluster analysis is made based on 4 and a dendrogram is obtained.
- 6 The participant interprets the dendrogram.
 - a. Each cluster
 - b. The relationships between clusters
 - c. The structure of the dendrogram
 - d. Elaboration on items
 - e. The evaluation of each item (+)(-)(0)
- 7 The researcher interprets the dendrogram.
- 8 The participant and the researcher cooperate in understanding the dendrogram.

Fig. 5.1 The procedures of the PAC method⁵

5.3.3.3 The Procedures of the PAC Method

The PAC method (Naito, 2002) follows the steps as indicated in Fig. 5.1. I will explain each step and the numbers to follow correspond to the numbers in Fig. 5.1. Usually, it takes researchers between 1 and 2 h to conduct research with the PAC method (Naito).

1. Stimulating instructions are given.

Stimulating instructions such as words, sentences, figures, pictures, music, etc. are given to a research participant. If a research participant has difficulty understanding any term in the stimulating instructions, the researcher assists the participant to understand it. The stimulating instruction for the present study was as follows. 'The most salient identity' in the parenthesis was the one chosen in my version of the 'Who am I?' test.

Please recall a situation where you felt a tremendous sense of loss or existence of face as (*the most salient identity*). List the words that are important and meaningful in describing the situation. Think of as many words as possible and put each word on one card in the order that the words occurred to you.

⁵I modified Appendix I in Sueda (2002, p. 326).

2. Words associated with the stimulating instructions are written on cards.

Based on the stimulating instructions above, the participant is asked to write down as many words or images associated with the instructions as possible on blank cards.

At this point, the participant is to write words or images as they occur to them. The number of the cards is not technically limited, but Naito (2002) finds that 97% of his research participants write less than 30 cards in each session. Any misspelling or deleted words are to be left as they are, because these also should reflect the research participants' feelings as well as perceptions.

3. The cards are sorted in the order of importance.

In the previous step, the participant is to write words or images as they occur to him/her. However, the first words or images that occurred to the participants may not always be the most 'important' in that the words or images are necessary to explain the recalled face-threatening or face-honouring situation. Thus, in this step, the participant is requested to put the cards in their order of importance and put them in a table as shown in Fig. 5.2. For example, in Fig. 5.2, 'job-hunting' occurred to the participant as the 15th word, but it was the most important word, without which the recalled situation could not be explained.

4. Each pair of items is rated in the degree of similarity.

The participant is asked to rate the cards in pairs based on the degree of how close they are not in denotative but in connotative meanings on the 7-point scale (from 1, very close in meaning, to 7, very different in meaning). The participant will be given the instruction as in Fig. 5.3.

Figure 5.3 is a sample of a matrix of distance between items. In this figure, the participant listed 27 cards. For example, the distance between card #1 and card #1 is zero as the two cards are the same and there is no distance. The distance between card #1 and card #5 is 3: relatively close. The distance between card #2 and #26 is 7: extremely far apart.

5. Cluster analysis is performed and a dendrogram is obtained.

Based on the matrix given in the previous step (Fig. 5.4), the researcher inputs the data, runs a cluster analysis with the Ward method⁷ and obtains a dendrogram⁸.

⁶Naito (2002) recommends that we use a small-sized card such as 3 cm (in width) × 9 cm (in length).

⁷There are several ways of calculating the distance between two items in cluster analysis, and the Ward method is most frequently used (Takagi & Tohkeisuirikenkyujo, 1998; Taki & Taki, 1995). Some researchers including myself use HALBOU as software for the PAC, but SPSS is also used by other researchers.

⁸Although some scholars using the PAC method write each item on the extreme left side, Naito (2002) writes each item within the dendrogram. I also found that writing each item within the dendrogram helped both research participants and researchers interpret the clusters and follow his approach.

Order of importance	Items	Order of association
1	job-hunting	15
2	winner or loser	16
3	impudent	4
4	nosy	3
5	too confident	5
6	self important	7
7	get angry	14
8	surprise	12
9	misunderstanding	18
10	got hurt	22
11	feeling blue	23
12	self-abandonment	13
13	put her to shame	20
14	Is it okay as you are?	21
15	You never understand me.	19
16	self-satisfaction	6
17	the first time	24
18	again	17
19	job	2
20	chatting	8
21	no good	10
22	no fun	11
23	club activity	1
24	dark	9
25		
26		
27		
28		
29		
30		

Fig. 5.2 An example of a table of association items⁹

(Fig. 5.5). In the PAC method, the dendrogram is cut by a perpendicular¹⁰ and the researcher tries to explore any image or meaning in each cluster and the structural meaning of the clusters. When the number of items is small, a cluster can be composed of a single item.

On the right-hand side of the dendrogram is located the maximum distance of one item from another. Although the analysis of the distance between items can be meaningful, the dendrogram is utilised to explore the structural meaning of the participant's experience in the present study.

⁹I modified Appendix 3 in Sueda (2002, p. 329).

¹⁰A researcher always starts with the furthest right-hand side perpendicular, and if the dendrogram is divided by the furthest right-hand side perpendicular, the dendrogram has two clusters, while the second right-hand side perpendicular divides it into three clusters.

Please rate the distance between each pair of the items you listed according to the 7 scale below. In so doing, evaluate how close they are in your image. Do not evaluate in terms of the accuracy of meaning in the dictionary.

Extremely close 1
 Very close 2
 Relatively close 3
 Neither close nor far 4
 Relatively far 5
 Very far 6
 Extremely far 7

Fig. 5.3 Instruction for rating the degree of similarity¹¹

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	
1	0	2	2	2	3	1	1	3	2	2	2	2	1	1	2	3	2	1	3	3	3	3	2	4	3	4					
2	0	2	1	3	3	1	1	3	2	3	2	3	1	1	5	1	5	3	1	6	3	6	7	7	7	7					
3	0	1	4	1	1	3	1	1	3	2	1	2	2	3	1	2	4	3	6	3	6	3	6	3	7						
4	0	6	3	1	3	2	3	5	5	1	2	3	5	3	3	4	5	7	7	6	7	7	5								
5	0	2	3	3	1	1	5	3	3	3	1	1	4	5	5	4	3	6	5	5	7										
6	0	2	3	3	1	2	5	1	2	2	2	2	1	3	3	3	3	2	5	6	7										
7	0	3	3	5	3	2	1	2	2	6	2	2	4	2	4	5	6	7	7	5											
8	0	2	3	1	1	3	2	1	4	1	2	5	2	4	5	4	6	7	6												
9	0	1	3	3	2	2	3	2	1	4	6	3	6	6	2	5	5	7													
10	0	3	1	1	1	1	3	1	3	1	3	1	4	4	2	6	7	4													
11	0	1	1	1	1	4	1	2	2	1	4	3	3	3	4	7															
12	0	1	1	1	4	1	3	2	1	4	3	6	4	7	7																
13	0	1	1	3	1	1	3	2	6	4	6	7	7	5																	
14	0	1	3	1	2	4	1	5	4	5	6	6	1	1																	
15	0	6	2	3	5	2	7	6	7	6	7	5	1	1																	
16	0	3	3	4	3	6	2	3	3	5	4	7																			
17	0	2	3	1	4	3	5	4	7																						
18	0	4	3	6	3	2	4	6	3																						
19	0	2	3	3	3	3	3	3	3																						
20	0	3	3	4	4	5	6																								
21	0	2	2	2	3	7																									
22	0	3	2	2	7																										
23	0	3	3	7																											
24	0	2	7																												
25	0	7																													
26	0																														
27	0																														
28	0																														
29	0																														
30	0																														

Fig. 5.4 An example of a matrix of distance between items¹²

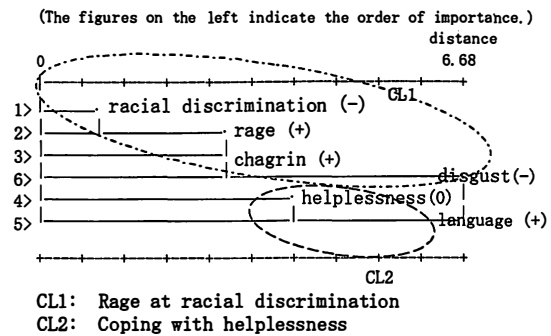
6. The participant interprets the dendrogram.

The participant is asked to explain the meaning of each cluster, the relationship between or among clusters, etc. There are some cases where research participants cannot interpret the meaning of each cluster, for which there are two possible

¹¹I modified Appendix 4b in Sueda (2002, p. 331).

¹²This diagram is created based on the one in the Appendix 5 in Sueda (2002, p. 332).

Fig. 5.5 A sample dendrogram¹³



explanations. First, the participant may not be able to analyse the structure of the dendrogram as he/she is involved emotionally in the experience and cannot step outside of the data. Second, the participant is not cognitively complex enough to interpret the data. Thus, as is described later, the researcher plays an important role in helping the participant interpret his/her own dendrogram. When the same word is repeated many times, it may be a key word for interpreting the dendrogram. Therefore, the participant is asked to elaborate some items. The participant is asked to state the meaning of each item as positive, negative or neutral. This process is for exploring the participant's overall image of the situation concerned.

7. The researcher interprets the dendrogram.

Based on the dendrogram and his/her participant's accounts, the researcher interprets the dendrogram. As stated in 5, there are some cases where the research participant has difficulty understanding his/her own dendrogram. In this stage, a researcher may sometimes find different interpretations of the dendrogram than his/her research participant's, and the researcher's interpretation can be shared in the next stage.

8. The participant and the researcher cooperate in understanding the dendrogram.

The researcher shares his/her interpretation of the dendrogram with the participant. The researcher's role is not imposing his/her own interpretation on the research participant. He/she usually shares his/her own interpretation and gets some response from the participant. This process requires cooperation and interaction between the researcher and the participant.

The standard procedure of the PAC research ends at this stage. However, in this study, each item was translated into English by cooperation between the researcher and his/her participant. As the majority of the research participants' English ability in the present study was extremely high and their level of English equivalent to that of professional translators, I considered the process of translation and back translation (McCoy, 1983) unnecessary.

¹³This diagram is created based on the one in Appendix 6c in Sueda (2002, p. 335).

5.3.4 Participant Observation

5.3.4.1 Design of Participant Observation

In the present study, participant observation combined with an informal interview was used along with the previous two methods. The definition of participant observation varies (e.g. Atkinson & Hammersley, 1994; Baxter & Babbie, 2004; Schwandt, 2001), but in the present study, it is defined as 'a means whereby the researcher becomes at least partially socialized into the group under study to understand the nature, purpose, and meaning of some social action that takes place there' (Schwandt, 2001, p. 186).

In conducting participant observation, I focus on four kinds of interaction: (1) the returnees' interaction among themselves, (2) their interaction with other Japanese students, (3) their interaction with their superiors (*senpai*) and (4) their interaction with faculty members, including myself and school administrators.

The interview in the participant observation takes the form of an informal interview in the sense the questions are unstructured and open-ended (Fontana & Frey, 1994). However, the focus was put on observation and I tried to make sense out of the research participants' behaviours and accounts, as suggested by researchers using participant observation (Atkinson & Hammersley, 1994; Minoura, 1999; Satoh, 1992; Takahashi, 1998). Thus, the process of the interview was spontaneous, and I refrained from imposing my framework on my research participants. Therefore, the reports on the items in the interview in Chap. 6 are not necessarily consistent in content and form.

The sites of participant observation were classrooms, tutorial seminars, informal gatherings and both formal and informal conversations with the research participants in my office hours. In each setting, I was 'participant-as-observer' or an 'overt' observer (Dunsmuir & Williams, 1991; Lindlof & Taylor, 2002; McCall & Simmons, 1969; Robson, 1993), whose role as a researcher was made explicit to the participants.

5.3.4.2 The Activities That Count as Evidence for Participant Observation

In each setting, activities or behaviours such as language use and nonverbal behaviours, including spatial behaviours, were looked at. These criteria are often suggested to be possible bases for analysis because they are applicable to a variety of research questions (Robson, 1993). Moreover, these factors were salient for the present participants as which language they speak (Japanese or English), and how rhetorically sensitive they are in each language, should form or reinforce their identity or face as 'returnees' or 'former returnees'.

As discussed in Chap. 1, language plays an important role in adjusting an intergroup or interethnic boundary (e.g. Giles & Coupland, 1991; Giles & Johnson, 1981; Gumperz, 1982). That is, if members of a given society want to clarify the

difference between their society and another society, they use their own language, which cannot be understood by the members of the other society. However, if members of a given society want to minimise the difference between their society and another society, they use the common language that is shared by the members of the other society.

Likewise, nonverbal behaviours can also adjust an intergroup or interethnic boundary. For example, flight attendants, medical doctors and firefighters wear their respective uniforms, which makes clear what their profession is. Many Japanese junior and senior high school students wear their school uniform and people can tell which school they go to (Sueda, 2011b). As suggested in Chap. 4, some of the returnees use gestures which are not used in Japan. It is suggested that most of the nonverbal cues are used unconsciously (Argyle, 1988), and they are acquired naturally in everyday life. If returnees, who are away from Japan for a long time, send 'weird' nonverbal messages, that should catch the attention of the 'ordinary' Japanese. Then, the returnees might have to change their nonverbal behaviours in order to fit into the society comfortably.

Then, how and when do people choose to speak one language over another if they can speak both? Yamamoto (2001) conducted research on children raised in families where parents have different native languages, English and Japanese, and found that whether or not children have a maximum exposure to the minority language in the family determines whether or not children can become bilingual. That is, a child raised in Japan who has an American father/mother and a Japanese mother/father has to be exposed to much English in order to become bilingual.

Suzuki (2007) conducted longitudinal research on international children in Indonesia who have a Japanese mother/father and an Indonesian father/mother. There are many factors that influence those children in becoming bilingual.¹⁴ In addition to the amount of exposure to each language, how much positive value is placed on learning Japanese is a key factor for children to acquire the Japanese language. According to Suzuki, people generally put a positive value on Japanese as the relative economic status of Japan is higher than that of Indonesia. However, children are not encouraged to learn their mother/father's native language if their mother or father comes from a country which is lower in economic status than Indonesia. Where they live also influences how bilingual they become. In large cities, children are not discouraged from learning other languages than Indonesian as people have less prejudice against foreigners than those in suburban areas. Moreover, they may get an advantage from speaking both languages in getting a promising job in large cities. However, this is not the case when they live in the suburban areas as people in these areas tend to be prejudiced against a foreign language.

As illustrated in Chap. 4, Japanese returnees' (*kikokushijo*) relatively high status or positive image is connected with the relatively high status of English

¹⁴People who speak two languages are called bilingual, and people who speak more than two languages are called multilingual (Martin & Nakayama, 2004). However, in reality most of them are not fluent in both or multiple languages at the same level (Yamamoto, 2007).

as an international language. Therefore, it is worth analysing the communicative behaviours of returnees and how they clarify or obscure the boundary between returnees and ordinary Japanese students.

The following are the questions looked at under each category. Language use includes: (a) Which language do they use depending on with whom they interact (English or Japanese) when they have a choice? (b) How do they address the person they interact with? (c) Do they use the honorific in Japanese?

Nonverbal behaviours include: (a) What kind of gestures do they engage in? (b) How do they engage in eye contact? (c) How much body movement do they make? (d) Do they move towards or away from others? The activities that count as evidence for participant observation are shown in the following three examples from my field notes.

Example 5.1 Except in the situations where they have to speak one or the other language, which language they choose to speak should indicate which language they identify with, which of their identities is expected in the situation and which of their identities is reinforced. One day, I was clearing my lecture table, when three male returnee students waited for me to come out of the room and asked me for a piece of advice regarding how they could 'retain' their English. They were very regretful about how few occasions they had for speaking English and were afraid that they would lose their English completely. I suggested that they talk English among themselves. But they refused my suggestion, claiming that they did not want to look awkward.

This observation told me that the three male students had a strong sense of identity or face as returnees and wanted to keep it by retaining their English. However, at the same time, they did not want to look awkward to their Japanese peers and were still trying to find a way to negotiate their identity or face as returnees.

Example 5.2 During the school year of 1998, I had a female freshman student, one of my research participants, in my introductory class of communication. She was born in Japan, but 3 months after her birth, she went to Australia because of her father's job and stayed there for 15 years. The rate of her speech, her way of carrying on a conversation and nonverbal cues such as gestures, space, etc. convinced me that she was almost a native speaker of English. In class, she made a presentation in English, and her classmates commented that her English was very 'natural'; however, they acknowledged that they had difficulty following her because her English

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was rather Australian English, to which her classmates were not used to in the Japanese school environment. After she heard her classmates' speech, she came to me and told me how much she was afraid of her English possibly being 'contaminated' by her classmates' 'bad' English and how much difficulty she had in adjusting herself to Japan. On any occasion, she talked to me in English, but most of the time I saw her speaking with her classmates in Japanese. A code switching took place, and she was talking with her friends in Japanese, and talking with me in English consecutively. One time, when she was talking to me after class, a sophomore male student, another participant in this study, was entering the room to ask me questions. He was also a returnee student and had spent 4 years in California, USA. I introduced him to her, hoping she could relate to him. After several words, he recognised that she had spent an extensive time in Australia, judging from her accent. Even though he put down 'Australian English' in a humorous way, she kept smiling and talking to him in English.

