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CROSS-CULTURAL LEARNING OF JAPANESE MARRIED WOMEN WHO LIVED IN THE UNITED STATES

By

Hisako Inaba

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ABSTRACT

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By

Hisako Inaba

In the past, the area of cross-cultural studies that involves individuals' experience in a different culture took little interest in the process of learning in the different culture. Instead, they focus on how an individual reacts to a foreign cultural environment. The sojourner's prior life circumstances were not often taken into account, and their application of new learning to an original culture has not been discussed widely. By acknowledging individuals' reasons for certain learning in a different culture, and their application in their original culture, it is necessary to include the individuals' prior life circumstances and life circumstances after they returned to own culture.

This study tries to discover a series of experiences, events, and/or strategies that Japanese women employed in learning to live in the United States and applying in Japan. As a recognized outcome of experiences, a concept of self in their own terms (emic view) is looked into. In this way, a Japanese woman's learning experiences in the foreign culture are understood in her context. The objective of this study was to find categories as they emerged and identify critical experiences that contributed to their change in self concept.

The study was conducted in Tokyo, Japan, in 1998. The participants were six Japanese women, ages 30-50, who lived in the United States for a year or more during 1992 and 1996, not in exclusively Japanese neighborhoods, and returned to Japan. The

study consisted of three 1.5 hour in-depth personal interviews. All interviews were conducted within three months.

All interviews were transcribed and summarized. The categories were found by clustering similar experiences between interviewees. Categories found in the life prior to their sojourn included expectation of housewives, stress in the community, stress of being a housewife, family, relations with other housewives, role of mother, role of wife and husband, stress at home, images of the United States, anticipation/willingness to go abroad, work experiences, and self (ki, omote-ura and amae). Categories found to be important in their lives during the sojourn included physical surroundings, ethnic groups, diversity in Americans, role of husband and man, role of mother-in-law and daughter-in-law, diversity in white Americans, democracy, housewives and individualism, woman's role, learning opportunities, everyday, outing, self (ki, omote-ura, and amae), disorienting dilemma, reflection, and learning strategies. Categories found to be important to their lives after the sojourn included America-gaeri (returnees from America), expectations for themselves, association with current activities, norm change, new perspectives, and international activities. Their "ki (spiritual energy)" has been described to show the change during three phases of pre-, during and post- U.S. stay, but no common pattern was found. Each woman described how her experiences in the United States aided that she became assertive, abandoned the desire to be an ideal mother, learned to manage heavy amae (dependency or indulgence) relationships, accepted being deviant from other Japanese women, learned to manage her "ki" in an environment that did not offer strong sekentei (critical eyes of others), and found alternative life options.

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Chapter 1

INTRODUCTION

BACKGROUND

Today in Japan, many Japanese women are venturing into the larger world to learn and to develop themselves. One of the ways that women are able to go abroad is by accompanying their husbands. This research is about Japanese married women who lived in the United States for a year or more with their family members, and returned to Japan. The inquiry for this study is these women's learning content in the United States, and the consequence of that learning that they claim back in Japan.

Historically, going abroad to learn in the Edo period (1603-1868) in Japan was not easy. Death was the punishment for breaking the national seclusion law, which went into effect in 1640 (Ishizuki, 1992). In 1853, the American Commodore, William Perry arrived. This incident made the Japanese government prepare for foreign military incursions by constructing or purchasing naval warships, learning navigation, and increasing their knowledge of foreign cultures (Ishizuki, 1992).

In the Meiji restoration period (1868-1912), studying abroad to learn about Western society was considered the most important means to achieve social advancement. The number of Japanese who went abroad between 1861 and 1912 is reported at about 4,200. (Tezuka, 1992). Major areas of study included military science, especially naval information, science, and medical studies (Ishizuki, 1992).

These people contributed to the establishment of the modern Japanese democratic nation.

A small number of Japanese women went abroad and returned to Japan during the Meiji period (1868-1912). About one hundred and thirty years after the Meiji restoration period (1868-1912), Japan became recognized as a modern industrial nation. It participated in the world economy in a manner not seen in any earlier historical time.

Globalization continues today not only in business but also in education. Students study abroad, and faculty go to foreign countries to conduct research. In 1996, 5,180,000 Japanese people visited the United States for business, study, tourism, and other purposes (Ministry of Sorifu, 1997). In 1993, 10,746 people entered as exchange visitors, and 6,473 people entered the United States as spouses and children of exchange visitors. Unlike other nationalities, most Japanese return to Japan (U.S. Department of Justice, 1994, p. 130). Unlike men who went abroad in the Meiji era and after, Japanese women frequently are not "assigned" a mission of their own. Instead, most married women accompany their husbands, whose assignments are business or study. The living conditions of women and their families in the United States have varied from urban and suburban to rural. (Ministry of Education, 1989). Some women live in communities with high concentrations of Japanese. The circumstances under which they locate in certain communities vary. Some companies prepare housing before they arrive, so some women are offered only one housing choice. Some communities offer the new arrivals special services, sometimes organized by the local Japanese communities to meet the needs of these Japanese families. Many women, however, start their lives in the new environment

with little or no organized assistance.

Various studies have reported on married women and their families who lived in exclusively Japanese neighborhoods. Some researchers found that these communities are "more Japanese" than those in Japan (Flory, 1989). The research also indicated that the concerns of women who lived in the exclusively Japanese neighborhoods concentrated on the issues they expected to encounter when they returned to Japan (Shinkai, 1994). As mothers' concerns about their children could be alleviated by special schools, their children's education in the home country concerned them the most. The exclusively Japanese communities offer various support systems to meet their concerns. Examples are full time schools and supplementary Saturday schools established by the Japanese government and Japanese businesses. These are intended to prepare Japanese children to cope with the difficulties anticipated when they return to Japan.

Some support systems are designed to meet women's own needs as they cope with the American culture. These include English language schools and community education classes. Recent additions to the support system include the internet World Wide Web site in the Japanese language. It features helpful hints on various aspects of life in the new culture (Sakamoto, 1997). The United States communities with concentrated Japanese populations usually offer local newspapers in the Japanese language, Japanese restaurants, bookstores, and grocery stores that carry raw fish and other specialized foodstuffs for Japanese cuisine. Cable channels air Japanese news and dramas 24 hours a day, and an organized business or community may support some cultural activities such as an outing in cherry blossom season or Obon dance festival in the middle of August. Some physicians, lawyers, and real-estate agents

also speak Japanese in such communities (YPJ, 1989).

However, women who do not live in these exclusively Japanese neighborhoods do not enjoy many of these services. These women have to struggle more immediately with a greater diversity of cultural issues. Some cases of difficulties associated with life in a foreign culture have been reported in the newspapers. For example, after a woman was charged in the drowning death of her new-born baby (Detroit Free Press, 11/3/95), her cultural and social isolation were attributed as the cause of her depression (Fetters, 1997).

After they struggle to adjust to the foreign culture, most of these women return to Japan where they are obliged to readjust to their local communities (White, 1988). Kashima (1989) points out that some of these returning women become more active in their local communities than they had been previously. Kashima's (1989) study suggests that the Japanese women who lived in foreign countries may undergo some internal or external, subtle or drastic changes. White's (1988) study suggests that whether this change is subtle or substantial, real or imaginary, these women had to readjust to their home communities.

These studies did not consider the women's reactions to these experiences in foreign countries and how they were interpreted when the women returned to Japan. Many questions remain unanswered. Did the experience of living in the United States lead Japanese married women to change their perception of their activities? What accounts for such changes? Presumably, everyone lives under different circumstances, and each individual makes different interpretations of the surrounding phenomena. An overriding question, then, is what kinds of cross-cultural learning occur as a consequence of a foreign experience, and how do these women sojourners

retain or revise their self concept?

PROBLEM STATEMENT

Cross-cultural studies offer two major types of inquiry. One focuses on one population and compares cultural behaviors with the population of another culture. For example, an ethnographic study which deals with a native population is often utilized to compare with another (cf. Marcus & Fischer, 1986). This comparison sometimes shows varying degrees of difference in certain categories of behaviors. Some examples are comparisons of property rights, inegalitarian political relations, family, law, and religious authority across cultures (Marcus and Fischer, 1986, p. 128). Psychological comparisons can be made at a micro level, and social structural comparisons can be made at a macro level.

Another area deals with the cross-cultural experience itself. It also offers the potential for analyses at the micro and macro levels. An experience of a different culture may range from direct interaction with persons from that culture to indirect exposure to information through mass media. The cross-cultural experiences are the processes which sojourners undergo while they are in a foreign country, and they have been studied extensively.

There are several stages of that process, including culture shock. Culture shock may occur when people enter foreign environments for substantial periods of time. A feeling of frustration and anxiety may arise when familiar cultural cues are suddenly removed and replaced by new and seemingly bizarre behavior (Oberg, 1960). This line of inquiry contributes to predicting the psychological result caused by numerous internal as well as external factors associated with a person's

experiences in unfamiliar surroundings. When people have to leave the foreign country and return to their own, a similar phenomenon called reverse culture shock may occur.

Some researchers agree, however, that those people who engage in extended cross-cultural experiences are apt to attain some learning and development. For example, Kim and Ruben (1988) recognize "gradual change" even as a person experiences culture shock. They see a change "beyond the cognitive, affective, and behavioral limits of their original culture. . . projecting a personhood that transcends any given cultural group. . . not bounded by any specific cultural attributes" (p. 306).

What constitutes these internal as well as external factors that make a person feel frustrated and anxious, and yet contribute to a person's learning when he/she crosses cultural borders? What kind of learning occurs when "familiar cues" are replaced with "new" and "seemingly bizarre behavior?" How are these behaviors of a different culture incorporated into everyday life back in their home culture? Why do most people who return to their own countries experience reverse culture shock despite cues that remain familiar after a year or more in a foreign culture?

Taylor (1994) interviewed 12 interculturally competent Americans, and offered a model of the learning process of becoming interculturally competent. "Intercultural competency" is the certain types of skills and attributes which can predict the successful intercultural experience (Hammer, Gudykunst, and Wiseman, 1978). Taylor found that these interculturally competent Americans presented a learning model which contains a series of experiences, events, and/or strategies. These components are "setting the stage, cultural disequilibrium, nonreflective orientation, reflective orientation, behavioral learning strategies, and evolving

intercultural identity (p. 160). Taylor points out that Mezirow's theory of perspective transformation explained the nonreflective and reflective orientation process of intercultural competency.

For Mezirow (1991), reflection is "the process of critically assessing the content, process, or premise(s) of our efforts to interpret and give meaning to an experience" (p. 104). Content reflection is reflection on what we perceive, think, feel, or act upon" (p. 107). Process reflection is "an examination of how we perform these functions of perceiving, thinking, feeling, or acting and an assessment of our efficacy in performing them" (p. 108). It also involves a "critique of how we are perceiving, thinking, judging, feeling, and acting . . ." (p. 106). Premise reflection involves "our becoming aware of why we perceive, think, feel, or act as we do and of the reasons for and consequences of our possible habits of hasty judgment, conceptual inadequacy, or error in the process of judging . . ." (p. 108). It is also "an assessment of the validity of norms, roles, codes, 'common sense,' ideologies, language games, paradigms, philosophies, or theories that we have taken for granted" (p. 105). These types of reflection make "perspective transformation" possible.

> Mezirow (1991) describes "perspective transformation" as follows:
>
> "Perspective transformation is the process of becoming critically aware of how and why our assumptions have come to constrain the way we perceive, understand, and feel about our world; changing these structures of habitual expectation to make possible a more inclusive, discriminating, and integrative perspective; and finally, making choices or otherwise acting upon these new understandings. (p. 167)"

Mezirow (1991) finds that the process of transformation requires ten phases as follows.

1. A disorienting dilemma
2. Self-examination with feelings of guilt or shame
3. A critical assessment of epistemic, sociocultural, or psychic assumptions
4. Recognition that one's discontent and the process of transformation are shared and that others have negotiated a similar change
5. Exploration of options for new roles, relationships, and actions
6. Planning of a course of action
7. Acquisition of knowledge and skills for implementing one's plans
8. Provisional trying of new roles
9. Building of competence and self-confidence in new roles and relationships; and
10. A reintegration into one's life on the basis of conditions dictated by one's new perspective (p. 168-9).

Mezirow's model has not been applied to other population such as Japanese women who have been found to construct their concept of "self" in different ways. For example, Nancy Rosenberger (1992) presents a middle aged Japanese woman's life history and suggests a three dimensional movement of self concept of Japanese ki: (psycho-spiritual) energy, relationship and contexts. All three parameters change depending on how a Japanese woman is situated at certain points in her life. Rosenberger's (1992) research presented several turning points that marked change in three aspects of the self of the woman she studied: World War II, college education, teaching profession, marriage, living with her mother-in-law and sister-in-law, menopause, and leaving the in-laws household. Japanese women, according to Rosenberger (1992), create with their friends, students, and relatives, experiences of "ordering and generative powers, giving and receiving as they move through and signify multiple positions in various contexts and relationships (p. 88)."

Do the Japanese women who lived in the United States for a year or more go

through the cross-cultural learning process as Taylor or Mezirow indicated? Could an experience of living in the United States for a year or more provide such an occasion for a Japanese woman to evolve an intercultural identity that is a result of cross-cultural learning? Do these Japanese women present Mezirow's critical reflection process for a perspective transformation? Before we examine these models are applicable to a different population, it is necessary to know if such a transition phenomenon exists in a particular population such as Japanese married women. An ethnographic interview can make it possible to find out whether or not such a transition phenomenon of one's "self" concept occurs in a group of people who are culturally very different from these Mezirow or Taylor researched. In order to find out such a phenomenon, it is considered inevitable to look into personal contexts for reasoning for crosscultural learning that brings about changes in one's "self" concept. A woman who moves from her original culture to a different one and returns to her original culture provides a good case to examine the learning content because the contexts and relationship in Japanese culture, in this case, are different from these in American culture. How do Japanese women apply their learning to the Japanese culture when they return to Japan, and what aspects of learning play significant role for successful application?

PURPOSE OF THE STUDY

In this study, I will examine, through in-depth interviews, a series of experiences, events, and/or strategies of Japanese married women who lived in the United States of America, for a year or more during 1993 and 1997 and returned to Japan. The concepts that will be used to interpret the various personal experiences

include Japanese emic (insider's) categories such as "ki" (psycho-spiritual) energy, the dyadic relationship embodied in the giving and taking of indulgence, and the context signified by related sets of terms such as outer/inner, front/back, and tatemae (meaning on-stage)/honne (meaning off-stage) (Rosenberger, 1992). From emic descriptions of these women, hopefully a segment of contextual and relational learning process will be explored.

ASSUMPTIONS

This study may have been influenced by the following assumptions on the part of the researcher:

1. Symbolic interactionism

   "The term 'symbolic interaction' refers, of course, to the peculiar and distinctive character of interaction as it takes place between human beings. This peculiarity consists in the fact that human beings interpret or 'define' each other's actions instead of merely reacting to each other's actions. Their 'response' is not made directly to the actions of another but instead is based on the meaning which they attach to such actions. Thus, human interaction is mediated by the use of symbols, by interpretation, or by ascertaining the meaning of one another's actions. (Blumer, 1962, p. 180)"

2. Relativism

   "Relativism is the position that all assessments are assessments relative to some standard or other, and standards derive from cultures (Jarvie, 1983, p. 46).

3. Culture

   "It (culture) denotes an historically transmitted pattern of meanings embodied in symbols, a system of inherited conceptions expressed in symbolic forms by

means of which men communicate, perpetuate, and develop their knowledge about and attitudes toward life (Geertz, 1973, p. 89)."

4. Social Constructivism

"The intransigent background to all human action is the human conversation, the elements of which are the acts produced by the joint actions of speakers . . . The conversation, as a flow of joint actions, is . . . that of the flow of electromagnetic energy. It is made by all the people, but at the will of none. At the same time, it is in that world that persons are made. Speakers (and the listeners who become speakers in their turn) are the locations at which act-bearing actions occur. But those speakers are human beings, constituted as people by the acquisition of the skills that permit them to enter into the conversation. The acquisition is in the end the effect of these human beings attaining mindedness, constructing private miniaturized versions, microcosms, of the great conversations that constitute civilizations. Discourse and person are mutually constituted beings. They are internally related (Harre, 1992, p. 157)."

Research Questions

The main research questions addressed in this study are:

1. How does a Japanese married woman, after returning to Japan, describe what it was like to be a Japanese woman living in a not-exclusively Japanese community in the U. S.?

[Subsidiary Questions]

(1) What was the community like that these women lived in in the U. S.?
(2) What was everyday life like for these women who were living in the U. S.?
(3) How was their ki energy of the Japanese woman in the United States?
(4) What were the dyadic relations that concerned them most in the United States?
(5) What was the context such as outer/inner, front/back, and tatemae/honne like that concerned the Japanese women most in the United States?
(6) What types of disorienting dilemma did these women have in the U. S.?
(7) What types of reflection did these women have in the U. S.?
(8) What types of learning strategies did these women undertake in the U. S.?

2. How does a Japanese married woman describe what it was like to be a Japanese woman living in Japan prior to going to the U. S.?

[Subsidiary Questions]

(1) What was the community like for these women before they went to the U. S.?
(2) What was the family like for these women before they went to the United States?
(3) What were the images of America before they went to the U. S.?
(4) What was everyday life like before they went to the U. S.?
(5) How was their ki energy of the Japanese women before they went to the U. S.?
(6) What were the dyadic relations that concerned them the most before they went to the U. S.?

(7) What was the context such as outer/inner, front/back, and tatemae/honne that concerned them the most before they went to the U. S.?
(8) What types of critical events had these women experienced before they went to the United States?
(9) What types of personal goals did they have before they went to the United States?
(10) What types of prior inter-cultural experiences did they have before they went to the United States?

3. In what ways and to what extent does a Japanese woman who lived in the United States associate this experience with subsequent decisions regarding their activities and interactions with others after they returned to Japan?

[Subsidiary Questions]

(1) What were the women amerika-gaeri (returnees from America) like?
(2) What did these women conceive as their expectations for themselves after they returned to Japan?
(3) In what way and to what extent do these women associate what they experienced in the U. S. with the activities they currently engage in and plan?
(4) What are the perceived changes in norms due to living in the United States? Why and why not?
(5) What was the ki energy of the Japanese woman like after they returned to Japan?
(6) What were the dyadic relations that concerned the Japanese women the most after they returned to Japan?
(7) What was the context such as outer/inner, front/back, and tatemae/honne that concerned them the most after they returned to Japan?
(8) What new perspectives did these women attain?
(9) What types of international activities do these women participate in?

SIGNIFICANCE OF THE STUDY

This study will examine the cross-cultural learning of the Japanese married women and its application when they returned to Japan. The content of learning and its application will be found from their personal descriptions. The content of learning will be described in their emic terms, and the application will be in their personal context. It will be focused on psycho-spiritual energy known as ki, amae or an indulgence relationship, and the context of formality and informality known as soto and uchi (Rosenberger, 1992).

This study will also provide practical information about models of cross-cultural experience. Not only Japanese women who plan voluntarily or involuntarily to have cross-cultural experiences, but also individuals surrounding them at home and overseas, cross-cultural program administrators, multi-cultural counselors, English-as-a-second-language educators, educational administrators, and policy makers will benefit in being better able to plan, carry out, and evaluate programs.

ORGANIZATIONAL OUTLINE OF THE STUDY REPORT

Chapter 1: the background and focus of the study a statement of the problem, the purpose, assumptions, research questions, significance, related research, an overview of the design, and an organizational outline of the report

Chapter 2: a review of literature in areas of study related to the topic:, Cultural Assumptions of Women's Ideals in Japan, Cross-Cultural Communication and Learning, and the Japanese Concept of Self

Chapter 3: the research design and methodology. This includes a description of the researcher's information collection procedures and data analysis

Chapter 4: findings and discussion

Chapter 5: a discussion of the conclusions and implications that can be drawn from this study. Suggestions for further research and reflection

SUMMARY

In this chapter, the historical movement of Japanese from Japan to the United States was outlined with a focus on women's experiences. Although past research dealt with cross-cultural psychology centering on the concept of culture shock and stages of cultural adaptation, research from the point of view of learning was generally missing. In this study, an emic (insider's) view is taken into account to examine Japanese married women's cross-cultural learning and its application when they returned Japan.

Chapter 2

LITERATURE REVIEW

INTRODUCTION

A review of the literature relevant to this study includes three main conceptual areas: (1) cultural assumptions of women's ideals in Japan, (2) cross-cultural communication and learning studies, and (3) studies on the Japanese concept of self.

(1) Historical and Cultural Assumptions of Women's Ideals in Japan

A taxonomy of women in Japan is still under discussion (cf. Ueno, 1987). Some terms to indicate a certain group of women may not be translated into English with full connotations. For example, shufu, a word that is often translated as "housewife" in English, was developed from the meaning of "female head of the house" (Yanagida, quoted by Ueno, 1987). Shufu is also the leader of a group of women who resided in an extended household, a situation that was commonly observed around 1910.

Studies of Japanese women have been introduced to America since the 1860s. The images depicted often reflect more ". . . the changes in American attitudes concerning gender in general, and attitudes to Japanese society, than it does of historical developments in Japan" (Kuzume, 1991). Kuzume concludes that American attitudes influenced the image of Japanese women.

Only 25 articles and books are listed in the section on "Education Since World War II" in Huber's (1992) Women in Japanese Society, 30 for "Education Prior to World War II," and 8 for "Overviews in Education." The contents vary from general descriptions of women's education (Burton, 1914, Shakai Kyoikukyoku, 1972), to biographies of prominent women who contributed to women's education in Japan, such as Tsuda Ume(ko) (Chapman, 1987, Yamazaki, 1989), and Naruse Jinzo (Naruse, 1910). Among 38 listings in the two sections of Huber's bibliography on "Overviews" and "Education Prior to World War II," only one article overlaps with the articles that Kuzume uses to claim the characteristics of the period between 1910 and 45 when foreign missionaries flourished. Kuzume's (1991) section on Japanese women's reaction to the writings of missionaries during the same period also overlaps only one with Huber's (1992).

Interestingly, Uchino's (1981) bibliography on Japanese women lists 118 academic books, excluding journal articles on education, but offers only one book related to Christian education. It was edited by Nihon Kirisuto Kyodan (1960). General educational history books contain some sections on Christian education in Japan. For example, Hiratsuka's (1965) book contains sections on Protestantism and women's education, and Catholicism and women's higher education.

It is not clear if the American writings about Japanese women reflect their attitudes concerning gender in general, and attitudes toward Japanese society, because Kuzume's selected writings may not be considered as representative by other bibliographers. However, it is clear, at least, that there were different "historical developments in Japan" (Kuzume, 1991, p. 4) from what Kuzume observed about the descriptions of Japanese women in the United States. In order to bridge the gap, I

will include American as well as Japanese materials for this study.

Among numerous issues and problems related to women in Japan, I will focus primarily on scholars' discussions on the status and the role of housewives. Historically, women were known to have relatively equal status with men until the Ritsuryo system was fully established. Ritsuryo is the "system of centralized patrimonial rule, informed by elaborate legal codification called ritsuryo" that "developed in late 7th-century Japan, reached maturity in the early 8th century" (Kiley, 1983). Before the introduction of this system, a woman was considered to be "someone who is creative, has leadership, and is fertile and strong" (Yoshie, 1993). Women were active in religion (Katsuura, 1993) and literature (Umemura, 1993).

Early Buddhism perceived women as the inferior gender. Katsuura (1993) describes how Buddhist texts see a woman as "someone who jeopardize men from training and austerities, and who are messengers from Hades" (p. 39). When women desire to ojo or jobutsu (attain Buddhahood after death), stricter conditions, such as extra training, are required (Katsuura, 1993, p. 39). Women are known in Hokekyo (one of the Buddhist texts) to be gosho who are ineligible for assuming the five high positions of the Buddhist society. When women desire to attain Buddhahood, a metamorphosis to a man is the required condition called henjo nanshi. This view actually was not accepted in Japan when Buddhism was introduced, but after the 9th century a copy of the practice was required for women (tennyo jobutsukyo) (Katsuura, 1993, p. 44). Over time, women's status was gradually lowered. Katsuura (1993) points out that the law for monks and nuns assumed that monks had the primary position (p. 42). Although the numbers of nuns increased, they were gradually placed under the monks' authority (Katsuura, 1993).

Along with Buddhism, Confucianism was introduced to Japan in the 4th century, and Neo-Confucianism later (McMullen, 1983). [Although many writings on Japanese life do not attribute various behaviors to specific religious activities, certain clusters of symbolic behaviors and ideas can be attributed to the specific religion or philosophy.] Confucianism is a "moral, cultural and political teaching that originated in ancient China" (McMullen, 1993). It is often classified as a religion but is "mainly a philosophical, ethical, and political teaching" (McMullen, 1983). According to its teaching, morality is considered to be embodied in "filial piety, a child's respect for and obedience to its parents, in practice mainly to the father" (McMullen, 1983). For women, its teaching concerns sanju, literally translated as three obediences, which guide women to obey the parent when they are young, the husband when they are married, and the oldest son when they are old.

