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**Negotiating the In-Between:
How Two Foreigners Living in Rural Japan
Narrated Changes in their Identities**

A thesis presented in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the
degree of

Masters in Education (Guidance Studies)

**Massey University, Palmerston North,
New Zealand**

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2009

Abstract

This thesis used narrative inquiry to find out how two foreigners, who had resided in rural Japan for a long period of time, narrated reflectively how they had changed as a result of their cross-cultural transitions. This thesis came about through my own transition experiences in Japan leading to a hybrid, bicultural notion of myself, and my subsequent curiosity as to how others underwent changes in identity, possibly leading also to hybrid selves. Each participant was interviewed twice. Their changes were contextualised within dominant themes arising from their life stories. In addition, they were analysed using a modified version of Herbert Hermans' personal position repertoire (2001), which was able to identify key identity positions and underlying beliefs that aided or hindered their transitions. This research found that the participants' respective dominant life themes of estrangement and communion had major impacts on their cross cultural transitions, local relationships, and life satisfaction. The first participant followed a theme of estrangement and evoked identity positions and imagined audiences to justify his stance. The second participant took on a learning model to enhance her relationships with the local Japanese, resulting in alterity, the incorporation of a Japanese identity position in her own personal position repertoire and subsequently a hybrid self. In both participants some identity positions were aligned to Japanese ways of being, consequently coming to the fore in their psyches, whereas others were subjugated. Also new positions were incorporated, while others were lost, with affective outcomes. The participants' transitions were impacted on by their environments. The first participant initially worked within a foreign enclave and had no close personal Japanese friends. The second participant was immersed in local public schools and enjoyed high recognition in her small, rural town. Motivating factors for being in Japan were also found to be of consequence for the participants' cross-cultural transitions. This thesis was able to capture the complexity of the participants' cross-cultural transitions through considering them as having multiple selves that were revealed through reflective life stories and collated within a personal position repertoire.

Acknowledgements

Writing this thesis has been an experience of both distanced and extended education. I owe immense thanks and gratitude to my supervisors, Associate Professor Jeannie Wright and Senior Lecturer Dr. Penny Haworth, for their patience, wise guidance and encouragement that often shortened the distance and ensured that across its extended duration, both I and the thesis stayed the course. The extra time they put in and numerous emails they wrote, especially during the final drafts of this report, have been invaluable. Thanks also to Peter Roe, who, with an honest discussion about my future on a train platform in Japan, saw to it that I was headed in the right direction and hence my masters journey began. Also, thanks to Sue Watson who first introduced me to narrative studies and Herbert Hermans' work. Without her initial guidance and engagement in my studies of narrative, many core concepts of this thesis would not have been applied.

I am also gratefully indebted to the two participants who gave up their time in their busy lives and invited me into their homes, to share very personal understandings of themselves. Quite simply, this thesis would not have been possible without them. Thanks also to Michael Waterman, who proof read the latter drafts. Without your hawk-like eyes, many mistakes would have gone on menacingly unchecked.

Lastly, this thesis has impacted on the lives of the people closest to me. To my nephews and niece, thanks for being so understanding when Uncle Andy couldn't go out to play. To my immediate family, thanks for all your encouragement, support and last minute proof reading. But most importantly, to my wife, Misao, who underwent her own cross-cultural transition during the writing of this thesis while adjusting to her new life in New Zealand. While writing this thesis to aid understandings of transitions, ironically, I have been distracted while you have been caught in between what you once were and what you are yet to become here. Despite your own needs in difficult times, thank you for your delicious, sustaining Japanese cooking, the countless cups of tea and coffee, and, most importantly, your patience during the times I typed away our shared evenings or our shared holidays. You are my greatest strength and I dedicate this thesis to you and all the courage you have shown in the face of transition.

Table of Contents

| | |
|--|-----------|
| Abstract | iii |
| Acknowledgements | iv |
| Table of Figures | viii |
| Chapter 1: Introduction | 1 |
| Chapter 2: Reflexivity Statement | 7 |
| Othering | 8 |
| Alterity | 9 |
| Idiosyncratic Complexity | 10 |
| Situated-ness | 10 |
| From Experience to Theory and Back Again | 11 |
| Chapter 3: Literature Review | 15 |
| Introduction | 16 |
| Section One: | |
| Contextualizing the Study | 17 |
| Section Two: | |
| Contemporary Acculturation Studies | 19 |
| Factors that Affect Acculturation | 21 |
| Acculturation studies of English Teachers in Japan | 25 |
| Section Three: | |
| Research Questions | 28 |
| Section Four: | |
| Theories of Self | 29 |
| The Evolution of a Narrative Self | 30 |
| Contemporary Narrative Identity | 31 |
| The Dialogical Self | 32 |
| Summary | 37 |

| | |
|--|-----------|
| Chapter 4: Methodology | 39 |
| Introduction..... | 40 |
| Section One: | |
| Narrative Inquiry | 42 |
| Narrative Coherency | 42 |
| Contemporary Narrative Studies | 45 |
| Section Two: | |
| Epistemological and Ontological Turns..... | 48 |
| A) The Relationship between Researcher and the Researched..... | 48 |
| B) The Relationship between Facts and Values: From Numbers to Words as Data .. | 50 |
| C) Studying the World: From the General to the Particular | 51 |
| D) The Extent to which Knowledge can be Certain: Blurring Knowing..... | 52 |
| Section Three: | |
| From Bricolage to Bricks: Implementing a Narrative Methodology..... | 54 |
| Academic and Ethical Approval | 54 |
| Sampling | 55 |
| Description of Local Area | 56 |
| Locality for Jack | 57 |
| Locality for Jane | 57 |
| Ethical Considerations | 58 |
| Ethics of Relationship | 58 |
| Ethics of Cross-Cultural Communication | 60 |
| Ethics of the Report..... | 61 |
| Narrative Interviewing | 62 |
| Interviews | 62 |
| Data Analysis..... | 64 |
| 1) Life Story Summary..... | 65 |
| 2) Multivocal Analysis | 65 |
| 3) Analysis and Discussion..... | 65 |
| Summary..... | 67 |

Chapter 5:

Jack Richardson: Venn Diagrams and Closed Spaces..... 69

| | |
|---|-----------|
| Life Summary..... | 70 |
| Coherency: Of Fathers, Fishing, and Failed Dreams | 71 |
| Fathers..... | 72 |
| Gone Fishing..... | 74 |
| Failed Dreams..... | 75 |
| Down to Business and Spaces of Exclusion..... | 77 |
| Another Life: Imagined Audiences and Imagined Normalcy..... | 77 |
| In an ‘Other’ World – Poem..... | 80 |
| A Wall of Books..... | 81 |
| ‘I Have Had my Fun’: Resignation to Life in Inaka City..... | 85 |
| Summary: Life History Schism and the Discontinuity of Self..... | 86 |
| Jack’s Personal Position Repertoire..... | 87 |
| New Positions..... | 87 |
| Position Movements and Collaborations..... | 89 |

Chapter 6:

Jane Brady: Keys to the Town..... 93

| | |
|--|-----------|
| Life Summary..... | 94 |
| Coherency: Of Local Fame and Local Friends..... | 95 |
| Local Fame..... | 96 |
| Making Friends..... | 97 |
| Jane’s Personal Position Repertoire..... | 99 |
| New Positions..... | 99 |
| Position Movements and Collaborations..... | 102 |

Chapter 7: Discussion 109

| | |
|---|------------|
| Introduction..... | 110 |
| Section One: | |
| Jack and Jane: A comparative Analysis..... | 111 |

| | |
|--|----------------|
| Ex locus: Negotiating the Immediate and the Imagined..... | 115 |
| Of Morality and Maturity: The Consequences of Identity Investments | 118 |
| Section Two: | |
| Four Sites of Validity: | |
| What Two Canadians, a Kiwi, and the Japanese Countryside | |
| Can tell us about Cross-Cultural Transitions | 121 |
| Descriptive Validity: Bonsai and Narrative Research | 121 |
| Procedural Trustworthiness: Interviews, Transcribing and Narrative | 122 |
| Reflexive Validity: Flexing the Reflexive Muscle..... | 123 |
| Validity of Interpretation: Immediate and Imaginative Meanings | 124 |
| The Immediate Realm of What Is..... | 125 |
| What It Is Not: Beyond the Horizons of these Stories..... | 130 |
| What may be: Cross-disciplinary Dialogue about Dialogical Thinking..... | 131 |
| What Could Be: A Dialogical Metaphor for Meta-Thinking..... | 132 |
| Discussion Summary | 133 |
| Chapter 8: Conclusion | 137 |
| Appendices | |
| Appendix 1: Information Sheet | 143 |
| Appendix 2: Consent Form | 146 |
| Appendix 3: Analytical Tasks | 147 |
| Appendix 4: Jack Richardson’s Personal Position Repertoire | 149 |
| Appendix 5: Jane Brady’s Personal Position Repertoire | 151 |
| Bibliography..... | 153 |

Table of Figures

| | |
|---|-----------|
| Figure 1: Imagined exemplar of a Personal Position Repertoire..... | 33 |
|---|-----------|

Introduction

Our search for identity and understanding often includes trying on many different stories. Here are two.

adapted from Otasuke et al. (2004, p. 194)

This report aims to present its findings in light of the moment in time Japan finds itself in; as a society on the verge of cultural upheaval, as it contemplates dramatic increases in its foreign population (Willis & Murphy-Shigematsu, 2008). Academia can aid policy and understanding of immigrant experience by giving voice to these immigrants. This research aimed to add to this knowledge by presenting two members of a particular minority group, the Western expatriate, living within a rural setting, where it was assumed they were more likely to be interacting and involved in daily Japanese life. It sought to discover how they positioned themselves, with their own personal histories, against the task of settling in and adapting to life in rural Japan. As such, this research sought to explore how they negotiated the complexities of their daily lives in the metaphorical space that was somewhere 'in-between' their home and Japan. This 'in-between-ness' is symbolised by '*ma*', the Chinese character on the title page. In narrating changes in their identities throughout their life stories, this small scale project aimed to explore the motivations and self/world beliefs that led them each to certain identifications and how these identifications affected their lives, acculturation and relationships. Its aim was also to expose multiple identity positions within each participant's psyche that were pertinent to their transitions, and to identify those positions that aided or hindered them.

Identity was chosen as a key concept for understanding self and changes in self. This research approached the analysis and interpretation of the gathered data by using a liberating theory of identity called the dialogical self (Hermans, 2001, 2004), that rejects a proprietary concept (identity as something we own) for a concept of identities as being *identifications* and therefore situational (Willis & Murphy-Shigematsu, 2008) and relational. In the cross-cultural transitions of the two participants explored within this study, the identifications that they spoke to in private, and performed in public through the interviews, were viewed as fluid, relational and teleological.

In dialogical thinking (Hermans & Kempen, 1993, 1998; Hermans, 2001, 2004, 2008; Hermans & Dimaggio, 2007) the key concepts of hybridization and transnationalism were highlighted, suggesting the complexity of migrants making transitions. Hybridization and transnationalism challenge the oversimplified binaries expressed in hyphenated selves; Asian-American, Canadian-Japanese; New Zealander-Japanese (It should be noted that in Japan, the hyphenated labelling of foreigners is not in practice). Hybridization and

transnationalism refer to cultural and social identities shifting within and between home and host nations, and even multiple sites (Glick Schiller et al. 1995; Glick Schiller 1997 *cited in* Liu-Farrer, 2008 (unpublished)), hence the metaphor of an 'in-between' space. These identities are sustained through cheaper international travel, promoting more frequent trips home; dual citizenship practices sustaining voting rights and political investments in the countries of origin (Basch, Glick Schiller & Szanton Blanc, 1994; Laguerre, 1999; Guarnizo, 1998, 2003; Kearney, 1991, 1995, Kyle, 2000 *cited in* Liu-Farrer, G., 2008 (unpublished)); through international networks sustained through internet communities such as Facebook and Bebo; and through cheaper international telecommunications. So the possibility of sustaining dual (or multiple) identities is increased through globalization. Transnationalism challenges older models of assimilation which rely on the concept of a unidirectional transition from the home culture to the host culture. Transnational identities are situated within the complex, multi-voiced, multi-positioned globalized world.

It is within this environment that this study's two participants have sought to create, sustain, and sacralize their own multi-vocal identities in rural Japan (rural, in this study, refers to an area outside of the main centres of Japan, not necessarily a small town). The sacralizing of self is a concept taken from Satre's work (1950, 1963, 1964, 1981 *cited in* McAdams, 1991) whereby individuals are viewed as facing the dilemma of how to sacralize their selves through narrative answers to psychological, sociological, metaphysical and cosmological concerns (p.142) in a society where religious institutions' answers to these concerns have lost their saliency. In this study, sacralizing the self is viewed as performing oneself through narrative techniques and major thematic lines as a project that is special and unique in relation to both others and in relation to oneself as a coherent project over the lifespan. In addition to the notion of a sacralized self, a defining aspect of this study was that through Hermans' (2001) notion of a dialogical self, a metaphorical image of their identities was created and their changes were tracked throughout their life stories as opposed to just throughout their transition. Therefore, the investments the participants made and why were uncovered.

Central to this thesis is the transparency of the author. Therefore, it begins with a reflexivity statement that tracks my journeying and motivations for undertaking this thesis. Followed by this, pertinent literature is reviewed. From this literature gaps are identified leading to the

posing of the research question. Special interest is given to theories of the narrative and dialogical self (Hermans, 2001, 2004), to position this research amongst this field. The methodology is then addressed outlining the reasons why a narrative approach was taken to answer the research question. Next, data from the two participants is presented and analysed followed by a discussion on how they have been shown to have changed. This thesis then addresses the repercussions and potentialities of the knowledge that is uncovered and produced.

The findings of this study come at a pertinent time when the Japanese government is contemplating the potential influx of immigrants and at a time where the stability of national identities, globalization and localization (Hermans & Dimaggio, 2007) are having both positive and negative effects for people and communities in transition (Schaffer, 2004). This research's approach and produced knowledge is hoped to be of interest to researchers and those working with issues to do with identity, migrants and cross-cultural transitions within Japan and other sites.

_____ Reflexivity Statement

Between my finger and my thumb

The squat pen rests.

I'll dig with it.

From *Digging* by Seamus Heaney (1990, p. 3)

I expect the author to dig at his or her actions and underneath them, displaying the self on the page, taking a measure of life's limitations, of the cultural scripts that resist transformation, of contradictory feelings, ambivalence, and layers of subjectivity, squeezing comedy out of life's tragedies (Bochner, 2000, p.6).

Both Heaney and Bochner evoke the image of digging into one's own self to excavate the underlying motivations, stories, emotions and subjectivity that not only influence, but create, the impetus to write about what one sees. This reflexivity statement is an attempt to ground the following report in the subjectivity of my own experiences and motivations for undertaking this research. In evoking reflexive writing practices to increase transparency, Etherington (2004) asked researchers to consider their learning. Therefore through this statement and the italicized reflexive comments written throughout this report, I intend to expose the learning that I undertook in my own transition, locate the curiosity from which this report grew, and document the learning I gained from listening to and reflecting upon the participants' reported lives. This reflexivity statement has tracked the changes in my cross-cultural journey from othering towards alterity (Hermans, 2008), and reflections on my idiosyncratic journey, realizing its situated-ness. My transition is then linked with learning I gained from the theories I came across in my postgraduate studies and how my own transition was both informed and influenced by these theories. I have also identified the seeds of curiosity from these reflections and some of the tensions these created when applied to this research.

Othering

As I write this I am able to reflect upon the ten wonderful years I had in Japan, which ended in August 2008. What made these years wonderful were the relationships, the friendships and the sharing of lives and life events that anchored me to that place. As time passed, any "me" and "they" or "us" and "them", "New Zealander" and "Japanese", diminished and, at times, completely evaporated into the ether of what any passerby might judge our 'cross-cultural exchange' to have been.

From my experience, there were levels and sites of ‘othering’...the curious stare of a child as I went about my supermarket shopping made me immediately aware that I was different, my nose bigger; my eyes brighter. There were sites of ‘othering’ based upon false assumptions. When presenting myself at many service counters or checkouts with a Japanese companion, I was often ignored by the retailer who would reply to my Japanese friend, even though I was the one asking the question. Some would assume that I could not speak the language even though I had just asked the question in Japanese!

And then there was ‘self-imposed othering’. This was developmental but perhaps also the broken wheel that left many a foreigner “stuck in a rut.” What I mean by this self-imposed othering is that, particularly when I first arrived in Japan, I assumed I was inherently different. To be more precise, I assumed I was different *enough* to not fully be in a relationship with a Japanese person. I believed myths that were popular amongst the foreigners about the Japanese. I believed that the way I was brought up was innate and unchangeable *despite* the needs of the current person in front of me, the current relationship at hand.

Alterity

But then things changed, I began to make Japanese friends, speak and think in Japanese, bow unconsciously to other courteous drivers just as someone would give the raised eyebrow salute in New Zealand. I even started bowing into the phone! I learnt that I was not innate and unchangeable as I took on a Japanese way of being. Not just through my learnt responses, such as bowing, but in the positions of critique I took. I could at first empathize (I can understand that is the way you like to drink your tea, but that is not for me) and later be in league with the Japanese (your cup of green tea is my cup of tea also). Hermans and Dimaggio (2008) have termed this transition alterity, the ability to let another’s point of view be incorporated into your thinking, from which a response can be given. At first, I could only judge the Japanese way of doing things through my own cultural lens. Then trying to understand the ‘why’ behind Japanese actions led me to a position of alterity, where I imagined Japanese positions as a part of me. I could value their ways of being, as if

they were my own. This phenomenon was noted as early as the second century when Marcus Aurelius said, “to become world citizens we must cultivate in ourselves a capacity for sympathetic imagination” (*cited in* Nussbaum, 1997, p. 85). This notion of alterity has affected this report in many ways. It is seen in the nature of the research questions, responses within the interview and interpretative stances in this report.

Idiosyncratic Complexity

I realized my own journey differed from some, yet was similar to others. Perhaps I had an early advantage. Japanese people recognized in me from the start that I had a “Japanese heart”. Namely, being slow to offer opinions, ready to listen first before speaking, an ability to adapt myself to the situation, and having a sense of occasion were aspects that were already apparent in my own personality and that, luckily, fitted in well with Japanese ways of being. In my last years, having become nearly fluent, Japanese would say how easy it was to talk with me, as if they were talking with another Japanese person, not a foreigner. This ability to fit in was valued within my workplace also. But I knew that in some ways I did not fit in. I was not punctual, overly flexible with the “she’ll be right” attitude that typifies New Zealanders and perplexed some Japanese who preferred things better planned out. Bhatia and Ram (2001) suggested we are in constant negotiation between our past selves and our present selves in relation, and that was certainly how I felt when I had to learn from experiences where I overstepped the mark, or sometimes, missed it completely.

Situated-ness

For me, evolving and becoming salient in Japan involved acquiring language skills and social competency skills. These took years to attain, with many blunders and a real feeling of dissonance until I could become salient enough to create and maintain relationships in Japanese. This really occurred for me in my seventh year when I returned to work in the fully immersed Japanese environment of a private Catholic school, after a few years in an English speaking enclave at an English conversation school. My main reason for deciding to work at the school was because I wanted to

work in a Japanese environment. The dividends for my language abilities and social skills became apparent after a year or so working there. This was reflective of the investment I made in learning Japanese and wanting to be fully immersed in the culture, and on the pragmatic level, just to get on with and enjoy the company of my work colleagues.

From experience to theory and back again

I learnt that fitting in was not complete but complex and varied, and situational. So from observing other foreigners, I was curious about the uniqueness they brought to their own transitions and how their work and social situations affected their views of Japan. During this time I began studying towards a Masters in Education (Guidance Studies) discovering narrative ways of thinking as a therapeutic tool in my counselling studies (White & Epston, 1990; Hermans, 2001; Bruner, 2004, Polkinghorne, 2004, McAdams & Janis, 2004). I felt excited by its potential to capture the humanity of experience. I also felt empowered because it presented identity as a constructed story, influenced by societal myths and a decentralized self, opening up the possibility of multiple selves, especially as informed by the work of Herbert Hermans (1993, 1998, 2001, 2004) and his concept of a multi-vocal self. His system of voices allowed me the psychological space for a more fluid self, more interactive with the environment than any previous notion of self I had come across such as trait theory or personality types. Hermans' model allowed for the idiosyncrasies that occurred in the complex interplay of my own self and others. As I outlined above, some parts of me were made more salient but other parts were counter-productive. Hermans' model was able to identify for me investments made in certain positions, that showed I had sacralized myself as an on-going project in relation to environment.

A key discovery that aided my transition was the work of Robert Kegan (1982) on identity development. His thinking coincides with Hermans' in that it is based on a subject/object relations idea of self. Kegan's key idea of his last stage of development is that we can choose to *have* our institutions (objectifying them) rather than *be* them (subjectifying them). When I was making my own transition, being able to think of

myself in these terms as ultimately agentive, freed me from guiltily bracketing myself as 100% Kiwi. I could negotiate myself along the hyphen of New Zealander-Japanese as the situation demanded, sometimes skilfully and sometimes like an elephant in a china shop. In hyphenating myself, I could accommodate both cultures in my identity and therefore become a hybrid by *having* my Kiwi-ness and *having* my Japanese-ness rather than *being* one or the other. Being a New Zealander reflects the legal understanding of who I am, via my nationality, but not my whole identity, via my experiences and growth in Japan. I was curious if I could identify similar positional shifts in regards to national identity in other foreigners.

My cross-cultural self moved from a position of 'other', to connection with the Japanese around me, which was enhanced by my choice to become immersed in a Japanese school setting. It led to an expanded self through the incorporation of some aspects of the Japanese world-view in my own psyche which, in turn, was aided by my studies in multiple selves. My own experiences, and reflections, aided by these studies, have led to the conceptualisation and enacting of this current report with its focus on relational influences on identity. My experiences, reflections and curiosity for others undergoing transitions brought me to the two participants as they too, struggled, reflected on, and grew within their own cross-cultural journeys.

Literature Review

“At the interface of different cultures, people are challenged to give an answer to the increasing multiplicity of cultural voices, including their power differences.”

Herbert Hermans (2004, p.190)

Introduction

To aid understanding of the pertinence of this report at this time, the first section of this chapter contextualises this study within Japan's current economic and demographic quagmire. In addition, the purpose of this chapter of the report is to explore key areas of literature that lead into the research questions. Therefore, section two explores relevant literature relating to migrants. Major theories and factors affecting acculturation have been highlighted, as well as this study's stance towards these. Gaps in the literature have been identified and, from these, in section three, the research questions are posed and legitimised. In section four, key concepts relating to identity and changes in identity are presented. This literature has been explored in order to show how the research questions will be approached. In particular, the notion of a narrative self (Bruner, 2004) and, within that paradigm, Hermans' concept of a dialogical self (1998, 2001, 2004, 2008), as key theories influencing this report, have been reviewed.

Search strategy

The search strategy undertaken for this literature review involved catalogue searches of the Massey University Library; searches, mostly through EBSCO, of psychological and cross-cultural journals; use of coursework articles; snowballing techniques by looking up references published in found articles; and attendance at a Waseda University sponsored conference on immigration to Japan from South East Asian countries.

Key words used for searches included:

- Acculturation
- Assimilation
- Cross-cultural identity / psychology
- Cross-cultural transitions
- Dialogical studies
- Immigrants, immigration and immigrant identity
- Integration
- Japan's immigrants
- Narrative, narrative inquiry and narrative research
- Transculturalism

Section 1: Contextualising the study

Japan is faced with a 'perfect demographic storm' of an ever-declining birth-rate (1.32 births per couple in 2006) and an aging population. This requires either policies that can manage the transition to a smaller population or, if wishing to sustain present productivity (and tax-payers able to support a burgeoning retired and aging population), an increase in immigrants. Hidenori Sakanaka, former head of the Tokyo Immigration Bureau, and head of the Japan Immigration Policy institute, has summed up the debate as this:

We have been forced to choose between two options. One is to offset a decline in the Japanese labour force with an influx of foreign labourers and maintain the current economic power. The other is to keep tight control on immigration, which means we must accept 'a smaller Japan', in terms of economic power (*ibid, cited in Willis & Murphy-Shigematsu, 2008, p. 312*).

Estimates based on government and UN reports in 2000 relating to the required number of immigrants predict an immigrant population of between 14 to 33 million people in a country of 120 million people by the year 2050. This would mean a shift of the immigrant population from the current 2 percent to within the range of 11 to 27.5 percent of the total population in the space of forty years (Willis & Murphy-Shigematsu, 2008). The potential impact of this (as yet to be committed to) change in immigration policy for Japan on social structures and national identity are enormous. These changes need to be managed with care, acceptance, and deliberation so that segregated and undervalued ethnic communities are not created. As an example, a marginalised immigrant population was shown to have contributed to France's 2005 riots (Poupeau, 2006). Such a poignant event would need to remain fresh on the imagination of Japanese politicians considering the management towards greater ethnic diversity in the population and inclusiveness.

Yet, Japan still has much to learn about inclusiveness, as demonstrated by the criticism directed at its stance towards foreigners. The Japanese post war legacies of redefining and restricting the legal and political precepts of foreign inclusion are, even in contemporary times, being challenged by the changing landscape of sovereignty. Two international arenas,

the United Nations and the International Convention on Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination (ICERD) have put pressure on Japan in recent times to racialise official descriptions of its population such as its family registry (Willis & Murphy-Shigematsu, 2008), which is used as a central document for administrative tasks. The reason the pressure has been applied is that the notion of being 'Japanese' in the family register is seen as being a taken for granted racial trait, not one tied to legal definitions of nationality. Thus non-Japanese are excluded from having a family register and are afforded an alien certificate for bureaucratic processes. The family register in Japan has been a site of contention for immigrants and a political tool used by the government to enforce discriminatory practices and 'othering'. As a response, the United Nations Human Rights Commission Report of Japan (Diene, 2006 *cited in* Willis & Murphy-Shigematsu, 2008) was critical of Japan's institutionalized discrimination policies towards foreigners and immigrants.

Japan is a country with contradictory forces of both positive and negative regard towards foreigners; Chinese nationals being disproportionately represented as a criminal underclass by the media (Willis & Murphy-Shigematsu, 2008); uncritically evaluated Western 'ideals' leading to the eroticising of Western men as gatekeepers to empowerment for Japanese women (Kelsky, 2008) and; an undervaluing of educational status for immigrants from 'third world' countries leading to underemployment (Onishi, A., 2008). As such, trans-cultural experiences of migrants in Japan have caught the interest of a number of narrative based studies. Many of these studies have focused on the major immigrant groups, the Koreans (Nobuko, K, 2008; Lee, S. I., 2008), Chinese (Tsu, Y.H., 2008; Liu-Farrer, G., 2008) and Filipino wives (Suzuki, N., 2008). These studies have noted the influences of memories and legacies of Japan's military expansion into China and Korea on the acculturation experiences including discrimination of these people. Clearly, Japan has much to learn about migrants' experiences, both positive and negative, if it is to embrace more open immigration policies.

Section 2: Contemporary Acculturation Studies

These migrant experiences can be informed by acculturation studies. Contemporary acculturation studies have progressed from a pathological view to one of growth. The model of culture shock (Oberg, 1960) was countered by a wave of research that looked at the developmental aspects of the cross-cultural transition (Adler, 1975; Furnham and Bochner, 1986). This was extended upon by Berry and Kim (1988) who viewed cultural transitions as both problematic and as a source of growth. As a result, there was a shift of migrants being viewed as passive victims requiring 'expert' help towards being viewed as agentic individuals dealing with acculturation in constructive ways (Ward, Bochner & Furnham, 2001). This led to learning models and psychological models related to stress and coping.

According to Bhatia and Ram (2001b), prominent in contemporary acculturation research is the model of acculturation strategies proposed by Berry and his colleagues (Berry, 1980, 1985, 1990, 1997, 1998; Berry and Sam, 1997; Berry, Kim, Minde and Mok, 1987; Berry, Kim, Power, Young and Bujaki, 1989). This model proposes a fourfold classification of acculturation strategies, termed 'assimilation', 'separation', 'marginalization' and 'integration'. Assimilation is migrants rejecting their own culture for the host culture. Separation is migrants judging from the point of view of their own culture exclusively over the host culture. Marginalization is where both home and host cultures are rejected, usually due to the primary culture not being valued by the host culture. Their suggested best acculturation strategy is integration which is when individuals express an interest in maintaining strong ties in their everyday life with both their ethnic group and the dominant group. Adopting this strategy has been shown in research to produce the least incidence of psychosocial maladies and distress (Ward, Bochner, & Furnham, 2001).