It was obvious that Japan was a foreign country to her when I observed her way of interacting with her classmates. Even though the English class where she made a presentation was mainly composed of returnees, she felt that she was very different from everyone else in the class, and she was 'more returnee' than the others, and her classmates' English sounded very bad to her. However, she felt that the sophomore boy was 'returnee' as much as she was, and his English level was as high as hers. Her behaviour made me think that she did not identify with any other identity or face than that of returnee, and therefore no negotiation was seen in her interaction with others.

Example 5.3 Miss Y, who spent 13 years in Hong Kong and went to an international school there, was more assertive than any other returnee student. In class, she was always the most outspoken and likely to intimidate other returnee students. In any discussion sessions, she made her point very clear and tended to interrupt other students if she thought they were getting off track from what they really should be talking about. Sometimes, she was alone in adopting a view opposite to that of the rest of the class. Also by nonverbal cues such as eye contact, gestures, etc., it was obvious that she was confident with herself, her English ability and her academic ability.

However, one time after class, she came to me and asked if she was talking too much or not and tried to make sure that she did not sound arrogant, because she tended to get criticised by the male returnee students in class.

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Outside of the class, whenever we meet, she always talked to me in Japanese and used the honorific efficiently, making it clear that she is a student and I am a teacher.

In her case, it seems that she was aware of her communication style and tried to change it if necessary. Thus, she wanted to say what she had to say in class, but at the same time, she wanted to be accepted by her classmates. She did not want to look arrogant as being assertive could be evaluated negatively as a Japanese, a student and a girl. It seems that she recognised the multiplicity of her identity or face and tried to negotiate it depending on with whom she was interacting: an individual, a returnee, a female, a Japanese and a student.

Although I have to review carefully the applicability of these activities as evidence for the participants' negotiation process of their multiple layering of identity or face, verbal and nonverbal behaviours should provide the basis for what should be looked at in participant observation.

5.4 The Research Participants and Procedures

5.4.1 *The Participants in the Research*

5.4.1.1 The Criteria for Selecting the Participants

In selecting the participants for the present study, there were at least the following four criteria: (1) Most participants were available for all of the three methods explained above; (2) the participants were returnee students, based on the criteria given in Chap. 4; (3) the participants could be accessed easily; and (4) the participants could establish a rapport with me fairly easily.

5.4.1.2 The Rationale for the Participants

All of the research participants were either students or alumni members of my affiliation, one of the major private universities in Tokyo. There are five main reasons why I chose these students.

First, since I joined my present institution in April 1998, I have been teaching hundreds of 'returnee' students in my introductory level communication class, and many of them have chosen to take my tutorial seminar or classes in communication. The coursework includes not only the basic theories of interpersonal and

intercultural communication but also the related issues of the present study such as identity. Therefore, I not only use my classes for the site of participant observation but also can recruit research participants by myself or through personal referral by my colleagues.

Second, these students had an exposure to other countries and their cultural norms and codes and were expected to have a sense of marginality and multiple layering of identity and face. Most of these students spent a considerable amount of time overseas because of their parents' (most of the time, their fathers') business assignments, and some of them were born overseas. Therefore, particularly for those who were born overseas, Japan is a totally new country to live in. Some of them are limited to their encapsulated marginality (Bennett & Bennett, 2004) and suffer from the pressure to conform to Japanese society and its school system, and some of them enjoy their constructive marginality (Bennett & Bennett, 2004), switching from the frame of one culture to that of another.

Third, these participants were expected to show an interest in cooperating with the present research and make a high degree of commitment to it. The fact that most of the returnees register in my introductory class of communication and try to enter my tutorial seminar in communication convinced me that they would be interested in the present topic. In addition, as a faculty member, I was consulted by many of those students for various topics, ranging from class performance to future career development. On finding out that I was exposed to foreign countries at an earlier stage of my life than my colleagues and spent several years studying and living overseas, some of them approached me. It seems that I generally have built a rapport with the research participants already.

Fourth, I, as a researcher, believe that I have enough subjective insight into the framework of research participants, because I went through the process of 'readjustment' into Japanese society and struggled to find out what I really wanted to do and could do in Japanese society. This emotional attachment to the participants may become a danger if a researcher loses sight of what he/she should observe (McCall & Simmons, 1969). Yet, after reaching the level of constructive marginality where I am not totally part of nor apart from the Japanese society, I believe that I have enough emotional detachment from the participants and enough creativity to step out of the participants' framework and make sense out of their behaviours.

5.4.1.3 The Sampling Procedure

The details of demographic features of the participants of the present study are shown in Table 6.1 (Chap. 6) and Table 7.1 (Chap. 7). Several factors are taken into account for sampling: (1) gender, (2) period spent overseas, (3) the country they lived in (North America, Europe, Oceania, Asia, Africa, South America), (4) the school in their host country (local, local and supplemental Japanese school, Japanese school only, international school) and (5) the school arrangement in Japan upon returning (entered a university through special exam, returned to a local public school, returned to a special school for returnees).

The participants for the research were recruited either by me or through personal referral by my colleagues and administrators. In recruiting the participants, the term *kikokushijo* (returnees) was not used and instead I used the expression 'those who spend a substantial period of time overseas' in the first phase of study. This is because I was afraid that I might possibly cast one of their identities as 'returnees' by mentioning the term. However, for those who participated in both the first and second phases of the study, the term *kikokushijo* (returnees) had to be used in the second phase.

5.4.2 The Research Procedures

A pilot study was conducted before the main research, and the effectiveness and appropriateness of the methods was confirmed by reviewing the overall research design and modifying the stimulating instruction of the PAC method as shown in Sect. 5.3.3.3.

The first phase of the research was mainly conducted between February 2000 and July 2001, and the second phase between March 2010 and October 2011. Before conducting any part of the research, I acquired consent from my research participants and assured confidentiality of the data and the participants' right to cooperate or not to cooperate with me. The ethical issues involved in conducting the research will be elaborated in the next section.

As mentioned above, the majority of the research took place in three steps. First of all, the WAI was conducted. Each research participant was to fill out five categories of identities. The participant was asked to sort the identities in order of salience to the term, *mentsu*. Second, using the most salient category of identity, the stimulating instructions were given. This step is the beginning of the PAC method. Each session of the PAC method took between 1 and 2 h, and it took me between 2 and 5 h to complete all steps of the research.

The research was conducted mainly in Japanese, but English was spoken at some points if necessary. In the last step of the PAC research, the words translated into English were checked with the participants.

The participant observation including the informal interview was conducted simultaneously and after the PAC method as a formal process. However, since I started to observe the returnees in my class in September 1998, some of these informal data are included as a source of analysis.

5.5 The Ethical Issues Concerned

In conducting both tracks of research, the participants' physical, psychological and social well-being should not be affected at any stage. Specifically, I ensured (1) the voluntary participation of the subjects, (2) the confidentiality of the participants and

(3) the use of the data only for the purpose of research. These three points were included in the informed consent form, and the form was distributed to each of the participants before the research session.

In the PAC method particularly, the participants' voluntary cooperation is respected because even one session requires a high level of involvement for several hours. In addition to the informed consent form, this point was re-emphasised orally to avoid the possibility of my manipulation of the participants. They were told that whether they cooperated or not would never influence their academic records either positively or negatively. Likewise, they were assured that they could withdraw from the process of research whenever they needed to do so.

To ensure confidentiality, any personal pronouns or the particular name of items, which might make the identity of the participants prominent, were deleted from the data collected. In the interview stage of the PAC method, I tried to obtain permission to run an audiotape. Although all of them indicated their willingness to be audiotaped, the participants were assured that they could stop me from running the tape recorder when they felt it necessary. Also, the data collected for the purpose of the present study have never been used or will be used for any other purpose.

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Chapter 6

Results (The First Phase of Research): Japanese Returnees at University

6.1 Purpose of This Chapter

The purpose of this chapter is to report a part of the research done between February 2000 and July 2001. The results of three research participants will be reported in detail.

6.2 The First Phase of Research

6.2.1 The Participants

Twenty two returnee students at my institution, one of the major private universities in Tokyo, were chosen as participants for the first phase of research. Table 6.1 indicates the profile of all the research participants. It lists their age, gender, the date of research, the area/areas they stayed in, the length of their stay overseas, the ages at which they were overseas, the school arrangements in their host country and the school arrangements in Japan upon returning. The numbers on the left indicate the chronological order of the research data.

Most of the participants, except one, were juniors and senior, and on average they were 21.6 years old. 13 of the participants moved overseas before the age of 10, and 9 moved after the age of 10 ($M = 6.8$ years old). There were 10 male participants and 12 female participants.

The length of their stay overseas ranged from 1 year to 19 years ($M = 6.8$ years), and 10 participants spent less than 5 years in total overseas, and 12 participants spent over 5 years in total. The country/countries they lived¹ in vary, but more than

¹Some returnees lived more than two countries and multiple responses apply to this.

Table 6.1 The demographic data of the participants of the first phase of research²

No	Name	Age	Gender	The areas stayed	Period of stay	Age of stay	Date of research	School arrangement in host country	School in Japan on returning
1		21	F	North America	8	1-9	Feb. 2000	Local ES	Local ES
2		21	F	South America	1	17	Mar. 2000	Local SH	Private SH
3		21	F	South Asia	3	1-4	Mar. 2000	Local JH	<i>Ukeirekoh</i> *1 (state SH)
4		21	F	Oceania	4	11-15			
				North America	7	10-17	Mar. 2000	Local ES, JH, and SH	<i>Ukeirekoh</i> (state SH)
5		21	F	North America	5	10-14	Mar. 2000	Local ES and JH	Local JH
6		22	M	North America	4	10-14	Mar. 2000	Local ES and JH + supplementary Japanese school	Local JH
7		22	F	Europe	2	8-10	Jul. 2000	Local ES and JH	<i>Ukeirekoh</i> (private SH)
				Europe	4	10-14			
8		22	M	North America	4	14-18	Sep.2000	Local JH and SH	University with special entrance exam
9	C	21	M	North America	4	10-14	Oct. 2000	Local ES and JH	Local JH
10		21	F	North America	3	9-12	Nov. 2000	Local ES + supplementary Japanese school	Private ES
				North America	1	20			
11		22	M	North America	10	1-11	Nov. 2000	Local ES	Local ES
				North America					
12		21	M	Oceania	1	15-16	Nov. 2000	Local SH	Local SH
13		21	F	North America	1	16-17	Dec. 2000	Local SH	Local SH
14		21	F	North America	3	8-11	Dec. 2000	Local ES	Private ES
15		21	F	East Asia	19	0-19	Dec. 2000	Local ES and JH international SH	University with special entrance exam
16		22	M	North America	1	4-5	Dec. 2000	Japanese SH	
				Europe	3	15-18			<i>Yobikoh</i> *2
17		21	M	East Asia	4	1-5	Dec. 2000	Local JH and SH	University with special entrance exam
				Africa	7	11-18			
18		22	F	Oceania	15	0-15	Jan. 2001	Local ES, JH and SH	Private SH with a special quota
19	A	21	M	North America	4	10-14	Jan. 2001	Local ES and JH + supplementary Japanese school	Local JH
20		28	F	Europe	7	3-10	Feb. 2001	International ES	Local ES
				Europe	1	14-15		Local JH	University with special entrance exam
				Oceania	4	16-20		Local SH and university	
21		21	M	North America	11	7-18	May, 2001	Local ES, JH and SH	University with special entrance exam
22	B	22	M	Europe	11	0-6 13-18	Jul. 2001	Japanese JH and SH International SH	Local ES University with special entrance exam

Note 1: *Ukeirekoh* refers to schools with a special quota for returnees

Note 2: *Yobikoh* means a preparatory school for university entrance exam

Note 3: *ES* elementary school, *JH* junior high school, *SH* senior high school

²1 modified Table 5.1 in Sueda (2012, p. 56).

half of them stayed in North America. The majority of them went to a local school in their host country³ (local = 22, international schools = 3, Japanese school = 2), and the school arrangement in Japan upon returning⁴ varies. 4 returned to a public elementary school, 2 returned to a private elementary school, 4 returned to a public junior high school, 2 returned to a public high school, 3 returned to a private high school within a special quota, 2 returned to a public high school within a special quota, 6 participants entered a university through a special exam and one entered a preparatory school for the university entrance exam.

Considering the fact that all of my participants were placed in the most advanced class by the English placement test, their English ability is quite high. All of them were considered to get over 500 PBT (paper-based testing) or 60 IBT (Internet-based testing) on the TOEFL⁵ or 5.0 on IELTS. Also, one third of them were close to a native speaker's level: above 600 PBT or 100 IBT or 900 on the TOEIC⁶ or 7.0 on IELTS.

As shown in Table 6.1, the participants present a sufficient variety in terms of the years spent overseas, the area they stayed, the institution(s) in their host country/countries and the school arrangement in Japan upon returning. The participants for the research were recruited either by me or through personal referral by my colleagues and administrators. In recruiting the participants, the term *kikokushijo* (returnees) was not used and instead I used the expression 'those who spend a substantial period of time overseas'. This is because I was afraid that I might possibly cast one of their identities as 'returnees' by mentioning the term.

6.2.2 The Format of the Report

In the sections to follow, the full data of three research participants, #A, #B and #C, will be reported. The reason why I chose to report on these three participants was that they were different or contrastive from one another in the nature of the recalled episode (face threatening or face honouring), the salience of the recalled episode as

³Multiple responses apply.

⁴Multiple responses apply.

⁵TOEFL (Test of English as a Foreign Language) is administered by ETS (Educational Testing Services, NJ, USA) for foreign students seeking admission to universities in North America and some Commonwealth countries to demonstrate their English ability. The minimum scores for admission depend on each institution: 580–600 on the paper-based testing seems to be the requirement for a graduate school in humanities and social sciences, and 500–550 seems to be the requirement for an undergraduate level. I consulted the table provided by the English Language Teaching Centre at Sheffield University to transfer paper-based scores into Internet-based scores and IELTS scores (English Language Teaching Centre, Sheffield University, August 29, 2012).

⁶TOEIC (Test of English for International Communication) is also administered by ETS and was created for non-native speakers of English to demonstrate their English ability in the global workplace (ETS, 2014). Some multinational companies in Japan set 900, which is close to the perfect scores, as a minimum requirement for recruiting.

a life event and their level of awareness of *mentsu*. Also, they differ in the ways in which they manage shame.

While #C (participant # 9 in Table 6.1) presented a strongly positive image of the situation, #A (participant #19) presented a strongly negative image. Also, they are contrastive in terms of their awareness of *mentsu* as well as the nature of the experience. #C had difficulty understanding the concept of *mentsu*, while A immediately caught its meaning. This does not necessarily indicate that their intellectual levels differ. This difference has to do with social experience and personal belief. Through NGO activities and other social activities, #A seemed to learn how to work with older generations. On the other hand, #C, even at the time of hunting for a job, refused to 'give in' to Japanese hierarchical society by using the Japanese honorific, and he believes strongly in 'equality for all'. Also, #A's experience of the memorial day of Pearl Harbor is social and political, while #C's experience is very personal.

Three participants differ in the nature of experience they recalled. While #A recalled a past face-threatening experience, #B (participant #22) and #C recalled a face-honouring experience. Moreover, while #B and #C recalled a general situation, #A recalled a specific situation in his host country.

#B and #C perceived their father to be a role model. However, while B has an intention to reproduce his father's relatively high status in Japan, #C highly respects his father not because of his father's relatively high status but because of his father's flexibility to communicate with people.

In the first part of each participant's data, the research findings of the PAC research based on the most salient identity in terms of *mentsu* drawn from the previous WAI are shared. The standard sequences for the report are as follows: (1) the participant's own interpretation of the dendrogram,⁷ (2) the participant's own interpretation of the relationship between clusters, (3) the participant's clarification of the meaning of each item and (4) my interpretation based on the participant's accounts and discussion between the researcher and the participant. My interpretation of the dendrogram can be different from the participant's interpretation of his/her own dendrogram, as illustrated in Chap. 5. Also, the range of the response varies from one participant to another, and some explain well and elaborate their experience fully, while some cannot explain what they see in the dendrogram.

In the second part, the results of the informal interview are shared. The informal interview includes any conversation before, during and after the PAC research. The amount and the nature of data vary as this process was not structured and was spontaneous in nature. Thus, some participants reported their identity maps, while others did not, for example.

In the third part, the results of the participant observation are reported. The data basically include any observations made before, during and after the PAC method between February 2000 and July 2001. However, in cases where I found some observation in the past pertinent and useful for the present study, the data from the informal observation are included. In the last part of each report, a summary is provided.

