Integration, Identity and Beyond:
A Narrative Case Study of Two Japanese Women Living in Britain

By

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To Hwahae (Gracie) and Ivy

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

DECLARATION

I declare that this thesis represents my own work and does not contain work by any other author, except where due acknowledgement is made. It has not been previously included in a thesis or dissertation submitted to this University or to any other institution for a degree, diploma, or any other qualifications.

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ABSTRACT

Integrativeness (Gardner, 2001) and acculturation (Schumann, 1986) have been influential concepts in the field of second language acquisition (SLA), which propose that second language (L2) learners' social-psychological identification with the target language (TL) community is essential for successful SLA. The present study ventures to incorporate theories from two separate fields: SLA which has expanded its research scope from cognitive dimensions to social dimensions since the 1990s, and intercultural communication which provides abundant insights into the social integration and identity formation of newcomers in intercultural settings.

I explored and co-constructed the hermeneutical meanings which two Japanese women in Britain attached to integration and identity formation, and how such meanings changed over two years. Semi-structured interviews, participant observations, participant diaries, and other supplementary methods (research diaries, e-mails and recordings) were used to collect qualitative data. I played an active role in co-constructing their hermeneutical meanings of interacting with other people in the UK which is presented as a narrative case study.

Positioned in a holistic sociocultural perspective, the current research poses questions on fragmentarily defined cognitive constructs, integrativeness and acculturation, and proposes that identification is nurtured and developed through interaction in which one can identify commonalities with one's interlocutors as individuals, but not solely because of their cultural, ethnic or linguistic affiliations.

The participants' cultural-ethnic identity was often 'betwixt and between' in that they felt different from both British and Japanese people who lacked intercultural experience. Such vulnerability of their cultural-ethnic identity was offset by developing a sense of belonging through other social identities (e.g. family, religion) in which mutual acceptance with other members of a community was established. Participants' cultural-ethnic identity seemed dormant when it was unharmed, but it emerged in the forefront and became the core identity when it was threatened.

The participants' experience of alienation or foreignness triggered them to seek empathetic relationships with other people. This study confirms the importance of the networks formed among foreign nationals who speak English as a lingua franca (ELF), since their sense of comradeship is underpinned by empathy as 'co-foreigners' which provided emotional, social and practical support in their daily lives. This study seeks to benefit people who have crossed linguistic, cultural or ethnic boundaries, or people engaged in sending or accepting newcomers who have crossed such boundaries.

ABBREVIATIONS

The following abbreviations are used in the thesis:

AMTB	Attitude/motivation test battery
AUM	anxiety/uncertainty management
EFL	English as a foreign language
ELF	English as a lingua franca
L1	First language
L2	Second language
MA	Master of Arts
NJS	Native Japanese speaker
NNS	Non-native speaker
NS	Native speaker
SLA	Second language acquisition
SNS	Social networking service
TESOL	Teaching English to speakers of other languages
TL	Target language
UKCISA	UK Council for International Student Affairs
WTC	Willingness to communicate
2LL	Second language learning

CHAPTER 1 INTRODUCTION

1.1 Purpose of the study

Living in the UK, I often wonder why my comfort zone expands, contracts and influences my English depending on the people I interact with. It may be that what we feel or believe about the culture or ethnicity of the target language (TL) speakers, and who we think we are in terms of our perceived identity have significant roles in determining how we communicate in the second language (L2).

According to Ushioda and Dörnyei (2009:2), 'integrative orientation' has gathered most attention within the L2 motivation research, which was pioneered by Gardner and Lambert in 1959. Integrative orientation is the recipe for learners to successfully acquire the L2, which reflects "*a willingness to be like valued members of the language community*" (Gardner and Lambert, 1959:271, original italics). Gardner (2001:5) has developed this argument into 'integrativeness' which reflects "a genuine interest in learning the second language in order to come closer to the other language community".

In a similar view, Schumann (1986:379) defines 'acculturation' as "the social and psychological integration of the learner with the target language group", and advocates an 'acculturation model' in which "the learner will acquire the second language only to the degree that he acculturates". Norton (2000:114) regards this model as a highly influential one in the field of Second Language Acquisition (SLA). Theories on integrativeness and the acculturation model are congruent in that our L2 acquisition hinges on our social-psychological attitudes towards the TL community.

However, in the globalised and multilingual era in which many non-native speakers (NNSs) speak English as a lingua franca (ELF) (Jenkins, 2007), and form the TL community along with the native speakers (NSs), who exactly do we identify with? Also, how does our identity come into the picture as we interact with people from the TL community or people from our heritage culture? Our perception of what a stone is becomes clearer as we compare and contrast it with sand and rock. Likewise, our identity may become clearer as we meet and interact with people from different cultural or ethnic backgrounds which may influence how we view the L2.

I will set out the purpose of study as follows:

1. To clarify to what extent native Japanese speakers (NJSs) reflect integrativeness as coined by Gardner (2001:5) in a naturalistic sense, and if so, what kinds of people they wish to integrate with in the UK, and how integrativeness changes.

2. To explain what kinds of acculturation attitudes the NJSs have towards the people (i.e. local people, their own ethnic group and foreign nationals) they interact with, and how such attitudes change.

3. To examine who they perceive themselves to be in terms of their valued cultural-ethnic identity, and how their self-perception changes.

The intended outcomes are to clarify the meanings of integrativeness, acculturation attitudes and perceived identities for the NJSs in the UK and how such meanings change along with time.   In the next section I would like to explain why I chose to pursue such topics.

1.2 Motivations for the study

According to Richards (2003:240), there are three representative motivations when research topics are chosen in the field of Teaching English to Speakers of Other

Languages (TESOL), namely personal, professional and academic reasons. My motivation is in line with Dörnyei (2007:73), who states that "most research topics originate from a combination of reading the literature and one's personal history."

Firstly, I would like to label my motivation as personal to begin with because I have experienced living in five different nations and adapting to different cultures. My identity has been a returnee Japanese in Japan and a foreign national whenever I lived abroad, which drove me to read papers on intercultural communication, identity and motivation to learn and use the L2.

Secondly, I am also motivated to pursue the most convincing academic theory which clarifies my personal experience living abroad and speaking L2. In my first year of doctoral studies, I recall reading Berry, Kim, Power, Young, and Bujaki's (1989) paper on acculturation attitudes observed among immigrants in Australia and Canada who face two issues, one of which is the contact with the host culture, and the other is the cultural maintenance of one's own group (ibid:185-187). They postulate four types of acculturation attitudes based on positive or negative attitudes towards these criteria. If immigrants have positive attitudes to both cultures, that implies 'integration'. A

positive attitude to the host culture but a negative attitude to their own culture implies

'assimilation', whereas a negative attitude to the host culture but a positive attitude to

their own culture implies 'separation'. Negative attitudes to both are termed

'marginalisation', as shown below:

Identification with larger society (i.e. host)	Identification with one's traditional culture	
	Positive (+)	Negative (-)
Positive (+)	**Integration**	**Assimilation**
Negative (-)	**Separation**	**Marginalisation**
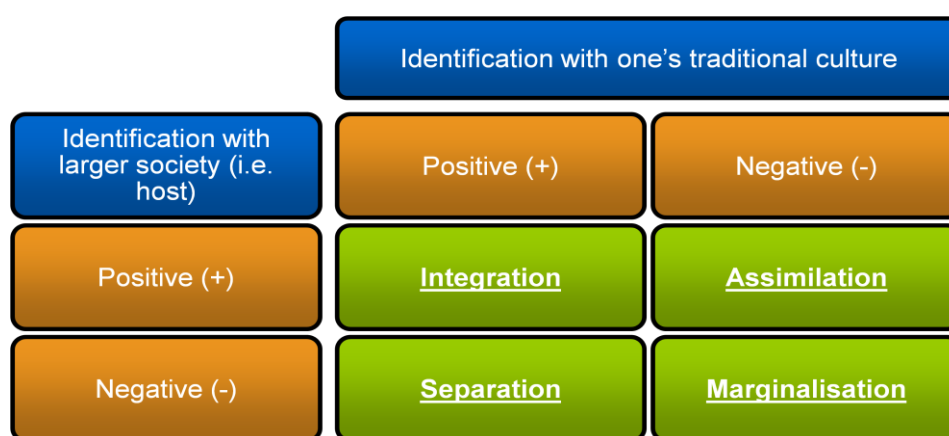
Figure 1.1 Matrix of four types of acculturation attitudes (Berry et al., 1989:187)

However, I felt very uncomfortable with this categorisation. When I lived abroad I

had a desire to become a member of the host community, but there was some inevitable

distance between us. At times, I avoided Japanese people because I believed that

establishing a 'Japanese colony' abroad is not fruitful and is disrespectful to the host

community. The model postulated by Berry et al. (1989) does not accurately reflect

my attitude because I never assimilated. Besides, I often ended up establishing

friendships with other foreign nationals speaking English. Nevertheless, the presence

of other foreign nationals and acculturation with them are not even dealt with in their paper, and such phenomena may even be labelled as mere 'marginalisation'.   I therefore chose to examine matters related particularly to acculturation and identity formation in order to explain my personal experience more accurately, and to look for more academically convincing theories.

In this way, I decided to take the step forward to do research on integrativeness, acculturation and identity to clarify my personal and academic inquiries.   In the heart of the matter, personal inquiry is the strongest.   However, pursuing answers to the academic questions is vital in order to contribute to the wider world.   Next, I would like to detail the research questions which form the cornerstones of my inquiries.

1.3 Research questions and nature of my research

1.3.1 Research aims and research questions

Richards (2003:245, 253) recommends boiling down research aims to one sentence to clarify ideas and to persuade the readers.   Based on this aphorism, I have squeezed my research aims into a sentence as follows:

The aim of my research is to explore the meanings the NJSs in the UK attach to integrativeness, acculturation attitudes and identity, and how such meanings change over time.

Next, I present the research questions which are extracted from previous discussions as follows:

1. To what extent do the NJSs' attitudes reflect Gardner's integrativeness, and what meaning does it have, if any, as they use English in their daily lives in the UK? Who do they wish to integrate with, or who are they actually integrating with? How does integrativeness change, if at all?

2. What kinds of acculturation attitudes do the NJSs have towards native English speakers, their own ethnic group and other foreign nationals in the UK they interact with?   Which is the most valued group?   How do acculturation attitudes change?

3. What are the NJSs' perceived cultural-ethnic identities in the UK?   Do they think of themselves as Japanese, British, or as global citizens?   How do their cultural-ethnic identities change?

My questions are exploratory and explanatory which Wellington (2000:49-50) deems as intriguing but also the most complex and difficult questions to answer. In addition, my research is qualitative in nature since there is no predetermined hypothesis to test or quantifiable question to verify.

1.3.2 Hermeneutics: The search for meanings

As my research topic is about motivation, it inevitably entails the question, "Why do the NJSs do what they do?" It is about inquiring into the participants' meanings in interacting with people using English in the UK. The focus of my research is on the interpretation of the participants' meanings from a hermeneutical point of view (Kvale, 1996:38). It is about understanding the participants as active and meaning-making beings in the world. Searching for meaning is not about seeking a single inner meaning or essence at face value which may surface as *denotation*, but is rather about interpreting hidden or implicit meaning – its *connotation* (Wellington, 2000:115-116).

Miller and Glassner (2004:126) argue that, "[r]esearch cannot provide the mirror reflection of the social world that positivists strive for, but it may provide access to the

meanings people attribute to their experiences and social worlds." Likewise, Pavlenko

and Lantolf (2000:158) contend that the ways people make sense of their lived

experiences cannot be formulated as testable propositions, and therefore the

logico-scientific mode of conducting research, which verifies *causes*, should be replaced

by those which explore *reasons*. In this way, I will focus on the inner feelings of

participants to explore why they attach certain meanings to life events taking their

history into account, since their background, such as how long they have lived in the

UK and their experience of interaction with British people builds up their feelings and

thoughts. In order to determine why the participants say or do things in a certain way

at a certain time, we need to bring their history into view. Next, I would like to

introduce the research setting.

1.4 Scene-setting: The context of the study

This research needed to take place in naturalistic contexts in an Anglophone country

like the UK. The significance of doing research in the UK cannot be over-emphasised,

since my research questions demand the presence of English language speakers as well

as the day-to-day opportunity to use English for the participants. In contrast to the

largely monolingual and monocultural context of Japan, where English is hardly used in

daily life, there are abundant opportunities to use English in the UK.   Thus, concepts

such as integrativeness, acculturation and identity formation might be real and not

imaginary armchair notions, as illustrated below:
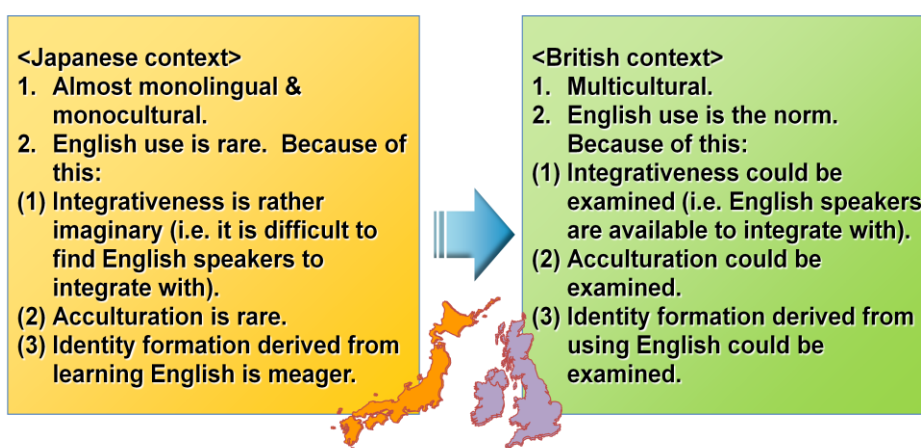
Figure 1.2 A contrast between the Japanese context and the British context

The research participants are adult NJSs living as immigrants or postgraduate students

in the UK.   At the time of deciding on the research questions and context, I did not

have access to participants, although I believed that the project would be feasible

knowing there were a number of Japanese students and immigrants around

Warwickshire, UK.   The details of the participants will be discussed later in Section

3.3.3.

1.5 Significance of the study

There are four reasons why this project is significant. Firstly, my research aspires to shed light on hidden matters that the participants experience living as foreign nationals in the UK, and therefore the results will benefit those who are living (or have lived) abroad who can empathise with their experience.

Secondly, my findings will provide practical insights for people who are involved in sending or hosting international participants, such as foreign language teachers, study-abroad programme coordinators, international office staff members, or host families. Kinginger (2004:241) contends that "the categories emerging from research on language learning as social practice are relevant to the foreign language field". Likewise, my findings should raise people's awareness of the psychological reasons and idiosyncrasies implicit in L2 speakers' behaviour, which might promote mutual understanding.

Thirdly, my findings will highlight the hidden meanings in NJSs' integrativeness, acculturation attitudes and identity which should account for why they are motivated (or

demotivated) to interact in English in the British context.   The findings should also add

academic value and benefit researchers in the field of TESOL, applied linguistics and

intercultural communication by providing them the opportunity to learn from the

experiences of NJSs' adaptation, acculturation and identity formation in the UK.   Each

participant's concrete experience and personal voice will be presented so that

researchers could have what Stake (2005:454) labels "vicarious experience", that is,

experiential knowledge gained from the narratives of a particular case, should they have

similar experience.   The three reasons mentioned thus far point to the transferability of

the research, which will be argued in Section 3.2.1.

Lastly, my research is theoretically significant in that it brings together the somewhat

separated fields of SLA and intercultural communication.   My research started within

the broad realm of SLA and many concepts (e.g. integrativeness, acculturation) are

drawn from that field.   Subsequently, I moved more into intercultural communication,

in which concepts such as intercultural adaptation and identity formation are key

concepts, and hence different terms and concepts which may sometimes sound similar

(e.g. acculturation) co-exist.   I have drawn on two different fields, and I have set out to

integrate the insights which each camp offers.

1.6 Overview of the thesis

Chapter One has illustrated *what* is to be explored, *why* I have chosen to embark on this inquiry and *where* the project is to take place. In Chapter Two, I will undertake a literature review to provide the intellectual context, conceptual and theoretical understanding of the investigated phenomena for my research in order to put my project into perspective. In Chapter Three, I will discuss *how* this research was done, by explaining its research methodology. Chapters Four and Five will present the findings through detailed narratives of two participants. In Chapter Six I will analyse these two narratives together and discuss emerging issues. Finally, I will offer my conclusions to this study in Chapter Seven.

CHAPTER 2 LITERATURE REVIEW

I will provide a review of the literature relevant to the research topics of the current study.   Conceptual and theoretical knowledge of the phenomena relevant to my inquiry will be introduced.   In examining the literature, I am guided by the principle that researchers should refrain from reinventing the wheel but make critical evaluations, find niches and attempt to add values to research during literature reviews (Dörnyei, 2007:282; Silverman, 2006:340-341).

Based on Research Questions 1 and 2 (see Section 1.3.1), I will review literature on integrativeness and the acculturation model in Section 2.1.   I will then critically evaluate on the core tenet of integrativeness and the acculturation model and introduce arguments revolving around these theories from both SLA and intercultural communication fields in Section 2.2.   Section 2.3 will turn to Research Question 3, i.e. aspects of identity, particularly cultural-ethnic identity, which are shaped through intercultural contacts.

2.1 Integrativeness and acculturation in SLA

2.1.1 Integrativeness

As was introduced in Section 1.1, Gardner and Lambert (1959) pioneered 'integrative orientation' based on their research on 75 Anglophone high school students' attitudes towards Francophones and their motivations to learn French in Montreal, Canada. They argue that "integratively oriented students are generally more successful in acquiring French than those who are instrumentally oriented" (ibid:271). Ever since Gardner and Lambert launched their research on L2 motivation in 1959, it has largely been examined within a social psychological framework (Dörnyei, 2001:47-49, 189; Dörnyei, 2003:3-7; Yashima, 2004:46). According to Hogg and Vaughan (2005:4), social psychology primarily focuses on individuals' minds in a social environment and is concerned with the process of how thoughts, emotions and behaviours of individuals are influenced by actual, imagined or implied presence of others. Within this approach, L2 motivation research has predominantly used questionnaires to elicit quantitative data on attitude and motivation, and in particular, Gardner's (1985:177-184) 'Attitude/Motivation Test Battery' (AMTB) has been the classic data collection instrument. Correlational research has been the de facto standard used in L2

motivational research to measure the correlation between two key variables, 'motivation' and 'language achievement'.

As Ushioda and Dörnyei (2009:2) point out, the integrative concept underwent scrutiny in academia during the 1980s and since then Gardner has distinguished the *strong* version, in which social identification and integration with the TL community are indispensable, and the *weak* version, in which a sense of affiliation and interest toward the TL community are key.   In the present study, I primarily refer to the strong version of the integrative concept, unless otherwise stated.   This contrast is reflected in Gardner's (2001:5) definition of integrativeness given below:

> Integrativeness reflects a genuine interest in learning the second language in order to come closer to the other language community.   At one level, this implies an openness to, and respect for other cultural groups and ways of life. In the extreme, this might involve complete identification with the community (and possibly even withdrawal from one's original group), but more commonly it might well involve integration within both communities.

Integrativeness subsumes three factors including the original 'integrative orientation', as well as 'attitudes toward the TL group', and 'interest in foreign languages' (Gardner and MacIntyre, 1993:2).   Whilst largely retaining its original tenet, Gardner has argued for

over fifty years that integrativeness is the crucial factor that L2 learners need to have in

order to achieve success in L2 learning.   Gardner (2005:7) based integrativeness on the

concept of 'identification' found in how children are motivated to become like their

parents in acquiring their L1.

Integrativeness has often been compared and contrasted with 'instrumentality', which

reflects how "individuals might well want to learn a language for purely practical

reasons" (Gardner, 2005:8), such as getting a job.   However, Gardner's camp (Gardner

1985, 2005; Gardner and Lambert 1959, 1972) have repeatedly argued that

integrativeness is the stronger cause of higher language achievement than

instrumentality, while achievement is also determined by 'ability' (or often labelled as

'language aptitude'), which is illustrated below:
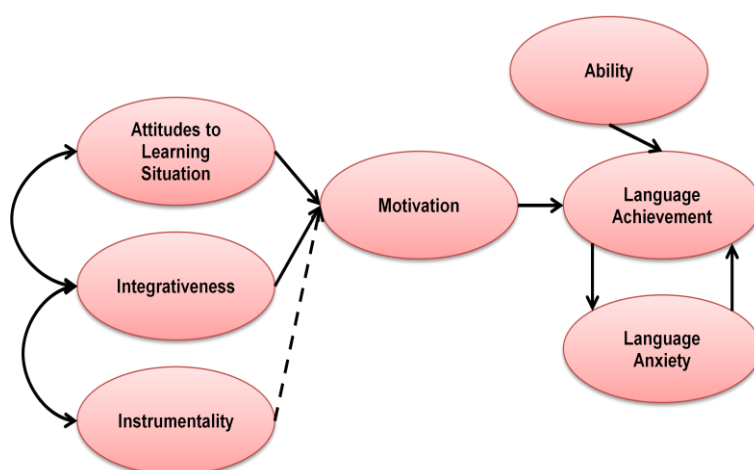
Figure 2.1 The Socio-educational Model (Gardner, 2005:6)

There are three key variables that compose the 'integrative motive', which are 'attitudes to learning situation', 'integrativeness', and 'motivation' (Gardner, 1985:153, 2005:6-7). Motivation is the effort, desire and attitude towards learning, which is nurtured by attitudes to learning situation and integrativeness. Attitudes to learning situation refer to the L2 learners' attitudes toward teachers and curricula. Gardner (2005: 8-9) argues that integrativeness has positive correlations with attitudes to learning situation and instrumentality. To reaffirm Gardner's theory, if the L2 learners are integratively motivated to learn the language, they will be successful in learning and using it (ibid:20-21). Integrativeness is the recipe for success.

2.1.2 Acculturation

As mentioned in Section 1.1, Schumann (1986:379) proposed the 'acculturation model' which predicts that "learners will acquire the target language to the degree they acculturate to the target language group". This model stems from a longitudinal ten-month study of six Spanish speakers' English language acquisition in Cambridge, USA, in which researchers used recordings to elicit participants' speech samples to examine the process of SLA (Cazden, Cancino, Rosansky, and Schumann, 1975). For

his later works, Schumann focused on a 33-year-old Costa Rican male participant,

Alberto who had lived in the USA for four months as a manual labourer (Cazden et al.,

1975:19).

The development of Schumann's acculturation model stemmed from his analysis of

Alberto, whose English was pidginised and the least proficient among the six

participants.   Schumann attributed Alberto's lack of linguistic development to "the

learner's social and psychological distance from speakers of the target language"

(Schumann, 1976:391).   A Piagetian test of Alberto's adaptive intelligence and a short

questionnaire on his attitude and motivation towards the TL group in a natural setting

outside classrooms were used for data collection (ibid:394, 402-403).

Schumann pointed to two categories that engendered pidginisation, *social* and

psychological distance between the second language learning group (2LL group,

represented by Alberto) and the TL group (who are NSs).   The first category *social*

distance is composed of eight factors as shown below:

1. Domination vs. non-domination vs. subordination:
Domination: 2LL group is politically, culturally, technically or economically superior to the TL group.
Non-domination: 2LL group is politically, culturally, technically or economically equal to the TL group.
Subordination: 2LL group is politically, culturally, technically or economically inferior to the TL group.

2. Assimilation vs. acculturation vs. preservation:
Assimilation: 2LL group gives up its own life style and values and adopts those of the TL group.
Acculturation: 2LL group adapts to the life style and values of the TL group and attempts to maintain its own cultural patterns for use in intra-group relations.
Preservation : 2LL rejects the life style and values of the TL group and attempts to maintain its own cultural pattern as much as possible.

3. Enclosure: The degree to which the two groups have separate schools, churches, clubs, recreational facilities, professions, crafts, trades, etc.

4. Cohesiveness: The degree to which members of the 2LL group live, work and socialize together.

5. Size: How large the 2LL group is.

6. Congruence: The degree to which the cultures of the two groups are similar.

7. Attitude: Ethnic stereotypes by which the two groups either positively or negatively value each other.

8. Intended length of residence: How long the 2LL group intends to remain in the TL area.

Figure 2.2 Social distance between 2LL group and TL group (Schumann, 1976:396-397)

The second category *psychological* distance is composed of four factors:

1. Resolution of language shock: The learner is haunted by doubts as to whether his words accurately reflect his ideas.

2. Resolution of culture shock: The learner experiences culture shock when he finds that his problem-solving and coping mechanisms do not work in the new culture.

3. Integrative vs. instrumental motivation: The integratively motivated learner would seek maximum proximity in order to meet, talk with, and perhaps even become like the speakers of the target language. An instrumentally motivated learner would achieve a level of psychological solidarity that would only be commensurate with his instrumental goals.

4. Ego-permeability: Some experimental evidence indicates that people who have ego permeability, that is, the ability to partially and temporarily give up their separateness of identity, are better second language learners.

Figure 2.3 Psychological distance between 2LL group and TL group (Schumann,

1976:401-402)

Schumann points out that Alberto had many factors that created the social distance with the TL group. Firstly, he described Alberto as belonging to the 'subordinate' lower class Latin American worker immigrants' group (ibid:397), whereas non-domination between the two groups is desirable to close the gap. Secondly, he positioned Alberto's integration as somewhere between 'preservation' or 'acculturation', but more to the preservation side as he kept to his Spanish-speaking friends (ibid:403). Thirdly, he pointed out that Alberto belonged to a Latin American neighbourhood with high enclosure which fostered cohesiveness among the community (ibid:400). Fourthly, he pointed out while there was congruence between Alberto's community and the TL group in that they were both Western Christians, there was also incongruence because Alberto belonged to the Latin American's "culture of poverty" (ibid:400).

In this way, Schumann made an inventory of social and psychological factors that are the root cause of learners' pidginised L2. The acculturation model encompasses integrative orientation, since Schumann (1976:402) was in favour of Gardner and Lambert's (1972) idea that learners who are integratively motivated will reduce the social distance towards the TL group and overcome pidginisation. However, Gardner (1985:137) critiqued the model as "a model of language non-acquisition" in that it

merely lists the factors that can inhibit SLA instead of promoting it.

2.2 Social-psychological identification with the TL community and its theoretical problems

I would like to point out the differences and similarities between integrativeness and acculturation, and make critical evaluations.   Regarding the differences, there are three points.   Firstly, the data collection instruments are different in that the construct of integrativeness was operationalised solely through questionnaire measures of attitudes and motivations of participants towards the people and culture represented by the TL community, whereas acculturation was investigated by means of recordings, questionnaire and some informal but unclear observation data taken on Alberto's attitudes and behaviours towards the TL community.   Secondly, there are differences in the participants since integrativeness was largely investigated among L2 learners in classrooms, whereas acculturation was explored among immigrants in natural settings outside classrooms.   And lastly, integrativeness is a micro-construct which adopts an individualistic perspective on society.   In contrast, acculturation is a macro-construct that subsumes various factors including integrativeness and adopts a societal

perspective.

On the other hand, there are four similarities between the two constructs.   Firstly, both

constructs derived from quantitative research, specifically based on social psychology.

Secondly, researchers took an *etic* (outsider or researcher's perspective) approach, and

hence the researchers' *confirmatory* agenda were rather imposed on the participants, in

which I see potential problems.   Did the participants see the people whom they

contacted as representatives of a 'TL group'?   Since both theories fixated on the 'TL

group', the people whom the participants ideally should identify with, participants were

not given enough room to reinterpret and label them in accordance with their own

perceptions.   For instance, Alberto was a polisher in a frame factory (Cazden et al.

1975:19), and he worked day and night rather than attend English classes (Schumann,

1976:403).   Assuming that he had American bosses and American teachers whom he

contacted, I think there might have been some room to reinterpret those people as

'bosses' or 'teachers' from his perspective rather than bracketing them as an

oversimplified 'TL group'.   Also, if this is the more plausible reinterpretation of how

Alberto viewed other people, was he really a 'learner', even in the workplace?   This

applies to the theory of integrativeness since participants are invariably labelled as

'learners' who might achieve well in their language studying if they identify with the 'TL group', whereas in reality both 'groups' are people with a multitude of identities. As Pavlenko (2002a:279) argues, social-psychological approaches have shortcomings in classifying participants who in reality may be members of multiple communities. This is what I realised as a worthwhile agenda for the current study, to examine who my participants perceive themselves as, as well as other people in the UK they contact from an *exploratory* approach.

Thirdly, these studies of integrativeness and acculturation do not provide suitable models for other researchers to trace changes experienced by their research participants. Studies on integrativeness were designed as one-off research by taking questionnaire data at a particular time. As Dörnyei (2001:41-45; 82-84; 2003:17-21) argues, momentary assessment of motivation does not provide the full picture, and thus a process-oriented approach is necessary to capture the temporal and dynamic nature of motivation which evolves over time. Regarding acculturation, Schumann (1976, 1978) made a longitudinal study of Alberto for ten-months, but he admits that none of the other research that used or tested his acculturation model was capable of handling the dynamic process that takes place over time, since researchers used large samples which

made it difficult to investigate individual development (1986:389-390). Hence, it makes sense for the current study to explore the changes each participant experiences and to account for the dynamic process of their attitudinal/motivational changes using a longitudinal approach.

And lastly, both integrativeness and acculturation require the tangible existence of a TL community and both theories focus on the participants' social-psychological *identification* with this community. I have already problematised the limitations of monolithic 'learner' and 'TL community' identity labels in research of this kind. At this point, I would like to turn to consider instead more recent critical perspectives on the notion of social-psychological identification with a TL community. I will draw firstly on work in SLA since the 'social turn' (2.2.1 and 2.2.2), and then on insights from the field of intercultural communication (2.2.3).

2.2.1 Social turn in SLA and its implications

Zuengler and Miller (2006:35-37) point out that since 1970, SLA research has been underpinned by positivism and that a cognitive approach has prevailed which

conceptualises investigated phenomena as psycholinguistic entities. Likewise, Firth and Wagner (1997:286) share the same view and note that "SLA research is imbalanced in favour of cognitive-oriented theories and methodologies". Theories on integrativeness and acculturation emerged within such a realm.

However, Firth and Wagner (ibid:286) pertinently challenged the positivistic paradigm prevalent in SLA and called for a reconceptualisation of SLA from both *cognitive* and *social* views based on: "(a) a significantly enhanced awareness of the contextual and interactional dimensions of language use, (b) an increased emic (i.e., participant-relevant) sensitivity towards fundamental concepts, and (c) the broadening of the traditional SLA data base." They argued that, "[l]anguage is not only a cognitive phenomenon, the product of the individual's brain; it is also fundamentally a social phenomenon, acquired and used interactively, in a variety of contexts for myriad practical purposes," (ibid:296) and they advocated a shift to a constructivist paradigm which is more context-bound and grounded in emic insight.

Some SLA academics have accepted the new trend to reconceptualise SLA from a social view. Block (2003:1-7) labelled this trend as a 'social turn' in SLA, pointing to the

publications in 1990s as represented by Firth and Wagner (1997) that called for

integration of the social dimension with the mainstream cognitive dimension in SLA.

To exemplify a corresponding case, Ortega (2009:216-254) devotes a whole chapter on

"Social dimensions of L2 learning" in her book on SLA and explains how there has

been a reorientation towards the social dimension in SLA which was inspired by

social-constructivist, sociocultural and poststructuralist approaches since the mid-1990s.

I espouse social-constructivism and sociocultural theory whereas I distance myself from

poststructuralism, specifically critical theory due to its frailty in research methodology

(to be discussed in Section 3.1.2.1).   Nonetheless, poststructuralist camps have

produced insightful views on the 'social turn' in SLA.   Norton Peirce (1995:9-12)

critiques the cognitive approach in SLA for having overlooked L2 learners' social

identity which is multiple, a site of struggle, subject to change and often constructed in

inequitable relations of power.   She also reframes the social-psychological term L2

motivation as 'investment' which derived from a sociological and anthropological

approach as she contends, "if learners 'invest' in a second language, they do so with the

understanding that they will acquire a wider range of symbolic and material resources,

which will in turn increase the value of their cultural capital" (Norton, 2010:161).   A

similar view on L2 motivation and identity is expressed by Pavlenko (2002a:280-281) who critiques social-psychological approaches to SLA on the grounds that "attitudes, motivation or language learning beliefs have clear social origins and are shaped and reshaped by the contexts in which the learners find themselves".

Research shaped by social-constructivism and sociocultural theory has also added value to SLA, particularly the study of L2 motivation. McGroarty (1998:600-601) brings up the necessity to re-examine L2 motivation as it is constructed in and through interaction, not solely perceived by individuals detached from various contexts. Spolsky (2000:160) confides how he heard from Wallace Lambert that the best way to learn about integrative motivation was to "sit quietly and chat with him over a bottle of wine for an evening". In addition to this anecdote, Spolsky (ibid:157) raises concerns about relying only on questionnaires and suggests incorporating hard sociolinguistic data, interviews and diaries to integrate psycholinguistics and sociolinguistics in order to examine L2 motivation. Ushioda (2006:155) suggests adopting sociocultural theory into L2 motivation research and reframing motivation as a process that develops through the interaction between the individual and the social setting, rather than as an individual difference variable. Ushioda (2009:220) also proposes a 'person-in-context

relational view of motivation' that regards learners as real persons and motivation as an

organic process in contrast to existing L2 motivation research which still adheres to

linear cause-effect models in which learners are treated as mere theoretical abstractions.

Based on the emerging social turn in SLA, I propose that integrativeness or

acculturation cannot be examined without considering the participants as real persons

who construct their attitudes and motivations through interaction with society, which

accumulate in their minds as their personal history.   SLA research which solely relies

on a cognitive approach cannot accommodate these perspectives, thus a social approach

became necessary for the current study.   I will proclaim my paradigmatic stance as a

social constructivist in Section 3.1.2.2, but in the next section I would like to explore

how the core tenet of integrativeness and acculturation has received counterarguments

from research related to SLA.

2.2.2 Identification with a TL community under fire: Insights from SLA

As was discussed in Section 2.2, identification with the TL community is core to

theories on integrativeness and acculturation.   Having surveyed publications on people

who studied or used an L2 and clearly identified with the TL community, I will refer to

Kinginger's (2004) case study on Alice, an American undergraduate student who

studied French in France for two years, who defied the odds and integrated with the

local French speakers. Interviews, journals, e-mails and letters were used to trace

Alice's experience of learning French over four years in the USA, Quebec and France.

Alice kept a distance from her compatriots and attempted to interact with French

speakers in France. Yet her attempts were constantly rebuffed and she became angry,

frustrated and depressed to the point of contemplating suicide (ibid:233-235). A

turning point came when she succeeded in becoming actively involved in conversations

with French speakers in watering places and halls of residence whenever she could, at

the expense of her academic work (ibid:235-236). Kinginger (ibid:240) takes a

poststructuralist stance and describes Alice's persistence and success in integrating with

French speakers in terms of 'investment'(Norton Peirce, 1995; Norton, 2000) in that she

interacted with French speakers in order to access cultural capital and to become a

cultured and an admirable person. Although there is no reference to integrativeness or

acculturation due to Kinginger's paradigmatic stance, this is the only example I can

clearly see of a person who actually studied and *used* the L2 to interact with the TL

community and be integrated with them, against all odds.

However, I believe that Alice's case is a rare one in the light of other related studies in SLA. The vast majority of studies that directly or indirectly examined matters of identification with the TL community imply that it is a formidable attitude to maintain. One cannot identify with the TL community unless there is some degree of integration, which is not easy to attain (to be discussed in Sections 2.2.2.3 and 2.2.3). Ortega (2009:189) notes that the narrow focus on identification with the TL community and its culture seems obsolete. I will categorise how other works have pointed out the shortcomings of this concept in three ways: the lack of a TL community; the necessity of redefining a TL community which is no longer dominated by NSs, but also by a growing number of NNSs; the difficulty of integrating with a tangible TL community.

2.2.2.1 The lack of a TL community

Firstly, the lack of a TL community causes problems in English as a foreign language (EFL) contexts. Japan is an example of an EFL context where English is hardly used in daily conversations, and it is difficult to find English speaking communities, except for images of Anglophones and cultures shown through education and media. Yashima (2002) replaces integrativeness with 'international posture', when she collected

questionnaire data from 297 Japanese university students to do correlational research on 'willingness to communicate' (WTC), which is defined as "a readiness to enter into discourse at a particular time with a specific person or persons, using a L2" (MacIntyre, Dörnyei, Clément, and Noels, 1998:547).   Yashima's (2002:57) concept of international posture encompasses both integrative and instrumental orientations and can be defined as, "interest in foreign or international affairs, willingness to go overseas to stay or work, readiness to interact with intercultural partners, and, one hopes, openness or a non-ethnocentric attitude toward different cultures, among others".   She concludes that international posture influences 'L2 learning motivation' and L2 WTC as shown below:
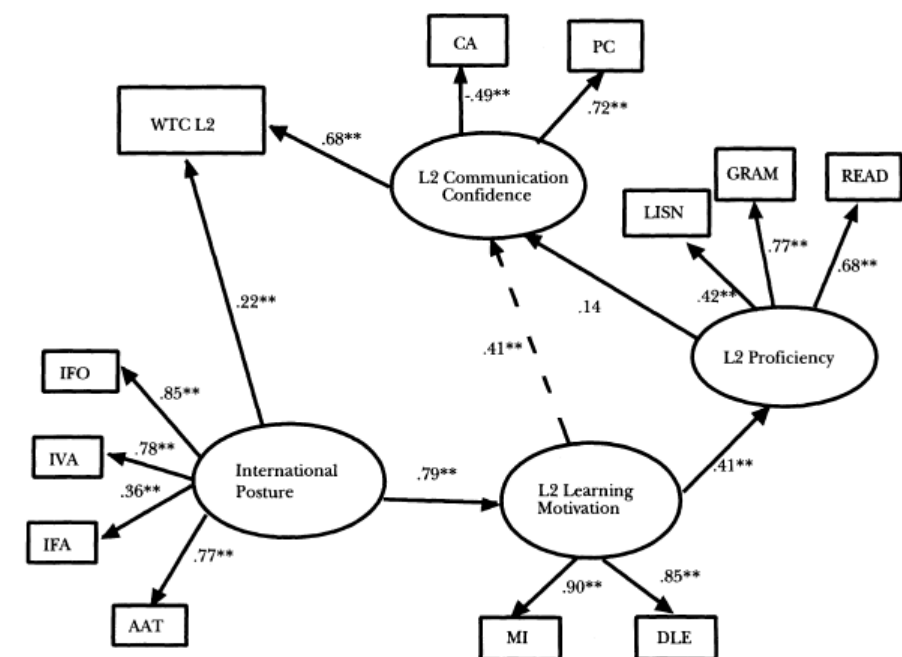
Note. **$p < .01$; χ^2 (49) = 62.63, n.s.; GFI = 0.97; AGFI = 0.95; CFI = 0.99; RMSEA = 0.031; WTC L2: Willingness to Communicate in L2; CA: Communication Anxiety in L2; PC: Perceived Communication Competence in L2; LISN: Listening Comprehension; GRAM: Grammar & Vocabulary; READ: Reading Comprehension; IFO: Intercultural Friendship Orientation in Learning English; IVA: Interest in International Vocation/Activities; IFA: Interest in Foreign Affairs; AAT: Intergroup Approach Avoidance Tendency; MI: Motivational Intensity; DLE: Desire to Learn English.

Figure 2.4 L2 communication model in the Japanese EFL context with standardized estimates (Yashima, 2002:61)

In a sequel of this research, Yashima, Zenuk-Nishide, and Shimizu (2004) measured the correlation between 'international posture' and 'frequency of communication' by collecting questionnaire data over two phases from 154 high school students in Japan who received content based instruction from native English speakers in the first phase, and from 57 students who studied a year in the USA in the second phase. Based on the first phase in Japan, the researchers reveal that international posture significantly predicts both WTC and the frequency of communication (ibid:134). From the second

phase in the USA, they report that international posture significantly influences the

frequency of communication with host families (ibid:140).   This model is illustrated

below:

N = 154. All path coefficients are significant at $p < .01$.
$\chi^2(48) = 74.48$, $p < .01$. RMSEA = .060; GFI = .93; CFI = .96.
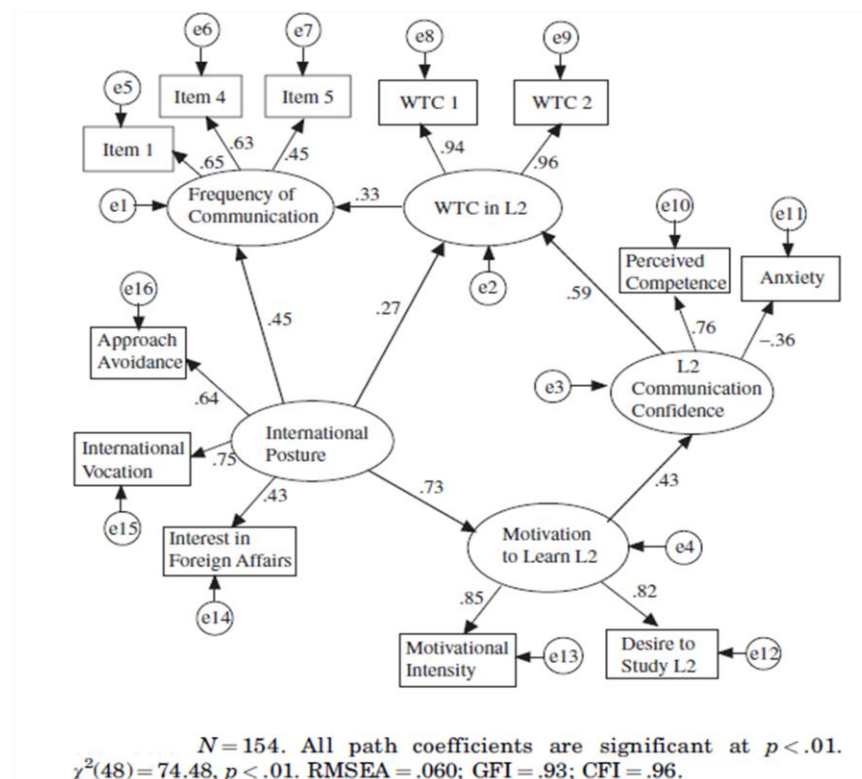
Figure 2.5 Results of structural equation modelling: L2 communication model with
standardized estimates (Yashima et al., 2004:134)

In short, the lack of a TL community for students in Japan signifies that identification

with a TL community is an insignificant concept that demands reconceptualisation.

Therefore, the alternative concept of international posture broadens the reference group

from a tangible TL community to an abstract wider community of English speakers.

Another reinterpretation of integrativeness was launched by Dörnyei who advocates the concept of an 'ideal L2 self' which "may not so much be related to any actual, or metaphorical, *integration* into an L2 community as to some more basic *identification process* within the individual's *self-concept*" (Dörnyei and Csizér, 2002:456, original italics). This concept derived from a large-scale longitudinal survey of 8,593 L2 learners in Hungary aged 13-14 in 1993 and 1999 (ibid:428-431). Dörnyei argues for reframing the L2 motivational process in which goals are defined not in relation to an *external* reference group (i.e. TL community), but in terms of one's *internal* self-concept (i.e. how one sees oneself in the future). Dörnyei (2009:29) defines the ideal L2 self as "the L2-specific facet of one's 'ideal self' which encompasses integrative and instrumental motives, and proposes that one would aspire to reduce the gap between the 'actual self' and the 'ideal self' within, if one's ideal self is to master an L2. The contrast between integrativeness and ideal L2 self is illustrated below:

Gardner's "integrativeness":
L2 learners who wish to integrate with target language community should have the powerful motivator to learn the L2.

L2 Learner → TL community

Dörnyei's "ideal L2 self":
L2 learners who have ideal images of themselves, and try to reduce the discrepancy between actual selves and ideal selves should have the powerful motivator to learn the L2.

Actual self within L2 learner → Ideal L2 self within L2 learner
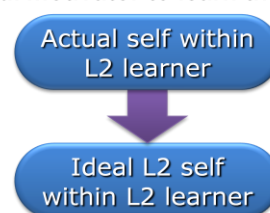
Figure 2.6 Contrast between integrativeness and ideal L2 self

Underlying the contrast shown in Figure 2.6 is the fact that Gardner conducted his research mostly in contexts where Anglophone L2 learners had access to Francophone TL communities (Canada and the USA), whereas in the Hungarian setting researched by Dörnyei, L2 learners had no such access. This lack of TL communities in EFL contexts problematises the notion of integrativeness.

2.2.2.2 The necessity of redefining a TL community: No longer dominated by NSs, but also by a growing number of NNSs

Another challenge that the concept of identification with a TL community faces is the continuation of globalisation and the worldwide spread of English. The concept of ELF points to the status of English as the world's major L2 and therefore TL community is not only made of NSs, but also NNSs. There are two relevant research papers which scrutinised integrativeness from the viewpoint of ELF.

Firstly, Lamb (2004) examined changes in motivation to learn English over the first two years among Indonesian junior high school students aged 11-12. He collected questionnaire data from 219 students, and later chose a focal group of 12 learners whom

he observed and did follow-up interviews with, and he also interviewed eight of their English teachers (ibid:6). Students gave mixed reasons for liking English in order to communicate with foreigners or foreign countries in general (ibid:10), whereas they perceived the need to study English in order to use it inside globalised Indonesia in the future (ibid:13). He argues that, "[a]s English loses its association with particular Anglophone cultures and is instead identified with the powerful forces of globalization, the desire to 'integrate' loses its explanatory power in many EFL contexts" (ibid:3). In this way, a tangible TL community represented by NSs is scarce in the Indonesian context, but a growing trend of globalisation is stirring youngsters to study English as they set one foot in their locality, and another in the globalised world where English is used as a lingua franca.