Central to the theory of integration is the assumption of universality. Berry and his colleagues take up the position that although there are:

substantial variations in the life circumstances of the cultural groups that experience acculturation, the psychological processes that operate during acculturation are essentially the same for all the groups; that is we adopt a

universalist perspective on acculturation (*emphasis in original*, Berry & Sam, 1997, p. 296).

This present study adopts a different perspective in that acculturation is viewed as a socially-situated, teleological and idiosyncratic process that reflects greater complexity than the research methodologies used by Berry and his colleagues can show. It also rejects the notion of a proprietary concept of culture with the conflation of culture with nationhood. Especially as it is related to the concept of cultural distance (Babiker, Cox, & Miller, 1980), where one country can be compared against another through its cultural attributes. Assigning culture to a geographical notion of nationhood is highly problematic. Hermans and Kempen, (1998) note that concepts such as culture and nationhood:

[...] fail to explain the challenges accompanying the acculturation process within a world where the local and global are merging and creating new 'contact zones' between different cultures (*in* Bhatia & Ram, 2001b, p. 11).

Their rejection of this idea recognizes the unstable and multiple elements of a negotiated self in relation to a changing host culture where:

[...] theories of hybridity force us to think beyond fixed national and cultural boundaries and allow us to think more in terms of moving cultures where here and there, past and present, homeland and hostland, self and other are *constantly being negotiated* with each other (*italics in original*, Bhatia & Ram, 2001b, p. 15).

As such, this present study rejects a *goal-orientated* view of acculturation which Bhatia and Ram (2001b) pertinently critiqued by asking, how does one know when one is acculturated? At what point is this end state reached? And what is the 'culture' in acculturated? Instead this research took on a *process-orientated* view that focused on how the participants' transitions were negotiated at their particular sites, with their particular identity investments, and at their particular socio-historical moment.

Acculturation learning models suggest that people from different cultures need to “acquire culturally relevant knowledge and skills in order to survive and thrive in their new society” (Ward, Bochner, & Furnham, 2001, p. 51). The degree and ease which a migrant is able to learn the necessary skills in order to integrate has been shown to be influenced by the distance between their two cultures. This has been conceptualized by the theories of *cultural distance* (Babiker, Cox, & Miller, 1980) and *social distance* (Schumann, 2007). Schumann (2007) has identified eight factors affecting acculturation and second language learning. Those pertinent to this study are: enclosure, the degree to which a language learner exists independently of the host culture and, cultural congruence, the degree of similarity that the two cultures have. Therefore, making a transition between culturally congruent countries, like from Canada to New Zealand, produces less uncertainty than the move from Canada to Japan that participants in this study undertook. Emphasising this, studies into cultural distance that occurs when people travel from East to West, have concentrated on the differentiation between the cultural ideologies of interdependence and independence that is said to underpin the self-construal of identity (Markus & Kitayama, 1991). These theories rely upon stable notions of identity. As this research will show, the notions of cultural distance and congruence can be critiqued when considered not at the level of the individual as a whole, but at the level of *aspects* of the individual. This research shows these aspects of self negotiating with the host culture, producing at those sites of individual and/or combined identity positions degrees of cultural congruence or distance.

Given cultural distance is mitigated in unfamiliar social cues and mores, literature suggests migrants are involved in uncertainty avoidance (Gudykunst & Hammer, 1998). Acculturating individuals’ major task, according to this literature, is the reduction of uncertainty which aims to “predict and explain their own behaviour and that of others during interactions” (Gudykunst & Hammer, 1998, p. 112). Language acquisition; knowledge of, and attitude towards the host culture; cultural competence; and cultural similarity have been studied as areas relevant to the reduction of uncertainty and their successful negotiation leading towards cross-cultural competence (Ward, Bochner, & Furnham, 2001). In addition to these, personal resources such as self-efficacy (Bandura, 1986) and social support (Harari, Jones & Sek, 1988) are also considered influential, as is having a strong primary cultural

identity (Ward & Kennedy, 1994). Hermans and Dimaggio (2007) also consider uncertainty reduction as a key concept in considering fight or flight responses to an unknown and uncertain other. The choice of response can lead to, in the case of acceptance, making the other (host culture) a subjective member of one's own psyche which is referred to as *alterity* (Hermans, 2008). The alternative, as in the case of avoidance, is objectifying the host culture and in its extreme, abjectifying them, leading to possible violence and racism (Hermans, 2008).

The processes and steps that lead to fight or flight responses of migrants can be enlightened through literature that considers how the stages of cross cultural development actually occur (Adler, 1975, 1982, Benson, 1978, Church, 1982, Furnham, 1986, Hannigan, 1990, Kim, 1988, 1992 *cited in* Taylor, 1994). According to Taylor (1994, p.155) much of the literature proposes skills and attitudes that aid the achievement of competency, such as Berry's (1980, 1985, 1990, 1997) integration. Taylor takes this further by exploring how migrants actually learn to adapt to the host culture rather than just focussing on outcomes. He identifies four areas that are crucial to this learning. These are: amount of prior learning; how they deal with challenges to assumed cultural norms; degree and depth of reflection; and using behavioural learning strategies such as taking in cues from the environment, establishing a close friendship, and adapting to the rituals and dress. The presumption is these learning strategies contribute to a change or broadening in values and the creation of a bicultural or transcultural self, adept in both cultures. In this study, behavioural learning strategies are seen as paramount to successful transitions, especially as migrants reflect upon and learn from the relationships they engage in with host nationals.

In support of this position, acculturation literature has shown social support to be beneficial, both psychologically (Adelman, 1988; Fontaine, 1986, *cited in* Ward, Bochner, & Furnham, 2001) and health-wise in making cross-cultural transitions (Schwarzer, Jerusalem & Hahn, 1994 *cited in* Ward, Bochner, & Furnham, 2001). Spouses can be of significant support in reducing psychological distress (Stone, Feinstein & Ward, 1990, *cited in* Ward, Bochner, & Furnham, 2001) or can lead to the exacerbation of it (Ataca, 1996, *cited in* Ward, Bochner, & Furnham, 2001). Therefore, although marital relationships can lead to support in transition, it may be the stressors of the transition that buffer the home fires into firestorms or even ashes (Ward, Bochner, & Furnham, 2001).

Other sites of social support include the expatriate community. Like marriage, this social support can come as a double edged-sword however. Some studies (Ward & Kennedy, 1993b; Berry *et al*, 1987; Ying & Liese, 1991; Adelman, 1988 *cited in* Ward, Bochner, & Furnham, 2001) have found co-national/ex-patriate enclaves to be of benefit through providing friends who are undergoing similar stressors and who can offer information-sharing and general personal support in a shared language. Other studies have, however, found these enclaves as possible sites of a 'contagion effect' (Adelman, 1988 *cited in* Ward, Bochner, & Furnham, 2001) whereby struggling individuals may be insulated from the 'real world' of the host culture and are able to retreat into the sanctuary of the expatriate enclave.

Alternative sites of social support have also been found to lie within the host culture. In the literature, friendships with host nationals have been shown to provide positive psychological adjustment (Searle & Ward, 1990; Stone, Feinstein & Ward, 1990; Ward & Kennedy, 1993a; Furnham & Li, 1993 *cited in* Ward, Bochner, & Furnham, 2001). Studies have also linked relationships with host nationals as being conducive to learning essential new cultural skills and as cultural references in the process of learning (Ward, 1996 *cited in* Ward, Bochner, & Furnham, 2001).

A study by Ward (2001, *cited in* Ward, Bochner, & Furnham, 2001) showed that age may also affect acculturation. Ward and her associates suggested that young adults have less enculturation in their primary culture and are more 'malleable' than senior migrants, whose investment in their heritage culture may be too entrenched for adequate change.

In considering gender, Ghaffarian (1987) said there was "moderately strong evidence that assimilation proceeds more rapidly in boys than girls and that men assimilate more quickly than women" (*cited in* Ward, Bochner, & Furnham, 2001 p. 107). The reasoning given for this is that women are more likely to invest in their cultures of origin given their traditional roles of gatekeepers to pass down knowledge to the next generation. Unemployment and less movement outside of the family home may also add to the reasons for these findings (Ward, Bochner, & Furnham, 2001; Bonisch-Brednich, 2002). Piper (2005) reported that migration for women may have an emancipatory effect but may also lead to greater oppression depending on the differences between the patriarchal policies and attitudes towards gender

equality in the host country and the country of origin. Burgelt (2003) follows an international trend towards gendered views of migration where obstacles for both men and women are considered.

Another aspect considered to affect acculturation is the degree of commitment to living in the host country and the original motivation for migrating. Those who plan to stay for longer periods exhibit stronger investments in the host culture than short term sojourners (Mendoza, 1989; Ward & Kennedy, 1993c *cited in* Ward, Bochner, & Furnham, 2001). In regards to motivation, Wong-Rieger & Quintana (1987) make the distinction of whether a migrant is 'pushed' or 'pulled' into the host culture (*in* Ward, Bochner, & Furnham, 2001). An example of being pushed would be refugees escaping from war and examples of being pulled would be for better economic conditions. According to these theorists, those who are pushed into a culture are less likely to assimilate than those who migrated for 'pull' reasons (Wong-Rieger & Quintana, 1987 *cited in* Ward, Bochner, & Furnham, 2001). Despite economic reasons for being 'pulled' to a country and migrating, compared to the wider population, immigrants are more likely to be:

[...] unemployed and underemployed and they face particular difficulties obtaining recognition of their educational qualifications and occupational experience, especially if they migrate from non-traditional or culturally distant locations (Swan et al., 1991 *cited in* Ward, Bochner, & Furnham, 2001).

So given the strong 'pull' factor of greater economic power, immigrants are likely to find themselves disempowered through language, social distancing and non-recognition of qualifications.

Another site that affects acculturation is the imagination. In recent theorizing, Yasuko Kanno and Bonnie Norton (2003) have used the powerful concept of 'imagined communities' of immigrants to enlighten their second language teaching practices. Benedict Anderson (1991 *cited in* Kanno & Norton, 2003) argues that what are thought of as nations are actually just imagined communities. Their interest is in how these imagined communities affect learning trajectories, and they report that imagined communities can potentially wield more influence than actual ones on learners' identity investments. Bilingual or transcultural

learners were shown to sacralize their imagined professional or national affiliations that, in turn, affected social and academic learning opportunities (Norton 2000, 2001; Kanno, 2000, 2003 *cited in* Kanno and Norton 2003). David Blake Willis supported these findings from studies undertaken of Western / expatriate enclaves in Japan, especially around the sites of international schools (Willis, 2008; Willis, D.B, Minoura, Y., & Enloe, W., 1994). He found ‘imagined’ spaces where people found community and shared identity. Like Kanno and Norton, these spaces involved relational rather than geographical ideas of community centred at international schools, or other sites of interaction such as foreigners’ clubs or bars.

Acculturation studies of English teachers in Japan

Japan is a complex nation that is considered largely monoethnic but, in fact, has a silenced history of diversity (Willis & Murphy-Shigematsu, 2008). Within this diversity is a small population of expatriates from first world countries, living long term. A significant proportion of this population in rural areas are English teachers, as is the case of the two participants interviewed in this study. Specific studies of English teachers in Japan include Rennie’s (1993) study of sixteen Americans’ attitudes towards Japan, other foreigners, and reasons for staying. She concluded that reasons for staying were more to do with personal reasons than Japan *per se*, noting strong reasons as money and being members of an international community. Samples did not include a large cross-section of ages and most were single; thus education and health issues were not highlighted – rather satisfaction with own personal life choices. The study took an apolitical stance in design and analysis. She did refer to the Japanese myth of homogeneity and privileging of the ‘White Other’, which Willis & Murphy-Shigematsu (2008) and Onishi (2008) later noted as key aspects of the white immigrant experience in Japan.

Etsuko Scully’s (2001) investigation into foreign language teachers in Shimane prefecture found frustration amongst its participants as they encountered uncertainties related to acculturation. On a more positive note, using a different variable, Milstein’s (2005) study showed an increase in communication self-efficacy for JET participants after their sojourn in Japan.

Of significant influence to English teaching and internationalisation in rural areas of Japan is the JET programme (Japan Exchange and Teaching Programme). It began in 1987 with the aim of promoting grass-roots international exchange between Japan and other nations. One of my participants and I came to Japan with this programme. In 2008, the programme hosted 4,436 participants from 50 countries (JET Brochure, 2009). The main contributing countries are America, Canada, Australia, United Kingdom, and New Zealand. Participants are sent throughout Japan to work in junior high schools, high schools, and elementary schools as Assistant Language Teachers within a team teaching relationship. Contracts typically last up to three years with over 50% returning after the first year.

JET participants have faced a variety of challenges when making their cross cultural transition and some of these have been studied and documented. In his book "Importing Diversity" (2000), David McConnell stated that coping strategies such as recoiling into a counterculture of foreigners and becoming cynical had occurred. In addition, an independent survey of JET participants' mental health (Ohno, et. al., 2003 unpublished) found that 78.4% had experienced homesickness and 57.2% had experienced feelings of alienation. According to McConnell, some JET participants had made the cross cultural transitions smoothly, through being sensitive to the hosting institutions and working from within that framework.

In summary, this present section has located this study within the field of acculturation studies and has, within this field, reviewed and identified gaps in the literature as well as positioning itself within this literature. In particular, the focus on end-states (Berry, 1997) was rejected and the study instead focused on process. Rather than viewing self-as-whole, *aspects* of self (herein termed identity positions) that were consequential in creating a mainly integrated or separated (Berry, 1997) positioning with the host culture were considered. The concept of cultural distance (Babiker, Cox, & Miller, 1988) is similarly qualified by viewing an individual as having *aspects* of him or herself that are either culturally distant or congruent. Uncertainty avoidance (Gudykunst & Hummer, 1988; Hermans & DiMaggio, 2007) took on a significant role in this research as a key motivating factor for investments in positions of critique and constituent behaviour. Learning theory informed this study through its focus on relationships as key to learning. Norton and Kanno's (2003) work into imagined communities contributed to this report's key conceptual framework of Hermans' personal position repertoire (2001), which will be discussed in the

next section. Variables of age, gender and degree of investment (Ward, Bochner & Furnham, 2001) have been incorporated to enlighten the reasons for identity positions being taken up, strengthened, weakened or rejected altogether.

In relation to studies of expatriates in Japan, this study differentiates itself through its small sample of only two participants, with other studies ranging from sixteen (Rennie, 1993) to hundreds (Ohno et al., 2003 unpublished). Subsequently, this study has been interested in individual rather than group characteristics (McConnell, D, 2000), communities or enclaves (David Willis, 2008). Also length of stay of the sample was significantly different from other studies reviewed here. Both participants had been in Japan since the early nineties. The nearest study to this was Onishi's (2008) study which required a minimum of four years' stay and in which no participant had been in Japan for longer than eight years. This thesis is contrasted to Rennie's (1993) study of Americans, who were more transient and whose interests were based on investments related to lifestyle rather than connection with the local community. Most noticeably lacking in the literature reviewed above is a holistic approach to acculturation that considered changes within the context of a person's reflections on their life as a whole. This research, through having taken this approach, was able to focus its questioning and add to the above literature through promoting why and how changes took place throughout the participants' reported lives. In particular, how their beliefs about their identities affected their responses to the uncertainties and cultural upheavals of living in Japan.

Section 3: Research Questions

In response to the above identified stances of critique and gaps in the literature, the following research questions were formulated:

How did the participants narrate changes in their identities as a result of living in Japan?

In particular:

What identity positions were taken up, reinforced, subdued or discarded as a result of living in Japan and why?

and:

How did the participants change within their own coherent life story and why?

In answering these questions, this study has situated itself within a combination of theories regarding self and changes in identity. These theories of self focus on the construction and performance of self in a certain way, the construction and evocation of identity positions, and the production of coherency within a narrated life story. Central to answering these questions is the idea of a narrative self.

Section 4: Theories of Self

Traditional theories of self encourage individuals to be subjected to an inaccessible Freudian unconsciousness (Bruner, 2004), or to traits that are embedded and core (Potter, J. & Wetherall, M., 1987). There is also a view of a 'whole', stable self that is constant, or at least progressing constantly despite negotiating itself within a plethora of relationships. Therefore, identity and transcultural research has been envisaged as progressing through developmental hoops towards a self-actualized and/or fully integrated self. This self is conceptualised as being linear moving towards or away from higher states of selfhood. This aided in the production of psychological studies of identity based on information-processing models (Higgins & Bargh, 1987; Kihlstrom & Cantor, 1984; Markus & Kitayama, 1991; Markus & Wulf, 1987). Rather, this study views identity as contested, non-linear and as a *narrative self*, which is constructed and presented through a reflective life story narration (Bruner, 1990; Gregg, 1991, 1998; McAdams, 1985, 2001; Rosenwald & Ochberg, 1992; Sarbin, 1986), portrayed through performed identities that negotiate with their environment (Chase, 2008); and with imagined 'polyphonic' dialogues (Hermans, 2001; Hermans & Kempen, 1993).

In order to unpack this concept of a narrative self, the next part of this literature review begins by explaining the evolution of this selfhood within the disciplines of influence on this report. Contemporary concepts that promote an idea of self (in relation) as contested and negotiated (Riessman and Speedy, 2007) will then be considered and juxtaposed against the illusion of a 'natural' self as suggested in traditional concepts of selfhood. Central to the task of a negotiated self, is the creation of a 'self as story' that is sequential and consequential (Riessman and Speedy, 2007). These concepts, as they affect coherency and the presentation of self to both self and others, (Bruner, 2004) will also be explored. As a negotiated self suggests, there can be multiple selves. How this was conceived and applied in this report was greatly informed by the work of Hermans' (2001) concepts of a dialogical self and, therefore, is extensively addressed. In particular, his concept of the personal position repertoire, which has been applied in this report as an analytical tool, is explained, as is the developmental theory of Robert Kegan (1982) which supports the notions behind it. Following this, in order to address the coherency of stories, the critical work of Dan

McAdams (2004) is explained. These ideas will then be challenged by rhizomatic thinking (Sermijn, Devlieger & Loots, 2008) and then resolved for this thesis through Hermans' conception of coherency as activity (McAdams, 2004). Finally, how narrative inquiry has been applied in migrant studies will be explored, as will this present study's position in regards to these theories and their relevant studies.

The Evolution of a Narrative Self

In the development of narrative identity within the fields of sociology, feminist studies, anthropology and sociolinguistics, there can be seen an historic interest in the individual, as demonstrated by Thomas and Zaniecki's work (1918/1927 *cited in* Chase, 2008). But that notion of the individual has changed over time, with the trend towards a more dynamic understanding of selfhood evolving. With a risk of over-simplifying, we can see the idea of selfhood beginning with the positivist notion that reality can be de-contextualized and, as such, individuals could be representative beyond their contexts to become standard cultural artefacts (Chase, 2008). Over time, the notion of selfhood developed into a dynamic, contextualized individual with whom the researcher was complicit in the construction of their story (Geertz, 1983, 1988). This view was assisted by feminine discourses reflecting on and making problematic the research relationship (Chase, 2008). The focus on the individual and particular, as exemplified in feminist studies, also gave voice to other suppressed discourses such as gay/lesbian, disabled, national, class, race, and ethnic groups (Chase, 2008).

Narrative identity holds that the self is not viewed as having a core 'true' self to be revealed through the 'peeling back of an onion' but one that places central value on spoken or written language as a mediator of social activity and social meanings (De Rivera & Sarbin, 2000). This tenet was influenced by *social constructionism* which held that language created meaning, and that language is socially negotiated and constructed so that "our formulations of what is the case are guided by and limited to the systems of language in which we live" (McNamme & Gergen, 1992a, p.4). Thus, language is mitigated by culturally appropriate cues and exchanges that govern from simplistic greetings through to more complex examples of tempering or exaggerating in responses within conversations. In extension to this idea of mitigated language, personal narratives are "constructed from the

cultural stock of stories” (Bruner, 1986). Successful plotlines (and by inference, successful identities) are to be judged according to how they corresponded to the dominant cultural plotlines on offer (Polkinghorne, D.E., 2004) such as consumerism, heterosexuality and those offered by religious groups. These changes in research ideologies within disciplines opened the way for narrative to nest within the modern sciences as a legitimate member (Pinnegar and Daynes, 2007) leading to new, contemporary understandings of identity.

Contemporary Narrative Identity

Reissman and Speedy (2007) note that the current socio-historical moment is fertile ground for narrative conceptions of selfhood upon which this study is based:

Perhaps a push toward narrative comes from contemporary preoccupations with identity in times of rapidly shifting populations, national, international, and neighbourhood borders (see Bauman, 2004). Identities are no longer given and “natural”. Individuals must now construct who they are and how they want to be known, just as groups, organizations, and nations do (p.429).

Reissman and Speedy assert that the push towards narrative is useful for multiple identity development in trans-cultural settings. Stories are consequential in establishing identity positions (Hermans, 2001) which are able to represent ourselves to *ourselves* and *our societies* (Brunt 2001; Ezzy, 1998; Jackson, 1996; Plummer, 1995; Reissman, 1990, 1993, 2003 in Fraser, H., 2004) through ‘performing’ ourselves *for ourselves* and *for a particular audience* (Langellier, 2002; Chase, 2008). How, then, can this storied, performing, teleological self, which suggests a multitude of *selves* (which is not to supplement a real self, only represent the illusion of such through the life story as presented in the research encounter (Sermijn, Devlieger and Loots, 2008)) be interpreted? This study adopted the concepts of a multiple, dialogical self to aid the conceptualization and interpretation of the participants’ identities.

A multiplicity of selves, which seek to perform for self and for others using a cultural stock of stories and is agentive in fashioning its experiences to create a coherent self, can be illuminated by using Herbert Hermans' dialogical approach to selfhood (Hermans & Kempen, 1993; Hermans, 1998, 2001, 2004). This approach was developed by Hermans in the context of assisting psychotherapy clients to identify and address dominant voices in their selfhoods with the aim to seek balance in their system of voices, or *personal position repertoire* (Hermans, 2001) that led to a more integrated view of self and produced wiser and more positive life choices and approaches to relationships. In this study, the focus shifts from a therapeutic one, as initially intended, to an investigative approach, as Hermans later requested (2008). This study has borrowed his concepts, particularly his idea of the personal position repertoire (2001) and modified it for the purpose of creating an analytical tool. Hermans' (2001) work on the dialogical self suggests that there are multiple selves; that we can choose particular voices to address new positions between ourselves and others and ourselves and new cultures. As said before in the acculturation section of this review, this stance makes problematic stage-models (Markus & Kitayama, 1991; Sue & Sue, 1999; Cross, 1995) by addressing individuals as constituting multiple identities and having differing investments in positions, some of which are more easily adaptable than others. This destabilizes integrated ideas of self that would have the self journey through stages as a whole and assume that culture is a meeting between two fixed entities (Rudmin, 2003) as is subscribed to by the notion of cultural distance (Babiker, Cox, & Miller, 1980). Hermans and Kempen (1998) have challenged this by shifting the site of research from sites *within* each culture to considering the cultures *at the contact zone*, where the two cultures meet and are negotiated between a multiple self and a mutable, imagined culture.

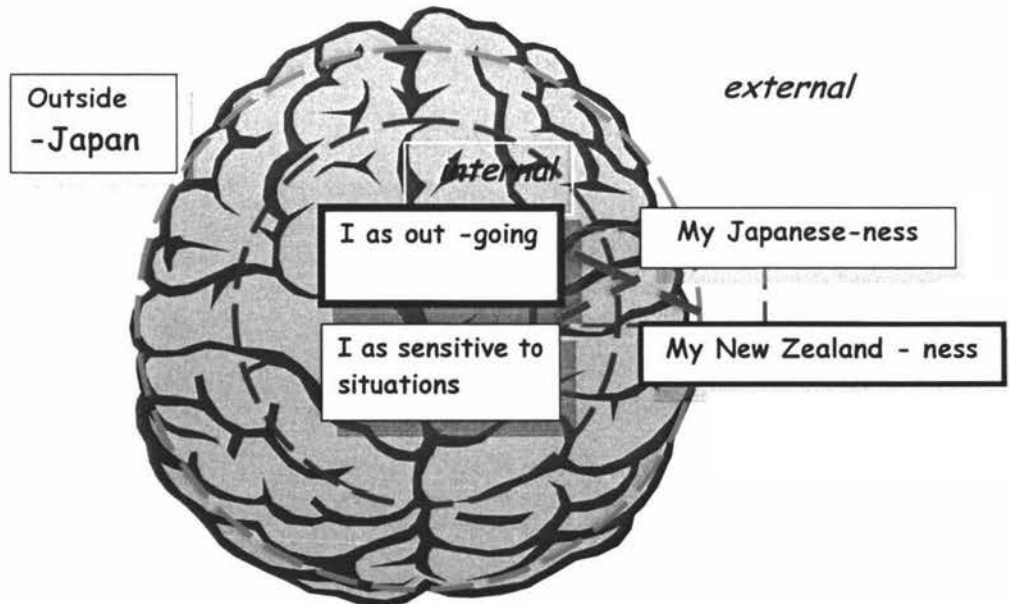
Like a society, the self is populated by voices, and as a consequence, cultural changes in the larger society have immediate repercussions for the organization of the self as a "society of mind."... At the interface of different cultures, people are challenged to give an answer to the increasing multiplicity of cultural voices, including their power differences (Hermans, 2004, p.190).

This 'society of the mind', with its incumbent hierarchy, is based on the ideas of James' (1890 *cited in* Hermans, 2004, p.176) concept of the self as 'I' (self as knower) and the self as 'me' (self as known) and also Bakhtin's (1984, *cited in* Hermans, 2004 p.176) concept of polyphonics. Bakhtin states that there are multiple voices or 'characters' that take precedence at the intersection of dialogical positions between our internal selves, our external selves and the outside world.

The metaphor of voice emphasizes that our internal parts actively strive for expression. Voices are traces of experiences that involve all of the person's capacities in the moment (Otasuke et al., 2004).

Voices are internal or internalized psychological entities that contain the affective, experiential and story based beliefs that want to be heard (or silenced). These voices engage in internal conversations. To picture this Hermans (2004) has imagined a model (see figure 1 for a brief exemplar) that places these multiple voices within an internal, external and outside framework.

Figure 1 *Imagined Exemplar of a Personal Position Repertoire*



In this simplified (in fact, there would be a multitude of voices jostling for position), hypothetical exemplar we can see that there is an internal dominant voice (I as outgoing) and a subjugated voice (I as sensitive to situations) that have dialogical relationships with both each other and the external voices, 'My Japanese-ness' and 'My New Zealand-ness'. These positions engage in dialogue and, understandably, tension can occur between competing or seemingly non-compatible positions, or harmony between mutually supportive positions (These dialogical relationships will be teased out in the following paragraphs). Metaphorically, internal and external positions create connections between them that incorporate dialogues and evaluative statements, which are, subsequently, the fodder for stories (see Appendices 4 & 5 for examples of this in matrix form).

Hermans identifies three innovations in which the repertoire can be modified (Hermans 2004). First, a new position can be introduced into the system and assimilated into the self. The degree of success of this assimilation depends on how open or accommodating the existing system is. Overly dominant positions cannot provide the psychological 'space' for the new position. A major way to introduce a new voice into the repertoire is through significant relationships or what Hermans (2008) terms as alterity, which Aron et al., (2005) and Konrath & Ross (2003 *cited in* Hermans & Dimaggio, 2007) describe as "when standing in a close relationship with another person, one includes in the self, to some degree, the other person's perspectives, resources, and identities" (Hermans, 2007, p. 33). Konrath & Ross (2003 *cited in* Hermans & Dimaggio, 2007) found support for this model in their research. Their study found that when a significant other is a member of a host culture, then it implied the indirect incorporating of their cultural positions into the sojourner's psyche. Hence, significant relationships with host nationals are a source for identity change. In the exemplar above the new position that is incorporated is 'My Japanese-ness'. This imagined person has made a transition into Japan, and through developing relationships with some Japanese has taken on some of their worldview (alterity), thus creating this new position. It acts as a new position of critique against existing vocal positions such as 'My outgoing-ness', creating changes in the personal position repertoire.

A second innovation occurs when a subjugated position moves from the background to the foreground and vice-versa. Dominant voices are the ones that garner the most 'dialogical space' within the overall meta-story of a person's life. In the example above, the dominant

voice is 'I am outgoing', which has a subjugated dialogical relation with 'my Japanese-ness', which prefers subtler interactions (McConnell, 2000). However, the position 'I as sensitive to situations' took on a stronger position propping up the position of 'my Japanese-ness' and coming to the fore in relation to the Japanese world on the outside. This is because it is a more culturally-valued trait in Japan where a person's behaviour is more defined by time, place, hierarchy, and situation and is more attuned to the gaze of the other (McConnell, 2000). Another example may be someone who sees themselves as shy *in relation to* other boisterous New Zealanders, but sees him or herself as outgoing *in relation to* the more often demure Japanese. Thus, for this person, their 'I as shy' position would move more into the background if they were to be in Japan.