⁷Each dendrogram will be presented and followed by a brief summary of its conceptual meaning.

6.3 Participant #A

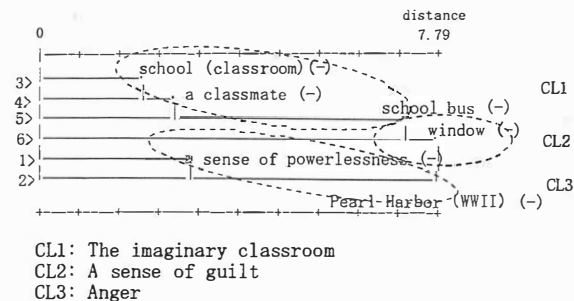
6.3.1 The WAI and the PAC: #A as a Japanese

The characteristics of #A: (1) having lived in North America for 4 years, (2) went to a local elementary and junior high school and a Saturday Japanese school, (3) came back to a local junior high school and (4) being active in an NGO.

In the WAI, three categories of identities, 'a Japanese', 'student' and 'a staff at an NGO', were listed. Out of the three, his identity as 'a Japanese' was the most salient to the concept of *mentsu*, and the PAC was conducted under the identity as 'a Japanese'.

As is shown in Fig. 6.1, out of 6 items, all the items were negative. As an overall image, #A felt negative about the situation where he felt a sense of loss of *mentsu*.

a (The figures on the left indicate the order of importance)



b

Amentsu saving preventive behaviour → *Mentsu* (autonomy) was saved. → *Mentsu* (fellowship) was lost, and *mentsu* (competence and autonomy) was questioned. → Build up *mentsu* (competence and autonomy). → *Amentsu* restoring behaviour → Pride

Fig. 6.1 (a) #A as a Japanese⁸(b) Shame and pride found in #A⁹

⁸1 modified Figure 5.1 in Sueda (2012, p. 62).

⁹1 modified Figure 6-8b in Sueda (2002, p. 231).

6.3.1.1 #A's Interpretation of the Clusters

1. Each Cluster

CL1 includes 3 items. They are 'school (classroom)', 'a classmate' and 'school bus'. #A said, 'This scene was an imaginary scene where my Japanese classmate got asked many questions in the classroom'. In this scene, the Japanese classmate who had come to his school recently was left alone in the classroom. As it fell on the memorial day of Pearl Harbor, he was concerned that she was the target of the questions in social studies class. #A thinks that CL1 depicts the scene of the imaginary classroom.

Summary of the Conceptual Meaning of the Dendrogram: A as a Japanese

What is characteristic about the dendrogram is that the items are all rated as negative. #A stayed away from school, trying to prevent a potentially face-threatening incident in 'the imaginary classroom' (CL1). And afterwards, he felt 'a sense of guilt' (CL2). 'Anger' (CL3) is towards his powerlessness and having to deal with questions on Pearl Harbor (WWII).

CL2 includes 1 item, 'window'. CL2 concerns #A's sense of guilt for his escape from the situation. He was not sick, but he decided not to go to school. That was because he was afraid that he would feel uncomfortable in the social studies class where Japanese students including him would get asked questions on Pearl Harbor. He had a mixed feeling: He did not go to school, but he felt bad about leaving the other Japanese student alone. Then, he was looking at her getting on the school bus through the window at home.

CL3 includes 2 items. They are 'a sense of powerlessness' and 'Pearl Harbor (WWII)'. #A thought that this cluster indicates his anger towards the situation where he had to be sensitive about the issue. It was the memorial day of Pearl Harbor. On that day, no commercials on Japanese products are allowed, and Japanese people have to be particularly sensitive and careful about what they say and how they behave.

2. The Relationships Between Clusters

#A spoke about the relationships between the clusters and the overall structure as follows:

What CL1 and CL2 have in common is that both relate to school. The difference between the two is that while CL2 is something real, CL1 is imaginary. What CL2 and CL3 have in common is 'anxiety.' It seems that there are causal relationships between CL1 and CL3.

3. Questions on Items

#A elaborated on part of the items as below.

school (classroom): Tension. There was supposed to be discussion or debate in the high school classroom.
a classmate: She does not think. She was not nervous, at all.
a school bus: This is my sense of guilt.
a sense of helplessness: Anger, sorrow.
Pearl Harbor: Sad.

6.3.1.2 The Overall Interpretation of #A's Data

CL1 is named as 'the imaginary classroom'. CL2 is named as 'a sense of guilt'. CL3 is named as 'anger'. #A clearly remembers the occasion of the memorial day of Pearl Harbor. He knew that his classmates would talk about something related to the issue in a social studies class. He did not want to deal with it and did not go to school. However, he was a little bit worried about his Japanese classmate, who had just recently moved from Japan. Her English that time was rather weak, and he saw that girl was getting on the school bus through the window of his house. Through the window, he saw his classmate and thought she was very naïve and helpless. He thought if the class talked about the issue related to WWII, the girl would be more helpless, and he felt guilty about not going to school. He did not want to feel a sense of shame or did not want to be made ashamed about anything related to Pearl Harbor, WWII, Japan or the Japanese. Yet, in return, he felt a sense of shame as he escaped from the situation. This shows the complexity of the sense of shame. That is, you can escape from a sense of shame but can be trapped in another sense of shame.

He sees himself as having been helpless, as he could not do anything about the present situation, or Pearl Harbor, which he did not know well enough. At the same time, he was angry not only for the fact that he was to be blamed for something for which he was not responsible, but also he was angry at his own ignorance.

6.3.2 Analysis from the Interview with #A

6.3.2.1 The Points of Interview

1. His identity as a Japanese.

#A elaborated on the importance of his identity as a Japanese as follows:

When you go abroad, you will be viewed as a Japanese first. Indeed, I want to be proud of myself as a Japanese. Unless you know yourself or your own country, you cannot discuss anything with your counterparts in the world. Also, the fact that I interact with you¹⁰ has to do with it, too.

2. His personal identity.

When I asked if #A perceived himself as an individual, he replied,

That is true. But, I did not think of putting my full name, for example. I do not know why.

3. His strong sense of shame led him to get interested in international politics.

The incident described in the PAC research seemed to be influential on his interests and future career goal. In the incident, he regretted escaping from the situation where the class talked about something related to WWII and wished he had known more about it. This seemed to be related with his major in political science; his strong interest in global issues, peace and disarmament; and his career goal of working at an international organisation such as the UN. Indeed, he has been actively involved in an NGO activity. The incident made him feel a sense of shame and guilt, but in order for shame and guilt to balance with pride, he has a strong sense of pride in being a Japanese.

4. His awareness of face is high.

I had to explain what the term *mentsu* means for the other participants. However, #A said, 'We could lose face almost all the time.' This was the first such response I received from the participants of the PAC research.

6.3.2.2 Findings

Two findings struck me. First, just as he shared a very social and political experience in the PAC research, he had a strong sense as a Japanese, and he did not even think of the option of listing his being individual. Second, his awareness of face was high, and immediately I gave the stimulating instructions, #A caught the meaning of *mentsu*. It seems that he has much social experience, being active in an NGO, and many opportunities of interacting with people of older generations.

¹⁰As shown in Chap. 5, the research was conducted in Japanese basically. However, the class where I had him was conducted in English, and as a student he had to use English. He associated 'speaking English' with the time he stayed in North America. No matter whether he spoke English or not, he was reminded that he was Japanese and the rest were Americans.

6.3.3 Participant Observation

6.3.3.1 He Looked Very Mature When I Met Him First

I remembered that #A looked very mature for a freshman when I first met him. He did not look uncooperative, but most of the time, in a discussion, I saw him observing the situation, and he never spoke up unless he was assigned.

6.3.3.2 He Has Likes and Dislikes

He knows what he likes and what he does not like. If he is not interested in the subject, he will skip even a compulsory class. But he puts much energy and time into what he likes. For example, he is very interested in his tutorial seminar, and he volunteered to be the leader of the seminar and put much time into the arrangements for it. However, even if he has to take a certain subject as a requirement, he will not put a lot of energy into the subject just because he has to.

I was frustrated when I saw #A merely observing the discussion although he was competent enough to participate in the group discussion.

6.3.3.3 He Wants to Study Security Studies in the North America

#A wishes to study at a graduate school in North America, and I was asked to write a letter of recommendation to each school he was going to apply to. Asking him about his objective of studying abroad, I was impressed with his depth and breadth of knowledge about security studies. I cannot help thinking that there is a strong connection between his past experience with the memorial day of Pearl Harbor and his present goal to be an international civil servant.

6.3.4 Conclusion

In reviewing the data of #A, two things should be noted. First, it seems that his perception of *mentsu* was complex enough to involve fellowship, competence and autonomy needs. On the day when he did not go to school, he did not want to be blamed for something he did not even know about. Thus, he may have decided not to go to school because he did not want his *mentsu* as autonomy damaged.

However, as a result, part of #A felt bad about not going to school as he left a Japanese girl alone in class. In this sense, #A's fellowship face was damaged. Also, he felt ashamed that he did not know anything about the past history involving his

host country and his home country. So, his competence face was also threatened. #A's behaviour can be illustrated as shown in Fig. 6.1b.

Second, his first identity in the list, a Japanese, is also linked with other identities in the list. It seems that the incident illustrated in the PAC research is connected with the identity as a student and as a volunteer for an NGO activity. The results of all the methods used in the present study indicate consistently that #A experienced a tremendously face-threatening incident, and this experience of the memorial day of Pearl Harbor was not only personal but political as well. The results of participant observation and the informal interview complemented and elaborated what was found in the PAC research. This face-threatening incident seems to be linked to his present plan of studying security studies in the North America.

The participant to follow, #B (participant #22), listed an interesting category in itself, *kuroko*, as the most salient identity in terms of face. #B illustrates more shame and bypassed shame than anyone else among my participants.

6.4 Participant # B

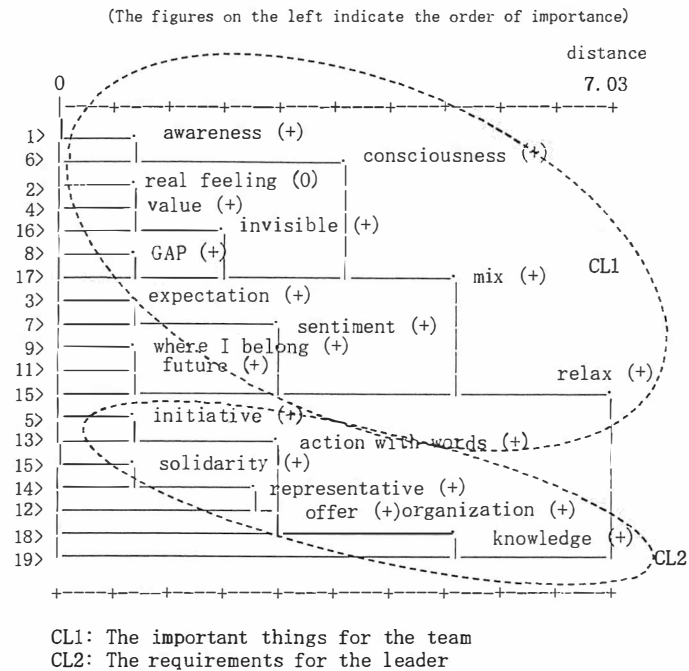
6.4.1 The WAI and the PAC: #B as *kuroko*

The characteristics of #B: (1) having lived in xxx (a city in Europe) for 11 years on two occasions, (2) went to a public elementary school in Japan, (3) went to a Japanese school and then moved to an international school and (4) entered the university through a special entrance exam for returnees.

In the WAI, five categories of identities, 'xxxx (B's full name)', 'a returnee', 'a sportsman', 'a person with pride' and '*kuroko*', were listed. Out of the five identities, his identity as '*kuroko*'¹¹ was the most salient to the concept of *mentsu*, and the PAC was conducted under the identity as '*kuroko*'.

As is shown in Fig. 6.2, out of 19 items, 18 items were positive, and one item was neutral. #B felt positive about the situation where he felt a sense of *mentsu*.

¹¹ *Kuroko* (黒子) or *kurogo* (黒衣) literally means black clothes or a person wearing black clothes. His/her role is to help actors or actresses put on different kinds of clothes and prepare and put away the properties on the stage in Japanese traditional arts such as *kabuki*. Later, this term is used to refer to someone invisible who helps people do things.

Fig. 6.2 #B as *kuroko*¹²

Summary of the Conceptual Meaning of the Dendrogram: #B as *kuroko*

What is characteristic about the dendrogram is the identity of *kuroko* itself and that almost all the items are rated as positive. CL1: 'The important things for the team' indicates what he himself and the team need. CL2: 'The requirements for the leader' indicates what the team requires its leader to be and what #B wishes to be.

6.4.1.1 #B's Interpretation of the Clusters

1. Each Cluster

CL1 includes 12 items. They are 'awareness', 'consciousness', 'real feeling', 'value', 'invisible', 'GAP'¹³, 'mix', 'expectation', 'sentiment', 'where I belong',

¹²I modified Figure 5.1 in Sueda (2012, p. 66).

¹³'GAP' should be described as 'gap'. But #B used this English word for the item, and I just left it as it was written originally.

'future' and 'relax'. #B thinks that CL1 is concerned with the important things in life.

CL2 includes 7 items. They are 'initiative', 'action with words', 'solidarity', 'representative', 'offer', 'organisation' and 'knowledge'. CL2 is considered to be the foundation for CL1, which is the important things in life.

2. The Relationship Between Clusters

#B talked about his view of the relationship between clusters as follows:

What is common between these two clusters is that they have to do with 'creating something'. By emphasising CL2, we can act as is shown in CL1. By doing as is shown in CL2, CL1 becomes more important. So, these two, CL1 and CL2, are interactive.

3. Questions on Items

#B elaborated on part of the items as below.

awareness: This means what people value, for what they behave and what they make prioritised.

consciousness: Without consciousness, we behave.

real feeling: This represents my real feeling as well as the group members'.

value: My value as well as their value.

invisible: You do not know what others think and what they value. That is why I have difficulty leading the group.

GAP: This means a gap between my understanding and the understanding of the rest of the members.

mix: In working with the team, we can mix different ways of thinking and values. Also, in leading the team, I would have to provide them with a place where I can mix and adjust various ideas and thoughts.

expectation: This indicates differences between what I want from the team and what the other team members want from me.

sentiment: This is the feeling for the team. The way in which I position the team is different from how they position the team.

future: This links to 'where I belong'.

where I belong: I started this organisation (a football team) so that everyone feels comfortable with it. This organisation should go on and on.

relax: I try to make my place (the football team he started) relaxing for others and myself.

initiative: This refers to the initiative to start an organisation. I have actually made two organisations so far. What is common between the two is that both of the places are relaxing.

action with words: If you say something, you have to do as you have promised to do. It is almost a policy.

solidarity: This means organisation, our place, solidarity and consensus.

(continued)

(continued)

representative: I did not want to be a representative. The team members are all from the high school in xxxx (a country in Europe). I just wanted to have a good time with them, and I wanted them to have a good time as well. I ended up becoming a representative of the team, as others are too busy to do so.

offer: I am willing to be the one who offers a place for everyone. If you just wait for someone to offer you a place, you will not get anything.

organisation: I was the one who created the organisation.

knowledge: I would need knowledge of any kind for my future. I know I still lack knowledge. I want to improve my English as well, and I need expertise in information processing.

6.4.1.2 The Overall Interpretation of #B's Data

Slightly different from his own interpretation, CL1 is named as 'The important things for the team'. CL2 is named as 'The requirements for the leader'.

He says that these two clusters indicate what he thinks and how he feels about organising a football team. He says that he is very proud that he contributes to the organisation and offers an enjoyable place for everyone. But he is organising the group not because he has the capacity of leading the group but because no one else initiates the group.

It seems to me that these two clusters indicate his strong sense of belongingness, or *mentsu* as fellowship face. Although he indicates the requirements for leading the team, he does not necessarily feel that he is competent enough to lead it. Yet, it seems that he would like to build up competence.

6.4.2 Analysis from the Interview with #B

6.4.2.1 The Points of the Interview

1. His identity as *kuroko*.

What is interesting about him was the way he leads the football team. He identifies with *kuroko*. He said,

When I was in xxx (the name of the country), I arranged a game and everyone enjoyed it. Then I was happy that I have a place for myself and have created an enjoyable environment for my friends. So, I wanted to continue the team in Japan. That is how I started the team. I do not think I am well suited for leading the team. I would rather be *kuroko* who is invisible and helps people perform well.

2. His classmates did not accept him when he first came back to Japan.

I asked about his elementary school days in Japan; #B said,

When I returned to Japan for the first time at the age of six, I entered a local school in Nakano-ward, Tokyo. Looking back, I was not normal at all and was neglected by almost everyone in class. I was okay because I did not pay attention to others. But, when I became 8, I felt that something was wrong with them or me and thought I have to do something about it. And then, I started to observe things and tried to find a place where I fit. I, at least, did not want to be hated. But without making any progress with the situation, I was again brought back to xxxx (a country in Europe).