Secondly, Coetzee-Van Rooy (2006) raises questions about integrativeness in the South African context. English operates as a lingua franca (or in her term, "world English') among non-native South African speakers, but there is seldom communication with English NSs, who constitute a small group with exclusive boundaries (ibid:446). She argues that both the Afrikaans and Southern Sotho participants who attained higher marks in the English proficiency test had stronger identification with their in-groups,

and that it is the L1 which forms their cultural identity.   Therefore she concludes that, "the notion of integrativeness is untenable for second-language learners in world Englishes contexts" (ibid:447).   She argues that, "[s]econd-language acquisition theories that rely on any assumption of integrativeness should not be applied uncritically to sociolinguistic contexts where learners are acquiring a variety of world English today" (ibid:437).

Thus, globalisation has spread ELF worldwide whereby increasing numbers of NNSs are using English for communication, which in turn has changed the notion of a TL community from one composed of NSs to one composed of NSs and NNSs.   It is therefore necessary to redefine the term 'TL community' which is no longer dominated by NSs, but also by a growing number of NNSs.   This poses an interesting question for the current study.   Will the participants identify with native English speakers or foreign nationals whose L2 is English?

2.2.2.3 The difficulty of integrating with a tangible TL community

I will turn to English-speaking countries like the UK where English is the dominant

language which applies to the current study. In such contexts, I propose that *psychological* identification with the TL community requires *social* integration to some extent between newcomers (TL learners) and hosts (TL community, which point to NSs), since the TL community explicitly exists in the daily lives of newcomers regardless of the distance there may be between them.

Norton's (2000) critical narrative case study on identity, power and access to English language among five female immigrants (two Polish, a Vietnamese, a Peruvian and a Czechoslovakian) in Canada uncovers nothing but hardship in their attempts to integrate with members of the host community. Over two years, she used questionnaires, interviews, research journals, participant diaries, diary discussion meetings and essays to collect data (ibid:24-36). Though four of her participants had desire to have more contacts with Canadians (ibid:119), accessing them was difficult for all her participants to achieve (ibid:135). She attributes this to "inequitable relations of power" in natural language learning settings where immigrants whose language and social status are inferior are marginalised, whereas the Canadians are self-sufficient and do not need to form relationships with these immigrants in their communities (ibid:110-113).

I will introduce three other studies which took place in the UK, respectively grounded in poststructuralism, sociocultural theory, and social psychology. Block (2006) interviewed five female Japanese postgraduate students in London to do a poststructuralist case study on multilingual identities. Three participants were 'kikokushijo', that is returnee Japanese who had several years' experience abroad as children (ibid:84). In spite of their abundant experience abroad and a high level of English, Block contends that they lived in London as expatriates rather than transnationals, who kept ties with Japan as well as London without losing their sense of 'Japanese-ness', since staying in London for them signified a lowering of their living standard (ibid:95). For the other two participants, they were motivated towards adapting to life in London as much as possible, and gradually constructed themselves as English speakers, but they did not clearly reject their 'Japanese-ness' (ibid:95). Block's study rejects a black-and-white choice of integration or segregation, and rather points to the mixed and hybridised identity of the Japanese participants, some of whom have claimed "third place identities", not being British nor entirely Japanese.

Jackson (2008) adopted sociocultural theory in her ethnographic case study on language and identity among four Hong Kong Chinese female university students who spent five

weeks in England. Over 21 months, she collected qualitative data during the participants' pre-sojourn, sojourn in England, and post-sojourn (ibid:61-68). She reported that all participants expressed the desire to interact with British people and establish relationships, but the outcomes showed otherwise. She warns against the assumption that all sojourners will aspire to become full-fledged members of the host culture because they may decide to preserve their identities and resist or reject being positioned as apprentices of the host culture (ibid:216).

Based on a social psychological approach, Brown and Sachdev (2009) examined bilingual behaviour, attitudes, identity and vitality among 95 Japanese (students, company employees and pupils at a Japanese school) in London. Findings from the questionnaire data confirmed the dominance of Japanese in proficiency and identity, and also suggest that those who identified with the English language may not have identified with 'Britishness' but instead with ELF (ibid:337-340).

In short, the tangible presence of a TL community does not in any way make it easier for newcomers to identify with its members because social integration seems to require effort from both sides to expand their comfort zones. In the next section I would like

to elaborate on this and discuss the difficulty of identification with the TL community,

drawing on research on intercultural communication.

2.2.3 Identification with a TL community: A Difficult Task from the Perspective of Intercultural Communication

'Culture' is an equivocal concept which can be defined as either a physical entity that is

accessible (i.e. essentialist view), or various realities that are constructed through

interaction between people (i.e. non-essentialist view). I take the non-essentialist view

and therefore espouse the relativist definition of intercultural communication proposed

by Spencer-Oatey and Franklin (2009:3) that, "[a]n intercultural situation is one in

which the cultural distance between the participants is significant enough to have an

effect on interaction/communication that is noticeable to at least one of the parties".

This suits my research context in which NJS participants interact with other people

whose cultural distance may vary significantly, such as British people, other foreign

nationals, and perhaps other NJSs back in Japan who have never lived abroad.

Unlike SLA research, intercultural communication research is hardly concerned with

issues of L2 achievement or L2 acquisition, and therefore reference to Gardner's integrativeness and Schumann's acculturation model is virtually nonexistent. Instead of focusing on abstract psychological *identification* with a TL community, intercultural communication research has focused more on the social *integration* of newcomers in host communities, which is an appropriate perspective for my research since I propose that identification requires a degree of integration. Hence I will be using the term *integration* more than *identification* in this section. The fields of SLA and intercultural communication have evolved separately, but after SLA underwent its 'social turn' (see Section 2.2.1), themes began to overlap in that newcomers' lived experience and their identity formation created through interaction and relationships with members of the host community became significant research topics in these fields.

Before I introduce literature on intercultural communication, I would like to refer to the survey carried out by the UK Council for International Student Affairs (UKCISA) on 641 international students at 25 further education colleges in the UK. UKCISA (2006:32) reports on low contact between international students and British people. In particular, 37% of respondents said that the opportunities to meet British students at college were worse than expected, and 28% found it harder than expected to meet

British people outside classrooms.   The following figure shows that 64% of

respondents did not have any British people among their friends, whereas only 27% of

them had some British friends:

Who would you say most of your friends here in the UK are?

19%

Other
International
students
23%

Co-nationals
22%

9%

4%   7%

1% Members of own
  family locally only

8% Don't know/Not stated

UK students
And locals
7%

22% said that most of their friends were co-nationals   64% did not include British
23% said most were other international students   people as part of their main
19% said they were mainly a mixture of these two groups   friendship groups

Figure 2.7 International students' friends in the UK based on UKCISA (2006:33)

In line with the findings of UKCISA (2006), I will show how a number of intercultural

communication research studies indicate the difficulty of newcomers' integration with

members of the host community in Section 2.2.3.1.   However, instead of just pointing

out the difficulties, I will also refer to reasons behind them in Section 2.2.3.2 since my

research requires uncovering the hermeneutical meanings behind the participants'

integration in the British context.

2.2.3.1 Challenges to integration in the British higher education context

According to Ward, Bochner, and Furnham (2001:148), studies in the USA, UK, Australia, Israel and Europe indicate that international students make fewest friends with host nationals and turn instead to co-nationals or other international students. Turning to the UK, Brown (2009) did an ethnographic case study on 13 postgraduate international students' friendship patterns over 12-months in south England. Findings indicate that they need co-national friends because it is easy to communicate sharing the same language and culture, and to gain instrumental support. However this resulted in "ghettoisation" in which exposure to culture and language learning in England was minimised, and only a few students broke away from it (ibid:191). This is a classic example of how a community of compatriots offers comfort to newcomers at the expense of hindering contacts with members of the host community.

Spencer-Oatey and Xiong (2006) conducted a mixed-method research study on 126 Chinese university students' adjustment experience in a British university over two academic years. Findings from questionnaire data indicate that interaction with non-Chinese and adjusting to daily life were very highly correlated with psychological

stress (ibid:37), and in particular, 41.6% of respondents rated 'making friends with British people' as of 'great difficulty' (ibid:43). Thus, this is another adverse report for integration with members of the host community in the British context.

On the other hand, Montgomery and McDowell (2009:456) challenge the view that international students need to form academic and social networks with British students in order to be successful in their studies. They selected 7 international students from 6 countries who formed a loose network in a British university and used semi-structured interviews, participant observation and group discussion in order to study the role of social networks in their academic and personal experience (ibid:456-458). Their findings suggest that the participants formed only superficial and ephemeral relationships with British students (ibid:458), whereas the community of practice formed among international students provided academic, social and partially emotional support which helped them reconstruct social capital that they lost by leaving their home countries (ibid:464-465). This study provides a fresh perspective for research on integration, where a dichotomous view of integration (newcomers and host community) has prevailed, and adds a third party 'other foreign nationals', which is worth including in the current study.

Two studies have been made on Japanese students' experience in British institutions. Firstly, Habu (2000:46) examined motivations and experiences among 25 Japanese female students who studied in British higher education, using semi-structured interviews and informal conversations. She points out how British institutions are in a global competition to win international students, and that while Japanese students traditionally most favoured the USA as their destination to study, the rise of Japan's economic power and the policy of internationalisation propagated by the Japanese government and education have given a boost for students to study in British institutions (ibid:47-51). Findings suggest that the participants' motivations to study in British institutions were either to pursue academic goals and new career opportunities, or to disengage from conservative constraints imposed on women in Japan (ibid:55). There were three kinds of reception they received in Britain. Firstly, they found very little support to obtain their degrees. Secondly, they felt intellectually disengaged from the institutions which merely ensured that they pass as a 'quid pro quo' for the money they brought in. And lastly, some students integrated into the intellectual life of their institutions (ibid:58). Habu criticises the British institutions for viewing the international students in financial terms and not as members of a scholarly community, which has caused many students to feel isolated (ibid:62). This research poses

interesting questions on integration as it cannot be accomplished when the host community does not encourage newcomers to feel integrated.

Secondly, Akazaki (2010:358) examined how 39 mature Japanese students in British universities faced difficulties in which implicit assumptions were involved, using semi-structured interviews, demographic questionnaires, documents and statistics published by universities, plus five interviews with staff members. Gaps in verbalisation were identified between the participants and British staff members which led to misunderstanding and frustration between them, since in Japan it is less acceptable to speak excessively, whereas in Britain one is expected to articulate one's own opinion (ibid:365). Another gap was identified in the way the participants found it hard to cope with discussions in which most students lacked awareness of expected discursive practices and were not trained previously (ibid:366). She calls for British universities to implement training for both staff members and students to minimise the gaps in implicit assumptions which need to be recognised (ibid:367-368). In essence, the gap between Japanese students and British institutions identified by Habu (2000) and Akazaki (2010) highlights the need for both parties to compromise and collaborate if integration is to be achieved. As Ting-Toomey (2005:221) contends, gracious

members of the host community and 'willing-to-learn' newcomers are both necessary

for any effective intercultural cross-boundary journey.

In the light of various research studies showing how difficult it is for newcomers to

integrate with members of the host community, it remains to be seen whether the

participants in my project wish to do so.   The scarcity of research literature on NJSs

who have British spouses is an advantage for the current study which aspires to uncover

the experience of people who interact with members of the host community as outsiders

as well as insiders.   Also, instead of simply reporting how difficult it is to integrate

with members of the host community, it makes sense to tease out the reasons behind this

difficulty and offer some suggestions from research in the field of intercultural

communication.

2.2.3.2 Problems and some resolutions

Going back to Gardner's integrativeness and Schumann's acculturation model, one of

the problems is that both concepts assume the ideological character of 'assimilationism',

which in Kim's (2007:239) term is equal to the ethos behind the proverb, "When in

Rome, do as the Romans do". Kim (ibid:239) maintains that assimilationism and its symbolic metaphor 'melting pot' has been challenged by 'pluralism' which emphasises the distinctiveness of cultural minorities as symbolised by metaphors such as 'mosaic', 'quilt' and 'salad bowl'. Straddled between assimilationism and pluralism is 'integrationism' which is found when cultural minorities retain their cultural identity while they blend in with the host culture (ibid:239-240). Thus, ideological perspectives provide the macro-view that identification with the TL community assumes assimilationism which draws fire from the pluralism camp, and therefore integrationism seem to provide the optimum resolution. So how is integration possible?

Spencer-Oatey and Franklin (2009:166-169) report on how British policy on multiculturalism has actually brought about segregation rather than integration between ethnic minorities and the British people. They stress that integration is not a one-sided process but requires mutual-involvement from both newcomers and members of the host community who need to take responsibility to facilitate the process (ibid:169). This synergistic view of integration is helpful in redefining identification with the TL community in that the onus is not only on newcomers, as has been implied by traditional social psychology research in SLA which has largely downplayed the part

played by the host community in facilitating integration.

While SLA research has largely peripheralised finding resolutions to integration issues, various intercultural communication research studies have endeavoured to do so. A noteworthy theory is proposed by Gudykunst (1991:12-14, 117) who emphasises the importance of reducing uncertainty and anxiety to have effective and appropriate communications with strangers. His theory is also known as the 'anxiety/uncertainty management (AUM) theory'. Uncertainty is a cognitive construct which is "our inability to predict or explain others' behavior, feelings, attitudes, or values", whereas anxiety is an affective construct which refers to the "feeling of being uneasy, tense, worried, or apprehensive about what might happen" (Gudykunst and Kim, 2003:13). In particular, Gudykunst (1991:108) stresses the importance of finding similarities with strangers rather than focusing on the differences. Furthermore, Gudykunst and Kim (2003:343) argue that in the absence of cultural similarity between strangers, similarity in other areas (e.g. attitudes, interests, communication styles) is vital since the degree of similarity reduces anxiety and uncertainty.

Kudo and Simkin (2003) explored intercultural friendship formation among 6 Japanese

female students in a university in Australia using interviews. Their findings lend support to Gudykunst's theory that the participants befriended local students despite their cultural differences when they focused on individual similarities such as hobbies, attitudes, values and personality (ibid:100-101).

Gudykunst's theory implies that identification with the TL community is virtually impracticable for the current study because of the seeming cultural dissimilarity between Japanese and British people, and it is unreasonable to expect the NJS participants to 'reach for the stars'. On the other hand, Gudykunst's theory sheds light on the barriers that hinder integration and also provides hints to overcome them for the current study. How will the NJS participants find similarities with other people in Britain who seem culturally dissimilar? And how will that help their integration?

2.3 Identity: A construct that demands both social and cognitive perspectives

As was noted in Section 2.2.3, both SLA and intercultural communication fields have produced research on identity. Block (2010a:481) points out that identity has become a bigger player not just in applied linguistics but in wider social sciences. Block

(2007b:867) also points out that SLA research began to shift from "the interface between language use and linguistic development to the interface between language use and identity" since the 'social turn' (see Section 2.2.1). This applies to motivation theories in general education as Ushioda (2011:21) proclaims that theories have begun to "shift away from achievement-oriented frameworks towards value-based and identity-oriented frameworks". Similarly, Fougère (2008:187) notes that, "the identity construction of individuals involved in intercultural contexts has been attracting a great deal of interest lately within contemporary cultural studies". So what is meant by identity which has gathered so much attention in SLA, intercultural communication, and the social sciences in general?

I propose that identity is best understood as a non-essentialist construct which has social and cognitive dimensions. In terms of the social dimension, Block (2007b:865-866) argues that, "although identity is conditioned by social interaction and social structures, it conditions social interaction and social structures at the same time. It is, in short, constitutive of and constituted by the social environment". This relativist view on identity is crucial as it does not peripheralise the role of other people and interaction that mediate a person with others. Fougère (2008:188) maintains that, "[i]dentities are best

understood as being continually constructed through interactions and it is particularly

interesting to study them in intercultural contexts because it is exactly in such contexts

that people often reflect more about them". This is also another significant view on

identity as it evolves with time, and is shaped through interactions, particularly through

intercultural interactions in which people *reflect* about themselves. This self-reflection

is vital in defining identity, which leads to its cognitive dimensions.

Identity has cognitive dimensions in that people reflect on who they are. Ting-Toomey

(2005:212) combines the social and cognitive aspects and defines identity as, "the

reflective self-conception or self-image that we each derive from our family, gender,

cultural, ethnic, and individual socialization process". Also in Simon's (2004:46)

self-aspect model of identity, it is proposed that identity is both cognitive and social.

In short, identity is a self-reflection of who one is which is shaped by and shapes social

interaction with others.

2.3.1 Cultural-ethnic identity

As was discussed in Section 1.4, the current study focuses on NJS participants' lives in

the British context.   Yashima (2004:69) contends that Japanese people rarely realise

their cultural identity and ethnic identity through English language classes which

commonly adopt a traditional grammar translation method that leaves little space for

learners to experience different cultures.   She also argues that using an L2 in

intercultural settings makes people realise their ethnic identities, but the Japanese people

lack such experience in Japan (ibid:70, 95).   Thus, one of the aims in the current study

is to uncover how the NJS participants construct their cultural identity and ethnic

identity through interaction with other people in the British context and how their

identity changes over time.   So what are cultural identity and ethnic identity?

Ting-Toomey (2005:214) defines cultural identity as "the emotional significance we

attach to our sense of belonging or affiliation with the larger culture", whereas ethnic

identity is innately a matter of ancestry or beliefs about the origins of one's forebears

which is based on ethnic group, national origin, race, religion or language (ibid:215).

Ethnic identity and *ethnicity* may overlap, but in my view, ethnic identity is more of a

self-perception based on one's ancestral ethnic background, whereas ethnicity is more of

a factual construct.   For instance, the ethnicity of Korean immigrants living in Japan is

undoubtedly that of a Korean, but for third-generation Koreans living in Japan, as in my

wife's case, their self-perception as Koreans might be weaker and mixed than that of first-generation Koreans.   In other words, their ethnicity is a Korean, but their ethnic identity tend to be mixed, and hence they often perceive themselves as *Zainichi* Koreans (Koreans living in Japan), hence showing discrepancy between static ethnicity and dynamic ethnic identity.   In such case, their ethnic identity is influenced by the surrounding Japanese culture, and hence, it is more accurate to combine culture and ethnicity to make it *cultural-ethnic identity*, which will be used hereafter, since both terms are loose and soft by nature, and they tend to overlap with each other.

For instance, I was born to Japanese parents so my ethnic identity is *rather* Japanese, but not fully.   My cultural identity is influenced by my ethnicity as well as my cultural affiliations.   Culturally I feel Japanese due to my ethnicity, but I also feel 'un-Japanese' because I was born in the USA and lived there for four years during my elementary school period, I lived two years in the Dominican Republic, a year in New Zealand, and five years in the UK for postgraduate education.   Thus culturally I am mixed with Western, Christian and individualistic values as well as Oriental and collectivistic values.

As my example implies, one of the key features of cultural-ethnic identity is that it is negotiable and changeable. Cultural-ethnic identity is a *soft* construct that can change, unlike *hard* identities such as national identity which is clearly linked to one's passport(s), or racial identity which is biologically given at the time of birth. I can negotiate my cultural identity with mainstream Americans whether I can be culturally accepted as an American or not through my American-accent, my birth and residential history there. I can also negotiate my ethnic identity with Japanese people who have never lived abroad, some of whom have actually labelled me as a foreigner, or even an American, which made me feel 'un-Japanese'.

In this way, the current study aspires to unravel how the NJS participants reflect and construct their cultural-ethnic identity as they use English with British people and other foreign nationals, and Japanese with their compatriots. Do they revert to their traditional Japanese culture? Do they go native? Do they create a new culture of their own? Or do culture and ethnicity even matter at all for them?

2.3.2 Intercultural identity

Gardner's doctoral supervisor Wallace Lambert argued that learners who commit themselves to mastering the TL and attempt to leave their L1 linguistic-cultural group in order to enter the TL linguistic-cultural group may experience a loss of identity which he labelled as 'anomie' (Lambert, 1972:225-230). This essentialised view grounded in a traditional social-psychological approach, which frames culture as a dichotomy between an L1 (in-)group and L2 (out-)group, may have been valid in a less globalised age when bilingualism, multilingualism and intercultural contacts were less common. However, it poses a problem in the modern globalised age where more and more people are acquiring additional languages and engaging in intercultural communication, and where there are more groups somewhere in between the L1 and L2 groups. While Lambert's argument holds validity and it is not fair to critique it in the light of the current world order, it is nonetheless premature to suppose that those who are caught in between two or more linguistic-cultural groups cannot assimilate or integrate and thus experience anomie.

Turning our eyes to the 21st century, Spreckels and Kotthoff (2007:417) contend that

individuals nowadays face many identities to choose from and some experience identity

crises due to the overwhelming range of choices, which frees them in a sense, but leaves

them deeply insecure and partly overwhelmed. Thus, we live in an age in which we

can claim multiple identities and this applies to matters of our cultural-ethnic identity.

Feeling caught in between two or more linguistic-cultural groups is now a fairly

common phenomenon, and scholars have begun to give recognition to this status and

due respect to such individuals, instead of treating them as people who cannot

assimilate or who preserve their cultural-ethnic identity by separating. For instance,

Block (2007b:867) rightly acknowledges that crossing language and cultural borders

destabilises self-identity which leads to struggle, the negotiation of difference and the

emergence of third-place identities. A fine example of individuals whose

cultural-ethnic identities neither neatly belong to their heritage culture nor that of the

host culture is found among the three 'kikokushijo' (returnee Japanese) in Block

(2006:95, 105; see Section 2.2.2.3), who lived in London as expatriates, and did not live

their lives entirely within the confines of traditional Japanese society.

Another case in point is offered in Fougère's (2008) narrative case study of the cultural

identity of 4 French young graduates who went to work in Finland for 16 months. One participant, David, experienced initial shock in the Finnish workplace but later appreciated the unique experience of socialising with colleagues in saunas and openly appreciated the different work-life balance by "hybridizing" himself and creating the "in-between" space en route to develop an "intercultural personhood" (ibid:198-200). Hence people who were deemed stranded in between cultures and lacking clear belonging to any cultural or ethnic group are now being reinterpreted and reframed as people who are developing a hybridised, third-place or intercultural identity. As Spencer-Oatey and Franklin (2009:165) contend, "[i]t is not a matter of replacing certain identity characteristics with others; rather, it is a question of expansion and development". Forming cultural-ethnic identity is not a 'zero-sum game' in which individuals lose a heritage cultural-ethnic identity and gain another cultural-ethnic identity. It is more about integrating the current cultural-ethnic identity with the new system and creating a unique hybridised identity with intrinsic values. Academic thinking has shifted in the way an individual's hybridised cultural-ethnic identity is to be viewed, but it remains to be seen whether views of the NJS participants in my study confirm this.

2.4 Summary

This chapter centred on two significant lines of argument. Firstly, the core tenet of integrativeness and the acculturation model in the field of SLA was examined, which is about newcomers' social-psychological identification with host TL communities. As SLA began to expand its territory from cognitive to social dimensions, its focus began to overlap with intercultural communication in that both fields are interested in the practical and social integration of newcomers with host TL communities. However, research in SLA and intercultural communication both show that integration is not easy to achieve which poses a challenge to the current study. How can the participants in the current study find ways to integrate with other people in the British context?

Also, I espouse an exploratory approach in research which attempts to define the research participants as 'people' with multiple identities instead of categorising them as 'L2 learners', who in turn may view members of the host community as 'people' rather than 'representatives of a TL community'. Furthermore, in the globalised era in which increasing number of NNSs are using ELF, it remains to be seen whether the participants will identify with native English speakers or other foreign nationals in the

British context.

Secondly, this chapter focused on identity. Globalisation has also brought about a multitude of identities which we can choose from, particularly in terms of our cultural-ethnic identity which can be drawn out through intercultural interactions. Identity is a self-reflection of who we are which is shaped by, and shapes social interaction with other people. The current study endeavours to unravel the cultural-ethnic identity of participants which can be negotiated and changed through intercultural interaction and self-reflection in the British context. They may find themselves hanging in between different cultural and linguistic communities, and therefore exploring how they construct their cultural-ethnic identity through interaction with other people may produce interesting and insightful findings.

CHAPTER 3 RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

I will begin this chapter by clarifying how my research questions led to the selection of semi-structured interviews, participant observations, participant diaries on social networking service (SNS), e-mails, recordings and research diaries, thus positioning my research within social constructivism.   I will then discuss how narrative research and case study have become relevant to the current study, which is followed by discussion of generalisability, validity and reliability.   The practicalities, such as pilot interviews, sampling and research participants, are then discussed.   There will be in-depth discussion on data, including my ontological and epistemological stance, data analysis, categorisation, coding and representation.   The chapter concludes by discussing ethical considerations.

3.1 Research method, paradigm and tradition

I will explain how I designed the research methodology in order to answer the research questions, which are reiterated below:

1. To what extent do the NJSs' attitudes reflect Gardner's integrativeness, and what

   meaning does it have, if any, as they use English in their daily lives in the UK?

   Who do they wish to integrate with, or who are they actually integrating with?

   How does integrativeness change, if at all?

2. What kinds of acculturation attitudes do the NJSs have towards native English

   speakers, their own ethnic group and other foreign nationals in the UK they interact

   with?   Which is the most valued group?   How do acculturation attitudes change?

3. What are the NJSs' perceived cultural-ethnic identities in the UK?   Do they think

   of themselves as Japanese, British, or as global citizens?   How do their

   cultural-ethnic identities change?

Since part of my research topic, such as integrativeness, can be investigated by means of

both text and numerical data, I needed to be aware of the paradigm and the method that

was to be used in order to maintain consistency among the research question contents,

sampling, choice of data collection instruments and my ontological and epistemological

stances.   According to Richards (2003:12), a *paradigm* is "[a]t the highest level,

representative of a set of basic beliefs" such as (post-)positivism, constructivism and

critical theory, whereas a *method* refers to "a means of gathering, analysing and

interpreting data using generally recognised procedures" such as interviews and questionnaires. L2 motivational research which has yielded theories on integrativeness stands on the boundary between (post-)positivism, constructivism and critical theory, and therefore research can be done based on any paradigm, or even eclectically using a mixed methods approach (Dörnyei, 2001:241-244; 2007:47).

Then comes the question, "Should paradigms be fixed first before the research?" I do not believe that researchers need to decide which paradigm to adopt before starting an inquiry. Richards (2003:41) argues that researchers should be aware of which paradigm they stand within, but that this is not a required procedural step. In fact, it is our desire to solve a particular problem, or issues raised by our research that determines which paradigm is suitable (Muijs, 2004:10; Richards, 2003:41).

Since my research questions are not *confirmatory* but rather *exploratory* in that they inquire into the meaning of NJSs' lived experience of using English in the British context, it made sense to interview them over a period of time, to gather their diaries to look into their state of mind and to observe their actions in a social setting. I decided to take small samples and investigate deeply into their unique inner being rather than

taking large samples and measuring commonality that may be generalisable to the wider

population.

Having said that, research questions and research methods are not static and one-off,

because they are also determined by the setting — participants and context. The

setting reveals information that can rebuild one's research questions, design, or the

whole inquiry (Freeman, 2009:31-32). As research proceeds, both research questions

and research methods need adjustment and amendment to make them feasible and

appropriate for the research.

In this way, the research questions came first, then methods, which entail paradigms

followed, while I checked their feasibility in the setting. In the next section I will

discuss how my research questions led to the selection of methods.

3.1.1 Research method: Data collection instruments

3.1.1.1 Semi-structured interviews

As I stated in Section 1.3.1 and in the earlier section, my research questions are

qualitative, exploratory and explanatory, and so I decided to adopt interviews for three

reasons.   Firstly, interviews are the most suitable method by which to deepen

understanding of the participants' views, perspectives or life-history (Benson, 2004:16;

Cohen, Manion, and Morrison, 2007:199; Richards, 2003:13, 64; Wellington, 2000:72).

In order to investigate L2 motivation from an open-ended and exploratory perspective,

Dörnyei (2001:238-241) believes that interviews are most suitable.   Secondly, I wanted

to (co-)construct the participants' perspectives on their identification with other people

in the UK and their own identities bounded in their history and context, so I needed

their life stories to unfold using interviews.   And lastly, I wanted to know how the

participants' views change over time by using repeated interviews.   Considering all

these elements together, interviews seemed to be the best of all.

Furthermore, I opted for semi-structured interviews and repeated interviews.   Firstly,

semi-structured interviews were appropriate because I needed in-depth data and more

importantly, I had some foreknowledge of the research topics through my literature

review, which allowed me to develop an agenda and some idea of the questions that

needed to be asked.   However, I did not want to limit the scope of my study by using

structured interviews, nor did I want to invalidate my research by allowing pointless

free talk, which tends to happen in unstructured interviews. The distinction between the three types of one-to-one interviews is illustrated below. I would like to maintain that the semi-structured interview was the most suitable instrument to avoid hemming in the participants to 'all-method' structured interviews, and also to avoid muddling them around in 'no-method' unstructured interviews.

Unstructured	Semi-structured	Structured
Some 'control' on both sides	More control by interviewer	Most control by interviewer
Very flexible	Flexible	Less flexible
Guided by the interviewee	Not completely pre-determined	Guided by researcher's pre-determined agenda
Direction unpredictable		More predictable
May be difficult to analyse		May provide easier framework for analysis

Figure 3.1 Styles of one-to-one interviews (Wellington, 2000:75)

Secondly, repeated interviews were beneficial in order to keep track of changes that have occurred within the participants' minds. Block (2010b:339-340) acknowledges that such lengthy and open-ended interviews have been instrumental in exploring language and identity. I conducted three interview sessions for most participants to cover the changes that occurred. In order to explore each participant's past, I used retrospective questioning in the first interview.

There were two principles in interviews that I endeavoured to follow. Firstly, Richards (2003:53, original italics) accentuates a golden rule for all interviewing, "*Always seek the particular,*" meaning that interviews should seek specific and precise information, rather than the abstract and ambiguous. The other golden rule that the majority of researchers stress is that listening is more important than speaking (Bogdan and Biklen, 2007:105; Dörnyei, 2007:140-142; Kvale, 1996:132-135; Richards, 2003:53, 65).

To sum up the significance of a semi-structured interview, Kvale (1996:5-6, original italics) justly defines it as "*an interview whose purpose is to obtain descriptions of the life world of the interviewee with respect to interpreting the meaning of the described phenomena.*" Semi-structured interviews were therefore the best option available to explore and interpret the meanings the participants attach to their adaptation and identity formation in the British context.

Other qualitative methods (e.g. participant observation and participant diaries) will be introduced in the following sections, but semi-structured interviews were the most significant method in my research for a number of reasons. Firstly, my research questions sidelined external behaviour which could be examined by observation, and

they rather required probing deeply inside the participants' minds.   As a consequence, interviews became more important than observation.

Secondly, interviews were accessible and feasible compared to participant diaries.   In one sense, participant diaries may be better in terms of probing deeply, but diary data was relatively difficult to obtain.   Although Naomi allowed me to read her SNS diaries online (see Chapter Five), I could not obtain them from the other participants.

Lastly, I collected recorded conversation from Mari (see Chapter Four) and considered using conversation analysis, but what mattered more in the current research was how the participants perceived themselves and society as a result of communicating with their interlocutors.   Thus, interviews were more appropriate and crucial.

3.1.1.2 Participant observations

Interviews have shortcomings which demand resolution.   Interviews are predominantly about what the participants *say*, not so much about what they *do*.   In order to gain a broader view of identity, Block (2010b:346) insists on using non-verbal data in addition

to linguistic data since "identity is not only language mediated, but more generally multimodally/semiotically mediated". Also, Kvale (1996:292) points out ten internal critiques of interview research, of which four are worth mentioning here. Firstly, it is individualistic in that "it focuses on the individual and neglects a person's embeddedness in social interactions" (ibid:292). Secondly, it is idealistic in that "it ignores the situatedness of human experience and behaviour in a social and material world" (ibid:292). Thirdly, it is immobile in that "the subjects sit and talk, they do not move or act in the world" (ibid:292). And lastly, it is cognitivist in that "it focuses on thoughts and experiences at the expense of action" (ibid:292). In order to compensate for these weaknesses pertaining to interviews, I was convinced that the appropriate measure was to adopt observation as an additional method which enables access to social actions and interactions situated in the participants' context. Tjora (2006:430) rightly states that interviews and observation are interactive in the sense that the former gives leads for observations, while the latter provides probes for interviews.

In particular, I chose participant observation because it is superior to interviews in providing insights into knowledge embedded in a cultural situation (Kvale, 1996:294). Cohen et al. (2007:405) argue that participant observation is often used in conjunction

with other methods, which as a whole depict the participants' definitions of the situation and their structures in explaining situations and behaviours.   Participant observation was also chosen for the sake of triangulation, that is, using multiple methods, which Stake (2005:453-454) deems beneficial in reducing the likelihood of misinterpretation and identifying different realities.

Participant observation was not intended to yield hard data because the observation was not systematically done in classrooms.   Instead, the observation was intended to yield soft data in opportunistic and flexible styles by observing the participants in various social contexts.   Eisenhart (2001:22) argues that ethnographers who endeavoured to uncover the contemporary views of culture in mobile situations relied heavily on individual and focus group interviews, and invested less in participant observation due to the challenges that mobile situations impose on researchers.   This challenge applied to the current study, which was done in mobile settings, and which I endeavoured to tackle.

During participant observation, I was more of a participant-as-observer rather than an observer-as-participant, in the sense that I already shared the same community with my

participants, such as Bible study with Mari (see Chapter Four), and tea ceremony with

Naomi (see Chapter Five).   This was beneficial in terms of coming closer to their daily

lives.   As a participant observer, I had dual purposes, which were to be engaged in

activities with the participants, and to observe the activities, people and physical

situation simultaneously (Spradley, 1980:54).   This was not an easy task because I

needed to balance myself as an insider whilst participating as well as having an

objective outsider view.   In a sense, my identity shifted and swung between a

researcher, a friend to a participant and a guest to a host.

The main sources of observation data are fieldnotes.   Richards (2003:135) maintains

that, "[f]ieldnotes are all things to all people" in that some say they should be

comprehensible to others reading them whereas others say they need not be.   I take the

standpoint that fieldnotes need not be comprehensible to others because they are not

written as finished texts for outside audiences (Emerson, Fretz, and Shaw, 2001:356).

Notes were very rarely brought to the field, either because I did not want to ruin the

natural behaviour of the participants by making it explicit that I was there to observe

them, or because I was too involved in the activity, such as tea ceremony with Naomi

and others.   Therefore, recordings of activities I observed were mostly made after I had

left the field.   Thus, a fieldnote was not written one-off, but was rather initially created

as a condensed account using key words and phrases in respect of major events, which

was later turned into an expanded account filled with further details and retrospection

(Spradley, 1980:69-70).

Tjora (2006:435-445) argues that there are ten different modes of taking fieldnotes,

which can be categorised on a continuum between a naïve observation on the one hand

and an interpretative reading on the other.   As I have argued in Section 1.3.2, I adopted

an interpretative stance in which I sought the meaning of the NJSs' life events.

However, I also aimed to separate my *description* of the research process and the

interpretation of that process, as has been suggested by Cowie (2009:175).   Emerson et

al. (2001:353) argue that the nature of fieldnotes is descriptive, while explicit theorising

and interpretation should be minimised.   Hence, in the fieldnotes, I primarily described

the selected events that I observed.   It was not until after having written descriptions

that I wrote down my interpretations of the events retrospectively.   A template for my

fieldnotes is shown below.   A sample of a fieldnote taken is given in Appendix 6.

Space	
Actors	
Activities	
Objects	
Acts	
Events	
Time	
Goals	
Feelings	

Analytical memos_____

My interpretations_____

Figure 3.2 The template for my fieldnotes (based on Spradley, 1980)

3.1.1.3 Participant diaries

Wellington (2000:118, 120) points out that diaries are beneficial in providing participants' versions or interpretations of events and are a particularly suitable way to complement observation, which sometimes requires excessive time and money for researchers as well as imposing pressure on participants. Pavlenko (2007:167) points out that diary studies were used in the 1970s and early 1980s to illustrate educated middle-class L2 learners' states of mind, such as competitiveness, motivation and anxiety, and more recently to depict the disadvantages experienced by women,

immigrants and refugees in their access to language and interaction.   Thus, this is another interesting method via which to triangulate the integrativeness, acculturation and the identity of my participants, who are somewhat disadvantaged linguistically in the UK.

The weakness of diary studies is that normally diaries are not pre-existing prior to a research project, but are rather solicited (Dörnyei, 2007:156; Wellington, 2000:118). However, my participant Naomi kept her SNS diaries in Japanese over four years, and allowed me to access them.   Her diaries were not initiated by my request nor were they written for my research, and therefore the researcher effect was minimised.   Many parts of her diaries were irrelevant to my research questions, but the parts that were relevant gave me valuable insights into her feelings and thoughts about people and life events in the UK seen from a Japanese point of view.   On the other hand, she did not disclose some diaries to me, and her imagined readers were her Japanese friends, and therefore I needed to be aware that what I was reading was not the whole picture or the mirror reflection of what she was thinking.   A sample of Naomi's diary is provided in Appendix 7.

3.1.1.4 Other supplementary methods: Research diaries, e-mails and recordings

Data collection was supplemented by three other methods. Firstly, I kept research diaries in Japanese after interviewing and listening through recorded audio files of completed interview sessions, as has been recommended by Richards (2003:272-273) and Wellington (2000:163). Research diaries were useful in recording some background to the events prior to and after an interview and summarising them from a bird's-eye view, which at the same time prevented me from missing the forest for the trees.

Secondly, e-mails from the participants were useful in exploring their views as well as improving my research. Hessler, Downing, Beltz, Pelliccio, Powell, and Vale (2003) used e-mails as their only method to gather qualitative data on adolescent risk behaviour, and such a method was useful for the current study. It was primarily used for general communication, but there were cases in which participants expressed their thoughts about their life events as well as giving feedback on my research, so I later got permission to use some of them as data.

And lastly, recordings were occasionally made of the participants as they interacted with other people in English.   The recordings were not necessarily done for the purposes of conversation analysis, but were used like the observation data to learn about my participants' behaviour when interacting in English.   Block (2010b:339) points out how samples of speech taken from day-to-day activities have been used to explore speakers' identities, which are indexed in how they make use of languages.   A sample of Mari's conversation at a party proved useful in showing how she cherished multicultural experiences and socialising (see Chapter Four, Extract 4.19).

All in all, I chose to go narrow but deep and to adopt a whole-person perspective using qualitative research.   Having discussed my methods and their features, it is necessary to discuss the paradigm they are most closely associated with.

3.1.2 Research paradigm

My research questions are about exploring NJSs' identification/integration with people and their identity formation in a natural setting in the UK.   Miles and Huberman (1994:10) recommend using qualitative research when qualitative data is fundamentally

suitable to uncover the meanings people place on their lived experience and to connect such meanings to the social world. Thus, the research methods selected were qualitative.

Ushioda (2009:216-217) rightly argues that conventional L2 motivational research is rooted in the Cartesian dualism, which detaches the individual from the society, which in my view is fragmentary and unilateral. As van Lier (2000:246-247) calls for appropriate ways to study learning by looking "at the active learner in her environment, not at the contents of her brain", so I believe that psychological factors such as integrativeness, acculturation and identity are co-constructed through interaction with others in a given context, and that social contextual factors therefore need to be taken into account.

For instance, the psychological factors of the NJSs who come to live in the UK will be influenced by the way they are treated by a multitude of people, such as teachers, peers, host families and neighbours. Ushioda (2006:153-154) points this out by arguing that the search for one's linguistic identity is not only in the hands of the L2 learner, but also in the hands of the TL community, who can accept or reject the L2 learners. Similarly,

Norton (2006:506-507) argues that the identity of the L2 learners is not a personality variable, but it is socially and historically constructed through their relationships with institutional and community practices.

To tackle individuals' psychological factors that are co-constructed by interaction with society, there are two possible paradigms to stand within, critical theory and social constructivism.　I will discuss these in the following sections and declare my stance.

3.1.2.1 On critical theory

Research embracing critical theory in L2 motivation and identity is represented by Norton (1997; 2000; 2001; 2006; 2010), who argues that L2 motivation (or rather "investment" in her terms) can be explained in relation to the complex and dynamic relationship between gender, power, identity and language learning.　Her research aims to uncover and explain inequalities in society, since her participants are mainly immigrants.

However, I do not position myself within critical theory for three reasons.　Firstly, I

believe that qualitative research needs to be open-minded and exploratory in the initial stage, yet critical theory is loaded with presupposition aimed at changing an oppressive society, and therefore contradicts this principle. For instance, Pavlenko (2002a:279) has a point in critiquing the social-psychological view which posits society as consisting of dichotomous and static L1 in-groups and L2 out-groups and in calling for the reframing of society as a multilingual world in which L2 users belong to dynamic and multiple ethnic, social and cultural communities. However, she argues that "issues of power and domination in the relationships between majority and minority groups" (ibid:281-282) need to be scrutinised. This dichotomous and static view classifying L2 users as a minority and L1 users as a majority seems inconsistent with her argument.

This is a common framework in critical theory, where L2 newcomers are regarded as the *oppressed* minority whereas the L1 members of the host community are the *oppressor* majority (e.g. Norton, 2000). However, such presupposition centred on a dichotomous view between the oppressor and the oppressed risks losing sight of a holistic view. For example, L2 users may be a minority in terms of ethnic and linguistic group, but can also be part of a majority by choosing to join various social units, such as a dominant religious group, in which they may share the same

membership with the L1 users, as Mari did by joining a Christian church (see Section

4.4.2).   Hence, we should be prudent about having the preconceived idea that L2 users

are the oppressed minority.

Secondly, Silverman (2006:47, 298, 400) warns about anecdotalism, that is, having

preconceived claims and showing convenient supporting data without providing

adequate analytic or methodological frameworks to evince their scientific credibility.   I

believe that critical theory is so loaded with predetermined ideological bias that it risks

being anecdotal.   Similarly, Widdowson (1998:143) makes a poignant critique of

expedient data analysis done in critical discourse analysis, maintaining that, "analysts

use the linguistic features of the text selectively to confirm their own prejudice".   In

this way, critical theory research skates on thin ice in terms of justifying its data

analysis.

Lastly, adopting critical theory runs the risk of weakening the participants' perspectives

and rewriting these as the researchers' views.   To illustrate this point, Hammersley

(2006:11) rightly warns of the danger of systematic bias produced by ethnography

rooted in critical theory, since it damages the tension between seeking to understand

participants' perspectives from the inside while also attempting to view them more distantly. Therefore, I do not support critical theory due to its shortcomings in terms of research methodology, though I acknowledge the value of critical theory research and its findings.

3.1.2.2 Social constructivism: My standpoint

The other paradigm is social constructivism, which takes context into account and proposes that human thoughts and behaviours are socially distributed and constructed through interaction with society and experience (Ushioda, 2003; 2006; 2007). Silverman (2006:400) defines constructivism as "a model which encourages researchers to focus upon how phenomena come to be what they are through the close study of interaction in different contexts." As a researcher supporting social constructivism, I need to constantly ask what historical events, social milieu and cultural experience have affected the participants' views, and also how the interaction between the participants and myself as a researcher has helped to construct their accounts in the British context.

As a social constructivist, I shifted from a unilateral psychological analysis to an

interactive one, which is illustrated in Figure 3.3 below.   Note that the participants are

categorised as 'L2 learners' who are detached from the society on the left side, whereas

they are treated openly as 'participants' with multiple identities who are part of the

society on the right.
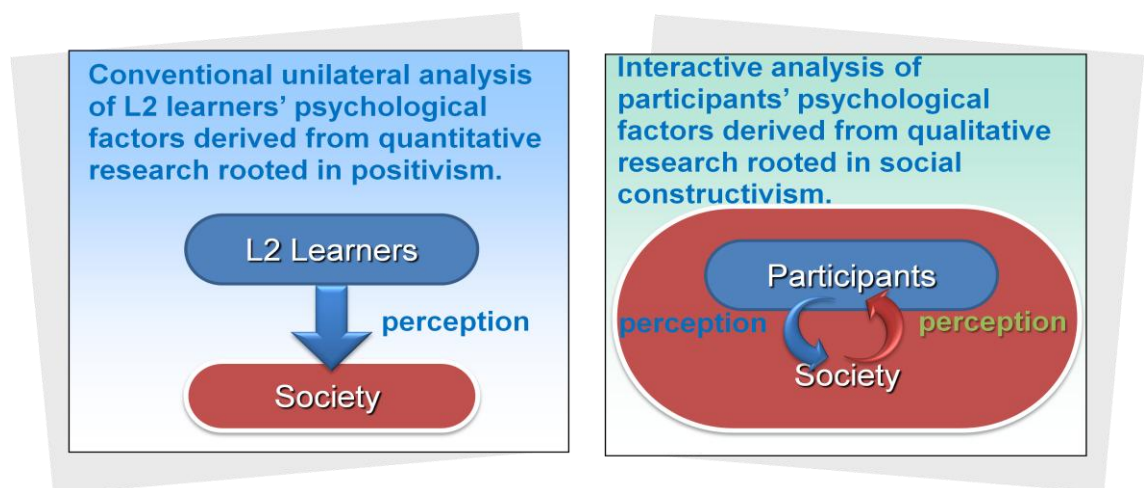
Figure 3.3 Shift to interactive analysis based on social constructivism

Since my research is based on social constructivism, I will focus on the individual's

mind from a holistic, narrative, temporal and context-bound approach, which has been a

relatively minor approach in the field of the L2 motivation, which has hitherto largely

been positivistic (Dörnyei, 2001:189; 2003:3-7) but is now emerging (e.g. Ushioda,

2003; 2006; 2007).   Understanding my paradigmatic stance was beneficial in helping

me to position my research appropriately across other paradigms and to develop my

research design consistently and coherently.   In the next section, I will discuss the

research traditions inherent in my research, which belong under the umbrella of social constructivism.