A third innovation occurs when "two or more positions come to support each other in new ways or to develop some form of cooperation to form a new subsystem in the self" (Hermans, 2004, p. 179). *(This process is how 'my Japanese-ness' and as a consequence, 'my New Zealander-ness' came into being. With time, 'I as sensitive to situations' in allegiance with 'I as a good listener' combined with 'my Japanese voice' to create, along with appropriate behaviours and stances of critique, the new position of 'my Japanese-ness'. Due to this system shake-up, and realizing I was not bounded to my national identity, my previous position of 'I as a New Zealander', which was internal, shifted to the external position becoming 'my New Zealander-ness'. This positional change is in keeping with Kegan's (1982) final stage of his constructive-developmental approach, which supports the proposition that I 'have' rather than I 'am' my nationality).*

Robert Kegan is a developmental psychologist. His developmental stage theory (1982) considers life-span development as movement from subjectivity towards objectivity within six stages. That is, a movement from 'I **am** something' towards 'I **have** something'. Therefore, his work sits well with Hermans' personal position repertoire, giving it a developmental angle. The infancy stage (stage 0) is where a baby **is** everything and **has** nothing. It makes no distinction between what it **is** and its surroundings. It is its surroundings. Therefore, if a baby were to be abandoned by its mother, father or caregiver, it would not only lose them, it would lose itself. Hence this stage being deemed as so important for development. In the final stage (stage 5), that is pertinent to this study and cross-cultural transitions, Kegan states, "one comes to have rather than be one's career, religion, nationality

or other institutional affiliations” (*in* Kroger, J. 1989, p. 157). With this view informing cross-cultural development we can see the development of an autonomous self who possesses their nationalities and cultural skill sets. Nationality becomes a legal definition rather than a definition of identity and a transnational identity, practiced at negotiating self both within and between culturally diverse settings, is able to emerge (Levitt, 2001b; Glick, Schiller, 2003; Vertovec, 1999 *cited in* Brettell, C.B., 2006).

As we move towards a more globalized society and more of us become of mixed cultural origin and/or identification leading to the possibility of transnationalism, there is a need for a model of identity that encompasses the multitude of voices and that can tune into and adequately express the complexity that is the ‘society of the mind’ (Hermans, 2004, p.190) within a complex, globalized society of the world. Hermans’ model of the Personal Position Repertoire (2001) is especially salient for people making cross-cultural transitions as it recognises the introduction of new voices, allows for aspects of selves to be conceived as culturally congruent or distant, and creates room for dialogues with imagined others to be considered. Be that their nationalities, significant relationships, or imagined Japan. The model is sensitive to transitions and provides a mechanism for tracking idiosyncratic changes *within* an individual’s psyche, as reported reflectively. Hermans’ personal position repertoire, as applied as an analytical tool, is able to address the complexities of cross-cultural transitions with a robust metaphor for imagining identity. It is able to be used as an organising agent for analysing life stories. Vignettes and utterances are able to be categorised according to the voices they represent. For example, a vignette from a life story may serve to justify an ‘I as shy’ position. Imagined audiences are also able to be incorporated using this metaphor, such as a person’s imagined audience in their country of origin, when critiquing their new country. Using the personal position repertoire as a key metaphor means that other concepts such as Kegan’s stage theory of development (1982) and Kanno and Nortons’ imagined communities (2003) are able to be incorporated and add to the depth of analysis.

Limitations exist with the application of the personal position repertoire. As it is used in this report, it is written in a two-dimensional matrix, thus editing the complexity of interactions down to the intersection of just two vocal positions. Rather than a three dimensional model

that could map out and graphically represent the confluence of three or more positions. The application of the model to the data prides a filter for the researcher to look for vignettes that support certain voices, thus restricting the discovery of other types of data such that may have been found if analytical tools like grounded theory were to have been applied. The repertoire also precludes social linguistic analyses in favour of delving into a prescribed metaphorical image of how the psyche functions based on the concepts of dialogue between vocal positions.

Summary

Through reviewing this literature, I have sought to align this study with transcultural notions of acculturation that focus on individuals' agency in negotiating their identity in relation to their new environment. In section one, studies into relevant acculturation experiences of migrants were reviewed, including highlighting and critiquing the influential studies of Berry (1987, 1989, 1998) and Berry and Sam, (1997) for their universal approach. Theories regarding factors affecting acculturation were also reviewed and critiqued, followed by a review of relevant acculturation studies. Reviewing these studies highlighted a gap in research that this thesis has undertaken to add to, by considering changes in an individual across their lifespan and considering their negotiation with the host culture as dynamic and malleable. To inform the idiosyncratic nature of cross-cultural transitions, in section two, notions of a theory of self that were reliant on a reflective story and suggested the possibility of multiple selves with multiple aspects of selves (Hermans, 2001) were reviewed. This dynamic theory of a dialogical self lends itself to uncovering investments in certain positions *within* individuals that either embrace or resist change in cross-cultural transitions. The next section will explain how these theories will be applied to the data.

Methodology

“Life is lived forwards, but understood backwards.”

Friedrich Nietzsche, circa 1888ⁱ

ⁱ Cited in Kevin Ireland, *Backwards to forwards: a memoir*, (2002, p.3).

It would be rather simplistic to state that narrative is the best fit to answer the research questions because the questions were worded with the intention that they be studied narratively. This is based on the idea that narrative represents, constitutes and shapes social reality (Bruner, 1986, 1990, 1997; Spence, 1982). Therefore, this research's approach views narrative as both the overarching paradigm (Toukmanion & Mennie, 1992) *and* as the object of investigation (Riessman & Speedy, 2007). Narrative inquiry was taken up because it offered the means to uncover the motivations and worldviews that people invest in. It was taken up because, as said above, I believe that stories shape the way we interpret the world. Narrative approaches also give participants the chance to formulate their own stories, and to tell their life stories in ways that they believe are true to themselves, rather than a researcher imposing his or her structure on their telling. It would have been possible to have formulated a questionnaire that asked how they had changed in relation to different pre-ordained criteria but, by using a narrative approach, I was able to contextualise the participants' changes using their own constructions as alluded to through their life stories. A dialogical approach was applied as an analytical tool, because it was able to address the specific aspects of the participants' identities that negotiated with Japan, and weave together the fragments from their stories into a rich, comprehensive image that represented their changing, multiple selves in relation to Japan.

In addition, narrative inquiry belongs within the field of qualitative approaches which are especially fit for the purpose of answering 'how' questions (Spencer et al., 2003), such as those asked here. These questions require rich, in-depth data which qualitative approaches, with their focus on language and words, are able to produce. A quantitative approach, although possibly able to offer research value through methods and analysis that would complement and extend upon this research, was not chosen due to the nature of the questions asked. The subject of English-speaking foreigners living in Japan has been studied, but as my literature review pointed out, little is known about these experiences, especially using in-depth studies. As such, a qualitative approach was adopted as it is best suited to 'discovery-type' research that relies on induction and produces logical inferences within defined contexts (Spencer et al, 2003).

As suggested above, our interpretation of our experiences and the expression of our thoughts are alluded to through our stories (Gergen & Gergen, 1984; Howard, 1991; Sarbin 1986). As such, this methodology offers the means by which the *stories* of the research participants were collected, analysed and reported. The meanings behind these stories were excavated from a rich representation of the participants' reported reality as gained through the interviews that were analysed for their *sequences* (Reissman & Speedy, 2007) of plot, character, setting and action (Bal, 1997 in Clandinin, 2007) and their *consequences* (Reissman & Speedy, 2007) upon their performed selves (Langellier, 2002; Chase, S., 2008). In addition, identity investments with their ensuing patterns and power relationships, (Hermans, 2001) that, in their whole (McAdams, 1991) and as synchronising activities (Hermans, 2004), suggested coherence, were also excavated. In considering coherence, this study has endeavoured to keep the voices of the participants intact, and to let their stories be told in their own words with their own integrity. Adopting these approaches led to conclusions based on robust logical inferences (Scott & Usher, 1999) that answered how the participants had changed in identity since living in Japan, what identity investments they undertook and how they created and maintained coherency throughout their transitions.

In the first section, in order to establish the paradigm under which the data was collected and interpreted, narrative inquiry will be outlined, followed by a consideration of narrative coherency and some pertinent examples of narrative research. In the second section, this report's epistemological and ontological assumptions as contextualised in changes or 'turns' within the social sciences will be considered. To map out the methods undertaken, the third section will focus upon the tasks, processes and mechanisms that were implemented by this research to answer the questions.

Section 1: Narrative Inquiry

Narrative inquirers believe that “we live storied lives and our world is a storied world” (Gergen and Gergen, 1986; Howard, 1991; Sarbin 1986). Narrative, in its broader sense, is everywhere. This thesis bases itself on narrative *inquiry*. It distinguishes itself from other forms of narrative through its focus on *sequence* and *consequence* (Reissman & Speedy, 2007). Sarbin (1986) asserts that in narrative views of self, story is a “root metaphor” and that it can be analysed *sequentially* for form, genre, major and minor players, major and minor plot lines and coherency (McAdams, 1993). A core tenet of *consequence* is a retrospective notion of self that says, “we choose in the *present* to remember the *past* in a certain way” (McAdams, 1991, p.142). Rather than an objective omnibus of past experiences that has been enacted upon us (as *victims* of our past) to create a resultant, stable identity, it is suggested that people instead create the past through subjective selectivity (as agentive ‘journalists’ where people select stories from their pasts to suit their current and imagined ‘readership’). Events can be remembered, interpreted, reshaped or forgotten on the basis of how they fit the person’s storied self. Therefore, the milieu of experience can be interpreted according to its place and effect on the *sequence* of the overall story and the *consequences* of its inclusion or exclusion as purposeful in creating a personal mythology and, in addition, creating a particular self for a particular audience (Hinchman & Hinchman, 1997; Reissman, 2004). Stories are not only consequential in presenting ourselves to *others* but in also presenting ourselves to *ourselves*, and agentive in establishing a coherent sense of self.

Narrative Coherency

Dan McAdams (2004) sees story making as a purposeful act of coherency. “Identity takes the form of an inner story, complete with setting, scenes, character, plot, and themes” (Angus & McLeod, 2004, p.372). Looking at the macro level, plotlines (Reissman & Speedy’s (2007) *sequence*) can be influenced by a dominant, culturally-accepted narrative. At the micro-level they can be influenced by the individual seeking coherency in their life story (Reissman & Speedy’s, 2007, *consequence*). Why is a coherent self needed? Satre states: “The modern dilemma is how to *sacralize* the self when so much of life seems unsacred” (*cited in* McAdams, D.P., 1991, p. 142). He affirms this by saying we strive for coherency in times

when modern religions are finding it difficult to offer stories that unify human experience in the wake of science's rationalism (Satre, J-P., *in* McAdams, 1991). This is coupled with the modern dilemma of border crossings and international communication where our national identity is challenged by the immediacy of other ways of being. Our modern task is to create personal myths that make one's life sacred. "The life story gives integrity, unity, and purpose to the Me, functioning as a personal myth that is both believed and lived" (McAdams, 1991, p. 155).

McAdams cautions that the mere sacralizing of self is not enough. He draws our attention to the moral dimension of stories. It is not enough to subscribe to a sacralized self that is above value judgements.

Life stories are never value-free... Narrators make implicit moral claims when they construct stories to convey their lived experience and to explain who they are (Linde, 1993)... grounded in moral assumptions and ideological convictions regarding how the world should work and how human beings should relate to it and to each other (McAdams, 2006, p. 121).

This morality is not only ensconced in the cultural mores of what makes a good story but also what makes a good life. Performed values, life choices, and judgment positions are underpinned by these cultural assumptions. In making cross-cultural transitions, these value assumptions that affect how we relate or interpret our relationships are thrown into relief. Sub-cultures such as a foreign community, may also support these belief systems. Coherency or the degree of resonance of the story depends on the assumed belief systems of the context in which a story is given. In social situations, people are attuned to the fact that, "at the end of the day, culture will judge if a life is worth living and if a story is worth telling" (McAdams, 2006, p. 123) and perform their story in relation to an assumed shared evaluation which reflects the speaker's internal imagined community (Kanno & Norton, 2003).

Life stories may be contrasted through thematic dualities such as agency versus communion (Bakan, 1966; Singer, 1997) and redemption versus contamination (Maruna, 2001; McAdams & Bowman, 2001); structural complexity (McAdams, 1985; Woike, Gersekovich, Piorkowski, & Polo, 1999) and their coherence and intelligibility (Baerger & McAdams,

1999) situated in a societal and historical context (Gregg, 1991). The common story types were introduced by Bakan (1966) and later developed by McAdams (McAdams, 1990, 2001; McAdams, Hoffman, Mansfield, & Day, 1996). Bakan conceived of two basic modes of being: “**communion**, the tendency to merge or unite with others, and **agency**, the tendency to separate Self from Others, to master, dominate and control” (Lieblich, A, Zilber, T.B. & Tuval-Mashiach, R., 2008, p.4, *bold added*). Agency is described by stories of “self-mastery, status/victory, achievement/responsibility, and empowerment” and communion is described by stories of “love/friendship, dialogue, caring/help, and unity/togetherness” (Lieblich, A, Zilber, T.B. & Tuval-Mashiach, R., 2008, p.5). In order to ascertain the complexity of narratives, it is prudent to note that tension between two themes may occur at any particular interpretation or decision-making moment in the life story. For example, incidences of communion could occur in a life that was mostly presented as promoting a coherent sense of agency.

In addition to thematic lines, stories build coherency by bringing together the temporal elements of past, present and future to create an evolving story with a beginning, middle and end; an end which is yet to be written but is imagined and suggested at, therefore providing suspense in the present telling. “People have an imagined ending that may be realistic, ideal or feared and this in turn has an influence on the immediate telling as a retrospective illusion” (McAdams, 1991, p. 142). Therefore, a performed story is one where there is a past that justifies the present in league with a future that holds it, the story-teller and us in suspense as to how it will end.

Other theorists are less sanguine about the self’s powers to create coherence. Gergen (1991) argues that the modern self is bombarded with so many diverse stimuli and shifting demands that it simply cannot assume a coherent form. For Gergen (1991), modern life creates a *saturated self*. For many people living in contemporary, post-industrial societies, lived experience is chaotic, confusing, even ‘multiphrenic’ (Gergen, 1991, p.7) and its telling is open to a plethora of entranceways (Sermijin, Devlieger & Loots, 2008). Therefore, according to these theorists, if life narratives are true to lived experience, they are likely to be unstable, indeterminate, and incoherent.

In considering the construction of a coherent self, Hermans (1996), like the above critics, rejects the notion of a singular coherent self, but suggests that a kind of self-coherence can be realized within the multiple self:

Hermans conceives of the **dialogical self** as a synthesizing *activity*, that is, as a continuous attempt to *make* the self a whole, despite the existence of parts that try to maintain or even increase their relative autonomy (McAdams 2004, p.119–120).

In this report, it was assumed that an indispensable, synthesizing self is crucial for well-being and that the participants actively constructed such a self. Dialogical thinking proposes that dialogues between voices can be revealed that expose the power relations between dominant and subjugated voices that reveal an agentive ‘I’ active in creating a coherent self that is likely to occur in other encounters and is purposeful in shaping that persons’ reflections on their acculturation experiences. This study has argued for the *construction* of a coherent self which is able to be revealed through considering thematic lines (McAdams, 1998) and the synthesizing activities of vocal positions (Hermans, 1996).

Contemporary narrative studies

Hermans and Kempen (1998) have shifted the focus of research from sites within each culture and its ideologies to considering the cultures at their contact zones, where the two cultures meet. Likewise, other studies using narrative have occurred across a wide range of specific populations, both small and large, within their own contact zones at specific locations dealing with specific issues. In this section, narrative research will be shown to have been used in other studies focused on specific demographics. This will be followed by studies that were closely related to this present study through the factors of locality, the shared issue of cross-cultural transitions, or through theoretical orientation. These studies have been presented to highlight this present study’s uniqueness and ability to offer through intensive individual analysis, new insights into acculturation.

The narrative study of lives has sought to write, interpret and disseminate people’s life stories with particular emphasis on lives of women, people of colour, and representatives of

minorities (Josselson & Lieblich, 1993; Josselson et.al., 2003; McAdams, Josselson & Lieblich, 2001 *cited in* McAdams & Janis, 2004). Many of these types of studies are drawn from small samples of life stories from a clearly defined socio-demographic (McAdams & Janis, 2004) such as couples romanticizing about their future children (Walkover, 1992); altruistic Israeli soldiers (Linn, 1997); hybrid Moroccans negotiating traditional Islamic faith with modern values (Gregg, 1996); and conflicts, frustrations and potentialities in generativity in gay couples' life stories (Cohler, Hostetler, and Boxer, 1998).

Within New Zealand, Firkin, Dupuis and Meares (2004) studied professional migrants working outside of their professional qualifications in New Zealand using a biographical narrative approach. Carina Meares (2007) studied the migrant experiences of South Africans relocating to New Zealand. She used a biographical narrative approach that challenged the assumptions of gendered experiences based on the simplified concepts of emancipation or subjugation. Another extensive study in New Zealand using a narrative approach was by Petra Burgelt (2003). She studied the psychological and social reasons for German immigrants to remain in New Zealand or return to Germany. In unpacking their reasons through in-depth, narrative interviews, she was able to elicit the processes of idealization in pre-departure; the difficult bunking down in establishing, and the reasons for making a decision to stay or return: a critical indicator of satisfaction and/or successful acculturation.

In studies outside New Zealand, Gardiner (2005) studied how expatriates living in Dubai had their identity affected by that experience. She, like this present study, employed a narrative approach with a sample population that ranged from three to thirteen years of residence. The study is comparable but differs greatly in the site of inquiry. Dubai has one of the largest foreign populations in the world, so friendships with host nationals were extremely rare. Thus, identity was sustained through the contagion effect within expatriate enclaves rather than expanded through intercultural relations.

Other narrative research projects following cross-cultural transitions have been occurring in Europe with specific socio-demographic samples: De Tona (2004) studied Italian women living in Dublin; Ahmed (1999) studied meanings of home and estrangement for Asian women in Britain; and a major European-wide study supported by the European Commission termed SOSTRIS (Social Strategies in Risk Societies) encompassed seven

European countries and included research into ethnic minorities and migrants using a biographical narrative methodology (Firkin, Dupius & Meares, 2004).

In Japan, a narrative minority study focused on Muslim immigrants' identity changes (Onishi, A., 2008). The sample required that the immigrants had been in Japan for at least four years and were Muslims working in unskilled jobs. Onishi used a narrative approach but stopped at identifying only three narrative types that were identified as being similar to Berry's (1980, 1985, 1990, 1997) taxonomy. Onishi discovered that Berry's integration outcome was not reached by these workers. She discussed incompatibility and cultural distance between the Muslim and Japanese cultures as being the cause for this.

In reviewing the literature found in the International Journal for Dialogical Science and referred to directly by Herbert Hermans (2007), dialogical approaches, such as this present study, have focused on exploring the conceptual aspects of a dialogical psychology (Hermans, 2001; Stam, H.J. 2006; Markova, 2006), tested its viability (Aron et al., 2005) or reported its effectiveness (Clark, 2003) in therapeutic circumstances. Non-therapeutic studies such as this present one, where it has been *employed* as a conceptual framework for understanding cross-cultural transitions and then *applied* as an analytical tool, have not been found, but have recently been called for by Hermans (2008).

This study has aligned itself with the narrative studies mentioned above that researched very specific socio-demographic populations. It has added to literature that is situated outside of minority experiences in the States such as the studies by Meares (2001) and Burgelt (2003). However, it differs through providing a more in-depth study into the individual participants than that which was reviewed here in this literature. Narrative studies reviewed here interviewed between six and sixty-four participants, leading to analysis that typically looked at thematic 'narratives' across those participants' stories. Participant voices were heard but only in relation to these themes, not in relation to other voices *within* that participant. This present study, with its smaller sample, has aimed to show changes *within* individuals, through the mechanism of Hermans' (2001) personal position repertoire rather than attempting to infer changes *from* a representative sample. To make this position more explicit, the next section will deal with the epistemological and ontological positions of this study.

Section 2: Epistemological and ontological turns

In order to make transparent the epistemological and ontological assumptions taken up in this study and quickly trace their evolution, the metaphor of a 'turn' towards narrative is applied. It is defined here as "used to emphasise the movement from one way of thinking to another" (Pinnegar and Daynes, 2007, p. 7). These turns occurred in differing disciplines rapidly or slowly, simultaneously or chronologically and their order, as presented here, is not meant to suggest that one occurred before another. There are four 'turns'. Each 'turn' is matched to four contentious sites of research as identified by Spencer et al. (2003) in their report entitled 'Quality in Qualitative Evaluation: A Framework for assessing research evidence. These sites are:

- A) the relationship between the researcher and the researched;
- B) the relationship between facts and values;
- C) the kinds of methods which are appropriate for studying the world;
- D) the extent to which knowledge can be certain.

These four sites have served to enlighten the core tenets of each turn, providing a means for making explicit the impact they have had on the epistemological and ontological assumptions underpinning this study.

A) _____ The relationship between the researcher and the researched

As researchers begin to embrace those they researched as human rather than as objects of study and as they struggle to make sense of the narratives that such interactions produce, they begin to embrace other ideas about how to make data interpretations that are coherent, that resonate with the data, and that are true to them (Pinnegar & Daynes, 2007, p. 14).

Viewing the researched as human entails the researcher to embrace his or her own humanity and, subsequently, his or her own subjectivity and inter-relatedness in the research moment. This turn occurred because narrative's ontological position moved away from the realists' position that assumes a reality exists outside of human beliefs and understandings (Scott and Usher, 1999). Narrative makes problematic the research relationship as it moves from an

objective, bounded, and privileged view, to one where the research is situated within the inter-subjectivity of the researcher and researched with its implicit socio-political implications (Pinnegar & Davies, 2007, p.10). This stance removes the assumed convenience of simultaneously containing the subject and observer as separate, therefore negating any interference or motivations with how that subject may choose to present him or herself to the observer. Therefore, “the narrator does not find narratives but becomes participant in their creations” (Neander & Scott, 2006, p. 297). The researcher becomes complicit in the construction of the narratives. First, the one co-created with the participants and secondly in the one they, consequently, create in the form of a research report (Chase, 2008).

In addition to being situated in the temporality and inter-subjectivity of the relationship between the researcher and researched, this narrative research is also situated in a socio-historical context, with its ensuing power relationships and privileged discourses (Sermijn, Devlieger and Loots, 2008). In examining this further, Sermijn, Devlieger and Loots (2008) offered social and internal influences that affect entrance ways and the telling of participants’ stories. They suggest these stories are:

- 1) co-determined by the audience to whom the participant is speaking (in the first place, to the researcher);
- 2) dependent on the context within which the speaking takes place (the social and cultural discourse, context, the research context);
- 3) in response to the research question (the way the researcher presents the research and asks questions);
- 4) sensitive to the positions of participant and researcher (e.g., age, gender, objectives, ideas and ideologies, etc.), and;
- 5) sensitive to the “gaze”. Both the reflecting or critical gaze of the other (in the first place, the researcher) and the controlling, self-disciplining gaze (Davies et al., 2004) of the speaking participant herself or himself.

In practice, these influences on the inter-subjectivity inherent in the production of the data were addressed in this report through reflexive statements. Narrative researchers “make themselves vulnerable in the text; they include extensive discussions of their emotions, thoughts, research relationships, and their unstable interpretative decisions” (Chase, 2008, p. 77). Susan Chase suggests that narrative researchers, in turning away from an omniscient

author, need to be able to understand themselves first as a prerequisite to understanding the narrators. This process of self-discovery has been laid out bare, through the mechanism of reflexivity, so that readers are able to contextualise this report's research process (Pinnegar & Davies, 2007). In particular my own preconceptions, reflections, positioning and responses to the participants have been made explicit through my reflexivity statement at the beginning of this report and through my reflexive voice woven into the analysis and discussion texts. In addition, the position of 'the researcher' is included in each participant's personal position repertoire to isolate identity positions and imagined audiences that were enabled during the interview process. In applying reflexivity practices and Hermans' (2001) personal position repertoire, Sermijn, Devlieger and Loots' (2008) five inter-subjective influences on data collection and interpretation were accommodated in this research.

B) _____ The relationship between facts and values: From numbers to words as data

As researchers become less content with labelling numerically the level of kindness or the degree of hope, they become more interested in understanding the stories of kindness and hopefulness (Pinnegar & Daynes, 2007, p. 19).

Pinnegar and Daynes (2007) note that in turning from numbers to words, a total rejection of numbers is not implied but rather that "in translating experience to numeric codes researchers lose the nuances of experience and relationship in a particular setting" (p.15). A positivist assumption of the use of numbers is their reliability to create validity of knowledge claims leading to "grand theories" of how the world is. Numbers create a bounded idea of knowledge (Kirk & Miller, 1985). In order to justify this approach, Foucault (1976) points out that:

when attempts are made to restrict or reduce particular kinds of discourse or discourse about a particular topic, the inhibition results in an increase rather than a decrease in discourse (Pinnegar & Daynes, 2007, p.17).

The explanation of numbers in words adds an elitist language that protects the power relationship between academic and lay. Pinnegar and Daynes (2007) note that "while a story invites participants into the research, formulas can intimidate and exclude them" (p. 19). This elitist language is reliant on a scientific tradition devoid of self-reflection on its own

underlying assumptions. It 'acknowledges knowledge' that is deduced through technical-rational research that often relies on numbers as discourse. Facts are therefore assumed to be value-free and above scrutiny as they reflect a proven scientific 'truth' that holds across time and context. This position has been rejected in this research and, alternatively, words as conveyors of thought, relationships and identity have been used through narrative inquiry approaches.

The theoretical positions of Clifford Geertz, (1973, 1983) also provide important tenets for the adoption of words over numbers. These publications called for 'thick descriptions' that acknowledge all anthropological writings can only ever be interpretations *of* interpretations that strip the observer of their 'privileged voice'. This, in turn, led to the destabilizing of a scientific style of writing and created spaces for methods and genres of writing influenced by the humanities (Denzin & Lincoln, 2008) and are adopted here in the analysis.

In turning to narrative, in essence, from numbers to words, this research has been able to avoid the sterility of numbers and promote reliability through (a); greater access to the researcher's assumptions, as alluded to in the reflexivity statement and (b); greater access to the identity positions adopted by the participants, as the words they used and their influences on their self-construals were analysed and reported within the context of a life story reliant on those words as vehicles of meaning construction.

C) _____ **Studying the world: From the general to the particular**

Narrative inquirers embrace the power of the particular for understanding experience and using findings from research to inform themselves in specific places at specific times (Pinnegar & Daynes, 2007, p. 24).

Belief in the general "grand narrative" motivated researchers to conduct individual studies that could provide a piece of knowledge to the grand jig-saw puzzle of universal knowledge. This then, allowed social scientists to predict and control human life (Pinnegar & Haynes, 2007, p. 22). Such an idea can only exist within a belief system that proposes atemporality, decontextualization and a known, static self. Although the realist position has been challenged greatly (Kuhn, 1970, Haraway, 1991, Fine, 1994), its influence still remains in

lived experience and research practice through a view where, “our common sense intuition tells us that the world exists independently of our lives and socio-cultural practices, including the practices of research” (Scott & Usher, 1999, p.13). Political events in the twentieth century promoted such ideas that fed into the general law. Geertz (1983) began to question the reliability of the general law when the complexity of the relationship between law and fact was realized; with fact contributing to law and law, in turn, sometimes creating fact (Pinnegar & Daynes, 2007, p. 22).

With the general becoming unreliable, focus turned for early narrative inquirers (Geertz, 1983, White & Epston, 1990, Clandinin & Connelly, 1994) towards the individual, the particular. So, instead of methods that employed hypotheses to be tested as being true or false against the phenomena being studied (replete with set procedures and rule-following) (Spencer et al, 2003), narrative methods developed that let the integrity and gestalt of the life narrative remain intact (Clandinin, 2007). Methods of data gathering moved from surveys of statistically significant samples to include life interviews of individuals such as is adopted in this present study. In choosing only two participants, this study is very much focused on the particular as it is reported reflectively by two particular participants, in a particular light, at a specific location and at a particular point in time. In this study, the notion of a *reliable* representation for a greater population was discarded and, instead, an *honest* representation of the complexities of the participants’ transitions was attempted.

D) _____ The extent to which knowledge can be certain: Blurring knowing

A turn towards acceptance of multiple ways of knowing the world is a turn towards establishing findings through authenticity, resonance, or trustworthiness (Clandinin & Connelly, 2000; Denzin & Lincoln, 1994 in Pinnegar & Daynes, 2007, p.25).