Based on Confucianism, the manual of ethics and proper behavior for women, called Onna Daigaku (The Great Learning for Women) was published and widely circulated in the early 18th century. It remained in circulation until the end of the 19th century. Authorship of this text was first attributed to Kaibara Ekken (Ekiken), but later his wife, Kaibara Token was speculated to be the author (Hironaka, 1983). Hironaka (1983) points out that the Onna Daigaku is considered to be "most important because of the influence it had in defining the position of women and their role within the narrow confines of Japan's family system (p. 108)."

Onna Daigaku is composed of 19 chapters that contain general principles regarding women's education and behavioral codes (Hironaka, 1983). The emphasis was on "subordination to husbands, chastity, the cultivation of a forgiving nature, and

the fulfillment of obligations to in-laws (Kornicki, 1993)" Some excerpts are as follows. (Kornicki, 1993, p. 167)

Use few words and refrain from speaking a great deal.

Do not drink a lot of tea or sake.

Have nothing to do with anything lewd like kabuki.

Until you are 40, do not frequent places like temples and shrines where lots of people gather.

Consider your husband as your master, respect him, and serve him deferentially.

Two major criticisms were registered against Onna Daigaku: one from the philosophical sect called Kokugaku led by Motoori Norinaga (1730-1801); another from Fukuzawa Yukichi (1899). Seki, Tamiko (1993) shows that Iseki, Takako (1785-1844) left a diary describing her true feelings when her husband was dying, in contrast to hiding her feelings as Consucianism teaches. Seki (1993) points out that Iseki, a student of Motoori, sees men and women as having equal "michi (way)" and rejects subjugation to the male head of the family (p. 147). Another point of Iseki's criticism is about the foreign origin of Confucianism which makes its followers, especially female followers, guilty just because of their different nature. Iseki describes this as "despicable, and unnecessary" (p. 147).

Fukuzawa's (1899) criticism is very well known through "A Critique of the Greater Learning for Women" and "The New Greater Learning for Women." He attacks "the unreasonableness and the injustice of the moral standards governing the women of Japan" (Kiyooka Eiichi, 1988, p. 171).

For example, Fukuzawa questions Kaibara's suggestion of a "demarcation

separating women from men" (Chamberlain, Basil Hall, Things Japanese, 1890) as being impractical or inappropriate. (Kiyooka, 1988, p. 177). Fukuzawa also observed that (in spite of no separation between men and women among Westerners), "many of these barbarians (Western ladies and gentlemen) are found to be very upright in their moral behavior and their honor is as secure as rock or iron" (p. 177), just what Kaibara would like to see in Japanese women. Thus, Fukuzawa rejects the theory that social separation of men and women leads to moral correctness as advocated by Kaibara.

Kaibara suggests Seven Reasons for Divorce in Onna Daigaku as follows:

1. A woman shall be divorced for disobedience to her father-in-law or mother-in-law.
2. A woman shall be divorced if she fail to bear children, the reason for this rule being that women are sought in marriage for the purpose of giving men posterity. A barren woman should, however, be retained if her heart is virtuous and her conduct correct and free from jealousy, in which case a child of the same blood must be adopted; neither is there any just cause for a man to divorce a barren wife, if he have children by a concubine.
3. Lewdness is a reason for divorce.
4. Jealousy is a reason for divorce.
5. Leprosy, or any like foul disease, is a reason for divorce.
6. A woman shall be divorced, who, by talking overmuch and prattling disrespectfully, disturbs the harmony of kinsmen and brings trouble on her household.
7. A woman shall be divorced who is addicted to stealing. (p. 179-180)

Fukuzawa reacted to these suggestions as follows: First, "if the wife is rude and unruly and shows no etiquette or sympathy for the parents of her husband, the grounds for a divorce are reasonable." Second, if barrenness is a reason for divorce, an adopted son who does not beget a child after marriage to the daughter of the house

should be disinherited and driven out of the house with a new rule, 'A man shall be divorced if he fails to beget children.'" Fukuzawa thinks that there is "no just cause for a man to divorce a barren wife if he has a child by a concubine." Third, the lewdness of women singled out as a reason for divorce is not right because "more men will be divorced because of lewdness than women." Fourth, jealousy is "natural for the wife to challenge him in legitimate self-defense." Fifth, leprosy as a reason for divorce is "an unreasonable and outrageous rule," because it is a "contagious disease" and "would not be the responsibility of the person afflicted." Sixth, Fukuzawa writes that "it is difficult to set standards for too much talking and too little talking," and "it is unacceptable to make this one fault a reason for divorcing her." Seventh, as for stealing as a reason for divorce, "the section on family in the Civil Law and such sources should be consulted." Fukuzawa finally concludes that "the ultimate purpose of every rule is clearly to restrict women's rights and their activities so as to allow men the liberty to abandon their wives" (in Kiyooka, 1988, p. 183).

It is undeniable that Onna Daigaku is criticized on the ground of different expectations toward men and women in Japan. However, Kuwabara (1993) points out that Kaibara Ekken's Onna Daigaku does not suggest a different educational content for men and women. Kaibara suggests that women learn clothmaking in addition to the basic education for men and women in Joshi wo Oshiyuru Ho (How to teach Women). His Shinsen Onna Daigaku lists twelve pieces of classic literature for women only.

Yanagida Kunio (1875-1962) is a well known folklore scholar who described commoners' lives in the late 19th to early 20th century in Japan. His studies imply

that Kaibara's as well as Fukuzawa's suggestions were only known to upper class people. People who were engaged in agriculture in villages had a "kafucho sei (patriarchal ie or family system based on the Confucian value)." The head of the family is known as the kacho who exerts power over members of the family. Yanagida found that the high status and power possessed by shufu, the main woman of the household sometimes extended to more than relatives. Ueno Kazuo (1982) points out that the family in those days was a type of work organization which included non-relatives.

Shufu-ken is an authority possessed by shufu over "management of foods, distribution and preparation of meals, construction and management of clothes, and nurturing and disciplining of children" (Nagashima, 1993, p. 123). A new daughter-in-law had no rights over these matters in spite of her residency. A daughter-in-law was in training until the shufu decided to retire, symbolized by the herawatashi or shakushi watashi (handing over the rice spatula) ritual.

Shufu is usually called "okami," "oue," "omae," or "okata" which indicates "on the tatami mat," "omote no ma (room in front)," "honke (main family in an extended family system of ie)," or "kyuka (family of long tradition" (Yanagida, 1969). These words show that a shufu engaged in the work *inside* and at the center of the house. In northern Japan, shufu is called enushi or "head of the house" (Yanagida, p. 118). Later studies speculate on the shufu's position from their names on the seat in the family room. For example, enushi-za (seat for the head of the house)," "wakata-za (seat for upper side)," and "kami-za (upper seat) are seen as being for shufu. For kacho (head of the house), the seat is called "yoko-za (side seat)," "oku-za (seat in the inner part), or "ura-za (seat in the back)." Tsuboi (1985) points out that kacho's

yoko-za, for example, is beside shufu's seat.

Segawa (1957) describes the ritual of shakushi watashi (handing over the rice spatula). In Sado island, the last evening of the year after 6 or 10 years of living in the husband's house, the mother-in-law (shufu) talks the daughter-in-law, "I will give you a spatula because I am too old (to do all the work). I would like to be taken care of" (p. 184 translated by the author). In the Tohoku region, the mother-in-law puts a large and a small spatula on the lid of a pan. She hits the iron hearthhooknose with the large spatula, puts it on the lid, and pushes it to a daughter-in-law with both hands. Some regions have witnesses at the ritual. Others use different items to symbolize the transfer of authority. Segawa (1957) indicates that in addition to shakushi watashi, hon watashi (transfer of the seat of shufu)(p. 187), sentaku watashi (transfer of the mending and cleaning work of the husband's clothes)(p. 157), and nedo watashi (transfer of the bedroom of the mother-in-law)(p. 187) also accompany this in some regions.

According to Segawa (1957), shufu plays various roles centered around the foods, clothes, relationships, and rituals. In self-supporting agriculture, shufu is responsible for deciding how much of what grains and vegetables to plant, knowing about edible plants in the mountains, picking and storing these vegetables, producing soy bean paste, sake, and soy sauce, and deciding how much of what foods to give members of the household (p. 193). Shufu also negotiates "through shamoji (rice spatula)." This means that meals contributed to village meetings control productivity of the cooperative work and "face" of ie (Segawa, 1957, p. 194). Segawa also points out that shufu's ability determines how smooth the relationship is with relatives, available workers who live in and out of house, and other villagers.

In one fishing village, Segawa (1957) recognizes that shufu controls financial matters (p. 197). Yanagida (1969, Vol. 15) speculates on the development of shufu along with the development of the family (ie) system. In a society consisting of extended families who reside in a single household, a single shufu lives with other women who work for her. Then this society develops to be holding small single families shufu and a daughter-in-law. In a society that consists of nuclear families, all of the women become shufu when they marry. Yanagida assumes that this family development coexists with a decline of shufu's authority.

Yanagida points out the conflict between shufu and the daughter-in-law who resides in the same household. This conflict did not exist under the mukoiri marriage system. After the marriage ceremony a married woman resided in her native family while her husband would commute from his house. Only when the shufu of his family, his own mother, declared her intention to give up the shufu's authority did his wife move into his house.

Ryosai Kenbo (Good Wife, Wise Mother) Education for Women

While the Shufu's authority was acknowledged in the late 19th to early 20th century in rural Japan, the Meiji (1868-1912) restoration swept Tokyo. It was a period of massive social and political transformation during which Japan emerged as a modern state. Some historical changes were as follows: first, the government returned sovereign power to the emperor, and the imperial government issued the Charter Oath of 1868, some of which emphasized the deliberative assemblies, abandonment of "evil customs" of the past, and a pledge to "seek knowledge throughout the world in order to strengthen the foundations of imperial rule." (Jansen,

1983). Five classes of people (samurai, farmers, craftsmen, merchants, and outcasts) were merged and called commoners. Based on this idea, ooseidasare-sho (preceding the Education Order of 1872) was issued to show the principles of the new educational system. One of the four principles assisted universal education, which included girls, and proclaimed that "in a village there shall be no house without learning, and in a house no individual without learning" (Jansen, 1983). The Education Order of 1872 shows a detailed plan to create eight districts and place a university in each district. Additional levels of schools were also planned, but not fully actualized (Yamazumi, 1987). The content of learning was based on Kaibara Ekken's Wazoku Doji Kun (Cultural Disciplines for Children) for the primary level (Yamazumi, 1987).

In 1879, the Education Order of 1872 was abolished, and the new Order of 1879 went into effect. It was revised in 1880. Shushin (morals) was emphasized in this Revised Education Order (Hirota, 1982). The official moral education textbooks for schools showed the revival of Confucian morals which expected women to be "wajun (obedient, gentle, and well-behaved) and chastity" (Hirota, 1982). In the shushin textbook, statements like the following appeared: "If women stop living inside (of ie) and go out to engage in some other obligations (shokumu), the human society shall suffer from the disaster" (Hirota, 1982, p. 11). Hirota points out that this direction was not exactly the same as it was in Edo period (1603-1868) because the new ideal of women's education was to create ryosai kenbo (good wife, wise mother) who are patriotic (Note: the original phrase used by Mori Arinori, Minister of Education, 1887, was kokka wo omou no seishin which literally means "the spirit to consider the nation.") (Hirota, 1982, p. 11).

For women's education, only women's normal schools (Joshi Shihan Gakko) and one public women's school (Kanritsu Tokyo Jogakko) existed above the primary level. In 1880, there were only 12 prefectural normal schools for women (Kokuritsu Kyoiku Kenkyujo, 1974, p. 1342). Women students comprised only about 13 percent (p. 1342). The Kanritsu Tokyo Jogakko established in 1872 hired Western teachers to teach English and emphasized general education. However, it lasted only five years. (Murata, 1980). Women's normal schools were also merged with men's normal schools, while some men's normal schools created a division for women (Murata, 1980). Apart from Joshi Shihan Gakko, there were girls' secondary schools (Koto Jogakko) and private missionaries' schools. Yamazumi (1987) points out that twenty-two missionaries' schools were established between 1882 and 1892 (Yamazumi, 1972, p. 71).

Because Western influence was viewed negatively by the Meiji Emperor, he ordered Inoue Kowashi (1843-1895), the Minister of Education, to write the Imperial Rescript on Education (1890). The content of this message continued in effect until after World War II. (Azuma, Okuda, and Kawano, 1988). Inoue created the Koto Jogakko system based on the Confucion idea expressed in the Imperial Rescript. For him, the purpose of women's education was to learn the virtue of supporting the husband in any circumstances, devoting herself to educating the children, and not flirting and becoming interested in other things or persons (teishuku no toku) (the translation of teishuku is based on the meaning provided by Kindaichi, ed., Shinmeikai Kokugo Jiten, Sanseido, 1972.) (Nagahara, 1982). Inoue thought that all of the subjects for women's education should be based on this teishuku no toku idea (Nagahara, 1982). He believed that women had to be educated according to their

bun (a part, a share, duty, standing, or means) (Shimizu and Narita, 1976) which is determined by biological differences between men and women (Nagahara, 1982). Inoue's Confucian idea for the women's education plan was continued by the next Minister of Education, Kikuchi Dairoku (1855-1917) without major revision (Nagahara, 1982).

A principle philosophy of women's education at that time is identified as ryosai kenbo (good wife, wise mother) in various laws and rulings (Nagahara, 1982). The purpose of higher education is stated as "(to equip women with) character (hinkaku) needed for the women of higher than middle class (p. 154)." These women are expected to learn "diligence, frugality, orderliness, attentiveness, discipline, and cooperation" (Nagahara, 1982, p. 154). Kikuchi Dairoku (1855-1917), the Minister of Education, twice studied mathematics and physics in Britain (Nihon Rekishigakkai, 1994). He preached that women needed to be virtuous, obedient, persevere, and be harmonious" (Nagahara, 1982, p. 155). He believed that conflicts tended to arise between young women and old women who lived in one household because Japanese women held a child's place (shijo no ichi) even after they joined the family (ie) (p. 155). Thus, the main goal of education was to create women who could preserve the family system (ie).

According to Fukaya (quoted by Nagahara, 1982), more than 60 percent of female students who attended schools come from families of former samurai (shizoku). The occupations of these people included professional and white collar vocations such as government officials, bankers, and doctors. Another type of occupational group was the "elite class which follows the samurai life style (Fukaya)" The ryosai kenbo ideology presented no contradiction to their patriarchal "ie"

ideology, which was dominant among samurai families at that time.

Although a limited number of people such as the socialists (Oki, 1982) actively critisized the ryosai kenbo ideology, private and public Women's Professional Schools (Joshi Senmon Gakko) continued to support it (Murata, 1980). Professional areas of these schools extended to music, medicine, pharmaceuticals, dentistry, literature, home economics, sewing and domestic work, religion, physical education, dance, and education (Murata, 1980, p. 57-58). Murata indicates that the traditional ryosai kenbo ideology generally coexisted with an ideology of modernization and was described in the statement of purposes of these schools.

In the early 20th century, the gross national product nearly tripled between 1911 and 1940 (Duus, 1983). There were "rapid population growth, new social movements, a deepening cultural and economic gap between country and city, and increased economic dependence on the outside world (Duus, 1983, p. 197)." In the Taisho period (1912-1926), new types of shufu emerged (Ishizaki, 1993). The nuclear family emerged in Tokyo where a husband could be a sarari-man (a man who worked at a company). Urban shufu enjoyed an electric pump for the water supply instead of a well, a standing cooking table, a large dining table in the middle of the room to have meals together, and a bright light hanging from the ceiling (Ishizaki, 1993). These amenities are called bunka seikatsu (cultured life) (Ishizaki, 1993). Women in big cities had time to read magazines (Ishizaki, 1993), but they lost the power that Yanagita saw in the rural area. However, ryosai kenbo ideology continued (Ishizaki, 1993) especially in education.

After World War II, General Douglas MacArthur made major changes in various social as well as political spheres (Orii, 1993). A new constitution

promulgated in 1946 established equality between men and women. Based on the new constitution, women's suffrage was completed. "Ie" system was abolished, and the Basic Education Law (Kyoiku Kihon Ho) (1947) assured co-education for all levels of schools. However, this was not a total solution to women's problems. Orii (1993) points out that the "ie" system still remains as the family registry system (koseki seido). Orii also observes that the Labor Standard Law (1947) did not provide protection for women from being discriminated against upon employment, promotion, and retirement. After World War II the Occupation Force implemented a surface equality in voting rights and a tracking system in Japanese education. However, Ichibangase (1971) observed that this did not lead to women's inclusion in education to become informed participants in the political process to cope with a rapidly changing society.

Debate on "Shufu as a Secondary Occupation"

About 50 percent of all workers engaged in the first industry (mostly agriculture), more than 60% of women engaged in agriculture between 1920-1950 (Kanai, 1993). Ishigaki (1955) claimed that "shufu is a parasite on men (Ueno, 1982, p. 11). About seventy articles and essays about shufu appeared in seven years after Ishigaki's article was published in "Fuji Koron" (1955) (Ueno, 1982). These articles argued about the economic independence as a necessary condition to be an independence of shufu, necessary or unnecessary evaluation of domestic labor (Ueno, 1982, p. 248).

Ueno (1982) presented four types of claims which were classified based on two categories: family and gender roles. For the category of family, she divided it

into two: those who claim protection and continuation of the family, and those who claim family disassemblence. For the gender role category, one group claims gender roles as positive, and another as negative.

Shiozawa (1980) called for further analysis in the debate on shufu. He pointed out that the debate consists of four major issues that were extremely confused. The first issue was the effort to find a conceptual construct, second was the view and understanding of reality, third was the effort to suggest the ideal state of values, and the last was the effort to see if the argument suggests the advancement or retreat of the ideological or class struggle (Shiozawa, 1980, p. 105).

The essays make numerous assumptions regarding shufu, that did not emerge from research but from the writers' understanding of reality. Ueno (1982, I) attempted to see the phenomenon based on pull and push factors (p. 226). However, they are sociological factors such as economic recovery and market expansion after the World War II, and they are assumed to be understood by women through a campaign, popular phrases in the mass media, and the government's family policy (p. 227). Her push factors were also presented as campaigns, consumption patterns, and common phrases such as "hitonami (average, or the same as other people)" desire (p. 231). A generalized picture of shufu was not found by the appropriate research method but from the selected experiences that were assumed to be shared by the majority of shufu.

While this debate centered on vocation and women's liberation, women in Japan entered various social spheres. Attendance at the World Conference of the International Women's Year in Mexico (1975) and the following Treaty of

Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women in 1979 (Japan signed the treaty in 1980) made Japan introduce an Equal Employment Opportunity Law (1985). The effect of this law has been in question in terms of women's liberation (Yoneda, 1993, p. 267.) Some women like men who had 199 hours of overtime a month would die (karoshi) due to over work (Yoneda, 1993, p. 267). Part-time women workers increased, and the wage gap between men and women became larger in 1990 than in 1976 (Fujin Rodo no Jitsujo, 1991 quoted by Yoneda, p. 268). The Japanese government presented a national action plan in response to the World Action Plan passed at the United Nations Decade for Women in Nairobi, Kenya in 1985. This plan emphasized the women's freedom of choice over various life courses. The word "freedom" was seen in various policies (Yoneda, p. 270), but it had various meanings for diverse types of women (Yoneda, p. 270).

In 1982, Madoka reported a shufu syndrome which showed symptoms of stress due to "conflict and agony inherent to the role of shufu." The symptoms include mental and physical change, fatigue, impatience, insomnia, apathy, delusions, and hatred (Matsumura, 1990, p. 242). Saito (1982) reported (Tsumatachi no Shishuki) that some women attempted to flee from the seemingly happy family life to alcoholism and drugs. Hayashi, in her Kateinai Rikon (1985), portrayed a broken family pretending to function as a happy family. Matsumura (1990) indicated that shufu's social participation became a necessity for both women and the family to be in good health (p. 243).

Matsumura (1990) attempted to present multiple types of married women's social participation based on Kanamori and Kitamura's (1987) classification. For her, social participation can be made possible through employment or non-

employment. There are three employment types for women: full-time employment, unstable employment (part time workers, "albaita," and temporary workers hired by one company and employed by another), and self-employment (business owners, family business helpers, and piece work assemblers). The non-employed women can be classified into two major types: those who joined the activity out of their interests and purposes, and tried to fulfill the need of their own; and those who believed that their purpose can be attained through an organizational effort. For the individual type, some women enjoy their present life style through taking classes on literature, and sports. Some other women change their current life style after learning about social issues including women's history and issues, education, welfare, and peace problems. A third group of individuals aims to change their life styles as they study and train for vocational purposes (Matsumura, p. 245). "Culture Schools" sponsored by public and private organizations offer a variety of classes to thousands of people, especially women. Group oriented social participation includes PTA, women's circles, and community organizations (jichi-kai) (Matsumura, 1990, p. 246). Another group is oriented to social participation through the consumer's movement, volunteer activities, and other social movements.

Kanamori and Amano (1985) presented a "New Work Movement" in which women's volunteering experiences became a foundation for self-actualizing paid part-time jobs. They found that many women participated in the consumers' movement; local learning activities; volunteering; and workers' collectives; and they learned new perspectives from these experiences. These women reviewed the existing welfare and family services and changed the system so that these services genuinely reflect their new perspectives. New meal services, helper services to do house work, baby

sitting, and care of senior citizens are some of them. They are new because the effort to keep quality of services at the lowest cost is planned from women's and consumers' perspectives rather than letting commercial interests to prevail. This New Work Movement seems to be a new type of part-time jobs for which the previous shufu debate did not find a solution based on their dual-burden perspective. Kanamori and Amano's model also educates us women's new ideals which are not restricted by Confucius and ryosai kenbo (good wife, wise mother) ideas.

To what extent traditional aspects of the Japanese women play in their daily roles? As pointed out by Kanamori and Amano, some contemporary Japanese women learned and applied what they learned in their experiences. Their learning may be possible in their experiences overseas where traditional Japanese norms and values do not prevail. The current study hopefully will show how this learning occurs in the contemporary Japanese women's experiences overseas and how they applied to the Japanese context when they returned to Japan.

(2) Cross-Cultural Learning

The study of cultural learning includes various disciplines such as anthropology, sociology, psychology, communication, education, and linguistics. Major discussion is located in the issues of multiculturalism around social policy, educational policy, and practices relating to bilingual education, literacy, and adult education. The concept of culture is also dealt with when some phenomena are shared among people of similar ethnicity, age, gender, sexual orientation, religion, organization, or other factors. The unit of analysis can be any point between a national and an individual level. Here, cross-cultural learning and communication

studies are relevant to the present study because they focus on psychological as well as sociological dimensions of an individual' experience.

Studies in sociopsychological adaptation have offered many theories and models to predict what happens when a person crosses cultural borders for a prolonged time. Some attempts have been made to organize theories and models of cross-cultural adaptation. Anderson (1994) presents four broad families of models: (1) recuperation, (2) learning, (3) journey conceptualizations, and an (4) equilibrium model. Martin and Nakayama (1997) present a set of four different types: (1)anxiety and uncertainty management model, (2) U-curve model, (3)transition model, and (4) communication-system model. Ward (1996) offered three categories: (1) the stress and coping literature, (2) research on social learning and skills acquisition and, to a lesser extent, (3) developments in social cognition and intergroup perceptions. Taylor (1994) suggests three types: (1) research which identifies predictors that are indicative of intercultural competence, (2) research which offers the process of becoming interculturally competent, including the learning/growth approach, and (3) the learning model of perspective transformation.

The common denominators among these models of cross-cultural adaptation are the models and theories that deal with(1) a psychological state, and (2) learning process. Anderson's "recuperation" model, the "journey" conceptualization model, and the "equilibrium model" are psychological, while the learning model falls in the learning category. Martin and Maruyama's (1997) first three models seem to be psychological while the fourth offers solution to first three models. Ward (1996) recognized one major psychological type and two learning models. Taylor (1994) distinguished between two types and offers an alternative model.

Psychological Models

A psychological model offers concepts such as cultural shock, the U-Curve process of cultural adaptation or adjustment, and intercultural communication competence. For example, the recuperation model presents the adaptation process that begins with culture shock (Oberg, 1960). Some symptoms of culture shock are as follows (Oberg 1960, Adler 1975, Bennett 1977):

1. Excessive concern over cleanliness and health
2. Feelings of helplessness and withdrawal
3. Irritability
4. Fear of being cheated, robbed, or injured
5. A glazed stare
6. Desire for home and friends
7. Physiological stress reactions
8. Anxiety, frustrations, and paranoia
9. Loneliness and disorientation
10. Defensive communication (Oberg, 1960, p. 178)

As primary impetus for culture shock, Oberg's (1960) assumes anxiety. Pedersen (1949) describes neurosis. Garza-Guerrero (1974) uses loss and mourning which emphasize the anxious, depressive, and hostile components of the experience. Arredondo-Dowd (1981) considers despair, homesickness, and disorganization.