3. He was happy in a Japanese school in xxxx (a country in Europe).

He found the place he belonged to finally at a Japanese school in xxxx (a country in Europe). He said,

I met a great teacher there. He told us to be ourselves and be confident about ourselves. I was not particularly impressive, but I always like sports and this is how I got involved in the football team.

4. He likes his university, but he does not have many friends.

He says that he enjoys his classes and the quality of education provided at his university. But he does not particularly like the students around him. It seems to him that they are very strategic and going for efficiency. He said,

They enjoy not the process of learning, but the successful result.

5. The returnees from Europe and those from North America are different.

His way of looking at the returnees interested me. #B said,

The returnees from North America are different from those from xxxx (a country in Europe). Those from North America are very assertive or aggressive. Those from xxxx (a country in Europe) are not that aggressive. Dealing with global issues, they always are far-sighted. They are very careful and speak when they have something to say. Likewise, returnees from xxxx (a country in Europe) are calm and speak when it is necessary.

6. His elder brother is quite different from him.

I asked about the situation of his sibling. He said,

I have one elder brother and his situation is quite different from mine. He goes with the flow. He is well adjusted to the present environment.

7. His view of a returnee as someone fluent in English.

When I asked about his image of returnees, #B said,

That would be someone really fluent in English. When I tell people the fact that I am a returnee, people expect me to be fluent in English. And I am not that fluent. So, that bothers me, and I do not want to be called returnee. But at the same time, I wanted to improve my English.

6.4.2.2 Findings

The term '*kuroko*' struck me as I had never come across anyone listing this as an identity until I conducted the research with #B. In analysing what was mentioned in the interview, I thought '*kuroko*' is a good metaphor for his life as a whole and for particular parts of it. He spent mentally unhealthy elementary school days in Japan, and he was 'visible' at that stage and described himself as 'not normal' or 'distinct'. And later on, he chose to become 'invisible', and he is indeed 'invisible' among my returnee students. Unless I was told so, I would not have noticed the fact that he was a returnee. It seems that without changing the situation of being invisible, #B found a place for himself and a sense of uniqueness and worth.

6.4.3 Participant Observation

6.4.3.1 Shame as a Returnee

I clearly remember when I met #B for the first time in April 1998. He wanted permission from me as a student adviser to move to a higher level of English class, saying, 'I am *kikokushijo* (returnee) and the class I am in is too boring. I must have messed up on the placement test. And the placement test was too short to evaluate our English ability, I am afraid.' Acknowledging the fact that the placement test might not be the ultimate way to evaluate students' English ability, I left the judgement to himself and allowed him to move up to a higher-level class. It seemed that he was not satisfied with the result of the placement test. He may have had a sense of shame for the fact that he was not evaluated as highly as he should be.

6.4.3.2 Insecurity About His English Ability

For the second time, I met him when I had him in my class. His performance was not impressive, and it was noticed that he was not taking a major role in the group project in the class. And in April 2001, he registered for another class of mine again. On the first day, he came and got permission from me to wear a cap in class as he still had a bald patch after surgery. Although wearing a cap in classroom is traditionally considered rude, it seems that no college students pay attention to it any more. So, I was impressed by how polite and well behaved he was.

In class, I noticed that his written and oral English level was not as high as those of the majority of returnees I had met. He was likely to be seated in the middle even though he came to the classroom earlier than anyone else. It seemed that he was enthusiastic about the class, but at the same time, he was insecure about his English ability.

6.4.4 Conclusion

Through the PAC research, informal interview and observation, four things should be noticed. On looking at his identity list, *kuroko* was distinctive to his path of quest for identity. It seems that his identity as *kuroko* indicates his fellowship face needs and competence face needs. His sense of *ment su* as fellowship face was lost when he was denied by almost everyone in his class during his elementary school days in Japan. In order to restore his fellowship face, he kept searching for a place where he could belong. His search for a place for himself was so strong that he became the one who offers the place for himself and people around him.

His identity as *kuroko* also indicates his longing for competence. If he thought he was completely competent to lead a football team, he might have written his identity as 'a leader' instead of *kuroko*. *Kuroko*, as those who help someone perform well, seems to be a metaphor of someone who does not have enough competence to play himself/herself, but feels competent by helping actors, or actresses, and thus he/she has a place to belong.

Second, in relation to the first point, his accounts support my earlier argument about the interrelation between 'belongingness' and 'uniqueness'. To him, having a place for football and acting as a *kuroko* means that he has his own place. And having that kind of place means that he is unique in his own way. Therefore, the existing discussion of the conflictual aspect of various face needs (Cupach & Imahori, 1993) as illustrated in Chap. 2 might have to be reconsidered. In the examples given by Cupach and Imahori (1993), in supporting fellowship face, one may threaten the other's autonomy face and his/her need to be separated from the rest of the group. However, #B's case suggests that meeting one's own fellowship face needs allows him/her to fulfil his/her competence face needs and autonomy face needs. Thus, fulfilling one kind of face needs could become a prerequisite for meeting another kind of face needs, and the three face needs could be interactive.

Third, some of #B's accounts about being a returnee are contradictory and that indicates his inner conflict. For example, while #B listed 'returnee' as an identity in the WAI, he said that he did not want to be treated as such in the PAC or informal interview. He seems to have a sense of shame about the identity of returnee for the following two reasons. First, his classmates in a Japanese elementary school did not accept him. It may have to do with his personality, but he himself attributes his being denied by his peers to the fact that he was a returnee. His sense of shame seems to be so strong that he had to bypass it by saying to me in the interview, 'I usually do not care what others do. I tend to be just the way I am.' Second, he knew that his English is not as good as that of someone who came back from an English-speaking country. He seems to have a sense of shame as he cannot meet his own or others' expectation for returnees. His sense of shame was so strong that he had to mention, 'I do not want to be called as a returnee as I was not in an English-speaking environment all the time.'

Fourth, it is worth recognising that #B recognised subgroups or subcategories of returnees. It might be meaningful to explore how the formation of views of subgroups influences the general category of returnees. There are two possibilities.

The first possibility is that the awareness of inter sub-group differences allows people to go beyond a category of returnees. The second possibility is that the awareness of inter sub-group differences perpetuates a category of returnees.

The results of all the methods used in the present study complemented one another. Without conducting the PAC method, I would not have been able to know what is characteristic about his experience of face-honouring situation and his entire life, *kuroko*, and his face needs as an invisible figure. However, without conducting the informal interview and participant observation, his being an 'invisible' figure would not have been shown, either. Also, in the informal interview, possible reasons for his identification as *kuroko* were indicated.

The participant to follow is considered to be a good example of those who treat their identity as a returnee as just a part of them.

6.5 Participant # C

6.5.1 The WAI and the PAC: #C as #C

The characteristics of #C: (1) having lived in North America for 4 years, (2) went to a local school there, (3) came back to a local junior high school and (4) went to a private high school (*ukeirekoh*), where some other research participants went.

In the WAI, four categories of identities, 'xxxx (C's full name)', 'a Japanese', 'a student' and 'an optimist', were listed. Out of the four identities, his identity as 'xxxx (C's full name)' was the most salient to his concept of *mentsu*.¹⁴ And the PAC was conducted in terms of that identity. As was shown in Fig. 6.3a, out of 8 items, all were positive. #C felt positive about the situation where he felt a sense of *mentsu*.

6.5.1.1 #C's Interpretation of the Clusters

1. Each Cluster

CL1 includes 3 items. They are 'best friends', 'foreign countries' and 'open-mindedness'. #C thinks that CL1 is a foundation for himself and his life. He said,

This cluster is the core part of me, and this can be called 'happiness' as an environment.

¹⁴As #C was not sure about the meaning of *mentsu*, I explained it to him.

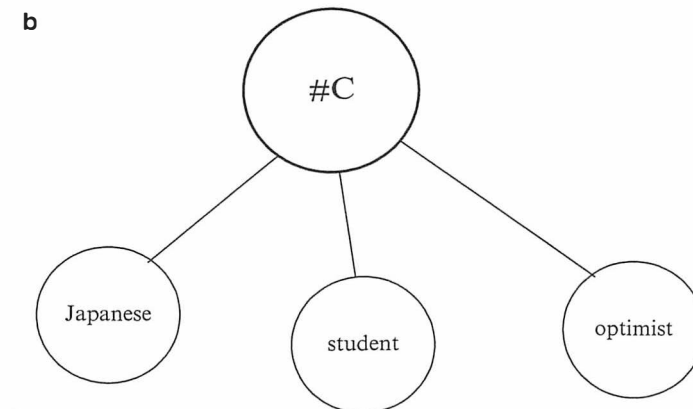
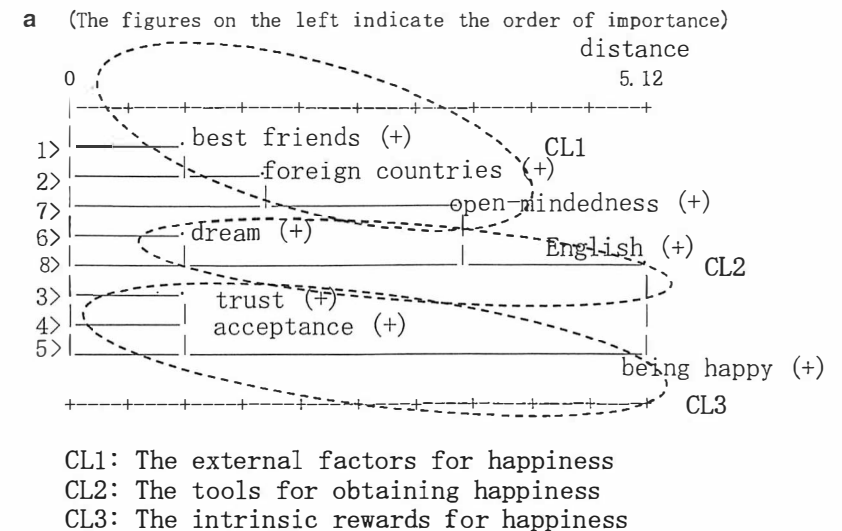


Fig. 6.3 (a) #C as #C.¹⁵ (b) #C's identity map¹⁶

¹⁵I modified Figure 5.3a in Sueda (2012, p. 74).

¹⁶I modified Figure 5.3b in Sueda (2012, p. 77).

Summary of the Conceptual Meaning of the Dendrogram: #C as #C

What is conspicuous about HI's dendrogram is that all the items are rated as positive, and the dendrogram portrays #C's sense of pride in being #C. CL1 indicates 'the external factors for happiness', and CL3 indicates 'The intrinsic rewards for happiness'. In order to get happiness, CL2 is necessary, which is why it is located in the central part of the dendrogram.

CL2 includes 2 items: 'dream' and 'English'. CL3 includes 3 items. They are 'trust', 'acceptance' and 'being happy'. #C said,

This cluster represents an emotional state of 'happiness'. This is a feeling, or emotion and this is what I get after CL1.

2. The Relationship Between Clusters

As for the relationship between the clusters, #C elaborated as follows:

What is common between CL1 and CL2 is 'I'. CL2 is a consequence of CL1. In other words, CL1 is a tool for obtaining CL2. Also, what makes me realise the importance of CL2 is CL1, that is, the life we spent overseas, English and close and true friends. I can no longer say which comes first and which comes after, and it is like chicken and egg.

3. Questions on Items

#C elaborated on part of the items as below.

best friends: What I associate with the words 'close friends' are trust, respect, love and dream.

foreign countries: The words I associate with 'foreign countries' are family, English, Japanese, dream and America and Italy. A foreign country, to me, is a life all of our family spent in North America and Europe, where my father is located now.

open-mindedness: This item should lead me to dream, and my dream is to become someone like my father. My father is very open-minded. He is more open-minded than any Italians now and more 'Italian' than any local Italians. This is totally different from English ability per se, as my father is not that fluent in English, but very open-minded. It is a different thing, and open-mindedness is the most important thing for making my dream come true.

dream: My dream equals to trust, best friends and acceptance. This leads to all the items in CL2; trust, acceptance and happiness and trust between many people and me.

English: This leads to foreign countries, best friends and dream, but not open-mindedness. English ability itself is not necessarily related to

(continued)

(continued)

open-mindedness. While open-mindedness is the most important thing to get what I want, English is the second thing I want to get.
acceptance: This is respect as xxxx (#C's full name). I feel happy when I, myself or part of me is accepted and trusted.

6.5.1.2 The Overall Interpretation of #C's Data

The dendrogram is divided into three clusters. CL1 includes 'best friends', 'foreign countries' and 'open-mindedness'. CL1 is named as 'the external factors for happiness'. CL2 includes 'dream' and 'English' and is named 'the tools for obtaining happiness'. CL3 includes 'trust', 'acceptance' and 'happiness', and this is called 'the intrinsic rewards for happiness'. What he values is the existence of best friends and foreign countries where he has many invaluable friends. In order to get the external and internal factors for happiness, three things are necessary: English, open-mindedness and dream. As he mentions, his dream has been and is going to be nurtured by English and open-mindedness. This implies that in order to obtain happiness through friendships with best friends inside and outside of Japan, you really have to be open-minded in the first place and should use English. He realises two kinds of important requirements to go around in foreign countries, which are often discussed as requirements for becoming an 'intercultural person' (Bennett & Bennett, 2004).

What made him realise the importance of CL3 was the existence of the items included in CL1, but nowadays, in order for him to get CL3, he tries to get CL1. So, these two are analogous to 'egg and chicken'. What make #C obtain both are 'dream' and 'English'. It is worth noticing that he did not recall any specific episode, and what he talked was his ideal world.

6.5.2 Analysis from the Interview with #C

6.5.2.1 The Points of Interview

1. #C does not consider himself to be a returnee (*kikokushijo*).

#C said that he hardly makes a big deal out of the fact that he can be classified as a returnee. He says,

The fact that I was in North America should make me realise that I am '*kikokushijo*' (returnee student). Sometimes, people call me as such. However, I never have considered myself as '*kikokushijo*' (returnee student). That is just a part of me. I returned to Japan when I was in the second grade of junior high school. I went to a local public school, which I did not like.

All the school regulations were too tight and strict, and my parents suggested that I apply for the entrance exam for XXX (the high school he attended) in a special category as a returnee student. But I entered university just as ordinary Japanese students. So, I put a demarcation between myself and those who entered university within a category of returnee students. I remember the day of the entrance examination for XXX. The students who were helping out for the exam were very friendly. *Kikokushijo* could be interpreted as 'arrogant' or 'friendly'. But I found them very friendly.

2. #C thinks that too much pressure is put on returnees.

He talked about pressure put on returnees as follows:

When you hear the word, *kikokushijo*, you would think that they should be good at English, and they should be better at English than ordinary Japanese students who go to a Japanese school. But that is not true, and it is too much a burden for those children who returned from abroad. For example, my younger brother was an elementary school kid when he returned. But once that kind of image stays, it is so hard to wipe the image. At an elementary school, there is no English class¹⁷ and there is no way to retain their English unless they really make a special effort to retain their English when returnees returned very young. But if you are categorised as a returnee, you should be good. A title of *kikokushijo* was too heavy.

3. His identity map.

What he drew as his structure of identities is described in Fig. 6.3b. In this, he described himself as the centre and the core of other identities, and among the other identities, his identity as Japanese is larger than the rest. To him, the fact that he is #C is the most important part. He said,

I do not identify with a student of XXX (his university). I like my name and my grandmother on my father's side, who was a strong Christian, named me. I heard it came from a part of the Bible. My father is not a Christian, and I, neither. But, what my father and myself were given by my grandma is the philosophy that we can understand if we sit down and talk over honestly and that if we love others, we can agree to disagree. It is not true love to avoid conflicts. It is true love to talk things out. Unlike #H (participant # 6 in Table 6.1), I am not conscious of titles or status. To #H, the fact that he lived in North America and he is a graduate of YYY (the famous high school for returnees) is so much. He mentions it, and he tries to appeal to people by using those 'titles' or 'brand'. I went to the same school and I like my high school, and I would recommend to anyone go my high school. But not the name value, or anything, I like my high school just because of what I got and what I enjoyed.

4. His father is a role model.

He talked about his father as follows:

I admit the fact that my father's English is not that good. But he is so open-minded that he can get along with anyone. Whichever friend I bring to my house, my father can get along with any of my friends. He lives by himself in Italy now, and that makes me respect him more, and I want to be like him. My father has nurtured his dream.

¹⁷However, the Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science and Technology is going to start introducing English education for elementary school in the year 2002.

5. His mother is a great person, too.

#C also talked about his mother as follows:

My mother is also a great person, too. As I have spent and am spending more time with my mother than with my father, she is like air, and I may take her existence for granted.

6. #C is 'strategically' optimistic.

#C spoke about his being optimistic as follows:

I think that you can move on if you are optimistic. So, I like to be optimistic always, and I try to be that way.