The narrative turn aligns itself with the critique of Kuhn (1970) who argued that knowledge derived from scientific discovery cannot be removed from the historical and cultural context in which it came and from which it is viewed. As a result, “we have to question the notion of ‘found’ worlds and accept that truth is positioned within human activities, the specific discursive practices of life” (Scott and Usher, 1999, p.21). Stanley Hauerwas (1995/2001a,

1980/2001b, 1981/2001c) speaks of this contextualization of data in terms of embodied traditions. First, that knowledge:

exists in the context of a narrative that gives it meaning, nuance, and application; secondly, that narrative is shared by members of a community who provide support to those who wish to live in accordance with the narrative (Pinnegar & Daynes, 2007, p. 27).

Narrative inquirers are therefore challenged to make explicit the wider discourses and power relations that are reflected in the data with which they are presented. They must reveal the way that data is moulded by, or challenging towards the assumed rules of the wider, social narratives and discourses. Included are the power relations of the interview moment and the 'imagined' audience of the interviewee. Although the participants' stories in this thesis are produced or performed in relation to the broader social narratives, they are unique to the time given and are idiosyncratic. They have been produced by agentive humans with unique experiences and unique interpretations of those experiences. Indeed, this destabilization of knowledge towards more 'blurred' knowledge is supported by Bateson (1994) who proclaims that, "ambiguity is the warp of life, not something to be eliminated" (in Clandinin & Connelly, 2000. p. 9). Therefore, taking a narrative view of the extent to which knowledge can be certain, has led this study to adopt a position where knowledge is viewed as not certain, but blurred. *Certainty* of knowledge is rejected and replaced with the alternative goal of *enrichment* of knowledge through sharing the experiences of two participants who are viewed as agentive, time-bound, socially constructed, and performing agents.

Section 3: From bricolage to bricks: Implementing a narrative methodology

This section provides the bricks and mortar of this research endeavour that has been built upon the explicit expositions of the previous sections. In particular the epistemological and ontological assumptions based on the bricolage of theories (Clandinin, 2007) and socio-historical 'turns' towards narrative that 'acknowledge the knowledge' of the participants and researchers alike. This next section will answer *how* the research questions were answered within the boundaries of these assumptions. How and why the two participants were chosen will be explained followed by a brief description of the locality of each participant. Then, a consideration of the ethical issues of this study will be addressed. After that, how the interviewing occurred using a narrative approach will be outlined. In regards to interviewing and analysis, pertinent narrative informed approaches to interviewing (Chase, 2008; Clandinin & Connelly, 2000; Atkinson, 2007; Riessman, 2008), followed by how the data was presented as influenced by biographic narrative interview methods (Wengraf, 2008) and then analysed using McAdam's thematic analysis (McAdams, 1996,2001) and Hermans' personal position repertoire (Hermans, 2001, 2004; Chase, 2008; Riessman, 2008) to establish coherency, performative intent, and identity investments will be addressed.

Academic and Ethical Approval

This project has been reviewed and approved by Massey University's Human Research Ethics Committee. The research procedures were reviewed by my supervisors, Associate Professor Jeannie Wright, who has ten years experience in supervising research, and Dr. Penny Haworth, who has twenty years experience of working in cross-cultural situations and ten years research experience.

According to Hermans (2004), it is common for narrative researchers “to examine in-depth, small samples of life stories collected from clearly defined, socio-demographic, and cultural groups.” Therefore, in this research, which clearly defines the socio-demographic of foreigners from English speaking countries who live in rural Japan, just two participants were chosen for this study. They were selected through personal contacts. Both participants were known to me through brief social encounters prior to the interviews. Given the nature of this inquiry, with its tenet of transparency of the inter-subjectivity of the interview encounter, prior knowledge of the participants was not considered to have ‘corrupted’ the data but rather to have aided it. Both participants were approached by me, one by phone, and the other after we had both finished judging an English speech contest together, and provided with information sheets (see appendix 1) and consent forms (see appendix 2). They were given time to read over these and consider before offering formal consent. These two participants were selected based on the following criteria:

- 1) Participants needed to be from any English-speaking country for ease of communication, but also for practical reasons. Restricting the participants to one country only would have been impractical given the scarcity of foreigners from English speaking countries in the area. As it turned out, both participants were Canadian.
- 2) Participants needed to have been able to speak the Japanese language well enough to build relationships with local people.
- 3) Participants needed to have lived in Japan for more than four years. This was to allow enough time to establish relationships, language skills and identity investments.

They both consented with enthusiasm for the project and signed the consent forms. Initially, the number of three participants was considered. But upon reviewing the data collected from the first two interviewed participants, it became apparent I had enough quality, rich data to meet the requirements for this thesis, based on its word limitations and timeframes. With the data from the two participants, it was possible to look in-depth both *within* and *across* their stories. And hence Jack and Jane (pseudonyms) based on the above criteria and their freely given cooperation were accorded centre stage in this research.

Description of local area – ‘rural Japan’

Participants had to be living in the same prefecture of Japan within which I resided. This, again, was for practical reasons to reduce costs and travelling times. Also, this location was decided upon because of the small size of the English speaking community and scarcity of English speaking services, thus enhancing chances of integration. This assumption led me to believe that foreigners would have been more likely to invest in building local relationships. For enhancing anonymity the prefecture and town and city in which Jack and Jane live are afforded pseudonyms also. However, a brief description of the locality to aid interpretation of their experiences is given.

The prefecture (herein referred to as Nagasaka prefecture), in which I and the two Canadians, Jack and Jane lived, had a population of just over two million people as at the end of 2007. The major industries were a mix of agriculture and industry. The foreign population was a mere 12, 844 (0.62% of the total population) with Chinese, Koreans and Philipinos making up around 10,000 of this figure. The remaining foreigners were from either England (346) or the ubiquitous ‘Other’ (1931). This area has some main population centres, in which Jack lived, and smaller communities, like the one in which Jane lived.

As both participants were married to Japanese nationals at the time of the interviews, some background into this phenomenon in this prefecture is needed. According to data from 2006, 5% of all marriages involved a foreign spouse (1 in 20 marriages). This is an increase of 3% from 1998. 90.3% of these marriages involved a Japanese husband and foreign bride. And 87.2% involved a spouse from the Philippines, China or Korea for that year. Without even working the figures it is easy to see that in Jack’s case, husbands from English speaking countries living in this prefecture are not common. Significantly less common, as in Jane’s case, are brides from English speaking countries marrying Japanese men.

Although the figures suggest an isolated international community, this is split demographically. Due to the low number of resident foreigners from English speaking countries, their diasporas in a visible and formalised sense do not exist. However, the prefecture participated in the JET programme which injected over 150 foreigners from English speaking countries throughout the prefecture (Prefectural International Association).

These English teachers create a short-term, vibrant and youthful foreign community in the prefecture. Social networks for long term residents were ad hoc and, at the time of interviewing, were not formalised. People in this living situation relied upon personal social networks, the internet, local ‘foreigners bars’ and the local international affairs divisions for support and information.

Locality for Jack

Jack lived in a large city (henceforth ascribed the pseudonym Inaka City or just Inaka) within Nagasaka prefecture. Inaka’s total population was around 340 000 in November 2008 including 2065 foreigners (0.61%). It is a modern city with little historical influence and little international investment or tourism. Therefore, most foreigners from English speaking countries in this city were involved in offering English language education either in public schools or privately. Inaka has a large industrial area to the west and is nestled in the middle of a long, open plain between two mountain ranges. The city had, despite the long economic recession, fared well with the local government investing in the beautification of the city through parks and shopping centre upgrades. However, the city’s economy was not vibrant. It has two universities, one engineering-focused and the other a women’s only university. It is very much a blue-collar city with support from rural income.

Locality for Jane

Jane lived in a small, rural town (henceforth ascribed the pseudonym Kaze Town or just Kaze) that is dissected by the main north road. It had a population of 18,270 as at September, 2008 made up of 88 foreigners (0.48% of the total population). Of this small foreign population, only 8 registered residents were likely to be from an English speaking country at that time. Kaze Town relied heavily on agriculture and was typical of rural towns in Japan struggling after years in recession. There was little investment in town facilities and ‘mom and pop’ stores had been replaced by major franchised stores that had destroyed the heart of the town. The presence of local government and voluntary community activities such as the fire service or festival organising committees are strong sites of community interaction in such towns in rural Japan.

Ethical Considerations

This study follows the ethical guidelines, as enshrined in the research relationship both explicitly and implicitly, of informed consent, right to privacy, protection from harm and recognition of the power relations at play. These guidelines are considered here in relation to the researcher relationship, cross-cultural communication, and subsequent reporting.

Ethics of the relationship

After reading an information sheet (Appendix 1), the participants were asked to sign a consent form (Appendix 2). In this study, the participants' anonymity was protected first from each other (being that they live in relative proximity to each other and their identity may be inferred through their situations) and from the wider population. This was achieved through applying pseudonyms to personal and place names. Also, neither participant was informed of the other participant's identity. Information regarding the other participant's circumstances was given only occasionally and sparingly and without risk of identification. I did not coerce the participants into participating but rather was encouraged by their enthusiastic response to the invitation to contribute to this study. Even though their initial response was favourable, the participants were afforded the right to withdraw from the study at any time without explanation.

There is a tension noted in the ethical considerations relating to narrative research (Clandinin & Connelly, 2000, Josselson, R, 2007) between the explicit, legalised notions that underpin informed consent *a priori*, and the implicit, *emerging* relationship between the researcher and the researched. Therefore, in addition to the explicit protection of participants' rights a priori, as provided for through the information sheet and consent forms, the ethical protection of the emerging research relationship, as it evolved during the interviews, was promoted through implicit understandings related to the humanity of the research (Chase, 2008). In order to do justice to the research and the participants, I was ethically bound to build trust and rapport based on respect, compassion, and reflection on my own responses to them. These responses have been documented in the reflexivity statement (Chapter 2) found at the beginning of this report.

Narrative inquiry recognises the researcher's own journeying during the interview process acknowledging his or her pre-understandings and learning.

Pre-understandings, far from being closed prejudices or biases (as they are thought of in positivist epistemology), actually make one more open-minded because of in the process of interpretation and understanding they are put at risk, tested and modified through the encounter with what one is trying to understand (Scott and Usher, 1999, p.28).

As such my pre-understandings, as developed through my own experiences of trans-nationalism and acculturation processes have been made explicit in the reflexivity statement (Chapter 2). These pre-understandings were the seeds of curiosity, which coloured the encounters I had with the participants' own stories. It is this dynamism of our shared experience between researcher and researched that was exploited through conversation in the interviews. This reflexivity is "about 'finding out' how meanings, including the meanings given to and generated by research, are discursively constructed within the research process (Scott and Usher, 1999, p.19). To be more specific about how this occurred, Spencer et al (2003) provided these guidelines, which have been adopted in this report:

By far the most frequently discussed way of ensuring rigour and dealing with the issue of subjectivity in qualitative research, however, is through careful documentation of the research process, an account of the researcher's values and theoretical orientation, and an assessment of the researcher's role and impact (Ambert *et al*, 1995; Lincoln and Guba, 1985; Meyer, 2001; Merrick, 1999; Miles and Huberman, 1984; Sandelowski, 1986; Stiles, 1993) (p.76).

The first two points in this quote were addressed already in the first part of this methodology. An assessment of my impact on the interview encounter is given *implicitly* through making central to my analysis and conclusions the condition of inter-subjectivity from which the data arose and how this not only coloured the data, but was the soil in which it was produced. As such, in the analysis and discussion, my impact on the types of data collected (or missed), and subsequently analysed have been noted.

The research relationship went through stages of explanation of roles, rapport building, disclosure and final debriefing. In the explanation of roles, I reiterated the goal of the study and the aim of the interview sessions. Before interviewing commenced, I explained my position as a researcher and not as a counsellor. But not as someone who did not care should they become distressed. For solutions or healing of that distress I was ready to offer referral to a nearby counsellor, website or Tokyo Help Line and follow up on that referral with the participant, if need be. This was, however, not required during the interviews.

I reiterated the anonymity of participants, their places of work, friends and family, however I informed them that their abode and its local conditions provided for one of the parameters of this study and, therefore, background information of the area was given to the reader to make for more informed reading. As such, anonymity and confidentiality could not be fully guaranteed as participants may have been identified through inference regarding their locality.

During the debriefing the participants were asked, off record, how they thought the interviews went. They verified the first interviews transcript just prior to the second interview, thus aiding recall of topics and themes previously covered and then verified the second interviews' transcripts prior to analysis occurring. The relationship continues as the participants await the final summary of findings after this report has been submitted.

Ethics of Cross-cultural Communication

As two Canadians were interviewed by a New Zealander, the nuances of language and story telling communicated through the interviews needed to be handled with care. However, I found the greater gap originated not through cultural distance, but a generational one. Given a similarity in age between myself and Jane, we were able to identify more with each other because we were both seventies children. This was not so with Jack, whose stories of the 50's and 60's were historically based rather than experienced based for me. However, my knowledge of those times, through studies of the period, aided my empathy and subsequent questioning. The central tenet of the research was how the participants' reported their own cultural positions. In the analysis, any culturally related identity positions were linked to socio-cultural discourses surrounding that persons' culture.

Despite the different backgrounds, I had shared the same experiences for ten years, as a foreigner living in rural Japan. Given this, I was in a strong position to empathise with them and develop an understanding of the processes involved, resulting in enhanced rapport.

Ethics of the Report

The gap between engaging others where they are and representing them where they aren't, always immense but not much noticed, has suddenly become extremely visible. What once had seemed only technically difficult, getting "their" lives into "our" works, has turned, morally, politically, even epistemologically delicate. (Geertz, C., 1998, p. 130 -131).

In the narrative inquiry approach to research taken in this report, I have taken the participants' stories as presented to myself, *their* immediate audience, for the purposes of this report which is for *my own* audience. There is potential tension here as this question by Rogers (2007, *cited in* Riessman & Speedy, 2007) purports: "How is it possible to fully credit and respect the voices of participants in research while at the same time exerting interpretative authority over those voices" (p. 429)? In exerting interpretative authority, I have accepted the responsibility of excavating the meaning and intentions behind the stories, knowing that the written word in Western society holds more authority than the spoken word of the interviews (Josselson, 2008). This report was not only about the participants, (and their stories) but about their meaning-making and how these relate to the theoretical categories of multiple identities, dialogical selves and those within the maelstrom of articles in the field of cross-cultural transitions. My goal was therefore twofold and inherent with tension: To be true to their stories and to be true to answering the research question to the standards required by the academic community. The mechanisms I used to reduce this tension are reflexive practices on my interpretation of their stories and making this tension known to the participants within a cover letter with this report's summaries. It will state the likelihood that their selves, as represented in the summaries are time-bound, reduced and re-presented for the aims of the research and that these summaries are not meant to be full psychological evaluations of them, rather interpretations of their selves as reported to me, with the knowledge that all aspects of their lives could not be covered within the short interview timeframes.

Narrative Interviewing

Due to the nature of narrative inquiry, a specific interview schedule was not formulated. Narrative inquiry requires the eliciting of stories that “enter into the narrator’s experience and invite questions and hypotheses that might lead to further inquiry” (Etherington, K., 2004, p.76). Narrative inquiry is interested in the gestalt of the story (Hollway & Jefferson, 2001, p. 10 *cited in* Riessman, 2008). As such, open ended questioning that allowed for an uninterrupted narrative was chosen. When Czarniawska (1997) presented interviewees with structured questions to compare organizational practices, she was responded to, and consequently frustrated by, stories diverging from the point, “whereas now, I have learnt that this is the point” (p.28). Riessman (2008) supported this by relinquishing the “efficiency” of an interview format for “equality” that emerges when the format of an interview is shared, prompting “genuine discoveries”. In this study, the clients had the chance to formulate their own stories in ways that they felt were meaningful and with their own constructions. As opposed to researcher constructed questioning, that encourages ‘expected’ responses to the questions asked. The form of their stories as constructed by themselves, as much as their content or lack of certain details, provided rich information for analysis.

Each participant was interviewed twice. Riessman (2008) stated that, “it is preferable to have repeated conversations...especially when studying biographical experience” (p. 26). The first interview produced a rendering of their life stories, and the second investigated and expanded upon specific themes discovered from the life history that were relevant to this research. The interviews were to be within two weeks of each other, which they were for Jane, but for Jack the second occurred just over a month later due to him and his family taking a trip away over the Christmas/New Year break.

Interviews

The goal of the first interview was to gain a rendition of the participants’ life stories. They were semi-structured interviews. My role was to facilitate the telling of the participants’ life stories. I began by explaining the purpose of the study. I started with asking for basic data and then followed up with questions about their families, housing, schooling and the social circumstances in which they grew up. I steered the interviews along the lines of

chronological sequencing and encouraged links to wider social discourses. (*Which, now with wider reading, seems 'un-narrative-like' and I wonder about its effect on the quality of the data produced given this framework, although socially 'normal' perhaps for the participant it was likely to have disempowered them from constructing their stories in a way of thinking that empowered the participant to choose their own entranceways to their stories*). As the interviews progressed, I followed the participants' leads on themes that emerged and directly asked for stories that illustrated certain times or events in their lives. I took notes during the interviews to aid this. I also took along an interview schedule to assist in this first interview (see appendix 2) but this was not followed rigidly, rather I used the questions only as a back-up should the participants come to a stop in their life histories. Short breaks were taken during the interviews and, on occasion, interruptions occurred as children entered the room, were attended to, or returned from elsewhere unexpectedly.

The interviews occurred in places convenient to the participant. For Jack, this was in his English conversation classroom at his school which is attached to his living abode. Both interviews occurred on the weekend outside of his teaching hours. We sat, with a table between us facing each other. For Jane, the interviews occurred at her dining room table with her other children away, except for her baby who she attended to during the interview. We sat diagonally across from each other. Each interview was recorded using a digital recorder.

The participants took as long as they liked to tell their stories, with Jack's first interview lasting one hour forty minutes and Jane's about one hour twenty. Questions were responsive to the life story being told and sought to elicit more information about areas of the person's life, identity investments and self beliefs. At times during the interviews, we slipped into conversation due to shared experiences and this also led to some production of rich data. This style is supported by Riessman (2008) who suggested that:

research interviewing is a discursive accomplishment: the standardized protocol (where question order is invariant) gives way to conversation where interviewees can develop narrative accounts; speaker and listener/questioner render events and experiences meaningful – collaboratively (p. 23).

For the most part though, the participants took centre-stage. When identity related self-disclosures were made, I elicited stories that elaborated on the creation or support of them.

Prior to the second interview, I invited the participants to continue with the interviews. I offered them the opportunity to edit and verify the transcripts from the first interview. Second consent forms were signed. The focus was shifted from eliciting a life story, to how living in Japan had impacted on their sense of self, with anecdotes encouraged to expand on any self-appraisals. The second interviews took between about an hour and a quarter and an hour and a half. Lastly, I transcribed the data. The transcript was sent to the participants for editing. Upon return, the data was then ready for analysis

Immediately after both the first and second interviews occurred for both participants, reflexive statements were recorded in a research diary. In this, I reflected upon my own preparedness and story-worthiness (Chase, 2008, p. 71); my own reactions, thoughts and concerns as reflected upon after the interviews; physical condition of the interview space, interruptions and the condition of the interviewee; and, in addition, I noted spoken and visual clues given by the interviewees that suggested their meta-thinking, or self-criticism of their interview experience (Reissman, 2008).

Data Analysis

The initial analysis occurred between the first and second interview for each participant. After completion of the first interview, I transcribed it and 'immersed' myself in the data (Etherington, K., 2004), looking for identity positions based on the model provided by Herbert Hermans (2001). I ascribed vignettes to each of these identity positions, producing some with lengthy supporting material through to others with only one small supporting vignette or statement. From this process, I then designed questions for the second interview that pertained to invested positions. The aims of my questioning at this stage were to:

1. discover which vocal positions had been introduced, which had been pushed to the foreground and which have been suppressed as a result of living in Japan;

2. discover what affective outcomes there were, such as stress, or a feeling of frustration at 'not being myself'. Specifically, to identify what identity positions there were and to summarise their relationships with the environment.
3. discover how these positions were reflectively viewed over time.

After the second interview, I undertook the same task of creating identity positions from the text and ascribing vignettes and statements to them. From these vignettes a number of tasks and a process, including immersion in the data, were undertaken (see Appendix 3).

1) Life history summary

After completion of these tasks and process, a short life history summary that stated the facts of the participants' lives in chronological order was written. It is assumed that readers will come to this text curious to the lives lived and it is hoped that this brief summary can satisfy this initial curiosity and contextualize subsequent interpretations. This presentation method has been used extensively in studies using the Biographic Narrative Interviewing Method (Wengraf, 2008) with positive peer review.

2) Multivocal analysis

After identity positions were created and cross-referenced with vignettes, statements, or stories from the interviews, a personal position repertoire matrix for each participant was produced (Appendices 4 and 5). In this matrix, the relational nature of the participants' identity positions between 'I' and 'me' positions and with the external environment of Japan and myself as the researcher, were illustrated. Greatly summarised data from the two interviews at the conjunction of these positions was ascribed. Indices of affective outcomes were noted at these conjunctions as well as codes relating to dominance (+), subjugation (-) or balance (=).

3) Analysis and discussion

The analysis was split into three sections for each participant. The first section was the summary of their life story, and the second exposed major themes of coherency (McAdams, 1998). The third section addressed the personal position repertoire directly by reporting on

new identity positions, subjugated and dominating positions, and position collaborations. At the end of the analysis for each participant, a summary statement of their ways of achieving coherency, their personal position repertoire, and the influence of the inter-subjectivity on the performance of their narration, was written. Finally, the participants' stories were compared, to produce knowledge from the participants' recounted experiences in relation to each other. These discussions alluded to wider social discourses identified in the literature review or pertinent to their experiences, in order to contextualize the data and create arguments towards justification of self.

In considering coherency, the transcripts were analysed by considering which identity positions were created, dispelled or invoked to show how the participant had been agentic in describing their changes and creating a cohesive story as a synchronizing activity (Hermans, 2004) that served to sacralize (McAdams, 1991, p.142) and create a salient self in the face of uncertainties (Gudykunst & Hammer, 1988). The stories' coherency was also considered by ascribing thematic lines such as communion and agency (Bakan, 1966; Singer, 1997). In doing so, it was noted that: "A story may tell us one thing officially but point our attention to another undeclared truth without which it rings false" (Rosenwald and Ochberg 1992, p. 11). So, unspoken "truths" behind what was said and how this may have revealed more about their identity positions or thematic lines was also discussed. Finally, as McAdams (2006) promoted, value judgements on these created coherent selves based on the reported degree to which assimilation had successfully occurred, the reported degree that significant relationships were created and fulfilled, and the overall sense of well-being that the participant presented were also discussed.

In this methodology section, narrative has been shown to be both the *paradigm* under which this report operated and the *mechanism* of inquiry, based on the assumption that we live storied lives and these create the reality of our interpretations (Bruner, 1987, 1990, 1991; Frank, 1995; Spence, 1982). The method of extracting the sequence and consequence (Riessman & Speedy, 2008) of those stories was through using thematic lines (McAdams, 1996, 2001) and Hermans' personal position repertoire (Hermans, 2001, 2004; Chase, 2008; McNiff, 2007; Riessman, 2008) to establish performative intent, identity investments, and coherency. The epistemological and ontological assumptions of employing a narrative approach were considered through considering four 'turns'. These resulted in a research position that acknowledged the inter-subjectivity of the researcher and researched (Chase, 2008); where a preference for words over numbers was chosen to answer the 'how' question (Pinnegar & Davies, 2007); that focused on the particular (Clandinin, 2007); and that produced knowledge that was blurred (Bateson, 1994 *in* Clandinin & Connelly, 2004) and comfortable with uncertainty.

This position led to the sample of only two participants from a specific locality of Nagasaka prefecture, in rural Japan. In acknowledging the inter-subjectivity of the research encounter, ethical considerations were outlined that addressed the tensions in cross-cultural interviewing and representation of the participants in the design of the research and its subsequent reporting. Narrative interviewing, as it was applied in this research, was examined, noting the collaborative and exploratory nature of this approach (Riessman, 2008). Finally, how Hermans' (2001) personal position repertoire and McAdams (1998) thematic analysis were employed in this research was outlined, including the tasks and processes required for their application to the data.

_____ Jack Richardson:

Venn Diagrams and Closed Spaces

'Oh, I live in Japan.' It gives you a new, another, not a new identity, not a replacement, but another identity, another aspect to yourself, that is still interesting and unique, challenging and unresolved...

(Jack Richardson - Participant)

Life summary

Jack was born in 1950, in Northern Vancouver. His father was a Greyhound bus driver, who went on long trips, and by the time Jack was five, his father and mother had divorced due to his father's extra-marital affair. His mother remarried and he changed his name to Richardson (pseudonym) around the time he started elementary school. He enjoyed playing ice hockey throughout his youth. Later in his life, his father tried to contact him, but committed suicide before this could happen.

Growing up in the 1960's, Jack was in the midst of North America's social upheaval as teenagers took to liberalism and challenged post-war conservative values. While still playing ice hockey to the level of winning the provincial championships, Jack was deeply into the alternative scene of hippy culture, music, literature and poetry. He attended Simon Fraser University, a brand new, modern, radical university at that time, engrossing himself in literary studies.

After graduating from university, majoring in literature, Jack did a one year course in teaching, and then taught for a year in a tiny fishing village. He taught teenagers aged between seventeen and nineteen while he was only a mere twenty-two year old. Restless, he took off to see the world, travelling for two years from London, through Europe and the Middle East through to Thailand, then a year's work in Australia, before his first visit to Japan in 1974/75 for two to four months.

Returning to Vancouver, Jack had five 'lost years', from '75 to '80. They were very transient years, moving around from one job to another, and from one relationship into another with little conviction or direction. Then, in 1980, he got into salmon fishing and did that for the next ten years. During those years, Jack rediscovered literature and became involved and strongly reconnected with the local literary scene, returning to writing and small time publishing. He created a niche for himself. Jack also had a long-term relationship during this time with a French-Canadian photographer. But this ended.

So in 1990, having turned forty, the lure of returning to Japan became stronger. After having studied TESOL, Jack headed to Japan in 1992 for a job at a rural English conversation

school. A year later, he was relocated and promoted to head teacher, managing two schools in Inaka City, the city in which he now lives. Jack did this for seven or eight years. Then he returned to Canada, with his Japanese wife, and undertook study in multimedia and web design, which was meant to be a permanent move home. However, Jack's wife did not take well to living overseas and wished to return home to Inaka City, which they did.

Upon return, Jack and his wife started up their own English conversation school, where they still worked together at the time of the interview in 2008. Jack taught most of the lessons, working 10 to 12 hour days and part-time on Saturdays. The school was situated under his family apartment on a central, busy street where he helped raise his only son, Junichi, who was nine at the time of the interview.

Coherency: of fathers, fishing and failed dreams

In this section, I wish to argue that Jack's main agent of coherency was a strong narrative organizing theme based around *estrangement* and the compensation of this through agentiveness, *doing* something often at the expense of his ideals. This thematic line is akin to McAdams' (1990) conceptualization of the thematic line of agency. However, Jack's agency was a compensatory measure to reduce the estrangement he felt with his step-father. He later fulfilled this through the productivity of fishing. Following on from this, the theme of estrangement has been expanded upon further when, in Japan, Jack had increasing estrangement from his ideals and the Japanese community as his work situation and his investment in English literature served to preclude interactions with the wider Japanese community. In arguing for this interpretation, I do not mean to say that this narrative organiser excluded Jack from having experienced significant and perhaps frequent times of communion and connection, with times of extended and profound intimacy. This narrative theme is derived from the context in which it was performed in the interview moment, where he chose to narrate to me an estranged and agentive self, more so than a self-in-communion for reasons which I will explore later.

Inferred from Jack's story, his history of estrangement could be said to have begun with the betrayal of his father as a result of an extra-marital affair and his parents' subsequent divorce and his disappearance from Jack's life.

My father was a bus driver...the kind that goes on a Greyhound bus, the kind that goes on long trips so I wouldn't see him very often. My mother and father had divorced and ah...I think he had some kind of an affair and ah...years later he tried to find me and I tried to find him but it actually didn't work out...he passed away...he actually committed suicide...so but anyway, in those days, yeah, my mother worked and my father worked and I lived in a small basement suite in North Vancouver.