3.1.3 Research tradition

In terms of research tradition, my research is composed of a mixture of two traditions, namely narrative research and case study.

3.1.3.1 Narrative research

Firstly, narrative research forms the backbone of the current research. *Narrative* does not point to a mere story, but indicates "a system by which people organize their experience in, knowledge about, and transactions with the social world" (Bruner, 1990:35). *Narrative research* is a research tradition which is:

> [A]ny study that uses or analyzes narrative materials. The data can be collected as a story (a life story provided in an interview or a literary work) or in a different manner (field notes of an anthropologist who writes up his or her observations as a narrative or in personal letters). It can be the object of the research or a means for the study of another question. It may be used for comparison among groups, to learn about a social phenomenon or historical

period, or to explore a personality.   (Lieblich, Tuval-Mashiach, and Zilber, 1998:2)

This detailed definition encompasses the broader definition of narrative materials, whereas some researchers (e.g. Croker, 2009; Murray, 2009) virtually equate narrative materials with interview data.   This blanket interpretation of narrative research is congruent with the present study because not only interviews, but also participant observations, recordings, e-mails and SNS diaries are regarded as valid methods.

During interviews, I encouraged the participants to let their stories unfold by asking for specific examples of life events.   According to Bell (2002:209), narrative research "involves working with people's consciously told stories, recognizing that these rest on deeper stories of which people are often unaware".   In this way, narrative research is not just a series of descriptions and stories, but requires researchers to make a critical evaluation of what lies behind them.   Narrative research is crucial to the present study because my aim is to uncover and (co-)construct latent meanings and reasons underlying participants' life experience in the UK.   In other words, if my research only presents the stories and anecdotes of the participants, it would lack academic rigour. Hence, it is through inferring and interpreting their stories that this study meets the

academic demands.

Moreover, narrative research fits my research topics in three ways. Firstly, it facilitates the exploration of participants' adaptation and identity formation in the British context. On narrative research, Pavlenko (2002b:214) points out that "researchers can gain rare insights into learners' motivations, investments, struggles, losses and gains as well as into language ideologies that guide their learning trajectories".

Secondly, cultural identity is revealed and constructed by narrative in which people make sense of who they are in intercultural contexts (Fougère, 2008:187-189). In terms of identity, Lieblich et al. (1998:7, original italics) point out that "narratives provide us with access to people's identity and personality", and that "personal narratives, in both facets of content and form, *are* people's identities". Hence, the narratives *inform* who my participants are, and at the same time the narratives *form* who they are, both in terms of their generic and cultural-ethnic identities.

And lastly, narrative research offers an interventionist stance of advocacy from the ethnic minority perspective (Cortazzi, 2001:386). It grants voice and agency to such

participants (Pavlenko, 2007:180). Therefore, my participants, who are ethnic minorities in the UK, will be given a tool to voice their experiences, and I will have the means to construct their stories in tandem and to interpret underlying meanings.

Narrative research largely resembles life history, but I do not think it applies to the current study because I follow Chase's (2005:652) argument that life history is inherently an extensive autobiographical narrative that covers all or most of a life. Though my research explores participants' life experiences, it does not do so in such an extensive scope to cover all or most of their lives, and therefore it is better to describe it as narrative research.

3.1.3.2 Case study

Secondly, the current research has traits of case study, since Riessman (2008:193) rightly argues that "[n]arrative research is a form of case-centered inquiry". Case study is an ambiguous term, but the essence of this tradition is that a case refers to a particular unit of analysis in a bounded context (Miles and Huberman, 1994:25) and the aim is to provide a detailed description of each case (Richards, 2003:20). According

to Miles and Huberman (1994:26), a 'case' can refer to a multitude of social units such as an individual, a role, a small group, an organisation, a community, or a nation, as well as a location, an episode, an event and a period of time.   In the current research, each NJS participant living in the UK (see Section 3.3.3) is treated and analysed as a unique case from Chapter Four to Chapter Five, in a manner consistent with narrative research, which is case-centred according to Riessman (2008:11-13).   This is followed by a 'cross-case analysis' in Chapter Six, which Yin (2009:156-160) recommends using to strengthen the findings, that is, backed by sound arguments based on data taken from multiple cases.

As Stake (2005:443) argues, "case study is defined by interest in an individual case, not by the methods of inquiry used", and I realised that having an interest in each case was crucial.   Thus, I chose to study deeply each participant, who happened to be a case, not because I wanted to do a case study.   Hence, case study was adopted as a result.   I once again stress that I view each case as embedded in a context, and not detached from it.   Thus, I observed the NJSs' actions in their daily lives (see Section 3.1.1.2) to examine cases in bounded contexts.   This leads to the next point about the nature of methods in case studies.

The other trait of a case study is that multiple methods, such as documentation, archival records, interviews, direct observations, participant observation and physical artefacts are used to provide a rich description of cases (Yin, 2009:101-114). As was discussed from Sections 3.1.1.1 to 3.1.1.4, I adopted semi-structured interviews, participant observations, SNS diaries and other methods with a view to describing each case in detail.

Also, qualitative case studies are often longitudinal (Dörnyei, 2007:152; Hood, 2009:75). The current research required more than a year to collect abundant data from each participant. Thus, the current research is structured as a case study and presents findings in a narrative style which is suitable to present each case in temporal order, referring to contexts. Also, case study and narrative research are congruent because I am a part of each case who will be representing cases using the first-person 'I', and also because each case is not an abstraction but is depicted as a narrative of a real person narrated in the third-person 's/he' (Hood, 2009:82).

Stake (2005:445-446) distinguishes three types of case study: the intrinsic case study, the instrumental case study and the multiple (or collective) case study. The intrinsic

case study is undertaken to understand a particular case which itself is of interest, not because it enables understanding of some abstraction. The instrumental case study positions the case as of secondary interest and aims to provide insight into an external interest. The multiple case study puts even less emphasis on one particular case, and the study of several cases should uncover a phenomenon, population, or general condition. Although I have an interest in each case, my research is mostly in line with the multiple case study in that I chose to study multiple cases in order to understand them deeply, but more importantly to find external implications beyond these cases. This leads to the question of how my case study specifically relates to the wider world, which will be discussed in Section 3.2.1.

3.1.3.3 Other traditions outside the scope: Ethnography and phenomenology

I will now refer to ethnography and phenomenology which superficially seem to resemble the current research, but have incompatibilities. Firstly, ethnography in education and TESOL has been called into question either because of the lack of extended exposure to the field, or the lack of participant observation which results in heavy or entire reliance on interviews (Hammersley, 2006:4, 9; Richards, 2003:16).

Although I used participant observation, it was rather a supplementary method done in limited time. Therefore the current study is partially *ethnographic* rather than being fully an *ethnography*.

Secondly, phenomenology might seem to resemble my research in that the participants' perspectives on their world were examined to elaborate on the content and structure of their consciousness. However, I did not practice *bracketing* (Cohen et al. 2007:22-23; Kvale, 1996:54; Richards, 2003:19), the aseptic condition required in phenomenology to free researchers from preconceived ideas and only allow the participants' conscious experience to remain in collecting and analysing data. I occasionally asked whether the participants agreed with theories during interviews, and I combined both a priori and a posteriori categories in analysing data (see Section 3.4.4.3), hence I was not free from presupposition. Therefore my research is superficially *phenomenological* in *what* is studied but is not fully congruent with *phenomenology* in *how* data were collected and processed.

3.2 Generalisability, validity and reliability

I will now discuss the tripod of the research: generalisability, validity and reliability. The issue of generalisability will be discussed first.

3.2.1 Generalisability

While quantitative research results need to be generalisable, it is debatable whether this applies to qualitative research. Richards (2003:287-290) claims that the bottom line is that research has to have relevance to others outside its setting, but it is debatable whether this can be labelled 'generalisability'. He notes that researchers' responses range from those who fully accept the usage of the term 'generalisability' to those who reject it totally and insist on 'particularisation'. In the middle are those who would rather use the term 'transferability' instead. In order for any research to be transferable, it needs to provide sufficiently rich descriptions in order that readers can judge whether it applies to their own contexts (Croker, 2009:9; Richards, 2009:161).

In my view, the idea of generalisability is untenable in qualitative research like mine.

In order to claim generalisability, I believe that there should be a reasonably representative sample taken, preferably using probability sampling (Dörnyei, 2007:96-99), followed by quantitative data collection and hypothesis testing. As Kvale (1996:233) points out, findings derived from self-selected samples, as in my research, cannot be statistically generalised to the larger population.

As for transferability, I believe that it is not up to the researcher, but is rather up to readers to validate that the research is transferable to their contexts. Therefore, it is much more humble and accurate for me to claim that my research is particular as well as striving for transferability. Claiming particularisation is not the result of compromise, but rather reflects my support for the contextuality and heterogeneity of knowledge, with the focus on the uniqueness of individuals from which we can learn deep and persuasive lessons.

In my view, research can be explicitly transferable if it enables readers to have vicarious experience (Stake, 2005:454, see also Section 1.5), and also as Hood (2009:73) argues, if the particulars of a case resemble those of the readers. Thus, I have striven to meet the demands of transferability by providing a deep and detailed account of my research,

rich in personal narratives for the readers to judge whether they can find any relevance.

3.2.2 Validity

Definitions of validity and reliability remain contested in qualitative research (Richards,

2009:159), but I will take a standpoint on each term.   Validity points to the degree that

a research method investigates what it is supposed to investigate (Kvale, 1996:238).

Validity needs to be examined by constantly going back to research questions at all

times.   As I have argued in Section 3.1, what is vital in qualitative research is that the

formulation of research questions is not a one-off event at the start of the research,

rather questions can be reformulated at later stages because they are influenced by the

setting, which can inform researchers regarding what needs to be recast.   Hence, a

research process is not a linear one but is cyclical and iterative (Croker, 2009:10;

Freeman, 2009:28-30).   Changing research questions is a valid strategy in a qualitative

research study, which is fundamentally exploratory by nature.   As long as consistency

among the findings and research questions can be maintained, and there is an open and

transparent account of the research process, research should meet the demands of

validity.   I conducted my data collection and data analysis in an iterative and reflexive

way by going back to my research questions and devising further strategies to try to

guarantee the validity of my research.   This is illustrated below:
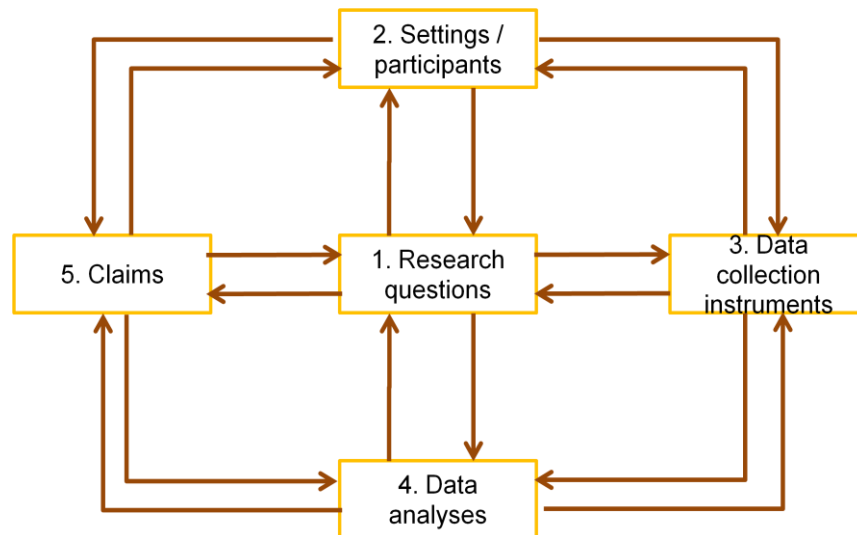
Figure 3.4 Maintaining validity by referring to research questions

3.2.3 Reliability

Some researchers equate reliability with consistency in that research findings are

reliable if they produce consistent results across a range of settings, and when similar

research is done by other researchers (Kvale, 1996:235; Wellington, 2000:31).

However, this is a questionable definition because qualitative research inherently

produces findings that are equivocal, depending on researchers' points of view and the

social settings. Holliday (2010:99) argues that "the outcomes of the research will always be influenced by the researcher's beliefs". It is therefore more reasonable and truthful to state that reliability is not so much about the product of research findings but about the procedure, in particular, the dependability of data and the strength of data analysis (Pavlenko and Lantolf, 2000:161; Richards, 2003:285). Dependability includes interrogating the context and the methods used to derive data (Richards, 2009:159). It requires the researchers to be accountable for their procedure in making claims by exposing data collection, data analysis and data representation. I have discussed methods in Section 3.1.1, and I wish to account for my data analysis and representation in Section 3.4, which aims to meet the demands of dependability. I will now turn to the practical matters of how I practised my pilot interviews and how I accessed the research participants.

3.3 Piloting and research participants

3.3.1 Pilot interviews

I carried out two stages of pilot interviews as follows:

	Interviewees	Themes explored	Purpose of pilot interviews
1st pilot interview stage 16-17 April 2008 in Japan	2 male university students	Explored general L2 motivation such as instrumentality and integrativeness.	To practice writing interview guide, to abide by research ethics, and to practice interviewing. It was more about how to carry out interviewing rather than exploring specific research topics.
2nd pilot interview stage 10 December 2008 - 2 February 2009 in the UK	1 post-graduate student 1 homemaker	Tested my research interviews based on my actual research questions.	To finalise contents of my interview guide, to make sure my research is in line with the ethical guidelines of my institution, to carry out interviewing.

Figure 3.5 Pilot interviews

The purpose of the first stage was to practice writing the interview guide with preliminary question wordings (see Appendix 1) which the majority of researchers recommend preparing prior to interviewing (Anderson, 1998:185; Dörnyei, 2007:136-138; Kvale, 1996:65, 88, 129-131; Richards, 2003:54, 69-71; Wellington, 2000:76-77). I also practiced abiding by research ethics by doing briefing and distributing the consent form (see Appendix 2) to the participants before I did interviewing.

This was followed by the second stage which was the final piloting of interviewing. I finalised the interview guide which I actually used for the first round interviews (see Appendix 3) after testing it in this stage. I also finalised the consent form after this stage which I later obtained from all my participants prior to interviewing (see Appendix 4). Although data obtained during piloting were not used for the current study, the interaction with the interviewees and their feedback on my interviewing were valuable to ensure that my research was sound and ethical.

3.3.2 Participant selection criteria

As I examined my research questions and the purpose of the study, it made sense to make it a prerequisite that the participants either intended to stay or have stayed at least a year in the UK, partly because my research questions are aimed to study how their attitudes and identities change over time, and partly because I anticipated that short term sojourners' degree of identity change will not be deep enough to make my research valid. I also preferred that their English is higher than beginner's level so that they could at least handle daily conversation in English. Lastly, the social settings of their language use are not limited to institutional settings, but any context that emerges in the

UK.

Dörnyei (2007:127) advocates that research using interviews might work well with an initial sample size of six to ten participants. Thus, I aimed to collect data from eight participants in the first round interviews as a contingency plan, lest some should drop out, or turn out to be inappropriate for my research. The bare minimum number of participants that was necessary to keep my research alive was two, because I opted a narrow but deep approach.

3.3.3 Sampling, access and rapport

My initial contact began in January 2009, when my Japanese friend Ken (pseudonym) invited me to a New Year's party among NJSs living in England, most of whom I knew beforehand since August 2008. I printed out a recruitment letter (see Appendix 5) and gave copies to Ken and the Japanese wives married to British husbands, many of whom were willing to participate. I recruited six participants through this community, who were all brought up in Japan but moved to the UK after getting married to their British spouses. In addition, two other Japanese postgraduate students, who were

acquaintances of mine, agreed to participate in my research. I had access to some of

their social networks around their campus which was helpful to collect data.

In this way, I used homogeneous sampling because all my eight participants were NJSs

who were living in England. Dörnyei (2007:127) points out that homogeneous

sampling is beneficial for in-depth analysis to identify common features in a group, a

feature which suited my project. Most of my participants were acquaintances of mine

or introduced to me through them, so the degree of rapport was relatively high. Miller

and Glassner (2004:133) argue that trust is indispensable between interviewers and

interviewees in order to yield knowledge underpinned by intersubjective depth and

mutual understanding. In this way, having acquaintances of mine was particularly

helpful because building rapport and trust was crucial in getting deep inside their minds.

I invited all the participants to my house to have lunch or dinner to deepen our rapport,

and in most cases, interviews in Japanese followed while we had dessert together.

Of the eight participants, two were male and six were female, two were postgraduate

students and six were immigrants. I questioned whether having students as well as

immigrants was conducive to my research, as opposed to just having either group.

However, I believe that having a diverse group implies that there will be diversity of experience, which is significant since it "increases the range of input the researcher can draw on in order to make conclusions or derive insights" (Murray, 2009:50). Moreover, Stake (2005:451) argues that while balance and variety of the participants in collective case studies are important, the opportunity to learn about them is often more important. The overview of the participants is given below:

	Mari	Naomi	Rika	Ken	Hana	Karen	Erika	Takeshi
Sex	Female	Female	Female	Male	Female	Female	Female	Male
Age	40s	40s	30s	50s	40s	30s	40s	30s
Residency in the UK	2 months	10 years	10 years	10 years	7 years	11 years	12 years	2 years
Occupation	High school teacher (Master's student)	Homemaker	Part-timer	Business-person	Homemaker	Part-timer	Business-person	Researcher (Part-time doctoral student)
Marital Status	Single	Married to a British husband	Married to a British husband	Married to a British wife	Married to a British husband	Married to a British husband	Bereaved of a British husband	Married to a Japanese wife
Data collection that were done	3 interviews 3 research diaries 7 participant observations 8 e-mails 1 recording	3 interviews 3 research diaries 15 participant diaries 8 participant observations 1 photo 1 document 1 e-mail	3 interviews 3 research diaries 8 participant observations 1 interview to her husband	1 interview 1 research diary 1 participant observation	3 interviews 3 research diaries 8 participant observations 1 interview to her husband	3 interviews 3 research diaries 8 participant observations 1 interview to her husband	1 interview 1 research diary 1 participant observation	3 interviews 3 research diaries 3 participant observations 6 e-mails 3 recordings

Figure 3.6 List of research participants

Note: All names are pseudonyms. Age and residency in the UK were taken during the first interviews from February to May 2009.

3.3.4 My view towards the participants

As mentioned in Section 3.1.2.2, I took a social constructivist stance in approaching my research.   As Lantolf and Pavlenko (2001:145) contend, I see the participants as agents who need to be understood as people instead of processing devices that take linguistic inputs and transform them to outputs.   The participants are human beings who have feelings, not unidimensional abstractions (Pavlenko, 2007:164).   Each agent has a unique history which was shaped as a result of interacting and renegotiating with others in society, and thus other agencies have contributed to the formation of the mental life of the participants (Lantolf and Pavlenko, 2001:148, 156).   Thus, I needed to understand the history of how the participants learned and used English, and to clarify how their attitudes and identities were formed.

I will present two participants for the current study, Mari and Naomi.   Mehan (1979:15) rightly points out that, "researchers seldom provide their criteria or grounds for including certain instances and not others," and therefore I will briefly explain how I have come to choose them.   I initially planned to present four participants, but I realised that I needed to describe them in great detail because I treated them as *people*

rather than *linguistic processing devices*, which meant I needed to refer to their multiple and complex identities *holistically* rather than partially disclosing their *fragmentary* identity as an L2 learner.   Also in terms of the data representation approach, I disclosed interview transcripts fully including my interview turns instead of in summary participant monologue form (see Section 3.4.5), which meant the word count grew. And therefore I initially decided to present three participants who gave me richer data by allowing me to interview, observe, exchange e-mails and record their conversations — Mari, Naomi and Takeshi.   This was a good mixture as I planned to have both international students and immigrants to have diverse perspectives to derive my insights.

Unfortunately however, Takeshi withdrew and the analysis of his data had to be omitted from the current research (see also Section 3.4.6).   Thus, I concentrated on presenting Mari and Naomi's narratives in rich detail and as deeply as possible so that readers can judge whether my claims are transferable.   Though I will present two cases only, it does not mean that other participants' data were ignored because there were instances when I referred to other participants' voices and asked Naomi how she felt about their views (see Chapter Five, Extract 5.20).

3.4 Data analysis

One of the fundamental difficulties in qualitative research is that methods of data analysis are not sufficiently explicit and well formulated (Miles and Huberman, 1994:2), and this issue remains unresolved in the field of language teaching (Richards, 2009:164). In spite of this shortage of tried and tested methods, I devised a flowchart which shows how I handled data by modifying Wellington's (2000:134-141) seven stages of data analysis as shown below:
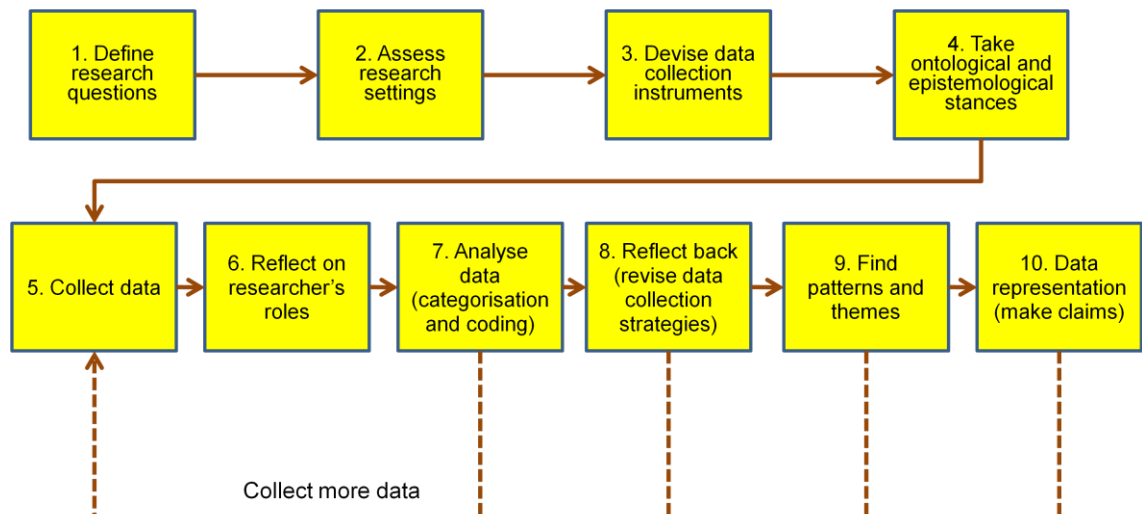
Figure 3.7 Brief overview of the handling of data in the current research

As I have argued in Section 3.2.2, the actual research process is more iterative, so the

actual flow may reverse, and therefore this flowchart only describes a rough overview of data analysis. The first three stages in Figure 3.7 have already been discussed in this chapter. As was clarified in Section 3.1, research questions determine the types of methods, which in turn shape the paradigmatic stance. In regard to the fourth stage (4. Take ontological and epistemological stances), I will discuss how I view data as a social constructivist in Section 3.4.1. Regarding the fifth and the sixth stages, I realised the importance of reflecting on my role as a researcher as I collected data, which will be discussed in Section 3.4.2. I will also discuss how I used Japanese to collect, transcribe and code data in Section 3.4.3.

The seventh stage (7. Analyse data (categorisation and coding)) is the key stage of data analysis and will be discussed in depth in Section 3.4.4. It was after this stage that I made decisions on whether to collect more data, or whether to revise data collection strategies (8. Reflect back (revise data collection strategies)). Categorisation and coding were done to search for patterns, themes and regularities among the units of data (9. Find patterns and themes), which are discussed in Section 3.4.4.4.

The last stage (10. Data representation (make claims)) is about making claims based on

data.   I presented my data and my findings twice in my own institution, and three times at international conferences, which was a good opportunity to reflect back and also to devise other strategies for more data collection.   In this way, presenting data was an opportunity to reflect back on the data and plan for further data collection.

I would like to note that the whole process of data analysis was concurrent with data collection and was cyclical, and therefore was not the last phase in the research process, as has been pointed out by several researchers (e.g. Freeman, 2009:38; Wellington, 2000:149).   Accordingly, I have taken a cyclical approach in collecting and analysing data.   Once some data were collected, transcription, analysis and presentation took place without waiting for the data collection to end.   And lastly, these ten stages of data analysis served as guidelines for my research, although the qualitative research process is by nature more iterative and complex.   While this process reflects a general guideline, there were more crossovers and iterations during the process.

3.4.1 Ontology and epistemology

As was discussed in Section 3.1.2.2, I stand within social constructivism, which relates

to the way I approach ontology, "the science or study of being" (Richards, 2003:34) and

epistemology, "the science or study of knowledge" (ibid:35).

3.4.1.1 Ontological stance

In terms of ontological stance, I adopt a relativist position, in that the nature of reality is

dependent on our ways of understanding, and there are multiple realities created by

different individuals at different times in different circumstances (Croker, 2009:6;

Richards, 2003:34).   Based on this belief, I interpreted data taken from interviews,

SNS diaries and e-mails as "a particular voice that a particular research participant has

adopted momentarily when providing an account" (Block, 2000:760), instead of a fixed

reality.   This belief also applies to fieldnote data collected through participant

observations, which do not present a complete record but rather showed selective

accounts that are significant to observers while leaving out others that are insignificant

(Emerson et al., 2001:353).

In my research, insider meaning, or the mental realities of the participants' lived

experiences needed to be explored.   Regarding insider meaning, Dörnyei (2007:38)

points out that, "it is only the actual participants themselves who can reveal the meanings and interpretations of their experiences and actions". However, this is at best only half-true because insider meaning cannot be revealed only by participants but is instead co-constructed through interaction with the researchers (Miles and Huberman, 1994:8). Thus, reality is co-constructed by the co-authors — researchers who ask and participants who reply, and vice versa (Kvale, 1996:183, 226; Pavlenko, 2002b:214). In this way, "mental realities do not reside "inside" individual humans but rather are constructed linguistically" (Peräkylä, 2005:871).

To begin with, the participants' mental realities would have been co-constructed through interaction with society prior to the interaction with researchers, which means that society also plays a role. In addition, mental realities are interpreted by researchers, who sift and present findings to readers and audiences where the reality is co-constructed again. Thus, the "triple hermeneutics" maintained by Kvale and Brinkmann (2009:313-314) gives an exhaustive picture of how the participants' mental realities are co-constructed. With participants as the protagonists, society, researchers and readers play a supporting role in co-authoring the mental reality of the participants. This ontological view reflecting triple hermeneutics is illustrated in Figure 3.8:
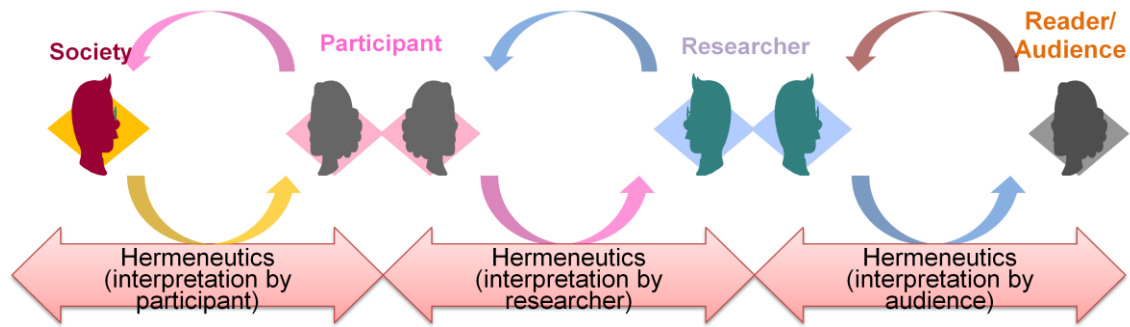
Figure 3.8 Triple hermeneutics: Co-construction of mental reality

3.4.1.2 Epistemological stance

As for my epistemological position, I adopt an intersubjectivist position, which is clearly argued by Kvale (1996:286):

> [V]alid knowledge is sought through a rational argument by participants in a discourse. The basic medium of this discourse is language, which is neither objective nor subjective, but inter-subjective.

As was mentioned in the previous section, knowledge is co-constructed between interlocutors, particularly, but not limited to interviews. Participants interpret, take in and formulate their knowledge, which in turn is interpreted by researchers, and finally by the readers.   It was also noted in Section 1.3.2 that knowledge points to connotation — interpreting hidden or implicit meaning.

Knowledge is also co-constructed in participant observation which is done in fieldwork context that is not pre-given, but is rather constructed through interactions and activities of data collection, as well as through the activity of writing fieldnotes (Emerson et al., 2001:354). Hence, knowledge is co-constructed through the social interactions between participants and the participant observer, who may select data and represent those that are relevant to one's research questions, but at the same time omit those that are irrelevant.

3.4.2 Reflexivity: My role as a researcher

As was discussed in the previous sections, I, as a researcher, played the role of co-author in co-constructing intersubjective mental realities through interaction with the participants. This also implied that I needed to have reflexivity, a self-awareness of my subjectivity in relation to the participants and the research topic and how this affected the research findings (Roulston, 2010:88-89). As Travers (2006:267-268) notes, reflexivity about researchers' roles in a postmodern qualitative research process is beneficial for refreshing the practices of interviews and ethnography, and I believe that researchers need to be responsible and state their paradigmatic standpoint as well as the

functional roles they assumed. For, in a naturalistic inquiry in which researchers work closely with their participants, researchers cannot completely detach themselves from the research settings, and, on the contrary, become the catalysts for the way the participants talk or behave. Subjective as I may seem to be, reflexivity gives me a disciplined subjectivity.

3.4.2.1 Who am I in the participants' minds?

The first thing that I needed to ask was, "Who am I in the participants' minds?" The data co-constructed through interviews, participant observations, and in some degree, SNS diaries and e-mails were influenced by my presence and how the participants viewed me, our relationship and the purpose of the data collection. This applied particularly to interviews, in which membership categorization devices played a significant role in the participants' minds (Baker, 2004:163-164). I needed to be aware that I may have been seen as a researcher, a friend, a man, a research student, or something else or a blend of these roles.

3.4.2.2 An empathetic researcher rather than a neutral researcher

The second question is about my neutrality as a researcher. I initially endeavoured to maintain the neutrality of my role as a researcher, particularly in interviews, in which "interviewers should encourage talk in a non-leading way" (Rapley, 2001:310). More specifically, Dörnyei (2007:141) emphasises that interviewers need to be neutral in the sense that they should create reasonable space for the interviewees to freely share their experiences, no matter how socially undesirable their statements may be. Similarly, Richards (2003:96) argues that interviewers should maintain a neutral response and avoid distortions in order to elicit full talk.

To summarise these scholars' points: researchers need to reject intrusiveness. I therefore wrote on the consent form which was distributed to all participants prior to interviews that they were free to tell the truth and that there were no right or desirable answers (see Appendix 4). This idea was congruent with semi-structured interviews, which allow participants ample room to talk naturally and freely. In addition, all the participants were older than me, which was helpful for them to talk without feeling oppressed, because in Japanese culture it would be unnatural to talk freely to senior

people, who are to be respected. During the interviews, I tried to avoid loaded questions and judgemental talk.

However, this neutral stance started to change, especially from the second interviews after a certain level of rapport and mutual understanding was established. Dörnyei (2007:141) illustrates this by pointing out that neutrality is questioned by academics in that interviewers tend to be empathetic and thus taking a stance is inevitable. Besides, far from being neutral invitations, our interview questions are a major part of the data that shape how respondents should speak (Baker, 2004:163), and therefore Fontana and Frey (2005:696) are right in saying that, "interviewing is not merely the neutral exchange of asking questions and getting answers". Furthermore, Kvale (1996:149) argues that one of the qualification criteria for interviewers is to be empathetic by actively listening to the emotional message given by the participants, and this suited my approach.

In my own interviewing, there were times when I strongly agreed with the participants' points of view, and even self-disclosed my own experience, which tended to happen after establishing rapport. For instance, during the second interview with Naomi, she

confided that she might not have befriended other Japanese in the neighbourhood if she

had met them in Japan.   I empathised and shared a similar view as a Japanese living

abroad (see Chapter Five, Extract 5.20).   This event shows how I gained more honest

and richer information by being her comrade at the expense of neutrality and

non-intrusiveness.   In this way I was far from a nonintrusive neutral researcher, but

gradually became an empathetic insider while I strove to be as non-judgemental as

possible, which was, all in all, a strength rather than a weakness, since I gained rich,

detailed and personalised sets of data.

3.4.3 Using Japanese for data collection, transcribing and coding

Interviews, SNS diaries, e-mails and my research diaries were all in Japanese, as were

the transcriptions and the coding.   Fieldnotes were composed of Japanese and English.

Since all the presentations and the thesis had to be in English, there were challenges of

translation which entailed intensive labour.   However, Pavlenko (2007:172) pays high

tribute to using L1 as she argues that, "[u]ndoubtedly, in studies of subject and life

reality where the speakers' L2 proficiency is low and the L1 is shared with the

researcher, the choice of L1 as the language of data collection is justified."

Firstly, it made sense to use Japanese for interviews and collecting diaries written in Japanese in my study where the participants were asked to express their feelings and thoughts about their lived experience in the UK. All the participants and I as the researcher were more fluent in Japanese than English, and therefore using Japanese gave us much more freedom to express ourselves accurately. This is also reported by Morita (2004:582), who claims that her research yielded highly interactive and dialogic data since both the researcher and the participants were NJSs studying in Canada.

Secondly, transcription was done in Japanese, which was virtually the first step in adequate analysis of the interview data (Richards, 2003:81). I did not choose phonetic transcription for interviews and recorded conversations because my research was not based on conversation analysis. Transcripts were not as detailed as phonetic ones, but I endeavoured to include pauses, since this is often a feature of Japanese conversation where speakers are carefully reflecting on their thoughts, and some significant backchannels where the listeners are expressing that they are listening to and respecting the speaker.

Lastly, coding was done in Japanese. As was discussed in Section 3.1.3.1, the current

research is grounded in narrative research.   Pavlenko (2007:173) contends that, "all narratives should be analyzed in the language in which they were told and not in translation".   I believe that during the data analysis phase, it is more accurate and loyal to the original meaning to code, categorise and to find themes and patterns in Japanese than in English.   There will be deeper discussion of categorisation and coding in the following section.

3.4.4 Categorisation and coding

As was discussed in Section 3.1.2.1, Silverman (2006:47, 298, 400) rightly contends that qualitative research needs to prove that it has not fallen into the trap of anecdotalism.   This discussion leads to the question of having a priori or a posteriori categories for data analysis, and it may seem more sensible to rule out the former and employ the latter.

Also, the use of data analysis software such as NVivo could have been a potential solution to the problem of ensuring unbiased data analysis.   However, I decided against using NVivo; although it may be useful in analysing wide and shallow data taken from a

relatively large number of people, it is not effective in analysing narrow and deep data taken from a few participants, as in this case. I believe I had more advantages than NVivo when it came to reading between the lines of data co-constructed by the participants and myself, using my knowledge of the participants' history and context which was vital for my data analysis.

3.4.4.1 On a posteriori categories

Embracing grounded theory, which is a representative research tradition adopting only a posteriori categories, seemed an appropriate approach. According to Glaser and Strauss (1967:37):

> An effective strategy is, at first, literally to ignore the literature of theory and fact on the area under study, in order to assure that the emergence of categories will not be contaminated by concepts more suited to different areas.

Although I agree that patterns and themes can emerge out of researchers' expectations, I do not believe that this is the only case. Data analysis should certainly focus on and identify regular patterns of action and talk which mark a group of people (Eisenhart, 2001:18), and we should be open to unexpected phenomena.

However, I do not believe that I can literally ignore the literature of theory, and eliminate my knowledge by transcending time and space to reach a vacuum state. As Pavlenko (2007:167) points out, grounded theory "obscures the sociohistoric and cultural influences on the researcher's conceptual lens". Such striving for an aseptic condition may be applicable in cultural or social anthropological research in which researchers are completely unfamiliar with the norms of research settings, but it cannot be directly applied to my own research, in which I can at best adopt a 'deliberate naïveté' (Kvale 1996:31, 33), that is voluntarily choosing to be open and naïve to various phenomena.

3.4.4.2 On a priori categories

To the contrary, Miles and Huberman (1994:58) maintain the usefulness of codes derived from researchers' conceptual frameworks, research questions, hypotheses, problem areas and key variables prior to entering the field. Wellington (2000:145) contends that returning to research questions is a valuable tactic in categorising data. Hence, I believe it is legitimate to utilise research questions to narrow down themes at the initial stage and to apply them to data analysis.

Also, the literature review and my own experience of adaptation/acculturation and intercultural communication may have played some role in analysing the data since my personal experience was a key factor in initiating the current research, as was discussed in Section 1.2.   I occasionally used the 'Domains to be covered' in Appendix 3, which derived from the research questions, to filter data as shown below:

1.   Integrativeness

2.   Acculturation attitudes

3.   Identity

Although I accept using a priori categories, exclusive use of such non-emergent categories has shortcomings.   Pavlenko (2007:175) emphasised the significance of reflecting on the conceptual framework and of formulating theoretical assumptions before data analysis and reformulate them afterwards, which should make researchers realise that they "no longer have to pretend that their categories are 'emerging'". However, I believe that categories actually emerge when doing interviews.   For instance, while I was exploring what draws the participants closer to the native British people based on the theoretical framework of integrativeness, the participants often

replied that it is not just the interlocutors' ethnicity or their language that draws them closer, but that this is also determined by having common background and conversation topics. Although it was the theoretical framework that triggered the inquiry, there were themes and patterns that emerged which could not have been anticipated by the theoretical assumptions.

3.4.4.3 Combining a priori and a posteriori categories

My data categorisation was comprised of a mixture of a priori and a posteriori categories, which is the most common and rational approach to analysing qualitative data (Wellington, 2000:142). As for the emergent/non-emergent debate, I take an eclectic view. Some patterns and themes emerge whilst others need the help of the research questions and at times, literature review. However, I emphasise that I primarily support an inductive rather than deductive approach. Thus, my views on categorising data and finding patterns are illustrated below:
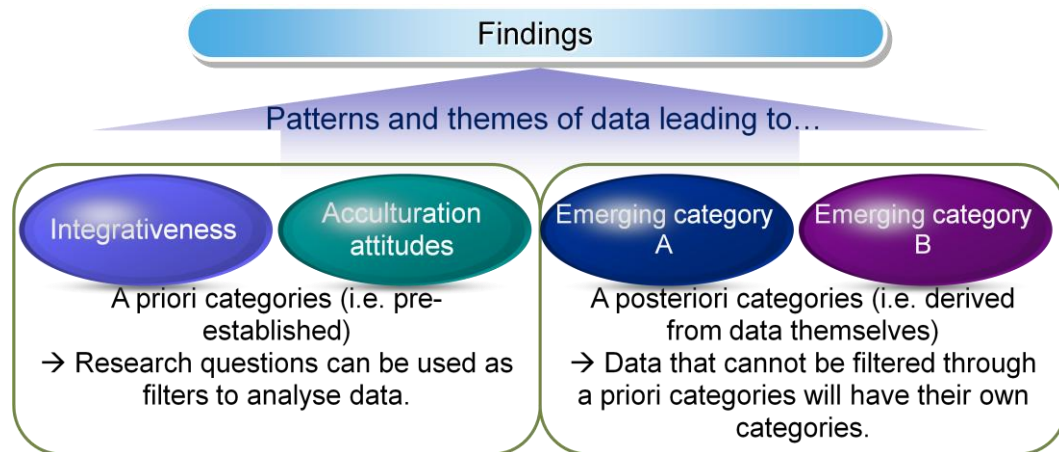
Figure 3.9 Categorising data and finding patterns

As Figure 3.9 shows, findings must be presented, and in order to do so, there should be

a point of saturation to close the curtain on data analysis (Croker, 2009:10). The

saturation point becomes evident after themes and patterns are repeatedly found

(Wellington, 2000:138). I found this to be true, since I adopted repeated ethnographic

interviews. By the time I reached the third round of interviews, my interviewees'

statements reinforced my findings and therefore I anticipated that further data collection

would be redundant unless I changed my research questions dramatically. Figure 3.10

below presents a picture of how data analysis reaches saturation. In order to reach

saturation, I sought for convincing explanations as well as disconfirming evidence to

determine whether the analysis held.
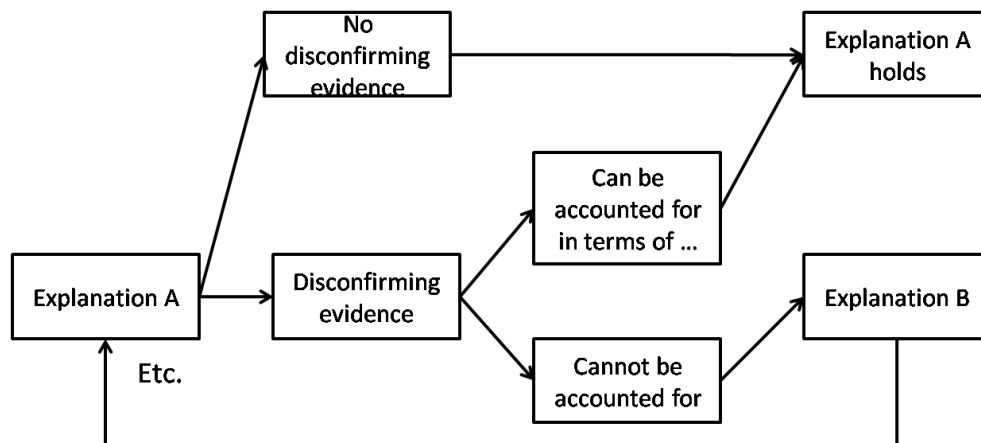
Figure 3.10 An approach to disconfirming evidence (Richards, 2003:283)

3.4.4.4 Coding

Since the macro-view of categorisation has been discussed, I would like to turn to the micro-view of coding. There are three essential elements: codes, categories and themes (Murray, 2009:52-56; Holliday, 2010:102-109). I first summarised textual data which was followed by coding, which converts data to key words or phrases such as 'anxiety' and 'aspiration'. Similar codes were grouped together into higher categories, and likewise similar categories were grouped and integrated into highest themes. I have been influenced by the constant comparative method (Glaser and Strauss, 1967:101-115), although I do not take my stand within grounded theory. Thus, two features of this method worthy of highlighting are coding an incident for a category and

comparing it with others in the same category (ibid:106), and looking for theoretical saturation in which creating further categories becomes redundant (ibid:111). Relationships and patterns among the categories were sought, which led to the generation of themes.   A sample of coding done in the current research is shown in Figure 3.11:

1. Textual data were summarised, coded, and categorised.

Summary: Textual data is summarised.   **Code**: Summary is coded.   **Category**: Code is categorised.

SNS diary data

Textual data	Summary	Code	Category
(NA-080411-SNS15) ある知り合いに言われたのですが、「Naomiは両親が高知だし、自分はイギリスだし、全く関係ないじゃない・・・・」と。その言葉に心の底から驚きました。そういうことを言う感覚がわからないな・・・と。きっと彼女の大切なものの基準が単に肉親、自分なので物理的距離感だけなを言ったのかもしれません。しかしこの日本の一大事に、たくさんの人の死と不自由な生活に無関心ではいられません。それに又、私には大好きな友人が関東、東北にいます。これから収束に向かうとしても、心配です。だけれど気がつきました。愛する祖国、愛する友人が居るということは幸せなことですね。私はそれらを不幸にしたくないし、失いたくありません。	東日本大震災に関して自分を外部者扱いする発言に反発して、自分は内部者であって日本とそこに住む友人たちに対する愛情を持っていることを表現している	日本人としての自負	日本人としての自覚

Summary: She expresses love for Japan and for her friends there as an insider, whereas she is indignant at people who treat her as an outsider of the earthquake disaster in Japan.

Code: Pride as a Japanese

Category: Self-awareness as a Japanese

Interview data

Textual data	Summary	Code	Category
(NA-071209-INT2, Line 361-372) IR: 将来イギリス国籍、そのパスポートを取れるとしたら？ IE: それによってー、あの、日本国籍を失わないんだったら取りたいです。 IR: ああー、そうですね。日本の国籍は。 IE: 日本国籍を失うのはやっぱ一番避けたいところなんで。 IR: うん、日本の法律上、二者択一になっちゃいますからね。 IE: うーん、そうですね。 IR: うん、で、もう本当に1つしかない、選択肢がないとしたら日本を残したいってことで。 IE: そうですね。 IR: じゃあイギリスを取るつもりはもう全くないんですね？ IE: うーん、ないですね、今のところ。	日本の国籍を失ってまでイギリスの国籍を取りたくないので、日本の国籍を保持したい	国籍について	帰属意識

Summary: She does not wish to obtain British nationality at the expense of losing Japanese nationality.