The U-shaped curve model presented by Sverre Lysgaard (1955) describes this psychological state over time (Fig. 1).

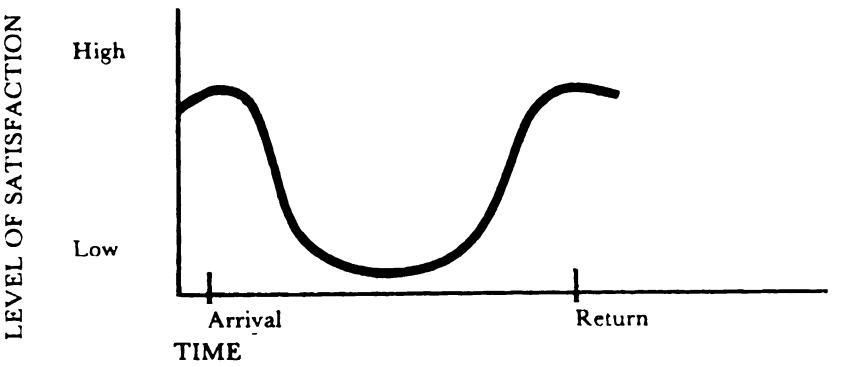


Figure 1 – U-shaped curve model of Lysgaard, quoted by Foust, ed. (1981, p. 10).

Other types of curves are also presented, such as one showing a zigzag movement (Robert, 1984). Five stages of process following cultural shock are recognized (Oberg, 1960) and up to eight (Robert, 1984). Oberg's five stages include following.

(1) In the first or honeymoon stage the sojourner may feel genuinely euphoric about the exciting new culture around him/her.

(2) This is followed by a second stage of dealing with crises that result from "normal" daily activities that suddenly seem to present insurmountable difficulties, generating hostility toward hosts for being "unreasonable."

(3) In the third stage the sojourner begins to understand the host culture and regains a sense of humor.

(4) The fourth stage is where the sojourner begins to accept the host culture in a balanced picture of positive and negative aspects.

(5) The fifth and final stage occurs when the sojourner returns home and experiences reverse culture shock in the readjustment to the old environment. (p. 178-179)

To what extent, a person experiences the feeling of frustration associated with cultural adaptation? Spitzberg and Cupach point out that intercultural or cross-cultural communication competence influence the length and the degree of this adaptation period. (Spitzberg & Cupach, 1989) or intercultural effectiveness (Hammer, Gudykunst, & Wiseman, 1978). Martin and Nakayama (1997) offer four areas to describe this competence: motivation, knowledge, attitudes, behaviors including skills. Benson (1978) identifies 10 competencies such as language skills, communication skills, interactions, reinforcing activities, friendliness, socially appropriate behaviors, job performance, attitudes, satisfaction, and mobility.

Abilities that determine these competencies include "the ability to deal with psychological stress . . . the ability to effectively communicate, [and] . . . the ability to establish interpersonal relationships (Hammer, Gudykunst, and Wiseman, 1978, p. 389).

Holmes and Rahe (1967) theorize that stress-provoking life changes and coping responses call for psychological reaction. This view assumes that disequilibrium induces adaptive reactions. Furthermore, this causal relation is mediated by a variety of personal and situational factors (Lazarus & Folkman, 1984). These seem to be responsible for this psychological state.

Additional factors that influence adaptation include life changes (Lin, Tazuma, and Masuda, 1979), personality (Ward and Kennedy, 1992), the individuals' cognitive appraisal of the change (Chataway and Berry, 1989), and social support (Adelman, 1988).

As an outcome of cultural adaptation experiences, Hammer, Gudykunst, and

Wiseman (1978) identified the concept called "third cultural perspective." It is "being nonjudgemental, being accurate in perceptions of similarities and differences between cultures, and being less exclusive (p. 384)." Church (1982) concluded that "those who are acculturated demonstrate a broader worldview, a low level of ethnocentrism, and greater self-awareness and self-esteem (p. 557).

Kim (1988) presented three categories of outcomes of adaptation: psychological health, functional fitness, and intercultural identity. Feelings of comfort in a new culture indicate psychological health. Functional fitness becomes possible by learning new ways of living and behaving. The aquisition of some skills in applying local rules for politeness, verbal communication, and typical uses of nonverbal communication are outcomes of adaptation (Kim, 1988). One of the outcomes of adaptation which Kim indicated above is an intercultural identity. When a person has an intercultural identity, he/she is neither a part of nor apart from a particular culture but someone who acts situationally (Adler, 1977, p. 26).

The reactions of individuals who returned to their home countries have also been researched by a number of scholars. Gullahorn and Gullahorn (1963) suggested that the W-curve of adaptation, which is basically an extension of the U-curve. When individuals return home, they experience a sense of relief and excitement, then depression and a negative outlook often follow. Thus, they had a U-curve experience in the host culture, and another U-curve when they return home. Austine (1987) found that returnees' self-concept decreases because their new roles are rejected in their home countries. Homesickeness and nostalgia for the foreign country emerge during this time (Moore, 1981). Sometimes individuals changed

their values while they were in the host countries, and this may cause depression (Austin, 1987). Dissatisfaction with the home country may also be a reason (Austin, 1987). Austin (1987) found that some individuals had more problems when they returned to their home countries than in the host country. Kidder (1992) found that these returnees are ambivalent about the changes they went through. For example, "some transformations are physical changes in hair and clothing; some are visible behavioral changes in how they walk or move their arms or faces. The more serious changes are in interpersonal styles and expressions (p. 383)."

While most stages resemble the U-curve upon reentry, Austin (1987) points out a "conspiracy of silence" as a possible reason for deeper stress. No one wants to admit that he or she is having difficulty readjusting to the home culture.

Psychologists have criticized the above psychological models. For example, Headey, Holstrom, and Wearing (1984) pointed out that it is often assumed in the adaptation literature that a person who is well adjusted to the society is generally considered happy. However Headey, Holstrom, and Wearing claim that this assumption is not valid. The reason is that well-being and ill-being are distinct dimensions, and "the correlates and causes of well-being are somewhat different from the correlates and causes of ill-being" (p. 115).

Other criticisms include the following. The term "culture shock" is vague, overgeneralized, and not even close to the term used generally (cf. Main, 1984). Chang (1985) points out that "culture shock" is a catch-all phrase that includes a variety of reactions to different problems.

Anderson (1994) notes that these psychological models do not depict higher level activities such as learning, fulfillment, growth, and development. She implies

that the model assumes that human beings function to reduce stress and imbalance, and that is all that human beings do. That is, the model leaves out the fact that many individuals "actively seek out tension and are revitalized by difficulty" (p. 297). She also observes that individuals vary in how they perceive the same situation. The same events may be variously appraised by different individuals as "threatening, positive, exciting, or benign (Lazarus and Folkman, 1984). What is a dreaded threat to one individual may be a challenge to another (Anderson, 1994).

Learning Models -- Behavioral Approaches

Adler (1975) claims that a cultural adaptation process is potentially a learning experience that promotes personal growth. According to this view, culture shock is thought of "as a profound learning experience that leads to a high degree of self-awareness and personal growth. Rather than being only a disease for which adaptation is the cure, culture shock is likewise at the very heart of the cross-cultural learning experience. It is an experience in self-understanding and change" (p. 29). Through what kinds of experiences a person comes to understand him/herself, and to be transformed? Are the people who belong to the same culture generally go through similar experiences when they are in a host country? If culture shock is a cross-cultural learning experience, what is the learning content? Is this learning content same to all the people who belong to the same culture? What is the variation in this learning content? Kidder (1992) writes that Japanese changed interpersonal styles and expressions after one to ten years of stay abroad. What made them become so?

Adler's (1975) five phases also reflect learning and growth:

(1) a contact phase characterized by excitement and euphoria during which the individual views the new environment ethnocentrically
(2) a disintegration phase marked by confusion, alienation, and depression during which cultural differences become increasingly noticeable
(3) a reintegration phase characterized by strong rejection of some or all of the second culture, formed by defensive projection of personal difficulties on to the new culture, and an existential choice to either regress to earlier phases or to move closer to resolution and personal growth
(4) an autonomy stage marked by increasing understanding of the host culture along with a feeling of competence, and
(5) a final stage of independence marked by a cherishing of cultural differences and relativism, creative behavior, and increased self- and cultural awareness. (p. 19)

Kim and Ruben (1988) also describe the learning aspect of personal transition when a person crosses cultural borders for a prolonged time. In their Stress-Adaptation-Growth Process model, Kim and Roben show how stress is needed for growth. They conclude that better adapted immigrants had a somewhat greater frequency of stress-related symptoms (p. 312). Individuals who managed the stress successfully may show "increased cognitive complexity, positive orientation toward the host environment and themselves, and behavior capacities to communicate with the natives" (p. 313).

In 1995, Kim observed that ". . . strangers discover that they lack a level of understanding of the communication system of the new host society, and must learn and acquire many of its symbols and patterns of activities" (p. 176). "As new learning occurs, unlearning, or deculturation, of at least some of the old cultural habits occurs -- at least in the sense that new responses are adopted in situations that previously would have evoked old ones" (p. 176). That is, ". . . some of the 'old'

cultural habits are replaced by new cultural habits" (p. 179). Thus, a person who is in the host culture becomes aware of insufficient communication methods that were the considered most efficient in his/her own culture, and start adopting new ways of communicating to fulfill his/her intention in the host culture.

Anderson (1994) offers reasons for learning in intercultural adaptation, and the possible ways of management. "It is the urge to solve problems that makes individuals first learn the parameters of the situation then decide on responses to problems presented and internalize response alternatives as a function of the parameters learned" (p. 305). Upon confrontation with problems, Anderson (1994) points out four ways of reacting to the new situation: changing the environment, changing oneself, doing nothing at all, or walking away (P. 305). This view implies that when a person reports an absence of problems, he or she is assumed to have learned the culture (Jacobson, 1996). Four ways of responding to problems suggest the application possibilities for the learning content when a person returns from abroad.

As a major criticism of the behavioral approach to cultural learning theories and models, Ady (1995) points out the methodological problems. He states that "individual's adjustment is being conceptualized as the lack of something . . ." (p. 102). Operationalization of sojourner adjustment "in terms of general adjustment to a new environment" (p. 102), uses "sojourners' self-reports of whether they 'adjusted' to the new culture in a global sense or to several broad domains of life in the new culture" (p. 102). Some studies even use the term adjustment itself which holds "denotative meanings" (p. 103) and "psychometric justification for such a

choice of stimulus materials" (p. 103). In other words, some studies may present serious research problems.

Similar criticisms can be applied to intercultural learning models and theories. Taylor (1994) points out that in these learning models, "intricacies of the learning process are hardly explored" (p. 157). Some theories simply imply that "learning has taken place" (p. 157). He raises some questions as follows: "What is the process of learning that is taking place?" (p. 157). "How are these skills developed? What does a stranger do that is central to the process of learning that allows development of a more inclusive world view? How does a stranger revise and change a former interpretation of a culture for a new and broader interpretation?" (p. 157). Thus, the process and the contents of learning are not clearly presented by above theories, and_learner's previous capability was not taken into consideration. The behavior of the learner in the learning situation was neither clearly described. Finally, the process of transformation that seems to take place in moving two cultures is not described precisely by above theories.

Learning in Transition

Bennett (1977) considers culture shock and adaptation to be a normal part of human experience, which can be classified as transition. Some scholars consider that various transitional experiences share all of the characteristics presented. Anderson (1994) points out three areas of studies that might be relevant to studies of cultural adjustment and adaptation: bereavement, migration, and critical life-event studies. They all present distress reactions individuals exhibit and describe symptoms such as "irritability, depression, lowered self-esteem" (p. 301).

Various transition theories touch upon psychological reactions and outcomes of transitions, and some of them observe the relationship between life events and learning in adulthood. For example, Aslanian and Brickell (1990) study why adults participate in adult education. The majority of the respondents in their study (83%) answered that they participate because they need to cope with life changes. Similarly, Merriam and Clark (1994) found that life events such as "first job, divorce, death of a loved one, travel, or job promotion" were identified as "triggering significant learning experiences" (Merriam, 1994).

Life events are the "turning points" or "punctuation marks" that call forth changes in self-concept and identity (Neugarten, 1976). Normative life events (Neugarten, 1976) are those that are expected to occur "on time." These are societal expectations about life events such as marriage, graduation, illness, or job change. Non-normative events are "off time" or unanticipated such as unexpected death, and they become a force for learning. Factors that determine the impact of the event on the individual include timing, cohort specificity, contextual purity, and duration (Merriam, 1994).

Timing refers to whether an event occurs "on time" or not. For the "on time" events, many resources are available to draw upon. For example, a person who becomes pregnant "on time" has friends and siblings who become pregnant at the same time. This situation offers instrumental and emotional support. Cohort specificity means that an event affects different generations in different ways. World War II may mean different things to different generations. The contextual purity is the degree to which "an adult's reaction to an event may be related to the extent to which the 'event occurs at a relatively stable, otherwise uneventful time in a person's

life" (Danish et al., 1980, p. 344). Duration is the time period of an event. "Educative events" (Danish et al., 1980, p. 343) can be a long illness or the birth of a child. "The role, rights, expectations, and responsibilities of the impending event can be explored and learned ahead of time" (Danish et al., 1980, p. 343).

Life events are punctuation points which sometimes require changes in social roles. A "teacheable moment (Havighurst, 1972)" is the time when adults are ready to learn developmental tasks, those required for life events (Havighurst, 1953). For example, "getting married" is the developmental task to start the social roles of "husband" or "wife."

How do we learn from a life event? Dewey (1938) is well known for his conception of experiential learning. In his Experience and Education, he advocates two principles, continuity and interaction. The principle of continuity of experience means that "every experience both takes up something from those which have gone before and modifies in some way the quality of those which come after" (p. 35). Interaction is "going on between individual and objects and other persons" (p. 43). Dewey believes that "What he has learned in the way of knowledge and skill in one situation becomes an instrument of understanding and dealing effectively with the situations which follow" (p. 44).

In Gestalt psychology, "situation" is believed to be subjectively perceived (Kohler, 1959). Individuals are believed to organize patterns they perceive and make meanings. Based on this theory, Discovery Learning (Kohler, 1959), and Meaningful Reception Learning (Ausubel, 1963) are earlier models. Learning by discovery is learning "through one's own self-guided exploration, rather than through

explanation or modeling from a teacher" (Good and Brophy, 1995, p. 182). In this model, "aha," a sudden insight, was followed by a solution to the problem.

Ausubel (1963) believes that individuals make sense of the situation by relating it to what they already know. He assumes that "knowledge is organized into hierarchical structures in which subordinate concepts are subsumed under higher-level superordinate concepts" (Good and Brophy, 1995, p. 182). Ausbel believes that analogies, metaphors, examples, and concrete models help learners to connect new learning materials with familiar ones. He also believes that the transfer of existing knowledge to new situations requires generalizations.

Not all life experiences are considered to offer the potentiality of learning. Jarvis (1987) classifies responses to a life experience into nine categories: nonlearning (presumption, nonconsideration, and rejection), nonreflective (preconscious, practice, and memorization), and reflective learning. He believes that attention to the experiences and reflection are needed for learning to take place.

How can meaning be made while individuals attend and reflect on it? For Mezirow (1991), reflection is "the process of critically assessing the content, process, or premise(s) of our efforts to interpret and give meaning to an experience" (p. 104). Content reflection is reflection on what we perceive, think, feel, or act upon" (p. 107). Process reflection is an examination of how we perform these functions of perceiving, thinking, feeling, or acting and an assessment of our efficacy in performing them" (p. 108). It also involves a "critique of how we are perceiving, thinking, judging, feeling, and acting . . ." (p. 106). Premise reflection involves "our becoming aware of why we perceive, think, feel, or act as we do and of the reasons for and consequences of our possible habits of hasty judgment, conceptual inadequacy, or

error in the process of judging . . ." (p. 108). It is also "an assessment of the validity of norms, roles, codes, "common sense," ideologies, language games, paradigms, philosophies, or theories that we have taken for granted" (p. 105). These types of reflection make "perspective transformation" possible.

Mezirow (1991) describes "perspective transformation" as follows:

> Perspective transformation is the process of becoming critically aware of how and why our assumptions have come to constrain the way we perceive, understand, and feel about our world; changing these structures of habitual expectation to make possible a more inclusive, discriminating, and integrative perspective; and finally, making choices or otherwise acting upon these new understandings. (p. 167)

Mezirow (1991) finds that the process of perspective transformation requires ten phases as follows.

1. A disorienting dilemma
2. Self-examination with feelings of guilt or shame
3. A critical assessment of epistemic, sociocultural, or psychic assumptions
4. Recognition that one's discontent and the process of transformation are shared and that others have negotiated a similar change
5. Exploration of options for new roles, relationships, and actions
6. Planning of a course of action
7. Acquisition of knowledge and skills for implementing one's plans
8. Provisional trying of new roles
9. Building of competence and self-confidence in new roles and relationships; and

10. A reintegration into one's life on the basis of conditions dictated by one's new perspective.

Taylor (1994) focuses on how people learn to develop adaptive capacity that allows effective communication in a host culture. His model shows the learning process to become competent interculturally. Intercultural competency is "an adaptive capacity based on an inclusive and integrative world view which allows participants to effectively accommodate the demands of living in a host culture" (Taylor, 1994 p. 154). Taylor interviewed 12 interculturally competent persons, 25 years or older, who had the United States as their primary culture, and lived and worked in the host culture a minimum of two years. Two more criteria were used for selecting the subjects: the participants spoke the host language as his or her primary form of communication; and they expressed positive feelings about the intercultural experience.

Taylor's model of the process of learning to become interculturally competent shows five major components: (1) setting the stage, (2) cultural disequilibrium, (3) cognitive orientations, (4) behavioral learning strategies, and (5) evolving intercultural identity. For (1) setting the stage, three major conditions are assumed to set the stage for a person who becomes ready for the learning: (a) former critical events, (b) personal goals, and (c) previous intercultural experience and training. Once a person enters the host culture, he/she shows periods of dissonance in the participant's life causing stress and intense emotions. Taylor label this state as cultural disequilibrium. The degree of this discomfort depends on (a) gender, marital status, and race, and (b) previous experences of marginality, host language

competency, and by experience in the host culture. In response to cultural disequilibrium, some persons reflect themselves, and others do not. The reflection process is considered as questioning of prior values and assumptions. In order to balance their cultural disequilibrium, a person is assumed to take various behavioral learning strategies, such as (a) as an observer: listening, watching, reading, (b) as a participant: talking, socializing, dressing, eating, shopping, and (c) as a friend: committing, risking, sharing. Finally a person can evolve intercultural identity that manifests in (a) change in values, (b) increase in self-confidence, and (c) change in perspective such as world view.

(3) The Japanese Concept of Self

In 1944, based on her field research of the Japanese in the United States, Ruth Benedict presented in The Chrysanthemum and the Sword many concepts that are considered crucial to understand the Japanese. Some of them are "on (feeling of debt)" "on-gaeshi (returning of 'on')" "ko (being dutiful to one's parents)" "chu (loyalty to the emperor, nation or laws)" "giri (obligation)" "makoto (sincerity)" "michi (way)" "shuyo (cultivation)" "hara (belly)" and "haji (shame)." She points out that the Japanese are bound by the feeling of debt ("on"), which is usually given by one's superiors in the hierarchical society. Each individual holds "an appropriate place" and he/she has to pay duty ("ko") and loyalty ("chu") to one's superior regardless of conditions and time. "Giri (obligation)" is the obligation to pay back limited quality and quantity of "on" which is at lesser level than "ko" and "chu." However, once a person fails to pay back "giri," he or she will be accused of having "haji (shame)." Benedict claims that Japan is "a shame culture," not a "guilt

culture." Sincerity ("makoto") means to follow one's way ("michi"), which is elaborated by the sense of feelings of debt ("on"). To create strong "belly" means that one does not change his or her mind or is not influenced easily unlike a more transitory gut reaction. Self-discipline to create such belly ("hara") is the goal of everyday cultivation ("shuyo").

Benedict concludes that Japanese behaviors are controlled by other people. For example, "seken (public)" "hito no me (eyes of others)," and "hito no kuchi (mouth of others)" all influence one's behavioral norm. According to her, the feeling of shame, thus, comes from the evaluation by others of oneself as follows:

> The shame cultures rely on external sanctions for good behavior, not, as true guilt cultures do, on an internalized conviction of sin. Shame is a reaction to other people's criticism. A man is shamed either by being openly ridiculed and rejected or by fantasying to himself that he has been made ridiculous (p. 223).

As opposed to Benedict, Sakuta (1972) indicates that for Japanese "to know shame means to secretly be ashamed of oneself because of one's improper behavior (p. 295). Contrary to Benedict's indication, the autonomous sanction in Japanese behaviors is like what Benedict attributes to the "guilt" culture.

In Human Relations in Japan, Nakane (1972) identifies concepts such as "attribute" and "frame" which are used to form groups. Attribute refers to descent, hereditary status, academic background, social standing, occupation, gender, and age. Frame, on the contrary, refers to groups who "share a common situational position by living in a particular district or belonging to a specific organization" (p. 8). Nakane

claims that Japanese society is "a frame society" in which individuals identify themselves with organizations. A Japanese individual would say "I belong to S Company" rather than "I am an engineer." A group consisting of a variety of attributes requires a "sense of unity" and "internal tie" to maintain the frame. The sense of unity is strengthened by extending the range of the frame to private life, including marriages and company trips. Thus, a strong cohesiveness presenting the sense of "our people" and "outsiders" emerges. To the individuals in one frame, such outsiders are not human. Nakane (1972) also points out that the "strength of human relations depends on the length and intensity of contact (p. 24)." Thus, a transfer of companies become "unbearable" for a Japanese due to the loss of a social network.

Nakane (1972) points out that the "vertical" nature of Japanese organizations is characterized as an "oyabun-kobun" relationship ("patron and protégé, landlord and tenant farmer, or master and disciple" (p. 30). Therefore, rank consciousness is inevitable, and ability is not easily taken into consideration for evaluation (p. 31-32). For Japanese, equality of ability is assumed (p. 35). Therefore, indices for ranking commonly include age, length of service, and educational background.

From a psychiatric viewpoint, Doi (1974), claims the concept of "amae" is considered as "a basic desire" in the Japanese relationship.

> Amae is the noun form of amaeru, an intransitive verb that means "to depend and presume upon another's benevolence" (Doi, 1956). This word has the same root as amai, an adjective that means "sweet." Thus, amaeru has a distinct feeling of sweetness and is generally used to describe a child's attitude or behavior toward his parents, particularly his mother. But it can also be used to describe the relationship between two adults, such as the relationship

between a husband and a wife or a master and a subordinate (145).

In his other writings, Doi indicates that an ambivalent *amae* becomes the source of dissatisfaction when others do not respond and causes grudges, sulking, and a jaundiced view (p. 165, Hamaguchi, Nihon Rashisa no Saihakken, Kodansha, 1988). He also indicates that the Japanese are incapable of retaining identity unless they imbed themselves in the group where they have a full opportunity to *amaeru.* (Doi, 1974)

Kimura (1972) criticizes Doi's concept, especially in its original dictionary meaning. According to him, "amae" is not "a desire" but a description of a state. That is, a person behaves as he or she wants to be based on the assumption of a pre-existing "amae" relationship. In other words, Doi (1962) regards "amae" as a cause of Japanese behaviors, and Kimura (1972) claims it is a result of Japanese relationships.

Hamaguchi, (1985) points out that the concepts used in studies are culture-bound. He notes the concepts such as "individual" and "group" found in the studies of "shame culture" and "vertical society" are culture-bound. A concept of "personality" used in the study of "amae" is also considered culture-bound. He suggests that the Japanese behaviors are determined contextually. In contrast, Benedict seems to assume an individual as an independent autonomous being (Hamaguchi, p. 292). Nakane seems to assume that a more generalized picture applicable to "all segments of contemporary Japanese society." (p. 293). Doi also assumes a "independent ego" (p. 294).

Kimura (1972) indicates that the concept of "self" for the Japanese is "a part (bun) of jiko (self)." In other words, an entity exists beyond the fundamental self, and it floats in space positionally. A person exists in this context as a part of this entity (p. 154). The quality or characteristics of identity do not vary. The Japanese terminology describe oneself reflects Kimura's (1972) point as follows.