Due to the pre-narrative stage of early childhood, Jack's *storied* events were not reported. However, you can imagine the tension that existed in their small basement apartment as his mother and father faced his father's betrayal and the subsequent home environment leading to the dissolving of their marriage. According to McAdams & Janis (2004) young children are still collecting events and experiences that later become the raw ingredients of identity where "the dominant images and themes, therefore, may reflect influences from the earliest years of life" (p.164). The early tensions in his household, coupled by the hours when his mother and father were away working, could have created the early images and themes that led to Jack constructing his story around a dominant thematic line of estrangement in later life.

Countering the simplicity of assuming a one dimensional theme of estrangement, Jack reported that he had a very happy childhood, with a strong connection with his grandparents.

My grandmother lived one block away, so I had that security there. My grandmother and grandfather were always great for me.

He also narrated memories of a strict but kind step-father.

He had the biggest heart. He was very strict...but he was a good person and he would get up early, early in the morning and take me to hockey practice. Anything to do with sports he was right there. I remember we couldn't afford a bicycle, so he made me one out of used bicycle parts. Big banana bars and he painted it. I mean that was the kind of thing that he would do.

Leading onto teenage life, some communication problems with his step-father occurred:

Maybe because I was not his...we were not the same personality at all...at different points there were some real communication problems, perhaps because of the different personalities, but he was a good person.

These personal differences were intensified by the generational differences, thrown into sharper discord by the social upheavals of that time. Jack was a teenager around the beginning of the hippy era and its liberal social views that were backlashes to the tight, conservative social narratives of the post-war generation (Tompkins, 2001). Music, literature and drugs were potent sociological and ideological forces of change during this time and Jack took to these with the naive vigour and vision that was common then:

You have this particular experience. It was semi-religious. Learning something from it about the actual fabric of reality, not the imposed social constructs...now I'm speaking in platitudes now. In those days that was really true that was really what I thought...something was really transforming...something was changing.

This generational gap was highlighted by his relationship at that time with his mother's social code:

She would say things like what would the neighbours think or (laughs) she was very conscious of things that were right and wrong, but these weren't necessarily ultimately right or wrong, they were just social conventions. Of course growing up, later growing up in the 60's that sorta thing was an anathema to me.

Scattered throughout his story of estrangement there are also ones of connectedness. He was very connected in this time with his peers and maintained close friendships. He admired the kindness and practicality of his father and the family values of his mother. There was a strong connectedness with his grandparents. Also during his hippy years, there was another life focussed around playing and being successful at ice-hockey.

Gone Fishing

His sense of estrangement from a socially inhibiting culture was fuelled by his reading, idealizing and romanticising of social heroes of that time such as Jack Kerouac. Jack Richardson took on the mantle of the lone adventurer, lone explorer and free-spirit after only a year of teaching to fund his adventures. Two years of solo world travel to exotic places followed, everyday a new adventure, waking up and drinking coffee on exotic beaches, surviving typhoons, (the exciting events are told, not the *relationships*). And then onto Japan which held for Jack an allure of exoticism.

And then home to more estrangement. He returned and didn't know what to do and spends a period of five years drifting from one relationship to another, lacking in confidence, direction or purpose. Jack reports, reflectively, that he was estranged from himself and his 'ideal' life path, stating that he should have gone back and done an MA and continued on with writing. But the closing of one 'ideal' path does not necessitate haemorrhaging of one's life course or one's life spirit. Jack took the long, torn and interesting way of 'getting there' (to his idealised self) which I suspect was fertile fodder for his later writing. Jack 'fell into' fishing through an acquaintance followed by ten tough years as a salmon fisherman. This profession was again an estrangement from an ideal self based on literary and writing pursuits. Yet, it was an employment of convenience that produced two beneficial outcomes. The first was the actual physical work, and a sense of productivity enabling him to bring home the salmon as proof of his productivity to his father.

*...It was something that I **did**, you know, this is something I could do. It gave me confidence. And it was also strangely enough related to my father because he was so practical and he could do these things and I was a kinda hippy and I only just studied English. Finally there was something he could relate to. I would come home once a*

week and bring home Sokai Salmon once a week or so. And he thought that was pretty good. Not that he was impressed by it. But there was something there and he...I felt better about our relationship.

And, in the long off-season, with a good income to create new endeavours and lots of free time, he was able to develop a literary identity in the local community and contribute strongly to this through setting up his own publishing company and regular radio commentaries. During his telling of this period, Jack's narration reflected a connectedness to his community and work. But then age caught up and, I suspect, the end of a long and satisfying relationship with a French-Canadian photographer.

Failed dreams

With age, continuing the demanding work of salmon fishing became untenable and old, romanticised adventures and finding fulfilment in Japan resurfaced. So, packing up, leaving three partners holding the publishing firm he had founded, he set off for an English teaching job in rural Japan. Estrangement finds its way into his Japanese experience but not initially. Initially, his time was very enjoyable, but given a management job, it was the distance this role created for him that made him uncomfortable with it. He reported himself as someone who is egalitarian and wishing to reduce the estrangement with his workmates. This seemed something very important to him. His narrative focused only on this issue to do with management and the fact that he was able to have some flexibility in his job. He had seven enjoyable years in this job and then he decided to leave to pursue his passion by returning to Vancouver around the turn of the century to take up a multimedia course. He took his new Japanese wife with him. But unfortunately she didn't adjust to life back in Vancouver and wished to return.

I went back to Canada and back to university and studied multimedia and web design and so on and I was going to change my career but my wife really didn't want to. She wanted to come back home.

This is a crucial time for them and a crucial decision. It committed Jack to a location and career path that was underutilising his talents and intellectual acumen. Again, he was

estranged from his ideal location and position of employment. During the interview the question was begging to be asked in regards to his ideal situation and Jack responded enthusiastically to it:

Andy: What would be your ideal situation here?

Jack: Wow, that's a good question. They are all interesting, but that question I like. My ideal situation for living in Japan would be to live in a, on the outskirts of a large Japanese metropolis. You can think of one, I'm sure. In fairly, well I can fantasize here. In idyllic, natural surroundings but close to a big city. Working in an area of arts, translation, literature, publishing, doing some kind of work that was connected...not...was intercultural, cross-cultural...involved websites and online things: Different career, more in line with my minimal talents and maximal interests and a locale that was more stimulating and had more potential and something that was financially more rewarding. Not that money is so important to me, but only in the sense that my family and I would be able to go back and forth between continents much more frequently. Ain't gonna happen (laughs).

Jack is teaching English twelve hours a day, in virtually a sole charge capacity with assistance from his wife, with minimal movement and stimulation from his immediate environment. It has produced disappointment (in his own words 'resignation') with his current location and position. He took to raising his son, Junichi. He did not report how his sacrifice was of benefit to his wife. She remained almost invisible for most of the interview. Referred to, yes, but not considered or woven into a shared history (*but my questioning largely excluded her and it is possible Jack interpreted that the kind of data I wanted was to do with himself only...although her near absence from his life story is telling of his focusing on doing something to show himself rather than constructing himself as someone in relation to others*).

Down to business and spaces of exclusion

Since the turn of the century, Jack and his wife had been busy raising Junichi and setting up their business. It was this English school business, the pragmatic, real economies of life that had contributed in restricting his movement both socially and physically. He lived above the school, with an impressive book-lined den, coming off the back of the school - his space.

(I was invited into his space to borrow a poetry book...it was an impressive den at the back of the school, quite separate from the house. A single bed was in the corner. Books lined the walls and it was windowless except for the computer. It was a sanctuary and, I felt, a physical extension of his own self...surrounded by words, cut off from others, yet linked through the computer to the important things to him, writing, publishing, family, friends and home). His daily schedule saw him working from nine in the morning through till nine at night with some time off midday. He then ate, with the family or not, he did not say, but presumably not as it would be after 9.00. Then he secluded himself after reading to Junichi for twenty minutes, in his den where he reconnects with his interests of literature, internet, emailing, writing, re-connecting with his world. Saturday was also a work day in the morning. On Saturday afternoon, his wife was often out. On Sunday, they enjoyed a family day. Movement in society was limited outside of the apartment/English school, with occasional trips to the gym and ice-hockey practice for his son on weekends and the odd trip. He was estranged from Japan. Not working or collaborating with Japanese on a daily basis, except his wife, who he described as sometimes Westernised, he was limited in moving beyond a position of 'Other' or of Japanese moving beyond those positions also. He described his position as still being like a guest in the country...although he contradicts this position later by saying how, as a father of a mixed heritage child he is connected to the place, more invested in it.

Another life: Imagined audiences and imagined normalcy

Final sites of this narrative theme come from his perceived estrangement from the normal life script of staying local, building a career, buying a house, and raising a family. Jack has created an imagined audience (Kanno & Norton, 2003; Hunt, 2000) that he juxtaposes his own life against. A member of this audience is his friend back in Vancouver.

...one of my friends, I went to school with from grade one right through high school with, and he lived across the street from the elementary school we went to. And he became an artist and a magazine illustrator and he moved to Toronto and lived there for ten or fifteen years and had a house and he's for the last five, six, seven or eight years, he's moved back to North Vancouver and bought his mother's house and he's moved back into there. And he has moved back into the place he first grew up in. And he, for me, has that absolute sense of continuity. And whenever I visit him, we talk about people in the neighbourhood. "Oh, I saw so and so." He, for me, has that complete sense of being a North Vancouver kid who had a full life...

Having a "full life" is something that is socially acknowledged as something of value and that valuing, is, in itself, a social phenomenon. Valuing successful plotlines (and by inference, successful identities), as Jack points out in the above example to illustrate his own sense of discontinuity, can be judged according to how they correspond to the dominant cultural plotlines on offer (Polkinghorne, D.E., 2004). Jack has performed himself in this narration and in his major life decisions as a counter-cultural project: From his hippy days of youth, his literary-inspired romanticism leading to solo travels around the world, returning to an estrangement with his peers and their normalcy:

But they, they to iu (Japanese: meaning "as you'd say") those people who I had grown up with or friends who I had grown up with had jobs, gotten married and bought a house. Not necessarily but they were, had been plotting out the practical things you were supposed to do. And I found myself very lost.

This being lost continued until he became a fisherman and poet. But even then this was not the 'normal' thing to do for a literary figure. Marrying and raising a child in his late forties while living in Japan adding to the curiosity and exoticness to his life story:

...Having experienced something that is relatively common, but not the majority experience. So when you meet people back home you catch up on news and what you are doing, "Oh, I live in Japan." It gives you a new, another, not a new identity, not a replacement but another identity, another aspect to yourself, that is still interesting and unique, challenging, and unresolved...undecided, unknown and not part of the

jaded past but is still something that is developing and ongoing and still has some mystery and some challenge to it: So maybe an expanded sense of self that you wouldn't have had if you had lived in Canada or your home country.

Jack is not so much talking to me here but with his imagined audience of people back home. Spence (1982, *cited in* Anderson, T., 2004) from a psychodynamic perspective noted that:

Only rarely do we find a patient speaking to the analyst in a two person dialogue; rather the patient is speaking with multiple voices to a variety of loosely defined 'others' and the conditions of the conversation – who is speaking to whom and for what reason – become critical determinants of what is being said (p.320).

With his audience of friends back home, he imagines how he is received by them as having an extra identity that is interesting, unique, challenging and unresolved. He is sacralising himself to this audience through this statement. (*Which is somewhat warranted, in my three hours of interviewing with him, I found him to be highly interesting, reflective, articulate and intelligent*). What he has not done here, or elsewhere, is justify himself in relation to a Japanese audience, as this audience is not internalised in his imaginative life.

Such lack of an immediate, internalised Japanese audience and distance from his imagined home audience and ideal self has had the effect of estrangement from a past self. It has affective outcomes, a real emotionally significant missing and loneliness for his past identity and the people who were part of that. In moving to Japan, Jack created a disjuncture with his successful past self and invested identity that he had created through the literary community he was involved in, his apartment in the 'hip' part of town, and the productivity he achieved through his publishing firm and literary self. He spoke of his estrangement with his past self and I have poeticised it here for effect as is suggested by Chase (2008) to be a useful way to present data. With Jack also being a published poet, I felt this re-presentation of his dissonance with his past self, as taken directly from the transcribed data, could better convey the emotional intensity of his transition and subsequent grieving for his past (more salient) self. To remain true to the original text and enhance the emotive effect, the only adjustments done were to the formatting and changing the prefix from the non-committal 'you', which was Jack's tendency to use, to the more personal 'I'.

In an 'other' world

Cut off
from an identity
I said
I had a stronger identity and
sense of myself.
But part of that is
based on who I *was*
in another world

I spent energy and
I *did* something and
I *created* something and
I *became* something and
it became part of me and
it became something valuable to me.

Then I shifted
to a completely new environment
still
with that created self inside me.

But I cannot,
I cannot,
not through any fault of my own,
or through any fault of
the society I've moved into,
It's just a different environment
it's not possible to do that.
All those connections are severed and

nobody
understands what that was about,
(there is no reason they should)
so I started something else.
I became something else.

In *real* terms
I lost touch with it

In *real* terms
I lost touch
with friends and family

In *real* terms
Cut off from an identity
(now just a part of my history,
not a part of my living, daily life).

So in Japan, he had created a new self, a new identity focussed around his family and business, yet, like his book-lined, windowless private den, set off to the side and estranged from the wider community, and estranged from his past. He spoke of his estrangement from the Japanese in terms of his personal relationships:

I don't think that I have successful relationships in Japan, in terms of personal relationships. I think I have successful professional relationships, teaching relationships.

So, even after sixteen years living in Japan, he had, aside from his wife, yet to establish a close personal friendship with a Japanese person. Friendships with host nationals have been shown to provide positive psychological adjustment (Searle & Ward, 1990; Stone, Feinstein & Ward, 1990; Ward & Kennedy, 1993a; Furnham & Li, 1993 *cited in* Ward, Bochner, & Furnham, 2001) and are essential to learning new cultural skills (Ward, 1996 *cited in* Ward, Bochner, & Furnham, 2001; Taylor, 1994,). In the context of this present study, friendships create not only support for learning but also can be incorporated into the personal position repertoire as an imagined audience (Kanno & Norton, 2003) or position of critique – or as Hermans defines it as alterity. In this case, the Japanese voice in the psyche that provides a psychologically manifested voice of the host culture enabling the acculturating individual to gain an imaginative understanding for the host culture through that vocal position.

Jack, who lacked a variety of these significant voices, could only ascribe Japanese-ness through his relationship with his wife, which he chose not to expand upon. As a consequence, he describes his self positioning in regards to these:

So now I feel much more frustration at some certain aspects, what are loosely called the Japanese ways of thinking, which is just the cultural upbringing of people. Whereas before that was not something that...it was just a temporary thing and interesting to understand and, "Oh respect the difference." But now things that do not make sense in universal terms just do not make sense.

This statement shows how his investment in Japan has changed from initially being a temporary sojourner who could find things 'interesting' to becoming a resident who is forced to take a position as his life has become impacted by the Japanese ways of being. His response is to retreat into the notion of universality. We have to ask whose universal terms? *(In partial response to this question, Jack could have assumed my agreement in his notion that Japanese ways of thinking do not make sense in universal terms. As a fellow expatriate, Jack could have assumed my complicity in this stance as it was somewhat common for expatriates to criticise Japanese practices when they gathered over a beer or two. In fact, he was mistaken. Jack struck me as eloquent and well read, and the fact he took this ethnocentric stance surprised me. The interviews with Jack caused me to reflect on what makes a good transcultural person. It made me realise I had a presubscribed notion of what that may be, someone open to cultural learning and cross-cultural relationships. Jack's life did not measure up to my image, but nor could I sit back and judge it solely on those terms. His life had so much to speak about, as to how he had changed and the conditions under which his development of a transcultural self became unattainable).* Jack's myth of a universal truth here is really his own reality of a Canadian formed truth. This stance is supported by his imaging of the limitations of cross cultural transitions:

You don't, of course I'm talking about myself, if anyone doesn't fit in it's because the, all the things we were talking about growing up and all the cultural differences are just so distinctly separate you cannot fit in. You can occupy an area that overlaps. And so could they. But you cannot fit in.

From this statement we can see Jack has a cross-cultural belief system that is akin to a Venn diagram with set boundaries of identity chiselled out of the rock of the two original cultures, overlapping in areas of commonality, but yet two very distinct entities. There is neither a concept of being able to function in both societies nor of the potential of malleability of one culture with the other, through learning and risk taking. Jack justifies his position with his age.

I mean two kids growing up together could share some, having a mutual experience. But not coming in as an adult and fitting in with adults who have come from another culture.

This is in keeping with the research into this variable. Studies have shown that age affects acculturation: “In general, younger immigrants appear to be more malleable than older ones, and they tend to take on more readily host culture norms and values” (Marin et al, 1987; Mavreas et al., 1989 *cited in* Ward, Bochner, & Furnham, 2001 p. 107). Ward (2001) and her associates suggest that for older migrants, investment in their heritage culture may be too entrenched for adequate change, although extensive and more recent research is not quoted to support this. I would temper solely considering age as a factor in Jack’s case based on that he uses his estrangement with others in combination with a more significant position. This is his ‘I as literary’ position. He spoke of estranging himself in relation to Japanese people, not only because they are Japanese *per se* but also because there was no shared common interest:

Outside of here. It’s not because of their Japanese-ness or my Canadian-ness, or their foreigner-ness. Other than learning English, we don’t have anything in common in most cases. They don’t know, they don’t have my experience and I don’t have theirs naturally. And they don’t know who such and such a writer is and things like that. Miyazaki...yeah we can connect about Miyazaki. But I don’t mean I can’t be friends with someone if they haven’t read this book. I mean that’s not a concern of theirs, anything vaguely like that.

His world of interaction was limited to the space of his apartment above his school, his school and his den at the back with occasional excursions to the gym, daily trips to school, hockey practice, and family shopping or excursions. Within this limited interaction with ‘outside’ Japan, coupled with the dilemma of having to live in a largely agricultural and industrial part of Japan, he had not met any Japanese with a shared common interest in English literature. His sphere of interaction was small and he recognized that:

Some people go over to the coast and surf. They have things but I don't know anybody for whom that it [literary interests] is deeply important. I haven't formed those kind of relationships. Or maybe because I don't leave here. I don't see them outside....but as you get into the community with my son a little bit and ice hockey and different things. But those relationships are not based on a mutual affinity; they are based on social circumstances.

Jack was very much limited by his business and family commitments so that the 'luxury' of having time to make friends is missing. His adaptation may have had less to do with his age than his commitments to important aspects of his life such as his business, family and English literature. These interests created a very limited and insulated sphere of interaction, both physical and imagined.

The consequences of his limited opportunities of interaction were that he was not conversant with social signifiers or larger conceptual positions of the Japanese, even after having spent sixteen years in Japan.

I didn't speak the language. Still don't very well...I didn't understand particular, I thought I did because I had read about Japan and I tried to teach myself the language but it was not enough. Because you don't know how things are done, what is expected in the larger sense or even in the very minute sense of what is appropriate to say or not to say? Or even in the very larger sense of how people conceive of things.

Given Jack's limited exposure to close, reciprocating Japanese relationships and his lack of fluency in Japanese he still acts out of a position of uncertainty towards the Japanese. According to the literature, the reduction of uncertainty which aims to "predict and explain their own behaviour and that of others during interactions" (Gudykunst & Hammer, 1998, p. 112) is paramount. Language acquisition; knowledge of, and attitude towards, the host culture; cultural competence; and cultural similarity have been studied as cognitive areas relevant to the reduction of uncertainty and leading towards cross-cultural competence (Ward, Bochner, & Furnham, 2001). In looking at how he had reduced his uncertainty, his working habits and living conditions were employed as compensatory measures to reduce

uncertainty and optimize control over his environment. But this sole interpretation may be misleading. The economic and social factors of running a school and raising a child also demanded his fullest attention and almost exclusively, his waking hours. These economic factors, compounded by lack of social opportunities in his locality, had contributed to Jack being unable to create opportunities to establish relationships and incorporate alterity in his psyche.

'I have had my fun': Resignation to life in Inaka City

Being estranged from an ideal self, running a business with selfless investment, and living in a locality where he has not been able to find people who share the same interests, Jack's estrangements had led to feelings of resignation. He, however, rationalized it as follows:

Resignation is usually regarded as a negative term; a certain sense of a certain acceptance of things that can't be changed. It doesn't sound very positive but it is. It's a certain, it's a strength that you would not have had before. Maybe you could develop in some other kind of situation if you had to deal with, you know, a handicap or - . Again, it sounds very negative. I think difficult experiences can strengthen you. Not that we have undergone great hardships, but there are difficulties.

The decision to live in Inaka City, to raise their child close to his wife's family has caused him to feel resignation to his lot. He rationalised it earlier in his interview as a compensatory measure for his free roaming and adventurous past life in Canada. As a result of his decision to support his wife, he is pulled back in to Japanese culture rather than having pushed himself to be there, as was his initial reason for going to Japan. Those who are pushed into a culture are less likely to assimilate than those who migrated for 'pull' reasons (Wong-Rieger & Quintana, 1987 in Ward, Bochner, & Furnham, 2001). This, therefore, confirmed that he was less likely to integrate. Furthermore, his likelihood of creating successful, reciprocating relationships and a more satisfied self had been influenced by his wife's preference for proximity to immediate family resulting in his current location of Inaka City and Jack's estrangement from a more vibrant, larger city with more employment opportunities as his idealised situation describes it.

Summary: Life history schisms and the discontinuity of self

His estrangement is therefore from his idealised self, his current environment, the people who inhabit that, his literary connections and most importantly, his past self as alluded to in the poem; a self that had purpose and continuity, even when he was drifting.

Yes, and because up until then, there was absolute continuity. I mean even things that didn't seem related all played a part in creating a particular person. Yes, it is this question of continuity.

His self-as-project was discontinued. He was a literary figure, identifiable by his associations within a literary scene, a particular address in the hip part of town, a slot on a radio show, and a sense of purposefulness in being able to share his own writing and promote others through his publishing company. In Japan, none of this mattered or was immediately tangible. He was identity-less, unrecognised in his achievements and undervalued in his abilities. It was this incongruence and Jack missing his potential within that role, which saw him decide to return for further study in Canada, only to be pulled back to living in Japan due to his commitment to his wife and his child. Jack spoke of resignation, and reflects sadness as he dwells on the gaps between himself, his past and his ideal situation. There is grieving that needed to be done for this past self. This dissonance spoke to him and manifested itself in his ideals. Jack lived a much regimented life, engrossed by the realities of running an English language school that allowed for few hours of continuous concentration on his real passion of writing. He compensated by connecting through the internet. Yet it was not enough to provide for an identity lost and to offset his resignation to a life of minimal movement that underutilized his maximal talents.

Jack's Personal Position Repertoire²

Unfortunately it is not within the scope of this report to have expanded upon all the intersections in Jack's repertoire in Appendix 4. Instead, I have focused on those most pertinent to his cross-cultural transition. In examining his personal position repertoire, new positions that have been introduced were considered first, followed by positions that had moved from background to foreground. Lastly, an examination of significant combinations of positions was considered.

New Positions

From Jack's transition to Japan, some new vocal positions have been introduced. Significantly, internally 'I as a teacher', 'I as a gaijin (foreigner)' and, 'My past self' and externally 'Japan' have been introduced during this time. Of just as much significance is the lack of an internalised position of 'my Japanese-ness'.

He became an English teacher in Japan. He has a new position of 'I as a teacher' which in combination with his 'I as a gaijin' earns him honorific respect and forgiveness for errors.

But it was so nice to have a ...that kind of...I think you get almost kind of overawed. You get treated kinda special when you come here. You know you are a sensei (teacher). It's just, it's almost a formality but you feel like you are doctor so and so. It feels kinda nice. You can let it get to your ego perhaps...The students are all kinda shy. It's sweet but it has a certain, certain you know rewards. You feel like you're doing something, you're helping someone. Even if it's just teaching them English.

The special treatment is complicit with the image of teachers, who are accorded higher social status in Japan. In the case of English teachers and other white, foreign workers, Kelsky (2001) notes that in Japan there are neo-colonial sites of admiration for Western

² Before reading the following section, please refer to Appendix 4 for Jack's personal position repertoire. The matrix, designed by this author, is a two dimensional representation of a personal position repertoire as envisaged by Hermans (2001). Ideally, a three dimensional image would have been preferred to show the multitude of connections between two or more positions. Where significant groupings have occurred, these have been addressed in the following analysis.

ideals of assumed equality, liberation and gentlemanliness as demonstrated by the white, foreign male having a 'lady first' policy. Kelsky goes on to say that the reality can be somewhat different. Some rural Japanese organisations have used their foreigner employees as show ponies to provide evidence of internationalization. There is anecdotal evidence from many foreigners who have lived in Japan of this kind of favouritism (*I, myself, was chosen to be anchor for my town's relay team based not on form but on the colour of my skin*). However, reports (Kelsky, 2001; Willis, Murphy-Shigematsu, 2008) note that non-white foreigners are not treated as well as their white counterparts.

Jack notes that the Japanese appeared to be forgiving of his cultural mistakes:

a certain leeway to make those mistakes because you are a foreigner. I have made a faux pas many times, but that was o.k. because it was not expected. It was not the same as if a Japanese had made those mistakes because they should know better.

Jack, who despite living in Japan, operated his own business outside of Japanese business etiquette, is afforded the luxury of the forgiveness. (*As someone who has participated fully in a Japanese organisation, I know that any favouritism towards foreigners is short lived, or mere politeness, when aptitude is judged not on the whiteness of your skin but on your cultural competence in decision making, judgement, turn-taking, job performance and staff relations*). Yet, it is not this simple either. There is a double 'othering' occurring in this statement. On the first level, the Japanese are othering by not expecting foreigners to conform to social rules, despite an extended length of stay. On the second level, Jack is allowing this to happen, by excusing himself because he is a foreigner and because he is not invested in any significant relationships where feedback may be possible.

Jack's other new position, 'My past self', was created as a result of his transition and the resultant discontinuity he felt between his past and present self. It was a psychological jarring of continuity that came with the realization that his previous, hard-worked-for-self, was no longer supported in Japan by a sympathetic and reciprocating audience, by a community of like-minded people. He became 'something else', a new self that had become resigned to lost ideals in a location unable to support his interests or use his 'minimal talents and maximal interests' to good effect.

Some positions have been brought to the forefront while others have been subjugated. The dominating positions have collaborated with other existing or new positions to create strong clusters that affect the way the narrative is presented. Of significance, is Jack's dominant position of 'I as estranged'. This position developed out of estrangement from his father and compensatory decisions to fulfil assumed expectations of productivity, which led to his lack of focus on his ideals in his thirties. Later his position of 'I as estranged' combined with his 'I as idealistic' to forgo his created literary self in Canada and come to Japan in search of its exoticism. In coming to Japan, and introducing his 'I as a gaijin' position, he was able to fulfil another persona, which continued his project of walking outside the mainstream, as he was in his youth, and on the 'edges of society' located within the Vancouver literary scene. Yet, with the passing of time the 'I as an idealist/romantic' weakened as his new positions of 'I as a husband' (not narrated) and 'I as a father' came into being. Again, he is pulled into a justified world of productivity over creativity. Justifying himself to his internalised vocal position of 'my step-father' which demanded pragmatism: 'Bringing home the salmon' and *doing* something, something *worthwhile* within that position's terms but at odds with his position of an idealist and literary figure. He rationalizes his resignation with his position in Japan, and being pulled back by his commitment to his wife to live close to her family. He was living with resignation in a job and family situation that limited his social and physical movements yet was tempered by his connection with his 'past self' through the internet. The internet has been documented as an integral site for identity maintenance and construction in a globalised world (Tubella, I, 2004). For Jack, the internet was a means to maintain contact with friends and family, and access multimedia material such as internet radio, news items and videos from Canada, thus helping to maintain his connection to his prime locality, albeit remotely.

His vocal position of 'I as shy', was reportedly not seen as a positive trait in Canada but is subsequently reported as more salient and positively viewed in Japan especially when expressed with his 'softly spoken' manner. It is subjugated when he takes on the role of a teacher, with positive outcomes.

I am not an extrovert here, I am the same person I always was, more of an introvert. But in the classroom I must be an extrovert. I must be slightly entertaining, I must be attentive and have a sense of humour and I must be prepared. And those things have given me a sense of confidence and a sense of self and I have been able to build a relationship.

His position of 'I as a Canadian' becomes more strongly acknowledged. This is akin to Berry's (Berry, 1980, 1985, 1990, 1997) approach of separation to trans-cultural adaptation. In separation, the sojourner judges exclusively from the point of view of their culture. For Jack, who applies 'universal' truths (those common sense ones from his primary enculturation in Canada) this scenario of separation seems to be the best fit. Yet its causes can be shown clearly through his personal position repertoire. His strategy of separation to avoid uncertainty and increase assumed efficacy was brought about by a combination of vocal positions and social/economic influences.