7. Happiness.

#C is interested in global issues, and by learning the theme, what he found was that peace is not something 'up there', nor is it coming from the top down. Peace is the build-up of stability and a peaceful state of mind each day. His identity as one who is studying global issues was not directly shown, but it is shown indirectly in the list of identities or the clusters.

8. His identity as a Japanese.

#C talked about the second item in his identity list, 'Japanese', as follows:

Even when I go abroad as #C (full name), people recognise me as a Japanese, in the first place. And it is true that you have to know yourself and the fact that you are Japanese when you talk about peace issues with Chinese or Koreans. Even if I say my own opinion as #C (full name), someone may interpret that as a representative idea of Japanese people. So, I would like to make a good impression of Japanese. Of course, on my side, I do not care. If I knew John, an American, for example, I would not care whether he is American or Japanese. He would be John, though. But on the practical level, such as small talk or something, to know where one is from is useful. When I meet an American at the first time, I will start a conversation with the fact that I lived there. When I meet an Italian, I will start a conversation with soccer.

9. Someone else thinks that #C fits the perfect image of returnees.

When I told #C that he tends to be viewed as a 'typical' returnee, he replied,

I might. But, I do not think I present myself as a returnee. I do not think my English is good. But, if you think in terms of communication styles, a frank way of communication, or open-mindedness, I may be viewed as such.

6.5.2.2 Findings

Three things struck me in analysing what #C said in the interview. First, while #C is the one who is most likely to be listed as an example of 'returnee', by his peers (both returnees and other Japanese students), he does not seem to consider himself such. It is true that he lived abroad, but that is just part of him, and I see a strong sense of individuality in him. Second, he considers his father to be a role model, but this is not because of his father's relatively high social status but because of his father's flexibility to communicate with people.

Last, his approach to global issues is personal and he thinks that peace can be acquired by an accumulation of each individual's happiness. This seems to echo his personal approach to the experience of being abroad. #C tries to subsume his being 'returnee' under '#C'.

6.5.3 Participant Observation

6.5.3.1 Optimist

What the clusters tell is the fact that he is optimistic. Even when he was in the middle of job-hunting, he was very positive and confident. When I came across him 1 day and asked about his job-hunting, he said,

Nothing is decided, but I really enjoy job-hunting. In writing a resumé, I am learning about myself. Even if I find my drawbacks, it is exciting to change them into merits.

It seems that #C tries to carry himself as positive and confident and tries to be thought such by others.

6.5.3.2 Verbal Cues

He is polite in his own way but used a very informal way of talking. He said that he never changed his communication styles even at the time of job interviews. He is sending a message that he is equal to me. He calls me 'Sueda-sensei'¹⁸ or 'Sueda-san'. When he finds me on campus and tries to get my attention, he calls me 'Sueda-sensei', which is a standard way of addressing someone who teaches. But, at an informal gathering, he addresses me 'Sueda-san', which literally means Mr/Ms Sueda. He sometimes uses polite forms of Japanese or honorifics, and one time when I introduced him to one of her colleagues at her office, he was speaking in a polite form of Japanese to him. But, in most of the occasions when he talks with me as well as in the previous PAC and interview sessions, he used the regular form of Japanese, and the conversation could sound like one between him and his close friend.

He and his good friends told me one time that even at a job interview, he hardly uses the honorific, and he tries to be himself. He said one time,

I will not join a company which forces me to use the honorific. I just want to be myself.

¹⁸'Sensei' is an address form for those who teach in general.

6.5.3.3 He Is Not Materialistic

He got a job offer from two companies, but he decided to go for the one who paid less. He said,

I do not like myself being attracted to a higher salary and I do not want others to think I am such a person.

6.5.3.4 He Always Volunteered to Be the First in the Group

When I had him in one communication-related class from April 1998 to March 1999, he always volunteered to be the first one. I did not have the impression that he was very grade conscious, but when he was interested in the content of the class, he was always taking a central place in discussion.

6.5.3.5 He Believes That No One Can Evaluate Him

In the middle of hunting a job, he approached and talked to me. He looked very good and kept talking how much he enjoyed hunting a job. He said,

'I have not got any job offer. But I know I should be able to get one, and I do not worry about it. I enjoy hunting a job very much. Even if I found my weaknesses, I also come up with the solution to turn my weaknesses into strengths.'

6.5.3.6 His Nonverbal Cues Indicate He Is Expressive

On the day of the graduation ceremony in the end of March 2001, he came to my office and gave me a big hug as he was graduating. He acted very naturally and it seems that he felt very close to me as an individual.

6.5.4 Conclusion

In reviewing the results of the WAI, the PAC analysis, the informal interviews and the observation, several things should be noticed. First, #C's personal identity as #C is very strong, and that identity makes the core of his identities and controls the other identities as shown in Fig. 6.3b. On the other side of the coin, he treats the other party as an individual just as he has treated me as an individual. This is shown by the fact that he tries to carry conversation as if he were equal to me, who is over 20 years older than he is. Of course, he would not be this way if he did not feel accepted by me. And the fact that even at job interviews he stays with the same communication style as usual tells that he seems to think that everyone is equal as an individual.

Second, he perceives his father to be his role model, and what makes his dream of becoming someone like his father is open-mindedness. He values open-mindedness most in life, and his own criterion to decide how 'globally' one can live is how open-minded he/she is. This is slightly different from the way many returnees try to reproduce their fathers' relatively high status as suggested in Goodman (1990). #C does not stick to name values or status, and what he wants to reproduce is his father's attitude towards people in general. While other research participants seem to be proud of their fathers' relatively high social status, he admires his father for being open-minded.

Third, he does not identify with the word *kikokushijo*, if it is used in the sense of *kikokushijo* being very good at English. But it is interesting that the other research participants in this study frequently cited him as an example of *kikokushijo*. He accepted that kind of evaluation if how much *kikokushijo* he is could be determined by the degree of open-mindedness.

Fourth, he was the first research participant out of my past research participants who listed all the positive items in the PAC research. This made me suspicious. It might be possible that #C does not want to acknowledge shame in the bottom of his heart, nor does he want it to be recognised by others.

Last, in believing he is a unique individual, #C does not have to compare himself with others. Thus, he may keep his autonomy, and by keeping his autonomy, everything can be off the record and he will not have his competence evaluated by anyone else.

In reviewing the data, the identities he listed and his experience of living abroad and his major of intercultural communication in the context of global issues are all represented in the PAC.

Among the methods used in the present study, the results of the WAI, the PAC method and participant observation are consistent, and what was obtained in the informal interview complemented the results of the rest of the methods. In the WAI, the PAC and participant observation, his strong identity as #C was projected. The dendrogram of the PAC method presented a positive image, which is in line with observation. He is very proud and happy about himself and it looks almost too good to be true, but this extremely positive image of him was also projected in observation. As has been shown, #C does not identify with the category of returnee, and he treats it as just part of him.

6.6 Conclusion

In this chapter, I have reported the results for three research participants out of my first-phase research, which was conducted between February 2000 and July 2001. The three participants were different in the nature of the recalled face-threatening or face-honouring episodes, the salience of the recalled episode as a life event and their level of awareness of *mentsu*. There are two main implications to be drawn from the findings reported in this chapter.

First, it is more important to note that the three participants differ in how they go about managing their sense of shame. Whether or not the pertinent identity can be strengthened depends on the way they manage shame. Participant #A experienced a politically and socially face-threatening experience in North America as a Japanese. However, he learned to acknowledge his past shame and tried to restore pride and in doing so strengthened his identity as Japanese.

On the other hand, participant #B felt a certain level of shame as a returnee at his elementary school as he was never accepted by anyone. It may be that he was too young to acknowledge shame. Then, without restoring pride, he went to a European country again. There he tried to find a place where he could belong. Therefore, he intentionally made an effort to create an enjoyable place for his peers as *kuroko* or an invisible person. With his shame unacknowledged or bypassed, he could not strengthen his identity as a returnee. Instead, he chose to restore pride as *kuroko*. On entering university, he was disappointed that he did not do well in the English placement test and bypassed shame by arguing that he is different from those who came back from an English-speaking country.

Participant #C shared a face-honouring experience, and at that time he was not conscious of *mentsu*. He did not identify with a category of returnee. Instead, he perceived that being a returnee is just a part of him and stressed his personal identity as an 'individual' to be most important. However, he felt a sense of shame towards the general public's unified image of returnees being good at English. He hated being treated as 'one of them', and by excluding himself from 'returnees', he tried to avoid being compared with his peer returnees.

Second, the literature of face suggests that three kinds of face needs, fellowship, competence and autonomy, are conflictual on occasions. This was supported by part of #A's data. That is, he had a dilemma between his fellowship needs and autonomy needs. He wanted to maintain his autonomy face needs and competence face needs by avoiding the situation where he became the centre of attention in class on the memorial day of Pearl Harbor. But, at the same time, he felt bad about not being able to meet his fellowship needs to be with a new Japanese student. However, #B's data suggest a different dynamics of three face needs. To him, meeting his fellowship face needs meant assurance of competence face needs, and it turned out to fulfil autonomy face needs. In this case, the three face needs interact with one another. This finding has not been identified in the literature.

The chapter to follow is to report the results of the second-phase study, where former returnees who work in Japanese industry and commerce participated. #C is among those who participated in both the first-phase and the second-phase research.

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Chapter 7

Results (The Second Phase of Research): Japanese Former Returnees in Industry

7.1 Purpose of This Chapter

The purpose of this chapter is to report on the research done between March 2010 and October 2011. The results of four research participants, including participant #C whose data were reported in Chap. 6, will be reported in detail. The participants in the second phase of research work in Japanese industry, and it is interesting to examine how society perceives these former returnees.

7.2 The Second Phase of Research

7.2.1 Research Period and the Participants

The second phase of research took place between March 2010 and October 2011.

Eight participants, who work in Japanese industry, participated in this second phase. Out of the eight participants, I chose four participants. The reason why I chose to report on these four participants was that all of them were highly aware of *mentsu* and were different or contrastive from one another in the nature of the recalled episode (face threatening or face honouring), the salience of the recalled episode as a life event and their level of awareness of *mentsu*. Also, they differ in the ways in which they manage shame.

As of October 2011, the age of the participants ranges between 22 and 33 with an average of 28. Participant #C, whose data were reported in Chap. 6, participated in the second phase of research, and participant #E cooperated with me twice, participating in the research the day before her graduation and again one and a half years later. Please see Table 7.1 for the details.

As reported in Chap. 6, participant #C was not strongly aware of face; he saw the identity of returnee as just a part of him and presented a very strong sense of personal

Table 7.1 The participants of the second phase of research¹

No.	No. in table 6-1	Age	Gender	The area stayed	Period of stay	Age of stay	Date of research	School arrangement in host country	School arrangement in Japan on returning	Kind of industry	Studied abroad at university
C	9	32	M	North America	4	10-14	March 2010	Local ES and JH	Local JH	IT	/
	11	29	M	North America	10	1-11	September 2011	Local ES	Local ES	Manufacturing	/
	16	30	M	North America	1	4-5	October 2011	Japanese SH	Yobikoh (preparatory school for university entrance exam)	Insurance	/
				Europe	3	15-18					
				Oceania	3						
	NA	29	M	Asia	2	16-18	October 2011	International school	Public ES and private ES University with a special entrance exam.	(Advertisement)	North America for 1 year
D	NA	26	M	North America	5.5	6-11	August 2011	Local ES Japanese ES	Local ES	Manufacturing	/
	NA	27	M	Asia	10 (months)	0	August 2011	Local ES	Local ES	(Food)	/
				North America	5	3-8					
				Europe	6	4-10	March 2010	Local ES	Local ES	Bank	North America for 1 year
E	NA	24	F				September 2011	Japanese ES	Local ES		
				North America	4	12-16	September 2011	Local ES and JH	Local JH	Food	North America for 1 year
F	NA	23	F								

Note: The entries in parentheses in the industry column indicate the participant's previous industry

¹I modified Table 6.1 in Sueda (2012, p. 84)

identity. However, the data that I will report here is contrastive to that in Chap. 6. His identity as a returnee was activated after he joined a business organisation, and in fact he became very sensitive about his ability in English and avoided using English lest he should make others feel a sense of shame for not being proficient in English.

Participant #D had a negative experience at school where he felt that teachers unfairly took advantage of him because of his ability in English. Ever since then, even at work, he has been careful not to be 'used' unfairly. Participant #E had been very sensitive about how she was viewed by others, and she monitors her own behaviour closely. At work, she is also very careful and monitors herself and tries to go beyond the identity of a returnee who is good at English but cannot do anything else.

Participant #F is unhappy about her work and her situation. She does not like the present work environment where she is not given any responsible jobs. She hates being perceived as 'a returnee who can speak English but cannot do anything else'. However, she does not make any effort to improve what she is weak at. She felt a tremendous sense of shame as a female worker or returnee, but did not face her shame directly. She bypassed her shame by making a clear demarcation between herself and the rest of the company.

7.2.2 Research Methods and the Format of the Report

Basically, the same research methods were used as in Chap. 6. However, because of limitations of time on the part of the participants, some participants participated in only a semi-structured interview or unstructured interview. I approached three participants who had participated in the first phase of research by activating their identity as a former returnee. Therefore, #C's interview was conducted as a former returnee. However, the rest of the participants to be reported here, #D, #E and #F, were approached as people with experience of living overseas. Again, I tried not to take it for granted that they would identify with the category of returnee or former returnee, as mentioned in Chap. 6. As for #D, #E and #F, the format of the report is the same as explained in Sect. 6.2.2.

7.3 Participant #C

7.3.1 Profile of Participant #C

The characteristics of participant #C were given in Sect. 6.3.1 and also shown in Table 7.1. At the time of the second phase of research, participant #C was 32 years old and worked in the IT industry. Even after he graduated from university,

1. How frequently do you identify with an identity as a returnee?
 2. When do you identify with an identity as a returnee?
 3. When do people surrounding you perceive you as a returnee?
 4. What, do you think, is the advantage of being a returnee?
 5. What, do you think, is the disadvantage of being a returnee?
 6. What made you study abroad on an exchange program?
 7. What did you get through your experience of studying abroad?
 8. How does your experience of studying abroad differ from your experience of living abroad with your family?
 9. How does your reentry experience after studying abroad differ from that after living abroad with your family?
 10. What was the advantage of being a returnee at job-hunting?
 11. What was the advantage of studying abroad at job-hunting?
 12. How does being a returnee mean to your life?
 13. How does being a returnee affect your interpersonal relationship?
- * Questions from 6 to 9 were asked to those who studied abroad on an exchange program.

Fig. 7.1 Interview guide for semi-structured interview²

I had a chance to meet him a couple of times, and he cooperated with me for a semi-structured interview (Baxter & Babbie, 2004) in March, 2010. The interview guide is shown in Fig. 7.1. It took me 2 h to interview him.

7.3.2 Semi-structured Interview

Ten years have passed since he joined a foreign-affiliated company after he graduated from university. When I interviewed him, he was thinking about moving to another company not because he did not like the company but because he wanted to upgrade himself based on what he had learned at the present company. In fact, right after the interview, he did move to another company. As discussed in Chap. 6, his sense of personal identity was very strong in the first phase of research. However, he said that he is reminded of being a 'former returnee' often. Participant #C perceives himself to be 'not overconcerned with others', and he said that the foreign-affiliated company he worked with at that time was more open to differences and new things than Japanese companies. Yet, at the time of the interview, he talked about the change he experienced after he graduated from university:

²I created this figure based on Appendix 3 in Sueda (2012, p. 139).

At university, there were many returnees more or less...right? But, after going into the real world, being a returnee or former returnee has become a 'minority' in my company. In my private life, I happen to have a lot of friends who are returnees. But, in the business organisation, I am a minority...It is funny I feel this way for the first time after I became a business person. I came back to Japan when I was in the second grade of junior high school. How many years have passed? Yes, still now, I am perceived by them as a returnee.

As shown above, participant #C noticed a change concerning salience of identity as a returnee. At university, he was one of many returnees and he was not reminded of the identity as a returnee. However, at work, his identity as a returnee became activated as there were few returnees in the present work environment. In his private life, having many friends who are former returnees, he did not care about the identity as a returnee. More than 10 years have passed since participant #C came back from North America, but he was surprised to notice the people surrounding him still considered him as a returnee. I asked him about the way his colleagues interact with him and what he thought of his colleagues' way of interacting with him. He answered as follows:

Well, I am not saying I do not like them...It is just that I am often reminded that I am different from them. I do not know whether they think so or not, but they often say, 'xxxx (participant #C's first name), you are a *gaijin* (foreigner).' I do not think that my colleagues meant to hurt me or anything. They might say this in a positive connotation...I am now 32, and I have a couple of superiors or supervisors. Imagine the situation where a guest is coming from America, and we have a meeting. If I am the only one who is 'good at English', the conversation would be carried out between the guest and me. None of my supervisors are good at English, or they even have an inferiority complex against English. If they did not care about it so much, or if some of them were willing to communicate with the guest in English, I would not mind the situation. However, if that is not the case, I often think it would be better off if I did not use English...I should not supersede them. Yes, I have become mature.