A linguist, Suzuki (1978), presents the Japanese self-reference terms that include all the words the speaker uses to refer to his/herself (p. 124). He presents a scenario of conversation in which "a person with higher status uses the term which a person with lower status uses to call him or her." For example, a forty-year-old male elementary school teacher calls himself by the terms other people use, the third person. This person uses "watakushi (I)" to the principal of the school, "boku (colloquial "I" for younger persons)" to one's father, older brother, and colleagues, "nii-san (older brother) to the younger brother, "ore (I, in casual way)," "oto-san (father)" to his father, "sensei (teacher)" to his students, and "oji-san (uncle)" to the neighbor's child. Suzuki's (1978) study demonstrates that Japanese self is known to be relative depending on the situation, and it requires that other(s) be defined. In order to use the Japanese "I," one has to empathize with others to know how they see oneself. In such a situation, "other" is not positioned as confronting oneself.

Rosenberger (1992) also tells us that the Japanese concept of "self" or *jibun,* cannot exist separate from the context or social environment. She claims that "we are forced to understand that self . . . form through relating to others, but, . . . by relating in a variety of ways" (p. 4). Rosenberger (1992) points out that a view of the "relational self" came from Herbert Mead's ideas of self. Mead (1934) sees self as follows:

> "The individual experiences himself as such, not directly, but only indirectly, from the particular standpoints of other individual members of the same social group or from the generalized standpoint of the social group as a whole to which he belongs. For he enters his own experience as a self or individual, not directly or immediately, not by becoming a subject to himself, but only in so far as he first becomes an object to himself just as other individuals are objects to him or are in his experience; and he becomes an object to himself only by taking the attitudes of other individuals toward himself within a social environment or context of experience and behaviour to which both he and they are involved (P. 138)."

Mead (1934, 1967) distinguishes two types of self: "I" and "me." The 'I' is "the response of the organism to the attitudes of the others. The 'me' is "the organized set of attitudes of others which one assumes. He claims that "the attitudes of the others constitute the organized 'me,' and then one reacts toward that as an 'I'. (p. 175). At this point we are not sure if the Japanese possesses 'I' as Mead (1934, 1967) suggests.

Based on Mead's concept, Plath (1980) claims that the Japanese have a "people-centered worldview; it is not 'sociocentric' in the sense of being primarily attuned to society as an abstract structure of roles (p. 217)." He continues that "the lifelong struggle is to carry out one's responsibilities to others without diminishing one's playful responsiveness toward them (p. 217)." However, Rosenberger (1992a) questions if Plath (1980) presents "how relationships *constitute* the self (p. 11)." To Plath, others (consociates) are "a special jury who evaluate and confirm the course of your being and becoming (p. 8)." What we are doing must be "recognized or validated by others (p. 8)." Plath indicates that we can "continute to grow, . . but

only to the extent that others allow or confirm that growth (p. 8)."

These various views are observations on the collective Japanese self. However, this generalization cannot be applied to all segments of the Japanese population without exception, especially in recent times. Some segments of population have experienced alienation. For example, school children (Lock, 1986, Rohlen, 1983), housewives (Vogel, 1978; Imamura, 1987; Rosenberger, 1987), salarymen (Vogel, Ezra, 1971), and the elderly people (Bethel,1992).

If the self "attains through relating to others, but, . . . by relating in a variety of ways (Rosenberger, 1992a)," the methodology of the research has to take into consideration the definition of "ways." Rosenberger (1992b) suggests that the Japanese self could be visualized in the form of a "three-dimensional checker game with three layers of movement that interconnect both horizontally and vertically." (p. 67). These three dimensions are the psycho-spiritual energy known as "ki," the "amae" relationship, and the context of formality and informality known as "soto (outer)" and "uchi (inner)," "omote (front)" and "ura (back)," and "tatemae (on-stage)" and "honnne (off-stage)." (p. 67). Based on her interview with a fifty-year-old woman, Rosenberger (1992) concludes that this woman understands that "self" is "a cyclical process that takes form and meaning from its position in relation to other people within changing contexts, groups, and ideologies. (p. 88)."

In summary, various aspects of Japanese self concept were presented as "shame, or being strongly influenced by other people (Benedict)," "a frame society, or the vertical nature (Nakane, 1972)," "amae (sense of dependency or indulgence (Doi, 1962)," "separated entity beyond the fundamental self (Kimura, 1972),"

"contextual nature (Suzuki, 1978)," "relational nature (Rosenberger, 1992), and "people-centered worldview (Plath, 1980)."

Chapter 3

DESIGN AND METHODOLOGY

OVERVIEW OF DESIGN AND METHODOLOGY

This study aimed at the understanding cross-cultural learning process of Japanese married women who returned to their homeland after living in the United States for a year or more. The main research question was as follows:

What kinds of cross-cultural learning occur as a consequence of a foreign experience, and how do these women sojourners retain or revise their self concept?

In order to answer this question, three areas of questions were identified, and under each question, subsidiary questions were placed.

1. How does a Japanese married woman describe what it was like to be a Japanese woman living in Japan prior to going to the U. S.?

[Subsidiary Questions]

(1) What was the community like for these women before they went to the U. S.?
(2) What was the family like for these women before they went to the United States?
(3) What were the images of America before they went to the U. S.?
(4) What was everyday life like before they went to the U. S.?
(5) How was their ki energy of the Japanese women before they went to the U. S.?
(6) What were the dyadic relations that concerned them the most before they went

to the U. S.?

(7) What was the context such as outer/inner, front/back, and tatemae/honne that concerned them the most before they went to the U. S.?

(8) What types of critical events had these women experienced before they went to the United States?

(9) What types of personal goals did they have before they went to the United States?

(10) What types of prior inter-cultural experiences did they have before they went to the United States?

2. How does a Japanese married woman, after returning to Japan, describe what it was like to be a Japanese woman living in a not-exclusively Japanese community in the United States?

[Subsidiary Questions]

(1) What was the community like that these women lived in in the U. S.?

(2) What was everyday life like for these women who were living in the U. S.?

(3) How was their ki energy of the Japanese woman in the United States?

(4) What were the dyadic relations that concerned them most in the United States?

(5) What was the context such as outer/inner, front/back, and tatemae/honne like that concerned the Japanese women most in the United States?

(6) What types of disorienting dilemma did these women have in the U. S.?

(7) What types of reflection did these women have in the U. S.?

(8) What types of learning strategies did these women undertake in the U. S.?

3. In what ways and to what extent does the Japanese woman who lived in the United States associate this experience with subsequent decisions regarding their activities and interactions with others after they returned to Japan?

[Subsidiary Questions]

(1) What were the women amerika-gaeri (returnees from America) like?

(2) What did these women conceive as their expectations for themselves after they returned to Japan?

(3) In what way and to what extent do these women associate what they experienced in the U. S. with the activities they currently engage in and plan?

(4) What are the perceived changes in norms due to living in the United States?

Why and why not?

(5) What was the ki energy of the Japanese women like after they returned to Japan?

(6) What were the dyadic relations that concerned the Japanese women the most after they returned to Japan?

(7) What was the context such as outer/inner, front/back, and tatemae/honne that concerned them the most after they returned to Japan?

(8) What new perspectives did these women attain?

(9) What types of international activities do these women participate in?

In selecting the research methodology, not only the type of inquiry but also the cross-cultural nature of the study calls for a particular way to approach the questions. Maxwell (1996) points out that certain research purposes are suited for qualitative studies. Such purposes include the following: "(1) Understanding the meaning, for participants in the study, of the events, situations, and actions they are involved with and of the accounts that they give of their lives and experiences; (2) Understanding the particular context within which the participants act, and the influence that this context has on their actions; (3) Identifying unanticipated phenomena and influences, and generating new grounded theories about the latter; (4) Understanding the process by which events and actions take place; and (5) Developing causal explanations (p. 17-20).". All five points fit what this study intended to do.

Qualitative study offers many varieties in itself. Tesch (1990) classifies it into four major categories such as the research interest which is in the characteristics of language, the discovery of regularities, the comprehension of the meaning of text and/or action, and reflection. Each category is further divided into subcategories, and then two more levels. For example, the research which has an interest is in the characteristics of language is first divided into "as communication" and "as culture."

Then the one "as culture" is further divided into "cognitive" and "interactive." The research in the "cognitive" group is further divided into "ethnoscience" and "structural ethnography."

The elimination of one category under the "discovery of regularities" seemed necessary because this study did not aim at making generalizations at the first level of categorization of Tesch's scheme. The category of "characteristics of language" might be the secondary purpose of this study. The potential category of this study might fall under "comprehension of the meaning of text and/or action," because the process of meaning-making is considered as "interpretation," and that is what this study looked for. In Tesch's organization of categories, this school of research is further divided into case studies or life history studies, and hermeneutics. Tesch considers that life history studies "concentrates on following the development of events and experiences over time (p. 68)." Case studies include historical research and "direct observation and systematic interviewing (Yin, 1984, p. 19)." Hermeneutics takes into consideration of "a singular event (which) is understood by reference to whatever it is a part of . . . (Polkinghorne, 1983, p. 221). This study did not provide particular implications in the historical sense. Another area of Tesch's organization of categories is reflection, includes the studies which deal with intuition or "tacit knowledge (Tesch, p. 69)." This area also seemed to be secondary to this study. However, life history seemed to fit this study.

The method of gathering data varies depending on the inquiry. Some forms include interviews, observations, and collecting documents or any information. Data also vary. Mason (1996) lists the following: speech, language, writing, texts, narratives, stories, art, cultural products, visual images, diagrams, photographs, maps,

publications, media products, documents, archives, laws, statutes, rules, regulations, policies, collectivities, groups, clubs, organizations, events, and socio-geographical locations. This study evaluated the data such as narratives and stories because they included contextual information and accounts of the changes in activities from the participants' point of view.

Experience is "individuals' meeting, confronting, passing through, and making sense of events in their lives (Denzin, 1989, p. 33)." Brunner (1986, p. 6) indicates that experience refers to how the realities of life present themselves to consciousness. Epiphanies are a type of experiences which are considered as significant events which evoke revelation in a person's life (Denzin, p. 33) These epiphanies usually leave a mark on people's lives. Meaning takes forms of " . . . a concrete presence in the lives of . . . people (Derrida, 1972, p. 250)." The forms of meaning are verbal and written expressions through "windows (Derrida, 1972)." However, there is "no clear window into the inner life of a person, for any window is always filtered through the glaze of language, signs, and the process of signification (Denzin, 1972, p. 14)." Language is admittedly always "inherently unstable, in flux, and made of the traces of other signs and symbolic statements (Denzin, 1972, p. 14)." However, there seems no better way to reflect and present a person's meaning making than in texts. Therefore, how lives are told and written about is considered to be best represented by the narrative study.

In this study, the variations of experiences were looked into in light of the three dimensions: "ki" energy, relations, and context. The changes in perspectives were also examined in light of these three dimensions. This illuminated the complex nature of cross-cultural experiences as they influenced individual perspectives back in

Japan. Such an illumination suggested a theory with regard to how cross-cultural experience influences "ideas in people's head" about "their model of their social universe (Keesing, Ibid.)."

Reframing Questions

As I conducted the interviews, I noticed certain questions were useless, and some others did not elicit an intended area of response. For example, asking the interviewees to describe their images of America did not elicit detailed descriptions. It seemed that an individual holds some types of images about certain incidents or detailed pictures of some scenery, but a general images did not come out in concrete descriptions.

The questions about context was very difficult ones as well. It seemed that these women did not seem to easily distinguish the difference between outer/inner, front/back, and tatemae/honne when they speak of some behaviors. Often used word was ura (inner, back, or honne), but no omote (outer, front, or tatemae) was mentioned in any case.

Questions about the community in the United States only showed the surroundings and people, but no community concept which was equivalent to their neighbors in Japan came up. The contextual information was not clear when these interviewees described about their lives in the United States.

While interviewing these women, I noticed certain questions produce poorer response. As I mention later, language as well as cultural communication patterns seemed to be the major reason. I was forced to reframe some questions, and sometimes, I abandoned entire subsidiary questions. In chapter 4, I will present the

categories that appeared to be shared by at least two interviewees.

Study Design

For the first step, participants were identified, and their names and addresses were obtained. Then letters to ask them to participate were sent. Within ten days from the day of sending letters, telephone calls were made to see if prospective interviewees had some questions. If a person indicated her willingness to see the consent form, it was sent right away. Usually, the consent form and the questions were sent altogether, or brought to the participants for the first interview. After reading these materials, the interviewees indicated their agreement to participate. Some interviewees showed their agreement in the first telephone call. However, a special care was taken for when to obtain their agreement, and they were told to hold their indication of agreement until they read consent form and questions.

In the first individual interview, key questions related to research questions were introduced. The interviews were taped. Later these tapes were transcribed and typed. When the study was planned, supplemental interview was considered possible. However, no supplemental interviews were conducted. After reading the transcription, summary was created. Analysis to find the themes and categories took place during this stage. For the second and third interviews, same process was taken. In-depth review and analysis were not discrete process but were concomitant with interviews and transcriptions. After all the transcribing, in-depth review was made using color markers. The following figure shows the flow of the study design.

Table 1 - Overview of Study Design

Participant Selection	• Participant Identification	• Names and addresses obtained. • Letters sent out.
	• Consent	• Consent form sent out
↓		
Data Collection and Analysis	• First Individual Interview • Transcription Review • Analysis	• Key questions related to research questions
↓		
	• Second Individual Interview • Transcription Review • Analysis	• Key questions related to research questions
↓		
	• Third Individual Interview • Transcription Review • In depth Transcription Review and Analysis of all Data	• Key questions related to research questions
↓		
	• Supplemental Interview (if needed or requested) • In-depth Transcription Review and Analysis of all Data	
↓		
Analysis of		

Findings

↓

Study Report

↓

Conclusions

Participant Selection

I decided to interview six Japanese women plus three others as a pilot. Most participants were recruited through the educational exchange program between Michigan State University and Tokyo University of Agriculture. These two universities agreed on their sister-university relationship in 1966, and each year Tokyo University of Agriculture sent one or two professors to Michigan State University. They were usually accompanied by their family and remained in the United States for from one year to eighteen months. Michigan State University does not have exclusively Japanese neighborhoods, which are defined according to such criteria as the availability of commercial services such as Japanese grocery stores, restaurants, schools, travel agencies and parcel services targeted at a Japanese population. The town of East Lansing, Michigan, had about 50,677 (Census, 1990) population and is predominantly (85%) Caucasian. The Japanese population comprises 0.6 percent. It has only one Japanese restaurant and several Asian grocery stores that carry some Japanese staples. Japanese live in campus housing or in neighborhoods near the university.

The participants were selected through institutional connections such as host professors for the exchange program at the Michigan State University. A coordinating director at Tokyo University of Agriculture was identified through these

host professors, and contact with the interviewees were made through this person.

Criteria for Selection

The female interviewees were selected based on marital status, and ranged in age from 30 to 50. Professional career involvement was not included in the criteria. The number of children was not included in the criteria. Most interviewees were selected from the pool of population whose husbands work at a university, stayed for one-year to 18 months in the United States of America that holds not-exclusively Japanese population.

In the specific age range of 30 to 50, Japanese women usually are concerned with their roles as primary caretakers of the family. This age range is also important in employment. Between ages 30 and 34, Japanese women's work force participation is lowest (53.5%) and becomes highest between ages 45 and 49 (Ministry of Labor, Hataraku Josei no Jitsujo, 1996). Women over 35 comprise 80 percent of the part time workers in Japan (Ibid., p. 37). Japanese women of this age range seem to be engaging in various decision making activities that determine their life circumstances such as employment and family care issues.

Participants were asked to:

1. provide demographic and personal characteristics such as age, education, career profile, family structure, previous experience living in the U.S. or other foreign countries.
2. participate in three personal audiotaped interviews of approximately 1 and 1/2 hours each.
3. participate in a supplemental interview for verification of information.

Six women (three for the pilot study) were selected from those who met the criteria. A letter was sent to the interviewees to inform them about the research, an estimate of time, and the usage of audio tape recorder for the interview. Within 10 days, the researcher called individuals to see if they expressed an intent to participate. A consent form was brought to the participants for the first interview.

Some of the participants were known personally to the researcher at the outset of this study. This would not be generally considered desirable in some cases (McCracken, 1988). However, establishing trusting relationship can be a long process, especially for the Japanese. Therefore, where relationships are already established and perceived as trusting, this should be an advantage to conduct the research.

Interview Process

Interviews took place mostly in the interviewees' homes, two rooms available at the university that a woman's husband teaches and at another university that the researcher held her temporary status as a visiting researcher. A room in the public building was also used for one interviewee. It was the place that held meetings, concerts, and classes.

As a Japanese custom, I brought some souvenirs from the United States such as a book of post cards, calendar, and cloth bag with university logo. I also brought cookies to the homes especially if interviewees had small children. Cookies and tea were also offered at rooms in the universities. Notable physical feature of Japanese universities is the availability of water and a heating range in almost every room. They made easier for me to make teas. Interviewees at their homes also prepared teas and cookies for me.

Interviewees made a selection of the place to talk after listening to what I requested. A woman said that her home was in a mess, and had no time to clean up. Another woman said that she wanted to stay out of her home as much as possible where she lived with her mother-in-law. Other women said that they could not leave the house because they had to watch small children. While in the interview, I understood that many of their words meant as they were. Mrs. Ishida had to make sure there was nothing special at school when her daughter came home from school, told her son to leave for Juku, a preparatory private school that offered classes after school, and arranged the pick-up time. Mrs. Sato told her daughter to watch video program, and watched her how she selected a program and how she kept the distance from the TV screen. Her daughter also negotiated over a snack several times during the interview, and Mrs. Sato carefully told her how to eat the sweet. Mrs. Tanaka returned late for an interview from her flower arrangement class, and her mother offered me tea which apparently was arranged before she left home.

Some of them picked me up and saw me off at the railroad station with a car or a van. Many of them sent me a map through FAX, and wrote me E-Mail messages. Sometimes, it rained and thundered hard, so I had to change my schedule and did extended hour of interview for the amount of two interviews on one day.

Consent Form

All interviewees signed a consent form that did not seem to be popular in Japan, but they seemed to understand it was a necessary procedure in the U. S. In the form, some expressions were necessary due to the Human Subjects' regulation. For some interviewees, these expressions sounded somewhat too specific. Some interviewees

smiled and told me that this type of writings was that of American. Sometimes, I felt that some interviewees were pressured by being asked to sign. None of them told me so, but sometimes I felt awkward moment, and hoped that they trust me in Japanese way.

One way to gain trusting feeling in Japanese way is to follow what I promised. After the interview and when the first draft of transcriptions was made, I sent them a copy of transcript to show what I promised them, and asked them to correct or add. Some did return, and some did not. For those who did not return their original transcript, they said that they were too busy, and the content of the transcript was up to their satisfaction.

After months from the interview, I wrote them new years card that is a Japanese custom, as I found it a good occasion to thank everyone involved in the research. Only one person did not reply to me. Amazingly, one woman wrote me that she and her family revisited the place once they lived. Another woman expressed that the interview was a good occasion to review what that whole experience of the stay in the United States was. It was my delighted moment, but I concerned most the one who did not reply to me.

Interviews

Most interviewees followed the order of questions as they appeared in the question form, although actual talking mixed up all the time frames. One woman preferred the chronological order, rather than the given order. One woman did not like the individual questions, so I gave up using them and let her talk what was on her mind. Another woman asked me to understand what she intended to say, rather than to understand what appeared in her vocalization. In her case, Japanese compound words,

ishin-denshin, communicating heart by heart, was what she wanted to do. I am not sure to what extent I succeeded in doing so. From their answers, I speculated that several women misunderstood the purpose of the research. From her prepared notes, Mrs. Sato seemed to have thought that I tried to point out the shortcomings of social system in Japan. From her occasional mentioning about her son, I had a difficult time with Mrs. Kobayashi to focus on her inner thoughts. Three possible reasons were considered: (1) Mrs. Kobayashi might have misunderstood that I was interested in fancy episodes regardless of the person who experienced. (2) It might be an avoidance of presenting her inner feelings. Or, (3) it might be a presentation of a different type of identity. One time, I almost abandoned her transcription. However, a moment of discovery arrived after many months of reading her transcription. The interview with her was a frustration for me because I assumed that everyone understood the purpose of the interviews but she did not appear to do so. It took me long time until I accepted the fact that such description WAS about her identity. It contained a rich resource that indicates identity of Kobayashis, rather than Mrs. Kobayashi and her son that were two separate individuals. This acceptance led me to find out how other interviewees reacted to my individualistic questions.

Sometimes, Mrs. Ishida did not seem to have completed presenting her thoughts. For one episode, she presented a picture without her insights. I asked, "so?" she replied "so?" Her episode was meant to be taken as she described, but I thought that the meaning was left out. After reading her transcript several times, I reached the point to accept that there might not be further meanings.

As an interviewer, an unanticipated frustration was in unwillingness and inability of the interviewees to describe inner thoughts. For Mrs. Fujita, probably,

feelings were not the type of things she was used to talk about. When I tried to ask further, she started thanking all the people she thought she was indebted in the United States. She might have guessed the reason why I asked her further, because she did not express her gratitude to the people she thought she had on (indebtedness). She might have thought that my question was more than just a question, but the accusation for being rude or not fulfilling her role. This way, I felt difficulty with giving them question sentences. Thus, for some interviewees, my questions were all too straight-forward, asking them to describe in very specific ways.

There is still another difficulty with question form. It may not be interpreted by the Japanese as it appears. For example, I heard some women said "good experience" to comment what she experienced and felt negatively. So I asked, "in what way it is considered 'good'?" I failed conveying my intention. The interviewee answered, "It might not be good one, but . . ." She seemed to feel that I made comments or evaluation, rather than the clarification.

Some types of questions were not well considered. I realized after I interviewed several people. For example, a question about world view was not well articulated. The concept of world view is the analytical concept that interviewees may not understand their worlds carrying this concept. The world view is the abstract concept that researchers finalize conclusions using this word. My solution was to ask about the interviewees' definite ideas about yononaka (inside of their world), or relationship with surrounding people.

Language Presentation

I conducted the interviews in Japanese language and transcribed them all by myself. In order to construct a sentence in English, I need information on subject, object, verb, tense, and other things. However, Japanese sentence does not appear with all the information that I need to construct English sentence. It is not only subject that is missing, but also tense and verb are missing most of the time.

For example, in order to construct one sentence, such as "I read a book about Amish (Mrs. Kobayashi)," I first found that she started saying "The first thing that I concerned about was the Amish." In order to find out how she came to know about them, I had to read a couple of hundred words, and finally reached the sentence, "read story titled Midnight Story." However, I did not know who read this story in what type of printed materials. However, after she described the story, she said, "heard that 20 percent of them left (or leave)." I am still not sure if she ever visited the village or read a book.

One woman used numerous numbers of interjections such as "well," "ah," nn." An expression such as sonna kannji meaning 'like that' was used with "well" and "ah" to sound like a complete sentence, but no meaning was found in there.

Often subjects of the sentence are omitted in Japanese. This practice combined probably with some psychological tendency gives interviewees to create phrases only. The problem with phrases emerged when I have to place a period mark in transcription. It was not too difficult to speculate the connected ideas without a period mark, but it allowed my interpretation.

Sometimes, it took a half an hour to remind an interviewee to focus on her insight,

rather than her children's or husband's. When I asked, "How did you feel . . . ?" An interviewee started saying "My son felt . . ." Some women provided me with all sorts of interesting experiences of sons and daughters of them. It seemed very difficult for these women to admit their own episodes worth telling. However, as I found above, it might be a way of presenting their identity.

Another problem was the locus of analysis. In the interview, I looked for episodes, not the analysis of their collected experiences. Mrs. Kobayashi had hard time describing what had happened, but gave me her analysis of cultural behaviors. Often I asked, "for example?" She told me that she did not have any concrete examples. Probably, there were many examples to let her conclude that way. Probably it seemed too tedious for her to bring up detailed examples, because it was already analyzed and concluded by her anyway.

Reasons for not Using Computer Software

In the process of finding discrete episodes and all other concepts of my interests, I repeatedly read and marked with color markers and post-it. I made a summary chart dividing the episodes into three time frames and one column for descriptions that were somewhat related to their "self" concepts. One time, I tempted to use qualitative computer software although later I found that there was no Japanese language version of it. However, once I checked with Japanese synonym dictionary and the transcripts, it might require that I create a new set of dictionary. Not only the large volume indicated in the synonym dictionary, but also the fact that transcripts do not show exactly what is desirable or anticipated. For example, for the question to ask Mrs. Aoki, "How did you feel?" She replied, "I had no money to pay." Such unmatched question and answer

came up all over the places. Determination of how she felt was, therefore, not based on what exactly she verbalized. Logical as well as cultural interpretation had to be made there.

Some Japanese expressions and common usage also showed some problems. For example, often used word, such as chotto (little, or a little), meant various things in various places. A lot of times, the sentence included chotto is not finished. For example, "(That's) a little. . . . " is the common sentence. I have to catch subtle nuances such as this, but I distrusted computer software that requires exact wording.