_____ Jane Brady:
Keys to the Town

At one point... I had touched almost every life in this town in some small way –

(Jane Brady – Participant)

Life Summary

Jane was born in Winnipeg, Manitoba, Canada in 1970. Her mother was a housewife and her father was a civil engineer and, due to his job, they moved around a lot when she was young, to Texas, Edmonton, Alberta, and then back to Manitoba. Jane had made many friends in each location and kept in touch with many of them. She spent her childhood living in small, country towns, enjoying reading and making important, lifelong friendships with healthy, outdoorsy living. Jane was described as shy at school but this was contextual as she described herself as outgoing at home.

With all her moving around she learnt to sit back and assess a situation before letting her 'true' self show. Jane continued onto Junior High and High School with a love of literature, travel books and social studies. She was part of the in-crowd at school and said she was popular and friendly with everyone. Jane won awards and enjoyed learning French.

At university, Jane studied Education, German, Spanish and French, with French as her first love. However, she found herself in classes with students raised in dual immersion environments and she became discouraged. Jane went on to train as a teacher. When she finished university she knew she wanted to travel. Jane's boyfriend at the time was going to Russia but Jane wanted something safer. She saw a notice for the JET (The Japan Exchange and Teaching) Programme and signed up.

In 1991, at the young age of 21, Jane arrived in Kaze Town, Northern Japan, population 18,000. She taught as an assistant language teacher, team teaching with a native Japanese English teacher for three years in the local junior high school, supplemented with weekly visits to one of the elementary schools or the kindergarten. She described all the teachers as being friendly and noted that she was well looked after by the local government officials who contributed to her salary and were responsible for her welfare. After being in the town for only a couple of weeks she received prank phone calls from an anonymous Japanese person asking for sex. Jane was greatly disturbed by this and even now is hesitant to answer the phone. The town's response was admirable with regular police patrols by her apartment and concerned town officials. Despite the phone calls, and because of the local people's generosity, Jane renewed her contract twice to stay there for three years.

After three years, enjoying the life but with little job prospects and with her father having passed away back home, Jane decided to take up an offer for continued employment at the local community centre as an English instructor and international coordinator. During this time, she also met her husband, Satoshi, who worked at the local town office. The longer Jane stayed, her association with other foreigners changed, as she moved from a young adventurer with the other JET participants, to being in a committed relationship with a Japanese man, to becoming a mum. At the time of the interview, she had three children, a newly built home in the town and a rekindled private English school after taking time off to be a mum. Jane viewed herself as having integrated successfully to life in rural Japan with a close network of local friends, which had been established through mothers' groups. Jane's Japanese had become good enough to create and sustain successful relationships. She also reported greater understanding and appreciation for the ways in which members of rural communities in Japan relate and the social commitments they undertake. Furthermore, Jane reported that some of her values and the Japanese values were alike. She enjoys her busy, integrated life, with her husband, her three children and her newly built home set among the sparsely populated fields of rural Japan.

Coherency: of local fame and local friends

Jane's main life story theme was communion with others (Bakan, 1966; McAdams, 1990, 2001; McAdams, Hoffman, Mansfield, & Day, 1996) despite her frequent moving around as a child, or perhaps even because of it. Her story is peppered by the value she places on her ability to create and maintain relationships.

So, we did a lot of moving around as a family. But it was good because I still have friends to this day from each of the towns that I lived in and like I keep friends for a long time - be loyal to your friends.

This reported skill acts as one of her major sacralising (McAdams, 1991) agents with positive outcomes for her wellbeing and cross-cultural transition. One of Jane's identity construing tasks was to create a personal myth to make her life sacred, amongst the uncertainty of her cross-cultural transition, which was historically situated in a secular world that had lost major sacralising models such as religion and distinctive national identities. Her

own “life story gives integrity, unity, and purpose to the Me, functioning as a personal myth that is both believed and lived” (McAdams, 1991, p. 155). In this sense, she achieves her own stability and self-confidence through making conscious efforts to be liked and to maintain close, personal friendships

Local fame

Through the JET programme, being placed in local schools and coming under the care of local town officials at the Board of Education, and later at the community centre, Jane had constant interaction with members of the local community. She wasn't just an immigrant there, she was a guest of the town, employed with the specific purpose to teach English and foster internationalization as per the goals of the JET programme. Within her daily duties, she interacted both professionally and socially with a wide range of teachers and students from kindergarten through to Junior High School level, creating strong connections and high recognition within the local community over a number of years.

At one point, I don't know if I can say that now... (I had been here by about ten years at that time) I had touched almost every life in this town in some small way - by the fact that I was in that classroom, teaching that kid or having taught at the Junior High school. That kid is now ten years on and working at the community centre now. And they knew that. They would say, “Oh, Jane sensei (teacher)” If I went to the supermarket or if I went to the drycleaners they would say... “Oh, do you remember me?” And that was wonderful.

Jane had built up her own identity within Kaze Town, having had lived there for eighteen years. She reported that now, having moved from working in the public system to a private one where she is just beginning her own English School, her profile had decreased. Yet within Kaze Town her recognition and identity were incubated from her early adult years to one where she was accepted as a contributing member of the community.

Jane storied herself as being agentive in building and maintaining the relationships that built for her recognition and respect in her local town. She did this by trying to get people to like her.

I consciously try to maybe go the extra mile to make somebody feel good. I don't know if it has helped. I think it has. Cause I worked at the community centre - and the kindergartens. And I worked through that. And the teachers liked how I dealt with the kids and I know I have had some comments that I have worked with so many teachers but I never gossiped. I never did. I was always able to work with every single teacher that was there. And that was something that was said, you know 'Well done'. And I have been able to have my own school. And I have fifty students. So things are going o.k. there. And parents seem to be happy. I try to make people like me.

As someone who had to constantly shift from one town to another as a child, this is likely to be a skill she developed as she had to work hard to fit into a number of new social settings throughout her early schooling. She developed a heightened need to be accepted and to fit in and this was reinforced many times through her early transitions. She also reported the strategy of sitting back and observing first to achieve this.

I sit there and I watch until I am comfortable about what to do...And I think that is what moving taught me to do, especially when you are going into a new school. So I figured out what to do. And that's how I got the reputation of being shy and quiet. And that always surprised my mum. Because at home I was a loud-mouth and, "Quiet, kind and considerate?" Who are you talking about? That was how I was at school and that's how I adjusted. And I don't know, maybe it helped me coming to Japan too. All the moving around and being exposed to different things.

Being able to respond appropriately according to context, termed situational ethics, and maintaining harmony between people (McConnell, 2000) are highly valued skills in Japan. Jane had already developed these skills in Canada, through sitting back and

observing before expressing herself. This position was a good fit with Japan, enhancing Jane's self-efficacy in making her transition into Japan. A counter-story to this self-belief is when she talks about not fitting in and giving her opinion too quickly.

You know how you save your money for a month and go somewhere. I think it was a bonnenkai (year end party)... We'll go after work and wake up at seven o'clock and go into work the next morning. And I was like I don't wanna do that. Why would I wanna go to an onsen (hot spring bath) on a weekday, go away then wake up at 7 o'clock the next morning to be on the road to make it to work on time? I said my opinion and I should have just...I said well that's not good. I think I said I just don't want to do it. That's not what you do here. That was a mistake...because it's just so nice how people come around to a consensus which I think for the most part people are happy with. For the most part, you do end up with that. I should have just sat back and not said anything. And if you don't want to go then you come up with an excuse, "Oh, I have a stomach ache." You come up with a way that doesn't offend anyone. I wish I could do it better. I wish I could deal with things diplomatically like they do.

So, although she has some positions that relate well to Japan, there are others, like the need to give opinions, that don't. This stems from the Western need to reduce tension *within* (if I don't say this then I won't feel right) at the expense of the Japanese imagined tension *between* people (If I say this then they may not feel right) which is the essence in relations between Japanese that McConnell (2000) referred to as Japanese situational ethics. Jane reflected upon her experience and realized that she needed to learn how to perform herself correctly in social situations. She had taken on a learning approach that had helped her to create and maintain important relationships over her eighteen years in Japan.

Jane's Personal Position Repertoire³

Again, unfortunately it is not within the scope of this report to expand upon all the intersections in the above repertoire. Instead, I will focus on those pertinent to Jane's cross-cultural transition. I will begin by examining the new positions introduced, then look at those that have moved from background to foreground and vice versa, then complete this section by examining significant combinations of positions.

New Positions

For Jane, becoming a foreigner upon her arrival in Japan heightened her sense of self-awareness, of being an 'other'. Therefore, her first years of adjustment to the new culture were not without psychological implications and distress akin to Oberg's (1960) second stage of the culture shock cycle. Jane recalls that during these years she was 'wired':

I think it took me three or four years to get over jet-lag, to actually get into the rhythm of life here. I remember always feeling like I was just wired, wired, just wired. It was just jetlag and stuff, the cultural impact of the language and the food. Everything was so new and different. It took a lot to get over it. But it was good. So much fun.

Even though she recounts it as being good and fun, it still 'took a lot to get over it' meaning getting over the dissonance between past and new cultural expectations. It also meant dealing with the pressure of not knowing how to behave and being 'paranoid' about how others might view her actions in situations where social signifiers are changed and can only be guessed at. *(For me also, I connected with Jane's story telling of this time. I felt the same, 'wired' and distressed about being eager to please and sensitive to doing the wrong thing. We talked about this shared experience after this comment).*

³ Before reading the following section, please refer to Appendix 5 for Jane's personal position repertoire. The matrix, designed by this author, is a two dimensional representation of a personal position repertoire as envisaged by Hermans (2001). Ideally, a three dimensional image would be preferred to show the multitude of connections between two or more positions. Where significant groupings have occurred, these have been addressed in the following analysis.

Her new position of 'I as a teacher' initially gave her the 'keys to the town' through being an active, connected, contributing member of the community, creating a nurturing environment for her to gain her footing in a new society. Then, as a mother she gained the keys to essential social circles through post-natal groups that led to friendships and reciprocating support in child-rearing. Jane's experience is similar to finding made by Jones-Correa (1998) in the United States. He found that immigrant women are more likely to participate in community organizations with public or government affiliations than are immigrant men. Hence, they have more chances of broader interaction with the community. Jane's experience runs counter to the earlier study of Ghaffarian (1987 cited in Ward, Bochner, & Furnham, 2001 p. 107), that stated that there was reasonable evidence to suggest men assimilate better. The reasoning for this is that women are more likely to invest in their cultures of origin given their traditional roles of gatekeepers to pass down knowledge to the next generation. Unemployment and less movement outside of the family home may also add to the reasons for these findings (Ward, Bochner, & Furnham, 2001). Jane's experience is that through women's groups and through seeking connectedness, she has assimilated well. Yes, she is concerned with passing down her heritage to her children;

And I have always promised myself that if I was going to stay here in Japan that my Canadian culture will be part of my lifestyle and that of my kids.

But this is something she holds in a multivocal position, not exclusively over an assimilative one as this previous study would suggest.

Another new position is 'Japan' in the external position. But not Japan as a separate, objectified entity, the host nation, but Japan as Jane sees: 'My (changing) Japan'. Changing has been added because Jane doesn't view Japan as a static variable, but as a society that has changed greatly both in general terms and in terms of Japan's relationship with foreigners. Jane took on a learning model to acculturation and became invested in Japan's progress. Over eighteen years she had seen Japan change and move towards more tolerance of foreigners. In support of Japan, she makes a point about Canada, well known for its multiculturalism, and Japan, well known for its people's politeness:

I didn't realize, when I go home now I see it, I didn't realize how racial we were. And when the Japanese go back there and they are only the Japanese around, not that you get racial slurs or anything like that. Because I'm there and they know my family and we don't go to places like that. But they are not nice to them, some of the people. And some of my friends have gone to Vancouver. One of my friends went to Vancouver and she wanted a can of something and she said tin or something instead and, "Go back home to where you are from." is what the clerk said. Oh, that's not what I thought Canada was like, but there is still a lot of that. So that is why I think Japan is very good. Even though they make mistakes sometimes in how they deal with foreigners, but they are still very open-hearted and polite about it. And I don't see that in Canada and I am still a little bit disappointed in that. Instinctively they (the Japanese) know how to treat people better.

Her argument holds some ring of truth in that politeness and respect towards others are tenets that some members of 'multicultural' societies may lack. Being labelled as a multicultural society means there are a number of different cultures present within that society, unfortunately it does not automatically designate a multicultural worldview of understanding and respect (Metge & Kinloch, 1978).

Jane could see the Japanese moving towards more tolerance, not just in their day to day dealings, but in public arenas. One story she mentioned to support her claim was:

I remember at the end, the closing ceremony (of the 1998 Nagano Winter Olympics). I remember the announcer saying, "All the Japanese stand up and say goodbye! And all the foreigners stand up and say goodbye!" I was thinking at the time. How would we have done that in our own countries? Like we wouldn't differentiate like that. All you Japanese and all you other guys stand up. Like I think the American girl who I was with said, "All the Americans stand up! All our distinguished guests stand up!" We wouldn't have done that. At the time they didn't have the skills to deal with it. But I think they are going to. I think they are going to deal with it well. I have hope. They listen to everyone before they make decisions. I think the outlook is bright for the foreigners living here.

Jane's experience with her local people has given her many positive experiences which have helped to develop this positive view of a changing Japan. Let us hope that she is correct about her positive outlook for foreigners in Japan as the Japanese government deliberates whether or not to open its borders up to more and more foreign workers.

Position Movements and Collaborations

Jane started developing feelings of connectedness with the Japanese because of her shortness and Japanese-like positions such as 'I as considerate' that made her believe she was well suited for life in Japan.

I usually get this compliment; that I am more Japanese than the Japanese are. I don't know why. I know...first of all. I always have an issue with my height. Back home I was like 28 and 29 and I think I had a kid. And I'd go shopping. And in Canada if you are under the age of twelve then things are not taxable. So I'd go shopping with the baby under my arm. And the salesperson asked my mom if this is not taxable referring to me as if I was twelve or fourteen...It was physical. It was a big thing, always being called shorty. It really defined who I was. I was short, short and sweet and stuff. Here its o.k. I fit in. When I go home everyone is so tall. I do notice it when I go home. I feel like I shrink. Something happens when I go home. I notice it when I come back here. I get a little bit more confident when I get back here. Makes me more friendly and outgoing which maybe the Japanese pick up on...Whereas here I don't have any problems... I like being here. I like being not always being the short one. I feel kind of comfortable with that.

An important aspect of her ease of assimilation was her height. With the Japanese being shorter, she felt more familiarity and confidence around them resulting in lessened feelings of intimidation and self-consciousness. Her position of 'I as short' moved from a more dominant one in Canada to a lesser one or even non-existent one in Japan. What is important to note here is not that she does not actually shrink but that **in relation to** others she becomes close to the 'norm'. Identity can be formed around how one compares oneself to others. So, even though she was a foreigner, sensitised by her self-consciousness, it was

tempered by her shortness. From the beginning, her affinity and need for connection had a strong start.

Jane also felt connected to Japanese society through similar values as found within her position of 'I as considerate'. The Japanese, as said before, place high value on keeping harmony between people and this is often stylised and expressed in the high standards of service. Jane recounted her position in regards to this:

I want things to be done a certain way. Not a certain way. But if I want something to be done then let's do it right. You know when I go home now and into a store and something's supposed to be on sale but it isn't on sale. They always have trouble at the register. And there is always nit-picking. Here, the customer is always right. If there is a broken egg in your basket, here they would go and get you a new one. And I like that. That's something that I would do myself.

So Jane's position of 'I as considerate' found more harmony with Japanese etiquette than her home country of Canada, thus making the dissonance between her values and her experience less in Japan and serving to make her feel more at ease with the way things are done in Japan.

Despite changing over time to feel at ease in Japan, she reported that it was affected by location. Her 'I as self-conscious' and 'I as connected' positions dialogued to create a sense of dis-ease whenever she left the 'comfort' of her new town:

When I first came, I always felt safe in my town. I think because everyone knew me. I was the only foreigner, the only visible foreigner. There were lots of Asians and stuff. But I was the only visible foreigner. So, but, everyone knew me because I was getting P.R. from the school board and going to all the schools and stuff. And all the kids knew me. Because I was still only number 4 at that time as an ALT and still only the second female. So, out of my town I felt really exposed. I made sure. I never want people to be able to say something about me. I always made sure I was properly dressed. I looked nice, so I took pains to look nice, so I wouldn't be criticised for that...And after Satoshi came into the picture in what

93, 94. *I felt safe with him always going out. Cause he's like who cares what people think? When I am going out he says my antenna is always up. So what does that look mean? What is that look? So I am aware. This guy kinda has a yucky look on his face so I think he doesn't like foreigners so I am going to be extra nice. And Satoshi doesn't pick up on that. And Satoshi says I am a little bit paranoid with that. I anticipate what kinda reaction so it doesn't get bigger. And you try to smooth it out. O.k. this guy doesn't really know what to do with me so I will be extra polite or...*

This passage reveals a lot in regards to the relationships between her positions of 'I as connected' and 'I as self-conscious' and 'I as a woman'. First, her established connection with Kaze Town built on reciprocating positive relationships and her own recognition within the town led her to feel safe there, likely to be affirmed by the support she received from the local police and Board of Education when she received the prank phone calls asking for sex. As a foreigner, she carried a heightened awareness of herself as different and the need to compensate through imagined dialogues in her head with the imagined 'other' as she guessed them from reading the faces of that other. Of consequence is that 'other' is male in this story rather than gender neutral: 'a yucky look on **his** face' and 'This **guy** doesn't really know what to do with me...' This is indicative of the power imbalance Jane felt with some men and the need to compensate through 'being extra nice', acquiescing to the male rather than the other way round. This response is endemic to the male-dominated society in Japan where males hold more powerful positions, and take hierarchical, judgemental critical stances, especially of females (Mikanagi, 1998). Jane lives under this quagmire of inequality, hence her stories citing males as the disconcerting other. She took this on as a role of her assimilation, to make the extra effort to adapt to the major culture as she imagined it, based on her own self-consciousness, gendered positioning, and eagerness to please.

Her 'I as a foreigner' position became less salient, moving to a less prominent position in her make up the longer she stayed and committed to the place and in-step with her life changes. The prefecture where she lived attracted little immigration from Western countries. Aside from English teachers on the JET programme and in private English schools, the number of permanent westerners living there was very low. Therefore most foreigners were young,

single and transient and only staying for a year or two. So Jane's identifying with this group was mostly at the beginning of her time in Japan. She recalled a story where she felt the gap between her own stage in life and those of other English teachers:

I think like you said initially, I needed the foreigners. They were a good support group. There was a group of us that got together. And when they left there was a new bunch who came in and sorta became friends with them. And I started doing... I mean Satoshi was in the picture too and I started doing dating and stuff. And the new JETs came in and I was working at the community centre and I was part of that community.... I couldn't do the twenties things anymore. It was too stressful. I remember one night we were invited to go out. To go to the local foreigners' bar. And I picked everyone up. And then people got in. Look at the car seat and look at the baby mirror here. I mean these people were probably wearing the mini-skirts and got their hair done up and I was probably wearing the mummy clothes. I am in a different place now.

As she became a wife, a mother and an invested member of the community she changed in relationship with other transient foreigners. She grew out of wanting to party. Her dilemma, of course, given the scarcity of long term foreign English speaking residents, was that in outgrowing younger, transient foreigners, her foreign circle diminished. As Jane said, putting effort into relationships with the young JET participants became untenable:

And the JET's that are here now. They wanna go home after a year or whatever. And I am here forever. Maybe the first five or ten years. I made good friends. Then it got harder to say goodbye all those times. And it really does hurt when you have to say goodbye. It just got easier to keep the old friends. Like you understand, because you have been here for so long.

So Jane's position of 'I as a foreigner' in relation to other foreigners changed and increasingly became a point of difference when she created and sustained relationships with the local Japanese community, embedding their values. For Jane it was not only a change of roles but a change of thinking as her new position of 'I as Japanese' became stronger.

I look at it as, "Oh, don't be so immature." even though I used to do the same thing that they are doing. But I have the years on me now. I can empathise with the Japanese about why they do things certain ways. Not as patient as I would have been before. You deal with it. "You know. Go with the flow, why are you making such a big deal?" I think I was more on the foreigners' side fifteen years ago than I am now. Now I am leaning towards the Japanese way of thinking.

Her understanding of the Japanese way of thinking is illustrated by her 'fireman' story that is infused with an important lesson about local Japanese community values.

I know when I got married my husband had to be a volunteer fireman for his area. He had to. One person quit and the next person in line had to give ten years of service to the volunteer fire service. To me, being a volunteer fireman is something that you do voluntarily. So I had real issues with the phrasing of it. We were a newly married couple and my husband had to go off every month and do something I didn't understand at all. Like why would you have to go around in a fire-truck and tell people not to play with matches? To me that just doesn't make any sense. I couldn't understand that and um...and that was only eight years that he only had to do it due to various things. But when I joined, I was asked to join the woman's club which is kinda the equivalent of the fire department for the men. And what we have to do once a month is get together and our main responsibility is to keep the community centre clean in this area. And I could, after being with all these people and being able to share experiences with them, I understood that getting out of the house was one thing that was neat. To go with these people and to talk about everything and anything was really something that I looked forward to. And finally I could understand that well, gee, this was what my husband was looking forward to. He was out having fun with his friends, his schoolmates that he went to school with. And he doesn't get a chance to see them. And I felt really badly that I had probably made his ten years in the fire department miserable. But I really finally understood that this was a connection that went back about 100 years. His father did the same thing. His grandfather did the same thing.

Jane learnt through her fireman story how culturally different forms of commitments can serve similar human needs of socialization, community, and service. She was able to change her point of view once experiencing a similar commitment herself and realizing the benefits of it for both herself and her husband. Being involved in her community and experiencing the benefits of being in relationship with others through these community volunteer programmes had been beneficial to her acculturation as had active reflection on stories like the one above. She was willing to learn to maximise the relationships around her, instead of the other course, maximising her own agency through rationalising her actions. This is in line with the learning strategies suggested by Taylor (1994) where sojourners observe and become active participants in the host culture while maintaining a close confidant from that culture as a reference. In Jane's case this is likely to be her husband, Satoshi. Through building relationships and working together with the local community she has felt acceptance, membership and developed friendships. Her marriage, friendships and sites of participation led her to be able to understand the different ways of communicating that are required for her to be a successful member of the community. She has incorporated a 'I as Japanese' position, that is still a work in progress, but distinguishes her from other foreigners new to the area, not only through maturity and life experiences but also through empathic understanding of the local Japanese.

Discussion

Robert Coles (1989) asks, "How to encompass in our minds the complexity of some lived moments in life?" His answer: "You don't do that with theories. You don't do that with a system of ideas. You do it with a story."

Arthur P. Bochner (2000, p. 271)

Introduction

In Inaka City, Jack wakes up after another late night on the internet researching Canadian publications. He rises, has a shower, makes a coffee, and gets ready to take his only son to school. In Kaze Town, Jane, whose sleep had been broken through the night with her baby, rises and makes breakfast for her family. Her husband, Satoshi, comes in and they make light conversation. Meanwhile, Jack finishes his coffee, showers, and after dropping Junichi at the school gate, returns home, eats breakfast, and gets ready for the day's lessons. Jane has a busy day. Her mother-in-law walks in with some fresh veggies. She chats with other mothers at her first son's play group, goes shopping, bumping into a few friends, one of whom shows an interest in sending her daughter to Jane's new English school. Jack's day is busy also with back to back lessons. Finishing at nine, he has a late dinner, reads to Junichi, and returns to his den to continue reading a book by a new Canadian author. Jane has put all the kids to bed, after some yelling and hair-pulling that comes with over-tired kids. She, too, is tired and curling up on the sofa with her husband, she switches onto the CNN channel and catches up on news from home. She and Satoshi soon fall asleep there.

This imagined vignette offers a re-presentation of the participants' respective lives gleaned from their interviews and weaved together. Making imagined re-presentations in this way is supported by Speedy (2007). Representing the participants in this way, by showing them in the routines of their everyday lives, it is hoped that the daily routines they engage in can be shown to be salient upon the construction of their identities and indicative of their identity investments. Both are filled with people. In Jane's story, they are at the supermarket, her in-laws and play centre; In Jack's story, his son, his students and his connections with those on the internet and, in the fictional sense, the characters in the book he read. Jane's story is filled with dialogue and physical connection. Jack's possible dialogue with his students and wife is not scripted, reflecting his preferred performance of his own story, his estrangement from others in his self-narrative, whereas Jane's is filled with connections, reflecting her life script of communion. These thematic lines, as evoked in the above fictional vignette, have consequences on how the self is viewed as having changed in transition, behaving like surveyors marking out in advance the bends yet to be made in the road.

This discussion section aims to bring together the previous parts of this thesis to interpret the consequences of the thematic lines and the movements in the participants' identity positions on changes in Jack and Jane's identity. Jack and Jane's reported stories will first be compared with each other as they are considered in light of Herman's (2001) definition of acculturation. The ways they had changed will be discussed further through considering imagined and immediate audiences and the moral consequences of their identity positions as indicators of maturity in response to their transitions (McAdams, 2006). In the second part of this discussion, the validity of this research will be considered through a number of prescribed sites as proposed by Spencer et al (2003) in their report to the British Government regarding quality in qualitative research. While considering the validity of this research, the applicability and implications of the interpretations made in this discussion will also be considered within a range of possible sites, both real and imagined.

Section 1: Jack and Jane: A comparison

In this section, I wish to answer the question of how the two participants changed by, first, defining what it means to become acculturated, and then, comparing Jack and Jane's stories against this definition. Within this, I will use the insights garnered from the participants' personal position repertoires to extend the discussion further. This section relies upon the definition of cultural competence Herbert Hermans (2001, p. 363) provided within the conceptual framework of the personal position repertoire:

The competence to deal effectively with different cultural positions and to organise them into a well functioning repertoire requires: (a) knowledge of different cultures and their associated meaning units without superimposing one culture above other cultures on *a priori* grounds; (b) the ability to give cultural positions a voice so that the story of these positions can be heard and communicated with other voices in the self or with other voices in other people; (c) the construction of combinations of coalitions of positions that adequately respond to the demands of situations that imply a large degree of complexity or uncertainty; and (d) the foregrounding of a position or a number of positions as required by a particular context without losing contact with other positions that are not immediately prominent in that particular context.

In terms of (a), cultural knowledge, Jane through her relationships with the local people, was able to offer rich stories and experiences that placed the relationships she needed to feel accepted and connected above her need to be true to her primary enculturation, her Canadian self. Through social and community based interactions with locals, Jane changed through taking on a learning model based on reflection of her interactions. She moved away from establishing relationships with foreigners towards establishing relationships with locals as she became a wife and mother. A catalyst for his shift was the transient foreign community, which was unable to provide for her consistent, long-term friendships. After marrying Satoshi and becoming invested in her community through child-rearing and participation in local groups such as the Women's Group, she came to take on Japanese ways to enhance her efficiency and local relationships.

Jane took on a learning model, whereas Jack imagined a Venn diagram where he was distinct, overlapping, but distinct on an *a priori* basis. His judgements were therefore firmly from his Canadian position. His Venn diagram-like cross-cultural view precluded a learning model. Jack's environmental factors meant he had spent most of his working life with other foreigners, speaking English all day. He had few opportunities to interact with Japanese outside of the classroom, yet also did not pursue these due to a lack of mutual affinity towards the same literature. Economic and marital factors were also contributing to this, yet his priorities that created those conditions were consistent with his 'I as estranged' position leading to his accepted state of resignation.

In relation to (b), giving voice to cultural positions, both Jane and Jack did this with their position of shyness. Jane, however, incorporated a Japanese self, that collaborated with her sense of self as a 'keener' and her 'considerate self' and was supported by her short stature. She critiqued Canada and Japan from this collaboration. Jack and Jane also gained self-efficacy through their 'I as teacher' roles, enjoying the value the Japanese placed on their roles as teachers. Jack interpreted the benefits of this position more in agentive terms, whereas Jane interpreted her benefits in terms of communion with and recognition by her town. Jane had successfully incorporated a position of 'My (changing) Japan,' whereas Jack still had that position outside of himself due to his lack of successful, intimate cross-cultural relationships and his distancing of himself from the learning model of assimilation.