At the time of the first phase of research, participant #C showed a sense of resentment towards the general public's view of returnees being good at English. He indicated that what makes a returnee is open-mindedness and the capacity to accept others. However, at work, he faced the reality that colleagues consider returnees as good speakers of English, and he wondered whether he should use English or not. Participant #C seemed to feel a sense of shame for the fact that returnees are viewed as 'those who can speak English fluently' or even 'those who cannot go beyond [being] a good speaker of English'. Therefore, he tried not to show his ability of English and he 'sealed' his English ability. Participant #C continues,

Yes, I sealed my English ability. Or I should say that I try not showing my English ability to anyone. By sealing it, I tried to improve or develop another part of my ability. Without English ability, I wanted to test how attractive a person I could be.

He wanted to deny that 'returnees equal to those who have English ability, but nothing else'. Moreover, he tried not to use English in order to maintain his supervisors' face:

Those who are good at English may say that 'language is language, not more than that'. Thus, some are good, and some are not good. Then, those who are good may not particularly

show off their English ability. However, those who think they are poor at English think that those who say, 'language is just language' are being sarcastic. Even if those who are good at it say, 'Speaking English is not a big deal. What is important is human communication after all', those who are not good at English may say, 'Oh, well, you guys can say so as you are good at it.'

He continued to talk about an awkward situation where he could potentially threaten the face of his colleagues and supervisors:

It is essential to find out whether or not my communication partner has an inferiority complex toward his/her English ability. Bilinguals don't have any inferiority complex towards a foreign language. Thus, they are not afraid of contacting with foreign people. However, if you speak Japanese all the time, and interact with Japanese in the Japanese language, you may feel awkward or anxious to be in the conversation with foreign people. It is not language ability but attitude that makes us communicate with foreign people.

He spoke much about English, which does not necessarily mean that he considers English to be superior to any other language:

My overseas experience is frequently referred at work. Compared with others, I am on the side of being happy-go-lucky, and I do not care about how others behave. But still, I am careful how to behave not to be arrogant. In Japanese society, yes, I have to be considerate to others. I cannot deny that language is important. Any foreign language will do, English, Chinese, or anything. I don't have to think how to behave in front of those who have any overseas experience, including returnees or those who studied abroad. The other day, I met with a friend of mine and his Taiwanese friend. My friend can speak Chinese but not English. His Taiwanese friend can speak Chinese and English but not Japanese. I can speak English but not Chinese. Among three, there was no common language, and we use English, Chinese and Japanese. But we do not feel bad about not being able to speak Chinese, Japanese, or English. What was common was that all of us are bilingual and we do not have a sense of shame for not being able to speak any particular language. We all participated in the conversation. If you cannot speak a foreign language, what do you think? Do you think it is not a big deal? Or do you feel uncomfortable? That makes a difference. Those who can handle a language other than Japanese, they would be afraid of communicating with someone whose language they do not understand.

This interview gave an insight into how an individual identifies with a particular kind of identity over another. Participant #C prefers not to address his identity as a returnee at work. That is because he does not want to accept the general public's image of returnees as 'good speakers of English' or 'those who cannot do anything but speak English'. If the general public perceive returnees as characterised by their open-mindedness, participant #C is happy to accept it. But, if returnees can speak English but nothing else, participant #C has to go beyond that.

Another reason why he does not like to show his English at work is that he wants to avoid a potential risk of threatening the face of his supervisors or colleagues. At a meeting where an English speaker is a guest, he cannot avoid participating in the meeting as a 'good speaker of English'. Then, the meeting would go on with the active participation of the guest and participant #C, but no one else would dare to participate in it. Therefore, in order not to make his superiors and colleagues feel a sense of shame, he stopped using or 'sealed' his English.

7.4 Participant #D

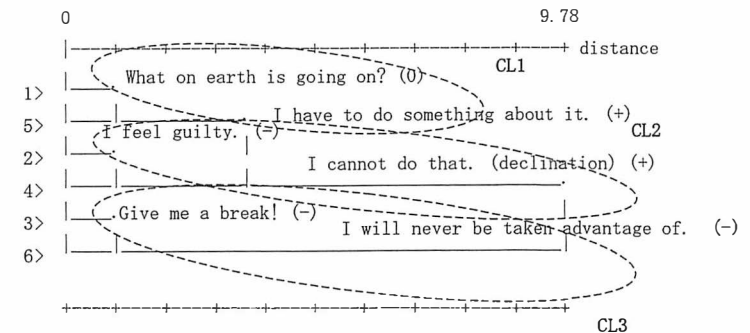
7.4.1 The WAI and the PAC: #D as a Returnee

The characteristics of #D: (1) having lived in North America for 5 and a half years; (2) 3 years and 5 months have passed since he graduated from university at the time of research; (3) went to a local elementary school and then a Japanese school; (4) came back to a local elementary school; (5) in the area where he lived, there were many returnees.

In the WAI, five categories of identities, (1) a business person, (2) the youngest among three boys, (3) music lover, (4) returnee and (5) 'xxxx (the full name of participant #D)', were listed. Out of the five, his identity as a 'returnee' was the most salient to the concept of *mentsu*, and the PAC was conducted under the identity as a 'returnee'.

As is shown in Fig. 7.2, out of 6 items, two items are positive. One item is neutral, and three items are negative. As an overall image, participant #D felt negative about the situation where he felt a sense of loss of *mentsu*.

(The figures on the left indicate the order of importance)



CL1 = The unintentional rule violation

CL2 = Reconsideration over the participation in the speech contest

CL3 = You knew it from the beginning, didn't you?

Fig. 7.2 D's as a returnee³

³I modified Figure 6.1 in Sueda (2012, p. 90).

Summary of the Conceptual Meaning of the Dendrogram of Participant #D

#D found it upsetting that he had unintentionally violated a rule about participating in the English speech contest as a representative of his school (CL1). He was upset that some teachers knew it before his entry (CL2). He was and is determined that he would not be taken advantage of anymore (CL3).

7.4.1.1 #D's Interpretation of the Clusters

1. Each Cluster

Cluster 1 includes two items, 'What on earth is going on?' and 'I have to do something about it' and is named as 'the unintentional rule violation'. CL2 has two items, 'I feel guilty' and 'I cannot do that (declination)', and this is where participant #D wondered if he should continue to participate in the English speech contest. It is named 'Reconsideration over the participation in the speech contest'. CL3 includes two items, 'Give me a break' and 'I will never be taken advantage of', and is named as 'You knew it from the beginning, didn't you?'

2. The Relationships Between Clusters

Participant #D perceived the relationships between clusters as follows:

What is common between CL1 and CL2 is 'a sense of guilt'. The difference between the two is while in CL1 I was confused about my unintentionally violating the rule of the speech contest, and in CL2 I understood what was going on. What is common between CL2 and CL3 is that I was mixed with those who never had experience of living in an English-speaking country. How do these clusters differ is to whom my feeling was directed. I feel guilty about participating in the English speech contest in CL2 as those who have experience of living in an English-speaking country were not supposed to join the contest. In CL3, I was upset about my English teacher at my high school as the teacher seemed to know the qualifications for participating in the contest. What is common between CL3 and CL1 is surprise. The difference between the two clusters is that in CL1 I was not aware of my feeling, but in CL3, I was certain that I felt negative about my teacher.

He also perceived CL1, CL2 and CL3 as being in chronological order.

3. Questions on Items

#D elaborated parts of the items as follows:

I have to do something about it: I have to stop myself from participating in an unfair contest.

I feel guilty: I feel sorry for those who participated in the screening session.

I cannot do that (declination): I cannot just pretend not to know anything.

(continued)

(continued)

Give me a break: This is my feeling toward the English teacher, not my classroom teacher, who was very sympathetic toward me.

I will never be taken advantage of: I will not let my school take advantage of me.

7.4.1.2 The Overall Interpretation of #D's Data

CL1 is named as 'The unintentional rule violation', CL2 is named as 'Reconsideration over the participation in the speech contest', and CL3 is named as 'You knew it from the beginning, didn't you?' This dendrogram concerns an incident that happened more than 10 years earlier than the time of research and threatened #D's face as a returnee. When #D was a freshman at his high school, he won the first place in the English speech contest at the school festival, and he was chosen to become a representative of the school to participate in a preliminary session of the English speech contest in his prefecture. When he participated in the contest at his school, all of the participants were returnees, and he had no doubt about the qualifications for the prefectural level speech contest. Then, at the preliminary session of the contest, he found that he was the only participant who spoke English at a native speaker's level. By the way others pronounced English words, he could tell that nobody else had any experience of living or studying abroad. He reflected on the experience as follows:

I stayed in an English-speaking country for five and a half years, and I was there at the most suitable period when children pick up a language as a native speaker. The members of the judging panel were all native speakers of English except one. Then, naturally, I got an advantage in the sense that I could speak understandable English for them. None of the other participants could speak as a native speaker, and I wondered what was going on.

One day after the preliminary session, he looked at the guideline for the English speech contest, and 'I learned that I had to submit the manuscript of the speech, and the essay on 'what I would like to do in my short stay in the UK', which will be a part of the award for the winner of the contest. And when I checked the qualifications for the participants, I was puzzled. It said that participants are not supposed to stay overseas for over 3 months.' He was not told about this by his school. He did not feel good about participating in the contest, nor could he find the motivation for staying in the UK. He felt that was not fair. Therefore, 1 day during the summer vacation, he tried to see his classroom teacher and told the teacher that he did not want to participate in the contest anymore. The classroom teacher respected him and talked to the English teacher who had invited him to participate in the contest. Then, #D heard the English teacher call the office of the speech contest and talk as if it were #D's fault that he had not checked the qualifications carefully enough, but not the school's. In his mind, #D thought, 'Give me a break!' He was invited and encouraged by the English teacher to participate in the contest,

and that was why he participated. At the internal screening, everyone was a returnee and he had no doubts about the qualifications for participation. He would not have participated if the English teacher had not encouraged him. Then, when he decided not to participate in the contest, the teacher pretended that everything was #D's fault. #D was very upset. Later, #D found that there are also other schools which cheat on the qualification of the participants and send a returnee student to the speech contest, because if the student wins, that would be an honourable matter for the school.

#D's experience of the speech contest was a very strong and negative one for him. Ever since then, he has become determined not to be taken advantage of. He said,

At that time, I decided not to be taken advantage of. That actually gave me a very strong impact, and even still now, that exists in the bottom of my heart. If it is going to do any good to me, I am willing to use my English. But I would not like to be taken advantage of just for my English ability. In that sense, the feeling that I would not be taken advantage of emerged at that specific time, but it has continued until now.

As this comment indicates, for #D, the incident of the English speech contest was very influential, and 'trying not to be taken advantage of for his English' became a fundamental attitude at work, too. For example, at work when his supervisor asked him to cooperate with him using his English ability, #D asked his supervisor for explaining why he was chosen and why his assistance was necessary. #D is willing to help his supervisor and colleagues with his English ability in return for whatever he learns from them. However, he wants to avoid situations where his English is taken advantage of without the intention being clarified.

7.4.2 Analysis from the Interview with #D

7.4.2.1 He Does Not Want to Become a 'Convenient' Employee

He talked about how he tackled his job at work:

I know that I am still at the entry level at work. I feel that I have not been able to contribute to the company yet. So, when the manager of my section asked me for helping him compile the English document, I felt excited. But at the same time, I am afraid that I have started to become a convenient employee, which I do not like to become.

As this indicates, he does not want to become a 'convenient' employee whose only value is that he can manage English. However, he also thinks that he would perceive things differently if he built up knowledge and experience and fully understood his work and the whole industry.

7.4.2.2 He Is Modest

He was chosen as a representative of the school not only for his English ability but also for the content of his speech, but he did not think of it in this way. He was very modest and said, 'I was chosen as one of the returnees, but any one could be the representative.'

7.4.2.3 He Is Calm and Does Not Express His Feelings Overtly

When I asked him how he reacted to the English teacher who called the office of the speech contest as if the breach of the rules were his fault, he said, 'I glanced at him twice, and that is all.' He did not express his feelings overtly. He is not expressive even when he is very upset.

7.4.2.4 He Gets Teased by Colleagues When He Uses an English Dictionary

When he uses an English dictionary at work, he gets teased by his colleagues. He says,

When I consult an English dictionary, everyone teases me saying, 'Huh, you use an English dictionary. You are a returnee, aren't you?' I say, 'What are you talking about? I came back to Japan as an elementary school kid. Of course, I use a dictionary!'

From this quote, I concluded that the people working with #D know that he is a returnee, and conversing with his colleagues with a joke indicates that he does not have shame as a returnee any more.

7.4.3 Participant Observation

#D is very modest, quiet and precise and always behaves well. Based on what he told me about his family (particularly his mother), he communicates well with his family members. When I send a text message to his mobile phone, he responds to me a couple of minutes later. He is perceived by my colleagues as behaving well and as always polite. At the same time, he has some passionate aspects, too. #D has played the electronic organ since he was very young, and he plays the keyboard in a band. I heard his classmates say that he is very active and expressive when he plays music. They describe him as 'very heated'. That is very contrastive to how he carries himself usually.

7.4.4 Conclusion

What stood out from the research on #D is the strength of the impact that he received from a face-threatening experience when he was a freshman at his high school. This was a very negative experience in itself. However, what he learned from this experience made the foundation for his way of life, in which he is determined not to be taken advantage of for his English ability. I found three emotional expressions among his dendrogram: 'I feel guilty', 'Give me a break' and 'I will never be taken advantage of'. Therefore, under his unexpressive surface, he maintained a huge thrust of emotion.

What I found interesting was what is common between participant #C and participant #D. Both of them share the feeling that they do not want people to think that returnees equal to those who can only handle English but nothing else, and they feel a strong sense of shame. However, #C's notion of returnees has not changed for the past 10 years, and his idea of returnees still relates to open-mindedness, while #D's idea of returnees is that returnees equal to those who can handle English well. In fact, #D considered English ability as the 'advantage' of returnees.

As indicated above, he felt that he was taken advantage of by his school for the fact that he could speak English at a native speaker's level. Without being notified of the actual qualifications for participating in the contest, he eventually violated the rule. And he felt a sense of unfairness as the school made it look as if it were his fault. However, it is worth noticing that he has never tried to pronounce English words with a Japanese accent, nor has he hidden his English ability. Thus, his identity as a returnee is considered to be strengthened. At the same time, this incident made a core part of how he interact with others and how he lives his life.

7.5 Participant #E

Participant #E participated in the research twice. She participated in the study for the first time in March 2010 right before she graduated and then participated in the research for the second time in September 2011.

7.5.1 The WAI and the PAC: #E as a New Student

The characteristics of #E: (1) having lived in Europe for 6 years between the ages of 4 and 10 and went to a local school; (2) went to a Japanese school in Europe for 1 year before she came back to Japan; (3) went to a local elementary and junior high school; (4) went to a high school affiliated with the university; went to North America for 1 year from the fall semester of her sophomore year; (5) she was 22 years old when she participated in the study for the first time and 24 years old for the second time; and she is in the banking industry.

In the WAI, five categories of identities, (1) a new student, (2) xxxx (the full name of participant #E), (3) being ordinary, (4) those who have a job offer and (5) being different, were listed. Out of the five, her identity as a 'new student' was the most salient to the concept of *mentsu*, and the PAC was conducted under the identity as a 'new student'.

Summary of the Conceptual Meaning of the Dendrogram of Participant #E

In this dendrogram, the situation is where #E is a new student at school, and she intentionally pronounces English poorly (CL1). In the gymnasium, she was introduced to all the students at school (CL2), and she wanted friends and did not want to be different from the rest of them. But at the same time, she wanted to stay special (CL3).

As is shown in Fig. 7.3a, out of 19 items, three items are positive. Four items are neutral, and 12 items are negative. As an overall image, participant #E felt negative about the situation where she felt a sense of loss of *mentsu*. #E also felt that this kind of situation is not a special incident but a repeatedly occurring situation.

7.5.1.1 #E's Interpretation of the Clusters

1. Each Cluster

CL 1 includes eight items: 'newness', 'a new student', 'English', 'pronunciation', 'teacher', 'overseas (outside of Japan)', 'looking down' and 'demarcation of nationality'. It is named as 'deliberately speaking English poorly'. CL2 contains seven items: 'tension', 'the other's eye', 'uncomfortable', 'gymnasium', 'one versus many', 'school custom' and 'school song'. It is named as 'one versus the rest of the school children'. CL3 includes four items: 'I don't want to be distinct', 'I don't talk about my past', 'lonely' and 'I need friends'. It is named as 'the mentality of a new student'.