What appears in the sentence might not be meant by the speaker. For example, the act of deciding on going abroad was called imei-ryugaku by both Japanese university and the professors. Literally, it means that "study abroad by the order." However, actual process revealed that the senior professor in the university in Japan talked (not ordered) to the professor who is the candidate below him, and the candidate submitted the request (or a letter of indication) to go abroad. When I asked who decided, many women just answered views from both sides: the main professor in the section of the university showed some favorable attitude about his going abroad to study, and he wanted to go (Mrs. Ishida). Or, the idea of study abroad was simply decided (Mrs. Mori). Therefore, the original meaning of "study abroad by the order" was not recognized by these women.

Such inconsistencies in expressions actually appeared in many places. Interviewees had their own usage of vocabulary. Sometimes, clarification of meanings was not succeeded. For example, for the word, goriteki, interviewees could not describe what it meant, while they used this word to indicate many aspects of American life style. In the dictionary, it means "being rational (The Kodansha Pax English-Japanese

Dictionary, 1988)" which seemed to have come from Sociology textbook. An interviewee indicated that the American house had double layer of glass window, and it was goriteki. It seemed to me that they meant being functional and economical by the word goriteki. It had nothing to do with being rational.

Translation

It is extremely frustrating to translate Japanese expressions into English. For English readers, translated words have to be consistent so that meaning stands by itself. Many Japanese words are highly contextual. Therefore, they may not appear consistently in a same meaning.

In addition, many Japanese words do not translate word to word. For example, there is no exact translation for "assertiveness" in Japanese. Therefore, adjectives and surrounding expressions should have been taken in order to determine if equivalent concept was expressed.

Advantage and Disadvantage of Japanese Interviewer

One advantage that I am a Japanese native is that I see all the subtle clues that are used to judge my trust-worthiness. Japanese value feeling of trust, and all sorts of detailed questions are made to assure if I follow my promise and my behaviors are in consistent. If interviewees know each other, they check what I tell others.

Disadvantage of being a Japanese woman is that sometimes I was perceived as a competitor. I have carefully chosen the interviewees so that all the women I used for the study were not this type. When a researcher is perceived as a competitor, questions would be challenged or commented, and ideal, rather than honest answers would be

elicited. If interviewees were competitive, they would lead me into time consuming effort of explaining and teaching all the relevant academic theories and methods.

Even though I carefully chose the interviewees who were not competitive, some of them appeared to comment and evaluate. I have learned how to nagasu such moments by reading out the prepared questions. Another way to manage such moments is to give them first the researchers' episodes, and ask about the case of interviewees. David Plath (1980) used this method to Japanese, and it seemed worked well.

Rumor among Interviewees

Individual Japanese women were accessed through a university exchange program organizer and their husbands. I followed suggestions of this organizer about the interviewees, but carefully told him it would be up to me to decide which transcripts to be used for the study. A couple of months after I started the interview, I was told by one woman when I called and asked her to interview, that she thought that she was skipped although she thought she should be on the list. I understood that there was an expectation that was already created by a rumor. The danger of everyone knowing about the study is that a woman wonders how I judge particular answer compared to others'. The solution I took was to repeat that there was no right or wrong answer, and everyone has to come up with different answers.

Usage of Tape Recorder and Transcriber

For the technical matter, usage of tape recorder showed no problem with the interviewees in my study. A tape recorder that makes noise when one side of tape is up, made me concentrated on the interview. The tape recorder had two speed options, and

this feature gave me enough time to go through a group of questions without interruption. I used two micro tape recorders and carried extra 90 minute blank tapes and fresh batteries all the time. A tiny microphone that can be worn on the lapel did not function at all. For transcription, I used a transcriber and a computer with word processing software. Unlike English word processor, Japanese language entry required much more complicated process and time that seemed about three times more than English.

Expenditure to Participants

Cost of transportation and postage were the major expenditure. One interviewee hinted that I pay for the transportation for her trip to my office. I understood the nuance and knew the culturally appropriate way of paying – exact amount of money was prepared and put in the envelope, and gave it to her with a word of thank you.

DATA ANALYSIS

Initially, Composite Sequence Analysis introduced by the Huberman (1989) seemed to be the most effective analytical tool because it shows the meaningful sequences. First, the narrative stories were condensed onto a summary and then divided into phases or stages. However, these segments did not appear clearly. The larger stages such as the time in their original culture, that in the host culture, and the time back in Japan were somewhat clear. Those who have been abroad several times described stories at one time without clear indication of specific stay. This made the distinction between phases unclear. According to Huberman, they were named or labeled by themes for each phase. Then the results were clustered

according to each phase. Then each phase will be named. However, actual themes showed wide rage, and none of them uniformly appeared in all six interviewees' descriptions. Huberman suggested that the sequence of themes be mapped by arrow signs in the graphics. In this study, only ki level was indicated to show its transitions.

RELIABILITY AND VALIDITY

Issues of reliability and validity in qualitative research are directed toward the skills of the researcher that a person interviews, records, and modifies the methods from one research site to another. Therefore, the researcher's experiences and skills are considered to be crucial to the reliability and validity of the study. Miles and Hubberman (1994) list four criteria to ensure this (p. 38):

1. some familiarity with the phenomenon and the setting under study
2. strong conceptual interests
3. a multidisciplinary approach, as opposed to a narrow grounding or focus in a single discipline
4. good "investigative" skills, including doggedness, the ability to draw people out, and the ability to ward off premature closure

The researcher for this study, a native of Japan, was very familiar with the phenomenon in question through volunteer work to help these women settle in the United States. Through two graduate programs in Anthropology and Communication in the setting, a number of interviews were conducted with Japanese women in the area. Good cross-cultural information can be collected when an

interviewer knows subtle cultural cues. Without this knowledge, the research can be led to "relatively naive, easily misled, easily distracted fieldwork, along with the collection of far too much data (Miles and Huberman, Ibid., p. 38)."

In order to lessen reactivity or the researcher's effect, leading questions were avoided in the interview. However, as Hammersley and Atkinson (1983) indicate, minimizing reactivity is not a goal, but it is the understanding how the researcher influences what the interviewees say.

LIMITATIONS

For this qualitative research, sampling was purposefully done rather than random. Cross-case generalizability was not a goal of the research. However, the generalizability of qualitative studies can be based on the development of a theory that can be extended to other cases (Yin, 1994). For the current research, cross-case generalizability can be extended to the population of the same cultural background (Japanese), gender, age range, and duration of stay in the United States, but excluding factors such as Japanese local population in the United States, intention of staying in the United States, and the community formation in Japan. The factors that are ambiguous include the husbands' occupation, types of organization through which the interviewees are sent, and the women's participation in educational institutions in the United States.

SUMMARY

This study aimed at understanding cross-cultural learning process of Japanese married women when they returned to their homeland after living in the United States

for a year or more. As a methodology, the descriptive and narrative nature of the study was outlined. Study design, selection procedure, interview process, data analysis, reliability and validity, and limitations were presented in the preceding section.

Chapter 4

FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

In this chapter, I will present the data that were obtained from the interviews with Japanese married women who lived in the United States for a year or more and returned to Japan. Before going into the presentation of their descriptions, I will introduce the subjects of the research. I have given them pseudonyms and altered some details that might make them recognizable to others.

Six Women Respondents

Mrs. Kobayashi is in her late forties and has had various experiences of going abroad. She is college educated. She worked part time for a non-profit organization that deals with Asian immigrant workers before and after she went to the United States. In the United States, her son was 6 years old, and she was pregnant. She had a baby girl there. The main focus of her description of her stay in America included experience of staying in a hospital, her son's school, and her PTA activities. Upon her return to Japan, she relearned what Japan was like, especially in the areas of gender roles, options for women, and PTA activities. She finally accepted that she was different from other women and resisted the strong pressure to be like other married women. Her image of Japan is one of coercive uniformity with gender separation. She put some effort into

changing some of her cultural practices in, for example, the PTA activities.

Mrs. Ishida is her mid forties and used to be a dietitian. Later she became an editor of a textbook for future cooks. She lives in the 12th floor of a 16 story apartment building. She talked a great deal about the stress she felt in her community. She has two children. In the United States, she drove 10,000 miles in 34 days for vacation. When she returned to Japan, she said she was much better adjusted to her community. She said that she became less involved with in community relations when she returned. She also said that she learned to manage her stress by doing some sports. She showed some sympathy to foreigners in Japan. To her, now, Japanese society looks very provincial and closed.

Mrs. Aoki is in her early thirties with three children. She used to be a high school teacher who taught Economics and Political Science. She stopped teaching and married. She turned down the opportunity to go abroad to study when she was in college. She carried this regret with her all the time and actualized her dream by accompanying her husband who was assigned an overseas stay for a year. In the United States, she went to a community college and studied English. She said that financially and physically it was not easy to manage several roles as a mother, a student, and a wife. When she returned to Japan, she perceived that the Japanese education looks like the military. Through helping her children to readjust themselves at school, she said that she found that the Japanese way requires her children to play in groups. She said that her role as a mother was intensely monitored by others. She said that the Japanese society as a whole tells women in various ways not to go out to work.

Mrs. Sato is in her late twenties with one child. She used to work at a computer software company and later at a college as a secretary. Her choice of work at

the college was strategically planned. She prepared and studied to enter a formal graduate program at the host university in the United States. Four months after her arrival, she returned to Japan to deliver her child, and flew back to the United States with her baby. She started the graduate program, but returned to Japan without being able to finish it. She met a Japanese family who used to live in Zimbabwe from whom she learned that there are many life options. Now, she said, she can let her daughter not to be bound by traditional Japanese expectations. She said that if her daughter doesn't want to go to college, it is OK. If her daughter wants to go abroad to study, it is also all right with her.

Mrs. Mori is in her mid thirties. She has two children. She is a high school graduate. She used to work as a secretary at a company before she married. One of the most serious decisions Mrs. Mori engaged before going to the United States was switching the school for her daughter from a prestigious, private one to a local, public one. Upon her marriage she became a full-time housewife who was in charge of all household activities. Her mother lives with the family only in the winter. Mrs. Mori did not want to go to the United States. While in the States, she had several regrettable experiences, including signing a petition without knowing what it was. She gradually became confident in the United States. Since returning to Japan, she described herself as becoming more active and assertive. She said that she began going out alone. She said that she saw Americans express themselves straightforwardly, and that they sometimes hurt other people. She believes that everything including the ill-natured acts of a person will return to his/herself. Therefore, she said that she wanted to be gentle, kind, and not hurt other people.

Mrs. Yamada used to work at a company as secretary before her marriage.

After her marriage, she lived with her parents-in-law and sister-in-law. Her husband was the oldest son of a farm family. She is in her mid-thirties and has two children. She felt strong resistance about going to the United States from her parents-in-law. She said that being a housewife is "ikiba ga nai." or "no place to go or develop." She described that she was cut off from any connection with the society. In the United States, she enjoyed herself without the watchful eyes of parents-in-law. She took community education classes in English, crafts and sports. She observed different roles of wife and husband in the United States. She returned to Japan and learned to make difficult relationships easier to handle. She described this psychological management as nagasu (to drain). Her spiritual energy (ki) became strong compared to how she was before she went to the United States, and she said that she could express her opinions better. She said that she now goes out frequently and participates in the PTA activities to promote internationalization.

Responses to Research Questions

The first questions regarding pre-U.S. stay were addressed as follows:

1. How do these women describe what it was like to be a Japanese woman living in Japan prior to going to the U. S.?

In the following section, I will present respondents' descriptions when they are most relevant to the questions.

(1) What was the community like for these women before they went to the U. S.?

Four women lived in apartments. Three of them lived in tall buildings called a "mansion" or danchi (apartment complex). One woman lived in a small apartment complex that was owned by her husband's company. Mrs. Yamada and Mrs. Mori lived in houses located in Tokyo suburbs. I visited three residences: Mrs. Ishida's and Mrs. Sato's apartments, and Mrs. Mori's house.

Their community is constituted of the people surrounding them. When these women talked about "mawarino hito (people who surround them)," there appeared to be several categories: (1) kinjo no hito (neighbors), (2) family and shinseki (relatives), (3)tomodachi (friends), and (4)others. Many times, friends are categorized by time frame or formal association, such as friends since I was small, or friends with whom I went to school. People categorized as "other" often involve some intermediate person, such as people whom I met through my husband, or people whom I met through my children. "Others" may include nakama which indicates psychological and structural belongingness to a group at a company or hobby clubs. Many times, these surrounding

people become sources of stress as well as support.

Mrs. Ishida lives on the 12th floor of a 16 story-high apartment with her husband and two children. When her children were young, she said she took them outside everyday and came back to eat lunch, and she had tea with other mothers in the afternoon. There was a sand box located between the tall apartment buildings. Mothers let their children play in the box while they chatted on the bench. When she didn't feel up to going out, she said that someone called her name from the yard outside to her 12th floor balcony. When her children attended nursery school, she saw her children off at the school bus stop with other mothers. After their children left for school, the mothers usually stayed at that bus stop to chat and gossip.

Mrs. Aoki said that she had a close community life. She said that when she had a caesarian section in the hospital, mothers took turns to prepare a box lunch every day for her husband who stayed at home alone. She said teachers at a nursery school washed her son's dirty clothes because they knew that his mother could not launder them. Some mothers volunteered to care for her second son when Mrs. Aoki was in the hospital, and they cooked dinner for his father. Mrs. Aoki's description of outings to the nearby park was very positive. She said some mothers called her up about 11 o'clock when they knew her children had no school and had to stay home. They had a picnic outing to see cherry blossoms at the park and ate snack, while their children played. It seemed to be a cooperative social interaction.

Mrs. Sato's satisfaction with her community life was moderate. Mrs. Sato lives in a small apartment building with 18 families. She takes her child to the park and meets with other mothers. When she and her husband moved into the apartment, she was told by the head of the resident organization to visit every household in the apartment

complex, and to give them a gift worth about five dollars. The resident organization collects fees to hire cleaning persons and to give gifts collectively for weddings and funerals. They had a news bulletin on the clipboard, and each resident has to stamp (hanko) on it to show that they read it. Each resident has to pass this kairanban onto the next neighbor. They also have some fire drills and grass eradication in the apartment complex. She was involved in the community responsibilities which she did not describe positively, and she mentioned that she did not have many close contacts in the apartment complex.

When Mrs. Yamada described her community life, she told how her neighbors visited her once in a while and had tea with her when her mother-in-law was not around.

Mrs. Sato and Mrs. Kobayashi did not mention support for their children from the people who surrounded them. Mrs. Mori's mother lived with her, so I assume that she helped Mrs. Mori to some extent. Mrs. Aoki said that she frequently asked her own mother to take care of her children, although her mother lived several hours away by car. Mrs. Yamada wanted a baby sitter to take care of her children, but she told me that was not acceptable to her mother-in-law. Mrs. Ishida's mother once lived with her daughter for one year and took care of her daughter.

Stress in the Community

The respondents were asked if they experienced any stress living in their local community. Mrs. Ishida pointed out the stress she experienced in her community:

"It was the eyes of others (seken), or relationships among housewives that gave me stress. They had faction-like groups. Sometimes I cried when I was caught in

conflicts. Now I think of it, it is just a small thing. However, when I had that problem, it was a huge thing in my mind. I was waiting for my husband to come home, and I cried, screaming, 'kuyashii (I can't stand it.)' This was over the matter of deciding on the number of years of nursery school for my child. A woman who used to be a school teacher said to me that those who had nursery education for three years usually show some problems. I was thinking of giving my son three years of nursery education then. She suggested that I take care of him for one more year at home and let him be in the nursery school next year. In Japan, people really walk into your life in that sense."

For Mrs. Sato there was stress about her children also. Mrs. Sato told me that the koen debut (park debut) was well known as a first step to community participation for small children. Popular magazines and journals write about this. Koen Debut was the child's first appearance at the near-by park, which was usually located at the corner of the residence area or between tall apartment buildings. Mrs. Sato told me that mothers have to pay special attention to what the child wears. "If your child's clothes are too fancy, she will be excluded (from the group). If they are too frugal, that's no good either."(t. 6)

Mrs. Sato added that the purpose was not for her to participate in the community. "(I intend to participate locally because I have) to look for playmates for my child. It is not something I will do for me, but for my child. So I may join the "circle" such as children's activity groups (t. 6)."

Mrs.Ishida told me that she is well aware of the bullying among the women who gather around the sandbox in the park. "Housewives have bullying (ijime) among themselves. Usually those women who surround the sandbox had closed groups. Some women won't be welcome by these groups. Therefore, those who

were excluded go and wander to other parks (t. 18)."

Housewives' Hierarchy

The respondents described a form of hierarchy among the housewives in their community. Mrs. Mori described how housewives establish a hierarchy:

"When my daughter started going to the kindergarten, I was surprised by the way other mother talked to teachers, and the newsletter from there. . . . As I saw off and picked up my daughter, I started exchanging greetings with other mothers. Then, I started inviting or being invited to let my child visit other children's houses. Then the mothers started asking questions about where I was born. Then they asked about where I went to school. They also told me where they went to school. If you went to a nice girls schools such as the one I know that one of the mothers told me about, you laugh with words such as 'o-ho-ho,' instead of 'a-ha-ha.' Those nice ladies would say, 'gomen asobase' ('excuse me'), and 'gokigenyo ('farewell').' It was a very different world."

Mrs. Ishida also pointed out such rank consciousness among housewives: "When my son was about to take an entrance examination at a junior high school, I avoided seeing those women. They knew what school my son took an examination to get into. Japanese people evaluate and decide one's social status by the name of the university he/she (subject of the sentence was not clear) graduated from, or the name of the company her husband works for. There are not many overt comments on university names that have lower prestige, but subtle nuances play enough to rank housewives. Rumors fly by themselves, tsurai, tsurai (painful, painful)." (t.10)

Mrs. Sato told me that she was extremely careful about topics of talk with

neighbors: "If I said that I did things such as this and that when I was in the university, someone would say that she was a high-school graduate. This kind of thing really happens. I can talk to the women when I know their background and education. I have to be extremely careful about topics. Otherwise, I would be thought as 'smart' or 'rich.' The safest way is to say nothing (t.27)."

Housewives seem to interact with a greater variety of people than their husbands who are recruited through similar level universities, and thus have economically and socially similar backgrounds. Mrs. Sato told me that the community of housewives seems to offer much more varied family backgrounds.

(2) What was their family like before they went to the United States?

In this section, I will present the descriptions that are related to family centering around a variety of issues the women had. They include expectations of other housewives, stress of being a housewife, family, relations with other housewives, role of mother, role of wife and husband, and stress at home.

Expectation of Housewives

For various reasons, the interviewees all became housewives (shufu). While in the past, under ryosai kenbo slogan (Good Wife and Wise Mother) that advocated shufu was the ideal authoritative status in a family, contemporary women are given choices that might not be well recognized by them in their life course. Some women are well aware of these choices and consciously choose what they want to be, but other women point out that others' expectations are strong.

Mrs. Aoki was asked to become a full-time housewife by her husband when they

had an arranged marriage. Another omiai (arranged marriage) couple was Mr. and Mrs.Yamada. Mrs. Yamada also became a full-time housewife. The other four women married in so-called "love marriages" that do not have traditional rituals such as an exchange of portraits. Usually, people who follow the traditional marriage style are expected to conform to traditional life styles. One of the four who had a "love marriage," Mrs. Mori, also followed this pattern. She quit her work and stayed home one year before marriage. While the woman is staying at home, it is considered to be in an apprentice period, and she learns all sorts of housework from her mother.

Three women worked after they married. Mrs. Ishida quit her job when she became pregnant. She recalled her sentiment this way: "I always looked down on the full-time housewives. I said "fun!(a voice to show looking down)" when I saw them. However, when we moved to this place (about two hours from her work place), I became exhausted. I gave up (working full time)."

Unlike Mrs. Ishida, both Mrs. Sato and Mrs. Kobayashi continued working after their marriages. Mrs. Kobayashi worked full-time at first and became part-time later. Mrs. Sato worked full time. Mrs. Sato considered being a housewife as follows: "Being a housewife is unforgivable. The family constitutes society, but a housewife does not directly contribute to the society. I don't think that a woman is forgiven for doing only the housework, and nothing else. It is OK to do volunteer work if you like it. Just taking care of your husband and children is no good, if you excuse my expression. Taking care of your husband and children is not the same as doing something for yourself. Your husband has his company and society, and your children have their schools. I really think I have to have such (world). Otherwise, I lose jibun (myself)."

Stress of being a Housewife

For some of the women, being a housewife is very stressful. Mrs. Sato told me, "I can't bear the life in that I do nothing (other than the housework). It (being a housewife) is really stressful."

One of the most frequently mentioned comments about being a housewife is the detachment from the society (shakai karano danzetsu).

Mrs. Sato told me that housewives had no setten (connected point) with society.(t.25) Mrs. Yamada also said that she felt that she was shadan (cut-off) from connection with society (t. 14). Mrs. Ishida told me that the world of housewives is narrow (t. 18).

In order to compensate for this feeling of detachment, not many options are available for housewives.

Mrs. Ishida told me that housewives have shallow (kihaku, or thin) relationships among themselves (t.19). Mrs. Mori told me that the relationship among housewives is kudaranai (not worth taking seriously.) (t. 25). Mrs. Kobayashi also pointed out that the talk of housewives is kudaranai (not worth taking seriously.) (t.26).

Family

Among the six women, only Mrs. Yamada lived with her husband and two children(6 and 4 years old), mother-, father- and sister-in-law in a farm house. Mrs. Mori lived with her husband and children (1, and 6 years old), and her mother-in-law for every winter. Mrs. Ishida lived with her husband and children (2, and 4 years old). Mrs. Aoki lived with her husband and children (3 months, 2, and 4 years old). Mrs. Kobayashi had her husband, a 6 years old child, and delivered a baby in the United States.

Mrs. Sato returned to Japan alone to deliver a baby and rejoined her husband later in the United States.

Interactions with relatives, especially with their own mothers, appeared in several of the women's descriptions. For example, Mrs. Aoki had close ties with her own mother and asked her to baby-sit with her children before and after she lived in the United States.

Relations with Other Housewives

When their children were small, the mothers seemed to have intensive relationships with other mothers. Mrs. Ishida's description showed the most intensive relationship with other mothers: "I intended to find some private classes for my children so I could meet other mothers. I went out once a week to take my children to class and made some new relationships with other mothers. It was because I had a repetitious, dull life everyday, and I was stressed out (t.p.15)"

Some mothers mentioned intensive involvement with the Parent and Teacher Association (PTA). This seemed to be a crucial tie with other mothers. Mrs. Yamada visited her child's school twice a week. She was elected as a core member of the PTA. Eight core members were elected. These members also have to attend the city-level PTA association. Mrs. Yamada's committee invited some people to lecture to the parents. In addition, they published a newsletter on environmental issues and culture. During summer vacation, PTA members have to eradicate the grass in the court yard. Fees were collected and the money was used for various activities. According to Mrs. Yamada, those members who meet regularly become good friends. They eat out together and had parties such as "forget-the-year (bonenkai)." Such groups sometime

continued even after their children graduated from school. Mrs. Yamada's father used to be head of the PTA twenty years ago when Mrs. Yamada was in junior high school, and he still goes on trips with other members.

Mrs. Aoki also mentioned close ties with other mothers in the PTA of her child's nursery school. "When it rained, I called other mothers to come over to my apartment and baked pancakes and ate together (p. 46)." However, she said that this atmosphere changed when she moved to a condominium. "When we rented an apartment, no one complained when the park in the complex became in a mess. However, various people lived in the condominium, and we all paid maintenance fee. If someone's child made a mess (in a park), someone would not agree to use the budget to restore that (t. 47)." Thus, PTA members seemed to have fewer choices to get together.

Role of Mother

Motherhood was an important role for many of the women interviewed. Mrs. Mori described how she felt about being a mother when she said that the mother is responsible for establishing surroundings so their children could find friends. The private nursery school she chose for her daughter was located somewhat far from her home. After three years of attending this school, Mrs. Mori found that her daughter did not have local friends.

"I found that my child had no friends locally when she was supposed to graduate from nursery school. It was her parents' fault. There were many children of her age around the area. I did not let her play with them because I have to drive a car for her to meet with her friends. My mother, who was a former school teacher, also suggested that I let my child attend a local primary school.

Mrs. Aoki also took initiatives to find friends for her children (t. 34): "If you want to have your son have many friends, you and their mothers have to be friends. Mothers have to create the setting for that. Once he finds a friend, he can make the circle larger. For the first introduction, I invite several friends over to my house. I talk to their mothers. They may suggest some other friends, so I also include them. Next time when they meet each other at the kindergarten, they can talk. I think I am irresponsible as a mother if I abandon that effort."

Some of the women defined other roles for themselves, including osandon (meal preparation three times a day). Mrs. Mori described osandon as follows: "Osandon is the housewife. I (They) take care of children's meals and the things that American mothers would do."

However, what she described included more than just meal preparation. When she described the preparation to go to the United States, major areas of her roles included children's education, health care of family members, and relations with neighbors: "The thing I was most concerned about was my children's education. A year's absence means a lot to them. However, it was pitiful if my children fell behind students in Japan. My role was to hit their bottom (means that Mrs. Mori had to encourage them to study). I worried about the children's education most (t. 22)."