Code: About nationality

Code: Sense of belonging

2. Categorised data were cut with scissors, compared, contrasted, and grouped with other data which fell under similar themes.
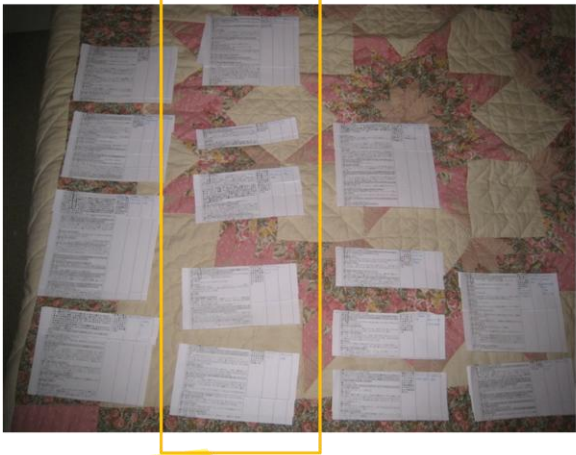
Theme: Identity: artist, mother, Japanese (アイデンティティ:アーティスト・母・日本人)

Category 1	Paintings that transcend English (英語を越える絵への思い)	4 times
Category 2	As a mother(母親として)	2 times
Category 3	Self-awareness as a Japanese(日本人としての自覚)	13 times
Category 4	Nostalgia for Japan(日本への郷愁)	6 times
Category 5	Sense of belonging(帰属意識)	2 times

Figure 3.11 Codes, categories and themes

3.4.5 Data representation

Using the themes and organising them in temporal order, I was able to configure the participants' narratives.   As narrative research explores the life of an individual, each participant is treated as a case, and is assigned a chapter.   There are three things to note regarding data representation.

Firstly, I adopted a *biographical* third-person perspective to clearly separate the role of

participants, whose narratives unfold, and of myself as the narrator.   Such analysis is

beneficial in opening up the possibility of exploring the experience of various learners

(Benson, 2004:14).   I believe that *autobiographical* narratives are at times untruthful

in that they present interview data as first-person monologues, which omits the

interviewers' intervention.   Hence, a *biographical* approach was adopted.

Secondly, in order to integrate fieldnote data, I adopted an excerpt strategy (Emerson et

al., 2001:364), which clearly distinguishes fieldnote extracts from commentary and

interpretation by indenting or italicizing.   This was effective in separating description

of events and the interpretation that followed.   With this view in mind, I also adopted

an 'extract-comment-argument' flow in presenting data (Holliday, 2010:103-105).   An

extract of data was indented, which was followed by comment and deeper

interpretation/argument about how I interpreted it.   Examples of these data

representation techniques are given in Chapter Four (see Extract 4.8).   As was

discussed in Section 3.4.1.1, I espouse triple hermeneutics, and hence I am a co-author

(as interviewer/observer) with my participants in co-constructing data as well as being a

co-author (reporter) for the readers.   Thus, the excerpt strategy and the

'extract-comment-argument' flow fit in with triple hermeneutics since they clarify

whether it is the fieldworker describing the experience or the author interpreting and presenting events to readers (Emerson et al., 2001:364).

Lastly, as was discussed in Section 3.4.1.2, I support intersubjectivism in terms of epistemology. Hence, I suggest that narratives are jointly constructed in interviews and are not simply answers (Cortazzi, 2001:390). Furthermore, interview data are "*voices* adopted by research participants in response to the researcher's prompts and questions" (Block, 2000:759, original italics). Rapley (2001:306, original italics) contends that, "an attempt should be made to include some degree of the interactional detail and *at the very least* interviewers' talk should *always* be included".

Thus, I did not present participants' voices as monologues, but tried to present as much of the turn-taking during interviews as possible to indicate how data were co-constructed. This decision was made partly because when I presented my participants' voices in a monologue style during a seminar, I received feedback from one of my participants who happened to attend the session and felt uncertain about the content and style of the data represented. Some of the issues were the omission of hedging, understatement and correction, the fact that participants' remarks sounding too

direct for Japanese people, and the overall impression of dramatisation. Certainly,

these points were valid and so I decided not to present interview data in monologue

style and not to decontextualise data. This also led to my realising the importance of

respondent validation.

3.4.6 Respondent validation

Such feedback from a participant made me realise that one of the limitations of narrative

research is that "participants can never be quite free of the researcher's interpretation of

their lives" (Bell, 2002:210). Thus, respondent validation is an effective

countermeasure, as it allows each participant to read the research and ensure that the

contents are not biased. Richards (2009:161) points out that respondent validation is

an important element in establishing the credibility of qualitative research. Murray

(2009:59) contends that some possibility of misrepresentation can be avoided by

respondent validation. I believe that it is also useful to prevent the research from being

anecdotal.

Roulston (2010:85) demonstrates different levels of respondent validation in which the

interview transcriptions, or preliminary findings, or the report are shown to the participant. I showed my participants their respective findings chapters (see Chapters Four and Five) to ensure that the descriptions of their narratives were correct before I undertook a cross-case analysis and discussion (see Chapter Six).

I need to mention that a chapter on Takeshi was completed and sent to him for respondent validation. However, this was not fulfilled by the agreed time due to his personal commitments and he withdrew from the research. His chapter has therefore been omitted from the current thesis, which was a loss but was a necessary decision in order to maintain its credibility.

3.5 Ethical considerations

Prior to data collection, this research was approved according to the Ethical Guidelines stipulated by the Centre for Applied Linguistics Graduate Progress Committee at the University of Warwick. Having been given approval, I abided by these ethical guidelines in collecting data. Two noteworthy points are informed consent and protecting the privacy of the participants.

3.5.1 Informed consent

Informed consent is a crucial element in research ethics. Thus, the participants were given consent forms (see Appendix 4), and time to read and sign them prior to the first interviews. I have summarised six points below which I pledged in the consent forms, as has been recommended by several scholars (Dörnyei, 2007:70-71; Kvale, 1996:112-114; Wellington, 2000:77).

1. To seek permission to record the interviews.

2. To guarantee the anonymity and confidentiality of participants.

3. To notify participants of the vital information about the research itself, such as the purpose, reason for selecting the individual for research, duration of the interview and how the notes and recording will be handled afterwards.

4. To indicate that participation is voluntary and that participants can withdraw at any time without prejudice.

5. To offer to answer any questions regarding the nature of the research, with my contact details.

6. To seek the signatures of participants with the date of their agreement to the

provisions stated between 1 to 5.

One dilemma was in respect of participant observation.   Due to the exploratory nature of this research, when I distributed the consent forms to my participants, I did not have a clear idea about how to do naturalistic participant observation.   Thus, when opportunities to spend time with them arose, at times I decided to ask them orally if I could observe them, and at other times when I was clearly in their company as a friend, I did not seek such permission and hence I did not collect signed consent forms at all. However, Dörnyei (2007:70) acknowledges that obtaining signed forms is not always necessary for some cultural groups, and I am aware that Japanese business customs are frequently based on oral rather than written consent.   Nonetheless, I stress the fact that the participants were shown all their data I included in the current study prior to its completion.

3.5.2 Anonymity and confidentiality

Before the data collection began, I assured the participants that anonymity and confidentiality would be kept and that data would be protected.   All the data used

pseudonyms, and specific names regarding their address and professional affiliations were not shown. Data were stored in computer hard discs protected by passwords, anti-virus software and anti-spyware to prevent file leak. As far as the photographs are concerned, I asked the participants for permission to include them in my research. In this way, I strove to protect the privacy and confidentiality of the participants.

3.6 Summary

In this chapter I have argued my paradigmatic stance as a social constructivist and detailed how and why I decided to adopt narrative case study. This helps explain the structure of how I will present my findings in Chapters Four and Five, in which each participant is treated as a case. Such a structure is rooted in the belief that I should represent holistically the story of each specific individual as a person in a specific time and place, instead of making componentised abstract psychological factors or my data collection methods as the protagonists. Each person's story will then be colligated through a cross-case analysis and discussion to answer the research questions in Chapter Six.

CHAPTER 4 MARI

I will now present the narrative of Mari, which will start with a table that describes how

I obtained her data.

	Date	Location/ Situation	Data collection instrument	Code
1	20 February 2009	My house	Interview 1	MA-200209-INT1
2	20 February 2009		Research Diary 1	MA-200209-RES1
3	7 March 2009		E-mail 1	MA-070309-EMA1
4	7 March 2009		E-mail 2	MA-070309-EMA2
5	4 April 2009	Field trip organised by Lucy for international students	Participant observation 1	MA-040409-OBS1
6	23 July 2009	Field trip organised by Lucy for international students / Mari's flat	Participant observation 2	MA-230709-OBS2
7	23 July 2009	Mari leading a Bible study group for the international students at Julie's house	Participant observation 3	MA-230709-OBS3
8	16 August 2009	Julie's birthday party	Participant observation 4	MA-160809-OBS4
9	11 October 2009	Gracie's birthday party	Participant observation 5	MA-111009-OBS5
10	9 December 2009	Story telling performance as part of her master's programme	Participant observation 6	MA-091209-OBS6
11	20 December 2009		E-mail 3	MA-201209-EMA3
12	25 December 2009	Christmas party at Julie's house	Participant observation 7	MA-251209-OBS7

13	30 December 2009	University library	Interview 2	MA-301209-INT2
14	30 December 2009		Research Diary 2	MA-301209-RES2
15	31 December 2009	Dinner at Lucy's house	Recording 1	MA-311209-REC1
16	15 February 2010	My house	Interview 3	MA-150210-INT3
17	15 February 2010		Research Diary 3	MA-150210-RES3
18	17 February 2010		E-mail 4	MA-170210-EMA4
19	20 April 2010	After Mari returned to Japan	E-mail 5	MA-200410-EMA5
20	27 December 2010	After Mari returned to Japan	E-mail 6	MA-271210-EMA6
21	6 January 2011	After Mari returned to Japan	E-mail 7	MA-060111-EMA7
22	16 April 2011	After Mari returned to Japan	E-mail 8	MA-160411-EMA8
23	26 May 2011	Mari's respondent validation	Document	MA-260511-VAL1
24	20 August 2011	Mari's respondent validation	Document	MA-200811-VAL2

Table 4.1 Data on Mari

4.1 Introducing Mari

Name (pseudonym):	Mari
Nationality:	Japanese
Sex:	Female
Age:	Late 40s
Occupation:	English language teacher in a high school in Japan, (MA drama and theatre education student in the UK)

Family:	Single
Age when Mari started learning English:	12
The number of years Mari has used English (excluding classroom use):	1 year 7 months
The number of years Mari has lived in the UK (excluding sightseeing or short stay):	2 months (immediately following a year and a half study abroad in the USA)
People with whom Mari uses English often:	Classmates (international students)
TV programmes in English Mari often watches:	None
Books, magazines, or websites in English Mari often reads:	BBC Radio World News
Social activities, clubs, or gatherings Mari attends:	Bible study, yoga, Korean dance

Table 4.2 Mari's personal information

Note: The data were largely from the personal information form (see Appendix 8)

provided by Mari prior to the first interview on 20th February 2009.

4.1.1 Personal background of Mari

Mari is an English language teacher in a high school in Aichi Prefecture, located at the

heart of Honshu Island.   She was born and bred in Japan and lives in Nagoya, Japan's

fourth most populous city.   She has short-term experience outside Japan, such as

travelling and she attended a teacher training programme as a trainee in Kent, UK for a

week, which was her first sojourn in the UK, sometime between 2002 and 2004

(MA-200209-INT1).   In spring 2007 she was granted study leave from her high school for three years to get a master's degree, and so she first went to California, USA to study for an MA in TESOL (MA-200209-RES1).   Her four semesters' coursework was supposed to end in May 2009 and she was due to return to her teaching job in Nagoya in April 2010.   However, she decided to finish her coursework in three semesters, leaving just the final portfolio project so that she could spend the remaining full year doing another master's degree in drama education in the UK, which offers one-year master's programmes (MA-200209-INT1).

4.1.2 Mari's reason for being in the UK

Mari had two main purposes in coming to the UK, which were to get a master's degree in drama education and to improve her English further (MA-200209-INT1).   What she meant by learning English, and how that conception changed over time will be discussed later.

She left the USA and had a brief break in Japan at the end of 2008, before she came to a university in the West Midlands, UK in January 2009 to start her programme, which

was already in the second term.   Thus, she had to adjust to the environment while her

colleagues had already been on the programme for three months (MA-200209-RES1).

In addition, she had to pass her final portfolio project for her MA TESOL degree in the

USA, so she had to cope with this extra workload in her first several months in the UK.

This was not straightforward, as two months into her programme, she realised that she

had to resubmit her portfolio and pass to obtain her MA TESOL degree

(MA-070309-EMA1).   She expresses her feelings of pressure in the following e-mail:

Extract 4.1

> 01   *I got a sabbatical to get a master's degree, so I cannot return without one.*
> 02   *I'm dreadfully stressed to think I may have to resign from the school.*
>   (MA-070309-EMA2)
>
>   Note: Italics indicates English translation of the original Japanese.

Thus, she began her UK studies under immense pressure, fearing she could lose her job

if she failed her degree.   She did double-jobbing, doing her coursework for drama

education in Terms 2 and 3, and at the same time rewriting the portfolio until she

resubmitted it in summer 2009.

After the summer holiday was over and the last term for her master's programme had

begun in October 2009, she was dismayed to hear that her portfolio had not passed (personal communication over the phone). Thus, she had to refocus on getting the master's degree in drama education so that she could return to her work with an alternative achievement to satisfy her employer. With her particular set of circumstances in mind, I will introduce my personal relationship with Mari in the next section, which will be followed by discussion of her study and life experience in the UK.

4.1.3 My relationship with Mari

Mari became an evangelical Christian in California before she came to the UK (MA-200209-RES1). She lived in a house which she shared with an Indian postgraduate student and a Japanese research student in a quiet middle class residential area adjacent to her university (MA-230709-OBS2). Mari met Julie (pseudonym), a local elderly friend of mine who is also an evangelical Christian and who lived only a few minutes' walk away from her house. Julie provided opportunities for international students to socialise with local people and other international students and to learn about the Bible by hosting dinner at her house every Thursday night. My wife and I met

Mari at Julie's house in January 2009 and we soon became friends, and she soon

accepted my invitation to become my research participant (MA-200209-RES1). We

also realised that we knew many of Julie's elderly British Christian friends, such as

Lucy (pseudonym), who later rented Mari a room in her house from December 2009

until she left the UK in February 2010, and Rhonda (pseudonym), who hosted another

similar dinner and Bible study which Mari frequently attended, both of whom became

very close to her.

I should also mention that I was one of the few NJSs she met since the percentage of

postgraduate students from Japan compared with home/EU and other overseas

fee-paying postgraduate students in her university was as low as between 0.69% to

0.74% when she was enrolled (personal communication with the international office).

Mari noted that she met overwhelmingly more Japanese in the university in California

than in her university in the West Midlands and that she felt an affinity with other

compatriots who were also living far from home in the UK (MA-200209-INT1). In

this way, my rapport building with Mari was smooth as we had much in common, such

as being evangelical Christians, having an interest in TESOL and being compatriots.

The next section and Section 4.3 will discuss the social aspects of her experience, which

will be followed by discussion of the cognitive aspects of her identity in Section 4.4.

4.2 Mari's attitude to and affinity with the people she met in the UK

Mari's primary purpose in the UK was to get a master's degree, but in spite of her study

pressure (see Section 4.1.2), she hoped to socialise with people in the UK.   When I

first interviewed her in February 2009, a month after her arrival in the UK, she

explained that she had been predominantly caught up with reading and writing in the

USA and lacked opportunities to improve her speaking, which I reconfirmed:

Extract 4.2

> 01   *Mikio: So, you didn't have much opportunity to work on your speaking in*
> 02   *the USA?*
> 03   *Mari: Yes, that's right.   Relatively, relatively less than I imagined.*
> 04   *Mikio: Oh right.   So then, was it included in your expectation to work on*
> 05   *your speaking after coming to the UK?*
> 06   *Mari: Yes it was.   So uh…… the current programme is not that*
> 07   *demanding so I hope I can get more opportunity to speak by attending*
> 08   *various occasions like the Bible study.   So I want to be careful not to*
> 09   *be just reading, to use time wisely, to read quickly.   I care about those*
> 10   *kinds of things, yes.   (MA-200209-INT1)*

In the early stages of Mari's sojourn in the UK, her aspiration to improve her speaking went hand in hand with her aspiration to socialise through interaction with others in multiple settings such as Bible study at Julie's house, yoga on campus and Korean dance led by her Korean classmate (MA-200209-INT1). Her initial aspiration in the UK apart from getting the degree was to improve her oral English through socialising, but I should stress that she was more interested in improving her speaking than becoming close to British people as her initial expectation towards them was rather low (see Section 4.2.1.1) and she faced difficulties talking to a group of British students (see Section 4.3.2).

However, by the end of her sojourn in the UK, the importance of socialising outweighed that of oral English despite her double-jobbing and the setback she suffered from the master's programme in the USA. In the third interview, right before she left the UK in February 2010, she pointed out the importance of the multicultural experience she gained through socialising:

Extract 4.3

01 *Mikio: ... <u>Multicultural</u> ... you acquired multiculturalism so to speak.*
02 *Mari: Oh right.   I can't really experience such things in Japan.   So I*

03 *think it was worth more than English language proficiency.*
04 *Mikio: Oh really, more than English language proficiency?*
05 *Mari: Mm.*
06 *Mikio: Right.   So you said [before] you wanted to improve your English*
07 *language proficiency, right?   Especially listening and speaking.   So*
08 *that's your goal… rather to be multicultural, to live together, so to*
09 *speak?   You think that's more important?*
10 *Mari: That's right.   Now for example… hmm, I think so, yes.*
(MA-150210-INT3)

In Lines 02 to 03 and 10, she valued her intercultural experience higher than her English

language proficiency.   This is a sharp contrast with her initial goal to improve her

English when she first came to the UK (see Extract 4.2).

Mari originally placed improving her English as second in importance to studying for

her master's degrees, but these extracts show that eventually she came to value social

networks and intercultural experience more.   I will expand on this change in Section

4.2.2.   I will now discuss her attitude toward British people, which was formed

through socialising.

4.2.1 Mari's attitude toward British people

As Mari had a social life outside her studying, it makes sense to separate the groups of

British people she met — the teacher she met in her week-long teacher training programme, her classmates and staff members in the master's programme and the elderly Christian women who lived in her neighbourhood.

4.2.1.1 Bittersweet reminiscence: British teacher trainer

During the first interview I asked Mari to retrospect on her early impressions of British people when she decided to study in the UK.   She referred to the negative impression she got when she attended a week-long teacher training programme as a trainee in Kent a few years ago:

Extract 4.4

01   *Mikio: When you got the offer and you decided to come, what kinds of*
02   *impressions did you have towards the British people?*
03   *Mari: The British people…   To be honest, I didn't really have a good*
04   *impression.*
05   *(…)*
06   *There were lots of trainees from Europe whereas I was the only Asian*
07   *and I felt a bit isolated.   I couldn't really fit in perhaps because of*
08   *speaking matters or that I couldn't listen and understand the lecture.*
09   *Mikio: Oh right.*
10   *Mari: Mm.   Also I felt that the teacher was rather cold.*
11   *Mikio: Uh-huh.*
12   *Mari: So my impression wasn't really good.   When I chose the first*

13   *institution for TESOL, I thought there will be more Asians in the USA.*

14   *Mikio: Oh, right.*

15   *Mari: Uh, to be honest I didn't really have a good impression of*

16   *Europeans or British people.*

17   *Mikio: Is that right?   When you say "cold," in what kind of situation did*

18   *you feel it specifically?*

19   *Mari: Er....   For example, it may be my misconception but in Japan…*

20   *uh… [teachers] will be attentive and call on as many students as*

21   *possible.*

22   *Mikio: Oh, yes.*

23   *Mari: What could it be?   I might have had expectation that [the teacher]*

24   *will be attentive and call on me to speak though I'm Japanese and not*

25   *proficient.   So [the class] was made up of those who were loud and*

26   *that could be why I got the feeling that [the teacher] was not being*

27   *attentive to me.*

28   *Mikio: Aha, I see, I see.   So you think there was lack of care?*

29   *Mari: That's right.   I might have expected that from the British teacher*

30   *because I'm a teacher.   That could be why I felt the teacher was cold*

31   *or that I was ignored.*   (MA-200209-INT1)

Mari's reminiscence implies that although she was happy to have received the offer to

study in the UK, it was because she wanted to study drama education and improve her

English.   She did not choose to study in the UK because she was attracted to British

people, since she felt alienated from a "cold" British teacher (Lines 10, 30) who lacked

attentiveness in her week-long programme in the past, which actually encouraged her to

turn to the USA to study TESOL in the first place.

4.2.1.2 With British staff members and classmates

I asked Mari whether there was any change in her impression of British people right after coming to the UK, and she gave the following account of the teachers and classmates:

Extract 4.5

01 *Mari: The British teachers are rather more teacher-like than the American*
02 *teachers, somewhat more humane, like, how shall I say it?   I think they*
03 *are perhaps closer than I thought.   At first I thought it was the other*
04 *way around.   At first I thought "because it's different from the USA, I*
05 *have to say 'Professor someone'."*
06 *Mikio: Uh-huh, uh-huh.*
07 *Mari: So my impression, um, became better having met British people.*
08 *Mikio: Oh right.*
09 *Mari: Also classmates… perhaps they are, um, friendlier than the*
10 *Americans.*
11 *Mikio: Is that right?   So are there many friendly people?*
12 *Mari: That's right.   My impression became a bit better, different from*
13 *before I came here.   (MA-200209-INT1)*

Mari's impression of cold British people, represented by her trainer a few years ago, and somewhat formal image of the British teachers were dispelled when she met friendly teaching staff who could be called by their first names, and also friendly classmates. She mentioned that the majority of her classmates were international students, who

numbered about 20, whereas there were only about 6 home students

(MA-200209-INT1).   Although her initial impression of her British classmates was a

positive one, she later talked about some difficulty in becoming close to them:

Extract 4.6

> 01 *Mari: Unless British people open up, I… hmm, I think it's quite difficult to*
> 02 *become very close to them.*
> 03 *Mikio: Is that so?   When was it that you thought it was actually difficult?*
> 04 *Mari: Umm, after all when I see my classmates, the British huddle*
> 05 *together.   We do talk but in the end they naturally huddle together*
> 06 *because they share common conversation topics, common culture and*
> 07 *various things.   And the amount of talk is considerably different.*
> 08 *Mikio: So the British huddle together, and the international students also*
> 09 *huddle together.*
> 10 *Mari: Among the international students, also the Chinese with other*
> 11 *Chinese, it's like that so… hmm……… yeah.*
> 12 *Mikio: So the cause for it is after all conversation topics and culture,*
> 13 *things like that?*
> 14 *Mari: Culture and…*
> 15 *Mikio: Naturally, peers or rather groups, or flocks are formed?*
> 16 *Mari: That's right.   In Japan, I think when there is a class, similar types*
> 17 *of people get along, just like that.   Also there is a common*
> 18 *conversation topic so I think that can't be helped, hmm.*
> (MA-301209-INT2)

Although her British classmates' friendliness helped her to have a better opinion of

British people in the early stage of her study, coming close to them later was not

straightforward.   She found a gap between herself and her British colleagues, with the

image that they huddled together (Lines 04 to 05) largely due to differences she

perceived in their culture and conversation topics.   Thus, her psychological distance

from people became clear after they had engaged in conversations, as will be discussed

in depth in Section 4.3.

4.2.1.3 With elderly British Christian women

During the first interview in February 2009, Mari expressed her affinity with Julie and

other elderly British Christian women in her neighbourhood:

Extract 4.7

01   *Mikio: Do you have a sense of affinity toward British people?*
02   *Mari: Um, yes, much more than my previous visit, before I came,*
03   *somewhat.*
04   *Mikio: Oh right… hmm….   When do you feel affinity?*
05   *Mari: Uh, for example, there are quite elderly women like Julie at the*
06   *Bible study, right?*
07   *Mikio: Right.*
08   *Mari: Somewhat Japanese… how shall I say it?   Their clothes and the*
09   *atmosphere are really elderly-like.   The elderly American women set*
10   *themselves out a bit, oh maybe because there were many affluent people*
11   *in M_____ [location of university].   They wore a bit showier clothes*
12   *and jewellery all around.*
13   *Mikio: Oh right.*
14   *Mari: But Julie and other local elderly women who come to church,*

15   *er……somewhat their clothes are conservative and their atmospheres*

16   *resemble Japanese grannies.   They are closer to Japanese than*

17   *Americans, a granny really looks like a granny.*   (MA-200209-INT1)

Mari socialised with elderly British Christian women in her neighbourhood, such as Julie, which made her feel secure, in a sense because they resembled the homely elderly women in Japan, and in another sense because they were generous to her.   For example, Mari was offered practical support from Julie, such as proofreading her final portfolio project (MA-070309-EMA2).

In July 2009, we participated in Bible study at Julie's house together.   That particular evening was led by Mari, as summarised in the following fieldnote:

Extract 4.8

01   25 people gathered at Julie's house, of which 4 people were local British

02   and 21 international students which were predominantly East Asian

03   postgraduate students.   People brought in their dinner and shared them

04   together for an hour as they talked and socialised.   Mari was talking with

05   Derek (pseudonym), an elderly Welsh man who sat next to her during

06   dinner and the topic was about the USA.   Then Mari led a talk and a Q &

07   A about the Book of Acts in the New Testament for an hour.   Julie

08   thanked everyone for coming and led the collective prayer time.   People

09   talked to each other and gradually left Julie's house. (MA-230709-OBS3)

The Bible study at Julie's house was the platform where Mari learned about the Bible,

socialised with others, in particular with elderly British Christians and other East Asian

students. Such social networks seemed to be pivotal for her as it was the connections

with elderly British Christians and other international students which Mari seemed to

perceive as the main assets of her study abroad in the UK. In December 2009, she

reiterated how the elderly British Christians and her classmates had helped her develop

a good impression of British people:

Extract 4.9

01   *Mikio: How is your impression toward British people now?*
02   *Mari: It's good, good somehow. More Japanese than American, I don't*
03   *know why I think like that (laughs)… um…… it might be because the*
04   *British Christians are all nice people, Julie, Rhonda and Lucy, that*
05   *might be the case. Er, also… there are nice people among classmates,*
06   *too. So I think Japanese and British people are the same. Especially,*
07   *it's not like because they are British and therefore they are cold, I*
08   *suppose there are cold people (laughs). There are those kinds of*
09   *people at the same rate as there are among Japanese people… I guess.*
10   *Mikio: Right. So is it because they resemble Japanese? Or I'd like to*
11   *know in detail what you mean by "nice people."*
12   *Mari: Nice people… oooh…oooh… nice people… nice people, it's*
13   *someone who is kind to international students (laughs). When you're*
14   *overseas and… um, you can't really blend in with British people, right?*
15   *Mikio: Yes.*
16   *Mari: But those people are accepting [me] openly… that's what I mean by*
17   *"nice people," it seems (laughs). (MA-301209-INT2)*

From Lines 06 to 09, she avoids making any generalisation such as "British people are cold" and acknowledged that it depends more on individuals, which is a change from her initial view of British people as "cold". She also acknowledged the general difficulty of blending in with British people (Lines 13 to 14), and appreciated the elderly British Christian women and some classmates who were "nice people" in the sense that they were open to her all the more. Note in Lines 12 to 14 that she is talking from an international student's point of view, which is the salient identity here. It can be inferred from her account that she appreciated the receptive attitude of British people to her as an international student.

Mari consistently appreciated the friendship she built with the elderly British Christian women, and also with other international students, as shown when she wrapped up her experience before she departed the UK:

Extract 4.10

01   *Mikio: In the previous interview you said like Lucy and Rhonda were very*
02   *close British people to you, they are open to foreign nationals and they*
03   *are very important people for you. Is that, er, let me see, you said*
04   *previously that, "When I am in the UK I feel natural, I don't feel*
05   *uncomfortable and I feel secure. It's a different feeling from being in*
06   *Japan, but it's not like being in a foreign country." Were those kinds*

07   *of people the key figures?*
08 *Mari: Er, that might be the case. It might be that I can somewhat be*
09   *normal, be normal and talk without being nervous and be the way I am*
10   *when I'm with Rhonda, Lucy and Julie as well.*
11   *Mikio: Right, also Julie.*
12 *Mari: Um, and almost all of my classmates this term were very kind, many*
13   *of them from Hong Kong, China and Taiwan, so that was quite fun,*
14   *though they weren't Christians.*   (MA-150210-INT3)

Firstly, throughout her time in the UK, her friendship with the elderly British Christian women such as Rhonda, Lucy and Julie provided a sense of security in which she could feel comfortable being herself. Also, they had a common trait, in that they had experienced being outsiders: Julie had lived in Morocco, Lucy had lived in Thailand and Kenya, and Rhonda had experienced alienation in secondary school. Mari seemed to have felt discomfort with those who seemed condescending, whereas she could empathise with those who had exposed their experience of alienation (MA-150210-INT3). Also, in my view she was seen as an insider by them as she had been a Christian for a year and as a result she was involved in the same activities, such as going to church, doing Bible study and being invited to social events (MA-040409-OBS1, MA-230709-OBS2, MA-160809-OBS4, MA-251209-OBS7, MA-311209-REC1). Thus, it is vital to take into account her religious identity as a Christian and the empathetic relationships she built in order to examine her sense of

belonging, which will be discussed in Section 4.4.2.

Secondly, mixing with other international students, particularly with those from East Asia, seemed to have been a source of satisfaction for her even though she experienced ups and downs, as will be discussed in the next section.

4.2.2 Mari's attitude toward international students

In Mari's university, non-EU overseas students accounted for 45% to 50% of the total postgraduate population when she was enrolled (personal communication with the international office).   She had frequent contact with other international students, given the high ratio of international students in her programme and at Julie and Rhonda's Bible study.   During the first interview, she mentioned that she talked most frequently with a Korean female classmate who was asked by their programme coordinator to help Mari join the programme midway from January (MA-200209-INT1).   So I asked her with whom she felt the greatest affinity during her early period in the UK:

Extract 4.11

> 01 *Mikio: When you compare Japanese, other foreign nationals and British*
> 02 *people, to whom do you feel an affinity the most?*
> 03 *Mari: Um……. Such as people from other countries?*
> 04 *Mikio: Yes.*
> 05 *Mari: Then it's Koreans (laughs).*
> 06 *Mikio: Oh really, not Japanese?*
> 07 *Mari: Oh, Japanese too.   It's Asians, like Koreans and Taiwanese.*
> 08 *Mikio: Why is that?*
> 09 *Mari: Why (laughs)?   It's because culture is similar and it might be that*
> 10 *I'm comfortable.*
> 11 *Mikio: Oh right.   Did you have such an experience you felt that way?*
> 12 *Mari: Hmm……. It's rather like they also approach me, my Korean and*
> 13 *Taiwanese classmates.   (MA-200209-INT1)*

During her early period in the UK she identified with her Korean and Taiwanese

classmates, since she felt that they were culturally similar and approachable.   When

she used the term "Asians" (Line 07), it is most certain that she was referring to "East

Asians".   She appreciated their thoughtfulness shown to her.

However, it is an oversimplification to state that she felt an affinity with other East

Asian students regardless of the time and settings of their encounters.   In fact, during

the interview in December 2009, she questioned and reconsidered such statements:

Extract 4.12

01   *Mikio: You said before that you feel affinity toward Asians, particularly*

02   *Koreans and Taiwanese the most because their ways of thinking and*

03   *speaking are not too different, they are culturally similar and that their*

04   *English is easy to understand.   Do you still feel that way?*

05   *Mari: Hmm… well… let me see.   Probably, but perhaps not as much than*

06   *before?   Um, I suppose my Asian classmates by then were being*

07   *considerate because I joined from Term 2.*

08   *Mikio: Uh-huh, uh-huh, uh-huh.*

09   *Mari: Oooh, mmm, yeah, now, now it depends on each person, I guess?*

10   *Mikio: Hmm.*

11   *Mari: For example my supervisor is a native speaker and I was a bit*

12   *nervous to talk, but as I had several meetings it became natural… er, I*

13   *was able to talk without being nervous.   Conversely, though the people*

14   *may be Asians… if I don't know them well I find it awkward to talk.*

15   *(...)*

16   *Mikio: I want to ask you further about the fact that you used to feel affinity*

17   *toward Koreans and Taiwanese but now you don't feel it so much.*

18   *Why is that?*

19   *Mari: Well, even though they may be Taiwanese from Asia, some may be*

20   *really fluent.   Um, I met someone who wasn't interested in Japanese or*

21   *Asians.   Apparently, my friend spoke to that fluent Taiwanese but was*

22   *met with a frown because my friend's English was incomprehensible,*

23   *though I didn't experience this.*

24   *Mikio: By a Taiwanese?*

25   *Mari: Yes.   So after all, I thought it's a bit misleading to think it's easy to*

26   *talk, or difficult to talk because someone is a Taiwanese or an Asian.   I*

27   *guess it rather depends on character… hmm.   But if I'm in a strange*

28   *place and there are just native speakers and Asians, I suppose I'll talk*

29   *to Asians first.   (MA-301209-INT2)*

Her affinity toward the East Asians dwindled and was rather replaced by the idea that it

depends on people's personality rather than ethnicity.   As Lines 19 to 23 indicate, she

came to know a Taiwanese student who was not open to her and she began to feel closer

to people with whom she had a pleasant interaction rather than people who had a similar

ethnicity.   It can also be inferred from Lines 27 to 29 that while she may approach

other East Asians when in an unfamiliar setting, this does not mean maintaining an

unchanging affinity toward them.   Initial approachability did not guarantee a lasting

relationship for her.

Although Mari shifted to looking at the personality of individuals rather than their

ethnicities, socialising with diverse international students brought about a broadened

world-view nonetheless.   She decided to volunteer to teach drama in India before

returning to Japan (MA-201209-EMA3).   She appreciated the multicultural experience

she got in her three years abroad:

Extract 4.13

01   *Mikio: What's the value you'd like to bring back to Japan from the UK?*
02   *Mari: Oh, value?   Oooh… I think I also wrote that [in the memo]*
03   *(laughs).*
04   *Mikio: Right.*
05   *Mari: Hmm… oh yes, um, when I was in the UK and the USA, I got to talk*
06   *to people from various countries, not just British people.   So I got to*
07   *know about the situations of various people in various countries which*
08   *were interesting.*

09   *(...)*

10   *Yes, I found out about social situations (laughs). And my view, my*

11   *world-view broadened considerably so I want to bring that back.*

12   *(...)*

13   *Mikio: So you understood the situations and values of people from other*

14   *countries but what specifically does it mean to bring them back to*

15   *Japan?*

16   *Mari: Oh. For instance in Japan I feel that every news is biased toward*

17   *America.*

18   *Mikio: Hmm, yes.*

19   *Mari: And for example India and where else? Also Pakistan and the*

20   *Middle East are hardly ever reported but every country is the same.*

21   *It's not just America that's important, or rather a country of great value.*

22   *Every country has values which… er, I want to tell everyone. I think I*

23   *can talk about those kinds of things to others. I think information in*

24   *Japan is very biased because mass media only brings information*

25   *necessary… for its country. But people in other countries have their*

26   *own social situations so I think it's important to know that. I think it is*

27   *very biased or it was biased.*

28   *Mikio: Oh right.*

29   *Mari: For example if I didn't encounter Africans and various people in the*

30   *USA, I don't think I wanted to go to India. I think I was more*

31   *Euro-American-oriented.* (MA-150210-INT3)

She talked as a teacher and she wanted to bring back her broadened world-view and

knowledge about people from various parts of the world less familiar in Japan,

especially places outside the Euro-American world which she discovered through

socialising with other international students both in the USA and in the UK. This is

remarkably different from bringing back more tangible values such as pedagogy from

her master's studies. As a teacher who spent three years abroad, she wished to bring

back to Japan the international insights she acquired, and which she valued, the

by-product of studying.

Her inquisitiveness to explore the world beyond the Euro-American world did not wane

after returning to her work in Japan, as the following e-mail I received in December

2010 confirms:

Extract 4.14

01   *I enjoyed the Christmas party with the Filipinos.   I was surprised to see*
02   *how many Filipinos were there.   A Filipino NGO is planning a project in*
03   *a primary school in a disputed area between Muslims and Christians, so I*
04   *proposed doing a drama class there.*
05   *(...)*
06   *I find it intriguing that I'm forming connection with people outside the*
07   *English-speaking countries (India, Philippines) after finishing studying in*
08   *Britain and America.   (MA-271210-EMA6)*

After returning to Japan, she formed friendships with Filipinos and aspired to go to the

Philippines to teach drama.   Thus, her return to Nagoya as an English teacher did not

necessarily chill her inquisitiveness to explore the unknown world beyond the

Euro-American world.

In this way, she first tended to feel affinity toward East Asian students but later began to make decisions based on the personality of individuals through interactions. She valued socialising with other international students very highly because her world-view broadened, and she enjoyed exploring world affairs beyond the Euro-American world already familiar to her.

4.3 Encouragement and discouragement in oral communication

I have discussed the macro world of Mari's social networks and how she perceived her attitude to and affinity with the people she met in the UK in Section 4.2. I would like to switch to the micro perspective of how she perceived the success and failure of her oral communication with others, which seemed to have been crucial factors in forming or undermining her affinity with others.

4.3.1 Encouragement in oral communication

As discussed in Section 4.2.2, Mari felt close to other East Asian classmates in the early stage of her time in the UK. Probing her views uncovered several factors that

promoted their conversations.

Extract 4.15

01 *Mari: Especially there are quite many people like Taiwanese classmates,*
02 *girls rather say "I know well about Japan."   Or "I like Japan."*
03 *Mikio: Oh right, hmm.*
04 *Mari: Then I somehow feel good (laughs), so I talk a lot.*
    (MA-200209-INT1)

Mari was approached by Taiwanese classmates who broached the subject of Japan in an

affirmative way.   Thus, her reaction to them was understandably positive and she

recalled such conversations as pleasant ones due to the topic.

Likewise, she told another story about a time she felt she had a good conversation with

a British friend.

Extract 4.16

01 *Mikio: When was it that… you think your communication went well?*
02 *Mari: Er.   Hmm…… When I thought I communicated well?   With British*
03 *people?*
04 *Mikio: Yes.*
05 *Mari: …… Er, one of my friends had a violin.   Then I asked "Why do you*
06 *have a violin?"   Then my friend replied delightedly "I've been*
07 *learning since…."   "I'm going to this place and I'm going to perform*

08 *now." When that friend talked to me <u>a lot</u>, I felt that the conversation*
09 *went well (laughs).* (MA-200209-INT1)

Mari broached the subject of the violin with her British friend, which was received well

and resulted in a pleasant conversation. It can be inferred from Extracts 4.15 and 4.16

that regardless of who broached the subject of conversation, if the interlocutors felt

satisfied with what they talked about and the way it promoted a pleasant conversation,

then they might be able to feel close to each other.

I would like to introduce another story to illustrate the importance of conversation topic

for Mari:

Extract 4.17

01 *Mikio: Did you ever think "I want to talk more," or "I want to*
02 *communicate more"?*
03 *Mari: Oooh……. Er…… hmm…… let me see, "communicate more"….*
04 *For example… when could it be? British… I was a teacher so I'm*
05 *interested in the British education system and things like that so I'd like*
06 *to hear such things. I want to say something about Japan.*
07 *Mikio: Oh right.*
08 *Mari: So during class, oh during the Bible study yesterday, uh… er, that*
09 *maths teacher… I forgot the name, not Kitty.*
10 *Mikio: Kate (pseudonym).*
11 *Mari: Kate, Kate was there. So when we fell into talk about such things,*
12 *indeed I wanted to talk… listen. I wanted to listen and talk.*

(MA-200209-INT1)

When Mari felt like communicating, who she wanted to talk to or how she wanted to talk was not as important as what she wanted to say.   She was keener to communicate with others provided that the topic of conversation was interesting.   I noticed that her professional identity as a teacher was rekindled in this account and that she was willing to exchange ideas by comparing educational systems with another school teacher, Kate, (Lines 04 to 06) although she was in the UK as a student.

Her tendency to value the topic of conversation was still salient during the second interview, as I asked when she felt comfortable using English.   She reported casual conversations during Julie's Christmas Day party in which more than 20 people, predominantly East Asian postgraduate students, gathered for tea and games to celebrate Christmas (MA-251209-OBS7).   She recalled pleasant conversations she had with two women, one with Rita (pseudonym), a Taiwanese master's student whom she often met at Julie's Bible study and at an arts complex where they did their part-time work, and the other with someone she met at church:

Extract 4.18

01   *Mari: I see [Rita] at the Arts Centre.   There is a common topic right?*
02   *"Did you see that?"   Or, "That manager is a bit strict," (laughs).*
03   *Mikio: (Laughs).*
04   *Mari: Because of those things, oh, it was fun to be able to talk in English*
05   *with lots of people.*
06   *Mikio: Really, hmm.*
07   *Mari: Yes.   I don't really remember who I talked to but, yeah, oh,*
08   *someone new at church.   Yeah, I went to church that day on 25th.   The*
09   *girl that came to church was at Julie's party so we said "Didn't we see*
10   *each other this morning?"   So I was able to talk to lots of people like*
11   *that, hmm, naturally.   Then I thought it's fun to be able to use English.*
12   *I was glad to be able to chat.*
13   *Mikio: Oh right.*
14   *Mari: Definitely on 25th.*
15   *Mikio: So, why do you think so?*
16   *Mari: Hmm…….   It's like I can somehow share emotions.*
17   *Mikio: You can share emotions.*
18   *Mari: It's like "I haven't seen you lately," "When are you going back?"*
19   *"Let's keep in touch after we fly back home," those kinds of*
20   *conversations.   I think the situation mattered too, it's Julie's house*
21   *(laughs) and I felt secure.   I know the people.   There were snacks,*
22   *eating (laughs) and the atmosphere, too.*
23   *Mikio: So, um, well same… sharing emotions.   What's "same emotions"?*
24   *Mari: What could it be?*
25   *Mikio: What is it?   Because you are international students, or?*
26   *Mari: International students and… er… probably.*
27   *Mikio: You always come to the Bible study?*
28   *Mari: We come to it, and then we say "We're flying back soon," which is a*
29   *common topic.   (MA-301209-INT2)*

She pointed out how having common topics promoted pleasant talk with other

international students during the Christmas party.   As we co-constructed what she

meant by "sharing emotions" from Lines 23 to 29, there seemed to be a sense of

solidarity among Mari and the other international students because they have been to the

same Bible study and are flying home soon, and hence there were common conversation

topics stemming from their similar background as international students.

An example of how Mari engaged in a pleasant conversation with others is epitomised

in the following transcript of a recorded conversation taken when she invited me to a

dinner party at Lucy's house, where she lodged.

Space	Lucy's house
Actors	Lucy (elderly British woman, host, Mari's landlady and friend)
	Mari
	June (pseudonym, Korean postgraduate student)
	Fila (pseudonym, Iranian postgraduate student)
	Gracie (Mikio's wife, Korean-Japanese)
	Mikio
Activities	New year's eve dinner and socialising

Table 4.3 Dinner at Lucy's

Lucy worked abroad in Kenya and Thailand (MA-311209-REC1, MA-150210-INT3).

Mari thought she was open to other cultures because she had abundant intercultural

experience abroad (MA-200811-VAL2). Lucy initiated a topic of conversation by

asking Fila about wearing the burka, which promoted a lively conversation on dress

code in schools in their own countries:

Extract 4.19

Note: B = British, I = Iranian, J = Japanese, K = Korean

01	June(K)	But we also always checked the skirt, the length of the skirt.
02	Gracie(K/J)	Yeah. From floor.
03	Lucy(B)	Yes.
04	June(K)	Because we usually, girls make folding here [points to
05		waist], to make it short.
06	Gracie(K/J)	It's depend on period, you know? Um, in 80s long one is
07		very common.
08	*All*	(Laughs)
09	Mari(J)	Fashionable.
10	Gracie(K/J)	Yeah fashionable.
11	June(K)	And boys make hip-hop style.
12	*All*	(Laughs)
13	Gracie(K/J)	Yeah. Wide[-legged].
14	Mikio(J)	Yeah.
15	June(K)	Wide and they have dread[locks], end of, you know?
16	Mari(J)	And I'm sure British school also have dress code?
17	Lucy(B)	Yes, yes.
18	Fila(I)	How?
19	Lucy(B)	Well, I don't know what it is now. But um, when I was at
20		school, skirt length had to be so that when you were
21		kneeling on the floor.
22	*All*	Um.
23	Lucy(B)	The skirt was just about touching the floor.
24	*All*	Um.
25	Lucy(B)	Oh, (laughs) but (laughs). Yeah, but that was a loooong
26		time ago.
27	*All*	(Laughs)
28	Gracie(K/J)	How about hair? Hair cut?
29	Lucy(B)	I don't think hair was very important then.

30	*All*	Um.
31	Mari(J)	Because they have many kinds of colours (laughs).
32	Gracie(K/J)	Yeah.
33	Lucy(B)	Yes, it's much freer now. I don't think we would have
34		gone to school with dyed hair.
35	June(K)	How about pierce?
36	Lucy(B)	No, no ear rings either. But, but now they would. I'm
37		sure it's.
38	Mari(J)	So how about Korea? Wearing jewellery is okay?
39	Gracie(K/J)	Not really I think, in my period (laughs).
40	June(K)	My period…um, hide it. Younger, we hide it. And um,
41		but necklace is okay.
42	Mari(J)	Oh really? (MA-311209-REC1)

Reflecting Mari's interest in cross-cultural comparison between Japanese, British and Korean education, she asked about the dress code in the UK (Line 16) and in South Korea (Line 38), in which her identity as a teacher and her interest in other culture was salient.   In Line 31, Mari expressed humour by pointing out that British schools cannot regulate people's hair colour because it is diverse by nature, whereas her own school in Japan would check each student's hair colour and make sure that it is not dyed.   When Mari realised certain norms that were valued in Japan were not elsewhere, it freed her from Japanese values and lowered her stress (MA-200811-VAL2).   When Lucy explained the British practice (Lines 19 to 21, 23) everyone listened carefully (Lines 22, 24, 27, 30), partially because she was the host, but perhaps also because everyone wanted to make the most of finding out about British culture from a British perspective.