2. The Relationships Between Clusters

Based on #E's interpretation, CL1 and CL3 are close in connotative meaning. CL1 is associated with the time that she felt as if it lasted for a long time and the cluster has projected a passive image. CL2 shows tension and anxiety, and CL3 can be expressed by 'loneliness', 'isolation' and 'friend or enemy'. CL1 and CL2 are similar in that they exhibit a huge gap or difference between participant #E and other students. #E is not happy about experiencing the gap as it was not her choice to be in a new environment. CL2 indicates the situation where she contacts with people for the first time, and she can handle the situation. However, CL1 is where she needs to contact people whom she already knew and she has to go through the situation repeatedly.

What is common between CL2 and CL3 is that #E is aware of the other's eye, and her behaviour is shaped by how she thinks others view her. Putting herself in the other's shoes, she tries to behave in ways that meet the other's expectation, and she

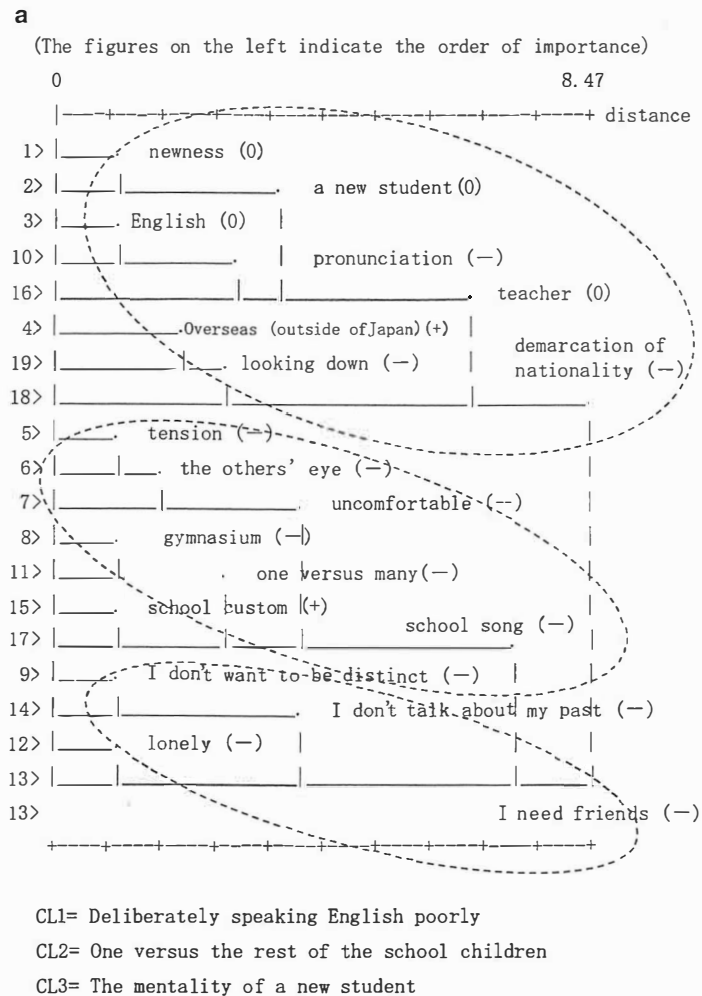


Fig. 7.3 (a) #E as a new student.⁴ (b) The emotional state of participant #E⁵

monitors her behaviour accordingly. Or she tries to avoid being viewed in a certain way. However, while in CL2 #E can handle the situation temporarily, in CL3 she has to handle the situation permanently.

⁴I modified Figure 6.2a in Sueda (2012, p. 96).

⁵I modified Figure 6.2b in Sueda (2012, p. 101).

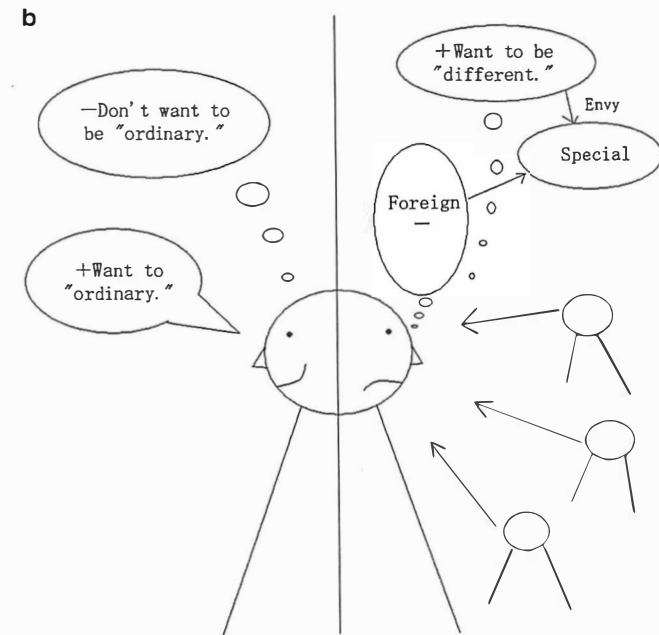


Fig. 7.3 (continued)

What is common between CL1 and CL3 is that in both #E contacts those who she has already known. Both CL1 and CL3 repeatedly appear in #E's life, but CL3 does so more frequently than CL1.

In chronological order, CL 2 comes first followed by CL3 and CL1. CL1 and CL2 are special events where she came to a new school inside and outside of Japan, and CL3 is the feeling behind these scenes and constitutes a core part of her. CL3 weighs more than CL1 and CL2.

3. Questions on Items

#E elaborated some items as follows:

newness: a few, rare, important, minority.

a new student: elementary school children, a new semester, a new classroom, a chance to get attention.

teacher: absolute power, the main figure, the importance of words, leadership, the chemistry is the key. Teacher at elementary school plays a more important role than that of junior high school.

(continued)

(continued)

demarcation of nationality: Those who can speak English are English and American. Then, am I not allowed to speak English as a Japanese? Labelling such as a person from this country or that country. By calling a person from so and so country, people look down on him/her. I feel uncomfortable for referring someone as a person from so and so country. I do not want to look down on anyone, and nor do I want to decide someone is different. At the same time, as I want to be the same as others, I stick to categories.

I need friends: I can talk with them casually. I can contact with them. I will need someone's help. What I myself cannot do can be achieved if I do something with my friends. Friends are important for me to adjust to a new environment. Key person. I do not like to be alone, and I do not want others to think that I am alone. Being alone is not evaluated highly in Japan. Friends are the source of information. If you are alone, no one will come to you saying 'She is all right being alone.'

school song: A new student doesn't know the school song. It is a burden for a new student to sing the song without knowing the melody and lyric. Coming into a new environment means coming to a new school and encountering a new school song. How can I go about the uncomfortable moment when I cannot sing a new school song?

I don't talk about my past: This is similar to 'I do not want to be distinct.' In order to get adjusted to the environment and make friends, I have to have the same background. Even if I talk about my experience of living in Europe, no friends will get excited. It is important for me to get close to them. Unless I am asked to do so, I will never talk about my past.

English: alphabet, fluent, and those who do not know it cannot understand it. Something different. I do not want to be distinct because of English, but I am proud of my English, too.

school custom: Everyday life at school. The rules of the new school, and the school song is a part of it. When time passes, the school custom will stay with you, and you strongly identify with the school custom. Then, you will be accepted by the community. A new student is told where to be seated, while ordinary students can choose where to be seated. That is a little thing but is important. For example, it often happens that a new student has a different colour paintbox than everyone else. When the new student purchased a new set, that would allow him/her assimilate into the mainstream. Yes, having the same thing eliminates one source of anxiety.

gymnasium: Usually, when I went to a new school, the gymnasium is the place where I got introduced to other students. I changed school many times and the gymnasium is the first place I stepped into at school.

7.5.1.2 The Overall Interpretation of #E's Data

This dendrogram depicts the situation where #E was introduced to all the school children at the morning assembly at the gymnasium for the first time upon returning to Japan and her feelings and her attitude towards making friends and getting herself adjusted to a new environment. In the situation, her fellowship face was potentially threatened.

In CL1, it became obvious that she lived abroad for a long time and that she is a returnee. Usually, the morning assembly at a public elementary school in Japan lasts for between 15 and 30 min, but she felt that the assembly was too long for her to manage, and she had to be passive. She could not do anything but be introduced. Then, she got asked many questions and requests such as, 'Where were you staying?' 'How long were you there?' and 'Say something in English'. She felt as if she were treated not as a friend but as something new and strange. Entering a junior high school, in English classes, the teacher assigned her to read aloud the textbooks and tell other students about her experience of living in an English-speaking country. She felt uncomfortable when she had to read aloud the textbooks. That was because she became distinctive and different from the rest of the students with her native-sounding pronunciation. Just because she spoke as a native speaker, some students looked down on her and criticised her: 'She is in favour of xxx (the country she stayed before)', or 'She is looking down on us just because she is fluent in English'. #E did not like to be perceived that way, and she intentionally pronounced English words poorly. She tried to be as much Japanese as everyone else. She had a mixed feeling: She wanted to be 'ordinary', but she could not be 'ordinary'. However, at the same time, in her mind, she did not want to be treated as just 'one of them' without any uniqueness. She tried to hide her ability, but inside of her pride existed, and she has never wished that she could not speak English. Actually, at the crammer school where she had been since her elementary school days, she was happy that her English ability was highly evaluated although she gained average scores in other subjects. So, she thought that talent in any area would be helpful in life.

In CL2, her identity as a new student became conspicuous. That was the time of tension where #E became 'one versus the rest of the school children'. At the morning assembly, the head teacher of the elementary school announced that #E lived in xxxx (a country in Europe), and she started to be perceived by the whole school as the only returnee at school. She wanted to be get adjusted just as an 'ordinary' student, but the way she was introduced to the whole school made her feel uncomfortable. What is more, the gymnasium was new, and the school song was new. Not being able to sing the school song made it clear that she was different from everyone else.

CL3 shows the feeling that #E has or had whenever she entered a new environment. At the same time, CL3 indicates the pattern of her behaviour and her ways of life that she learned from her experience in CL1 and CL2. Here I found her complexity. While she tries not to talk about her past overseas experience, she wants to retain her pride as a person with a special quality. A sense of shame is shown in CL3 as she did not want to be different from the rest of the society,

but it became clear that she is different. Here I found two face needs conflicting. She presented a strong fellowship face need as she needed many friends. In that sense, she wanted to be 'ordinary'. However, she has a sense of shame for becoming too ordinary and thus losing her unique quality. Therefore, beneath fellowship face needs, her competence face needs can be seen. This emotional state is illustrated in Fig. 7.3b.

7.5.2 Analysis from the Interview with #E

7.5.2.1 The Mentality of a New Student

After #E graduated from a local junior high school, she went to a private high school where there are many returnees, and I asked her whether or not she felt the same way in the high school as before. She said,

Entering the high school, the situation totally changed. There were many who had a similar background as I did, and I did not have to pretend not to speak English. It was the opposite. I managed to catch up with the rest of them. There were many students who entered from the high school,⁶ and I was not the only new student. However, there were the majority members of the school who came from the affiliated junior high school or elementary school, and I tried to be careful in not getting on their nerves.

Then, the majority of the university students are from other high schools, and I did not feel very anxious. What I wrote in CL3, not talking about my past and trying not to be different, has not changed, though. I see this is a strategy to get adjusted to a new environment, and during job-hunting, I said in the interview that I have an ability to get adjusted in a new environment.

7.5.2.2 The Mentality of a New Student When She Studied Abroad

She continued to talk about the mentality of a new student when she studied for a year in North America:

When I studied abroad, I was different, but I did not have to hide it. It was opposite. I felt happy and I took it easy. There, I have to tell what I want and what I think. Otherwise, you would feel Uncomfortable. I have to strive to stand out. Unless you are distinct, you will never be accepted. That was totally different from the time when I returned from abroad before. I have to have a solid core part inside me. Otherwise, I cannot voice my opinion, and in order for me to be understood by others, I have to verbalise my thoughts.

However, wherever she lives, there is one thing that stays the same:

Wherever I am, I need friends. Particularly, you need support from someone in a new environment. I have to make friends with those who were there before me. That is what I learned from my returnee experience. Wherever I am, I cannot do anything without friends. I think that is an instinctive need.

⁶The high school is an affiliated school of the university she went to, and some students of this high school came from the affiliated kindergarten, elementary school and junior high school.

7.5.2.3 After #E Returned from the Study Abroad Programme

She told me that she changed her way of behaving after she returned from having studied in North America. What she was confused about was the definition of 'sincerity'. While studying abroad, stating what you think was considered to be honest and sincere, and she never withheld her opinion. Also, she listened to other people's direct and honest opinions. However, after she returned from North America, she was perceived as being aggressive or arrogant if she stated her opinion frankly. Sometimes, people surrounding her said to her, 'That is too much', 'You should not be saying that'.

Then, through hunting for a job, she monitored her behaviours and she was able to send across her message in an indirect way or acceptable way, according to the standard of the general public. She sometimes gets comments like 'You mellow out'. Hearing this kind of comment, she felt relieved and comfortable. That is because she retains her English ability and understands the values and customs of English-speaking countries, and at the same time, she is evaluated highly as a Japanese.

7.5.2.4 Anxiety About Working in the Real World

She was about to enter one of the major banks in Japan, and stepping into the banking industry, she shared her feeling with me as follows:

I am going to be soaked into Japanese organisational culture. I am not saying that I do not like Japanese culture. However, having lived in North America, I cannot take it for granted, the Japanese organisational culture. Part of me values efficiency and productivity. I cannot deny the importance of the bonding among workers and drinking and gathering, but I wonder if I can belong there. Where can I feel comfortable there? At university, I can do whatever I want to do on my own, but much time is going to be spent at the workplace.

7.5.2.5 She Is Different, but She Envy Those Who Are Far Different from Her

#E does not like group work very much because she is not used to compromising to keep pace with the majority. She thinks that everyone else is similar or the same, and they do not seem to have difficulty working together. However, she perceives herself to be different from anyone else and has difficulty adjusting herself to the group. However, #E thinks that sometimes being different could turn into being special. #E said,

I wish I were a half person,⁷ or I wish I were a bilingual. I envy those who are more distinctively or tangibly different from the rest of the society. I have 'half' friends, and I envy them as they were born to be in a bilingual or bicultural environment. I envy those

⁷A 'half' refers to being a child from the parents whose nationalities are different.

who have a wider world than the ordinary people. I am different, but half way through. I was born to a Japanese family and I envy those who have two native tongues and home countries. In that sense, I have an inferiority complex towards them, but at the same time, I am proud of myself. Compared with them, I am a pure Japanese.

7.5.2.6 Her English Personality and Japanese Personality

#E thinks that her personality when she speaks English and her personality when she speaks Japanese are different:

When I speak Japanese, I cannot be as assertive as when I speak in English. My English personality and my Japanese personality are different. During this winter, I went back to visit where I used to stay in my childhood, and I felt comfortable being there. I try to be considerate in interacting with Japanese people, and I try to read between the lines. However, when I interact with those who are different in race or from a different cultural background, I do not have to care very much. Others are others, and I am me. However, in Japan, it is difficult, and because of that, I feel relieved to be abroad. I like myself when I speak English as English is a more logically oriented language, and that kind of logical orientation cannot be achieved by using Japanese.

7.5.2.7 The Weight of Her Experience Abroad and Her Experience in Japan

When I asked how important her experience abroad and her experience in Japan to her life, she said that assuming her life up to now is 100 %, her life being accompanied by her father's post is 30 %, her experience of studying in North America for 1 year constitutes 30 %, and her experience as a returnee constitutes from 10 to 20 %. That is, in her mind, her experience in Europe and her experience in North America mean a lot to her life.

7.5.3 Participant Observation

I was impressed by her high motivation and a sense of 'professionalism'. Whenever I had her in my class, she always did a great job on her test or paper. Also, I twice had a chance to evaluate the group presentation she joined. In the first project, where she was supposed to make a presentation in English, instead of taking a leadership role, she gave priority to efficiency and split the workload for every member. Among five members, there was an international student in North America, and she initiated the contact with the international student and contributed to the group project.

In the second project, where she was supposed to make a proposal for an intercultural training targeting returnee students, she formed a group with a student who had also been to a different university in North America and happily achieved the project as the other girl contributed equally with #E.

What stood out about #E was her consistent attitude of self-monitoring. Even during the research, she reflected on herself very thoroughly and appreciated me for giving her a chance for self-reflection. She seemed to welcome any learning experience.

7.5.4 Conclusion

There are two findings that deserve attention. First, the scene that #E recalled in the PAC was a situation where she encountered the people in the new school, and her emotional reaction to the situation. However, this experience is not limited to moving from overseas to Japan. What was exhibited in the dendrogram may be a pattern that she has experienced and will experience permanently.

Second, the result of her research is insightful in analysing a complex relationship among three kinds of face needs: competence, autonomy and fellowship. At a glance, her comments such as 'I want to be ordinary' and 'I do not want to be different, but I envy those who are more significantly different than I' are contradictory. However, her comments could be explained by the balance between or among the three kinds of face needs. #E was the only returnee at her elementary school and she perceived the world as herself versus the rest of the school children. In addition, she was fluent in English, and introducing her was the time when her competence face was honoured. However, too much face honouring would make #E feel uncomfortable as her fellowship face needs would not be fulfilled.