For (c), they both constructed collaborations of positions that reduced uncertainty and responded to the complexity of the situation. For Jane that was her 'I as connected/ considerate/ short/ teacher' and later 'I as a mother' positions. Through these positions she was able to align and highlight her physicality, values and roles in line with Japanese physicality and values. Jane's over-arching storyline was concentrated around her communion and her strong need to feel connected and to please. This narrative cohesion was born out of anecdotes speaking of her frequent moving around as a child and her need to please in order to feel welcome and secure in forming her new relationships. Staying connected with those friends was another strong motivator, to retain some sense of stability and attachment despite her frequent upheavals. In Japan, she was fortunate to be placed in a small town where she was well known and cared for. She was nurtured by the support networks commissioned by the JET programme, placing the responsibility for her welfare with the local town office. Metaphorically, she was given the 'keys to the town' through this programme, with immersion in local schools and the local town office. Jane's desire for connectedness was met through the auspices of this programme and was revealed through her decision to extend her stay when her previous 'home' in Canada dissolved with the death of her father. It was cemented through her marriage to Satoshi. Jane was later able to critique Canada from her incorporated position of Japan in league with the aforementioned collaborated positions in her personal position repertoire, reporting Canadians to be lacking in consideration, service standards and politeness in comparison with the Japanese and to be more overbearing due to their larger physical size.

For Jack, he used his 'I as a foreigner/estranged/literary/Canadian' in combination to reduce his uncertainty and to validate his private enclave of his English language school, home and family within a limited social network. He reported he had no close friendships with Japanese and this is contrasted with his past self where he had created an identity based around literature and very much embedded in the local Vancouver community. His change in identity is one where there is an estrangement in real geographical and emotional terms from the language and community with whom he had created a satisfying self. His previous self, based in Canada, surrounded by literature and the literati, overshadowed his present location and led to him becoming resigned to his less than satisfying life. This collaboration prescribed the need to stay distant and maintain the illusion of a self that cannot change, and is unable to

invest in new, reciprocating friendships that would require changes in behaviour to maximise the relationship at hand.

With (d), the foregrounding of a position, for Jane she moved to the foreground 'I as loyal' and 'I as connected' motivated by a need to be liked, which sprang from her frequent moving as a child. Jane, through foregrounding these positions, created and maintained relationships, leading to an internalization of an (imperfect) position of Japanese-ness that created a transition from 'I as Canadian' towards 'I as Japanese'. In looking at positions that were enhanced, Jane's position of 'I as considerate' found, by degree, a more receptive audience in the Japanese who value this ideal more highly. Jane's story was one, where nurtured through the JET programme into creating familiarity with her local community (and wedding one of its favoured sons), she was able to embrace uncertainty and learn through reflection on her actions *vis et vis* the daily relationships she sustained and relied upon.

Jack moved to the foreground his 'I as estranged' position, weaving a life story around this theme. He presented a self, at the time of interview, as estranged from his ideals and that used agentive actions to compensate for that. Even though he was estranged from his ideal literary self, he could rationalise this through presenting his role as an English teacher as doing something worthwhile, along with the practicality of providing for his family. Like Jane's 'I as considerate' position, Jack's position of 'I as shy' became enhanced through contact with a society that values someone who doesn't 'rock the boat' by offering their opinions or not reading the social situation well.

For both Jane and Jack, 'I as a foreigner' was significantly introduced and remained in the foreground. They became the 'other', which, for Jane, meant a desire to reconnect, leading to feeling during her initial three years of just being 'wired' until she could feel attached again. For Jack, his 'other-ness' fed into his continuing project of estrangement. He did not report feeling 'wired' or any huge adjustments during his first few years. This is most likely due to his more senior age and due to the fact that he was immersed within an English speaking enclave where he worked as an English teacher. Jack and Jane's other significant position was 'I as a teacher', giving them social status in Japan that may not have been afforded a factory worker.

For positions that receded, Jane's position of 'I as a shorty' receded as her height, albeit relatively, increased. Over the eighteen years, her position of 'I as a foreigner' decreased as a result of establishing friendships and relationships where she moved beyond the position of being judged for her foreign-ness only (or being representative of it) to being known for who she was. She noted however, that in leaving Kaze Town, she became more self conscious as she was not known and most likely to be judged at first on her foreignness in an area where foreigners are quite scarce.

For Jack, his position of 'I as an idealist/romantic' receded as his resignation to a regimented life of running a business and raising a family became more important to him. This occurred in combination with the realities of living in another culture where the romantic notions of Japan soon receded behind the reality of making a living on the edge of a busy thoroughfare.

In comparison to each other, Jack and Jane had taken two, almost distinct, approaches to acculturation. Jane's approach had lead towards acculturation and acceptance within her community and Jack's had led to isolation with the broader Japanese population. Jack and Jane had two quite different starting points, with Jack a longer past self that required grieving for and for Jane a past self that was no longer tenable. Their changes were also contextualised within investments in their dominant life themes.

Ex locus: Negotiating the immediate and the imagined

Riessman and Speedy (2007) spoke of the sequence and consequence of people's stories. This thesis has primarily focused on the *consequences* of Jack and Jane's stories on their identity construction. In this section, I wish to continue this discussion of consequence by considering the consequences of this research on the field of acculturation studies. First, through considering self as negotiating with immediate, complex situations, and then, by considering wider social discourses, as revealed through imagined audiences.

Bhatia and Ram (2001b) talked of the tasks of being other where "here and there, past and present, homeland and host-land, self and other are constantly being negotiated with each other" (p.15). What this research has been able to show, through the stories the participants shared, is the *degree* of this negotiation. For Jack, his past life, which he spent much energy

and time creating had more of an impact on his present than Jane's. Also this research has shown the sites of tension in the participants' lives where this negotiation was most felt. For Jack, it was between his present situation and his ideal self, which was firmly rooted in past successes and latent abilities. For Jane, her negotiation was between her journey of 'I as a foreigner' with her incumbent primary cultural traits and her immediate community.

Jack's issue of discontinuity with his past self is an aspect of acculturation that needs more attention. *(It really resonated with me during Jack's interview when we were talking about the discontinuity felt in our life stories when we shifted countries. It almost felt surreal, our past selves, like an unfinished project. Is there a process of grieving for the past self in transitional work that needs to be addressed?)* There was a point when Jack reflectively looked back and saw his past self as something incongruent with his present self. As a part of this, Jack had a discontinued 'imagined future' with his past self, as a project left unfinished. He tried to reconnect with the potentiality in that past self in his attempt to resettle back in Canada, only to be thwarted and resigning to a lesser life in Japan. For people making cross cultural transitions some active reflection on this past self, more specifically grieving for the discontinued 'imagined future' (Kanno & Norton, 2003) of this past self, would be of benefit, so that energy could be put into relationships at hand. In addition, research that addresses the question of the degree to which imagined futures of the past selves are fulfilled in the host cultures could be undertaken, with emphasis on the affective outcomes as a result of the jarring within the life story and the grieving for this past self, both lived and imagined.

In addition to an imagined future, Jack also had an 'imagined audience' (Kanno & Norton, 2003; Hunt, 2000). Jack had created an imagined audience that he juxtaposed his own life against. He imagined the 'normal' life which was represented by his childhood friend, who had moved back into the same neighbourhood they grew up in. Jack invoked this audience in his narrative to highlight and juxtapose his own unique, unfinished project in Japan, despite when he later said that he had had his fun and become resigned to the daily life of Japan. He negotiated himself between the interviewer, an audience who is very familiar with expatriate lives in Japan, and his imagined audience back in Canada, unto whom he was able to perform the exoticism of Japan.

Another site of imagination that impacted on the immediacy of the telling and reading of the narratives is the imagined futures of the participants after their stories had been told. "People have an imagined ending that may be realistic, ideal or feared and this in turn has an influence on the immediate telling as a retrospective illusion" (McAdams, 1991, p. 142). Therefore, Jack and Jane's performed stories contained a past that justified the present in league with a future that holds it, the story-teller and us in suspense as to how it may end. Much of the analysis has described how the past affected the present telling. In considering the imagined ending for Jack, he suggests resignation to his lot, a continuation of his business and family life, where he continues to sacrifice his ideals for his wife's well being which is attached to the location of Kaze City. Yet clues garnered from his silence around an untold story of his wife and him suggest an estrangement of sorts, a tension in that relationship that leads one to wonder, "Will he continue this sacrifice despite an almost complete blanket silencing of their relationship in his narrative, or will he return to Canada to take up a life closer to his ideal self?"

For Jane, her story ending seems very linear, where her present contentment and continuing her learning model sees her become more adept in the society she has invested her life in. The tension in her ending is whether she will bear witness to her changing Japan becoming more accepting of foreigners. Where terms such as a 'half' to describe a child of mixed heritage become defunct, and where she can venture out of her town without her 'radar up' because she or her children are deemed different.

This study has found the concepts of imagined futures, spaces and communities (Kanno & Norton, 2003; Willis, 2008) to be useful. There is fertile ground for cross-germination of the concepts of 'imagined communities/spaces' and Hermans' personal position repertoire (2001) as analytical tools for narrative studies. In this study, the integration of both concepts has only been touched on briefly, but the potential for further research based on these concepts would be useful to the field of acculturation studies. For example, these concepts in combination would be able to extract from narrative data which voice is speaking with which imagined other or community as exemplified in this report, leading to greater understanding of motivations and significant factors affecting acculturation and significant relationships, both immediate and imagined.

_____Of morality and maturity: The consequences of identity investments

McAdams (2006) cautioned readers about the consequences of sacralizing self by considering the morality of the story-making task. He alluded to how story tellers make moral judgements about how the world should be and how people should relate within it. Jack's claim that Japanese thinking did not make sense in universal terms was one such moral judgment that had clear foundations in how he saw the cultures of Japan and Canada as distinct and how he embodied his primary culture of Canada to the extent that becoming something else was untenable. *(His moral assumption here surprised and rattled me, because having invested so much into trying to understand the culture and have him say that ways that my own friends and work colleagues behave does not measure up to a pre-subscribed Canadian notion of how to be, was for me morally wrong. And given his intellect and depth of reflection, I was surprised at his position. How he arrived at believing in 'universal terms' I can see through his lack of relationships with Japanese, and to be honest it was something that I had said also before developing those relationships...only to realize who wants to put down a mate in such a way without making an effort to understand them?)* This research, in being able to extract the reported history and themes that led to the above moral judgement, highlights the imperativeness of reflecting on and confronting one's past and major life themes, so that impediments to building relationships with locals can be reduced. The moral high ground is not one which is built upon the assumption of universal truths but upon the richness and complexity of relationships. This would enable positions of critique that are considered from multiple positions including trans-cultural ones as Dimaggio & Semerari (2004) suggest:

To be able to adapt, an individual needs to have a wide range of models or narrative scenarios representing interactions of self in relation to others; the absence of these relationship narratives prevents an individual from adeptly moving about, exploring, and interacting with others.

Hence, in relation to their cross-cultural transitions, this study assumed that the two participants would benefit from a multiple dialogical view of selfhood, with a stock of voices and experienced selves, that could lead to greater 'open-mindedness'. This is defined here as the ability to critique fairly from a stock of vocal positions and to take on those

positions of alterity, the voices of an other, which are able to collaborate with or modify existing positions, consequently increasing the richness of the repertoire. Indeed, Jane demonstrated this process through her self-reflection and movement towards position of critique that were aligned with Japanese ways of being and seeing the world.

Yet, this is not a stable integration. Introduced cultural positions are in constant negotiation, ebbing in and out of influence with other positions that present degrees of cultural congruence and distance. Therefore, the integration of a new cultural position cannot lead one to assume the product of an acculturated self. Therefore, especially in the case of Jane, the disharmony she felt due to the conflict of her externalised or internalised voices with her Japanese position may have led not to an acculturated self but rather a mature one, able (for the most part) to deal with the disjuncture and disharmony of cross-cultural transitions:

Their lives show that identity choices are more complicated than just being assimilated or maintaining ethnicity. For them, difference is a form of disjuncture, interruption, and fracture as well as celebration. Maturity may be a willingness to face the contradictions and discontinuities in their lives and to live with the uncertainty and disjuncture of a changing world (Murphy-Shigematsu, S., 2008 p. 300).

It is this maturity of whole selves in complex local and globalized landscapes, which is Jack and Jane's ongoing project and on which this study has ultimately presented and judged the ways they had reported their changes in relation to their cross-cultural transitions. This position is an extension of an imagined ideal end-state, such as Berry and colleagues would suggest, of an integrated self. Their trans-cultural selves are caught and presented in negotiating dialogues with their gendered, agentic identifications, infiltrated with others' significant voices and historically situated in the globalising force of change.

This research project has shown the participants to have been agentic in counter-acting the uncertainties of transition in order to sacralize their selves. In the case of Jane, she delved into her friendships and community and remained loyal to her friends back home. For Jack, he made sacrifices for his wife and family and lived with the estrangement that he chose to present in his life. For Jane, there was a willingness to accept and evaluate critically, the

contradictions and disjuncture of her multiple lives as both a foreigner and local in rural Japan. For Jack, his response was to remain true to his impermeable upbringing and create for himself a private enclave in Japan. For Jane, her transition was easier, having arrived in Japan at the age of twenty-one, she had no lost adult identity to mourn over, no alternate imagined future from a past life, and immersion in a local community entrusted with her care. For Jack, his project of acculturation was a tougher one, having arrived at the age of forty with a successful identity back in Vancouver, which he was ready to return to, only to be pulled back into Japan through marriage and his desire to support his wife and family. Both faced the discontinuities and disjuncture in their lives, yet one story reflected happiness while the other reflected resignation.

Section 2: Four sites of validity:

What two Canadians, a Kiwi, and the Japanese countryside can tell us about cross-cultural transitions

This section aims to make explicit the validity of this report by exploring how two Canadian participants and a Kiwi researcher, within the setting of rural Japan, could create valid meanings beyond the confines of their experiences. Validity in narrative studies is strengthened through transparency of the researcher's motivations, the research relationship, data collection and approaches made in report writing (Chase, 2008; Denscombe, 2003; Josselson, 2007). More specifically, Spencer et al. (2003), in their work into qualitative research, identified eight sites of validity, which this report has aimed to fulfil. The eight sites are: *descriptive validity*, *procedural trustworthiness*, *reflexive validity*, *validity of interpretation*, incitement to discourse, and interpretive, dialectic and pragmatic validity. The last four sites have been dealt with in other sections of this report or in the case of incitement to discourse, dealt with in the section concerning validity of interpretation. Therefore, the former italicised sites only have been addressed in this section. In addition, this section has also considered the potential of the findings of this research through the categories of what is, what may be and what could be.

Descriptive validity: bonsai and narrative research

Like the art of bonsai in Japan, pruning and shaping a miniature tree to release its best form, descriptive validity refers to accurately capturing what was intended. In this report, the intention was to answer the question how two foreigners narrated changes in their identities as a result of living in rural Japan. This research's approach and findings were able to add to an under-researched area in the literature where changes are considered in the context of lives as a whole. This study's small sample of two participants, using a rich, multi-vocal approach that has been able to answer the question of changes in identity as retrospectively considered also adds to its niche value. This approach has enhanced its descriptive validity by focusing on changes that were within the context of the participants' reported life stories. To not consider changes in the participants' identity against their previous lives would be akin to trying to find out how absorbent a material is when dipped in ink without knowing whether it were chalk or

cheese we were dipping. Research methodologies like this one have been difficult to locate. One example is Yi & Shorter-Gooden's (1999) study that showed how, during therapeutic sessions, the ethnic identity of migrants needed to be linked within the meta-narrative as one part of a complex, multiple self.

By taking on a life story approach, this research was able to find out what the participants had changed from, and how their views of selfhood, as captured through the narrative themes of communion and agency (McAdams, 1996, 1997, 2001, 2006; McAdams, D. P., Hoffman, B. J., Mansfield, E. D., & Day, R., 1996; McAdams & Janis, 2004) impacted on their subsequent investments and identity positions in relation to Japan. In addition, in modifying and applying Hermans' (2001) personal position repertoire model, this research was able to describe significant positions that either receded, advanced or collaborated to create change in the individual over the course of their lives in Japan.

Procedural trustworthiness: interviews, transcribing and narrative

Procedural trustworthiness considers whether the procedures undertaken throughout this research were 'fit for purpose' in regards to answering the research question. In adopting a narrative approach, this research was able to find out the idiosyncratic reasons for change to have occurred or not to have occurred, and pinpoint the events, themes and decisions in Jack and Jane's life stories that created logical arguments for why these came about. The strength of the claims in this report is achieved through its small sample, enabling in-depth and detailed analysis of how identity had changed for Jack and Jane. In using two interviews, it was possible to focus in the second interview on key aspects uncovered in the first that were salient to this study, such as exploring in Jane's second interview her eagerness to be liked. In transcribing and reading the interview schedules numerous times, I was able to gain familiarity with the data. The categories of identity positions that Hermans' personal position repertoire (2001) created were easily applied to the data, showing up thematic patterns across the life stories, such as the history of Jack's 'I as estranged' position. Counter positions were also able to be considered using this approach, such as Jack's 'I as connected'. In using Hermans' personal position repertoire, the impact of the interviewer had been considered by including the interviewer in each participant's personal position repertoire. Given the

limitations of this report, a fuller exposition of each individual was not possible but the potential for this can be seen in Jack and Jane's Personal Position Repertoire matrices.

Reflexive validity: flexing the reflexive muscle

Reflexivity is the art of digging, the archaeology of self in project, in transition, in learning, in agreement, and in conflict and confusion. Enhancing reflexive validity means embracing the researcher's subjectivity in the research and the subsequent reporting and increasing its transparency. Etherington (2004) wrote of the need for transparency of, first, the author's impact on the process and outcomes and, secondly, the process of data collection. In regards to the former, Bochner (2001, p.1027) talked of the motivation for undertaking research:

The projects we undertake related to other people's lives are inextricably connected to the meanings and values we are working through in our own lives. In this sense, the therapeutic and the scholarly are mutually implicated in our projects...

This report has been enhanced through making my motivations and assumptions transparent, in my reflexivity statement. I have shown my reflexivity through providing my own impetus for this research as someone who became curious about others' experiences after reflecting on my own, and the journeying that has occurred as I dealt with my own notion of 'the perfect acculturator'. As I proceeded through this report, my assumption that relationships were essential to successful transitions was affirmed. I recognised these as being of importance in my own cross-cultural transition and as being akin to Jane's reported experiences. Upon reflection I could understand how a lack of opportunities for these impacted on Jack's acculturation. In regards to transparency of the data collection process, particular reference was made to how I, as a researcher and past cross-cultural sojourner, placed value on relationships and the notion of alterity in making cross-cultural transitions. This report has made explicit the impact of this position on interview questioning and subsequent analysis and created arguments for alterity to be considered as a principal requirement for successful cross-cultural transitions.

How I impacted on the participants' rendering of their stories can be viewed through reflection on my preparedness and gender. In regards to Jack and Jane's interviews, I would

have preferred to have adopted a more open style of questioning that did not promote the chronological rendering of life stories. Rich data was attained despite this, yet more opportunities for Jack and Jane to construct their own narratives may have provided me with more vignettes, although I believe the main thematic lines would have stayed unchanged. Also, a greater explanation of my expectations on what type of data I would like to get at the beginning of the interview would have assisted the participants in telling their stories more seamlessly. In regards to my gender, upon reviewing the transcripts, I noted I focused more on physical descriptions of places with Jack than Jane. The tone of the interviews was different also, with the interviews with Jane being more relaxed and chatty, whereas during the interviews with Jack, they felt more formal affecting the conversational tone in the latter.

Validity of interpretation: immediate and imaginative meanings

The intended enrichment of knowledge in this report is based on logical inference (Scott & Usher, 1999, p.84), where this report has shown through sound, logical argument how what is of consequence for the participants in their identity make-up *is, may be, or could be* of consequence to other people making cross-cultural transitions and those who research them. Schofield (1990, *cited in* Spencer et al., 2003) expands on these three types of generalizations:

- *what is*': Attempts to establish the typical, common or ordinary, seeking the best fit between what happens in the chosen case and in the wider society.
- *'what may be*': Generalizing from the leading edge in terms of what may happen in the future.
- *'what could be*': Locating situations which are seen as ideal, for example, cases of good practice, and envisaging possibilities rather than just mapping how things are at the moment (p.70).

This report, based on its logical inferences, will draw conclusions categorized into these generalizations based on what is, what may be, and what could be. In addition, in considering this report's limitations, what it is not will also be considered.

In the immediate realm of what is, this report has contributed to, informed, and achieved links, in a number of ways, between what the two participants experienced and wider society, as reviewed in chapter three in the research literature undertaken on that wider society and the resultant concepts. This section will outline these ways in which these links have been made in relation to geography, gender, acculturation strategies, age, and concepts such as cultural distance and uncertainty avoidance as well as considering the importance of relationships in transition and their impact on dialogical concepts of identity.

As shown in the literature review, the majority of the research of immigrants had largely focused on immigrants from Third World to First World countries. This present study is of two persons from the First World immigrating to another First World country where diasporas are present but nowhere near to the same extent as American or European based studies. Such populations have been understudied. For example, a narrative study of long-term expatriates was undertaken by Gardiner (2005) who studied how their identities changed when living in Dubai. The study is comparable but differs greatly in the site of inquiry as Dubai has one of the largest foreign populations in the world thus identity was forged within expatriate enclaves.

To situate the uniqueness of Jack and Jane's experience against the majority of other research, a comparison of the statistics of American immigrants to Jack and Jane's localized prefecture is offered. According to the United Nations World Population Policies (2005) the United States had the most immigrants in the world at 38, 355,000 or 20.56% of the total immigrants worldwide. This constituted 12.56% of the United States' total population compared to Japan with only 1.599% of its total population. The local prefecture under study here had a mere 0.62% of its total population being immigrants in December 2007 (source: Local Government Statistics). These statistics show that in this location under study, the affect of diaspora on the individuals' lives would have been significantly less than in the United States and their contact zones would be less diverse than those imagined by Hermans and Kempen (1998). Jack and Jane's experiences therefore are of use to researchers, practitioners, scholars, therapists and sojourners who are interested in sites of immigration where diasporas do not

exist, the transition is from one First World country to another, and where the foreign population is relatively low.

In relation to gender, both Jane and Jack had different problems to overcome. Jane's was a heightened awareness towards male scrutiny and her compensatory need to try to please them. Jack, as bread winner for the family, was required to work long hours, into the evenings and on Saturdays, thus reducing his opportunity for social interaction. Their respective thematic lines of communion and agency, as identified in a range of sites by McAdams and colleagues (McAdams, 1996, 1997, 2001, McAdams, D. P., Hoffman, B. J., Mansfield, E. D., & Day, R., 1996, McAdams & Janis, 2004) are reflective of gendered approaches to identity, with communion leading to the enhancement of relationships and thus alterity and the agency potentially leading to isolation, as was the case with Jack. Their gendered responses to their transitions have also been linked to other studies on gender and migration (Meares, 2007; Bonisch-Brednich, 2002; Burgelt, 2003, Jones-Correa, 1998). This study agrees with Burgelt (2003) who says stressors exist for both genders. It provides an exception for Bonisch-Brednich's study (2002) who stated that migration experiences are likely to be more difficult for women due to less social movement and potential isolation. Rather, in keeping with Jone-Correa's (1998) findings about woman and community participation, this study found that Jane was more involved in community activities than Jack, thus her gendered role as a woman and mother *assisted* her transition rather than hindered it.

The findings of Jane's story would tentatively support Berry and colleagues (Berry, 1980, 1985, 1990, 1997; Berry and Sam, 1997; Berry, Kim, Minde and Mok, 1987; Berry, Kim, Power, Young and Bujaki, 1989) notion of assimilation, where sojourners or migrants reject their own culture for the host culture. But only to the extent she saw these practices as beneficial. She was still eager, like Ghaffarian's (1987 *cited in* Ward, Bochner, & Furnham, 2001 p. 107) female study participants to instil her heritage upon her children and still took pride in being Canadian to the extent that she would not give up her nationality. Jack would tentatively fit into wider social discourses such Berry and colleagues' (Berry, 1980, 1985, 1990, 1997; Berry and Sam, 1997; Berry, Kim, Minde and Mok, 1987; Berry, Kim, Power, Young and Bujaki, 1989) notion of separation, where sojourners or migrants judge from the point of view of their own culture exclusively over the host culture.

This report's interpretation of the two participants' experiences has made problematic Berry and his colleagues assumptions. It has done this through ascribing to the concept of multiple selves negotiating with a culture in flux, over a universal theory of self that relies on stagnated, stable concepts of self and culture. Although Jane showed preferences for Japanese ways of being, such as being considerate and politeness, she still viewed it as necessary to instil her cultural heritage upon her children, thus placing value on her imagined national heritage as a significant asset to pass onto her children. Jack also agreed with this position. Nor does this report assume that Jane, if she were to return to Canada, would not reacclimatize to that life back home and create for herself a new identity. This is because this report assumes, and is supported by Jane's own positioning, that relationships come first for some people and they would change to enhance those relationships. End states are rejected and relational states are inferred as primary motivating forces.

In terms of age and adaptation, this study would support the findings of Ward (2001), Marin et al, (1987), and Mavreas et al. (1989 *cited in* Ward, Bochner, & Furnham, 2001) where "in general, younger immigrants appear to be more malleable than older ones, and they tend to take on more readily host culture norms and values" (p. 107). This was certainly the case for Jack whose previous investment in his past self was too much to lose in terms of adapting to his new home. For Jane, she was only twenty-one and felt less estrangement with a past self that was attached to a home that was no longer there through her father passing away and her mother taking to travelling. Her past was something created by her parents, a physical space and an imagined home. Her home, as she knew and felt it, was gone. Thus, making her decision to stay on, after her three year contract with JET had finished an attractive option. For her there was nothing back at home to go back to, whereas for Jack his past self was ever present. It coloured his current interpretations of his present. He was resigned to a life in Japan, rather than basking in it, because he continued his self as a literary project in a location that had little or no interest in such pursuits. He romanticised his past days in Vancouver as a publisher and literary commentator. This report has added to this literature by showing that age is a significant factor in its potential to create disharmony and resignation for a lost 'past self' and consequentially, the lost potentiality of that past self. For Jack, he had a lost 'imagined future self', a lost alternate life course as an imagined literary figure that could not be actualised at his location at the time of interviewing. This study has shown that in comparing an older and younger migrant, Jack, who had deeper investments both in real and

imagined terms of his pre-departure self, had much more negotiation with his past self to undertake than Jane. The negotiation with his lost past self with his present situation was shown to have impacted on the relationships at hand, hence Jack's entrenchment in his own culture and world view (cf. the Venn diagram) contributing to his isolation.

The concept of *cultural distance* (Babiker, Cox, & Miller, 1980), and its ensuing taxonomy (Rudmin, 2003), was also made problematic by this research. Their theory of cultural distance is reliant upon a static individual encountering a static culture. When the concept of a multiphonic identity meets a culture in flux, then aspects of the concept of cultural distance need to be shifted from the site of an individual as a whole to *within* that individual, as represented by specific vocal positions. For example, in this study both Jane's and Jack's position of 'I as shy' were culturally congruent to Japan but Jack's position of 'I as a literary figure (of the English tradition)' was culturally distant for the area in which he lived. Its proximity may have been reduced if he had been resident in Tokyo rather than the more rural Inaka City.

The concept of uncertainty avoidance (Gudykunst & Hammer, 1988) has been useful in this study when used as concept for identifying motivating factors for vocal positions to cluster and collaborate, as Jack's positions did to reduce the uncertainty of his situation. He did this through retreating into his own private enclave motivated by his 'I as literary figure' position and his 'I as estranged' positions coming into collaboration. This report contextualizes the notion of uncertainty avoidance within the life story as a whole and informs its motivations specifically through identifying the vocal positions that have brought that avoidance about and sustained its continuance.

Acculturation literature has shown social support to be beneficial, both psychologically (Adelman, 1988; Fontaine, 1986, *cited in* Ward, Bochner, & Furnham, 2001) and in health outcomes. Jane's reported experience certainly affirmed this, with her sense of success supporting Ward's, (1996, *cited in* Ward, Bochner, & Furnham, 2001) studies that have linked relationships with host nationals as being conducive to learning essential new cultural skills and as cultural references in the process of learning. Although Jane's relationship with the expatriate community changed over time due to her changing roles and the transient nature of that community. Jack's reported experience with the foreign community affirms these

enclaves as possible sites of a 'contagion effect' (Adelman, 1988, *cited in* Ward, Bochner, & Furnham, 2001) whereby struggling individuals may be insulated from the 'real world' of the host culture and are able to retreat into the sanctuary of the expatriate enclave. This was likely the case during his initial English school years.

Jack's situation, of having returned to Japan for his wife's happiness, supported the distinction made by Wong-Rieger & Quintana (1987) of whether a migrant is 'pushed' or 'pulled' into the host culture (*in* Ward, Bochner, & Furnham, 2001). This research supports this distinction as part of Jack's re-adjustment difficulties can be attributed to the motivational factor of being 'pulled' back into the culture.