In Japan, Mrs. Mori had her children receive private preparatory classes called juku, study classes. One juku gives Kumon style curriculum. Mrs. Mori said, "I decided to be a atooshi (back-up) for family members (t.2). I decided that I didn't dare to speak out about things I want to do. I will acompany my husband who will go to the United States to work. I want to support him in various ways. Therefore, health care of the family members was the first priority."

Mrs. Mori also said, "I shouldn't bother neighbors by letting tall grass become bothersome to them. So I had to ask my brother and aunts to take care of the house while we were gone (t.22)."

Role of Wife and Husband

Mrs. Aoki had several counseling sessions before she and her husband left for the United States: "It was the nayami (serious concern, internal confusion, or problem) about the process of taking care of my children, that made me see the counselor. It was about the first son. My son often forgot to bring various things, and I didn't realize that. However, my husband often complained. In Japan, when we go out, mothers prepare everything for the outing. I had to cook breakfast, close windows, prepare things to bring, change my son's clothes, but my husband just yelled at me without helping me around. Instead, he said, 'Hurry up.' When he found that I did not bring something important, he complained. The counselor suggested that we write a plan and put it on the wall. Then, we wrote such as this: getting up at 8 o'clock, eating breakfast at 8:30, doing dishes by 9:00, then father folds the futon (bedding) while I do dishes, and change our son's clothes together from 9:00. Father has to remember this."

Mrs. Aoki described that her problem disappeared after the counseling sessions. It seemed to be her husband's participation in the housework that was necessary. Mrs. Ishida also mentioned her husband's role of taking care of their children. According to her, her husband didn't mind changing diapers, and their neighbors were surprised with his quick manner when they went to the swimming pool together. When their neighbors asked him how often he does this kind of thing, Mr. Ishida told them it was an everyday thing.

Some husbands' non-participation in house work can be suspected from the descriptions that wives gave about the life during their stay in the United States. For example, Mrs. Yamada told me that her children, when they saw a male professor making a desert himself with a blender, brought a step stool so they could look into the kitchen sink, stared at the face of this male professor, and looked back to their mothers. I asked why they did this, and Mrs. Yamada told me that a man did such a thing, and it never happened in her family. Mrs. Yamada also told about the changes in the role of wife and husband that occurred when they stayed in the United States. This included her husband's cleaning a bathroom, preparing for a party, giving a ride for Mrs. Yamada and their children, and being with their son in a swimming class. Apparently, these new roles were not assumed when they were in Japan.

Mrs. Kobayashi mentioned that if her husband did not mind cooking himself, she would have gone out more frequently. Usually, she had to prepare for dinner before she left home for evening events. She also mentioned this is the expected role for Japanese women.

Stress at Home

Only two women lived with their parents-in-laws. One of them, Mrs. Mori, however, lives with her mother-in-law half a year every winter. For the rest of the year, she lives in Hokkaido, the Nothern island of Japan. She noted that this arrangement was not her original desire when she married. When she and her husband started having a family, her mother-in-law suggested that their new baby should live in a house, not in an apartment. At that time, they lived in an apartment. Mrs. Mori did not mention any notable conflict with her mother-in-law. However, she said that living with parents-in-

laws was the biggest unexpected event in her life (t.23). She suspected that her way of raising her child looked strange from her mother-in-law's point of view (t.27):

> "When my daughter was allowed to enter a famous private kindergarten, I was influenced by the philosophy of that school to the extreme. It was like a brain wash. For example, when I had to go to my maternal house, I asked my three year old daughter if she wanted to go with me or not. From my mother-in-law's point of view, I think such behavior looked funny because my daughter was only three years old. My mother-in-law has never been angry or preached to me. When I hit my daughter and became angry at her, my daughter cried. However, I have never done what I was supposed to do after doing such things, such as hugging her. My daughter ran for her grandma and grandpa soon after that."

Mrs. Yamada's stress at home is notable: "It is always faster if I do things at home right away (than asking my mother-in-law). However, if I do them right away, (my mother-in-law) will get angry. It won't work. Therefore, I have to ask her first. No matter how quickly I can (solve such problems), I have to ask her, and she would say 'I have done for you.' Then, I have to say, 'Thank you.' to her."

Mrs. Yamada mentioned that her mother-in-law complained about how she disciplined her children (t. 19). She also complained that Mrs. Yamada did not follow traditional customs, such as the festival for the children of seven, five, and three years old. Mrs. Yamada described that being a full time housewife gave her no way out (ikiba ga nai). · (Literally, ikiba means "a place to go." However, Mrs. Yamada added in this case "place" meant "development.") She indicated that living with in-laws was a nerve-wracking experience for her.

(3) What were their images of America before they went to the United States?

The women's awareness ranged from ignorance to some prior knowledge. For some, the idea of going to the United States was positive; for others, it was rather negative.

Mrs. Sato told me that she didn't have any iwakan (feeling of difference, or unfit feeling) with America: "Culturally and materialistically, I can live in America without any feelings of (things) being different. For example, I expected to watch similar TV programs and sports. In Japan, American dramas are often aired. I expect that such people (those who appeared in TV programs) live in the States. I thought (the life in the States) probably looks like that (which appeared in the TV programs.)"

However, other women just told me that they did not have any specific picture of the United States before the sojourn. Mrs. Mori told me that she had no specific images about America. But/and/so she did not want to go to the United States: "I didn't like going at all. When my husband told me about going, I told him that I didn't like going. I told him, 'If you want to go, go without me.' My husband told me that our family would experience what an ordinary Japanese family would never experience in Japan. Then, I hesitantly agreed. However, I told him that if anything happens, it would be his fault."

Anticipation/willingness to Go Abroad

Mrs. Kobayashi described to me that she had been thinking (nayamu) about going abroad: "Why do I have to go? Is it because (the entire business of going to the United States) was his? If I can't make myself a plan of going abroad, then (it would be all right). (I was working) full-time, then. Actually, the salary was not full (though). . .

I had no money (to support myself if my husband goes alone and let me stay at home). . . Women who have spouses are. . . easy to be hired by such an organization (that pays less than ordinary company). And the women are willing to work there (even if they pay less) . . . So I had to think about it."

In Mrs. Kobayashi's case, decision making was not easy. At least several issues appeared to be involved here: power relations with her husband; other potential opportunities to go abroad; creating such an opportunity herself; concern about having enough income if she stayed in Japan; job opportunities when she came back.

Mrs. Yamada was told about the plan to go to the United States when she was on her honeymoon. At that time, she was not sure where her husband was supposed to go. She told me that she noticed a farewell party every summer for the professors who were going abroad. Then she asked her husband about his turn. She told me that the order of the people who were going was based on age and seniority. It was the third year that her husband finally decided after hearing all the advice from other professors who have been abroad. She also told me that the official decision was made about a year before they actually went. Mrs. Yamada, however, did not tell me her willingness to go abroad clearly. She told me that her parents-in-law strongly rejected the plan:

> "When I and my husband told his parents about the sojourn, we were told next morning that the parents-in-law couldn't sleep at all. My mother-in-law told me that it was irresponsible as a mother not to let my children attend 'shichigosan,' the festivals for seven, five, and three years old, if I went abroad. She also pointed out that my oldest son would miss an entrance ceremony at the elementary school. Letting him miss these events was not acceptable to the mother-in-law. She accused me of enticing my husband to think of going abroad. My mother-in-law asked, 'who is going to take care of us if something happens while you are in the States?' After various other objections from my parents-in-

law, I had a countdown in my mind. I wanted to get out of the house very badly."

Mrs. Aoki told me that professors in her husband's university are allowed to go abroad only once in his/her life time: "You don't get to 'go' just because you requested it. It won't pass (the committee meeting). In my husband's case, his major professor became ill . . . if it happened a half year later, we couldn't go. It was only one week before we left Japan that my husband got formal approval from the president of the university and the committee (t. 44)."

Mrs. Sato actively prepared to go abroad:

> "My husband has a goal to do things in the United States. I had some concern that if I have nothing I can't hang (motsu) in there everyday. I saw magazine articles on the topic of 'neurosis (yuutsu)' of wives of people who are assigned to work overseas. Those who can't get used to (the surroundings) become confined in their rooms. So, I thought that it's better to have something to do for myself. If I will do something, then I wanted to study formally." (Mrs. Sato entered the program in the United States.)

(4) How was their ki energy of the Japanese women before they went to the U.S.?

(5) What were the dyadic relations that concerned them the most before they went to the U.S.?

(6) What was the context such as outer/inner, front/back, and tatemae/honne that concerned them the most before they went to the U.S.?

Initially, I expected to be able to present separate descriptions that show ki, dyadic relations, and outer/inner context. However, these items appeared in a mixture. It seems logical because ki is an individual person's inner energy, the dyadic relations is the person's smallest social context, and the outer/inner context

is the larger one as pointed out by Rosenberger (1992). Naturally, my interviewees told me how they felt when they were with someone in a certain place. Therefore, I will present descriptions that seem to include more than one of these concepts as it is necessary.

Self—ki, amae, and omote-ura

Self seems to be expressed in various ways. One way is seen in behavior surrounding "ki." "Ki" is known as "mind," "spirit," or "heart (Wagatsuma, 1983)." It is used to express various states of mind. Wagatsuma organized the usage of "ki" in four categories:

> "(1) Consciousness, awareness, or sanity: when a person becomes insane, it is said that his "ki" is out of kilter" (ki ga kuruu); when he faints, his "ki becomes distant" (ki ga toku naru); when he gets distracted, his "ki becomes scattered" (ki ga chiru)).
> (2) Interest, intention, or volition: when an individual is willing, his "ki proceeds" (ki ga susumu); when he loses his initial interest, his "ki changes" (ki ga kawaru).
> (3) Mood, feelings, or emotions: when a person feels depressed, his "ki sinks or becomes closed" (ki ga shizumu/fusagu); when he is nervous, his "ki becomes ruffled" (ki ga kusha kusha suru).
> (4) Temperament, heart, or mind: of a quick-tempered person it is said that his "ki is short" (ki ga mijikai); of a timid person that his "ki is small" (ki ga chiisai); of a good-natured person that his "ki is good" (ki ga ii); of a patient person that his "ki is long" (ki ga nagai).(quote from Wagatsuma, 1983)."

In addition, Wagatsuma offers another category of "ki" that is used as an object. Wagatsuma writes;

"for example, a person "moves his ki around" (ki o mawasu) when he makes a conjecture about another person, or he "drops his ki" (ki o otosu) when he is disappointed. However, in most expressions it is ki, not the individual, that

is the subject of the statement. When a person is patient, it is not he but the ki (in him) that is long (length). When an individual feels depressed, it is not he but ki that sinks (Ibid.)"

Mrs. Ishida told me that living in Japan is not easy because university prestige influences one's ranking consciousness (t. 10). The state of ki for her was expressed as follow: "Things between housewives such as tiny things hit my kan (liver), and it caught my ki (ki ni naru). In the past, I took them seriously. . . I thought that I have to force myself (muri-o-shite) to interact with other housewives when I see off my child at the bus stop and talk to them every morning (t. 12)."

Mrs. Ishida also used the words, seken and seken-tei to show concern. Mrs. Ishida told me that the seken in this case is the neighbor's eyes and mouths (t. 15). Tei is an appearance. Thus, seken-tei is the formal presentation of one's self. In other words, it is not one's natural and honest presentation. Thus, Mrs. Ishida's concern was around the forceful presentation of her idealized self in the public sphere. Otherwise, she felt that she would be placed at a lower rank among the housewives.

Mrs. Yamada's ki was also at the verge of existence on the day that she told the plan to the parents-in-law. Ki, in this sense is the spiritual energy to configure one's self. They objected to her going to the United States. She had a countdown in her mind right before the sojourn. She told me that she and her parents-in-law had the worst situation before the sojourn.

"My parents-in-law asked me what I would do if something happened to them while we were gone. Finally, (at the end of the arguments), my husband told me not to say anything more. He said that it would confuse the arguments. He also said that he would take care of everything himself. So my husband

prepared the request for the passport, but I had to pick it up myself, otherwise they wouldn't give it to me."

Mrs. Yamada made one statement that showed her state of mind: "I had never thought of such opportunity (of going to the United States.) Before I was told about that exchange program, I thought that I would finish my life here."

It sounded like she has given up various things, especially speaking her mind. It seems that her ki has never been relieved inside of the house with her parents-in-law. Mrs. Yamada told me that she exploded to her husband. However, she told me that she did not tell her own mother about how things were at her ie, (the family institution) she married into. She told me that this is because she had been watching how her own mother suffered the same way.

Prior to going to the United States, Mrs. Mori went through a change from presenting her ideal mother role to being more congruent with her natural way of life. She described her changes of state of ki as follows:

> "When my children were around my knees, I was young. I could see (things and matters) only a distance from my eyes and nose (meaning very close). To some extent, I followed the ideal. I had some idea about how to educate children, to be a mother, be a yome (daughter-in-law). Ideas such as these came from me. I don't think such an ideal is hypocritical (gizen, or pretending being good). However, I was not relieved from bottom of my heart . . . I don't think I was calm then like now. In the past, I tried to follow my ideals because I was full of them. Only five of us were living here: three of us and the parents-in-law. I had no other people to interact with (outside of the family). Then I became very much influenced by the philosophy of the kindergarten that was located far from here. For three years, I was brain washed . . . Then I let my second child go into the local primary school. My attitude became drastically changed . . . changed to be "normal." I might

have a competitive attitude with other mothers. Once I came out of it (the philosophy and relationship among other mothers of that kindergarten), it looks strange now."

Mrs. Mori's ideals when her daughter went to a kindergarten that was located far away from home are attributed to the omote world that was dominating her life space. Omote is contrasted with ura. According to Doi (1985, p. 11), ". . . two concepts representing a way of looking at things that is unique to the Japanese language (p. 11)." English words that are close to these words include: "Recto-verso, heads and tails, outside-inside, façade-interior, and so on" although "none of these correspondences between the Japanese terms and English is precisely correct (Ibid.)." Doi (p. 17) also pointed out that omote and ura are parallel to tatemae and honne. According to Doi, tatemae is rooted in Japanese architecture, and it means "raising the ridgepole." In daily usage, tatemae indicates something essential or principled, and these essential things are often "created by people on the basis of consensus (p. 36)." This tatemae is often distinguished from "own motives and opinions that are distinct from it (p. 37)." One's own motives and opinions are usually referred to as honne.

Mrs. Mori told me that her ideals as a mother were not her natural way. Her natural way is considered as honne as Doi indicated. The ideals are considered as tatemae.

In Japan, Mrs. Sato had a notable concept called "warikiri" that showed the demarcation between tatemae and honne. Her description shows that tatemae can co-exist with honne:

"When I was working at the university as a secretary, I had a yearly contract. The qualification they put to recruit was that a person has to have experiences in private companies. The younger a secretary was, the easier professors could take advantage of her. I did all sorts things, such as pouring tea or buying lunch. I didn't mind doing such things. I had warikiri (psychological demarcation). For the exchange of free time to study, I did anything. Some people complained. There was an organization of secretaries, and the purpose of it was to get to know each other. Some people said that buying and delivering lunches for the professors (to their rooms) hurt the secretaries' ego. But I didn't mind."

Mrs. Sato drew a clear line between what she wanted from the work situation and whatever the services were requested in exchange. Tatemae for her in this situation was to do things that were requested by the professor. It was an expected social role. By saying warikiri, Mrs. Sato was well aware of what was requested and that was not something that she was willing to do at honne. Her honne was to spend her time studying as much as she wanted:

"I was studying hard at work when my husband got approval from his company. I was preparing to take the TOEFL examination. There were native English speakers at the university because my department was English. I asked them to correct essays that I wrote . . . I did the exercise books and tapes for TOEFL secretly. I listened to the tapes in the room where I worked while the professors were teaching in classrooms. If someone came in, they didn't notice because I was listening to English tapes. I took the TOEFL examination numerous times. When I applied, I got only 548 points, which was lower than the required 550 (t.4)."

Mrs. Sato's honne was backed with other factors. She also told me that she had no way to become an associate professor there. A career-oriented woman such as Mrs. Sato had no hope but to find a job somewhere else. Mrs. Sato also told me

that she kept secret her intention to quit work until three months before the fiscal year ended. She didn't reveal her honne to go abroad to study.

Dyadic Relation

In dyadic relations, amae is a concept that Rosenberger (Ibid) reminds us to pay attention to. Amae is also a concept described by Doi (1971). "The adjective *amai*, for example, is used not only in the sense of "sweet" to the taste, but also as a description of a man's character: thus if A is said to be *amai* to B, it means that he allows B to *amaeru,* i.e. to behave self-indulgently, presuming on some special relationship that exists between the two (Doi, 1971, p.29),."

". . . *amae* is, first and foremost, an emotion, an emotion which partakes of the nature of a drive and with something instinctive at its base (p. 166)." Doi, wrote that "the word, it would seem, really refers not to the observed behavior as such but to the emotion of which it is a sign (Ibid.)." "They all demonstrate a relationship between the one who feels the emotion and his surroundings (Ibid.)." Doi described that "it represents an attempt to draw close to the other person . . . the craving of a newborn child for close contact with its mother, and, in the broader sense, the desire to deny the fact of separation that is an inevitable part of human existence, and to obliterate the pain that this separation involves (Ibid.)."

Notable hints to indicate an amae relationship were seen in various circumstances described by several of the women. Their amae relations are reflected in the descriptions of the time when they were faced with the decision of going to the United States. Those who stated their clear opinions about their going to the United States were Mrs. Kobayashi ("Why should I go? It is his business."),

Mrs. Sato ("I wanted to live there (t. 3)"), Mrs. Ishida ("I wanted to get out of the world of housewives (t. 18)"), Mrs. Mori ("When the plan was decided, I told him that I didn't want to go (t. 7)"), Mrs. Aoki ("I have always wanted to go there. I wondered what I cut off at that time (t. 3)"), and Mrs. Yamada (I wanted to go to America as soon as possible. I had a countdown in my mind (t. 3).").

Among them, Mrs. Sato, Mrs. Ishida, Mrs. Aoki, and Mrs. Yamada hinted at some assumptions about going to the United States with their husbands. Mrs. Kobayashi, showed a clear consciousness of being separate from her husband. Mrs. Mori, also showed consciousness of accepting to be separated to some extent. It is not clear, though, if Mrs. Mori had different amae relations at home.

Another way of showing the mothers' emotional attachment with their children, to show amae, is in their response to my questions. Some mothers did not separate what happened to their children from what happened to them. At the other extreme, some women were reassured that I was asking about them and not about others.

For example, before going into our interview, Mrs. Mori asked me, "Is it (your questions) about my case? Me, an individual? Or my family?" Mrs. Kobayashi, however, started talking about her son's feelings in order to answer my question (How did you spend everyday?).

She said;

> "Everyday? Oh, I worried about my child. Parents can warikiri (psychological demarcation) goriteki (rationally), but my child didn't know what America means. He was just dragged there regardless of being asked if he wanted to go or not. He was dragged almost by force. He didn't

understand the language . . . He felt very concerned about how his name was pronounced . . ."

To questions regarding conflict and difficulties, Mrs. Kobayashi answered, "The adjustment (of my child) was the one . . . (t. 20)." "I heard that first 3 or 2 months are usually the worst (for my child)." So, I had to come up with questions such as "Did you often see his school teachers?" Finally, I got some answers about what she did. My impression was that, for Mrs. Kobayashi, conscious emotional separation of mother and child seems difficult.

Mrs. Yamada seemed to have amae relations with her mother-in-law. The direction of this indulgence was from mother-in-law to Mrs. Yamada. That is, her mother-in-law seemed to say Mrs. Yamada honne which did not always make Mrs. Yamada happy. Also, Mrs. Yamada had another complicated situation. Her children were always the target of an indulgent relationship from her mother-in-law, but Mrs. Yamada has to deal with her own children with tatemae in front of their grandmother, and with honne as a family member. Thus, Mrs. Yamada has to deal with ambivalent amae situations at home.

Mrs. Ishida reflected a difference in the way mothers described amae relationships with their children. Mrs. Ishida's description was more on behaviors than emotions as if her child is independent of his mother:

"Koji had been crying for one month before going to the kindergarten. He said that he didn't want to go. I said, I will buy a miniature car for you, so let's go to the kindergarten tomorrow. At the moment he saw his teacher, he said he didn't want to go. I thought going or not going is not his choice. I wanted him to go so badly, otherwise I would be in trouble."

Mrs. Mori's description of her change in attitudes toward her child also showed behavioral terms rather than the children's emotions;

> "When I looked around (when my daughter was about to graduate from the kindergarten), that child did not have local friends. It was her parents' fault. There were some classmates around here. However, I didn't let her play with them because I didn't drive her there (t. 26)."

(7) What types of critical events had these women experienced before they went to the United States?

Mrs. Mori indicated that the living with her mother-in-law was her critical events. Although she did not go into details, her mother-in-law's comments and criticisms appeared in various descriptions. In particular she was concerned about Mrs. Mori's way of disciplining her child.

Mrs. Sato told me that her critical events were what she learned when she worked. Mrs. Kobayashi's critical events were her trip to the South East Asian countries. Later she picked up the work that was related to Asian women. Mrs. Aoki did not point to her work as her critical events. She had to give up the opportunity to go to the United States when she was in college because her father did not permit her to do so. Mrs. Aoki described this event as the most critical one for her motivation to study at the community college in the United States.

Mrs. Ishida's critical events were related to her work and surrounding people. She noted that she changed her apartment because it made her feel stressed about commuting to her work. A conflict with her neighbor was another critical event.

Mrs. Yamada's critical events were her marriage and living with her parents-

in-law. Five years after her marriage, she was able to compare certain things with the five years of her work before the marriage:

> "Marriage, and child birth . . . such big events happened. When I was working, I felt everything was fresh. I had to plan and decide at work. When I was staying at home, however, I felt that I was cut off from the society. I wanted to work again, but my husband asked me who would take care of our children."

Each of the women seem to have something related to their work outside of their homes as being equally critical as marriage and childbirth in their lives before they went to the United States.

Work Experiences

All six women worked fulltime before they married. Mrs. Ishida worked as a dietitian and later as an editor of a textbook for students who want to become professional cooks. Mrs. Yamada and Mrs. Mori worked as OLs (Office Lady) or clerical workers at the office. Mrs. Sato worked first at a computer programming company and later at a university as a secretary. Mrs. Aoki worked as a high school teacher. Mrs. Kobayashi first worked at a seminar house (a facility for university level seminars) for university students and later at a nonprofit organization to support women from other Asian countries.

They have described various tasks in their work. Mrs. Ishida first worked as a dietitian for a cafeteria run by a large bookstore. She then worked to create a dictionary of professional cooking terms. She checked various professional publications to list words to be included in the dictionary and read the draft written by

college professors. Mrs. Yamada and Mrs. Mori said their main tasks were pouring tea for visitors. Mrs. Sato worked for a computer software programming company where she was a member of the programming team. After three years of working there, she changed her career to be a secretary at the university she graduated from. Mrs. Aoki taught high school students Political Economy. Mrs. Kobayashi worked at a seminar house. At the current work place which is a nonprofit organization, she sends supporting messages to Non Governmental Organizations overseas.

(8) What types of personal goals did they have before they went to the United States?

Prior to her sojourn, Mrs. Sato told me that she wanted to enter a graduate program in the university. However, she told me that she had financial problems that made her feel unsure about her selection for a university (t. 4):

> "I thought that I couldn't pay tuition and fees out of my pocket to the university such as New York University. They were very expensive. I already forgot how much though. There is no comparison with MSU. So, if my husband wanted to go to NYU, I might have to borrow some money and go to the same university. Or, I might find some other college that charges less. It wouldn't be difficult to find such a college in New York, would it? When my husband settled on the MSU, I thought I can pay out of my savings."

Similarly, Mrs. Aoki's story hinted at her desire to actualize herself through education:

> "When I was about to graduate from my university in Japan, I passed the test

for a foreign exchange program. Students can go to Nebraska State University for one year. However, I didn't go. My father objected very much. His reason was that I will be one year behind when I come back from the United States. So far in my life, I had never failed an examination. That's probably why my father didn't like the idea of being behind other students of the same grade level. I am the oldest daughter. I know that my father didn't want me to go. Finally, he said it is OK for me to go. However, if I think of his mind, I couldn't ignore his feelings (furikiru was the original Japanese word for 'ignore.' The original meaning was to 'cut the ki, a tie, or feeling by shaking).

At that time, I thought that I could go (to the United States) anytime. If I want to go so badly, my father told me that I could work for a while and save some money myself, and go. I thought I could go anytime because I was young. However, there weren't such opportunities. Once you get out of (organization, or university), going back to school one more time, or cutting off from what you are doing takes enormous energy in Japan. I am the oldest daughter, so I can't do such unplanned things such as quitting a job when my savings became enough, going to America, and finding another job when I returned. How can I find the way to contact a university in the United States (if I do not belong to a university)? Once I become shakai-jin (literal meaning is social person, or person in the society), how on earth can I find the way to contact them? Shakai-jin has no such support as students who are backed with exchange programs.