Moreover, if #E had been tangibly different from the rest of children, she would not have to be much concerned with her fellowship face. Contrary to what #E said, 'half' people are not always bilingual or bicultural. However, those who were born in an international family tend to be tangibly different. And this tangible difference allows people to consider them to be 'special', or 'exceptional'. Then, people take it for granted that someone 'special', or 'exceptional', can speak a different language. However, this does not apply to #E. Her comment, 'I am different half way through', depicts her feeling well.

7.5.5 The Follow-Up Interview

I met #E in September 2011 again, and one and a half years had passed since she participated in the first phase of research. I followed the interview guide as shown in Fig. 7.1. She told me that the fundamental things as found in the previous research had not changed at all. She worked for one of the major banks in Japan

as a *sohgohshoku*⁸ employee. At work, she is always told by her supervisors that returnees who cannot go beyond being the language expert are not needed. Being told so is a source of shame, but she told herself that she now had to learn the job itself. As mentioned repeatedly, #E never told anyone about her overseas experience. However, some supervisors who know her experience sometimes ask her to prepare the letters in English. #E perceives writing letters in English as a return for what she learned from her superiors.

Before she graduated from university, she was a good planner. She planned what she had to do for various assignments, tests and papers and monitored her schedule very well. She utilises this 'basic' skill for business people. However, recently, she was reminded by her supervisors and superiors that she needs to outsource part of her work for efficiency. As a *sohgohshoku* employee, she is expected to set her own goal, schedule herself and act based on her schedule. However, she not only should be competent herself but should also know when to ask someone else for help. Thus, she learned that a competent employee not only makes the most use of his/her own ability but also uses the other's assistance well. Then, the employee will be accepted by everyone and called 'competent'. This suggests that a 'competent' business person has his/her face needs balanced.

7.6 Participant #F

7.6.1 The WAI and the PAC: #F as a Woman

The characteristics of #F: (1) having lived in North America for 4 years between the ages of 12 and 16 and went to a local school, (2) went to a national Japanese high school that accepts many returnees, (3) studied in North America for 1 year on the university's exchange programme, (4) entered a food company and (5) 24 years old at the time of the research.

In the WAI, six categories of identities, (1) a human being, (2) a woman, (3) Asian, (4) Japanese, (5) child and (6) *kikoku* (returnee), were listed. Out of the six, her identity as a 'woman' was the most salient to the concept of *mentsu*, and the PAC was conducted under the identity as a 'woman'.

⁸Employees of *Sohgohshoku* do everything and are expected to do any job on their own and take a core part of the organisation in the future. They may have to move to any location but they are on the track of promotion. On the other hand, employees of *ippanshoku* are engaged in clerical work and support *Sohgohshoku* employees. They are not on the track of promotion. Usually, this distinction applies to female workers.

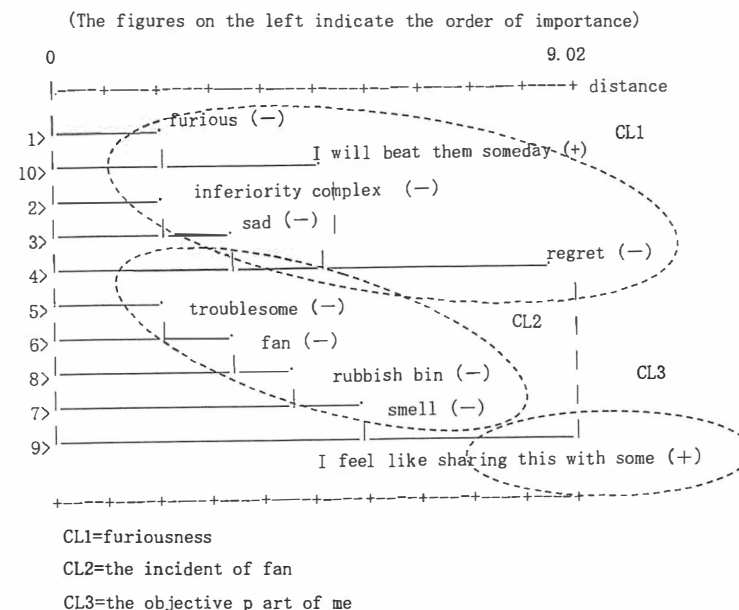


Fig. 7.4 #F as a woman⁹

Summary of the Conceptual Meaning of the Dendrogram of Participant #F

CL2 depicts the situation where #F felt a tremendous sense of loss of face, and CL1 indicates her feelings after the incident; and the only way she could tolerate the situation is putting what happened into a joke and laughing about it with her friend (CL3).

As is shown in Fig. 7.4, out of 10 items, two items are positive, and eight items are negative. As an overall image, participant #F felt negative about the situation where she felt a sense of loss of *mentsu*.

7.6.1.1 #F's Interpretation of the Clusters

1. Each Cluster

CL1 includes five items: 'furious', 'I will beat them some day', 'inferiority complex', 'sad' and 'regret'. It is named as 'furiousness'. CL2 includes four items,

⁹I modified Figure 6-3 in Sueda (2012, p. 107).

'troublesome', 'fan', 'rubbish bin' and 'smell', and it is named as 'the incident of the fan'. CL3 includes one item, 'I feel like sharing this with someone', and it is named as 'the objective part of me'.

2. The Relationships Between Clusters

CL1 shows the negative part of #F, and the items in this cluster are all emotional states. #F said that she always has the emotional state described in CL1 when she realises that she is a woman. At work, she sometimes hears someone say, 'You cannot do so as you are a woman', 'I need someone else to deal with this job', 'You are not very competent at work'. CL2 portrays the situation where #F picked up the fans as a summer gift from a client. One day in summer, there was a phone call from the receptionist saying, 'Your client is here with summer gifts. He asked one of the ladies in your section to come down and get them.' #F thought how troublesome it was, but there are only two female employees in #F's section, and she was younger than the other lady, and decided to go and get the gifts. She received the gifts and found that these were fans. According to the other lady in #F's section, one of the clients gives them a fan every other year, and that fell on the year of the fan. There were instructions on whom these fans should go to, and #F received one as a 'reward' for picking them up. When #F received the gifts, she became angry because it did not have to be a female employee to get the gifts. What was more, her company has a culture where it was taken for granted that female workers do that kind of errand. The more she thought about it, the more angry she became. Then, without opening the package, she threw away the fan. CL3 shows the objective attitude of #F, who stepped out of the situation. Not believing that this kind of thing would happen elsewhere, the only way to calm herself down is to share this 'unusually funny incident' with one of her friends by emailing her.

What is common between CL1 and CL2 is that both show 'I as a woman'. However, while CL1 depicts emotions, CL2 describes the incident. Both CL2 and CL3 concern a face-threatening incident for #F, and CL3 indicates the action after the incident. CL2 represents what was happening, CL1 shows emotions arising after the incident, and CL3 shows an action: what #F did after the incident. After the face-threatening incident, #F did not try to do anything to change the present situation. Instead, she contacted her friend by email as if she stepped out of the situation and looked at herself objectively.

3. Questions on Items

#F elaborated some items as follows:

furious: That was toward myself, and I was furious about the company culture where it is taken for granted for female employees to do errands. I felt my body becoming hot and I could not think any more.

(continued)

(continued)

I will beat them some day: This is what I think toward the people at my company. Not toward the client who gave us the summer gift.

inferiority complex: I get always compared with someone. Japanese. When I make a mistake, I feel that I am inferior to someone. At home, also, male chauvinism exists.

sad: For the whole situation. Chagrin.

regret: I should not have picked up the summer gifts.

troublesome: Having to go and get the summer gifts.

rubbish bin: Without opening the package, I threw away the fan. At our previous room, there was only one rubbish bin, and I took care of it.

smell: The smell of the fan. It reminds me of my grandmother's closet.

I feel like sharing this with someone: As this is unusual, I have to tell someone about it. I have given up changing my work environment.

7.6.1.2 The Overall Interpretation of #F's Data

In this dendrogram, a face-threatening experience at work was recalled. That was when #F received a phone call from the receptionist. CL2 is composed of words that allow me to imagine the situation vividly. CL1 is full of negative emotions such as anger when she had her face as a woman threatened. The items correspond to what Scheff (1997) state as cues for shame and anger. At the same time, the item, 'I will beat them some day' implies #F's desire to restore pride.

It is suggested that three kinds of face were threatened. #F was angry because she had to go and pick up the summer gifts just because she is a female employee. However, it did not have to be a female who did this. Also, at her company, it was taken for granted that female workers do errands, and she hated the male-chauvinistic nature of the organisational culture. Thus, her autonomy face was not respected. And that turned into a threat to her competence face. Female workers including her were not respected as much as they should have been and were not allowed to engage in responsible jobs. In that sense, her competence face was threatened, too. Also, considering the fact that she did not try to associate with anyone at work, her fellowship face was not fulfilled, either.

In CL3, #F lost a sense of efficacy that she could change the situation somehow. That is, although she felt a tremendous sense of shame, she did not acknowledge it and bypassed it by telling her friend about an 'unusually funny incident'. She said,

I have to frame the whole situation into a joke. Otherwise, I would not be able to tolerate the situation and go crazy.

7.6.2 Analysis from the Interview with #F

7.6.2.1 The Reason She Studied in North America

Having an overseas experience, the reason she studied in North America on the exchange programme is that she was not confident in her English ability. She thought that she studied at the minimal level when she stayed in North America with her family, and she had an inferiority complex about being a returnee. Then, she was happy that her English improved while she studied on the exchange programme, and she said that her shame was wiped off.

7.6.2.2 The Experience of Studying Abroad

Joining the exchange programme was a positive experience for her overall for three reasons. First, she was able to participate in the study tour and went to South American countries. Second, she made friends with a student from Mexico and stayed with her family for 3 months. Third, her English improved while she studied on her own. However, living in North America itself was not new to her and she was not moved or impressed by the life there.

7.6.2.3 Reaction to 'You Are a Woman, and That Is Why ...'

She cannot help reacting to someone's words, 'You are a woman, and that is why ...' at work and home. She often hears someone say, 'You are a woman, and that is why you cannot do this' or 'You are a woman, and that is why you should be able to cook well', and gets offended.

At home, she has never made an eye contact with her father. Nor has she talked with her father for a couple of years. When her family was about to come back to Japan, her father was supposed to fill out the application form for the high school in Japan. Then, she noticed that he did not remember the *kanji* (Chinese character) of her name and put a wrong age on the form. Her father thought that she was still a junior high school student, but she was already a high school student. She was shocked and sad that her father did not show interest in her, which she attributed to the fact that she is a woman.

7.6.2.4 She Cannot Trust Japanese

There are many good people at work, but she did not think that she wants to be friends with them. Likewise, except for #Z (a classmate of #F), she was not closely connected to anyone. It is worth noticing that #Z came from an international family and was fluent in three languages, Japanese, English and Spanish.

At her high school in Japan, there were a couple of Japanese students who went to the same local high school in North America. Before #F came back to Japan, those Japanese had said something negative about #F. After that, she was determined not to trust Japanese people.

7.6.2.5 Negative Attribution to Returnees

Even within the same company, employees are engaged in a variety of work depending on the section. Therefore, #F noticed that among those who entered the company at the same time as a *sohgohshoku* position, some are in charge of a responsible job already. #F challenged her supervisor saying, 'I do not have to use English, but I want to do something more responsible', but nothing was changed. #F thinks that her supervisor never evaluates what she can do but criticises her by saying, 'You make so many careless mistakes'. In her section, the entry level employees have to take a test in bookkeeping and obtain a certain level of qualification. However, she failed the exam once and has never tried since then.

She thought that it was unfair to find a negative attribution made to returnees. She said,

For example, if returnees make a mistake on writing *kanji* (Chinese character) twice, people attribute the mistake to their being returnees. However, if non-returnees make the same mistake three times, people attribute the mistake to a personal quality. That is not fair.

Then she gave up on being evaluated fairly by the company and was now thinking of when she should leave the company.

7.6.2.6 *Kikoku* in Katakana¹⁰

Usually, the term, returnees, is called *kikokushijo* and written as 帰国子女 in kanji. However, #F thinks that when people use the word in an abbreviated form, *kikoku*, written as キコク in katakana, it has a negative connotation. She claims that if the term returnees is used in a positive way, it is written in kanji or refers to those who lived overseas for the duration of their parent's assignment as opposed to other categories of returnee that might be viewed more negatively.

7.6.3 Participant Observation

What she said in the interview was observed in her behaviour. First, whenever I saw #F on campus, she was alone, and the only time she was with someone was when she was with #Z, whom she referred to as a friend. Second, I had a student in my

¹⁰Katakana is one component of Japanese writing system and is phonetic. It is often used for words imported from foreign countries.

tutorial seminar who went to the same university in North America as #F. Before she left Japan, she tried to contact #F to ask about the university and its environment a couple of times, but she did not get a reply from #F. As mentioned earlier, #F did not trust any Japanese from her past bitter experience, and this explained why she did not contact my student who was going to the same university after her.

7.6.4 Conclusion

There are three important findings for the research done with #F. First, in the PAC #F recalled the situation where she was not respected as a female worker. She had to stop what she had been doing for to pick up the summer gifts from the receptionist. However, no one paid attention to that, and it was taken for granted for female employees to do that kind of errand at the company. She was angry that she was not respected and furious about the male-chauvinistic organisational culture. She had a tremendous sense of shame, and her autonomy face was lost first. Then, her ability not being highly evaluated, her competence face was damaged, too. Then, for the loss of face, she had energy to restore pride as a woman. This is exhibited in her item, 'I will beat them some day'. By the face-threatening experience, she strengthened her identity as a woman.

Second, in analysing her interaction with the supervisor and colleagues, her loss of one kind of face leads to loss of another kind of face, and it makes a vicious circle. Being treated badly as a woman means a loss of autonomy face, and at the same time, her ability being not evaluated highly leads to a loss of competence face. Although she tried to get another chance to restore her competence face, she did not succeed and lost a sense of efficacy. Then, she did not feel like staying in the company or making friends with anyone at the company, and she chose not to fulfil her fellowship face needs. This could be considered as bypassing shame as she did not confront her shame and has given up restoring any kind of face.

Last, her face-threatening experience was salient to an identity of woman. This can be explained by her negative experience of working as a female employee. However, the identity of woman also is considered to be related closely to her negative experience as a woman at home. She had a tremendous sense of shame towards her father being distant and uncaring and the entire family acceptance of the way her father was. It is hard to say how far her problems stem from her experience of coming back from abroad or other factors. But, having a sense of shame as a woman may contribute to her serious difficulties of adjustment to a new environment.

7.7 Conclusion

In this chapter, I have reported the results for four research participants out of my second phase of research, which was conducted between March 2010 and October 2011. The second phase of research is meaningful as it reflects how the general

public perceive returnees and how the former returnees react to the image that has been created and perpetuated for a long time. There are four main implications from the findings reported in this chapter.

First, all of the participants reported in this chapter faced the general public image of returnees as being fluent in English. Contrary to his own image of returnees being open-minded, #C faced the general public's image of returnees being fluent in English. Also #C, #D and #E thought that being fluent in English on occasions limited them in going beyond 'someone being good at English'. Therefore, each of them acquired their own way of survival, respectively. While #C 'sealed' his English ability, #D became careful not to let anyone take advantage of him. #E would not talk about her past overseas experience. #F was resentful that some of the people at her company had a negative attribution to the fact that she is a returnee.

Second, as former returnees, they have become more face conscious than before. A striking change was found in the data of #C. Although he admitted that he had been evaluated for his individualistic personality, he faced the reality where returnees are considered to be good at English. Then, he not only became concerned about his own face but also the face of people surrounding him. By speaking 'good English', he could make it clear that he is a former returnee and that the rest of the people cannot communicate in English as well as #C. Thus, he 'sealed' his English for two reasons. First, he did not want to take a huge responsibility or risk being the only negotiator when the meeting was conducted in English. If things went wrong, he eventually had to take responsibility. Second, he 'sealed' his English because he wanted to avoid the situation where other members would lose face if they could not speak English as well as they should.

Third, if a person has a sense of shame and loses face in one category of identity, he/she has to restore pride and face within the same category of identity. As the case of #F indicates, she was able to wipe off her shame as a returnee by improving her English. However, that did not help her cope with shame as a woman even if her English improved.

Last, the three kinds of face are interactive, and sometimes the dynamic interaction could create a vicious circle of losing all kinds of face. In Chap. 6, fulfilling fellowship face needs could become a prerequisite for fulfilling competence face. In this Chapter, as shown in the case of #F, giving up on restoring the autonomy face needs could lead to a loss of competence face needs and fellowship face needs.

In the last chapter, I will discuss the findings in Chaps. 6 and 7 and respond to the research questions.

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