The topic of conversation was about dress code across cultures, but more importantly it was about discovering each other's culture in a culturally-open and a friendly way. Mari appreciated such conversations because they gave insights about other cultures and helped her rediscover her own culture (MA-200811-VAL2).

Having common topics was consistently an important factor for her to be engaged in a pleasant conversation until the end of her time in the UK, as the final interview shows:

Extract 4.20

01 *Mikio: You said previously, "It's easy to talk with British people when they*
02 *show interest in Japan," right?*
03 *Mari: Yeah.*
04 *Mikio: Do you have any specific episode when they wanted to ask you or*
05 *know about Japan?*
06 *(…)*
07 *Mari: Then, at that time [working in the Arts Centre], occasionally a*
08 *British man who is interested in Japan says "Oh, are you Japanese?"*
09 *He asks me about Japan, and says things like "Technology is amazing,*
10 *right?" He studies about theatre, not drama education but theatre*
11 *study or something, and he knows about kabuki [note: a classical*
12 *Japanese dance-drama].*
13 *Mikio: Really.*
14 *Mari: That makes me happy so I want to say as much as I know. Then he*
15 *becomes interested and says "Wow," and listens. Yeah, that happens.*
16 *So there are people who are difficult to talk to. We exchange*
17 *greetings, and ask "In which department do you study? Are you*
18 *Japanese? Good," and ends (laughs). Then we don't have much in*

19   *common, and can't talk to each other, umm.*   (MA-150210-INT3)

Similar to her Taiwanese classmates (see Extract 4.15), her British colleague was keen to talk about Japan so she was pleased and wished to talk as much as possible to tell him about her country (Line 14).

It can be inferred from the extracts in this section that she felt positive about the conversation and felt more attached to her conversation partners regardless of their ethnicities when the topic matched, the conversation flowed and there was shared emotion among them.   In many cases, the topic that promoted lively conversation was about Japan, which she appreciated.

4.3.2 Discouragement in oral communication

Since I have introduced the episodes when Mari felt encouraged to interact and socialise, I would now like to discuss how she felt discouraged from talking in daily conversation situations.   As shown in Extract 4.6, Mari experienced difficulties in approaching British classmates who huddled together due to differences in culture and conversation topics.   Lacking common conversation topics hindered her from getting along with

British people:

Extract 4.21

01 *Mikio: Have you felt disappointed somehow?*
02 *Mari: Oh, communicating with British people?*
03 *Mikio: In communication with British people.*
04 *Mari: Oooh. There were times I couldn't listen properly or when I*
05   *thought I might say something irrelevant.*
06 *Mikio: Right, right.*
07 *Mari: Also, when I brought up a topic, it didn't get ignored but people*
08   *made few replies and it didn't lead to further talk. Then when British*
09   *people got back to their own talk, it's like "Oh, how disheartening,"*
10   *(laughs). (MA-200209-INT1)*

Here her lack of listening comprehension and people's lack of interest in the topic that

she brought up were the reasons she had a disheartening memory of a conversation with

a group of British people. She reported similar things when she was with a group of

undergraduate British Christians having lunch together at someone's house, a group that

she belonged to only in the early stage of her time in the UK:

Extract 4.22

01 *Mikio: Um, how do you feel when you are in the same group as British*
02   *people and talk?*
03 *Mari: I'm nervous, after all.*
04 *Mikio: Oh right. Why (laughs)?*

05　*Mari: Firstly, I can't listen properly.　Then I don't know much about the*
06　　*region so I don't really know what to talk and I can't find the*
07　　*opportunity to talk.*
08　*Mikio: Hmm, right.*
09　*Mari: So there are times when I'm wondering what I should do.*
　　(MA-200209-INT1)

She pointed out the difficulty of finding something to say to British undergraduate

students due to a lack of listening comprehension and a lack of common conversation

topics, such as regional matters.　She said that they were friendly and they listened to

her but noted that there was a lack of common conversation topics, and a difference in

field of study and age (MA-301209-INT2).　They had common religious and

educational affiliations, but these were outweighed by the lack of common conversation

topics, which were necessary for mutual understanding.　She often reported

communication gaps with British people but not many with other international students.

However, her accounts show that it was not because her interlocutors were British that

she stumbled in communication, but it was more to do with the lack of common

conversation topics stemming from a lack of common experience or common

background.

4.4 Mari's cultural-ethnic identity and a sense of belonging in the UK

As I discussed social aspects of Mari's experience in Sections 4.2 and 4.3, I would like to discuss more cognitive aspects of her identity in this section. I will discuss how Mari reflectively constructed her cultural-ethnic identity and how she perceived her sense of belonging in the UK.

4.4.1 As a Japanese

When I first met Mari in February 2009, I asked how she perceived her cultural-ethnic identity, as she had lived in the USA and then came to the UK:

Extract 4.23

> 01 *Mikio: Er, this is a metaphor but uh, when you take a plane and before you*
> 02   *land you fill out your nationality in an immigration form, right?*
> 03 *Mari: Yes.*
> 04 *Mikio: If there is a column to fill in your cultural identity….*
> 05 *Mari: Oh.*
> 06 *Mikio: What would you write?*
> 07 *Mari: Oooh…. Cultural… identity.   Um, cultural?*
> 08 *Mikio: Uh-huh, uh-huh.*
> 09 *Mari: Er, is it Japan or that kind of thing?*
> 10 *Mikio: Yes, that's right.*

11   *Mari: Oh.   Well, then I'll write Japan.*

12   *Mikio: Uh-huh.*

13   *Mari: Then I might write "I stayed in America and Britain some years,"*

14   *(laughs).   (MA-200209-INT1)*

Her cultural-ethnic identity was Japanese, which was complemented with a few years of experience in the USA and the UK.   She added that she had not experienced an identity crisis at all, which she had observed in a younger NJS woman in the USA who struggled between Japanese and American cultures (MA-200209-INT1).   Her self-perception as a Japanese had not changed when we discussed the issue in December 2009.   She mentioned that she felt natural being in the UK, which I invited her to expand on:

Extract 4.24

01   *Mari: I had that "Will I become a bit different person after living outside*

02   *Japan?"   I don't know how I may change or how identity may change.*

03   *But I haven't changed much.   Before I went [abroad], I was very*

04   *worried whether I may face reverse culture shock when I return to*

05   *Japan.   Now, if I stay the way I am now and return, I might be able to*

06   *revert to Japanese normally.   I might be wrong (laughs) but I have that*

07   *feeling.*

08   *Mikio: Really, so you don't feel that you've changed much?*

09   *Mari: No, not at all.*

10   *Mikio: Not at all?*

11   *Mari: Not at all (laughs), sadly.*

12   *Mikio: No (laughs), I don't think there is any good or bad.   I see… uh.*

13   *So, er you, I wanted to ask whether you are bicultural.   How do you*

14   *think about two cultures co-existing, Japanese and British?*

> 15 *Mari: Oh, I don't feel as if that's the case.   In my head, I have bits about*
> 16   *Britain, something in my head, as knowledge.   But I'm not a British*
> 17   *and I'm not bicultural.*
> 18 *Mikio: Oh right.   So it's in your head but it hasn't sunk in much?*
> 19 *Mari: No, it hasn't.   (MA-301209-INT2)*

Bearing in mind she had gone back to Japan twice briefly during her three year study leave (MA-150210-INT3), she reported that she stayed the same and had not experienced reverse culture shock (Lines 01 to 07).   To elaborate on Lines 15 to 17, Mari used the term *atama* in Japanese, which points to 'head'.   This term is very often used in contrast with *kokoro*, which points to 'heart'.   In this context, Mari explained that there was limit in acquiring British culture which merely stayed as reason or knowledge in her head (i.e. *atama*), while she implied that British culture is not an integral part of her, thus not in her heart (i.e. *kokoro*).   Therefore she did not perceive herself as bicultural.   Thus, her Japanese cultural-ethnic identity seemed virtually intact.

During the final interview in February 2010, I asked her how she felt about being treated as an international student, to see whether being treated as non-British by local British people had any negative consequence for her:

Extract 4.25

> 01 *Mikio: You said previously that "a good person is someone who is kind to*
> 02 *international students."*
> 03 *Mari: Oh.*
> 04 *Mikio: Well, how do you feel about being seen or being treated as an*
> 05 *international student?*
> 06 *Mari: Oooh…………um, I don't feel I hate it particularly, or I don't feel*
> 07 *I'm particularly happy about it.   Well, I take it for granted that I'm an*
> 08 *international student and I'm a Japanese.   Well, I think I'm treated*
> 09 *normally like that, yeah.   (MA-150210-INT3)*

She simply accepted that she was an international student and a Japanese in the UK

when she faced local British people (Lines 06 to 09).   She did not reject her status as a

foreign national in the UK, and neither did she reject her status as a student, although

she was an experienced teacher in Japan.   She had an unassuming and receptive stance,

accepting her own status as an international student from Japan without struggling.

Not only did she feel it natural to be seen as a Japanese by British people in particular,

but also she accepted it affirmatively in the UK:

Extract 4.26

> 01 *Mikio: How did you feel being seen as a Japanese?*
> 02 *Mari: Oh, I'm somehow happy.   I didn't really feel happy being a*
> 03 *Japanese in the USA.*

04   *Mikio: Oh, why is that (laughs)?*

05   *Mari: Uh, I didn't really feel that Americans and international students in*

06   *America showed particular interest towards Japanese.*

07   *Mikio: Oh right.*

08   *Mari: Then when I came here and I said "I'm a Japanese," many people*

09   *such as my classmates as well as some people who worked in the Arts*

10   *Centre showed some interest.*

11   *Mikio: Hmm, could that be because you were in California, America, at*

12   *M_____ [location of university].   Was it because there were too many*

13   *Japanese?*

14   *Mari: Possibly, most probably.*

15   *Mikio: And here, there aren't too many Japanese, right?*

16   *Mari: Hmm, that might be it.*

17   *Mikio: Even though there are lots of Orientals, most of them are Chinese.*

18   *Mari: Oooh.   And when I listen to their talk, they say "The BBC reported*

19   *this," and the topic is about Japan.   I was asked, "Is it really like*

20   *that?"   I thought perhaps somehow, British people are more…*

21   *intellectual, no I shouldn't say intellectual, but if they [Americans and*

22   *British] have the same educational background, maybe the British want*

23   *to know more about foreign countries, yeah.*

24   *Mikio: Really.*

25   *Mari: I don't know but I just thought so.*

26   *Mikio: Yes, right.*

27   *Mari: Hmm.   So I feel I can say a bit boastfully, well not really boasting*

28   *but proudly that "I'm a Japanese," after I came to the UK.*

        (MA-150210-INT3)

She compared her experiences in America and in Britain and she preferred the latter

because other classmates and her colleagues in the arts complex showed interest in her

Japanese background (Lines 08 to 10), and they asked her about Japan (Lines 18 to 20).

This is a recurrent theme, i.e. thoughtfulness shown towards her cultural-ethnic identity,

which she appreciated.   Thus, she was able to be proud of her identity as a Japanese (Lines 27 to 28).

Although Mari did not expect to have reverse culture shock, her self-perception as a Japanese was actually challenged in her first year back at work in Japan, as the following e-mail received in January 2011 shows:

Extract 4.27

01   *[Japan] is really insular and I feel there is Galápagos syndrome.   Also I*
02   *was frustrated with Japanese people's (my colleague teachers') negative*
03   *thoughts (negative remarks) this year.   All the American, British and*
04   *Indian people that I met had positive thoughts....*   (MA-060111-EMA7)

'Galápagos syndrome' points to the evolution isolated from globalisation.   She stated that she experienced reverse culture shock and became sick of Japanese people's narrow-mindedness to the point of considering resigning and emigrating overseas (MA-260511-VAL1).   She also reported how easily she spotted negative aspects of Japanese people, such as how her colleagues would backstab other colleagues without confronting them, and realised that she was slightly different from ordinary Japanese (MA-260511-VAL1, MA-200811-VAL2).

To summarise, Mari did not struggle, resist, or question being a Japanese, either in the USA or in the UK.   She did not feel she became American or British and naturally accepted her status as a Japanese and as an international student.   At times she appreciated thoughtfulness from others towards Japan and herself as a Japanese.   Her cultural-ethnic identity as a Japanese seemingly stayed intact overseas, but she unexpectedly realised that she had changed culturally when she experienced difficulty fitting back in at her former workplace having spotted negative aspects of her Japanese colleagues.

4.4.2 A sense of belonging

Mari did not question herself as a Japanese in the UK, but given the rarity of NJSs in her environment and the fact that she did not belong to Japanese student groups, it is worth exploring her sense of belonging in the UK.   I would like to start from the second interview we had in December 2009:

Extract 4.28

01   *Mikio: It's been ten months since you came to the UK.   British people's*
02   *response to you…if you sum it up, how is it?*

03   *Mari: British people towards me?*

04   *Mikio: Uh-huh.*

05   *Mari: Hmm, I feel it's natural somehow.*

06   *Mikio: Natural?*

07   *Mari: Yeah, hmm.   I'm now in Britain but I occasionally think as if I were*

08   *in Japan (laughs).*

09   *Mikio: (Laughs) Really?   Why is that?*

10   *Mari: (Laughs) Why is it?   I don't have uncomfortable feelings….   I*

11   *somehow feel secure.   It's an odd thing to say but I bothered to pay*

12   *money to come to Britain but the things I'm feeling… my state of mind*

13   *and the surrounding atmosphere and things like that are not too*

14   *different from Japan.*

15   *Mikio: Not different (laughs).*

16   *Mari: To put it the other way around, it's not exciting but I feel that I can*

17   *be at ease.*

18   *Mikio: Oh really?   Is that…… a feeling as if you were in Japan?   Or*

19   *simply a feeling that it's natural being here?*

20   *Mari: Oooh… it's not like being in Japan, but it's not like being in a*

21   *foreign country, for instance.   (MA-301209-INT2)*

She felt natural, comfortable and secure in the UK because she felt that British people treated her naturally.   In short, she got used to things in the UK to the extent that it did not feel as if she were in a foreign country, although she felt it was different from Japan.

Two accounts from the same interview show where her heart belonged:

Extract 4.29

01   *Mikio: I wanted to ask a new question.   Where do you think is the house*

02   *of your heart?*
03   *Mari: Oh, it's indeed in my house in Japan.*
04   *Mikio: So that's in Japan?   Your house in Japan?*
05   *Mari: That's right (laughs).   (MA-301209-INT2)*

Extract 4.30

01   *Mikio: If you can obtain the British nationality or passport in the future,*
02   *would you like to have it?*
03   *Mari: Oooh, no.   Japan doesn't allow dual nationality, right?*
04   *Mikio: No.   People have to give up Japan and choose Britain.*
05   *Mari: That's right.   Even if dual nationality [is allowed], I suppose I*
06   *won't have it.   It's not that I have a strong attachment to Britain or any*
07   *country at all.   (MA-301209-INT2)*

So her heart remained attached to her house in Japan (Extract 4.29) and she had no

particular feeling for Britain to the extent of desiring British nationality, although we

spoke hypothetically about it (Extract 4.30).   As discussed in the previous section, she

humbly accepted being a Japanese and being seen by others as a Japanese but those

factors did not conflict with the fact that she felt natural in the UK because she

acknowledged she was a Japanese who was studying in the UK for just a year, destined

to return home.

More importantly, she had a few elderly British Christian friends who treated her well

and also fellow international students whom she empathised with (see Sections 4.2.1.3,

4.2.2).   She made an allusion to her Christian networks and a church in her

neighbourhood she attended and where she met Julie, Rhonda and Lucy (see Extract

4.31) as where she felt she belonged during the final interview in February 2010.   She

also referred to Christianity as the set of values that had influenced her the most (see

Extract 4.32):

Extract 4.31

01   *Mikio: For instance when you go back to Japan and attend a church, um,*
02   *will you be able to see the kinds of the people you met here?*
03   *Mari: Uh, hmm.   I've never been deeply involved in a church in Japan.*
04   *So that's a bit worrying.   I wonder what kinds of people are attending,*
05   *um…….   I hope they are the kinds of the people I met in the church*
06   *here, in Britain and in America, hmm.*
07   *Mikio: Right.   What did the people at church, um, mean to you here in*
08   *Britain?*
09   *Mari: Oh, well, it's like a big container that accepts [people] regardless of*
10   *ethnic group, status, or occupation.   So if [I] go, [they] will accept*
11   *[me].   (MA-150210-INT3)*

Extract 4.32

01   *Mikio: Did your* <u>*sense of values*</u> *change after coming to Britain?   If you*
02   *could think of anything.*
03   *Mari: Oooh….   After coming to Britain… um.*
04   *Mikio: Of course it's in an extension of your time in America, in your case,*
05   *Mari.*
06   *Mari: In an extension of America….   Oh, er, somehow I think I've been*
07   *influenced tremendously by coming in contact with Christians at church*

08　　*and with Christianity.　Recently I began to think I was probably*
09　　*heavily influenced by other people's sense of values when I was in*
10　　*Japan.　And now, probably when I go back to Japan… I don't think I'll*
11　　*be shaken by other people's sense of values, which I think is good.　If I*
12　　*went back without knowing Christianity, I think I'll be susceptible to*
13　　*other people's various opinions and various words and that's going to*
14　　*make me very tired, mentally fatigued.　I think I have that feeling.*
15　*Mikio: Right, right.　So you think you can rely on Christian values and*
16　　*live through, you've got that kind of hope, is it?*
17　*Mari: That's right.　So a Christian value is within me, it came in….　So*
18　　*how shall I say it?　Even in troublesome situations… if I asked people*
19　　*for example, I think there were various opinions that were thrown to me*
20　　*and I didn't know what to do.　I feel that happened in Japan.　But I*
21　　*think that won't happen and I ask God (laughs) and think according to*
22　　*the Bible and make my own judgments, I'll be able to make judgments*
23　　*properly, it might be like that.　(MA-150210-INT3)*

She was happy about the kinds of people she met in her church (Extract 4.31: Lines 03

to 06), a big container where she felt accepted (Extract 4.31: Lines 09 to 11).　I asked a

very open-ended question to explore the change in her values in Britain (Extract 4.32:

Lines 01 to 02), in which I expected cultural topics to surface.　Contrary to my

expectation, she pointed out that Christians and Christianity were the catalysts that

changed her sense of values tremendously (Extract 4.32: Lines 06 to 08), which she

expected to be the values to live by after returning to Japan.　She actually stated that

she experienced less stress from other people's various opinions after returning to work

in Japan, and that she began to think lightly of self-development books sold in

bookshops compared to reading the Bible (MA-260511-VAL1). Her salient identity here was that of a Christian rather than a Japanese. In this way she created a secure space within herself, even though she was not in Japan, nor was she deeply inside the local British life.

She accepted herself as a Japanese studying in the UK, which in itself did not create a tangible space where she felt she belonged. It was rather her existence as a Christian and the networks she formed with and through Christians that provided a tangible space for her to belong in, apart from her routine master's classes. She went to church on Sundays, attended Julie's Bible study (MA-230709-OBS3), attended Rhonda's Bible study at Lucy's house, lived in Lucy's house in the final two months (MA-311209-REC1), and attended social events hosted by Lucy and other local people which were geared to international students (MA-040409-OBS1, MA-230709-OBS2). I have discussed the fact that her cultural-ethnic identity stayed largely intact in the USA and in the UK. In other words, the mixture of Japanese, American and British cultures did not matter much for her as she was far more influenced by Christian ethics and values rather than cultural and ethnic values. I have sought change in her *cultural-ethnic identity* as my research questions guided me, and I had not fully

expanded my research questions to seek change in *identity in general*.   However, it is

clear that she felt more change in herself through religious experience having become a

Christian in the USA and then growing in faith in the UK and forming social networks

with and through other Christians where she felt she belonged, rather than through

experiencing any change in terms of her cultural-ethnic identity.

4.5 Mari: Summary and postscript

Mari came to the UK primarily to get a master's degree to develop her career as a high

school English teacher, and secondly to improve her oral English through socialising.

Her impression of British people improved after coming to the UK, but she experienced

difficulty in coming close to a group of British classmates and undergraduate British

Christians due to the gap between their conversation topics, which stemmed from a lack

of common experience or common background.   Meanwhile, she was satisfied when

topics matched with her interlocutor's and they understood one another, which

happened with other East Asian international students who had similar backgrounds,

and with the elderly British Christian women who shared her religion.   She also felt

satisfied when her interlocutors brought up the topic of Japan and showed interest in it,

but in contrast felt distant from those who did not show any particular interest, which was the case in the USA.

She downplayed improving her speaking skills when she realised the importance of broadening her world-view, having socialised with people from all over the world, particularly from unfamiliar parts of the world beyond the Euro-American world. As a teacher who had spent three years abroad, she wished to bring back to Japan her new insights about various people from various parts of the world less familiar to the Japanese.

Her Japanese cultural-ethnic identity seemed virtually intact abroad. She accepted her status as an international student from Japan without struggling, and at times she felt proud of being a Japanese when others showed respect towards her Japanese background. She did not have a strong attachment or desire to stay long in the UK as she knew in her heart that she was going to return to Japan, but still she was able to feel settled in the UK partially because there were other East Asian students who were in the same boat, and more importantly because her life as a Christian provided a tangible space in which to belong. Moreover, she felt more change in herself through religious

experience having become a Christian, rather than experiencing any change in terms of her cultural-ethnic identity.

After going back to Japan, she rejoiced in hearing that she had obtained the MA drama and theatre education degree with grade A (MA-200410-EMA5).   She went back to her school for a year, where she experienced reverse culture shock and struggled to readapt, contrary to her expectation.   She was discouraged by her Japanese colleagues' negative thoughts and narrow-mindedness, which was in contrast with people she had met overseas and realised that she actually had changed culturally.   After a year, she switched to another school which had a drama club and an international exchange section, where she felt she could utilise her expertise more than she could at her former school (MA-160411-EMA8).

CHAPTER 5 NAOMI

Naomi's narrative will unfold using the following set of data in this chapter.

	Date	Location/ Situation	Data collection instrument	Code
1	19 May 2007		Participant diary (SNS) 1	NA-190507-SNS01
2	2 July 2007		Participant diary (SNS) 2	NA-020707-SNS02
3	16 October 2007		Participant diary (SNS) 3	NA-161007-SNS03
4	18 January 2009	Japanese New Year party at Ken's house	Participant observation 1	NA-180109-OBS1
5	3 February 2009	My house	Interview 1	NA-030209-INT1
6	3 February 2009		Research diary 1	NA-030209-RES1
7	22 March 2009		Participant diary (SNS) 4	NA-220309-SNS04
8	30 June 2009		Participant diary (SNS) 5	NA-300609-SNS05
9	31 July 2009		Participant diary (SNS) 6	NA-310709-SNS06
10	17 September 2009		Participant diary (SNS) 7	NA-170909-SNS07
11	2 December 2009	Cooking kimchi (fermented Korean vegetables) in my house	Participant observation 2	NA-021209-OBS2
12	7 December 2009	My house	Interview 2	NA-071209-INT2
13	7 December 2009		Research diary 2	NA-071209-RES2
14	17 December 2009	Ken's farewell party at his	Participant	NA-171209-OBS3

		house	observation 3	
15	3 January 2010	Japanese New Year party and tea ceremony at Hana's house	Participant observation 4	NA-030110-OBS4
16	4 February 2010	Dinner at Naomi's house	Participant observation 5	NA-040210-OBS5
17	16 May 2010		Participant diary (SNS) 8	NA-160510-SNS08
18	13 June 2010		Participant diary (SNS) 9	NA-130610-SNS09
19	5 July 2010		Participant diary (SNS) 10	NA-050710-SNS10
20	11 July 2010	Karate demonstration in Clinton town centre	Participant observation 6	NA-110710-OBS6
21	16 July 2010	My house	Interview 3	NA-160710-INT3
22	16 July 2010		Research diary 3	NA-160710-RES3
23	16 July 2010		E-mail 1	NA-160710-EMA1
24	30 September 2010	Japanese tea ceremony at Nana's house	Participant observation 7	NA-300910-OBS7
25	10 December 2010	Portuguese café displaying Naomi's painting in Abbotswell	Painting and document	NA-101210-DOC1
26	17 January 2011		Participant diary (SNS) 11	NA-170111-SNS11
27	2 March 2011		Participant diary (SNS) 12	NA-020311-SNS12
28	20 March 2011	After the Eastern Japan Great Earthquake disaster on 11 March 2011	Participant diary (SNS) 13	NA-200311-SNS13
29	26 March 2011	Fundraising event for Japan: tea ceremony at Hana's house	Participant observation 8	NA-260311-OBS8
30	28 March 2011	Street collection for Japan in town	Photos	NA-280311-PHO1

31	3 April 2011	After the Eastern Japan Great Earthquake disaster on 11 March 2011	Participant diary (SNS) 14	NA-030411-SNS14
32	8 April 2011	After the Eastern Japan Great Earthquake disaster on 11 March 2011	Participant diary (SNS) 15	NA-080411-SNS15
33	7 July 2011	Naomi's respondent validation	Face-to-face talk	NA-070711-VAL1

Table 5.1 Data on Naomi

Note: All the SNS diaries were accessed after I obtained ethical approval on 9 December 2008.

5.1 Introducing Naomi

Name (pseudonym):	Naomi
Nationality:	Japanese
Sex:	Female
Age:	42
Occupation:	Homemaker
Family:	English husband and a daughter
Age when Naomi started learning English:	12
The number of years Naomi has used English (excluding classroom use):	14
The number of years Naomi has lived in the UK (excluding sightseeing or short stay):	10
People with whom Naomi uses English often:	Family
TV programmes in English Naomi often watches:	BBC news

Books, magazines, or websites in English Naomi often reads:	BBC news
Social activities, clubs, or gatherings Naomi attends:	Painting (with primary school children, mothers and elderly British people); gym

Table 5.2 Naomi's personal information

Note: The data were largely from the personal information form (see Appendix 8)

provided by Naomi prior to the first interview on 3rd February 2009.

1966 Born in Shikoku Island in Japan.

Childhood: participated in a lot of art exhibitions.

1984-1988 Studied art painting, art history and art philosophy at university in Tokyo, Japan. Bachelor of Art.

1989 Worked in an art gallery in Tokyo.

1990-1998 Worked as a successful multi-media artist in Tokyo.

1998 Married and moved to England, had a child.

Enjoys her life in England, parenting, travelling all over the world and painting her view of the world.

Recently modelled for a famous painter, Peter Palette (pseudonym)
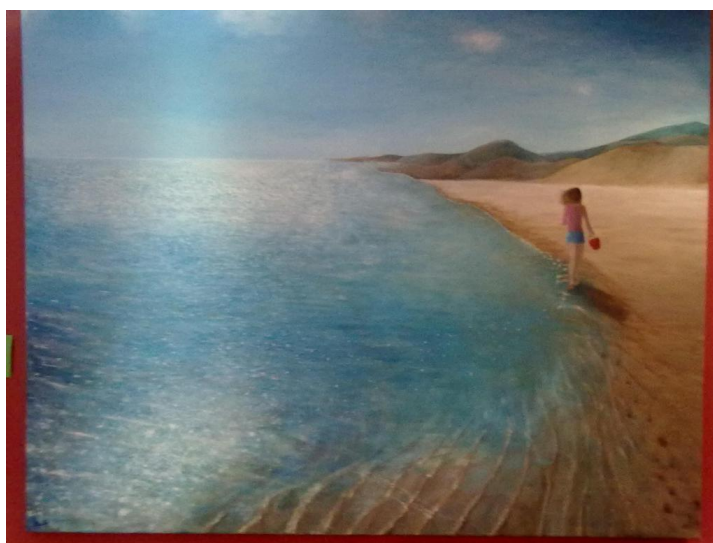
Fuerteventura 2008

Figure 5.1 Extracts of Naomi's profile distributed with her painting (NA-101210-DOC1)

5.1.1 Personal background of Naomi

Naomi was born and bred in Kochi Prefecture on Shikoku Island, the smallest and least populous of the four main islands of Japan, where she lived for eighteen years. She recalled not liking studying English (NA-030209-INT1) during her school life. She went to a university in Tokyo to study art, and she reported, "I was appalled by my lack of English language ability by then" when she went to the USA for a short term to study painting (NA-030209-INT1). Such experience caused her to give a wide berth to learning English and she avoided it until her thirties, when she met her English husband.

While she displaced English to the periphery, she graduated from university and gradually solidified her career as an artist:

Extract 5.1

01   *Mikio: So you came to the UK which is a foreign country, and conversely*
02   *yourself as a Japanese got more….*
03   *Naomi: Yes, that's right.*
04   *Mikio: Deeper?*
05   *Naomi: When I was in Japan, I felt odd as a Japanese, like not being able*
06   *to blend in much with the society.*
07   *Mikio: Hmm, hmm.*
08   *Naomi: Um… odd type or somewhat… how shall I say it? Er, not being*

09 *able to do what everyone does, so to say.*

10 *Mikio: Uh-huh, yes, yes.   Hmm….*

11 *Naomi: Well, I did sort of work in a company, as my parents told me.   But*

12 *in my mind I felt it wasn't right.*

13 *Mikio: … So when you thought it wasn't right, did anything happen?*

14 *Naomi: Um… well.   There is what the Japanese people say… or rather*

15 *what normal general public say… a normal life or… the things that*

16 *people pursue, right?   Like, working in a decent company.*

17 *Mikio: Right.*

18 *Naomi: For example, becoming a civil servant or "such a route," so to*

19 *speak.*

20 *Mikio: Yes.*

21 *Naomi: I'm told not to deviate from those things.   I've been told but I*

22 *couldn't do that, though I knew those things.*

23 *Mikio: Yes.*

24 *Naomi: And, originally I was an artistic type (laughs).   So I was unfitted*

25 *for those things.   I think I've had a distinctive personality.*

(NA-030209-INT1)

Note: Italics indicates English translation of the original Japanese.

When the topic was about her career life in Japan, she reflected back on not being able

to meet her parents' and the general public's expectations, and instead reacknowledged

herself as "an artistic type" (Line 24).   To put her statement in context, when she

graduated from university in 1988, the Japanese economy was thriving in the world due

to the Japanese asset price bubble that lasted until the "Lost Decade" began in 1991, and

there were plenty of jobs in companies which almost always guaranteed lifetime

employment.   Therefore, I believe that she took a risk to break away from

compromising and being a group-oriented company employee in order to fulfil her

professional ambition and identity as an individual artist.

However, she managed to shape her career as a successful multi-media artist from 1990

to 1998 (see Figure 5.1), and she lived on the top floor of a high-rise apartment in

central Tokyo with a 360-degree view of the waterfront area (NA-160710-INT3).

5.1.2 Naomi's reason for being in the UK

She went out with her future husband from England, who eventually proposed to her

while she was working as an artist in Tokyo (NA-030209-INT1).   As he returned to

England they were in a long-distance relationship, so she came to stay with him several

times for about a month in order to make her decision about marrying him and moving

to England (NA-030209-INT1):

Extract 5.2

01   *Mikio: The first thing I want to ask you is why you came to the UK.*
02   *Naomi: Well, to explain the background, it was marriage….   Well, before*
03   *that I was living in Japan.*
04   *Mikio: Uh-huh.*

05　*Naomi: I didn't intend to come to the UK at all, but… yeah.　You know,*

06　　*there are various matters like the language.　It took a lot before*

07　　*marriage… oooh, to live in the UK, I didn't have confidence so to say,*

08　　*to continue living.　I didn't have confidence maintaining marriage.*

09　　*So it took a lot of time.*

10　*Mikio: Uh, to make a decision?*

11　*Naomi: Yes.　It took a great deal of time to sort out my feelings since*

12　　*going out till marrying.*

13　*(…)*

14　　*Well, I did well at work in Japan.　I had to throw that away completely,*

15　　*you know.　(NA-030209-INT1)*

She came to live in the UK after weighing up the pros and cons of marrying and living

with her English husband, issues about English language (Line 06), and about giving up

her career as an artist in Japan (Lines 14 to 15).　Thus, when she got married and

moved to the UK in 1998, she experienced a drastic change from being a single woman

to being married, from being an artist to a homemaker, and in addition, she gave birth to

a daughter and became a mother in the same year (see Figure 5.1).　This change is

summarised in Figure 5.2 below:

Residence:	Tokyo, Japan	→	Clinton, Warwickshire, UK
Language:	Japanese	→	English
Career:	Artist	→	Homemaker
Marital status:	Single	→	Married (and became a mother)

Figure 5.2 Naomi's changes in 1998

Naomi lives in Clinton (pseudonym), a historic middle-class rural town in Warwickshire, UK surrounded by pastures.   She lives in a quaint flat which existed as early as 1892 in the historic part of Clinton (NA-040210-OBS5).   As I calculated from the 2001 Census data taken by the Office for National Statistics (2001), white people were the vast majority in Clinton, accounting for about 97.54% of the population.

Ethnic group	Percentage
White	97.54%
Mixed	0.72%
Asian or Asian British	0.79%
Black or Black British	0.21%
Chinese or Other Ethnic Group	0.71%
	Total 100%

Table 5.3 Ethnic groups living in Clinton (calculated using 2001 Census: Census Area Statistics, Ethnic Group (UV09))

The ethnicity categories used by the Office for National Statistics (2001) makes it virtually impossible to find out the number of Japanese people, because they can be categorised under "Asian or Asian British: Other Asian" or "Chinese or Other Ethnic Group: Other Ethnic Group".   The term "Asian" is the source of the problem, as in British English this term especially points to "people from India or Pakistan" whereas in

North American English, it refers to "people from the Far East" (Oxford Advanced

Learner's Dictionary, 2005).   Japanese people, including myself and Mari (see Chapter

4), would often choose to be categorised as "Asians" partially because North American

English is the norm in Japan, but most importantly because geographically, Japan

belongs to Asia.   Thus, whether the Japanese respondents in the 2001 Census chose

"Asian or Asian British: Other Asian" (about 0.06%) or "Chinese or Other Ethnic

Group: Other Ethnic Group" (about 0.47%), the statistics show that they are very scarce

in Clinton.   As far as I know during my data collection, Naomi had at least six

Japanese friends in the same town whom she met regularly.

Naomi in her daily life uses English with her husband, and Japanese with her daughter

(NA-071209-INT2).   Her daughter went to a local primary school in Clinton, as well

as a Japanese primary school in Derby, where children received Japanese language and

maths education every Saturday.   Thus, Naomi looked after her daughter's homework

from the Japanese school as well as the local school, and would provide transportation

for her daughter's school activities (NA-030209-INT1).   The family would typically

visit Naomi's husband's parents nearby to have Sunday roast together

(NA-030209-INT1).   Naomi would often go to a further education college in

Abbotswell (pseudonym) to study painting, where she met many retired British classmates who joined her to work out in a fitness club, and she taught painting to British and Hong Kong Chinese school children at their homes, while her husband was at work and her daughter at school (NA-030209-INT1). Regarding Japanese social networks, she often met other Japanese wives, who would meet at monthly intervals to chat, or do Japanese tea ceremony, or sew and dress *kimono* (traditional Japanese clothing) collectively (NA-030110-OBS4, NA-040210-OBS5, NA-300910-OBS7, NA-260311-OBS8). In this way, Naomi led life mainly as a homemaker, a wife and a mother, while she learned and taught painting, and socialised with those she met in the college and elsewhere.

5.1.3 My relationship with Naomi

As was explained in Section 3.3.3, I got to know Naomi through Ken, a Japanese man married to a British wife who lived in Clinton. Ken and his wife hosted a Japanese style summer party for Japanese people living in and around Clinton in August 2008, in which about 25 people including children gathered wearing *yukata* (casual summer kimono) to eat Japanese food, do Bon Festival Dance and watermelon splitting, which

are all commonly practised during August in Japan.   As I lived in Clinton with my wife,

Naomi befriended us.   In January 2009, Ken hosted a Japanese New Year party in

which we and six Japanese families living in Clinton gathered to eat the traditional

osechi (Japanese New Year foods), while some wore kimono (NA-180109-OBS1).

During that party I explained my research to Naomi and she accepted my invitation to

become my research participant.

The rapport building was smooth as my wife was often invited to the Japanese tea

ceremony as well as for meals in which other Japanese women gathered.   As Clinton

was a small town and our houses were within walking distance, it was easy to access

each other and develop a friendly relationship.

5.2 Naomi's adaptation to life in Clinton

As was explained in Section 5.1.2, Naomi's life underwent a drastic change in 1998

when she got married and came to live in Clinton.   I would like to expand on some

themes that emerged in this respect, her response to the living environment, and her

career change.   The current section and Section 5.3 (Naomi's social network) will

discuss the social aspects of her experience, which will then allow me to discuss her

cognitive perspectives on her identity (Section 5.4).

5.2.1 From urban life to rural life

I invited Naomi to retrospect on her expectations before coming to live in Clinton

during our first interview in February 2009:

Extract 5.3

01 *Mikio: Was there anything you expected before coming here?*
02 *Naomi: Things I expected?   In relation to myself, or to others?*
03 *Mikio: Well, anything.*
04 *Naomi: ... Er... I came, and there were rather loads of disappointments to*
05   *the fact that I came here (laughs).*
06 *Mikio: Oh really.*
07 *Naomi: Yes, kind of.   So, it might be that I really had some good*
08   *thoughts, images so to say, dreams, images of some sort toward the UK.*
09   *When I think like that, what disappointed me was… hmm… uh… well, it*
10   *might have been food.*
11 *Mikio: Oh right (laughs).*
12 *Naomi: That's the most in order to live.   Then, uh…uh well, what is*
13   *it?   ...... Hmm……… I thought the living standard in the UK is very*
14   *low.*
15 *Mikio: Oh right.*
16 *Naomi: That's somehow totally different.   Well, my….   It's like how*
17   *Japanese people are fussy about little things like gadgets.*
     (NA-030209-INT1)

Her initial life in Clinton was full of "disappointments" (Line 04) in terms of the living environment compared to her urban life in Tokyo. I inadvertently laughed (Line 11) after she complained about the food because I imagined she would talk about cultural clashes, but I later realised that her salient identity as a homemaker and a mother was indispensable because those were significant identities and roles for her.

During the third interview in July 2010, having deepened our rapport, we were talking about how we were leading a simple life in Clinton as I also had lived in Tokyo most of my life:

Extract 5.4

01 *Mikio: I feel I'm being trained here to a certain extent. All those*
02 *convenient things that were in Japan aren't here. [You] go to a*
03 *convenience shop, book a concert ticket, buy food there.*
04 *Naomi: Yeah, me too.*
05 *Mikio: [You] can ride trains if [you] have a mobile phone.*
06 *Naomi: Yeah… Well what, what's the most, well those kinds of*
07 *convenience, hmm. Also when I was living in Japan, I was very well*
08 *situated. So (laughs), all those things I somehow (laughs), well.*
09 *Mikio: Dumped it, so to say?*
10 *Naomi: Well, dumped or what else?*
11 *Mikio: Left.*
12 *Naomi: Yeah, [I] thought [I] did something stupid. But I think the value*
13 *of being simple, value or what? Well I feel that people can be like*
14 *that. Even if it's less than that, if you get down to what people are,*

15   *[such simple life] is absolutely fine.   Like, "Is culture a luxury?"*

16   *Yeah.*   (NA-160710-INT3)

We co-constructed what it was to lead a simple life in Clinton.   She implied a sense of regret to have turned from a well-situated life in urban Tokyo, whereas she expressed how she came to terms with the simple life in rural Clinton (Lines 12 to 16).   Together they depict her ambivalent feelings of adaptation to a simple lifestyle.   The extracts in this section depict her disappointment, struggle, compromise and adaptation to the lower living standards in rural Clinton compared to the urban life in Tokyo.   Her identity as a homemaker was salient in this theme, which will be discussed in the next section.

5.2.2 From an artist to a homemaker

As was discussed, Naomi struggled to change from an artist to a homemaker (see Extract 5.2 and Section 5.2.1).   Her ambivalence emerged after I tried to explore the kinds of people she wanted to socialise with:

Extract 5.5

01   *Mikio: So you spend more time communicating in English?*

02   *Naomi: That's right.*

03   *Mikio: So, well, what kind of people do you wish to talk with?*

04   *Naomi: What kind of people… you're asking?*

05   *Mikio: Yes.*

06   *Naomi: Well, in the past I was in the front-line, or when I was working I*

07   *wanted to talk with people who were working really energetically*

08   *(laughs).   But now kind of, well… now… [I'm] totally a homemaker.*

09   *Mikio: Right.*

10   *Naomi: After all, to go to a college and to have leisurely conversations*

11   *with retired [British] people, it's really (laughs)….*

12   *Mikio: Oh right.*

13   *Naomi: Hmm….   And… in contrast I feel goaded so to say, talking to*

14   *people with jobs.   I hear things like "Are you satisfied?"*

15   *Mikio: Uh-huh, uh-huh.*

16   *Naomi: Then, "You've worked that much in Japan."*

17   *Mikio: Right.*

18   *Naomi: Well then, when I hear remarks like, "And yet, you came here and*

19   *lost everything," I feel as if I'm doing something bad though I'm happy*

20   *nevertheless, I'm happy with my current life.*

21   *Mikio: Uh-huh, uh-huh.*

22   *Naomi: Um.   Well, so that's… hmm.   Well so… having said that, [I]*

23   *think it's difficult to seek [my] career living in the UK.*
      (NA-030209-INT1)

She began her story reflecting on herself as a former career woman who had become a

homemaker who preferred to talk with retired people.   After she talked about the

people with whom she wanted to socialise, I realised I had assumed she might refer to

people's ethnicity, whereas in fact she expressed her preferences based on people's

professional background.   She wished to interact more with those who would accept her status as a homemaker as she felt touchy talking with people who had jobs and who questioned her status.   In this way she has become a homemaker, a status which she struggled to accept at first, and she has had to work over the years to brush away the lingering affection for her former career as an artist.

5.3 Naomi's social network

As I have introduced Naomi's adaptation to life in Clinton in terms of her personal circumstances, it would make sense to introduce her social networks from an interpersonal perspective.   I have categorised her social networks as comprising British people, other foreign nationals and Japanese people.

5.3.1 With British people

Firstly, I will discuss Naomi's relationship with British people, which is broken down into two parts: her attitude toward them and the gaps between them.

5.3.1.1 Naomi's attitude toward British people

I invited Naomi to retrospect on her view toward British people prior to her immigration

to the UK:

Extract 5.6

01 *Mikio: Um, what kind of image did you have towards British people?*
02 *That's before coming here.*
03 *Naomi: The image of British people…. Image? Hmm…. Well, in*
04 *terms of image…, um, it wasn't bad. Well it was rather similar to*
05 *Japanese but more conservative.*
06 *Mikio: Hmm, right.*
07 *Naomi: Being conservative means, er um, there is a strong national*
08 *character so there was a kind of an image that was inaccessible to*
09 *foreign nationals.*
10 *Mikio: Oh right. Was there anything specific that made you feel so*
11 *before coming here?*
12 *Naomi: Oooh…. Well, I only travelled here but just talking a bit, [I felt*
13 *they're] somehow cold and aloof. Also, it might be because of the*
14 *weather, [they're] gloomy. (NA-030209-INT1)*

It seems that her initial image of British people was not bad and not too different from

Japanese in the sense that both peoples are conservative, but at the same time, this made

the British inaccessible to Naomi as a foreign national (Lines 08 to 09). Naomi

reflected on her initial time in the UK and wrote "I felt terribly depressed"

(NA-300609-SNS05).   Altogether, her reflections illustrate her sense of uneasiness

with British people during her discovery period of life in Clinton.

During the second interview in December 2009, she described many British people as

conservative again, in that they did not show much interest toward her Japanese

background.   Thus, I asked her to reflect on her statement in the previous interview:

Extract 5.7

01 *Mikio: When you just said "conservative," as I recall the previous*
02   *interview, you said that when [people are] conservative, it's hard to*
03   *enter from outside.   Do you still have such an image?*
04 *Naomi: Well when it comes to British people, once they become friends,*
05   *they really stay like a friend for a long time, so that's very good.   So I*
06   *have to blend in here or take such an attitude as much as possible,*
07   *hmm.   Uh, meanwhile, uh, I introduce [them] hmm, Japanese culture.*
08   *For example, kimono, or dress up people with kimono, I do those*
09   *things… hmm.   (NA-071209-INT2)*

She went on to say that most of her British friends have never lived abroad, and that she

is their first Oriental friend (NA-071209-INT2).   She acknowledged that once British

people become her friends the relationship lasts for a long time.   Thus, it seems that

she would feel an affinity with British people through a gradual process, but not readily.

The way that she stated "I have to blend in here" (Lines 05 to 06) connoted that it might

not be out of her natural attitude, but was rather out of a normative consciousness which

required her to make certain efforts to blend in with British people.   I will make this

point clearer in Section 5.3.2 where I discuss how Naomi stated that it was easier to

befriend foreign nationals than British people.   She also introduced Japanese culture to

them, presumably with those who have become close enough to accept wearing kimono,

a cultural exchange which seemed to make Naomi happy.