While I was thinking that way, my work became pretty busy. Everyday passed very quickly. Then, the marriage happened. No way. I couldn't cut off myself (omoikiru, or make up my mind) from what I was doing.

The big regret was always hanging somewhere in my mind. I thought that I made myself understood. It was I who cut off that desire at that time, and I couldn't go. However, I see my friends who have been there . . . Once I find the situation impossible to go, then I find myself still wanting to go.

The purpose was to find out what exactly I cut off my desire at that time. Of course, to study English was one, but I didn't know anything about the university such as what kind of atmosphere. I really wanted to experience it (t.3)."

Mrs. Yamada wondered what she could do in the United States, rather than having a specific goal, because she said she did not know what options she could have. Nareru (getting used to, probably, surroundings) is the word Mrs. Yamada used. Mrs. Ishida also used the same word, although she felt more strongly that the real purpose was to get out of her current surroundings.

> "I thought that I could get out of such relationships with other housewives if I go to the United States. It was troublesome or cumbersome (wazurawashii). I wanted to get out very badly (t. 18)."

(9) What types of prior inter-cultural experiences did they have before they went to the United States?

Before going to the United States, some women had had cross-cultural experiences. Mrs. Ishida said she knew a woman from the Netherlands. Mrs. Ishida told me that her mother first met this woman when both were baby sitting at the park between tall apartment buildings. When Mrs. Ishida's sojourn to the United States was decided on, Mrs. Ishida asked this woman to teach her English. When Mrs. Ishida worked as a textbook editor, she took future cooks to Hong Kong for a field trip.

Mrs. Aoki has been to other foreign countries about 7 times: Taiwan, Hong Kong, Singapore, China, Britain, and the United States. The stay she described for this research was her fifth in the United States. Mrs. Aoki said that the purpose of these previous stays were mainly sightseeing and shopping.

Mrs. Sato stayed one month in an American home in South Dakota when she

was in junior high school. She said that the parents of the family still write Christmas cards to her. She told me that she went to New York for a sightseeing trip. At home in Japan, her family accepted a woman from Poland for a one month stay. This woman gave Mrs. Sato a strong impression of the political situations in different countries. Mrs. Sato told me that she also had some interactions with foreign staff at the university where she worked. Mrs. Sato asked them to correct her English because she was preparing for the TOEFL examination.

Mrs. Kobayashi noted that she belonged to an international club when she was a student at a university. Through this club, she tutored foreign students. She told me that she went to South Korea to participate in a Work Camp sponsored by UNESCO. Then she participated in a group tour to visit places between Singapore and Chong Mai in Thailand with her friends. Later she said this group started publishing a newsletter and hosted some lectures by people who returned from other Asian countries. After she started working, she lived with an American Baptist minister for two years. After her marriage, she had a chance to stay in the United States for the first time. The living experience for this research was the second stay for her.

Mrs. Yamada and Mrs. Mori said they had no prior immediate experiences with people from other countries. Their sources of information on the United States were mainly from mass media. However, both women told me that they had indirect experiences. Mrs. Yamada heard about the United States from her husband who had contacts with a host professor in the United States. She also heard stories from a housewife who has been to West Germany. Mrs. Mori told me that her uncle lived in California, and she asked him questions about the American life style.

In this next section I discuss how the women described their experiences while they were in the United States. The guiding question was:

2. How does a Japanese married woman, after returning to Japan, describe what it was like to be a Japanese woman living in a not-exclusively Japanese community in the U. S.?

In order to answer the above question, subsidiary questions were presented as follows:

(1) What was the community like that these women lived in in the United States?

Surroundings

All six women described how they lived in the university apartments. This university apartment complex was for families of faculty members. Two women who first lived there moved out. One of them moved to a private apartment outside of the university, and the other moved to a house that was not located on university property.

The women did not comment about the condition of the apartments. However, these women understood that their stay was temporary, and so they were not so concerned that these university apartments were not up to their social status in Japan. This perception appeared when I asked them about their 'impression of America.' 'They pointed out the American house as that of the middle-class, not the

one they lived in.

Mrs. Yamada joined the house tour that was a part of English class activity and visited the home of the instructor. The "bedroom was organized beautifully, and the beds were covered with spreads, and pictures were arranged." When Mrs. Aoki visited a gorgeous house of her neighbor's parents, she expressed it as follows:

> "It (such a house) was in a dream, after all. It was a mansion. You can't see the neighbor's house from your house, can you? You have a forest. The woman of the house said while pointing at a tree, 'that tree belongs to our neighbor, and this tree belongs to us.' So I asked where the border was. The woman answered, 'I wonder where.' That is very different (from Japan). In Japan, we have a legal conflict over one centimeter (about a half an inch). (In the U.S.,) you have a pond, a natural pond, and a house is built on a hill. The scenery from the middle level of the house was very pretty, especially in the fall. I felt like I was in a dream."

This scenery was not at all like the university apartments. However, Mrs. Aoki described this house as "a house of the ordinary (ippan-teki) Amerian family." She also described that her own apartment in the suburb of Tokyo is not gorgeous, but has a natural forest in the area. "There is no such a house in Japan," said Mrs. Aoki. "Our apartment (in Tokyo) is a rabbit hutch, but it costs the same as a house in Michigan."

The rich natural environment of Michigan seemed fresh to these interviewees. Mrs. Mori said that she often took her children to the nearby lake, showing them the different natural environment. Mrs. Yamada said that she went the same lake in the winter and a child was skating there. She said that this type of enjoyment was unheard of in urban Tokyo.

Ethnic Groups

These women reported no interactions with any large Japanese population. Only Mrs. Yamada joined the Japan Club that hosted a party once every academic semester. She said that this club had approximately 100 members consisting mostly of students at that time. She also had some interactions with a couple, a Japanese wife married to an American. Mrs. Aoki also had some interactions with such a couple who lived in the neighboring town. Mrs. Mori also had interactions with approximately five to six other Japanese families residing in the university apartments. Mrs. Ishida had about the same number of Japanese and American host professors.

An interesting phenomenon was that the Americans the interviewees interacted with all had some type of relationship with Japanese: some of them were married to Japanese, some had parents who came from Japan, or some had previous relations with Japanese in various ways such as tutoring and hosting.

These women also had some interactions with people from other countries. The interactions with the people from other foreign countries gave some opportunities for these women to compare their circumstances as follows.

For example, Mrs. Aoki sold their car to a Chinese or Korean when she and her family left the United States. They had difficult time selling their car because of the high mileage. After all, they sold it for 2,000 dollars. Other interviewees did not describe this type of relations involving economic exchange at an individual level with other foreign nationals such as Africans and Europeans.

Mrs. Kobayashi had the opportunity to interact with women from Iran. In her English class, she met an Iranian woman who wore a veil. One day, Mrs. Kobayashi

accompanied this woman to a fabric store at the mall. She said that this woman walked around the area with red and pink fabrics. So she asked if that person was allowed to wear those colors. This woman said that if a woman sees men outside of the family, or goes outside of the house, she has to wear a veil. However, when women gather for a party, they wear bright colored or flowered prints. Mrs. Kobayashi said she learned "the universal way" of releasing stress when women were not allowed to wear what they wanted in a public place.

Recognition of different cultural practices was also demonstrated by other interviewees. Mrs. Aoki met a Vietnamese woman who said in her English class that she hated her own country. Mrs. Aoki wondered if Japanese ever give up their own country. She said, "It is very sad to abandon your own country." Multicultural experience seemed to let her consider if she ever has to give up Japan. So far, these experiences are from observations and interactions with people from different cultures.

Sometimes the women learned by struggling with communication. The following examples are from one's conflicts about sensitive expressions related to place name.

Mrs. Yamada had a misunderstanding in her English class. When her classmate told the class that she was from Saishu-to, the island of Korea, Mrs. Yamada asked her if that was in the southern part or northern part. The woman apparently misunderstood and thought she was asked if she was from North Korea or South Korea. This woman stared at Mrs. Yamada and asserted that she was from the South. Mrs. Yamada felt the political nuance in the topic and decided never to touch upon such topics again.

Mrs. Sato also described some negative experiences with Korean people. When she had a party with her husband's classmates, Korean men started talking about history. Sometimes, she said, some Korean men were uncontrollable (te ga tsukerarenai meaning cannot deal with). During the party with these Koreans, Mrs. Sato was often asked about her political position regarding the history between Japan and Korea. It was about Japan's invasion of Korea. Mrs. Sato felt that such an attitude was immature.

> "In the United States, I had unexpectedly many occasions to see people from Asian countries. Especially many students in the department to which my husband belonged came from Taiwan and Korea. There were not many Japanese. I often invited them, and they invited us for a party. Such types of interaction were a gain that I did not anticipate in Japan. (The interviewer asked, "What type of gain?") In Japan, I had not met the people from these countries. So I found their culture and stories very interesting. I regret that I did not study the history. The Korean people showed much concern about past history. Sometimes they started arguing when I did not know anything about the history. When they drank (alcohol), I couldn't deal with them. They asked me what I thought, about invasion, and such matters. However, it is immature for them to chill the party. In Japan, I did not have such occasions to interact with them. You have to go where they live. I was not the kind of student who showed interest in such topics. I had only the knowledge in textbooks. That's why I found such experiences uncomfortable."

Mrs. Sato's description indicated that multicultural conditions exist in Japan, but no she hadn't experienced substantial interactions with Koreans and Chinese. For many Japanese, meeting with Koreans and Chinese in a different land offered them unexpected interactions. In Japan, these minority people were the topic of ura

(back) side. People often whisper when they talk about them. Social confrontation is rare but exists, especially between Japanese high school students and Korean students. Koreans and Chinese in the United States are not same as those in Japan. They know little about their fellow countrymen in Japan who are treated unfairly. They are not restrained in the small zainichi (Korean who live in Japan) world. However, this distinction was not recognized by the these women. Therefore, for Japanese in the United States, the Koreans and Chinese who are considered to be in the ura world come out and behave like the ones who live in the omote (front) world.

Here is an episode that would lead a Japanese woman to go beyond the conflict with Koreans, although in an unexpected direction. Mrs. Mori's son had a fist fight with a Korean boy.

> "There were many Asian, African, and American kids living and playing around the apartment area. One day, my boy hit the Korean boy when they were playing with sand. They threw sand and other stuff on each other. However, I was told that my boy used a stick to beat the other boy. I knew that it was not serious, but both boys were hurt somewhat. Later, a girl who claimed to be a sister of that boy showed up at my apartment door with her little brother. It was about 3 o'clock, and she looked fierce. She was angrily saying that my son hit her brother. The amazing thing was what she told me after the complaints she made. This girl said that she would forgive me because we are both Asians. She continued that if my son hit the white boy, things would never be like this. She said that white people would call the police. This girl also said that as long as I live there, I should be careful not to let such a thing happen again. It was truly a different culture."

However, the difference she claimed was not that a girl's offer of forgiveness because Mrs. Mori is also Asian, nor her teaching on how to deal with white

Americans. Mrs. Mori did not accept the position that this girl presented. Regardless of the content of what this girl said to her, Mrs. Mori was surprised by the fact this girl showed up to confront her, and to claim that her son did the wrong thing. Mrs. Mori said as follows:

"In America, one has to be assertive about what he/she believes right. One has to claim justice no matter what race you are."

It seems that the ura (back) concept which is manifested in the concept of "race" disappeared and a concept of culture which is manifested in "in America" appeared. Mrs. Mori saw the attitude of the girl as being more culturally determined rather than what the girl claimed to be culture. Culture seems to be a set of generalized and collective behaviors, and a person may not recognize it unless certain patterns emerge after many relevant experiences. For Mrs. Mori, her son's fights were not new at all. She said, "kodomo no koto desukara (it is a thing that is normally expected for a child to do)." A new behavior is the fact that this girl showed up at the door and made an assertion of justice. The cultural stereotype that this girl suggested was not yet supported by Mrs. Mori's limited experience in her short time stay in the United States. However, the way this girl talked to Mrs. Mori made her feel that this girl was "assertive." "If this thing happen in Japan, a girl of that age would never yell at a woman of my age." said Mrs. Mori. If a girl is not a family member, this kind of behavior is unheard of in Japan where Confucian philosophy still prevails for daily manners. Mrs. Mori didn't think this girl's behavior was a negative feature of Americans. To Mrs. Mori, "assertiveness" means "to say 'yes' or 'no' straightforward ("chanto," or "kichinto") after having clear (kichinto) opinions.

"In Japan, things can go smoothly without problems when I nod my head *slanted* even the time that required that I nod *vertically*." She indicated that in Japan, expressing one's opinion in a vague way is more culturally appreciated than in straightforward way.

Diversity in America

Mrs. Ishida's children went to a school that had students from about 40 countries, so they had many occasions to play with African Americans. One day, Mrs. Ishida's friend, who married an American man, saw Mrs. Ishida's children playing with African Americans. This woman told Mrs. Ishida that her children shouldn't play with such people. This woman further commented about Koreans with a negative connotation. Mrs. Ishida said that this woman has lived in the United States for more than twenty years, so she must have experienced uncomfortable discrimination herself.

Mrs. Ishida was sensitive about how other Japanese dealt with African Americans. The Japanese woman who was sent from the same university at the same period often called African Americans kuro-chan (Blacky), kuro is black and chan is a casual title, sometimes with sarcasm. Mrs. Ishida's voice apparently showed some disturbance, and said that she was confused (komacchau).

Mrs. Ishida's private English tutor had a brother in a wheel chair. Sue, the English tutor, took Mrs. Ishida's children in costumes to visit Sue's brother on Halloween. Through Sue, Mrs. Ishida learned that some neighbors where Sue lived did not like Japanese. The fact that Sue met with Japanese made her unpopular. She told me that from an American's point of view, Chinese, Koreans, and Japanese

all look alike. However, from the Japanese point of view, Mrs. Ishida said that Japanese see themselves as being different from other Asian people. Mrs. Ishida said that she could tell the difference between Chinese and Japanese.

The difference between how other people see themselves and how one sees him/her self (G. H. Mead,1934) is prominent in ethnic identity such the examples given above. For Mrs. Ishida, who showed sensitivity toward seken or the world surrounding her, and who said that "eyes of seken" was the pressure to leave her Japanese world temporarily, this ethnic consciousness seemed to be natural.

Mrs. Ishida said that she experienced prejudice in an English class. When she visited a volunteer who teaches English class at home, she made a comment on the higher quality of the Japanese automobile (than American.) Then the teacher seriously asked her the reason why she said so. (She did not mention how she replied to this teacher.) Mrs. Ishida said that this teacher had much pride. With this experience, she said that there might be another side to attitudes she usually experienced. This other side was pointed out as ura (back) by Mrs. Ishida. This concept contrasted with omote (front) (Doi, Ibid). These contrasting concepts were expressed when they described unexpected or undesirable experiences. It is notable, however, that Mrs. Ishida pointed out that her unexpected experience of seeing American's ura was what she described as prejudice.

Mrs. Mori had another type of experience. She participated in a signature collecting campaign without knowing what it was:

> "I still find this story unclear. However, it became a scar in my mind. One day, three mothers of my son's classmates showed up at my apartment door. They were collecting signatures from other parents. All three were Asians.

They asked me for my signature. I did not understand what they said in English because they spoke very fast. I asked them to speak slowly, but they did not. So I told them to find someone to interpret what they said. They said that was not necessary and said just sign it because I belonged to the same class that their children attended. I thought that they used the word, "family" and "you are a member of the class." Therefore, I thought that the teacher in the class asked them to collect signatures from parents. So I signed.

After they left, I quickly went to the Japanese who lived in the next building, and I asked her interpretation. Her son does not belong to my son's class. She said it was not clear to her, either. She understood some English, but she said she did not understand it. My hunch was that it was the movement to get rid of Ms. X, my son's school teacher, who is an African American, because she was not good. Later, I heard at some occasion at the school that Ms. X was fired. I thought that the campaign was intended to ask me to decide if I liked Ms. X or not. If that were true, I still feel very sorry for Ms. X. I bow my head for her. I am not sure that her resignation was made by her will or by other force. If it was the latter, I am responsible for that. After that, I told the story to my husband, and he said it might be discrimination."

Mrs. Mori's regret was both in supporting the discrimination and in not expressing her opinion clearly. She said that "in Japan, we disguise such sentiment with 'smoke.' We do not express 'red' or 'black,' 'yes' or 'no.' We hide such opinions. Often we humble ourselves. Such (cultural) differences appear when we have to be assertive without being influenced by surrounding people. We shouldn't be ashamed of asserting our opinions."

Mrs. Aoki believed that she and her children were seen as Chinese by Americans when she went to the office of Secretary of State for her driver's license test. She felt that Americans saw her children as not being disciplined and that was the reason for them to see her as Chinese. She made her judgment based on the

facial expressions made by the staff at the Secretary of States office and their rude attitudes toward the parents. Apparently, she was well aware of how she was perceived, and that Americans are not capable of distinguishing Chinese from Japanese. This was an example how the Japanese women thought that they were treated.

(2) What was everyday life like for these women who were living in the United States?

Role of Husband and Man

Mrs. Ishida told me that she noticed that her husband's American host professor helped his wife. When she and her family were invited to their house, this man cooked dinner and served the guests. Yet, Mrs. Ishida told me that he did not forget to pay "ki" to his wife.

Mrs. Ishida's expression, "ki o tsukau" is close to Wagatsuma's (1983) "ki wo mawasu" in meaning. That host professor made a conjecture about his wife at a dinner party, which was observed by Mrs. Ishida. She added that this type of behavior reminded her that she was in the country of "the Lady First." She said that her husband won't cook at home.

Mrs. Yamada told me her husband took care of her child who was sick on the day of a party she attended (t. 15): "(Mrs. Yamada was showing her pictures to me and told the story behind it.):

> "This is Sue who taught English to Japanese. This is her sister. (The picture was a scene at the party.) On this day, my older one had 39 degree (Celsius) fever. He was supposed to come (to the party) with me, but he

couldn't. My husband said that he would take care of the child, so I could go."

Mrs. Yamada also told me that her male host professor made desert at the party, and her children curiously watched him. She said that her children reported how he did to Mrs. Yamada (t.16):

. "This is the picture taken just before we left the United States. My husband's host professor invited us to a barbecue party in his home. My husband had never cooked at home at all. When my children saw what that professor (male) was making – using a blender to make some drink made of ice cream and liqueur, my oldest one (child) said to me 'What? The professor is gonna make a desert?' Then he looked at his father. My husband said 'What?' My child brought something to climb from somewhere and looked into this professor's face and the blender alternately. 'Wow!' said my child."

Mrs. Yamada also described how her husband helped her to go to swimming class (t. 8):

"I found the pamphlet saying that community education offered various classes such as swimming and aerobics. Winter and spring courses. I took both. The class met once a week on Saturday or Sunday for one hour in the morning. My husband couldn't swim, so he didn't want to take swimming courses. My oldest one (child) went to the swimming class at the middle school, and I went to the one at the high school. My class started earlier, so my husband drove me to the high school first, and he drove the older one to the middle school. My youngest one was only 4 years old, so he had to have an adult with him. First, I went to the swimming pool with my youngest one. However, my husband saw from the pool balcony that many attendants were with their fathers, not mothers, especially, in the case of a male child. From then on, my husband took this role . . . Yes, it was unthinkable in Japan. He

has never complained about driving and such things (t. 8)."

Mrs. Yamada gave another example of things she learned by observing others. She said that on some occasions such as parties she argued with her husband:

> "(In America), sometimes we argued on some occasions such as parties where other people were present. When I saw what other couples were doing or saying, I pointed it out to my husband, saying 'Wow, they are great.' One day, we went to a party hosted by other Japanese. A little girl had some mishaps. Then, other family members said that 'Daddy just cleaned things up today.' Yes, they said that the father did the cleaning. Then my husband said that if that father does that, he would do it, too. When we were at the party, I saw a lot of things other family members did."

Mrs. Yamada also said that her husband vacuumed before parties:

> "On the day of the first party we hosted, I was preparing the foods. My husband had nothing to do. He was nervous because it was the first time. So, he asked me what could he do? Then I said to him to vacuum the room. Then, he asked me again once he finished it. How about the bathroom? I told him that I cleaned it yesterday, but my children made some mess again, so I was thinking of doing it again. In Japan, he had never done it. When I heard him say he was going to do it, I said, 'What? Are you going to do it?' Since that first time, my husband has always cleaned the bathroom before a party."

Mrs. Yamada noted some special occasions that she had never celebrated in Japan:

> "My husband and I had never celebrated our birthdays in Japan. In the United States, we celebrated them. (She was pointing at a picture.) My

husband blew up these balloons. I had never thought of him doing such things in Japan. He said that he wanted to do it."

Mrs. Kobayashi described a situation at a party in which her husband behaved differently when in Japan:

"When we invited people to our party, my husband was first smiling as he used to do in Japan. Sometimes he sneaked into the kitchen. However, there was no place for him in the kitchen. In Japan, he has to entertain the guests by smiling and talking. (In the United States), he felt that he had to do actual preparation together with his wife."

Mrs. Kobayashi also described her bewilderment at what she saw at a party:

"(In the party we were invited,) all the men worked in the kitchen. All the women were sitting and chatting (in the living room). There was a clear line. I didn't know what to do. Usually I help in the kitchen. However. . ."

Role of Mother-in-Law and Daughter-in-Law

It is notable that Mrs. Aoki said that she saw different interactions between mother-in-law and daughter-in-law in the United States from that of Japan:

"Mother-in-law and daughter-in-law have a completely different relationship from that of Japan. When we were invited to a house of my neighbor's parents, I saw the relationship between them. They were having some quilting classes. The daughter-in-law was a hostess. She distributed her 'ki' to details (ki wo kubaru), and offered me some snacks. While she was doing so, she was behind in the quilting process. So she asked mother-in-law to help her because she was behind. In Japan, you can never say such things to your mother-in-law. In the United States, you don't have honorific in language. Only 'please' could function the same way as in Japanese

honorific. Then, that daughter-in-law wanted to sit across from her mother-in-law, and asked other attendants to squeeze a little. That's outrageous. You don't say such things to your mother-in-law, do you? "

Diversity among White Americans

Mrs. Ishida was the only interviewee who classified white Americans. She put them into two categories: one is the type that her English tutor, Sue, represents. Mrs. Ishida said that Sue was very sympathetic and accepting even though her uncle showed anti-Japanese sentiment. According to Mrs. Ishida, Sue tried to listen to her poor English. There were grandma type teachers of "the basement," and "aunties" of the Every Tuesday Class. White Americans of this type are kind and sympathetic. Another type is represented by the wife of a college professor who invited her and her friends with children to visit, but who yelled at a child when she walked bare footed on the white carpet. Mrs. Ishida told me that it was a Japanese custom to be bare footed when the weather permits. However, she was told by the angry American woman that the oil from feet stains the carpet. Mrs. Ishida called the former, "wet type," the latter, "dry type" of Americans. The dry type was found mainly among members of the Faculty Folk Club, Mrs. Ishida said. Mrs. Ishida said to me that these dry type of women were not ready to accept (other cultural practices). She recalled that such an experience was a "good experience." She said she attended the Club once a week for about one year. Mrs. Ishida said that this club did not leave a good impression on her. None of the other women told me that they differentiated Americans in this way.

Democracy

Tow of the respondents commented on their perceptions about how democracy works in America. Mrs. Aoki told me a story of a field trip:

> "When we (a group of students with our instructor) went on the field trip, we dropped by a fast food restaurant. Then I wanted to go to the bathroom. When I went there, there was a line. Many people were waiting. In the United States, you have a line at the entrance (in Japan, they line up outside the individual cubicles). So I was in line. When I was the next to go in, a woman cut the line and waited in front of me. The instructor of our group was ahead of me and just came out of the individual door. She found that I was supposed to be next, but I wasn't. So she told the woman something, and let me in. Later at the table, another member of the tour group told me that I should have said something to give a turn to that woman who cut the line. She told me that I should have kept the situation calm. I argued back. If I did so, our instructor loses her tachiba (social position, one's place, or face.) She told me that if she were I, she would give a turn to that woman and this would make the situation calm." (t.14)

Mrs. Mori told me several times about her experience of the ishi (mind closed to willingness, philosophy, or opinion):

> "About the collecting signatures, I still think that I am sorry for her . . . Japanese hide such ishi (firm opinions or intentions). I believe that I shouldn't be influenced by others. When I believe I'm right, I think I have to express it. I should not be ashamed of it."

Mrs. Mori seems to have perceived just the opposite from what Mrs. Aoki's classmate who told Mrs. Aoki to give a turn to a woman who cut the line. Both Mrs. Aoki and Mrs. Mori seem to have experienced one incident but it gave each of them

an opportunity to exercise moral judgment relating to the democratic idea.