In considering dialogical thinking, Kegan's (1982) model of identity development suggested a sixth and final stage where one has rather than is their institutions and their affiliations. To be successful in making a cross-cultural transition, I inferred from his developmental concepts that it would be necessary for a trans-cultural person to *have* their nationality rather than *be* that nationality. This concept fits well with Hermans' personal position repertoire where 'I am a Canadian' could shift to 'My Canadian-ness' leaving room for "My Japanese-ness" to take up a position in the repertoire. This research shows, with Jane, that this is possible when a learning model towards acculturation is adopted and key relationships, providing the 'voices' for this position, are engaged and maintained. Jack, who lacked such key relationships, could not incorporate the alterity of a Japanese position into his repertoire. He could only have them overlapping, as exemplified by his Venn diagram-like notion of trans-culturalism.

In reviewing the literature found in the International Journal for Dialogical Science and referred to directly by Herbert Hermans (2007), dialogical approaches, such as this present study, have focused on exploring the conceptual aspects of a dialogical psychology (Hermans, 2001; Stam, H.J. 2006; Markova, 2006), tested its viability (Aron et al., 2005) or reported its effectiveness (Clark, 2003) in therapeutic circumstances. Non-therapeutic studies such as this present one, where it has been *employed* as a conceptual framework for understanding cross-cultural transitions and then *applied* as an analytical tool, have not been found within this journal, although Hermans (2008) made a call for studies to be undertaken. What this study is able to contribute to this field is a useful application of its concepts outside of the field of psychotherapy and transposed into the field of narrative research. Hermans (2004,

2009) takes direct interest in cross-cultural transitions, and the application of his concepts as a analytical tool of sojourners' life stories will be of interest to scholars in this field.

In summary, within the immediate realm of what is, this research is able to offer insights for those interested in immigration studies within Japan and its understudied expatriate population. It also offers insights to acculturative theorists in regards to how their concepts are reflected in life stories in their gestalt. In addition, this report's methodology is likely to be of interest to dialogical scientists interested in innovative ways to apply their concepts to an area of high interest, with political implications on the construction of self, and the importance of cross-cultural relationships to create mature, complex, negotiated selves.

What it is not: Beyond the horizon of these stories

This research has limitations at a number of horizons. This research makes no claims to reliability in that its research design could be repeated and the same results achieved with another sample. Given its sample of two, this research is not able to be representative of any greater population, be that men or women, Canadians, immigrants in Japan, or for that matter immigrants in rural Japan.

The second horizon is the results are limited in that the data collected is temporal, specific to its location, and peculiar to the inter-subjectivity of the research moment. The interpretations are time bound, affected by the changing environment, just as Jane denotes her 'changing Japan'; and teleological, in that in studying the lives of individuals, the results are meaningful to them in their gestalt, yet specific interpretations garnered from them, such as gendered discourses, are able to be logically inferred and added to the knowledge of those disciplines.

The third horizon is that it is limited by its academic parameters regarding length of reporting, timeframes and budgetary constraints. It was undertaken part-time over three years, thus precluding longitudinal studies. Its word limit has necessitated decisions to be made on which vocal positions to focus on, creating an incomplete exposition of Jack and Jane's life stories, yet an honest attempt at conveying their significant vocal positions and subsequent interpretations. Budgetary constraints also prohibited a broader sample from other rural areas in Japan.

What may be: cross-disciplinary dialogue about dialogical thinking

What may be from this research urges the researcher to generalize ‘from the edge’ what may happen in the future. This research finds its edge by applying a unique conceptual collaboration of three pertinent theories to the narrative research of life stories in cross-cultural transitions. The three domains are the reflected self in the present, the developmental self, and the self as project. Dialogical thinking (Hermans & Kempen, 1995, 1998; Hermans, 2001, 2005, 2009) informs the reflective interpretation of the present. As does the work of Kanno and Norton (2003) on imagined communities and futures when repackaged as internalized vocal positions; Kegan’s (1982) subject/object inspired developmental stage theory lends itself well to conceptualising the definition of a trans-cultural person, someone *has* rather than *is* their nationalities. The third domain is the self-as-project is informed by the work on coherency of life stories by Dan McAdams (1991, 1996, 1997, 2001, 2006). His concept of common thematic story lines has been of much use to this present study, and has been replicated in many other studies (McAdams, 2001). With studies that consider changes within the life course for people in transition increasing, as evidenced by the use of narrative methods in studies commissioned by the European Union (refer CORDIS website), this research is able to offer a unique collaboration of theories applied to the lives of individuals in transition.

These three domains throw open a range of questions for further research. More research could be done at the intersection of imagined communities/futures/others and their internalization and subsequent dialogues within a personal position repertoire. Sites of research for this could occur in a number of settings, such as educational, cross-cultural, or in identity studies.

For researchers wanting to analyse individuals undergoing cross-cultural transitions, the application of Hermans’ Personal Position Repertoire (2001) as an analytical tool seems salient. Further studies could occur that test the proficiency of this tool against other methods, or evaluate its effectiveness when integrated with other structured narrative approaches such as the biographical narrative interview method.

Kegan's stage development theory (1982) could be tested using a dialogical approach to see if the key identity positions at different ages move from an I position to a my position, such as testing if teenagers, through narrative interviewing, move their friendship group from an 'I' position of belonging to a 'my' position; that is, from 'I am my friends', which dominates dialogical thought to 'my friends' dialoguing with other internalized positions. Of pertinence to this study would be in defining 'open-mindedness' in regards to cross-cultural positions, as the ability to have two or more national identities such as 'my Canadian-ness' and 'my Japanese-ness' and researching further how this can be achieved through building local relationships and promoting alterity.

The final domain of research is a continuation of the work done by McAdams and his colleagues into common thematic story lines such as communion and agency and investigating these in sites that have been under-researched such as First World expatriates living in First World countries and how gendered experiences of migration may tend to align with the thematic lines of communion for women and agency for men, and the consequences of these upon building relationships and alterity.

What could be: dialogical metaphor for meta-thinking

In excavating 'what could be' from this research involves locating situations which are seen as ideal and envisaging possibilities rather than just mapping how things are at the moment. Therefore in imagining the possibilities of this research, the application of Hermans' dialogical thinking and personal position repertoire in cross-cultural training could be of use for those about to embark to or already embedded in a host culture.

Hermans and Dimaggio (2007) warn there are shadow sides to globalization where sites of localization in the global community employ fear and politicizing of identities towards nationalistic ideals as counter measures to protect imagined borders in times of globalisation. They have discussed the increase in uncertainty caused by globalization and cross-cultural transitions. They state three reasons an individual could benefit from a dialogical approach to enable them to cope in a globalising world. The first is its benefit of having a multiplicity of voices, where a number of cultural mixes met at the site of the individual. An individual also could benefit from dialogical capacity, in order to negotiate the tensions of multiple voices.

Finally they could benefit from increasing alterity, where they are able to incorporate the view of others into their identity make up and responses, the process for which was covered in the literature review. Conceptualising and researching educational interventions that lead to the increasing of the number of voices, capacity, and permeability to include others' voices (alterity) in a persons' personal position repertoire could be of great benefit in promoting international understanding within a person and peaceful relations between both people and nations.

What could be for Japanese government policies as it faces the possibility of significant immigration, is the assumption that the end-state for the immigrant individual is not an acculturated self but rather a negotiated one. Policies, urban planning and education programmes that enhance interaction and relationship building between immigrants and Japanese could be considered. Japan could also have to undertake the immigration programme with the expectation of an acculturated immigrant populace and stable Japanese identity replaced with the more likely outcome of a negotiated national identity with sites of both congruence and distance amongst its populace that need local negotiations between the cultural positions.

Discussion Summary

This discussion answered how Jack and Jane changed in identity by considering their changes in vocal positions and contextualized those changes within their thematic storylines of estrangement and communion. In unpacking identity, this study has found useful the concepts of imagined futures, spaces and communities (Kanno & Norton, 2003; Willis, 2008) in combination with Hermans' personal position repertoire (2001). Considering the morality of the positions that Jack and Jane took, this research has made problematic acculturation as an end state and aligned itself with the notion of maturity in facing the ongoing and difficult task of negotiating vocal positions between the culture of enculturation and the host culture. Jane was shown to have had maturity through taking on a learning model, and Jack reported himself to be judging from his position of primary enculturation only. His task was made much more difficult through coming into Japan in an older age, giving up his ideals and through having little opportunities to interact with Japanese outside of the classroom and marriage.

Next, in considering the validity of this report, it has been shown to have used methods and procedures that were fit for purpose and able to present the participants' stories and interpretations within their own categories. This report increased its auditability through including my own reflexive voice, making explicit the seeds from which my curiosity grew, and later the negotiation I had to undertake when confronted with others' experiences. In considering what this present study is to other literature, despite the small sample size and because of its in-depth analysis, implications across a broad range of variables in the discipline of acculturation studies were made, as were challenges and modifications to assumptions and concepts within this field.

Considering what could or might be led to possible research questions in both cross-cultural transitions and in other areas using the three-speared approach of a dialogical self informed by imagined others (Kanno & Norton, 2004), supported by Kegan's (1982) developmental stage theory and McAdam's (McAdams, 1996, 1997, 2001, McAdams, D. P., Hoffman, B. J., Mansfield, E. D., & Day, R., 1996, McAdams & Janis, 2004) common life themes. Research questions testing the viability of these approaches were also considered.

The potential of Hermans' concept of the dialogical self and personal position repertoire being applied to cross-cultural education courses and interventions was proposed. The potential of these initiatives for countering localization and over-sacralizing oneself in the face of uncertainty caused by globalizing forces was mooted. Inherent in these initiatives is the promotion of peaceful global relations in an increasingly complex globalised society which calls for an increased complexity in the way we conceptualise ourselves (Hermans & Dimaggio (2008). This idea was extended to the immigration question that Japan now faces and must answer, if taken up, with a maturity of thought that recognises the necessity of interaction and the potential for a future negotiated multicultural national identity.

Chapter 8

Conclusion

Your descendants shall gather your fruits.

Virgil, *Eclogues*, no. 9, l. 50 (37 B.C.)

This research project began with situating the study in the political arena of Japan, where there is potential for opening the gates to foreigners through a more liberalised immigration policy. By asking how foreigners change in identity, this project aimed to enlighten interested readers in the experiences of foreigners, and uncover their underlying motivations and identity positions. These are the 'slow' stories that need to be told within the accelerating pace of globalisation and the changing ideas of national identity. Slow because they have been based on reflection on oneself through their own life histories. Slow because the lives of the participants were not just brushed over, but sat with in their entirety throughout analysis, mused over and reflected upon. Slow because the answers took time to arrive at and be interpreted within wider social discourses.

This research developed with this notion of slowness, choosing only two participants to enable the in-depth analysis and interpretations within the limitations of this report. Narrative inquiry was engaged as the overarching paradigm that spoke, in this report, of the power of stories, and guided this research in justifying the narrative researcher's maxim that it is seen as not only the method of inquiry but the mode of thinking about self and identity (Bruner 1997). This conceptualising of a narrative as identity construing, was foundational in adopting Hermans' concepts of a dialogical self (2001) in this study, especially as Hermans recognised its salience in interpreting cross-cultural transitions (Hermans & Dimaggio 2007). In applying Hermans' personal position repertoire as an analytical tool, this study was able to address the complexities of cross-cultural transitions with a robust metaphor for imagining identity. In using his work as an analytical tool, rather than a therapeutic tool, this research also answered his call to conduct research based on his concepts (Hermans, 2008). Using the personal position repertoire as a key metaphor other concepts such as Kegan's stage theory of development (1982) and Kanno and Nortons' imagined communities (2003) were able to be incorporated into this concept to add to its depth of analysis.

In addition to this study's unique application of theories to analysing and interpreting the data, the resultant interpretations, themselves, have offered rich insights into the cross-cultural experience. By identifying the thematic lines of coherency of estrangement and communion, this study was able to consider the impact of these on building local relationships and establish a connection with the degree of success in cultural transitions and, in broader terms, life satisfaction. Jack, in evoking a thematic line of estrangement, presented

a story where he was obliged to justify his self through his identity positions, mostly strongly through his literary one, and evoke an imagined audience back home in Canada to sacralize his life as unique and interesting in lieu of local audiences. Yet, he was also well aware of his own resignation to a location removed from fulfilling his potential. Jane, on the other hand, could justify herself as a work in progress and used local audiences to compare herself against. She took on a learning model and identified herself in relation, from positions of congruence, such as her height and eagerness to please, to positions of cultural distance, such as her position of giving her opinions too quickly and openly. Therefore, cross-cultural relationships, open-mindedness and alterity have been inferred from this study as core variables for successful transitions.

The notion of a negotiated self, that is multi-vocal and has aspects of self that have degrees of cultural congruency or distance has been inferred from this research also. Some vocal positions are strengthened while others are subjugated in the new host culture. This notion supports Hermans (2004) view of the individual and the host culture as negotiated at the contact zone. Immigrants and host nationals are encouraged to view themselves and their relationship with the hosting culture as more fluid and malleable than what inherent, unchangeable notions of nationhood have promoted. The concept of an ideal, hybrid self is given in globalised times where localised, contested, and politicised sites of identity, with resultant degrees of subjectivity, objectivity and abjectivity of the other (Hermans & DiMaggio, 2007) have occurred. It is hoped that governments facing immigration issues, such as Japan, are able to provide education, policies and urban planning projects that maximise the chances of cross-cultural friendships and, consequently, alterity of the other, leading to negotiated, hybrid selves.

Yet there is much to be done before such ideals could be realized. Willis and Murphy-Shigematsu (2008), in surmising the present climate in Japan towards the other, note that this is a 'cosmopolitan moment' (p. 315) that includes both positives and negatives. There are negative attitudes to foreigners' rights, as a public opinion poll taken by the Japanese government in 2000 showed (Yeong-Hae, Jung 2004, *cited in* Willis & Murphy-Shigematsu, 2008). These negatives are balanced against a change in attitude that has tended to follow generational demographics (Sasaki, M., 2004) with the younger

generations being more tolerant of foreigners and potential immigration issues. In sum, Schaeffer (2003, p.11 *cited in* Sasaki, M., 2004) argues that:

Globalization does not have uniform consequences or create a more “homogeneous” world. Instead, globalization has had diverse consequences that were not anticipated in advance. Moreover, the diverse consequences are not uniformly positive or negative but simultaneously good for some and bad for others (p. 84).

From this study, I would add to this comment even further, by saying that not only is globalisation good for some and bad for others but *within* those people good for some of their vocal positions and bad for others. In this study, globalisation has been shown to have had a good outcome for Jane’s positions of ‘I as a keener’, ‘I as considerate’ as these are virtues well endeared in Japan, yet her position of ‘I as Canadian’ has been subjugated, through criticisms of her fellow countrypersons based on her Japanese stance of critique. For Jack, his being pulled back into rural Japan has added to his ‘I as estranged’ position due to his location, leading to estrangement with local Japanese and his ideal situation, thus having a bad outcome. Yet it is a good outcome for his family, and for his ‘I as agentive’ position where he is able to do something, namely teaching English. Also, his wife is able to be closer to her family, a good outcome for her, after what must have been a difficult attempt at living in Canada.

This study has been able to critique and add to the richness of acculturating statements such as Schaeffer’s statement above. It has done this by situating itself in the mixed outcomes of cross-cultural participants. It has done this by seeing the complexity and diversity in acculturation projects that are reflective of what has happened both in the minds and lives of the people involved. Where these people engage fight or flight responses based on thematic lines of coherency that can lead to degrees of hybrid and connected identities or estranged and isolated ones.

Finally, under the immigration paradigm of a hybrid self, let’s imagine Jack and Jane continue their lives, their children grow up and Junichi, Jack’s only son, shifts into a new neighbourhood in Tokyo, learning each Thursday night how to do the samba with his Korean wife, while Saturdays are spent practicing playing ice hockey for the Tokyo team and

Sundays at the local Korean Church. As he and Jane's other off-spring are bilingual, they are sought after in international companies. They joke when they remember the time they were referred to as 'halfs'. Long gone is the time when difference was experienced as 'othering', where they were stared at in the supermarket. They have leading, trans-national identities, legacies of their parents and a globalised Japan, negotiating complex lives that involve a fusion of cross-cultural influences. In the telling of a life story, a tension is present that is the unresolved legacy of what is left behind (McAdams, 2001b). These legacies will become part of our children's stories, as we become figures that occupied spaces both communal and private, and at different times and in different degrees resigned to, and embracing of the challenges in life's transitions.

Negotiating the in-between: How two foreigners living in rural Japan narrate changes in their identities.

Andy Lankshear

Email: 90102303@uni.massey.ac.nz

MEd (Guidance Studies)

Research Information

Introduction

Hi, my name is Andy Lankshear. I am an English teacher at Koriyama Xaverio Gakuen. I am also currently studying part-time by correspondence towards my Masters in Education with a major in guidance studies through Massey University in New Zealand. In order to complete this I am required to conduct research and present a thesis. The research topic I have chosen has derived from my own experiences. As someone who has lived in Fukushima for nine years and noted changes in myself and my relationships to things Japanese and my own idea of national identity, I am curious as to how other foreigners who have lived here for a substantial period of time have changed.

Procedure

I will be carrying out in depth interviews with up to three English-speaking foreigners who have lived in Japan for four years or more. I have chosen the small number of three participants as I wish to gather in-depth information about how people change within the timeframes of this project. A larger sample would not be practical.

I will interview each participant twice each. I have sought participants through my personal contacts and through referrals by other foreigners living here in Fukushima.

Each interview will be recorded and will take up to two hours. Interviews will be conducted at a place convenient for you. The interviews will focus on your identity and how you see it as having developed through your life and, in particular your time in Japan. In the first interview, to put your life in Japan in context, I would be asking you questions about your experiences before coming to Japan. The second interview will focus more on how you have changed since coming to Japan and explore themes identified from the first interview. If you agree to be interviewed please return the attached Consent Form

After each interview I'll send you a copy of the transcript to edit and I will invite you to proceed with second interview. If during the interviews personal issues are raised and you decide counselling on these issues would be appropriate, then I would be happy to provide referral to a qualified counsellor. The whole process should take no more than eight hours of your time, including editing. When the study has been completed, I will provide you with a summary of my findings.

Confidentiality

Anonymity will be increased through the use of pseudonyms to protect your name and the names of those people and places you refer to in the interviews. Your locality will not be named but will, however, be described to assist the reader on understanding local conditions. Therefore, full anonymity cannot be guaranteed, should your identity be inferred through that description.

It is intended that findings from this study will be disseminated in research articles and conferences.

Participant rights

You are under no obligation to accept this invitation. Should you participate, you have the right to:

- decline to answer any particular question;
- ask for the audio recorder to be turned off at any time during the interview;
- withdraw from the study at any time;
- ask any questions about the study at any time during participation;
- provide information on the understanding that your name will not be used;
- be given access to a summary of the project findings when it is concluded.

Research Supervisors' contact details:

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Should you decide to participate in this study please return the consent form to the researcher in the attached envelope within ten days.

Ethics Committee Approval Statement

This project has been reviewed and approved by the Massey University Human Ethics Committee: Southern B, Application 07/56. If you have any concerns about the conduct of this research, please contact Dr Karl Pajo, Chair, Massey University Human Ethics Committee: Southern B, Telephone 04 801 5799 extn. 6929, Email: humanethicsouthb@massey.ac.nz

Negotiating the in-between: How two foreigners living in rural Japan narrate changes in their identities.

PARTICIPANT CONSENT FORM

This consent form will be held for a period of five (5) years

I have read the Information Sheet and have had the details of the study explained to me. My questions have been answered to my satisfaction, and I understand that I may ask further questions at any time.

(Please tick the appropriate box.)

I agree to the interview being digitally audio recorded.

Yes **No**

I agree to participate in this study under the conditions set out in the Information Sheet.

Yes **No**

Signature: **Date:**

Full name - printed:

Appendix 3: Analytical Tasks

1. Identified identity positions from the narrative.
2. Ascribed vignettes from the data to these identity positions, entitled 'pulled quotes'.
3. Created a personal position repertoire (PPR) (Hermans, 2001) for each participant.
4. Identified subjugated and dominant voices within this.
5. Considered which have moved (either backwards or forwards) in response to the change in environment.
6. Identified stories from the interviews that suggest emotional outcomes/stressors due to transitional changes.
7. Identified new voices that have been introduced into their PPR as a result of living in Japan and their subsequent effects.
8. Defined acculturation and assess identity positions contributions towards or against.
9. Identified significant relationships in participants' lives and assess identity positions contribution towards or against.
10. Assessed identity positions roles in performing and justifying self for self and for audience, both imagined and immediate.
11. Considered my own immediacy on the performed story.
12. Identified thematic lines that have created coherency and develop patterns from within the data to support these.

Immersion in the data

In order to achieve the above tasks, I immersed myself in the data. Transcribing these interviews helped in this process (Etherington, 2004). I read the interviews (or relevant aspects of them) at least five times each.

- *Reading one* explored the overall shape of the narrative and research relationship. I read to get a sense of the overall story.
- *Reading two* identified and listed the narrators' identity positions and ascribed vignettes and statements to them (pulled quotes).
- *Reading three* (of the 'pulled quotes') identified and gauged dominant/subjective relationships between identity positions.
- *Reading four* of the 'pulled quotes' noted identity positions and accounts that expressed movement towards or away from assimilation and associated affective accounts.
- *Reading five*, after taking some time away from the transcripts as a whole, I looked again at the gestalt of the narrative and considered how and why the participants performed their stories in this manner.

During this time, a research diary was kept recording personal responses and tensions towards the data, which was used as my resource for reflexive statements made during the analysis and discussion.

Appendix 4

Jack Richardson's Personal Position Repertoire

| | External Vocal Positions | | | | | | | Japanese students | Inaka City | Wife | Japan | Me As interviewer |
|------------------------------------|---|--|--|---|--|--|---|---|--|---|--|---|
| Internal Vocal Positions | I as shy | | | | | | | Performs self as outgoing in this role | May be a cause to not prioritize r/ship building time in current business | Don't know | Good fit Jack is soft spoken and this is an attribute in rural Japan | Described self as shy in comparison to other elementary students |
| I as a teacher | - outgoing in this role | I as a teacher | | | | | | Performs self as outgoing in this role | Only career path for him in this city | Joint business endeavour – provision | Respected position – honorific greeting | Shared role a common knowledge |
| I as a father | N/A | + Doing – providing for | I as a father | | | | | settled/ maturity compared to other younger teachers | Invested in local education sites and raising child here. | Joint responsibility Shared endeavour | Emotional and familial investment His son embodies this mix | |
| I as a literary person | + inner/reflexive self aids writing/ creativity | - reduces creativity. Gap btw. reality and ideal | Don't know | I as a literary person | | | | Plus and minus...not teaching at appropriate level for own skills. | Isolating | Bit Estranged by tight schedule and hobbies | Non-English differing literary heritage | Sacralizing story – promoted as predominant ability |
| I as a gaijin (foreigner) | + Fits in better than extroverted gaijin | + respected position | + greater investment in Japan through son | - difficult to find like-minded others | I as a gaijin (foreigner) | | | Access to international understanding / personal r/ship with gaijin | Othered – creates and buys into myth of monoculturalism | Don't know | Othering – supports estrangement | Common understanding. Assumed complicity |
| I as an idealist / romantic | N/A | - Reality of mundane vs. ideal of creative | + Able to give son 'double' identities | + close r/ship spurring world travels – exoticism | + exoticism of Japan diminished over time to being mundane | I as an idealist / romantic | | N/A | Reduced – life is as mundane here as anywhere. Unable to realize dreams here | Asquiesced to wife by giving up ideal career for her resulting in feelings of resignation | Initial exoticism of Japan now waned to a realization of mundaneness | Sacralizing agent in performing self for me |
| I as a Canadian | - Not a valued trait in Canada | + creates opportunity to teach | + Able to impart an individualism – "thinking for himself" | + Strong identification with localised English literary scene | + gap btw. Monocultural Japan and multi-cultural Canada | + Dissillusioned with values yet idealises Canadian virtues of individualism | I as a Canadian | Ambassador | Not enough Canadians to form an enclave...but some English speaking foreigners for support | Don't know Couldn't live in Canada | Core self has overlapping features but basically distinct and impermeable | Similar, shared multicultural backgrounds |
| I as estranged | + shyness serves to distance oneself | + Estranged from ideal job | - Can compensate with son r/ship | + serves as determinant of communality of interests | + othering of foreigner suits this position strongly | + Estranged from normal life script | - Estranged from 60's values – hippies and normal Canadian life course | I as estranged | Ideal site for estrangement Few foreigners Few opportunities Restricted movement | Wife's preference serves to estrange from ideals Reverse of gendered power roles here? | Othering as a gaijin supports this self-belief | Underlying theme providing coherency |
| I as connected | - less proactive effort to make connections | + Connected to students in professional role. | + selflessness responsibility | + through the internet | + Shared experience with other foreigners | - Idealist self results in decisions to sever connections Compensate for this with wife? | + Strong connection to primary enculturation of Canada as core and unchangeable | - Storied self through estrangement at expense of connection | I as connected | Emotional commitment yet under-reported in interview...I may be complicit in this. | Connection is not direct. Filtered thru Roles of teacher/ husband/ father and restricted by lack of movement | Shied away from this – may be due to shared complicity of maleness – highlighting the need to show agency |
| My past self | + Shy as a child | - estranged from past literary self | - I've had my fun – now its over | + golden age of literary achievement | - Present foreigner existence disjointed with past | + early adult life based on idealist principles – hippy | + Childhood and adulthood experience make his base core self unchangeable | + Estranged from normal life course | - disjointed with past created community/p lace leading to past identity | My past self | Transition created a jarring with past identity with affective outcomes of loneliness for others and past self | Co-constructed with our shared experiences and my questioning/ discussion |
| My step father | - different personalities | + Agentiveness and productivity | + Can do s/thing thru father-hood | - not practical-estrangement agent | Don't know | - Strong site of tension with pragmatism of step-father | + Provided gendered role model of agency over connection | + Leads to skewed agentiveness at expense of ideals | + Using agency – doing to achieve connection-salmon | - Catalyst towards pragmatic job of salmon fishing | Don't know | Displayed honest reflection on his identity and self-as-project |

Appendix 5

Jane Brady's Personal Position Repertoire

| | External Vocal Positions | | | | | | Canada | Japan | Kaze Town | Interviewer |
|--------------------------|--|--|--|---|--------------------------------------|---|--|---|---|---|
| Internal Vocal Positions | I as connected | | | | | | Lessening connection | Strengthening connect-ion | Connected through community role as a teacher | Concerned at presenting herself well |
| I as short | + Assisted in connecting with Japanese | I as short | | | | | Intimidated | Good fit | Fits with local physicality | Being taller negated by being seated |
| I as a keener | + wants to please others to attain this | Don't know | I as a keener | | | | High work ethic valued. | High work ethic valued | Wants to participate in town cleaning group | She is aware she wants to tell me what she thinks I want. |
| I as self conscious | - Fear from instability. Compensates with eagerness to please. | + May be a reason for self-consciousness | + eager to please others | I as self conscious | | | Connected with being short in Canada | Heightened by being a foreigner | Feels safe known and accepted within town | Eager to please because of this. |
| I as loyal | + Retains strong r/ships | N/A | + Eager to maintain r/ships | N/A | I as loyal | | Loyal to her Canadian heritage/friends | Invested in Japan's progress | Is invested in and loyal to the towns issues | Suggests continued friendship |
| I as a woman | + communion fits with female life script | + Typically shorter than men | Don't know | - needs protection... safer with husband | + high number of friends are female. | I as a woman | Don't know | Is happy to fit into a Japanese female role | Seeks to fit into gendered roles | I was observer rather than complicit in the female world. |
| I as a mother | + connects with mothers' group | N/A | Don't know | + critical of own motherhood compared to Japanese | + family first | + strong expression of her womanhood | I as a mother | Wishes to retain bicultural heritage for children | Provides access to mothers networks | Provides child care during interview |
| I as a teacher | + Access to community | + contextual not such an issue in Japan | + high work ethic | + success and +ve regard as teacher | + loyal to staff no gossiping | + protected as young and woman | + family support | I as a teacher | Contributing member of community | Shared histories |
| I as a foreigner | + self as project moving from outsider to insider | - more comfortable around Japanese than foreigners | + invests lots in self as project to fit | + heightened awareness & need to feel accepted | + loyalty to less transient friends | + targeted by prank caller | + heritage for children identity issues for kids | + provides work as English teacher | I as a foreigner | Shared locality and friends |
| My (changing) Japan | + invested in Japan | + relatively not so short | + keen to be competent in Japanese society | + history of stress | + invested in Japan | + helped change choices for local women/ chose not to live with in-laws | + other Japanese mothers act as role models | + Agency Respectful position | - + Moves from not fitting in to fitting in with learning model of adaptation | My (changing) Japan |

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