When I pointed out how I felt she had a normative consciousness to blend in with

British people, she denied any coercion from others:

Extract 5.8

> 01   *Naomi: Well, Japanese people look similar and have similar things.   I*
> 02   *think that's the case, perhaps.*
> 03   *Mikio: Uh-huh, uh-huh.   ... In that sense, you don't feel something that*
> 04   *forces you to assimilate into the UK?*
> 05   *Naomi: That's impossible.*
> 06   *Mikio: Impossible (laughs)?*
> 07   *Naomi: Impossible (laughs), impossible, yes to be honest. ... So I think*
> 08   *that value, to respect individuality is very good, hmm.   I think the idea*
> 09   *that each person is different is good.   (NA-160710-INT3)*

She not only denied that there is any coercion for her to assimilate into the UK, but also

declared that it is "impossible" to assimilate at all (Lines 05, 07).   Her comments were

very persuasive, since she had lived in the UK for over twelve years with her British husband.   She appreciated the diversity in the UK all the more.

To summarise her attitude toward British people, she initially thought they were conservative and therefore inaccessible to foreign nationals, which implied that she would not feel an affinity with them straight away.   However, she realised that it takes time to form friendships with them, and these can last a long time once mutual trust is established.   Also, it can be inferred from her account that she has a normative consciousness to make efforts to blend in with British people, but she never felt she was being coerced to assimilate nor felt it was possible to assimilate at all.

5.3.1.2 Gaps between Naomi and British people

As Extract 5.2 shows, Naomi pointed out English language as one of her worries before she made the decision to come to the UK.   During the first interview in February 2009, I asked her to retrospect on her language issues when she began to live in Clinton:

Extract 5.9

01 *Naomi: Hmm…. Well, for example though I talked with British people,*
02 *[our] background is different so [I] couldn't fully understand the*
03 *contents.*
04 *Mikio: Oh.*
05 *Naomi: … I guess that was it.*
06 *Mikio: Right.*
07 *Naomi: Well, for instance, well…… er……. Well, I can understand*
08 *mostly now, but when I just arrived I couldn't understand any*
09 *background.*
10 *Mikio: Oh.*
11 *Naomi: Hmm.*
12 *Mikio: Is that something like topics?*
13 *Naomi: Yes, topics, topics. Every word…. It's really not about English.*
14 *What I didn't understand is like, um, everyone's background, like how*
15 *they grew up. (NA-030209-INT1)*

There were communication gaps created by her lack of English language proficiency as well as background knowledge of the conversation topics. This implies that she needed to have sufficient oral English skills as well as sociocultural knowledge of British society in order to bridge the gap between herself and her British interlocutors.

During the second interview in December 2009, she pointed out another problem in conversations with British people. She described her conversations with other foreign nationals as "trying to understand each other" (to be discussed in the next section) whereas conversations with British people were the opposite:

Extract 5.10

01 *Naomi: And when I talk with British people it's not like, "Let's understand*
02 *each other." That's probably different [with talking to other foreign*
03 *nationals].*
04 *Mikio: I want to ask about that in details. If it's not like, "Let's*
05 *understand each other," then what is it like?*
06 *Naomi: Hmm, well when I talk with British people, well how shall I say it?*
07 *Hmm.... Well it also depends on who I talk with, and the relations,*
08 *hmm………. Well, I won't say [they] impose it but, it's like "[we're] in*
09 *Britain." Well [they] rather don't try to understand Japan, [they]*
10 don't even ask about *Japan. [They] just don't really do that.*
11 *Mikio: Oh really? It's like they stand back?*
12 *Naomi: Well, I guess that might be it, hmm. There were many people like*
13 *that, in my case. And, well, yeah, well, hmm… somewhat*
14 *conservative. (NA-071209-INT2)*

She still used the term "conservative" (Line 14), which is how she has described British

people since she arrived in the UK (Extract 5.6). In essence, she felt that her British

interlocutors thought that being in the UK was a given and they did not really show an

interest in her Japanese background. As a Japanese, which is her salient identity in this

extract, she felt different from British people who took it for granted to be in the UK, or

those who did not broach the subject of her home country.

Speaking of her identity as a Japanese, she had been living in the UK for eleven years at

the time of the second interview. I asked to what extent she felt she was bicultural:

Extract 5.11

01   *Mikio: When you reflect on yourself, do you think you're bicultural, like*
02   *Japanese and British culture coexisting inside yourself?   Do you have*
03   *such an image?*
04   *Naomi: ... Hmm ………… hmm, but well, comparing to British people I*
05   *don't think I have it under my belt.   It came afterwards so I may*
06   *understand it in my head, but not in my heart.*
07   *Mikio: Right, so it hasn't <u>sunk</u> in your heart, so to speak?*
08   *Naomi: It's just there as a knowledge, kind of.   (NA-071209-INT2)*

She did not perceive herself as bicultural in the sense that she has not absorbed British

culture as much as British people, and this also highlights the gap between them.   I

also asked her to provide illustrations of her uncomfortable experiences using English:

Extract 5.12

01   *Mikio: I want to ask you when you don't feel comfortable [using English].*
02   *Naomi: Uncomfortable?*
03   *Mikio: Yes.*
04   *Naomi: Everyone, hmm….   I talk based on experiences which is my*
05   *experiences in Japan.   So…… how shall I say it?   Well, when I talk*
06   *about <u>myself</u>, for example, to people who have only lived in the UK who*
07   *<u>don't have</u> the imagination for foreign countries or those who have*
08   *never been, it's very….   Those who <u>only</u> lived in the UK, really for*
09   *example, uh… those who haven't really heard foreign nationals'*
10   *English.*
11   *Mikio: Yes, yes, yes.*
12   *Naomi: If [they] can't exercise their imagination for [foreign nationals']*
13   *English or things spoken….   And also, when I speak just by myself*
14   *among a group of ten or twenty people, it's really hard, hmm.   Well I*

15   *often experience such things.*   (NA-071209-INT2)

She noted two things that made her uncomfortable talking with British people.   Firstly, when she felt they could not imagine her past experience in Japan, which was inseparable from her, and secondly, when she felt they were not attuned to her English with a Japanese accent.   Her identity as a foreign national was salient when she depicted such gaps with British people.

She depicted a difference in her attitude when speaking to Japanese and to British people during the third interview.   As she had returned to Japan for a holiday, I asked if she missed the people there:

Extract 5.13

01   *Mikio: What about people?   Like, did you miss people in Japan, or was*
02   *any aspect good?*
03   *Naomi: People?   ... Hmm....   Well, but comparing to British people, the*
04   *basic premise is that they're Japanese and I guess there are aspects I*
05   *can feel safe.   After all, I might be girding up a bit when I'm talking*
06   *with British people.*
07   *Mikio: Oh right, right.*
08   *Naomi: Hmm, the basic premise is rather different.   Oooh, [Japanese*
09   *people] understand me just being here, but I feel that British people*
10   *won't understand unless I bother saying something all the time, hmm.*
       (NA-160710-INT3)

She seemed to get defensive by "girding up" (Line 05) when talking with British people, which points to how Naomi occasionally stretches beyond her comfort zone in order to talk with them and be understood.

In summary, Naomi's identity as a Japanese living in a foreign country was salient when she depicted the gap between British people and herself.   Most British people she met had not lived abroad and their lack of understanding toward foreign nationals' lives widened the gap as she felt they could not imagine her life as a foreign national, they were not attuned to her accent, and she could not talk about her Japanese background. She had a willingness to fill the gap but it had entailed considerable effort on her part over the years, since she needed to improve her speaking skills and to gain knowledge of British society in order to facilitate mutual understanding.

5.3.2 Empathy with other foreign nationals

Naomi had friends from other foreign countries living around Clinton.   She made Korean, Chinese, Hong Kong Chinese and Russian friends at the college in Abbotswell (NA-030209-INT1).   She later made Brazilian and Portuguese friends

(NA-071209-INT2, NA-170111-SNS11).   Her painting (see Figure 5.1) was displayed

in a café owned by a Portuguese in Abbotswell where her Brazilian and Portuguese

friends would often get together.   I explored her attitude toward other foreign nationals

during the first interview:

Extract 5.14

> 01   *Mikio: Do you feel affinity with other foreign nationals in the UK?*
> 02   *Naomi: Uh, honestly speaking, it's easier to befriend other foreign*
> 03   *nationals than British people.*
> 04   *Mikio: Oh really?*
> 05   *Naomi: Yes.*
> 06   *Mikio: Um.   So you speak in English?*
> 07   *Naomi: That's right, yes.*
> 08   *Mikio: Right.*
> 09   *Naomi: After all, uh, because we live abroad we can talk about many*
> 10   *things, so to say.   Well… we have our cultures and still we have to live*
> 11   *here so we share a common understanding on that.*
> 12   *Mikio: Oh right.   What kind of people are they specifically?*
> 13   *Naomi: Hmm…   The people that can be closest are, well… Oriental*
> 14   *people, Koreans, Chinese and Hong Kong Chinese.*
> 15   *Mikio: Oh right.*
> 16   *Naomi: Also I can become friends with Russians easily, somehow.*
>   (NA-030209-INT1)

It seems that she can empathise with other foreign nationals by talking about each

other's foreign backgrounds, which makes it easier for her to befriend them than British

people.

However, it was not just with other foreign nationals in the UK that she empathised:

Extract 5.15

01 *Mikio: Out of three kinds of people, British, Japanese and foreign*
02   *nationals, who do you feel affinity with the most now?*
03 *Naomi: ... Hmm……. That's a bit difficult (laughs). Hmm, it depends on*
04   *each situation.*
05 *Mikio: Yes, yes.*
06 *Naomi: Hmm, and also I made a tremendous discovery, well… I think I*
07   *said earlier that from America, or rather an American teacher often*
08   *comes to the UK.*
09 *Mikio: Uh-huh, yes.*
10 *Naomi: So I really began to understand well how foreign nationals living*
11   *in Japan feel.*
12 *Mikio: Oh.*
13 *Naomi: That was a tremendous discovery for me, and we came to share a*
14   *common understanding.*
15 *Mikio: Oh really.*
16 *Naomi: Uh-huh.*
17 *Mikio: Oh, that person is an American still living in Japan?*
18 *Naomi: Uh-huh, teaching English as a job.*
19 *Mikio: Hmm, hmm, hmm. So, speaking of affinity, well, just hearing*
20   *what you said, do you feel it when you <u>can understand a bit</u> about other*
21   *person's circumstance?*
22 *Naomi: Let me see…. Well… it's probably about being able to*
23   *understand each other.*
24 *Mikio: Being able to understand each other, hmm.*
25 *Naomi: You can get your meaning across, so to say. And, very curiously*
26   *enough, I began to think that my friends living in Japan as foreign*
27   *nationals are closer than my Japanese friends in Japan.*
28 *Mikio: Really.*
29 *Naomi: Inside myself… it feels very curious enough.*
30 *Mikio: Really.*

31   *Naomi: Hmm.   Could it be because our circumstances are similar or we*

32   *can understand that?*

33   *Mikio: Uh-huh, uh-huh, I see.*

34   *Naomi: It's like I can understand the <u>hardship</u> or loneliness of living*

35   *abroad or those kinds of things.   *(NA-030209-INT1)

As we co-constructed the term "affinity", she felt it with her American friend living in Japan because she could understand "the hardship or loneliness of living abroad" (Lines 34 to 35).   Though the ethnicity of her American friend is not known, she does not feel an affinity just based on other people's ethnicity, but it depends whether she can empathise with other people's circumstances.   To prove this point, she felt more empathy with her American friend living in Japan than with her Japanese friend in Japan, and she can somehow understand the situations of foreign nationals in the UK (NA-071209-INT2).

She explained that the key to establishing such mutual understanding is in the conversation with other people, when I pursued this theme in the following interview:

Extract 5.16

01   *Mikio: You said that you somehow feel emotionally accessible…*

02   *tremendously with foreign nationals in Japan rather than Japanese*

03   *friends in Japan.*

04   *Naomi: That's right.   Japanese friends in Japan probably never visited*
05   *the UK so I can't seek advice.   They can hardly imagine things even if I*
06   *talk, I <u>pour out</u> my problems, or say anything.*
07   *Mikio: Hmm.*
08   *Naomi: Hmm.   Well, the foreign national friend who is in Japan visited*
09   *me in the UK.   And [s/he] travelled around the world.   And that*
10   *person, I think I had in my mind that time [i.e. during the previous*
11   *interview] was an American, an American living in Japan.   So it's easy*
12   *[for him/her] to imagine what it is to live overseas.   [S/he] knows the*
13   *UK and Japan.   So, that's why I thought it's easy to talk.*
14   *Mikio: Uh-huh, uh-huh….   What kind of things were topics?*
15   *Naomi: Let me see.   That was each difference in culture, I guess.*
        (NA-071209-INT2)

Extract 5.17

01   *Mikio: Is anything… anything different being with foreign nationals?*
02   *Naomi: Yes, uh… oooh… so we have a lively conversation like, "British*
03   *people are like this, but our country is like that."*
04   *Mikio: Oh, so it's about being <u>different</u>.*
05   *Naomi: Yes, being different.   Like, introducing each other's culture.*
06   *And, I guess there is atmosphere like, "Let's support each other,"*
07   *perhaps as foreign nationals.   It's like trying to understand each other.*
        (NA-071209-INT2)

There was a difference in her attitude towards her Japanese friends in Japan, who could

hardly imagine what it is to live overseas, and towards her American friend, who could.

It was essential for her to be able to talk about cultural differences in order to deepen

mutual understanding.   In the two extracts, her identity as a foreign national was

salient.   She empathised with other foreign nationals who could imagine life abroad,

which often happened through conversations being open and affirmative about each

other's cultural background.

And lastly, as we discussed whether it is possible to understand each other without

relying on words, she made a point about a prerequisite for understanding foreign

nationals:

Extract 5.18

01   *Naomi: So, well, the most important thing is whether listeners can have*
02   *various imaginations or compassion towards the speaker. I suppose*
03   *those kinds of things are the most, well, the most important thing, for*
04   *instance, to understand foreign nationals, hmm.   (NA-160710-INT3)*

Although it is not clear whether she put herself in the position of a listener or a speaker,

she noted that the overriding factor in understanding foreign nationals is to have

imagination and compassion for their circumstances.   It seems that she felt that having

compassion for foreign nationals was the key to establishing mutual understanding,

whether she was the giver or the recipient of compassion.

Reflecting on her social networks with other foreign nationals, what stands out is her

quest for empathy in her life as a foreign national, often challenged by the hardship and

loneliness of living abroad.   She does not feel an affinity with others simply because of

their ethnicity, but it rather grows through interaction with others, particularly with other

foreign nationals who are open and affirmative about their cultural backgrounds.

5.3.3 With Japanese people and culture

As was described in Section 5.1.2, Naomi met other Japanese people regularly. Some

Japanese people lived in Clinton and in surrounding towns around Warwickshire,

typically expatriates who were sent from companies in Japan to work in the UK, or

Japanese wives married to British husbands, like Naomi.   There were two Japanese

toddlers' groups in Warwickshire for parents who wanted to educate their children in

Japanese.   Naomi met other Japanese parents who also sent their children to the

Japanese primary school in Derby on Saturdays.   Firstly, I will discuss her attitude

towards her compatriots in the UK, secondly, her reappraisal of Japanese culture and

lastly, the gaps she found between herself and her compatriots back in Japan.

5.3.3.1 Naomi's attitude toward other Japanese people in the UK

During the first interview in February 2009, I asked whether Naomi felt an affinity with

Japanese people in the UK:

Extract 5.19

> 01   *Mikio: How about Japanese people in the UK?   Do you feel affinity with*
> 02   *them?   If you could talk <u>without</u> worrying about me (laughs), it'll be*
> 03   *good.*
> 04   *Naomi: Hmm….   Well, many Japanese people's circumstances around*
> 05   *here are similar.*
> 06   *Mikio: Uh-huh.*
> 07   *Naomi: And also, being Japanese…, there aren't too many.   Well… I*
> 08   *think I cherish people who I got to know in Japan, too.   In that*
> 09   *sense…… well, I think I'm able to form tremendously happy*
> 10   *relationships.   (NA-030209-INT1)*

She felt close to Japanese people, provided that their "circumstances" (Line 04) were

similar, not automatically because they were Japanese.   Since she did not seem to feel

an affinity with others based solely on their ethnicities (see Extract 5.15), I attempted to

find out what she meant in this respect in the following interview in December 2009:

Extract 5.20

01 *Mikio: Actually, when I ask people, "Do you feel affinity with others*
02 *because they are British, foreign national, or Japanese?" Many*
03 *people replied "No." Do you think that conversation topics or*
04 *circumstances matter more?*
05 *Naomi: Let me see, hmm……. For example, there are Japanese people I*
06 *see here, but… if we were in Japan… after all we might haven't become*
07 *friends immediately just because they were there. I think we become*
08 *friends because of the place like this, we can talk together, and there are*
09 *conversation topics. I guess I would have walked passed them if we*
10 *were in Japan.*
11 *Mikio: Oh, I see, I see, hmm. Surely, this is an odd thing to say but, there*
12 *are Japanese friends I made here, and I thought if I met them*
13 *somewhere in Japan… we wouldn't have become friends (laughs). Is*
14 *that because of your circumstances? Japanese people living abroad?*
15 *Naomi: Hmm, let me see…. Well, we somehow can understand each*
16 *other simply when they are Japanese people living abroad, or foreign*
17 *nationals living abroad. Well, if someone is a foreign national, it*
18 *doesn't have to be a Japanese person. (NA-071209-INT2)*

I played an active role as an empathetic insider (i.e. a Japanese person living abroad) to

co-construct what she meant by the "circumstance" that made her feel close to other

people. When she has had interactions with other people who she perceived to be in

the same boat as foreign nationals in the UK, she seemed to feel an affinity with them

whether they were Japanese people or other foreign nationals. Thus, this is in line with

Section 5.3.2 in that she empathised with other foreign nationals in the UK. With

Japanese people, I believe that using her native language bolstered her affinity towards

them because she mentioned that, "English is about communication or, hmm…. Well, Japanese is somewhat my identity and also… my competence" (NA-030209-INT1).

In this section, I have reiterated that Naomi empathised with people who live abroad, and for that reason she felt an affinity with Japanese people in the UK. Socialising with her Japanese friends and practicing traditional Japanese culture made her rediscover her heritage culture, which will be discussed in depth in the next section.

5.3.3.2 Having a higher opinion of Japanese culture

During the first interview in February 2009, I addressed a question to Naomi regarding her identity:

Extract 5.21

01   *Mikio: Has your identity changed after coming to the UK?*
02   *Naomi: Yeah, I think it changed considerably.*
03   *Mikio: Oh right.*
04   *Naomi: Hmm.   And well… I've been practicing kimono around here*
05   *recently, but I've never worn it in Japan.*
06   *Mikio: Really.*
07   *Naomi: After coming here I began to have tremendous interest in Japanese*
08   *culture.*

09   *Mikio: Oh.*

10   *Naomi: … Well, very curiously enough, when I sought it, it was like*

11   *friends gathered.   And among other international couple outside*

12   *Clinton, nobody wears kimono.   By chance we gathered here, so to*

13   *say.   It's like, "Like draws to like."*

14   *Mikio: Uh-huh, uh-huh.*

15   *Naomi: Hmm, our hobbies matched….   And I've never worn kimono,*

16   *never had any.   Even when my mother said she would buy one for me, I*

17   *was like, "Give me that money, and I'll go abroad."   And I actually*

18   *came.   And now I have… lots of kimonos, I sew them.   I think I*

19   *changed in that aspect.   I began to cling to Japanese culture, so to say.*

20   *Mikio: Oh really, hmm, hmm.*

21   *Naomi: Well, I probably began to have an identity as a Japanese very*

22   *strongly at this point in life.   (NA-030209-INT1)*

In my invitation to reflect on her identity change, she referred to her rediscovery of her cultural-ethnic identity as a Japanese.   Lines 15 to 20 depict her change in attitude from a pro-Western culture to a pro-Japanese culture person (see Extract 5.26 later in this section).   Since kimono is special-occasion-wear in Japan, it is no wonder that she did not have any experience of wearing it.   This narrative depicts two factors behind her return to kimono.   Firstly, there was some hunger for Japanese culture, which requires further examination.   Secondly, she needed her Japanese friends, as sewing and wearing kimono is a collective activity.

I invited her to expand on her Japanese cultural activity in the second interview in

December 2009:

Extract 5.22

01 *Mikio: I heard that you began to practice kimono and Japanese tea*
02   *ceremony after you settled in the UK.   You began to cling to Japanese*
03   *culture and your identity as a Japanese became strong.   What do you*
04   *think is the cause?*
05 *Naomi: Hmm, cause?   ... Hmm... well, one by one, I met British people.*
06   *I hardly have it now but I had tremendous sense of discomfort at first.*
07   *And well, for example, when I talked with them, for example, when I*
08   *went to class, or to English language class.   Well, for example, when*
09   *someone made a mistake, that person had to <u>give an excuse</u>.   Japanese*
10   *would say, "Don't make excuses," "That's pathetic," so to say, and,*
11   *"What's done is done, so don't do such a miserable thing," you know*
12   *that kind of thought?*
13 *Mikio: Graciously.*
14 *Naomi: Like "Admit it graciously."   And here, [people] have to make*
15   *excuses every single time and justify themselves.   Everything like that*
16   *is different, somehow, the attitude.   And, when I gave much thought, I*
17   *thought I might be a <u>samurai</u>.   I felt strongly that I have the*
18   *graciousness like a samurai, or that I'm a dyed-in-the-wool Japanese.*
19   *I've gone native a lot now, but at first, I gradually [felt?] those*
20   *Japanese culture or roots in various small things.   (NA-071209-INT2)*

Thus, discomfort with British people's behaviour, for example, cultural differences in

giving an apology, made her realise that her ethical values were rooted in traditional

Japanese culture (e.g. samurai ethics), which became one of the reasons to pursue her

own cultural roots more.   It was the cultural differences with British people that shed

light on her cultural values, which she could not have experienced unless she had had

intercultural contacts.

Regarding Naomi's cultural activities, my wife had opportunities to participate with her,

as these activities were mostly for women. However, in January 2010 I had the

opportunity to see their activity when we were invited to a Japanese New Year party at

Hana's house in Clinton. I will then briefly describe the New Year party in Extract

5.23 as this was a special once-a-year event open to all family members and their

friends. In Extract 5.24, I will describe the tea ceremony at Nana's (pseudonym) house

to which I was invited in September 2010, since it depicts the periodic tea ceremonies

that Naomi's Japanese friends have.

Preparation of tea

Wiping the tea bowls

Naomi prepares tea

The author (far right) and Naomi's daughter (far left)

Figure 5.3 Tea ceremony during a Japanese New Year party at Hana's house

(NA-030110-OBS4)

Extract 5.23

01   There were five families from Clinton who brought their family members
02   and friends to celebrate the Japanese New Year.   Naomi brought her
03   daughter, and both wore kimono and shared their *osechi*.   People ate
04   osechi in the kitchen and the sitting room.   The tea ceremony was
05   organised by Hana, who acted as the hostess.   In each session, four
06   people sat in *seiza* [traditional formal sitting in Japanese style] on the
07   *tatami* mat as the server prepared *wagashi* [Japanese style confectionery]
08   and *matcha* [ceremonial green tea].   There were three such sessions.
     (NA-030110-OBS4)

Wagashi on a plate with chopsticks

The server bows before serving the guests

Guests bow and pass on the tea bowl

Naomi prepares tea

Figure 5.4 Night tea ceremony at Nana's house (NA-300910-OBS7)

Extract 5.24

01   8 people, including my wife and I, gathered at Nana's house at 8PM for
02   *yakai*, [Japanese tea ceremony in the evening].   The sitting room was
03   used for the tea ceremony, which was decorated by Nana's painting, and
04   with a mixture of Japanese and Western ornaments.   Everyone except us
05   wore kimono.   Nana arranged the order for the tea ceremony for that

06   night, and prepared the tea sets in the right position.   In each *otemae*

07   [performance], the server started by bowing to the guests, and the guests

08   bowed back to the server.   There were always three formal guests, and

09   depending on the session, other guests joined the tea ceremony.   Tonight,

10   Ayako, Naomi, Karen and Nana served tea to the guests.   Tranquility,

11   formality, politeness and attentiveness was the norm, but there was a

12   degree of casualness, such as talking (on the origin of the confectionery,

13   tea and daily matters), Q & A during the session and laughter.   The

14   server first served wagashi, which guests ate one at a time.   After the

15   guests finished them, the server passed matcha in the tea bowl, and only

16   one person drank it at a time.   After everyone was served, the session

17   finished.   There was a break between the sessions, in which members

18   had *ryokucha* [Japanese green tea], and *osenbei* [rice crackers] whilst

19   chatting casually about family and daily matters.   After the tea ceremony

20   finished, people began chatting about family, men and childbirth, which

21   continued for more than an hour.   All the interaction was in Japanese, but

22   there were some English nouns mixed in.   Nana summarised the event

23   saying, "Solidarity yo ne?"   [Isn't this about solidarity?].   The event

24   finished at 12:30AM.   (NA-300910-OBS7)

Hana can lead sessions in kimono, whereas Nana, Ayako and Hana can all do so in tea

ceremony.   Thus, with people who have the skills to teach others, and with six

Japanese housewives living in the same town, it is no wonder that they can get together

monthly to enjoy their hobbies.   As illustrated above, wearing kimono and having tea

ceremony is a very collective activity which enabled Naomi and other NJSs to engage in

traditional Japanese culture and also promoted solidarity amongst group members.

This activity bolsters each one's sense of belonging as Japanese people living in

Clinton.

On the other hand, Naomi expressed to her friends online what would have happened if she had never come overseas:

Extract 5.25

> 01 *If I had been in Japan…… I wouldn't have worn kimono at all.   I would*
> 02 *rather think it's scary????   I'm scared of the voice of elderly people, how*
> 03 *much kimono will cost, and the people in that world, perhaps the whole*
> 04 *thing may seem stiff and formal????   No, it's just a whimsical*
> 05 *speculation.   (NA-050710-SNS10)*

If she had stayed in Japan, she would not have shown any interest in kimono since she thought the people who practiced this were stiff and formal. This implies that she would not have worn kimono if she had not lived abroad, and if she had not met other congenial compatriots in Clinton.

Similarly, she acknowledged that it was her life abroad that triggered her higher opinion of Japanese culture during the third interview:

Extract 5.26

> 01 *Naomi: Well, when I was in Japan I liked the culture of the West.   So I*
> 02 *   was rather negative towards Japanese things.*
> 03 *Mikio: Uh-huh, uh-huh.   In contrast, how about your positive feeling*

04   *toward the culture of the West after coming to the UK?*

05 *Naomi: Hmm, it waned, considerably (laughs).*

06 *Mikio: It waned?*

07 *Naomi: Well, is that the way it is?   Hmm….*

08 *Mikio: … What's the reason?*

09 *Naomi: Because, there are too many things I'm disappointed at (laughs),*

10   *perhaps. Well… disappointment or what do you call it…? Japan, in*

11   *terms of technology or anything, somehow… perhaps because I have a*

12   *higher opinion of Japan in too many things. Well, it's not that one is*

13   *superior in some way, or the other is inferior. How shall I say it? I*

14   *think it's just that I've had a higher opinion of Japan.*

(NA-160710-INT3)

She preferred Western culture to Japanese before, but it became the opposite after she moved to the UK. She expressed her delight in discovering the tacit rules in Japanese culture through kimono and tea ceremony when she stated, "I feel good... that's like a different world, well that's an art, or a kind of culture" (NA-160710-INT3). Thus, the disappointment that she experienced perhaps with aspects of rural life as a homemaker in Clinton (see Section 5.2.1 and 5.2.2), and moreover, rediscovering Japanese culture, which she could not have appreciated in Japan, were the two inextricably linked reasons that she developed a higher opinion of Japanese culture.

To summarise this section, Naomi had to overcome a sense of discomfort with British people's behaviour and disappointment with life in rural Clinton as a homemaker over

the years.   Gaps in communication style, such as giving an apology, helped her realise

that her ethical values were rooted in traditional Japanese culture, which she did not

realise when she was living in Japan.   Cultural activities helped her to discover the

tacit rules in Japanese culture, which was another way to rediscover her own identity as

a Japanese, and through these activities she found solidarity with other Japanese.   She

would not have worn kimono and practiced tea ceremony if she had not lived abroad,

and if she had not met other congenial compatriots in Clinton.   Altogether these form

the reasons why she came to have a higher opinion of Japanese culture.

5.3.3.3 Gaps between Naomi and Japanese people in Japan

Although it has been noted that Naomi had some sense of discomfort living in the UK,

this did not mean that she could be at ease in Japan.   During the first interview, she

mentioned that she felt she was a Japanese, but different from the Japanese in Japan

(NA-030209-INT1).   Therefore, I asked in the second interview why she felt that way

specifically:

Extract 5.27

> 01 *Naomi: Well, I also thought about it, but I think it's about language,*
> 02 *perhaps…. Well, it's not like loanwords but English language creeps*
> 03 *in [my speech], as if it's a dialect of Japanese living in the UK, for*
> 04 *instance, hmm….*
> 05 *Mikio: Does it happen when talking with Japanese in Japan, or just with*
> 06 *Japanese here?*
> 07 *Naomi: I can't toransureeto [Note: Naomi used the English word*
> 08 *"translate" as if it were a recognised Japanese noun]… Ah, just like*
> 09 *this, can't "toransureeto."*
> 10 *Mikio: Oh (laughs). I see now (laughs).*
> 11 *Naomi: That's right, like this, I can't translate, like…. Well, when I try to*
> 12 *speak, I can only say it, or it comes out in English. So this is like a*
> 13 *dialect in the UK spoken by Japanese people, as it were. For instance,*
> 14 *Rosemary (pseudonym of her daughter) really speaks a third of her*
> 15 *English as if it were in Japanese grammar. And when I talk with*
> 16 *mothers who have Japanese-British children, I sometimes speak like*
> 17 *that, a hotchpotch. And when I go back to Japan, it won't get through*
> 18 *at all, hmm. (NA-071209-INT2)*

She pointed to her code-switching, especially using English words in her Japanese speech as something that marked a difference with Japanese people in Japan. Using loanwords from English is fairly common in Japan, so I assume such a difference became clear when she overused unfamiliar English loanwords which were incomprehensible for other Japanese.

Furthermore, she felt a particular gap with people from Kochi Prefecture, her home,

which she described as a place with discrimination (NA-071209-INT2). Her story

illuminated this from a different angle:

Extract 5.28

01   *Naomi: My home is around Kochi.*

02   *Mikio: Oh right.*

03   *Naomi: And, Kochi is tremendously conservative. Well, I can't say it's*

04   *the periphery of Japan, but it's provincial.*

05   *Mikio: Uh-huh, uh-huh.*

06   *Naomi: And I return there. Then… well, when I talk with a friend who*

07   *had been in Tokyo but returned to Kochi, she says, "Naomi, if you come*

08   *back to live in Kochi, there won't be anyone who'll become your*

09   *friend."*

10   *Mikio: Uh, what?*

11   *Naomi: She says, "You are too different." And, I'm not different at all, of*

12   *course inside myself.*

13   *Mikio: Uh-huh.*

14   *Naomi: But from her view, I'm totally different, it seems.*

15   *Mikio: Oh, hmm….*

16   *Naomi: And, it's a bit harsh to hear it.*

17   *Mikio: Uh-huh, uh-huh.*

18   *Naomi: Hmm.*

19   *Mikio: Did you actually… think like that in your hometown?*

20   *Naomi: That, no. Oooh…… People's attitude, people's attitude toward*

21   *me, they're all too <u>flattering</u>. I experience that.*

22   *Mikio: What's that?*

23   *Naomi: Because I'm back from the UK.*

24   *Mikio: Oh, yes, yes.*

25   *Naomi: It's like, "She lives in the UK." I don't understand it well, and*

26   *I've never thought like that, but… they're country folks so they adore*

27   *places outside. And especially when it comes to foreign countries,*

28   *there're people I thought were thinking <u>that</u> their status will rise just*

29   *being with someone [from there], hmm.   Well, I've never thought that*
30   *far, it's just, hmm.*   (NA-071209-INT2)

She did not experience direct discrimination because of her British affiliation, but she felt that she was flattered unnaturally enough to feel uncomfortable.   I believe that flattery and discrimination are two sides of the same coin in that using them implies that people are not accepted as they are in terms of their cultural affiliation, and therefore this episode shows that she felt like an outsider.

In this section, I have introduced how Naomi came to realise the gap between herself and her compatriots in Japan, especially with those from her hometown, Kochi.   Firstly, she developed the habit of code-switching, which marked differences with her compatriots in Japan.   Secondly, she felt uncomfortable in Kochi as she was overly flattered by people who overvalued her British affiliation.   She was seen as an outsider against her wish and was not fully accepted as a Japanese due to her cultural affiliation.

5.4 Naomi's identity

As the social aspects of Naomi's experience were discussed in Section 5.2 and 5.3, more

of the cognitive aspects of how she perceived her identity will unfold.   In this section, I

will discuss her three notable identities: an artist, a mother and a Japanese.

5.4.1 As an artist: Paintings that could speak more eloquently than her English

As was discussed in Section 5.2.2, Naomi's transition from an artist to a homemaker

was a significant event, but she had a lingering affection for her former career:

Extract 5.29

> 01   *Mikio: Er, is there anything I should have asked you?*
> 02   *Naomi: Er, hearing that, I'm not too sure, but, hmm….   Well, but in order*
> 03   *to live here from now, I think I have to utilise my capacities.   I don't*
> 04   *know whether it's lucrative but now painting is somewhat more…….   I*
> 05   *used to be a "language person," which was Japanese.   I clung on it a*
> 06   *bit until now.   I felt I lost sight of something in order to live here.*
> 07   *Mikio: Uh-huh.*
> 08   *Naomi: It's something that can surpass language, English, and convey*
> 09   *something.   In my case, it's painting.*
> 10   *Mikio: Uh-huh, uh-huh.*
> 11   *Naomi: My goal is to be able to somehow touch people's heart, including*
> 12   *British people, with paintings.   To pursue identity, my identity, so to*
> 13   *say…….   Well, somewhere I can surpass language, I'm thinking those*
> 14   *things.   (NA-030209-INT1)*

In this way, my final invitation to express herself induced a story of her past, present

and future in that she reflected how she relied on the Japanese language as a writer, which she left behind after becoming a homemaker in the UK. She lacked confidence in English so she turned to painting, which can compensate for her lack of English language proficiency and touch people's heart. The identity she talked about is her contained or suppressed self-image as an artist. She does not necessarily aspire to reclaim herself (i.e. as an artist in Japan), but aspires to create a new identity as a trans-cultural painter in the UK.

She has become slightly more career-oriented over the years, and she took the step of displaying her painting in the UK:

Extract 5.30

01 *I like writing in Japanese but writing novels or articles in English is a*
02 *pain……… or rather, it takes too much time… GIVE UP. Language is of*
03 *primary importance for communication overseas. But secondly, having*
04 *skills or specialities is appealing more than languages when mixing with*
05 *local people. This time I introduced my painting to them, but last year I*
06 *was into kimono so I made non-Japanese wear them and served them*
07 *matcha and promoted Japanese cultural exchange.*
    (NA-020311-SNS12)

Figure 5.5 At the art exhibition (NA-020311-SNS12)

She displayed a painting in a local exhibition and she hoped that her painting would be her "skills or specialities" (Line 04). Her aspiration to express herself to people in the UK through painting grew stronger and stronger. Exhibiting her paintings consolidated her belief that she needed to rely on painting, which could overcome language barriers and add value to her existence in the UK.

To summarise this section, Naomi gradually realised over the two years I spent with her that her painting could speak more eloquently than her use of English. She endeavoured to replace her lack of confidence in English by unleashing her suppressed self-image as a painter, and she stepped out into exhibiting her paintings, which strengthened her aspiration to express herself to people in the UK. Her professional identity underwent a gradual shift from that of a former writer and a homemaker to

developing a new identity as a trans-cultural painter from Japan based in the UK.

5.4.2 As a mother

Another identity of Naomi's that emerged occasionally was that of a mother.　She gave

birth to Rosemary in 1998, the year she immigrated to the UK.　As was discussed in

Section 5.1.2, mother and daughter talk in Japanese and Naomi looks after Rosemary's

Japanese language education.　As was discussed in Sections 5.2.1 and 5.2.2, Naomi

struggled to come to terms with rural life in Clinton as well as with her status as a

homemaker.　However, it was her role and identity as a mother that made her endure

these:

Extract 5.31

> 01　*Naomi: [You] can appreciate the good things about the UK once [you]*
> 02　　*live, live long years, but it took [me] a lot of time to realise that.*
> 03　*Mikio: Oh right.　What were the things you realised?　Like "Oh, it was*
> 04　　*like this."*
> 05　*Naomi: ... Er, well, when I first came here, British people often asked me,*
> 06　　*"How is your life here?"　Then, what I said to everyone was, "This is*
> 07　　*really a great place to raise children."*
> 08　*Mikio: Aha, yes, yes.*
> 09　*Naomi: And I often said like, "But for young girls," or… what did I say?*
> 10　　*"For those who seek cutting-edge culture, this is a bit too boring."*

11 *Mikio: Oh right.*

12 *Naomi: ……   But it's really great to raise children around here.*

13 *Mikio: Uh-huh.*

14 *Naomi: Yes, lots of green, too.   When [you] go to cities in Japan, there*

15   *are no places [for children] to play.   (NA-030209-INT1)*

In this way, the responsibility of raising her daughter gradually gave her a new

perspective from which to appreciate rural life, where there was no hustle-bustle and

cutting-edge culture, unlike Tokyo.

When I asked whether her values had changed in the UK, she pointed to this aspect:

Extract 5.32

01 *Naomi: Regarding your question, "Did your values change after coming*

02   *to the UK?"   I think my values changed considerably.   Well, it's the*

03   *living environment, yeah.   My value regarding the living environment*

04   *changed.   Well, I wasn't interested much in rural places like here.*

05   *But it's really great to raise children.   Well, a place like S_____*

06   *[district in Tokyo where she lived] is not suitable at all (laughs).*

07 *Mikio: Sure (laughs)…….   Hmm….   From urban to rural life, and from*

08   *Japan to the UK, the two are intertwined.*

09 *Naomi: That's right.   Hmm, and also, what shall I say?   Also it depends*

10   *whether I'm single or not.*

11 *Mikio: Oh yes, that's right.   You got married so you changed from being*

12   *single to a wife.*

13 *Naomi: Well, even if I became a wife, if I'm single, no, not single.   If I*

14   *didn't have a child, I think it'll be totally different.   It's totally different,*

15   *having a child or not……………. yeah, hmm….   (NA-160710-INT3)*

Contrary to my expectation, instead of referring to her cultural-ethnic identity, she referred to her identity as a mother when I asked her which values had changed after coming to the UK.   This unexpectedly revealed my own assumptions, and I came to realise that being a mother was an integral part of her identity.   It was her role and identity as a mother that contributed significantly to her coming to terms with rural life abroad.

In summary, Naomi came to terms with rural life abroad having become a mother and after realising that Clinton was a suitable place to raise her daughter.   In this way, being a mother was an indispensable part of her identity as she went through her life abroad.

5.4.3 As a Japanese

I will discuss Naomi's cultural-ethnic identity as a Japanese, an essential part of her which has been evident thus far.   I will first discuss her sense of belonging to Japan in Section 5.4.3.1, and how she rediscovered her sense of being a Japanese through cultural clashes and a catastrophe in Japan in Section 5.4.3.2.

5.4.3.1 A sense of belonging to Japan

During the second interview, I asked Naomi where she felt her "house of her heart" was

to explore where her heart belonged.   She replied hypothetically:

Extract 5.33

01   *Naomi: Say, if my husband is gone, I know that I'll immediately return to*
02   *Japan.*
03   *Mikio: Oh right.*
04   *Naomi: Yes…………   And when that happens, I feel somehow I'll return*
05   *to Tokyo rather than Kochi, yes.*
06   *Mikio: Oh right.   Why do you think so?*
07   *Naomi: Hmm, well, Kochi is not really a comfortable place for me, after*
08   *all.   After all, uh, people are rather narrow-minded.   But Tokyo isn't,*
09   *and there are many international places.   They accept anything and is*
10   *well... a big place, hmm.*
11   *Mikio: Right, hmm.... Then, your house might not necessarily be one.*
12   *Naomi: That's right.*
13   *Mikio: I see.   So you'll choose from three places [i.e. Clinton, Kochi,*
14   *Tokyo]?*
15   *Naomi: That's right (laughs), according to the situation (laughs), so far.*
16   *Mikio: Yes, hmm................   Let's see.*
17   *Naomi: But the easiest place to live is Tokyo.*
18   *Mikio: Oh right.   Is that because you just said they're international and...*
19   *there are foreign nationals?*
20   *Naomi: Yes, that's right.   There'll be ...... places that'll accept Rosemary.*
21   *For "half" [i.e. Japanese-English word pointing to people with mixed*
22   *ethnicities], it might be pretty difficult to live in the country.*
     (NA-071209-INT2)

In this way, there are mixed identities in her statement. She is living in Clinton since her identity as a *wife* requires her to do so. However, if that is taken away from her she would choose to go back to Tokyo, where she would feel comfortable, and in such a case, her identity as a *returnee-Japanese* and a *mother* with a British-Japanese daughter would be evident. Overall, her sense of belonging to Japan seems much stronger than any sense of belonging to the UK.

Another statement from her backed this point when I asked about her plans for her choice of nationality, as she kept her Japanese passport with British permanent residency:

Extract 5.34

01 *Mikio: Say, if you could obtain British nationality, its passport in the*
02 *future?*
03 *Naomi: If I won't lose Japanese nationality because of that, well, I would*
04 *like to have it.*
05 *Mikio: Aha, right. Japanese nationality is.*
06 *Naomi: Losing Japanese nationality is something I'd like to avoid the*
07 *most.*
08 *Mikio: Hmm, in the sight of Japanese law, it's an either-or choice, isn't it?*
09 *Naomi: Hmm, that's right.*
10 *Mikio: Yeah, and in reality you can only choose one so you'd like to leave*
11 *it as Japan.*
12 *Naomi: That's right.*

13 *Mikio: So you don't intend to obtain British at all?*

14 *Naomi: Hmm, not for now.* (NA-071209-INT2)

Since Japanese law does not officially allow dual nationality, choosing British nationality signifies denationalisation. Given this either-or choice between Japanese and British passports, she clearly prefers to keep the Japanese passport, which functions as the last refuge in case she needs to return permanently to Japan. Her nationality does not seem to be an issue which she is aware of in her daily life, and this hypothetical interaction between us uncovered her subconscious sense of belonging to Japan.

Another theme that symbolised her emotional attachment to Japan was her homesickness. She experiences depression whenever she returns from Japan to the UK, which is shown in the following SNS diary she wrote in May 2010 (Extract 5.35) and the third interview in July 2010 (Extract 5.36):

Extract 5.35

01 *It's been a month since I returned from Japan and I managed to readjust*
02 *to the UK. I fall into depression whenever I return to the UK from Japan.*
03 *I feel deeply down when I see the flat pasture full of grass that extends*
04 *limitlessly. Somehow I always feel as if I'm dead. It's probably because*

05   *I feel cooped-up by the pastoral landscape.   I don't feel like getting out of*
06   *the house for a while so it's rather severe.   Every year it's hard after*
07   *returning from Japan, why is it so hard...?   Food in Japan, the*
08   *hustle-bustle of the streets in Japan, I miss and I miss them.   But I can't*
09   *do anything about it really.   (NA-160510-SNS08)*

Extract 5.36

01   *Mikio: So you come back from Japan, and afterwards you feel, er, a bit*
02   *down?*
03   *Naomi: Yeah, I do.   I can't go out for a month.*
04   *Mikio: Outside?   Ah.*
05   *Naomi: Yeah.*
06   *Mikio: Well, what goes on in your mind in those times?*
07   *Naomi: Hmm...... mind?   First, it's food.   It's so hard somehow, food.*
08   *Well, I think Ayako also said this but it's like going on binges knowing it*
09   *tastes awful (laughs).*
10   *Mikio: (Laughs) Hmm, hmm.*
11   *Naomi: ... Somehow, well, those things from Japan, it's hard without those*
12   *nifty things.*
13   *Mikio: Apart from food, are you talking about little gadgets inside the*
14   *house?   Those kinds of things?*
15   *Naomi: In the house... well... in the house, well yeah.   Well, when I go*
16   *back to Kochi, my belongings aren't there any longer, mostly.   Most*
17   *things, well, are here.   Well, I feel that my house might be here after*
18   *all.   When I'm over there, I stay at hotels for a long time.   I roll into*
19   *people's houses in exile (laughs) yeah.*
20   *Mikio: (Laughs) Aha, I see.*
21   *Naomi: Well, so, I'm probably unable to go out of the house because I can*
22   *stay inside my world somehow as long as I'm in there.   Then if I go*
23   *out, the reality....   And when I come back, it's a beautiful time, flowers*
24   *blooming.*
25   *Mikio: Hmm, it's spring, April.*
26   *Naomi: It's absolutely beautiful.   It's like scenery from photos wherever I*
27   *see, but it's hard seeing it, too.   (NA-160710-INT3)*

She clearly missed her home country and struggled to come to terms with life in Clinton. However, it is oversimplifying matters to state it as an either-or choice where she feels a sense of belonging to Japan, and not to the UK because she feels uncomfortable in Kochi (see Section 5.3.3.3), and she no longer has a house in Tokyo. Thus, it is more accurate to state that she is in the process of constructing her "house of her heart," while she misses people and life in Japan, and is in the process of adjusting and adapting to her life in Clinton.

To summarise her overall sense of belonging, she feels a strong sense of nostalgia and yearning for Japan, her home country. She is driven by her identity as a wife as she continues to establish her home in Clinton, although life there often entails struggle, adjustment and adaptation. Her longing for Japan and the unlikely event of family separation prompts her to retain her Japanese nationality without applying for a British passport, since the Japanese passport functions as the last refuge in case she needs to return to Japan permanently. If worse came to worst, she would return to Tokyo, where she believes that a returnee-Japanese like herself and a British-Japanese daughter would be accepted, rather than to her birthplace, Kochi in the country.

5.4.3.2 Identity as a Japanese that has intensified through challenges

I asked Naomi how she felt about her cultural identity during the first interview in

February 2009:

Extract 5.37

01   *Mikio: I have a question about identity.*

02   *Naomi: Uh-huh.*

03   *Mikio: Well, this is a what-if.   Say, you take an airplane and when you go*

04   *through immigration, you fill out your nationality in an immigration*

05   *form, don't you?*

06   *Naomi: Uh-huh.*

07   *Mikio: Say, if there is a column labelled "cultural identity," how would*

08   *you fill it in?*

09   *Naomi: Hmm.   Cultural identity?   Hmm……….   Hmm……….   But I*

10   *would write "Japanese" after all.*

11   *Mikio: Oh right.*

12   *Naomi: Uh-huh, but a Japanese in the UK.*

13   *Mikio: Oh right.*

14   *Naomi: Uh-huh…….   That's because, well, I feel that Japanese living*

15   *abroad are different.   (NA-030209-INT1)*

In line with what has been discussed in Sections 5.3.3.1 and 5.3.3.3, she believed she

was a Japanese living in the UK, and different from the Japanese in Japan.

Her identity as a Japanese seemed to have emerged when she realised that a word she

used to describe her ethnicity was deemed to be discriminatory:

Extract 5.38

01 *Speaking of roots, in the past I used the word "Mongoloid" or*
02 *"Mongolian" to talk about the roots of Japanese to my British husband.*
03 *He reacted sharply and told me not to use those words in front of others.*
04 *He said those words are used among the British people to discriminate*
05 *people with Down syndrome.   It seems it's been used that way because*
06 *the oblique small eyes peculiar to Down syndrome resemble those of*
07 *Mongoloid.   I remember feeling the dilemma, "But then how could I talk*
08 *about the Mongoloid race…?" and I couldn't think of other English*
09 *words.   Anyway, I felt there is double discrimination against people with*
10 *Down syndrome as well as Mongoloid race like us.   There are probably*
11 *many other discriminatory expressions in English that I don't know.   But*
12 *I'm not ashamed at all of being a Mongoloid race myself, and I'm proud*
13 *of it.*   (NA-160510-SNS08)

In this diary she expressed her indignation over the discrimination toward the Mongolian race, which she firmly believed she was part of.   In the Japanese language, the terms "Mongoloid" and "Mongolian" are not seen as discriminatory and therefore it is nothing unusual to use them to describe Japanese people.   Thus, she seemed to have been shocked that those words are regarded as discriminatory and that she has lost these words to describe her ethnic roots.   As she realised the discrimination embedded in words, it made her antipathetic and also "proud" (Line 12) of her ethnic origin all the more.

Her experience of resistance seemed to have strengthened her identity as a Japanese.

She also told me that she was a model for a notable British painter who specialised in

painting nudes (see also Figure 5.1).   She had repeatedly rejected his offer to become a

nude model for over a year and she told me how she came to realise that Japanese

culture was behind her rejection:

Extract 5.39

01	*Naomi: So yeah, he said like, "It's an art to draw nude. Why is it that*
02	*you still don't want to become naked?" First of all, I'm ashamed.*
03	*My nude will, so, it'll remain socially. And in doing so, for instance…*
04	*my child and people like that will see it. People might say something*
05	*to my child and well, there might be social effect. I won't be able to*
06	*show it to my parents, and there are various things. But he can't*
07	*understand it.*
08	*Mikio: Oh, I see… yeah.*
09	*Naomi: But well, from a Japanese sense, to become naked or not, well to*
10	*become naked is really like, a promiscuous women or rather, almost like*
11	*a prostitute, isn't it?*
12	*Mikio: Yes.*
13	*Naomi: But he says that there isn't such a thing in the UK. And the other*
14	*thing he has an interest is "tatemae" [public opinion] of Japanese*
15	*people… and "honne" [true feelings]. He was very interested in them*
16	*somehow. And my painting is "tatemae," he feels tremendous*
17	*"tatemae" in my painting. And I intend to be talking naturally but he*
18	*says that there is no "honne" in what I say. (NA-160710-INT3)*

She said "I'm ashamed" (Line 02) and explained how she was worried that others may

view her negatively.   As in Section 5.4.2, as a mother she cared how her daughter may

view her and be viewed by others.   She also referred to the well-known dichotomy of

honne and *tatemae* in Japanese culture in describing how the British painter stated that

she was not expressing her true feelings (*honne*), covered up by public opinion

(*tatemae*).   Interestingly, she had confessed her *honne* in the SNS diary previously,

which I realised after interviewing her:

Extract 5.40

> 01   *Although the case is closed, I really thought hard and I could hardly sleep.*
> 02   *It's because in honne [true feelings]I probably wanted to do it.   But the*
> 03   *forces that held me back (my common sense and notion of shame) were*
> 04   *strong….*   (NA-170909-SNS07)

In this way, through her rejection of the chance to become a nude model, she realised

that she based her values on the notion of shame.   She specifically did not want to be

negatively viewed by others and feel ashamed.   She also realised that she expressed

herself in these dichotomous terms, *honne* and *tatemae*, and ultimately made her

decision not to accept the artist's invitation based on public opinion (*tatemae*) rather

than following her true personal feeling (*honne*).   Through cultural clashes and her

resistance against such forces, she came to realise the Japanese cultural norms and

values embedded inside her.

Speaking of shame, this was manifested in another way, which was how she would try not to wear kimono in the street. I asked how she felt when she wore another kimono-like outer garment when she attended a karate demonstration in Clinton town centre:

Figure 5.6 At a karate demonstration (NA-110710-OBS6)

Extract 5.41

01 *Mikio: You went there, and you were walking a bit in the street wearing*
02 *that?*
03 *Naomi: Just a bit in the street, but as for me… there are others who can go*
04 *out wearing kimono, but I can't do it. It's embarrassing, I'm a shame*
05 *culture person.*
06 *Mikio: I wonder how you feel… a bit embarrassed after all?*
07 *Naomi: I hate getting people's attention. I hate it when people talk to me*

08   *about it. But well, if it's as an event it's okay to wear it, go out, and*

09   *explain it, as an event. Yeah, I don't really want to wear it and go out*

10   *alone at normal times.* (NA-160710-INT3)

Although some of her friends willingly wore kimonos to go out in the street, she acknowledged that she was a "shame culture person," too embarrassed to do so (Lines 04 to 05). Thus, in spite of her pride in her culture, she would not dare to wear ethnic clothes out in the street in fear of embarrassment and drawing people's attention.

However, a turning point came when a catastrophe struck Japan on 11 March 2011, in which a massive earthquake, tsunami and nuclear crisis together killed more than 15,000 people and destroyed more than 180,000 homes.

> Prime Minister Naoto Kan has said Japan is experiencing its greatest hardships since World War II as it tackles the aftermath of an earthquake, tsunami and a growing nuclear crisis. (BBC, 14 March 2011)

Such an unprecedented disaster shocked not only Japanese people but also the world, and it changed Naomi's thoughts and actions profoundly. She wrote in the SNS diary of how she attended Rosemary's graduation ceremony in the Japanese primary school nine days after the news broke:

Extract 5.42

01 *Yesterday, I attended the graduation ceremony of the Japanese school*

02 *which my daughter attends every Saturday. It takes a total of four hours*

03 *to return to the school, taking my car to the school bus stop and then*

04 *taking the bus from there, but she managed to attend the school for six*

05 *years. Fortunately, my daughter became a perfect bilingual so she can*

06 *talk with me in Japanese. I thought I'll absolutely be moved to tears*

07 *during the graduation, but I didn't cry yesterday because I was moved by*

08 *it. At first, there was silent prayer for the disaster when everybody shed*

09 *tears. Then a British guest made a speech on the disaster and praised*

10 *how the Japanese people acted by keeping human dignity no matter how*

11 *relentless the situation was and being a wonderful ethnic group. [We*

12 *were] encouraged and shed tears again. The primary school children*

13 *here will surely become adults who can see Japan from a global view and*

14 *sustain its future. Japanese people abroad would feel so much [for*

15 *Japan] for living far away and there might be things that can be done all*

16 *the more. We want to plan and act together with people from the world*

17 *in order to be of service even a little.* (NA-200311-SNS13)

Figure 5.7 Daughter's graduation ceremony (NA-200311-SNS13)

Two prominent identities of Naomi were evident. Lines 01 to 07 depict that of a

mother and her love for her daughter, whereas Lines 07 to 12 depict that of a Japanese

and her love for the country.　They are then combined from Line 12, joined with

enhanced solidarity as "Japanese people abroad" (Line 14) who entrust the future of

Japan to the children at the school.　In the face of such immense national calamity, her

love for her home country intensified, and it overlapped with her love for her daughter

to entrust to her the future of their home country.　Such a critical situation in her home

country intensified her identity as a Japanese all the more.

As she wrote in the diary, she planned and took action by leading street collections for

Japan's disaster relief.　She took the plunge and wore kimono as she called for

donations in the street.　She acted as the leader in planning and participating in street

collections in towns and cities around Warwickshire, which were held almost every day

from late March to early April 2011, some of which I also participated in.

Naomi (far left) holding a bucket with the
Japanese flag for donations

Cranes made of origami were given to
people who donated

Figure 5.8 Street collection for Japan (NA-280311-PHO1)

While the street collection was going on, she wrote in the SNS diary about her thoughts

on this and her feelings about the crisis in Japan:

Extract 5.43

01 *After writing the previous diary, I've been raising relief money for Japan*
02 *virtually every day.   I just can't stop worrying about the situations in*
03 *Japan and Fukushima nuclear plant but nothing will change by me*
04 *worrying or mourning about them.   Instead, I wanted to be of help for*
05 *people affected by the disaster being abroad.   It's not just me, but all the*
06 *Japanese in the UK probably feel the same.   Almost every day,*
07 *somewhere in the UK, Japanese are doing charity events and raising*
08 *donation for Japan.   I hosted 2 private charity parties and in the midst of*
09 *strict regulations in the UK, I managed to organise street collections in 4*
10 *towns and cities as I stood in the street.*
11 *(…)*

12   *In the diary I pretend like a pure angel who's turned a new leaf (ha-ha),*

13   *but in my mind I doubt people like a black sludge and slime.   Also in the*

14   *street it's uncool… I'm deeply suspicious and I try to play cool but I*

15   *stepped out into street collection.   Well, I felt national peril that much*

16   *and it leads to the loss of identity, and when I think about the disaster*

17   *victims… I'll do anything in such a big deal.   Or rather, I couldn't resist*

18   *doing something.   If I stay at home all the time, I'm so mentally weak*

19   *that I might get neurotic… [smiling emoticon].*   (NA-030411-SNS14)

From Line 12 onwards she explained to her friends how she changed from being a skeptic of street collection to actually carrying it out.   It was motivated by a national peril that signified "the loss of identity" (Line 16) for her.   She expressed how she decided to stand up and call for the disaster relief in the street with a self-deprecating attitude.   The unprecedented national crisis blew away her embarrassment at wearing kimono in the street and caused her to burn with love for her home country and her compatriots suffering back home, with a stronger sense of her cultural-ethnic identity as a Japanese.

She also reported to her friends in the following SNS diary how she felt offended by someone who labelled her as an outsider of the national crisis:

Extract 5.44

01 *Someone I know said to me, "Your parents are in Kochi, you're in the UK,*
02 *it doesn't matter to you at all…."   I was shocked from the bottom of my*
03 *heart.   I can't understand someone saying those things….   Probably the*
04 *basis of things she cherishes are her family and herself so she was*
05 *probably talking about the physical distance.   But in such a critical event*
06 *for Japan, I can't be indifferent to lots of casualties and difficult lives.*
07 *Also I have lots of friends I love in Kanto and Tohoku region [i.e. the*
08 *affected area].   Even if it restores to its normal state, I'm worried.   But*
09 *I realised it's a happy thing to have a beloved homeland and beloved*
10 *friends.   I don't want them to be unhappy nor lose them.*
(NA-080411-SNS15)

Not only the national calamity itself but also having been treated as an outsider in that

regard strengthened her identity as a Japanese.   Her yearning heart for the country and

beloved friends in Japan grew all the more through the critical event, despite the gaps

she had felt toward them in her previous returns to Japan.

To summarise this section, Naomi's cultural-ethnic identity was a Japanese living in the

UK, as she felt there were differences between her and her compatriots in Japan.   Her

identity as a Japanese intensified when it was challenged, rather than when it was

recognised.   Specifically, her pride in her ethnic origin grew when she discovered the

discrimination embedded in an English word, and she recognised anew the Japanese

cultural norms embedded inside herself through cultural clashes that threatened to

undermine her Japanese values, and most remarkably her cultural-ethnic identity as a

Japanese intensified after an unprecedented national calamity struck her homeland.

She swallowed the embarrassment of wearing kimono in public and took the plunge to

do street collection with fellow Japanese, which increased her sense of solidarity with

other Japanese, wiping out the gaps that she had felt with them.

5.5 Summary of Naomi

[A sense of belonging]

Driven by her identity and responsibility as a wife and a mother, Naomi is in the process

of putting down roots in rural Clinton, while she distinctly longs for Japan, particularly

for the modern life in urban Tokyo. She initially experienced disappointment in

Clinton, which was followed by a mixture of struggle, compromise, learning, discovery

and adaptation. As her daughter grew, her view of unstimulating rural life in Clinton

gradually changed as she realised that it was a suitable place to raise her daughter.

[Career aspirations]

Naomi attempted to come to terms with being a homemaker in the UK and to brush

away the lingering affection for her former career as an artist and a writer in Japan.   As

a resolution, she started painting with the hope of transcending the language barrier and

to express herself effectively in order to touch people's hearts in the UK.   She is in the

process of developing a new identity as a trans-cultural painter from Japan putting down

new roots in the UK.

[Cultural-ethnic identity]

Naomi's salient identity is a Japanese living in the UK, neither fully Japanese nor

British.   She sought empathy from others to view her as a foreign national who was

often challenged by the hardship and loneliness of living abroad.   She did not feel an

affinity with others simply because of their ethnicity, but it rather grew through

interaction with others, particularly with other foreign nationals who were open and

affirmative about one another's cultural background.   Although Naomi had a

normative consciousness to make an effort to blend in with British people by

developing her speaking skills and gaining knowledge of British society, there were

gaps between them mainly because she felt most of them could not imagine her life as a

foreign national and therefore she could not talk about her Japanese background.

However, she also identified gaps with her compatriots back in her hometown who

could not imagine life abroad and flattered her excessively due to her British affiliation

to the extent that she felt she was treated as an outsider.   Meanwhile, she rediscovered

and reappraised the Japanese cultural norms and values embedded inside her as she

found gaps with British people and also as she practiced Japanese cultural activities

such as kimono and tea ceremony with her congenial compatriots in the UK.   Her

identity as a Japanese intensified when it was challenged rather than when it was

recognised, particularly through cultural clashes that threatened to undermine her

Japanese values, and most remarkably after an unprecedented national calamity struck

her homeland, which ignited her cultural-ethnic identity as a Japanese and increased her

sense of solidarity with her compatriots.

CHAPTER 6 CROSS-CASE ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSION

In this chapter I will reflect on the findings from Mari and Naomi and relate them to the existing literature so as to put my argument in perspective. I will also reflect on the research methodology used to construct the argument in this chapter. In Section 6.1 I will return to the research questions raised in Chapter One in order to discuss their relevance to the findings. Sections 6.2 to 6.4 will discuss the main points of my findings, which are followed by a summary of the current chapter in Section 6.5.

6.1 Summary of research questions

I raised three research questions in Section 1.3.1 as follows:

1. To what extent do the NJSs' attitudes reflect Gardner's integrativeness, and what meaning does it have, if any, as they use English in their daily lives in the UK? Who do they wish to integrate with, or who are they actually integrating with? How does integrativeness change, if at all?

2. What kinds of acculturation attitudes do the NJSs have towards native English

speakers, their own ethnic group and other foreign nationals in the UK they interact

with?   Which is the most valued group?   How do acculturation attitudes change?

3. What are the NJSs' perceived cultural-ethnic identities in the UK?   Do they think

    of themselves as Japanese, British, or as global citizens?   How do their

    cultural-ethnic identities change?

Since the current study adopted an *exploratory*, qualitative approach, I did not intend to

elicit one-on-one answers to each question, as would be the case in a *confirmatory*

quantitative study.   Instead, I endeavoured to provide hermeneutic interpretations of

my participants' lived experiences derived from predominantly inductive data analyses

in order to answer my research questions based on the concepts co-constructed between

the participants and myself, but primarily from the participants' perspectives.

In Section 6.2 I will discuss how the concepts of integrativeness and acculturation were

incongruent with Mari and Naomi's lived experiences, and suggest alternative

explanations so as to answer Questions 1 and 2.   In Section 6.3 I will critically

evaluate the multiple and intersecting nature of their identities with a particular focus on

cultural-ethnic identity with a view to answering Question 3, as well as Questions 1 and

2 where appropriate. Section 6.4 discusses empathy, an ingredient which helps to unite the participants, as foreign nationals, with other people.

6.2 On integrativeness and acculturation

Questions 1 and 2 are respectively based on the concept of integrativeness, coined by Gardner (2001:5), and the acculturation model, proposed by Schumann (1986:379, 384), both of which are congruent in that they propose that people's (L2 learners and immigrants respectively) L2 achievement is strongly determined by their social-psychological attitudes and *identification* with the people and culture represented by the TL community.

In a nutshell, what I endeavour to discuss in this section is to what extent the participants wished to identify with British people (or native English speakers) as suggested by the *strong* version of the integrative concept. I will also discuss how the same integrative concept applies when they associate with other foreign nationals or other NJSs.

6.2.1 Identification with other people not always driven by ethnicity and language

The first premise that needs to be scrutinised is whether Mari and Naomi wished to identify with people based on their ethnicities or native languages, which is treated as an axiom in both integrativeness and acculturation concepts.

Mari's first impression of British people was as cold, based on her alienation at the teacher training programme in Kent a few years before she came back to do her master's programme (Extract 4.4). However, after living in the UK for ten months she stopped making generalisations such as "British people are cold" after meeting people who were open to her (Extract 4.9). Similarly, she identified with Taiwanese and Koreans during the first two months in the UK (Extract 4.11), but she later reconsidered this identification after an unpleasant experience with another Taiwanese who was not open to her (Extract 4.12). Hence her initial attitudes, particularly her affinity and identification with people based on their ethnicities, gave way to the realisation that what actually mattered were people's personalities.

Naomi's case is more complex as she had been in the UK for ten years when I first

interviewed her. Thus, she identified with people who were not following a professional career who would accept her status as a homemaker (Extract 5.5), rather than judging them based on their ethnicities. In terms of identification with British people, she evinced it at a mere normative consciousness level (Extract 5.7 "I have to blend in here") rather than expressing a natural interest in or openness towards them. Towards Japanese people, who shared the same language and culture, she felt an affinity with them provided that their circumstances were similar (Extract 5.19). It therefore makes little sense to say that she identifies with people simply based on their ethnicities or languages.

6.2.1.1 Emerging issues

I would like to raise two issues: the essentialised and narrow view of assuming that people might identify with others based solely on their ethnicities or languages, and the confirmatory and context-free nature of quantitative research that originally conceptualised integrativeness.

Firstly, the current study suggests that people may typically view others as

representatives of the TL community (e.g. "A is British and therefore…") when they have not had any contact, or lack it, or are in the stage of initial contact. In Mari's case, she tended to see others as representatives of a specific ethnicity prior to or at the very initial stage of her sojourn in the UK. As she spent time in the UK and mixed with British people and other East Asian students, she gradually shifted from seeing people as representative of a particular ethnicity to seeing them as an individual, not representing an ethnic group. This view is shared by Naomi, who has lived in the UK for more than ten years with a British spouse. This is similar to Kudo and Simkin (2003:101), who contend that perceived *individual* similarity outweighed perceived *cultural* similarity for intercultural friendship formation, as some of their Japanese female participants who studied at an Australian university for more than a year mixed with others "as individuals with unique characters rather than as the representatives of different nationalities". Similarly, Sudweeks, Gudykunst, Ting-Toomey, and Nishida (1990:218-220) explored the interpersonal relationships within nine female dyads each composed of a Japanese and an American at an American university and maintained that high-intimacy dyads had high *individual* similarity in terms of background, lifestyle, attitudes and values which complemented the lack of *cultural* similarity. In this way, the current study suggests that identification with others occurs as a result of interaction

with others as *individuals*, as will be discussed in the next section.

Secondly, it is misleading to assume that identification with the people and culture represented by the TL community takes place regardless of contextual factors. Lamb (2004:17) argues that "qualitative approaches may be more productive than quantitative, because the identification processes being proposed are by definition highly context-sensitive". Integrativeness was conceptualised from quantitative research using questionnaires, which are by nature *confirmatory*. The current qualitative research adopted an *exploratory* approach which valued the participants' holistic accounts that allowed various contextual factors to be taken into account instead of being restricted by the researcher's fragmentary hypotheses. I suggest that identification is not solely driven by ethnicity, culture and language, represented by the TL community, but is driven more by individual factors in the British context where the participants had abundant daily contact with British people. Having discussed what is *not* the driving force behind the identification process, I will discuss the actual driving force in the next section.

6.2.2 Basis of identification with other people: Finding individual commonalities through common conversation topics

I suggested in the previous section that identification with others occurs as a result of interaction. Mari highly valued the opportunity to socialise in the UK to broaden her views, and repeatedly referred to the importance of conversation topics which either hindered or promoted rapport with others (see Section 4.3). She pointed out the mismatch of conversation topics as one of the main reasons that she felt there were gaps between her and her British classmates (Extract 4.6). She also reported a similar experience with undergraduate British Christians whilst having social lunch together because she could not understand regional topics as a newcomer during the first few months in the UK (Extract 4.22), a similar view also expressed by Naomi, who could not understand the conversation topics discussed among British people when she first arrived in Clinton (Extract 5.9). Similarly, Akazaki (2010:360) reports that mature Japanese students at a British university lacked knowledge about British society, which led to unpredictability and limited participation in the classroom.

Meanwhile, to exemplify instances in which Mari and Naomi could relate to other

people, Mari was keen to compare and exchange ideas on the educational systems in Japan and the UK with Kate, a British Christian math teacher, as fellow teachers (Extract 4.17). Naomi felt an affinity with other foreign nationals when they could talk about one another's cultural backgrounds (Extract 5.17) and with other NJSs when she could engage in topics about living abroad (Extract 5.20). Both Mari and Naomi could identify with their conversation partners when their situated conversation topics matched. This was not necessarily driven by the static traits in other people such as religious, cultural or ethnic affiliations, because Mari did not feel an affinity with other people solely because they were Christians, nor did Naomi solely because someone was Japanese.

6.2.2.1 Emerging issues

I would like to raise two points — firstly, to call for a paradigmatic shift from a *cognitivistic* to a *sociocultural* view regarding the constructs of affinity and identification with other people, and secondly, to suggest several implications regarding common conversation topics.

Firstly, Mari and Naomi are able to identify with their interlocutors when their situated conversation topics match, and therefore affinity and identification are not necessarily driven by static traits in their interlocutors such as religious, cultural or ethnic affiliations. Since I am examining the construct of identification with others, which is at the core of integrativeness, the basic component of the integrative motive (Gardner 2005:6-7), it is worthwhile noting that some scholars have critiqued the cognitivistic view that motivation resides inside individuals detached from social interaction (McGroarty, 1998:600-601; Pavlenko, 2002a:280-281; Ushioda, 2003:92; 2006:154-155; 2007:23). My data lend support to the law of cultural development proposed by Vygotsky (1978:57), in that affinity and identification first appear on the social level between people (interpsychological) through interaction, and then on the individual level inside (intrapsychological) as a result of a series of developmental events. In this way, I suggest that we need to break away from the cognitivistic assumption that constructs such as affinity and identification can be excavated from the minds of individuals detached from context, and embrace instead the social interaction between individuals and others.

Secondly, through semi-structured interviews, e-mails and SNS diaries which gave the

participants ample freedom to express their feelings, the current study suggests that constructs such as affinity and identification are nurtured as a result of finding commonalities through common conversation topics with others as individuals, and not necessarily as representatives of ethnic groups. Based on his intercultural communication research, Gudykunst (1991:108) suggests the importance of becoming mindful of our communication and of finding similarities rather than differences with strangers to reduce our anxieties. Kang (2005) adopted a qualitative approach to explore four Korean university students' L2 WTC with NSs in the USA. Using interviews and stimulated recalls of video-recorded conversations, she suggests that conversation topics, along with interlocutors and conversational context were the three situational variables that affected the situational WTC through interactions, and that WTC is not a trait-like predisposition but is dynamic and situational (ibid:287-289). Wu (2008:145) also conducted qualitative research using interviews, informal chat and participant observation on four East Asian language students' daily lives in the UK and maintains that topic familiarity and interest shared by interlocutors determined the participants' WTC, a dynamic construct.

To recapitulate, the current research proposes that affinity and identification are

nurtured and developed through interaction in which one can identify commonalities with one's interlocutors with whom one can engage in conversation on valued topics. Also, it is important to bear in mind people's valued identity when they speak of affinity and identification with others, as was the case with Mari, whose professional identity as a teacher was rekindled and salient when she was keen to talk about education with Kate, a math teacher. Further discussion of identity will be presented in the next section.

6.3 On cultural-ethnic identity

Question 3 deals with cultural-ethnic identity. I have argued that psychological concepts such as affinity and identification are constructed through individuals' interaction with society. In line with this paradigmatic stance, I reiterate from Section 2.3 that identity is a self-reflection of who one is which is shaped by, and shapes social interaction with others. Hence, social factors (interpsychological) and cognitive factors (intrapsychological) are interrelated and indispensable in constructing identity.

As was discussed in Section 2.3.1, cultural-ethnic identity is a subset of this construct,

which is composed of *cultural* and *ethnic* identity.   Thus, I endeavour to unravel the

hermeneutic meaning of Mari and Naomi's cultural-ethnic identity, and how this has

changed through social interactions.

6.3.1 Cultural-ethnic identity as merely one of multiple identities

Identity is evolving, dynamic, multiple and multifaceted.   Mari's salient identities were

a teacher, an international student in the UK, a Japanese and a Christian, whereas

Naomi's were an artist, a mother and a Japanese living in the UK.   I have particularly

focused on cultural-ethnic identity and its change, but in Mari's case it was clear that her

religious identity was more important in the UK (see Section 4.4.2).   Christian

networks secured her sense of belonging, and most importantly Christian ethics changed

her values profoundly, whereas her cultural-ethnic identity as a Japanese stayed intact

until she returned to her workplace in Japan where she realised she had changed

culturally overseas (see Section 4.4.1).

Naomi struggled to adjust to rural life in Clinton, which was not solely attributable to

her identity as a Japanese from urban Tokyo (see Section 5.2.1), but also because she

could not leave behind her lingering affection for making her living out of self-expression as an artist (see Section 5.2.2). Meanwhile, her identity as a mother helped her find the raison d'etre to nurture her daughter in Clinton, which was in fact a suitable place for child-rearing (see Section 5.4.2).

6.3.1.1 Emerging issues

The exploratory and inductive nature of qualitative research is conducive to constructing multiple identities, which prevents us as researchers from imposing our presuppositions and narrowly defining the participants' identities. Firth and Wagner (1997:288) discuss the drawback of positivistic SLA theories, which focused on only one identity, the *learner*, at the expense of other potentially relevant identities. Based on a narrative approach, Fougère (2008:188) rightly critiques the essentialistic conceptualisation of identity which inadequately ties individuals to an unchanging understanding of themselves. Similarly, Coetzee-Van Rooy (2006:439-447) problematises the oversimplified view of narrowly focusing on the identity of L2 learners of English while neglecting complex and multidimensional identities in multilingual and multicultural societies from a post-colonialist perspective. Similarly,

Giampapa (2004:192) supports the multiple and intersecting nature of identities from a poststructuralist standpoint while critiquing the essentialistic view of fixed identities.

The only point I would like to suggest in this section is that cultural-ethnic identity is merely one of the many intersecting identities of an individual. Spencer-Oatey (2007:641) expands Simon's (2004) self-aspect model of identity and argues that self-aspects should be evaluated by their centrality, i.e. whether they are core or peripheral. I do not intend to assert that cultural-ethnic identity is the core identity of my participants which they consciously carry regardless of time and space. Instead, I propose that cultural-ethnic identity is a subconscious construct like other identities and that it may shift between the periphery and the core depending on the context.

Nonetheless, the reason I chose to pursue this topic is that in the British context, cultural-ethnic identity is relevant for the NJSs who are living away from their home country. Yashima (2004:69-70, 95) rightly points out that the Japanese hardly have opportunities to feel their 'Japanese-ness' unless they engage in intercultural communication or use foreign languages. It is also worthwhile discussing cultural-ethnic identity since it is through a common element that we can make

cross-case analyses and comparisons to reveal its overall significance in the participants'

lives.   Hence, I would like to examine the deep meaning of cultural-ethnic identity for

Mari and Naomi beyond their narratives without losing sight of its overall value for

them.

6.3.2 The need for cultural-ethnic disclosure and respect: Topic of Japanese

background

Having spent time with Mari, Naomi and other participants, I realised that they want to

talk about their Japanese background with their interlocutors on various topics ranging

from the personal to the social.   Mari was delighted when her Taiwanese classmates

broached the topic of Japan in an affirmative way (Extract 4.15).   When her British

colleague was keen to talk about Japan, it made her happy and made her wish to inform

him of as much as she could (Extract 4.20).   She even preferred the British to the

Americans for showing more interest in Japan, which made her feel proud to be

Japanese (Extract 4.26).   Mari spent only three years outside Japan, so it is natural that

she talked about Japan, which is nearly all of her history.

However, the fact that Naomi had lived in the UK for over ten years did not mean that she did not need to talk about Japan to others. It was in fact significant for her to be able to talk about Japan and cultural differences with her American friend living in Japan in order to deepen mutual understanding (Extract 5.16). She was encouraged by a sense of mutual support and mutual understanding with other foreign nationals in the UK when she and her interlocutors talked about one another's culture (Extract 5.17).

In short, Mari had stayed outside Japan for three years, and Naomi for ten years, but both of them wished to talk about Japan and felt satisfied when they were shown interest or respect towards their culture. Conversely, when they felt that their interlocutors were not interested in Japan or Japanese culture, they felt negatively, ranging from dissatisfaction to alienation. In this respect, they reported having positive experiences with other foreign nationals and some British people, whereas their negative experiences mostly involved British people, as will be discussed in Section 6.3.3.

6.3.2.1 Emerging issues

There are three things I wish to suggest: the need for respect for cultural-ethnic identity, the double-edged nature of cultural-ethnic topics and the importance of finding commonalities with others whilst discussing such topics.

Firstly, based on Mari and Naomi's cases, I suggest that when people are engaged in intercultural communication and broach topics on their cultural-ethnic backgrounds, their interlocutors need to treat them with due respect. Ting-Toomey (2005:217) points out that "human beings in all cultures desire identity respect in the communication process". When Mari and Naomi talk about their Japanese background through cultural-ethnic topics, they seem to have an expectation that others will show some interest or respect. In my view, this is because their Japanese background is an integral part of their identities, although it might only be perceived subconsciously by them, and its overall importance varies among individuals. When they mention cultural-ethnic topics, they often bring their personal history into these through their own experiences, which make such topics more personal.

Secondly, the present study suggests that broaching topics on one's own cultural-ethnic background is a double-edged sword, which could be a reason for that person to feel alienated from other people who are not close. When Mari and Naomi perceive that their interlocutors show interest in or respect for such topics, they seem to feel personally accepted, whereas when such interest or respect is lacking, they feel personally rejected. Thus, lack of interest or respect shown to such topics ultimately connotes rejection of their cultural-ethnic identity. This is by nature different from someone not showing interest in superficial topics that are not an integral part of their personality (e.g. hobbies), which therefore does not result in personal acceptance or rejection.

Lastly, having emphasised the importance of respecting topics centring on one's cultural-ethnic background, it is also vital to adopt a macro-view. As I argued in Section 6.2.2, it is more important to find *commonalities* with others as individuals, rather than finding *differences* with representatives of an ethnic group. Similarly, Lee (2006:14-17) proposes the dual importance of exploring cultural and language *differences* whilst emphasising the *similarities*, based on a qualitative study of intercultural friendship within fifteen dyads of university students in the USA. Thus,

from Mari and Naomi's cases, I suggest that people should not expect to establish intimate relationships with others merely by disclosing their cultural-ethnic backgrounds, especially with people who are not close, but should instead concentrate on finding commonalities with others and develop intimacy first *and then* enjoy the cultural differences.

6.3.3 Intercultural receptivity of British people: Those who are not open

Having discussed the theme that topics on one's own cultural-ethnic background were a double-edged sword, particularly when my participants interacted with British people, I would like to point out another recurring theme that became apparent. My participants often made the distinction between British people who are open to different cultures, and those who are not.

This was not so apparent in Mari's case, although she acknowledged the difficulty of blending in with British people as an international student, but on the other hand she appreciated the openness shown by her classmates and her friends, Julie, Rhonda and Lucy (Extract 4.9). Perhaps a year in the UK was too short for her to clearly perceive

the difference between those who were culturally open and those who were not.

Such a dichotomous view of British people is more often reported by immigrants who have lived in the UK for many years and who have had more contact with British people. When my wife and I invited several NJSs living in Clinton to our house to cook kimchi, some women started talking about British people in terms of a dichotomy between 'traditional' British people, who are not culturally open, and others who are. They mentioned how much easier it is for them to socialise with people who are culturally open and how they wished their ethnically mixed children might befriend such people (NA-021209-OBS2).

In Naomi's case, she felt that some of her "conservative" British interlocutors thought that being in the UK was a given and they did not really show much interest in her Japanese background, and therefore she could not deepen mutual understanding with them (Extract 5.10). She felt uncomfortable when she felt that her British interlocutors could not imagine her past experience in Japan, which was inseparable from her, and she also felt that such people were not attuned to her English accent (Extract 5.12). She said, "When I talk with British people it's not like 'Let's understand each other'"

(Extract 5.10). What exactly does understanding one another mean for Naomi? In this context, Naomi's identity was a Japanese living in the UK, so she wished that they would understand her circumstances of living abroad and her upbringing in Japan. It also seems that she wished her interlocutors would be open in some way, particularly in intercultural aspects, but such a quest for reciprocal relationships often broke down. In my view, she needed culturally-open conversations like the one Mari had with Lucy and other international students over dinner (see Extract 4.19). Naomi stated that most of her British friends had never lived abroad, and that she was their first Oriental friend (see Section 5.3.1.1). Due to a lack of reciprocality in terms of intercultural experiences, Naomi often felt barriers between her and her British interlocutors.

The issue is that Naomi feels alienated when she encounters British acquaintances who do not show an interest in her Japanese background. In such situations, her identity is more like that of a *foreign national* (i.e. self-perception as an outsider as a result of interaction) than a *Japanese* (i.e. self-perception as someone who is acknowledged as a Japanese as a result of interaction).

6.3.3.1 Emerging issues

Naomi senses that a proportion of British people are not open or used to people from other cultures through two main channels. Firstly, some British people lack the ability to listen to and comprehend English spoken with a Japanese accent. In this respect, Pavlenko (2002a:287) pertinently argues that access to linguistic resources and interactional opportunities are limited for L2 users. Also, my findings lend support to Norton (2000:111) who argues that newcomers feel most comfortable to speak when members of the host community show patience towards their English. Secondly, some British people show unreceptive attitudes toward people from other cultures.

As a result of Naomi's experience with people who lack intercultural receptivity, three points can be suggested. Firstly, people often feel alienated and their perceived identity seems to be more like that of a foreign national in the sense that they feel like an outsider, rather than someone who is recognised and respected in their own community. I suggest that those who feel like alienated outsiders will not have a willingness to integrate or identify with others.

Secondly, the present study suggests that people are likely to become defensive when they are subconsciously aware that some members of the host community lack intercultural receptivity or are not attuned to foreign accents. This seems to be one of the reasons that Naomi sometimes "girds up" and does not feel natural when interacting with British people (Extracts 5.12 and 5.13). Similarly, Kudo and Simkin (2003:103-105) report that some Japanese female university students in Australia took a defensive stance towards strangers or acquaintances by observing their interlocutor's reaction at the expense of expressing themselves, which hindered intercultural friendship formation. Hence, my participants' defensive stance developed as a result of unfruitful interactions with British people who lacked intercultural receptivity, but it also has the potential to inhibit the building of intimate relationships with other British people.

Lastly, I suggest that people who stumble on unreceptive members of the host community are resigned to the position of outsiders or nonparticipants. In dealing with the issue of integration, the part played by the host community should *always* be discussed since the traditional social psychological research in SLA has rather implied that the onus of integration is on the newcomers. This also goes back to what I

discussed in Section 3.1.2, namely that constructs such as integrativeness and identity

are co-constructed through interaction with others in a given context, in which 'others'

are crucial.   For instance, Kudo and Simkin (2003:105-106) point out that one of the

difficulties that the Japanese female international students experienced in forming

intercultural friendships with local Australian students was the lack of intercultural

receptivity among the latter.   I have argued in Section 2.2.3.2 that integration is not an

unilateral action, but instead requires mutual-involvement from both newcomers and

members of the host community, and therefore I do not intend to lay the responsibility

for integration solely on British people.   However, due to encounters with some British

people who lacked intercultural receptivity, the participants at times felt alienated, and it

therefore hindered integration.

6.3.4 Cultural-ethnic identity and a sense of belonging: Japanese although feeling 'betwixt and between'

Based on the discussion in the previous section and on Mari and Naomi's narratives, I

conclude that none of my participants whom I have interviewed perceived their

cultural-ethnic identities as British or global citizens.   They perceived themselves to be

Japanese, but this meant something different for each person.

Mari's cultural-ethnic identity as a Japanese seemingly remained intact and she naturally accepted her status as an international student from Japan in the UK (Extract 4.25), mainly because she knew she was going back to her house in Nagoya, Japan (Extract 4.29). She believed that she would naturally fit back in Japan (Extract 4.24), but to the contrary, she experienced re-entry culture shock (reverse culture shock) in her former workplace. She realised that she had become slightly different from the ordinary Japanese, and she transferred to another school after a year of struggle (see Section 4.4.1). Block (2007a:183-184) reports on a very similar case involving Kimi, a Japanese woman who studied for six weeks in the USA and a year in the UK and developed a westernised identity, and as a result experienced re-entry culture shock in Japan, which led her to develop an anti-Japanese attitude.

Naomi perceives herself as a Japanese *living in the UK*, that is, different from those back in Japan (Extract 5.37). Code-switching, an inadvertent use of English words during a conversation in Japanese, was a marker of 'un-Japanese-ness' for her back in Japan (Extract 5.27). Jackson (2008:203) reports an analogous case involving Hong

Kong Chinese sojourners in the vicinity of Clinton who were 'outgrouped' by their compatriots when they used code-switching. Naomi felt uncomfortable in her provincial hometown of Kochi, where she grew up, because she was flattered excessively due to her British affiliation and became reluctant to return there permanently (Extract 5.28). She felt gaps between herself and her friends in Japan who lacked an understanding of life abroad, particularly its downside, such as hardship and loneliness (Extract 5.15). On the other hand, she preferred to retain her Japanese nationality since choosing British nationality would mean forfeiting her Japanese nationality, and she did not want to lose the last resort which would allow her to return to Japan permanently (Extract 5.34). Furthermore, she developed a stronger identity as a Japanese and a higher opinion of Japanese culture in the UK, as she found congenial Japanese friends together with whom she could practice traditional Japanese cultural activities (Extract 5.21).

6.3.4.1 Emerging issues

The present research suggests two things. Firstly, the cultural-ethnic identity of people who immerse themselves in intercultural settings for an extended time abroad is often

challenged by other compatriots who lack such experience or by the mainstream social

norm in their home countries, and therefore feeling 'betwixt and between' may well

describe their cultural-ethnic identity.   None of my participants feel that they are

British, mainly because of the obstacles they face with some British people who lack

intercultural receptivity (see Section 6.3.3).   Block (2006:95) reports on three Japanese

female postgraduate students with abundant overseas experience as *kikokushijo*

(returnee Japanese) who studied in London, and described their identities as expatriates

"with one foot firmly planted in Japan whilst the toes of the other foot are dipped in the

waters of London", and hence not necessarily feeling British.   Similarly, Brown and

Sachdev (2009:339-340) gathered questionnaire data from 95 Japanese nationals in

London and argue that those who identify with the English language may not identify

with 'British-ness' but instead with ELF.   The participants do not feel that they are

British and rather perceive that their cultural-ethnic identity is Japanese, but when they

return to Japan and encounter Japanese or meet an obstacle created by the social norm,

they realise that they are different.

This 'betwixt and between' nature of cultural-ethnic identity has been affirmed and

coined differently as shown below:

| Bicultural identity (Arnett, 2002:777) |
| Global hybridity (Toohey, 2007:183-184) |
| Hybrid identity (Arnett, 2002:782; Pavlenko, 2002a:295) |
| Hybrid and multilingual identities (Pavlenko and Norton, 2007:676-677) |
| Intercultural identity (Kim, 2007:244) |
| Intercultural personhood (Fougère, 2008:199) |
| Third-place identity (Block, 2007b:867) |

Figure 6.1 Different terms for the 'betwixt and between' nature of cultural-ethnic identity

Ting-Toomey (2005:230) is right in arguing that, "[a] competent identity negotiator is one who is able to hold two polarized value systems and be at ease with the dynamic tensions that exist between the vulnerability spectrum and the security spectrum in the double-swing dance." Mari and Naomi both felt the vulnerability of not feeling fully British or Japanese and felt they had to learn how to be at ease through the double-swing dance. Yoshida-Isogai, Hayashi, and Ueno (1999:497) studied the re-entry culture shock of Japanese adults who returned to Japan from overseas and argue that the denial of culture within is painful since it is part of one's own identity. As Kim (2007:243-244) argues, as individuals accumulate experiences of intercultural communication, their original cultural identity transforms and results in the emergence of an intercultural identity, which is more flexible and free from group categories.

Although I recognise the affirmative actions taken by several scholars to respect and recognise the existence of those who are 'betwixt and between' by coining the new terms shown above, I believe that their dissemination has not reached grassroots level yet since none of my participants mentioned such terms. Also, the root cause of the issue for those who are 'betwixt and between' is the *lack of a sense of belonging*. Coining new terms such as 'third-place' or 'hybridity' does not itself create any tangible space for such people to feel at ease. In Mari and Naomi's case, they actually relied on other identities to feel at ease despite challenges made to their cultural-ethnic identity, which leads to my second suggestion.

The second point that the present study suggests is that the vulnerability of cultural-ethnic identity can be offset by developing a sense of belonging through other social identities. As I argued in Section 6.3.1, cultural-ethnic identity is merely one of multiple intersecting identities. Mari felt that her identity as a Japanese remained intact in the UK but was shaken after she returned to Japan. However, the point is that her sense of belonging was developed by belonging to a religious network of Christians. Naomi was more shaken in terms of her 'Japanese-ness', but at the same time, her identity as a mother was unshaken (see Section 5.4.2), and she aspired to create a new

professional identity as a trans-cultural painter (see Section 5.4.1). Hence, they seem to have found a way to compensate by finding legitimacy amidst illegitimacy, certainty amidst uncertainty, investing time, money and energy on the tangible relationships that they valued more and that gave them a raison d'etre. Coining new terms such as 'third-place' or 'hybridity' is a helpful way to respect and provide a status for such individuals, but these terms in themselves are not of practical value in creating a sense of belonging. Instead, a sense of belonging can be developed through accepting and being accepted by other members of a community. Mari did so by belonging to a network of Christians, Naomi by raising children and making her family a priority whilst aspiring to become a painter.

6.3.5 Cultural-ethnic identity as anti-virus software: Emergent during threat

The last point worth discussing about cultural-ethnic identity is how it can emerge to the forefront, moving from the periphery to the core. As was discussed in the previous section, Mari realised that she had become slightly different from other Japanese and even thought of emigrating overseas after experiencing re-entry culture shock back in her former workplace (see Section 4.4.1). This is in line with Yoshida-Isogai et al.

(1999:497), who argue that many Japanese adult returnees struggle with the issue of identity upon re-entry to Japan, where differences become more noticeable than similarities.

As for Naomi, she used to sideline Japanese culture and pursued Western culture while she lived in Japan, but adopted the opposite perspective and developed a higher opinion of Japanese culture after living in the UK for over ten years (Extract 5.26). She started clinging to Japanese culture because she had cultural clashes with British people's behaviour (e.g. differences in giving an apology, invitations to become a nude model), which made her realise that her ethical values were rooted in traditional Japanese culture (e.g. samurai ethics, shame culture, 'honne' and 'tatemae'; see Extracts 5.22, 5.39, 5.40). This is similar to two Hong Kong Chinese female university students who studied in the vicinity of Clinton in that they clung more to their 'Chinese-ness' as a result of feeling insecure and threatened by difference (Jackson, 2008:215-216). Naomi also reacted against the discrimination embedded in the word 'Mongolian' and took pride in her ethnic origin (Extract 5.38).

Block (2010b:346) rightly argues that identity is not mediated solely by language, but

also by semiotic resources, such as dress, which are integral to identity construction. Hence, participant observation was conducive to focusing on Naomi's kimono as an expression of her cultural-ethnic identity. She would not have practised kimono if she had remained in Japan (Extract 5.25), and she wished to limit wearing it to special occasions and as privately as possible (NA-110710-OBS6, Extract 5.41). However, after the Eastern Japan Great Earthquake disaster on 11 March 2011, her cultural-ethnic identity emerged remarkably to the forefront and she began to wear kimono boldly in the street as she called for emergency relief for her beloved home country (NA-280311-PHO1, see Section 5.4.3.2).

The immense national calamity drastically intensified her cultural-ethnic identity as a Japanese. Although her identity as a mother was conspicuous, it was overshadowed by her love for Japan when she attended the graduation ceremony of her daughter's Japanese school only nine days after the calamity, in which she shed tears in sorrow as a Japanese rather than as a mother (Extract 5.42). Okita (2002:203) reports cases of Japanese women married to British husbands in London who felt their 'Japanese-ness' rekindled after they regained time for themselves having sent their children to school. It can be inferred that cultural-ethnic identity can overtake family identity when one's

homeland is in crisis, or when one's parental responsibility decreases. In short, such phenomena can lead to the rekindling of cultural-ethnic identity.

6.3.5.1 Emerging issues

The current study suggests that because cultural-ethnic identity is one of multiple intersecting identities, it may exist in the background (periphery), making way for other identities, or it may emerge to the forefront (core), dislodging other identities. In short, cultural-ethnic identity may well function like anti-virus software, an analogy used to describe self-presentation strategies (i.e. how one wishes to present one's identities to others) by Schlenker and Wowra (2003:872-873). Thus, cultural-ethnic identity may run subtly as anti-virus software in the background of one's mind while other identities are operating in the forefront. When it is threatened, it may well appear in the forefront and become the core identity. Arnett (2002:780) provides evidence of this from a macro-perspective by arguing that ethnic, religious and national identities have become more salient in Russia, Latin America and the Arab world as a backlash against the homogenising forces of globalisation.

In contrast, the current study lends support from a micro-perspective. Mari built a network of 'co-international students' as she befriended other East Asian students through Bible study and the master's programme (see Section 4.2.2). She also valued English as a communication tool which enabled her to explore the unknown world beyond the Euro-American world, such as India and the Philippines and to acquire a broadened international perspective (see Section 4.2.2), which reflects that of the "international posture" coined by Yashima (2002:57). However, it was the "Galápagos syndrome" (Extract 4.27), the narrow-mindedness of her fellow teachers in her former workplace that demoralised her to the extent that she switched to another school, where she felt she could utilise her intercultural expertise after only a year. In short, it was her cultural identity, the interculturally receptive virtue which she developed overseas that was threatened and emerged to the forefront as a result of adversity in Japan (see Section 4.5).

Naomi clung to Japanese culture such as kimono and tea ceremony because of cultural clashes with British people that caused her cultural-ethnic identity as a Japanese to emerge. Da Rocha (1999:295) discusses a similar case of how tea ceremony has been practised by Japanese immigrants in Brazil in their attempt to preserve and construct

their cultural-ethnic identity as Japanese. Moreover, Naomi's cultural-ethnic identity as a Japanese intensified profoundly after the unparalleled national calamity in Japan which threatened to shatter her cultural-ethnic identity as she wrote, "I felt national peril that much and it leads to the loss of identity" (Extract 5.43). If one could reflect on the worst national calamity, such as loss of people, territory, the head of state, or royal family, it should be relatively easy to imagine how one's cultural-ethnic identity would intensify.

6.4 Empathy

> Do not mistreat a foreigner; you know how it feels to be a foreigner, because you were foreigners in Egypt. (Bible, Exodus 23:9)

Mari empathised with other East Asian postgraduate students who had commonalities in that they were either in the same class, same Bible study group, or they were eventually returning to their countries (Extracts 4.18). Her experience lends support to Montgomery and McDowell (2009:464-465), who contend that a network of diverse international students forms its community of practice in isolation from local British students, which contributes to social and academic support as well as creating new

identities as part of a global community. Also, Mari built empathetic friendships with Julie, Lucy and Rhonda, who once were outsiders (see Section 4.2.1.3).

Empathy was more salient in Naomi's case, but exclusively with people who had experienced living abroad (see Section 5.3.2). She empathised with other foreign nationals in the UK with whom she talked about their respective cultural backgrounds (Extract 5.14). Furthermore, she empathised more with her American friend living in Japan than her Japanese friends who lacked overseas experience, particularly its hardship and loneliness (Extract 5.15, 5.16). She also empathised with other Japanese people in the UK because their situations as foreign nationals were similar (Extract 5.20).

6.4.1 Emerging issues

In this section, the identity of the participants that stands out is that of outsiders rather than Japanese. Mari's salient identity is a sojourner whereas Naomi's is a foreign national. When they are positioned as outsiders living away from their homeland, what they often seek is empathy from other people. Thus, there are two points to

make.

Firstly, the current study suggests that the networks formed among foreign nationals must not be overlooked since their sense of comradeship underpinned by empathy as 'co-foreigners' can provide emotional, social and practical support in their lives. Such comradeship often grows through mutual support through adversity. Needless to say, English is their lingua franca. Jenkins (2007:232) reports how ELF speakers felt comfortable with one another in that they felt they were in the same boat and that they instinctively liked ELF accents, which symbolised commonality. Spencer-Oatey and Xiong (2006:49) examined Chinese university students' sociocultural adaptation and psychological stress in the UK using questionnaires and interviews. They maintain that their participants were more satisfied and less intimidated interacting with non-Chinese international students whose English was at the same level than with British students whose English was superior. This goes back to how I critiqued the matrix of four types of acculturation attitudes postulated by Berry et al (1989:187) in Section 1.2. The niche community of ELF speakers has often been neglected, particularly by confirmatory researchers who have only focused on the binary relationship between newcomers and members of the host community.

Secondly, foreign nationals need empathetic support from the local community while mutual empathetic relationships are desirable. Intercultural communication theorists often argue that empathy is an integral component of effective communication (Gudykunst and Kim, 2003:289-290; Spencer-Oatey and Franklin, 2009:57). Sudweeks et al. (1990:216-217) maintain that empathy was reported among high and moderate-intimacy dyads of Japanese and American female university students, whereas it was scarce in low-intimacy dyads. Similarly, Kudo and Simkin (2003:106, 108) contend that Japanese female university students formed better friendships with local Australians who expressed empathy, particularly by means of providing cultural and linguistic bridging. On the other hand, newcomers also need to show empathy to locals, as pointed out by Jackson (2008:208-209), who reports that the two Hong Kong Chinese in her study who acquired higher levels of intercultural sensitivity and sociopragmatic awareness in the UK showed empathy to their host families. The kind of empathy that newcomers might have towards locals might be disparate because the latter may lack intercultural experience and hence they cannot become 'co-foreigners'. However, I suggest that mutually empathetic relationships can be built if newcomers can look at a member of the host community as an individual instead of as a representative of an ethnic group and find commonalities where they can empathise.

In this way, empathy towards foreign nationals (the 'Exodus empathy' as quoted at the outset of this section), empathy among foreign nationals, and empathy shown by foreign nationals towards local people are all pivotal in building effective and reciprocal intercultural relationships.

6.5 Summary

The emerging issues I have raised thus far can be divided into three main topics. Firstly, I posed questions on fragmentarily defined cognitive constructs, integrativeness and acculturation, and argued from a holistic sociocultural perspective that identification is nurtured and developed through social interaction in which one can identify commonalities with one's interlocutors as individuals, but not solely because of their cultural, ethnic or linguistic affiliations (see Section 6.5.1 below). Secondly, I have discussed how people's cultural-ethnic identity develops through time and space mediated by interactions with society (see Section 6.5.2). And lastly, I have highlighted how people could be positioned as foreign nationals when they live away from their homeland, and how they might long for empathetic relationships with people (see Section 6.5.3). As I have discussed in Section 3.2.1, I do not intend to make

generalisations out of two participants, nor do I believe that it is possible to do so. Instead, I have endeavoured to provide data and my interpretations in as much detail as possible and defer to readers' decisions as to whether my arguments are transferable to other settings.

6.5.1 Identification illuminated from sociocultural theory: a social construct that develops through interaction with others

There are three points I have raised by illuminating the construct of identification from a sociocultural perspective. Firstly, I have critiqued the essentialised, confirmatory and context-free nature of positivistic research that have conceptualised integrativeness and acculturation, specifically its oversimplified view that people might identify with others based solely on static traits such as cultures, ethnicities or languages. Instead, I have called for a paradigmatic shift to a sociocultural view in which constructs such as affinity and identification are firstly developed as a result of finding commonalities with others through social interaction (interpsychological), and are then internalised within the minds of individuals (intrapsychological).

Secondly, the current study suggests that people might typically view others as representatives of the TL community when they lack contacts with this community.   In contrast, people who have had adequate contacts, such as the participants in the current study, tend to see others simply as individuals rather than representatives of a TL community.   Therefore, they might identify with others as individuals, but not necessarily with cultures, ethnicities or languages of the TL community.

And lastly, the exploratory and inductive nature of the kind of qualitative research which I have adopted is conducive to illuminating the construction of multiple identities that are more loyal to the participants' views rather than being constrained by the researcher's views, which has often been the case in positivistic SLA research which has narrowly focused on *learner* identity.   Cultural-ethnic identity is merely one of the many intersecting identities of an individual, and I have chosen to examine it without losing sight of other relevant identities.

6.5.2 Development of cultural-ethnic identity through interactions with and within societies

The issues I have discussed regarding cultural-ethnic identity can be summarised into three points. Firstly, the current study suggests that topics of conversation are significant in identifying with others and developing relationships, and in this respect, newcomers may face problems when they broach topics on their cultural-ethnic backgrounds with members of the host community. Such topics tend to be personal since they often contain newcomers' personal histories and therefore they need to be treated with due respect. Meanwhile, such topics are a double-edged sword, which could be the reason that newcomers sometimes feel alienated from local people who do not show interest or respect. Also, newcomers should not expect to establish intimate relationships with local people merely by disclosing their cultural-ethnic backgrounds, but should concentrate on finding commonalities with others and develop intimacy first and enjoy the cultural differences later.

Secondly, the cultural-ethnic identity of people who immerse themselves in intercultural settings for an extended time is often 'betwixt and between' in that they feel different

from local people as well as their compatriots who lack intercultural experience.

However, the vulnerability of one's cultural-ethnic identity can be offset by developing

a sense of belonging through other social identities (e.g. family, religion) in which

mutual acceptance with other members of a community could be established.

And lastly, one's cultural-ethnic identity may run subtly as anti-virus software in the

background of one's mind while other identities are operating in the forefront.   When it

is threatened, it tends to appear in the forefront and becomes the core identity.

6.5.3 Feeling foreign and the quest for empathy

There are cases where people perceive themselves as foreign nationals or outsiders

when they live away from their homeland due to circumstantial factors.   I have raised

two issues in this respect.

Firstly, newcomers might encounter members of the host community who lack

intercultural receptivity or who are not attuned to foreign accents, in which case they

tend to experience alienation.   As a result, they might lose the motivation to integrate

or identify with these people, or they might become defensive and be inhibited from building intimate relationships with such people, or they might become resigned to a position of outsiders or nonparticipants.

Secondly, it seems inevitable that newcomers will feel like foreign nationals or outsiders through cultural differences regardless of the presence of unreceptive locals, and in response they often seek empathetic relationships with other people. Networks formed among foreign nationals who speak ELF are often overlooked, but are important nonetheless because the sense of comradeship underpinned by empathy as 'co-foreigners' can provide emotional, social and practical support in their daily lives. Meanwhile, newcomers need empathetic support from local people, although mutual empathetic relationships are desirable. Hence, empathy towards newcomers, empathy among newcomers, and empathy shown by newcomers towards members of the host community are all pivotal in building effective intercultural relationships.

CHAPTER 7 CONCLUSION

This chapter is composed of four sections: contributions; limitations; recommendations

for further research; final remarks to round off the current study.

7.1 Contributions

There are two main points I wish to note regarding the contributions of my research.

Firstly, in order to discuss the contributions, I need to refer to the transferability of this

research as was discussed in Section 3.2.1.   It is not up to me, but is up to readers to

determine whether the emerging issues I have raised are applicable to their lives.   With

this premise in mind, I imagine there are two types of people who might benefit from

the current study:

1. People who lived, or are living across linguistic, cultural or ethnic boundaries such

    as international students, expatriates, and immigrants.

2. People who were involved, or are involved in sending or accepting newcomers from

    different linguistic, cultural or ethnic backgrounds such as foreign language teachers,

study abroad coordinators, international office staff, host families and immigration officers.

For these people, I strove to illustrate in detail the participants' adaptation and integration with the host community, which developed through time and space mediated by interactions with the society. The participants' open accounts of both successes and setbacks in a foreign environment might function as a mirror for readers if they have had similar experiences in intercultural settings. In particular, it might be easier to empathise with their struggles and setbacks, the "hardship or loneliness" of living abroad which Naomi pointed out (see Chapter 5, Extract 5.15), because living in an unfamiliar environment as a foreign national and integrating with local people is far from being an easy task, as I have argued throughout the present study.

Secondly, I aspired to make another contribution by blending SLA with intercultural communication, two fields which still largely continue to be separated. I have argued that integration is a matter of interplay and collaboration between newcomers and members of the host community as has been pointed out by intercultural communication scholars (Spencer-Oatey and Franklin, 2009:169; Ting-Toomey, 2005:221). I have

also critiqued the traditional social psychological research in SLA which has rather implied that the onus of integration is on the newcomers and hence marginalised the role and influence of the host community. The current study suggests that the interaction between newcomers and host community is the site in which the newcomers' affinity and identification with members of this community are co-constructed, and therefore the presence and response of these latter are heavily involved. In particular, I have emphasised the importance of finding commonalities through common conversation topics with individuals rather than finding differences with representatives of different cultural or ethnic groups in order to establish close relationships. Hence people who have experienced being newcomers or members of the host community in intercultural settings might find something to reflect on in relation to their behaviours and interactions.

Also, the 'betwixt and between' nature of the participants' cultural-ethnic identity has been highlighted, and it might give reassurance to people who have experienced the ambivalence of being *a part of* a group, and *apart* from a group. Traditional research that looked into the essentialised and binary identities of heritage (in-)groups and host (out-)groups has not given due recognition to such status, but the findings from the

current study affirm its intrinsic value. In addition, the findings suggest that comradeship can be established with other 'co-foreigners' who are in the same boat in a foreign environment, and therefore people who have established such international networks may find something to reflect on in relation to their experience.

7.2 Limitations

There are three major points I would like to raise regarding the limitations of the current study. Firstly, claims derived from a deep but narrow focus on two participants cannot be generalised to the wider population because a reasonably representative sample was not taken. As was discussed in Section 3.4.6, the loss of Takeshi's chapter also constrained the breadth that this research could have had.

Secondly, the *actual* process of integration as opposed to the *perceived* process is not covered enough as my data collection instrument was reliant on interviews. I aimed to make the research settings as *natural* as possible, and I have argued that interaction between the participants and other people in each context is the site in which their attitudes and identities are co-constructed. Nonetheless, reliance on self-report data

signifies that much of the actual interaction and the process through which one's attitudes and identities emerge and transform are not adequately covered. The only sample of conversation data that was presented was Mari's conversation in a dinner party at Lucy's house with other foreign nationals (see Chapter 4, Extract 4.19). I have actually recorded Takeshi's natural conversations in three different situations as well as Mari's data mentioned just now, but strategically recording relevant and useful data was a daunting task because I could not predict when such opportunities would arise, and I did not want to contaminate the data by preparing and inviting my participants to an experimental conversation setting which would undermine the naturalness. Much of the data I audio-recorded was not useful because it did not seem to be relevant to the research questions. This is the challenge and limitation imposed on my research which was done in naturalistic settings. Had data collection been done in institutionalised settings such as classrooms or business meetings, it would have been easier to plan and collect conversation data.

And lastly, although I have argued that integration is about collaboration between newcomers and members of the host community, I have not been able to collect data from the perspective of the latter. I have interviewed Rika, Hana and Karen's British

husbands but they were not introduced in this thesis, and I could not gain consent to interview Naomi's husband. Recent publications on intercultural communication have seen some studies which focus on the perspectives of host community members which the current study did not include. For instance, Ujitani and Volet (2008) studied the socio-emotional challenges experienced between 8 international students from Australia and 9 Japanese students in Japan, and they interviewed both international and home students. Dunne (2009) ventured to examine exclusively home students' perceptions of cultural difference, what factors impact intercultural contact, and the experiences of intercultural contact in an Irish university in which 24 home students were interviewed. Such a new approach in including host community perspectives on intercultural communication and cultural integration is insightful, and I have much to learn from it.

7.3 Recommendations for further research

Limitations provide useful hints for future improvements. There are three recommendations that emerge from the previous discussion on limitations which I wish to refer to. Firstly, should further research expand on topics which include adaptation, integration and identity, the obvious improvement is to include members of the host

community as research participants.   A number of research studies have used dyads of a newcomer and a host community member to examine intercultural friendships (e.g. Lee, 2006; Sudweeks et al., 1990), though use of conversation data is lacking and reliance on interviews is evident.   Nonetheless, such use of dyads seems appropriate to study phenomena emergent in intercultural communication in a balanced approach.

Secondly, more strategic and sufficient use of conversation data taken from recordings should be beneficial for further improvements.   Ushioda (2009:222) points out that very limited research has focused on analysing discourse in order to explore the organic development of emergent motivation and identity.   In this respect, Zimmerman's (1998:90) threefold perspective on identity offers insights:

Discourse identities	"Discourse identities are integral to the moment-by-moment organization of the interaction. Participants assume discourse identities as they engage in the various sequentially organized activities: current speaker, listener, story teller, story recipient, questioner, answerer, repair initiator, and so on."
Situated identities	"Situated identities come into play within the precincts of particular types of situation. Indeed, such situations are effectively brought into being and sustained by participants engaging in activities and respecting agendas that display an orientation to, and an alignment of, particular identity sets, for example, in the case of emergency telephone calls, citizen-complainant and call-taker."

Transportable identities	"Transportable identities travel with individuals across situations and are potentially relevant in and for any situation and in and for any spate of interaction."

Table 7.1 Discourse, situated and transportable identities (Zimmerman, 1998:90)

In the present study, I have explored embedded and sub-conscious identities which rather resemble 'transportable identities'. In the future, I plan to examine 'situated identities' in conversation data, which might shed light on how newcomers' attitudes towards members of the host community are co-constructed *in* and *through* interactions, whilst paying attention to more detailed 'discourse identities'. Virtually all of my findings signified the importance of attitudes formed *through* or *as a result of* interactions, but it would be more interesting to find direct links to interactions that form or define people's attitudes.

Lastly, the current research did not discuss the notable theory of 'legitimate peripheral participation' and 'community of practice' advocated by Lave and Wenger (1991) and Wenger (1998), which might be worthwhile to include in the future. One of the main reasons for this is because my research settings were rather loose, and richer description of a particular community was needed in order to discuss their theory. An example of a case study discussed within such theory is found in Morita's (2004) research, which

examined 6 female NJS graduate students' academic socialisation in classrooms using self-reports, interviews, classroom observations and documents over an entire academic year in a Canadian university.   In the future, it might be worthwhile investing sufficient time and energy on particular communities of practice such as classrooms or students' social groups to examine the process of how international students (or newcomers) participate as legitimate peripheral participants and interact with old-timers to gradually master (or fail to master) the knowledge, skills and practices that characterise the community (Lave and Wenger, 1991:29).   As Wenger (1998:4) argues, identity is formed in communities of practice through participation, and it will be beneficial for my future research to trace the trajectories of how the participants' identities are co-constructed, negotiated and changed through interactions embedded in a given community of practice.

7.4 Final remarks

As I mentioned in Section 1.2, what motivated me to carry out research on integration and identity was largely due to my personal interest in these topics since I lived in five different nations, as well as my academic interest to pursue convincing theories.   In my

first year of doctoral study, I was interested in L2 motivation research which centred

around the most notable theories on integrative orientation and integrativeness, so I

started off with more interest in cognitivistic SLA and I planned to do quantitative

research.   However, my encounter with my supervisor Ema Ushioda, and the emerging

and convincing theories on L2 motivation and identity from a social constructivist

perspective gradually shifted my paradigmatic orientation.   Half way through my first

year of doctoral studies, I was planning to do mixed methods research, but by the end of

the year I totally changed and committed myself to qualitative research.

At the same time, I was interested in intercultural communication from the initial stage

of my research, but being a 'newcomer' in both SLA and intercultural communication, I

was not aware of the separation between the two fields which for me was my single

'target community'.   It was not until my co-supervisor Helen Spencer-Oatey pointed

out that my research has potential uniqueness in 'integrating' the two separate fields that

I started to realise how separated they were, and also realised my 'hybridised identity' in

being a part of and apart from them.   To be honest, as a newcomer who started off with

'legitimate peripheral participation' in both fields which in my opinion should be more

connected, I have been surprised throughout the process of research that these two fields

still continue to be largely separate.   As far as I am aware, only Yashima (2002, 2004) and Jackson (2008) have made cross-references from SLA side to intercultural communication.

However, as I got more and more insights from the two fields, I became all the more convinced that findings from each camp provide interesting results.   As I have discussed in Section 2.3, both fields have started treating identity as the centre of attention.   I have also argued that constructs such as identification with TL communities that derived from cognitivistic SLA research need to be examined within the framework of social integration with host communities, in relation to which various intercultural communication studies have produced useful insights.   In future, applying conversation analysis could also benefit both fields in studying the identities of people who are in intercultural settings.

And lastly, I am grateful to the Doctor of Education (EdD) programme in my university that gave me the breadth of knowledge which prevented me from just narrowly focusing on SLA, but gave me opportunities to look into intercultural communication. Moreover, I am equally grateful to the programme coordinators for giving me solid

ideas on qualitative research methodology which has been the spine and the lifeline of

the current study.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX 1: Interview Guide (Piloting in 16-17 April, 2008)

I.   THINGS TO CONFIRM PRIOR TO INTERVIEWS.

- Explain the purpose of the research to interviewees.

- Explain why I have chosen the particular interviewee.

- Assure anonymity and confidentiality of interviewees.

- Explain what happens to interview notes/recording.

- Ask if it is okay to record the interview.

- Notify how long the interview will be.

- Ensure that there is no right or wrong, or desirable or undesirable answers.

- Give interviewees my contact e-mail for further comments and inquiries.

II.   5 TYPES OF QUESTIONS TO AVOID:

Question Type	Example and Recommendation
Double-barreled	• Have you ever experienced burn-out and what do you do to prevent it? • Avoid double-barreled questions. Ask one question at a time. Do not combine questions and expect an answer.
Two-in-one	• What are the advantages and disadvantages of working in a private school? • Do not combine opposite positions in one question. Separate out the parts and things will be much clearer.
Restrictive	• Do you think that female school administrators are as good as male school administrators? • The phraseology of this question eliminates the possibility that females might be better. Avoid questions which inherently eliminate some options.
Leading	• Bill 101 which forces 'immigrant' children into French schools in Quebec has been challenged in the courts on the grounds that it violates the Canadian charter of Rights and Freedoms. What do you think of Bill 101? • Do not precede questions with a position statement. In this type of question, the interviewer states a view or summarizes the position of a current or recent event and then asks for a response. This tends to lead the respondent in a given direction.
Loaded	• Would you favour or oppose murder by agreeing with a woman's free choice concerning abortion? • Avoid questions which are emotionally charged and use loaded words.

Figure A1.1 Five types of questions to avoid (Anderson, 1998: 185)

III.   DO'S AND DON'T'S:

Do:	Don't:
Listen carefully (e.g. non-verbally say, 'I'm listening')	Close off interviewee space
Offer supportive feedback (e.g. 'hmm', 'yes')	Interpret for the interviewee
Respond to emotion (give interviewee chance to talk about it)	Judge (e.g. offer moral comment, advice or consolation)
Let the interview take its own shape – let interviewee discover things as well	Stick rigidly to the topics you think are important
Monitor your responses to give interviewee proper space	Interrupt unthinkingly

Figure A1.2 Interview responses: some do's and don't's (Richards: 2003: 54)

IV.   MAIN THEMES IN INTERVIEW GUIDE:

A) Domain to be covered

1. Attitudes (e.g. like, dislike, respect, disrespect)

2. Motivation (e.g. willing to study, unwilling to study, making effort, not making

    effort)

3. Integrative motivation (e.g. presence of native English speakers)

4. Instrumental motivation (e.g. English as a tool to reach one's goals)

5. Intrinsic motivation (e.g. enjoyment of the learning activity itself)

6. Extrinsic motivation (e.g. motivated to learn English because of external forces)

B) Template for the opening statement

(1) "How about telling me how it was like before you started learning English at your

    university?"

(2) "And how did you find it after you started learning it?"

C) Question wordings.

(1) "Do you like learning English?" [Corresponding to Domain 1.]

(2) "Do you think learning English is important?" [Corresponding to Domain 1.]

(3) "What motivates you to learn English?" [Corresponding to Domain 2.]

(4) "What demotivates you to learn English?" [Corresponding to Domain 2.]

(5) "Would you learn English if it was an optional subject?" [Corresponding to Domain 2.]

(6) "What is the proportion of studying time you put in for studying English?" [Corresponding to Domain 2.]

(7) "Do you use English for communication?" "What for?" "With whom?" [Corresponding to Domain 2.]

(8) "Do you have any native speakers to interact with using English?" "How does that affect you?" [Corresponding to Domain 3.]

(9) "Do you think mastering English will be beneficial for your future?" [Corresponding to Domain 4.]

(10) "Does the learning activity attract you?" [Corresponding to Domain 5.]

(11) "How does the teacher influence your willingness to study English?" [Corresponding to Domain 6.]

(12) "Do test scores matter to you?" "What if the teacher says there won't be any tests?" [Corresponding to Domain 6.]

D) Useful probe questions.

- "Please tell me what you mean by that."

- "Could you give me some examples?"

E) Some comments to bear in mind.

Closing:

- "'Is there anything else you would like to add?"

- "'What should I have asked you that I didn't think to ask?"

- Give thanks.

APPENDIX 2: Consent Form (Piloting in 16-17 April, 2008)

This is the handout I gave to the interviewees prior to the first stage pilot interviews.

Although the original handout was solely written in Japanese, I have provided English

translation for this thesis.   Note that this was done to practice my interviewing and

therefore data was not used for my research, hence I did not obtain their signature.

****

本日はインタビューにご協力頂いて誠にありがとうございます。

[Thank you very much for your cooperation for the interview today.]

このインタビューの目的はウォーリック大学における研究の練習のために行われます。日本語母語話者

に対する英語教育における学習意欲、及び動機に関するインタビューを実施することが主目的です。

[The aim of the interview is to practice doing research at the University of Warwick.

The main purpose is to carry out an interview about native Japanese speakers' attitudes

and motivations for learning English.]

従いまして、日本語を母語とする大学生を対象に 30 分ほどのインタビューを執り行いたいと思います。

[Therefore, I would like to make an interview about 30 minutes to university students whose native language is Japanese.]

インタビューに際しては正確なデータ収集と分析を実施するため、許可が頂けるならば録音機を使用したいと思っております。収集したデータは筆者、及びウォーリック大学のみ責任をもって研究のために保持するものとして、第三者には譲渡いたしません。なお、参加者の方のご氏名は匿名にして、個人が特定されることは致しません。

[I would like to ask for your permission to use recorders during the interview in order to collect and analyse data accurately. Data will only be kept by the present writer and the University of Warwick for research purpose only, and will not be assigned or transferred to third parties. Also, participants' names will be anonymous and individual names will not be specified.]

なお、インタビューに際してはリラックスして、ありのままを述べて頂ければ幸甚です。正解や望ましい回答などというものはありません。

[Meanwhile, please relax during the interview. You are welcome to tell the truth, and there is no such thing as right answers or desirable answers.]

なお、このインタビューに関してご意見、ご質問等ございましたら、以下の連絡先までご連絡下さい。

[If you have any comment or question regarding this interview, please contact me via the e-mail address below.]

ご協力に深謝致します。

[Thank you very much for your cooperation.]

2008 年 4 月 16 日

University of Warwick

Centre for English Language Teacher Education (CELTE)

博士課程

井口幹夫(Mikio Iguchi)

mikio.iguchi@warwick.ac.uk

[16th April, 2008

University of Warwick

Centre for English Language Teacher Education (CELTE)

Doctorate in Education

Mikio Iguchi

mikio.iguchi@warwick.ac.uk]

APPENDIX 3: Interview Guide

(1ˢᵗ round interviews from 3 February to 22 May 2009)

I.   **MAIN THEMES IN INTERVIEW GUIDE:**

A) Domains to be covered

1. [Integrativeness] (e.g. How open are they to native speakers or foreigners who speak English? Who do the NJS wish to integrate with? How does integrativeness change over time?)

2. [Acculturation attitudes] (e.g. Do the NJS want to be close to the native speakers, NJS, or foreigners? How are they treated by native speakers? Which is the most valued cultural group? How does acculturation attitude change over time?)

3. [Identity] (e.g. Who do the NJS think of themselves, Japanese, British or international citizen? What is their most valued identity? How does identity change over time?)

II.　　質問文

QUESTION WORDINGS

A) 初めの質問

Template for the opening statement

(1)「初めてイギリスに住むことが決まった時を思い出して下さい。どうしてイギリスに来ることに

なったのですか？」

"Please remember the first time when it was decided that you were going to live in

the UK.　Why did you come to the UK?"

(2)「イギリスに来る前に、何を期待していましたか？（不安は？）」

"What did expect before you came to the UK?　(Any anxiety?)"

(3)「イギリスに来る前に、イギリス人や、イギリスの文化に対して抱いていた印象は何です

か？」

"What was the impression you had towards British people or British culture before

coming to the UK?"

(4)「イギリスに来る前に、英語を学ぶことは好きでしたか？」

"Did you like learning English before coming to the UK?"

(5)「イギリスに来てからの典型的な一日の様子を教えて下さい。」

"What is your typical day like after coming to the UK?"

(6)「イギリスに来てからの典型的な一週間の様子を教えて下さい。」

"What is your typical week like after coming to the UK?"

B) 主な質問

Main question wordings

(1)「英語を使うのは／学ぶのは好きですか？」[1.統合的動機]

"Do you like using/learning English?"　[1. Integrativeness]

(2)「どのような人と英語でコミュニケーションを取りたいと思いますか？」[1.統合的動機]

"What kind of people would you like to have communication with in English?"　[1. Integrativeness]

(3)「イギリス人と溶け込みたいから英語を学んで上達するという人もいるんですけど、これに

ついてはどう思われますか？（ご自分に当てはまりますか？）」[1.統合的動機]

"There are people who study English and improve because they want to blend in with the British people.   What do you think about this?   (Does it apply to you?)" [1. Integrativeness]

(4)「現地のイギリス人に親近感を覚えますか？」「現地の方の対応はどうですか？」[2.文化変容態度]

"Do you feel close to the local British people?" "How are you treated?" [2. Acculturation attitudes]

(5)「イギリスにいる日本人に親近感を覚えますか？」「日本人の方の対応はどうですか？」[2.文化変容態度]

"Do you feel close to other Japanese in the UK?" "How are you treated?" [2. Acculturation attitudes]

(6)「イギリスにいる他の外国人に親近感を覚えますか？」「他の外国人の方の対応はどうですか？」[2.文化変容態度]

"Do you feel close to other foreigners in the UK?" "How are you treated?" [2.

Acculturation attitudes]

(7)「知っている人たちの中で最も親近感を覚えるのはどういう方々ですか？[2.文化変容態

度]

"Out of all the people you know, what kind of people do you feel closest?   [2.

Acculturation attitudes]

(8)「もし、ある文書に国籍ではなくて自分の文化的なアイデンティティを記入することになっ

たとしたら、何と記入しますか？」[3.アイデンティティ]

"If you were asked to fill in a document to state your cultural identity, which is

distinguished from your nationality, what would you write?   [3. Identity]

(9)「イギリスに来てアイデンティティが変わったと思いますか？」[3.アイデンティティ]

"Have you felt that your identity changed in the UK?"   [3. Identity]

C）役に立つ探りの質問

Useful probe questions

-「どういう意味ですか？」

-"What do you mean by that?"

–「具体的な例を挙げて頂けますか？」

-"Could you give me some examples?"

–「それはどういうふうに起きたんですか？」

-"How did that actually happen?"

D）その他コメント

Some comments to bear in mind

インタビューで学んだことを要約してから終える。

Round off by mentioning some of the main points learned from the interview.

終わりに

Closing:

-　「最後につけ加えたいことはありますか？」

-　"'Is there anything else you would like to add?"

- 「何か聞いてほしかったことはありますか？」

- "'What should I have asked you that I didn't think to ask?'"

- 「質問はここまでです。終了する前に何か聞きたいことや、ひと言付け加えたいことはありますか？」

- "I have no further questions.   Do you have anything more you want to bring up, or ask about, before we finish the interview?"

- お礼で終わること！

- Give thanks!

APPENDIX 4: Participant Consent Form

(1st round interviews from 3 February to 22 May 2009)

(British spouse interviews from 30 December 2009 to

9 January 2010)

This is the form I gave to participants prior to the first round interviews, and to the participants' British spouses (though the contents were slightly changed).   Although the original form was solely written in Japanese, I have provided English translation for reference.   This participant consent form is in line with the Ethical Guideline approved by the Centre for Applied Linguistics Graduate Progress Committee.

****

本日はインタビューにご協力頂いて誠にありがとうございます。

Thank you very much for choosing to participate in this interview

このインタビューは筆者の博士論文とそれに付随する研究のために行われます。日本語母語話者の英語の使用、及び学習における意欲や動機、異文化適応やアイデンティティに関する研究を実施することが主目的です。

This interview will be done for my doctoral thesis and any accompanying research.

The main objective is to study native Japanese speakers' willingness and motivation in

learning and using English, cultural adaptation and identity.

従いまして、日本語を母語とする方を対象に 30-60 分ほどのインタビューを執り行いたいと思

います。

I therefore would like to interview those whose mother tongue is Japanese for about 30

to 60 minutes.

インタビューに際しては正確なデータ収集と分析を実施するため、許可が頂けるならば録音

機を使用したいと思っております。収集したデータは筆者が責任をもって研究のために保持

するものとして、第三者には譲渡いたしません。なお、参加者の方のご氏名は匿名にして、個

人が特定されることは致しません。また、プライバシーの保護に努めますので、個人名が容易

に特定できる形で不用意に口外は致しません。

I would like to ask for your permission to use audio recorders in order to ensure

accurate data collection and analysis.   I will retain data for research purpose only, and

will not assign or transfer them to third parties.   All the names of the participants will

be anonymous, and therefore individual names will be kept confidential.   I will protect

privacy of participants so I will not disclose information unnecessarily to others in a

way that individuals can be traced.

また、本研究へのご参加はご自由ですので、いつどのようなご理由でご辞退頂いても構いま

せん。インタビューのトランスクリプトをご覧になることもできますし、特定のデータの削除も承り

ます。

Your participation to this research is at liberty. You may opt out of this research

whenever you like under any circumstance. You may have access to your own

interview transcripts and I will be glad to delete any data at your request.

この趣旨に同意されるようでしたら、以下の欄にご署名頂ければ幸いです。

If you would agree to this form, please sign below.

_____

なお、インタビューに際してはリラックスして、ありのままを述べて頂ければ幸甚です。正解や

望ましい回答などというものは一切ございません。

Please relax and say whatever that is in your mind during the interview. There is no

such thing as right answer or a desirable answer.

なお、このインタビューに関してご意見、ご質問等ございましたら、以下の連絡先までご連絡

下さい。

If you have any comment or question for this interview, please feel free to contact me.

ご協力に深謝致します。

Thank you very much for your cooperation.

2009 年 2 月 3 日

3rd February 2009

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APPENDIX 5: Research Participant Recruitment Letter

I used this recruitment letter to explain the summary of my research to anyone who was

interested to partake. Although the original form was solely written in Japanese, I

have provided English translation for reference.

****

こんにちは。私はウォーリック大学の教育学博士課程で学んでいる井口幹夫（いぐち・みきお）

と申します。

Hello, my name is Mikio Iguchi and I am a candidate for the Doctor of Education at the

University of Warwick.

この度は以下の要領で研究のデータ収集のため、日本語を母語とする方で英国に 1 年以

上ご滞在されている方にご協力をお願いしたいと存じ上げます。

I want to ask for your help for my research data collection in the following way, from

those whose mother tongue is Japanese who have lived in the UK over a year.

1.　インタビュー

Interview

2. 1 回につき 30～60 分ほど

   30 to 60 minutes per interview

3. 1 月下旬から年末にかけて 3 回ほど（場所・時間等は全てご協力者の皆様に合わせます。私のうちで和食・韓国料理を食べながら、というのもあります。お子さんがいらっしゃる方は、妻がベビーシッターをすることも可能です。）なお、研究が進むにつれて新しいお願いをする可能性もございますが、ご参加は自由です。

   About 3 times from the end of January to the end of the year.   (I will gladly follow your preference regarding time and place.   You can have Japanese or Korean food at my house.   If you have children, my wife will be able to do baby-sitting for you.)   Also, I may ask you something new as research proceeds, but participation is at liberty.

博士論文の研究テーマは概ね下記の内容ですので、これに沿った質問をさせて頂ければと思っております。

The themes of the doctoral research are listed below, so I would like to ask you

questions in line with the following contents.

➢ 日本語母語話者の英語の学習や使用に伴う意欲や動機

➢ Willingness and motivation of learning or using English among native Japanese speakers.

➢ 異文化適応

➢ Cultural adaptation

➢ アイデンティティと言語使用との関係などです

➢ Identity and language use, etc…
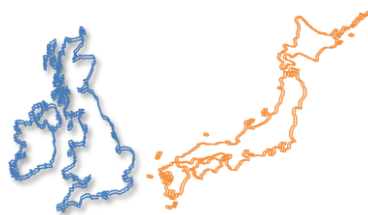
収集したデータはプライバシー保護のため、すべて匿名にして保持して、研究目的にのみ使用させて頂きます。何かご意見、ご質問等ございましたら、以下の連絡先までご連絡下さい。

All names will be given pseudonyms to protect privacy.　All collected data will only be used for research purpose which will be kept safe.　Please contact me if you have any comment or question.

2009 年 1 月 18 日

18th January 2009

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APPENDIX 6: Fieldnote

(23 July 2009)

This is a sample of a fieldnote I took after observing Mari leading a Bible study group

for the international students at Julie's house.　This is not the actual draft that I wrote

on a paper which was incomprehensible to others in that it was mixed with English and

Japanese, and was not orderly.　Thus this is an elaborated version for readers to know

how I took fieldnotes.

****

Space	At Julie's (local English lady's) house, in the dining room.
Actors	25 people gathered (including 4 local British elder people and 21 international participants which were predominantly East Asian postgraduate students). Julie is the host. Mari was the leader of the talk.
Activities	People prayed and dined together. People were talking and socialising during dinner. Mari began the Bible study reading from the New Testament Acts Chapter 17: 16 – 21. Each person read out a verse from the Bible taking turns around the table. Mari led the talk and led the Q & A. Julie thanked everyone for coming and led the praying time.
Objects	2 long tables and 25 seats (including sofa) joined together in the dining room.
Acts	People greeted one another.

	People brought in their dinner and shared them.
	People talked with one another as they ate.
	Mari led the Bible study.
	People read out the Bible verses.
	Mari presented and facilitated the Q & A.
	People answered Mari's questions.
	Julie led the prayer.
	People talked to each other and left Julie's house.
Events	Dinner.
	Socialising.
	Bible talk.
	Prayer.
	Socialising.
Time	23rd July, 2009.
	Dinner from 6:30PM to about 7:30PM.
	Bible study from 7:30PM to about 8:30PM.
	Prayer time from 8:30PM to about 8:50PM.
	Finished around 9:00PM.
Goals	To learn about the Bible.
	To mix with other people, British hosts with international students, and vice versa.
Feelings	Warm, cosy and hospitable.

Analytical memos
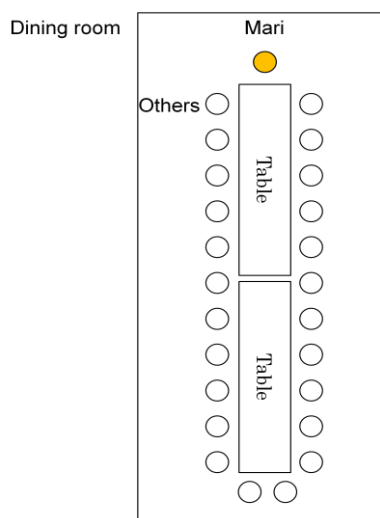
- Mari was talking with Derek, an elder Welsh man who sat next to her during dinner.

The topic was about the USA.

● When Mari's presentation began, Mari started off by the question, "Do you know the Athens?" since the topic of the Bible study involved Paul the apostle going to Athens.

● Mari used a lot of questions to make the meeting interactive: "How is it similar to our society?"; "What's idols?".

● However, there was silence after some questions, for instance when she asked the question, "I have a question. What is the most important [Bible] verse for you? Which verse impressed you most? Volunteer?". The silence continued for 3 minutes. Then Mari broke the silence by pointing Derek to talk. She went on to ask Simon, an English young man to share which verse impressed him. She went on to point 14 people.

● When participants gave their feedback, Mari did not give any feedback most of the time but simply nodded.

My interpretations

● Mari did not try to dominate the talk, which is rather the case when elder local people lead the Bible study at Julie's house. Instead, she spared a lot of time asking 14 people to speak out their impressions. I got the impression that Mari tried to facilitate people's participation.

- Mari did not give feedback to what each participant said. [Note: When I asked her later about this, she did say she regretted not being able to give an appropriate feedback on the spot in English.]

APPENDIX 7: Participant Diary

This is a sample of Naomi's diary which she keeps on Mixi, a Japanese Social Networking Service on the internet. The diary is not open to anyone as she made it accessible only to her friends who are granted permission, but she gave me permission to access it. In this sample, she first talks about her feelings after returning to the UK from Japan and how she was shocked by some people's racial discrimination in the UK. Her friends' comments and her replies follow.

****

差別について（2010年05月16日23:47）
About discrimination (23:47 16 May 2010)

Naomi's diary

日本から帰ってきて、一ヶ月経ち、なんとか又、イギリスに感覚が慣れてきました。毎回日本からイギリスに帰る度に、鬱に入り込む私です。どこまでも続く平坦で芝生だらけの田園を見ると、どっぷりと落ち込みます。なんだか自分が死んだようにいつも感じてしまうのです。たぶん田舎の風景が閉塞的に思えてしまうのでしょう。しばらくの間、家から外に出る気がしないので、結構重症です。毎年毎年、日本から帰った後の苦しい事、なんでこんなに苦しいのか・・・日本の食べ物、日本の街の雑踏、それらが恋しくて恋しくて、まあこればかりは本当にどうしようもありません。

It's been a month since I came back to the UK from Japan, and I've managed to keep up with life here again. I get depressed whenever I come back to the UK from Japan. I feel utterly blue when I see the flat green fields which seem to extend to the end of the world. I somehow always feel as if I was dead. I guess the country view gives me a cooped-up feeling. I don't feel like going out of the house for a while so it's quite serious. Every year, it's so hard after coming back from Japan, I wonder why it's so hard… Food, hustle-bustle in Japan, I miss them and I miss them, but I really just can't help it.

Naomi's friends' comments

Naomi's comments

APPENDIX 8: Personal Information Form

(Obtained at the beginning of 1st round interviews from

3 February to 22 May 2009)

This is a sample of a personal information form which all participants kindly agreed to

fill in prior to the first interview.   The intention was to obtain basic information about

their experience in learning and using English, their period of stay in the UK, and their

social networks.   The information obtained from this form gave me prompts to ask the

participants questions during subsequent interviews, as well as informing me matters

related to their English language learning experience.   Although the original form was

solely written in Japanese, I have provided English translation for reference.

****

研究の精度向上のため、差し支えなければ、以下の質問事項にご回答頂けませんでしょ

か。

If it is convenient for you, do you mind answering the questions below in order to

increase the precision of the research?

1.	ご氏名：

1.   Name:

2.   E-mail:

3.   英語を初めて学習した年齢：

3.   Your age when you first learned English:

4.   英語を使用している年数：

4.   The number of years you used English:

5.   イギリスに滞在している年数（観光や短期滞在を除く）：

5.   The number of years you lived in the UK (excluding sightseeing or short stay):

6.   英語をよく使う相手：

6.   People with whom you use English often:

7.   よく見る英語のテレビ番組：

7.   TV programmes in English you often watch:

8.   よく読む英語の本、雑誌、ウェブサイト:

8.   Books, magazines, or websites in English you often read:

9.   参加している集まり、サークルなど:

9.   Social activities, clubs, or gatherings you attend:

ご協力ありがとうございました。

Thank you very much for your cooperation.

Note:

For reasons of space and language issues, I have not included the actual interview transcripts, participant diaries, e-mails and fieldnotes that were written in Japanese.

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