Housewives and Individualism

Two of the respondents made comments concerning how they were perceived as housewives in Japan compared to their experience in the United States. Mrs. Ishida told me about how she perceived housewives are connected in the United States based on her observations:

> "In Japan, housewives are connected through children. However, in the United States, housewives are related to other housewives without children. I thought that they are female friends who had similar circumstances. In the United States, I hired baby sitters to sit with my children, and I had some tea with other housewives and went to play golf. It was not the mother to mother relations, but a place to exchange information." (t. 19)

Mrs. Kobayashi also told me about on episode that made an impression in her:

> "When we were invited to a party, there were people who had an association with my husband. Even though they are not directly connected with me, they tried to remember my name, and asked me what I do and what interests I have. This kind of things has never happened in Japan."

Woman's Role

Several of the respondents made observations about the role of women. Mrs. Kobayashi told me about her perceptions of the role of women in Japan based on reading an article in a magazine:

"The head of the local union was a female. It was a nice surprise. She delivered a baby after more than one year of doing her job. In Japan, labor unions are led by men. That news which appeared in the local magazine was really fresh to me. If you try to do it, you can do it."

Mrs. Aoki mentioned what she learned about woman's role in parenting as follows:

"We applied our sharing of child care (that we started at the counselor's suggestion) to daily life in America. It is the direction to become someone such as Mrs. Albright, the Secretary of States. Mrs. Albright was just a housewife, wasn't she?"

Mrs. Aoki said, "In Japan, all the (social and economic) systems of the nation implies that women should not go out to work." She was pointing out the difficulty of her sister returning to work after the birth of her child.

Mrs. Mori told me her conclusions based on her experience in the United States as follows:

"Women in America do what they were supposed to as housewives, and further, they work full-time, and do entire tasks at home. Furthermore, they do what they enjoy. I really envy them. In Japan, we are bound by housework, but do not do much. I don't use my time efficiently. (t. 18)."

In the above comments, women's roles are recognized by the interviewees and compared with their own situation in Japan. In their eyes, American women are viewed positively and appear to enjoy multiple roles at home and work. Not many

of the interviewees explicitly stated the difficulty that Japanese women experience with multiple roles. It can be inferred from what they mentioned as features of American women. That is, it can be conceived that if one said "They (Americans) do what they enjoy." That this implies "Japanese women do not do what they enjoy." But these implications were not discussed in detail.

Learning Opportunities

The university setting gave an opportunity for some of these women to take formal classes. Mrs. Sato became a graduate student, and Mrs. Kobayashi sat in a class with permission from the instructor. Mrs. Aoki took English classes at a community college which was located in a neighboring town.

In addition to these opportunities, there were English classes offered at a local church that was located at the other side of the street which runs alongside of the apartment complex. Many of them heard about the "church's English school" through host professors. Mrs. Yamada heard about this school in Japan from a Japanese who lived there through the same exchange program and returned to Japan.

In addition to these classes, there was a class called "Every Tuesday" offered by local volunteers at a different church from the one that offered English classes. In the Every Tuesday class, foreign wives learned about and shared their own various things such as American culture, customs, and rules (Mrs. Yamada). Mrs. Yamada said that she demonstrated Tea ceremony, dressed in Kimono, and cooked sushi roll. She learned American history, embossing, crafts, and Halloween cooking.

Some other opportunities enriched their lives, such as non-credit classes offered by the Evening College, which was a part of the university extension

programs. That is where Mrs. Yamada took swimming lessons. Commercial classes were offered through a local fabric store where Mrs. Yamada took a quilting class.

Not only formal educational opportunities, but also other types of education offered additional learning. The most common type was a private tutor. Mrs. Ishida found her tutor from her classmate whom she met at the "church's English school."

Everyday Activities

Each of the women described her everyday activities and gave some impressions of what she learned. Several of the women went everyday to "Church's English Class." Mrs. Aoki said that she attended an English as a Second Language (ESL) class at the community college during the day time, and also attended the "Church's English Class" in the evening. When Mrs. Sato arrived, there was no "Church's English Class" because it was summer time. Mrs. Mori told me that she was pleased because people in the Church English Class knew the way to handle a person who didn't know anything about English. Once a week, they said that they attended the class called "Every Tuesday" with cultural demonstrations, cooking, crafts, and all sorts of activities.

Shopping was done at a nearby supermarket or large supermarket that required driving. The one closest to their apartment on campus surprised Mrs. Aoki:

> "what a deserted supermarket it was. That's how I felt when I first went there. In Japan, those markets are crowded and really noisy with music. When they haven't reached their goal, they use the theme song of Rocky. But if they reached today's goal, . . . My host professor took us there for the

first day we arrived. Later I realized that it was a decent supermarket. However, the vegetables were the kinds that would be put in the wagon for reduced price if it were in Japan. The fish were something that could make us ill." (t.13)

At the supermarket, Mrs. Yamada saw more than meat and produce:

"There were motorized chairs available at a large supermarket such as Meijer. Slopes instead of steps were there. Parking space for the handicapper was very spacious. At a nearby supermarket, a part-time sales clerk took the hands of blind people, carried the basket for them, and shopped around the market with them. In Japan, those people can't get out of the house. Steps and trains inhibit them because of the stairs. At the market, parking for handicapper is not treated seriously, and anyone feel it is OK to park there. Senior citizens also drive themselves to the supermarket. These things won't happen in Japan (t. 10)."

Restaurants evoked other comments. Mrs. Aoki said to me as follows:

"Some restaurant used chairs made of pipe and plastic, and the dish was something I could make at home. When I first saw it, I was shocked. However, I made use of take out service several times."

These women enjoyed sports and various other activities. Mrs. Ishida said that she took golf lessons while a baby sitter cared for her daughter:

"I and my husband also went to see Broadway musicals while asking the same baby sitter cared for the children (t. 16). If I let my folks in Japan know that I was hiring a baby sitter, they would criticize me. However, I didn't let them know. I did it because all the others also did it. I thought I was doing the ordinarily acceptable thing."

Mrs. Aoki's everyday activities were not like other women's because she was a student also:

> "In order to make the spare time, I spent 850 dollars for two baby sitters, and three places of nursery schools. I moved minute by minute. I stayed up until 2 or 3 o'clock and studied . . . I let my children play outside and I studied on a nearby bench. I couldn't waste a penny because I created the spare time with 800 and some dollars. We were paying loans for a house in Japan, and paying the rent for the apartment in the States."

Outings

Several of the women took trips where they learned a great deal about the United States and themselves. It was notable that Mrs. Ishida said that she drove 10,000 miles in 34 days. She said that her husband was along, but he did not drive even once: "I planned all the trip. I rented a car myself, and we went to all sorts of places."

Mrs. Ishida also told me that she didn't even know the meaning of "expiration date" on a credit card, although she made all the reservations by telephone.

Mrs. Mori also traveled from east to west of the American continent:

> "I went to Canada, Niagara, Detroit, Chicago, New York, etc. Because I liked drawings, I wanted to go to museums in Chicago. I went there many times. Famous drawings, so called in Japan but we can't see them in Japan easily, are hung in a non-flashy place. I was very impressed. I thought something like the difference in nation's power (kokuryokku). I didn't know what it was . . . It was rich cultural facilities in America that awakened me. It could be said that the difference in educational environment, or that for shakai-jin (social persons) or children . . . public facilities are really

substantial (jujitsu). In Japan, they won't be that far . . . in addition, if they make such things in Japan, they are put at the top (of other social policies) and formally publicized (t. 5)."

Mrs. Aoki told me that her family did not go anywhere far: "Everyone was going to Miami and Cancun. My family went to the campus skating arena. I had no money."

Mrs. Yamada described her experience in Washington D.C.:

"It was totally different city from the place we lived in Michigan. There was a guard standing out side of the store. And the front doors were locked. When customers stood at the front, the guard unlock the door, and let them in. It was really safety-conscious."

Mrs. Ishida talked about Cancun where she observed the economically deprived people:

"The gap between rich and poor is really large in Mexico. On the way to Cancun, we drove by a place with no electricity. People sleep in a hammock. They didn't even have a bed to sleep on. When you come back home, your house is not lighted, you know. I felt a little guilty, because I visited there for sightseeing. Our trip was asobi (play). We were rich, and they were poor."

(3) How was their ki energy of the Japanese woman in the United States?

(4) What were the dyadic relations that concerned them most in the United States?

(5) What was the context such as outer/inner, front/back, and tatemae/honne like that concerned the Japanese women most in the United States?

As dealt with in a previous section on pre-United States stay, the above three questions will be treated as one.

Self- ki, amae, and "front/back"

Mrs. Ishida tried golf, skiing, quilting, and embossing all for the first time in the United States. She described "power" as her motivation to do them or her spiritual energy:

> "What was that 'power' after all? I reserved all the rental cars and hotels (for the 34 day-tour). I wanted to go (to see all the parts in the United States) at any cost. I thought I was free there. Probably I had no home there, no rooted camp. I was a temporary visitor, anyway."

Other 'powerfully motivated' persons were Mrs. Yamada, Mrs. Sato, Mrs. Kobayashi, and Mrs. Aoki.

Mrs. Yamada noted that she really enjoyed herself (t. 9). Mrs. Sato also expressed joy that she was accepted by the university graduate program. Mrs. Kobayashi also said that she enjoyed the experience of child birth (t. 19).

However, Mrs. Aoki told me that she had "fog" in her head as follows:

"I always told my mother in Japan (over the phone) that my fog was not going away. The fog means that I couldn't reach the itchy place by myself. That means that I couldn't express myself in English as I wished. So, my mind (kimochi, or feeling) was only 60 percent expressed most of the time. Therefore, I was always under stress."

What makes one woman feel joy is different from that of other women. Sometimes, spiritual "power" is considered as "joy." However, as seen by Mrs. Kobayashi, some things ordinarily considered "pain" such as childbirth could become a "joy." The "Fog" described by Mrs. Aoki did not sound like "joy" but it seems to indicate her willingness to express herself and the frustrated feeling of limitation. It is notable that Mrs. Aoki did not claim the cause for her "fog."

For amae, or a sense of indulgence/dependence, these women did not describe many such relations in the United States. Some incidents such as Mrs. Aoki's who saw American mother-in-law and daughter-in-law was the only such occasions that she observed. Absence of strong amae relations in the United States may mean the relief from that experienced in Japan.

Another strong amae could be Mrs. Kobayashi's mother and child relationship. However, her descriptions did not testify the fact that she had this strong relationship only in the United States. Rather, it seemed that she maintained it from Japan.

Omote/Ura or Front/Back distinction may not be strongly perceived by these women in the United States. Mrs. Mori described a formal party that required that she wear a formal dress, kimono. Mrs. Yamada realized that her clothes became very casual in the United States. Mrs. Aoki even wore her casual dress back in

Japan. Casual dress was usually considered as the attire of ura in Japan. This may indicate that ura attire became omote in the United States. What seems to be indicative is the sentiment or ki became expressive as well because ki is more expressive in ura world in Japan as mentioned by Rosenberger (Ibid.).

(6) What types of disorienting dilemmas did these women have in the United States?

Several of the women had experiences that were disorienting for them and often provoked strong reactions. Mrs. Mori described one notable episode, a disorienting dilemma:

> "My daughter took a school bus to school. For the first day my husband and I saw off my daughter at the bus stop. My daughter looked extremely nervous, 'kokorobosoi.' My husband left for the university, and the younger one left for school. I was thinking of my daughter who looked very lonely. Then I couldn't stop myself, but I started a car to go to my daughter's school. I don't know why I knew the street. Then, I was standing by the school ground, and I looked at the building. No one was around. I was just staring at the school building for a long time. Then, I asked myself what I could do for her? I was helpless. I realized that my child had to go alone without me anyway. I also realized that no one helped me anyway." (t.8)

The bove episode shows a sequence of several steps: (1) intriguing episode, (2) reaction, (3) reflection, and (4) "letting go" or acceptance of the situation without any change. As an intriguing episode, Mrs. Mori's daughter's seemingly natural expression of nervousness and/or helplessness was taken in a Japanese context. Mrs. Mori reacted just as she would in Japan. However, she found no one was around.

If she could go into the building, she had no one to talk to. She sensed this difference because of the cultural differences and her language capability. Then she reflected and that was followed by her sense of helplessness. That moment seemed to be the detachment of amae relationship by an outer force, and finally she had to accept the non-amae relationship in the United States. Thus, Mrs. Mori's disorienting dilemma included amae relationship.

Mrs. Sato's dilemma was caused by the attitude of a secretary of the university who lost her application materials:

> "The secretary of the department said to me that she didn't receive my application form. All of the documents were supposed to be there. I hadn't heard anything from the university for many months since I sent them in. First, she told me that I have to wait a couple of days. So I showed up on the third day and was told that my application materials did not arrive. I happened to have a copy of my post office receipt, so I asked my mother to send it to the United States. When the secretary saw it, she told me that it was proof that this university received the documents, but it does not mean she received them. I had made all the copies as my husband instructed me before I sent them. Since then, I make all the copies every time I send. It is my 'warranty'." (t.19)

Mrs. Aoki told me about her difficulty in cross-cultural communication:

> "In Japan, we don't express details. When I locked myself out and called a person, I told her that I was locked out. Then I was asked what would I like to do. I wondered what I should say. I wanted her to understand that I had to go back to my apartment, get a spare key, and return to my car. I expected her to give me rides both ways. However, I was asked very specifically if I would like to go back to the car. In Japan, I can't say it. In Japan, it is a shame culture if I am forced to say that specifically. Locking me out was my

fault. I have to admit that clearly and verbally.

Things happened many times. I had to communicate and express my willingness clearly all the time. Otherwise, no one helped me. If I say, 'I am in trouble.', no one helps. I have to tell Americans that I am in such and such trouble and ask them how they can help me specifically. In Japan, you never say that."

Mrs. Ishida, Mrs. Yamada, Mrs. Kobayashi did not express many dilemmas in their discussion of their sojorn in the United States.

(7) What types of reflection did these women have in the United States?

Various reflections were presented in these women's descriptions of their experience. For example, in the United States, Mrs. Yamada reflected about senior citizens in Japan:

"In the United States, I saw many senior citizens, many of them were independent. When I went to a supermarket, I saw old people who barely walked with the help of cane drive a car and come to shop. In Japan, such things have never happened. In Japan, when one grows old, they expect others to take care of them. In that case, we have to drive them to the market and pick them up. In the United States, these old people take care of themselves . . . When I think of my situation, old people have to take care of things to the extent that they are capable of it. If my parents-in-law fall down, all the things will be on my shoulder. That is, I have to do all the things, don't I? I wonder what to do when I have to take care of them all by myself. In my neighborhood, both wife and husband live together so they can share the burden. In my case, my husband leaves home early and returns late. I can't let an institution take care of them because it is a farming area (meaning conservative and she would receive criticisms). I don't know what will happen, but I can't escape from whatever happens. However, when we grow old, we want to think about ourselves."

Mrs. Sato reflected upon her life course compared with the persons whom she met in the United States:

> "I met a Japanese couple who used be in Zimbabwe with their children. Their way of thinking seemed very broad-minded. In Japan, children take entrance examinations for kindergarten, elementary school, junior-high, and high school. . .However, the person from Zimbabwe didn't see that type of concern as a big deal (sasai na koto). I wondered what it would be like if a person went a little bit off from the railroad track of life. I met a person who divorced her spouse and came to the United States with her child. In Japan, all of my friends live similar lives. They all went to college, married, and had children. It is like a life plan that an insurance company made. If this life plan is no longer foreseeable, I now learned to tell myself it is O.K. Watching various people's lives made me think about me and my child's life course. I became more ready to accept someone else's off-track life. I decided my child doesn't need to go to a Japanese college. If she wants to, she can go abroad. I now realized there were more options in the world."

These two women reveal some of the internal thoughts that the women had based on their experiences.

(8) What type of learning strategies did these women undertake in the United States?

Several of the women engaged in active learnings, deliberated seeking ways to increase their understanding. In particular they mentioned many people who helped them learn. Mrs. Sato told me that if she had many options of learning strategies, she would certainly choose one. However, she said when a person was

limited in various strategies, he/she employs whatever method works best. She also said that there was no time to decide how to communicate. She said that if talking seems to be the only option, she talks. If the written materials such as maps or picture are available, she can use them.

Mrs. Mori told me that she observed a lot. She said jokingly that she was a Helen Keller because she couldn't read, write, talk, or listen.

One notable phenomenon that I found in the descriptions was that almost everyone had a regular helper. Mrs. Mori had Japanese friends who were living there. In addition, she said that she asked the host professor to find a tutor for her children. Initially, this person baby sat with the children, but actually helped them at the hospitals and other places.

Mrs. Sato also had such a person whom she found in a newspaper classified section. She told me that this person corrected the English of Mrs. Sato's husband, but later she learned much about the American culture from this person.

Mrs. Aoki asked her ELS teacher to introduce her to a Japanese woman who was married to an American. She said she had close relations with this person.

Mrs. Kobayashi told me that her husband's host professor took care of her and her husband very well. She told me when they first came, this professor took Mrs. Kobayashi to various garage sales to make life complete.

Mrs. Ishida asked Sue, the English tutor who also tutored many other Japanese.

Mrs. Yamada also had a tutor who taught her English once a week. She said this person was interested in Japanese culture.

In the next section, I will discuss how the women described their experiences after they returned to Japan. The guiding question was:

3. In what ways and to what extent do the Japanese women who lived in the United States associate this experience with subsequent decisions regarding their activities and interactions with others after they returned to Japan?

In order to answer above question, subsidiary questions were presented as follows.

(1) What were the women amerika-gaeri (returnees from America) like?

An interesting phenomenon emerged from the transcriptions. None of these women said that they started to talk about their experiences in the United States when they met their friends or family members. In addition, these women appeared to realize that there are certain expectations about those who returned from the United States.

Mrs. Yamada said;

> "I have never said that I enjoyed the United States to 'them (parents-in-law).' I didn't even show them the pictures I took. I looked very happy in those pictures. I couldn't show them, because we looked so happy. My husband said that he would find the right time to show them. When we were in the United States, my husband never wrote them what we did in the United State. If they knew it, they would get upset."

For different reasons, Mrs. Yamada did not like to talk about America in the PTA gatherings:

"These days, many people live in foreign countries, such as Hong Kong and Indonesia. Sometimes I share the stories of my experiences in America with these mothers at PTA gatherings. When something happens, I say, 'in America, this and that.' However, I didn't feel that some people wanted to hear about it. Generally, for the beginning, it is OK, but if I keep on going, their reaction would be chilly. Sometimes, I feel that I shouldn't have talked. If I don't need to talk and things can be done, I wouldn't talk about what I did and saw in America. Some people like to hear about it, but other people show uncomfortable faces."

"My children were called America-gaeri." said Mrs. Yamada. According to her, "Some teachers didn't like to hear what my son wanted to say about America." Mrs. Yamada said that her son told her, when she tried to put her son into an English class of YMCA, that he wanted to talk in Japanese with his friends, and he did not want to take English class in Japan anymore (t. 24). Upon his return to Japan, Mrs. Yamada's son had to introduce himself in front of about 500 pupils of the elementary school that he was from America. After that, Mrs. Yamada described that the senior graders teased him in recess hours, and Mrs. Yamada's son refused to talk in English. His homeroom teacher visited Mrs. Yamada's home for an annual home visit, and told her that Mrs. Yamada's son told him the stories and things that happened in the United States. Mrs. Yamada felt from the nuances and tone of his voice that this teacher did not like to hear such things from Mrs. Yamada's son. Mrs. Yamada's son told his mother that he liked American school. However, Mrs. Yamada did not mention anything to her son about what the teacher told her. Next year, her son had a different teacher who liked international things. According to Mrs. Yamada, this person found out that her son attended an American school. Then, Mrs. Yamada showed a picture of map that showed all the

places the students were from, and it showed a string connecting from her son's name at Japan to the school in the United States. Later, Mrs. Yamada found the same picture at the special exhibition, and felt that the teacher acknowledged her son's international experiences.

Mrs. Yamada seemed to realize that returnees are not always welcome by some people through her son's experience. In the PTA meetings, some international lecturers were planned. However, Mrs. Yamada told me that some mothers did not like the idea of international things because they said, "there are many domestic problems. Why should we plan something international?" Mrs. Yamada was one of the core members of the PTA that year, and found some other members had experiences of staying in foreign countries such as Hong Kong and Indonesia. Mrs. Yamada told me that these people refrained from talking about experiences that they had in foreign countries. However, she told me that she felt other people who had never been abroad did not enjoy hearing about her stories about the United States. She said, "If I do not need to talk about the things that I experienced in the United States, I would rather not to (t. 30)." She added, "that could be a jealousy (t. 30)."

Mrs. Sato also told me that she refrained from talking about her experiences. She said that being in the United States to study is considered as having a long vacation by the residents of her company owned apartment. She also said that in her husband's company, not many people showed a favorable attitude toward study abroad.

Mrs. Kobayashi worked at the non-profit organization that deals with Asian women's workers. She said, "When I returned, no one told me that I have changed, or my English improved. Probably, my work place is dealing with the people from other Asian countries, so other people may not like to hear about America (t. 26)." It seemed

to be because of the image of "imperialistic America (t. 26)." Mrs. Kobayashi used the sound of silence "sheen" to indicate that no one enthusiastically listened to what she tried to say about her experiences in America. However, she did note that "having experiences in America is more appreciated than other countries."

When Mrs. Ishida talked to her neighbors they told her that she would return home with pera pera (sound to show fluency in English). "It is a pressure-some. Why and how could I become fluent in English? I did not graduate from English department of a university (t. 29)."

Mrs. Mori was told by her friends that she became active and "aggressive (kogeki-teki) (t.15)." However, she added, "being aggressive does not mean negative (as usually cosidered in Japan). I used to stop at certain line, but now I stepped forward." She showed an example of helping an ill friend for some time. Mrs. Mori thought her friends were of appreciative her change. "If they do not like the way I am, we are not friends (t. 15)."

Mrs. Aoki indicated that no one except her mother told her that she has changed. Her mother pointed out that she became more assertive. Mrs. Aoki was told by other people that her children had a difficult time adjusting to the Japanese way of doing at a nursery school and an elementary school. Through helping them to readjust themselves, Mrs. Aoki seemed to form her picture of returnees: "If you live in the States for a long time, I bet that those people have frictions with other mothers. Other mothers might say about those returnee mothers as those who express individualism (kojin shugi) (t. 29)." She pointed out the seemingly excessive advice provided by the nursery school such as what to put into a lunch box, how to prepare food, and what combination of foods. "If it were in America, these advice are taken as excessive . . . However, pointing out such

things are very American, and this difference is understood covertly (t. 29)." This also indicates her refraining from talking about her experiences in the United States.

(2) What did these women conceive as their expectations for themselves after they returned to Japan?

Mrs. Sato mentioned that she wanted to finish her graduate degree that she started in the United States. However, she described that it is highly unlikely: "If I have to take my child with me to the United States to finish my degree, I don't think I can. If I do not take my child, I think I can do it. (However), I can't ask (amaeru) my parents to take care of her (if I go the United States again)." Mrs. Sato expected that she was capable of becoming a graduate student at a university in the United States that was a dream when she tried TOEFL examination "numerous times (t. 4)" before she went there." Her expectation about her capability became somewhat clear in the United States, but it had because another challenge when she returned to Japan.

Another woman who tried academically in the United States was Mrs. Aoki. She said that she wanted to obtain a license to teach Japanese language to foreigners in Japan. However, she said that money and time are the two main obstacles to reach that goal. In order to find the financial source, she said;

> "If you stay in the company for ten years, your career becomes firm. I spent all of that time for child rearing. I had no (occupational) career. In order to create one, I have to go out to gain knowledge and receive an education. If I become to be a student again, I have to ask someone to sit my children. A year or two won't help. I need five or ten years (to set a foundation for my career). But if the education won't help . . . or, if it goes as I wished, I would be happy myself."

Mrs. Aoki concluded by saying, "I don't think that it is OK to say loudly my rights (t. 34).)" Apparently, she did not expect her academic capability to be important, but rather a moral issue concerning her role as a mother who is responsible for taking care of children. Using family budget for her personal education to satisfy her career desire was not acceptable. Mrs. Aoki continued, "I feel sorry for my children, if I ever do that (t. 34)."

Mrs. Kobayashi sat in some academic classes while she was in the United States. She mentioned diversity in her English classes, and women's roles in the United States. Upon her return, she realized that foreigners who participated as lecturers in Japanese situations such as the PTA activities were not selected. "They are very limited. There must be women, people from other Asian countries, and colored or Black people. However, I wonder if any of them ever be selected (t. 29)." She wondered if Japanese children at school believe that there is only one right way to speak English. "Not only Americans, but the people from Australia, Britain, and Asian countries such as India, and Philippines speak English. I want children to listen to various ways of speaking English (t. 29)." Now Mrs. Kobayashi hopes that the Japanese will accept their way of speaking English. "It is important to be confident with Japanese accent (t. 29)." She then continued, "there must not be absolutely one right English. I began to justify myself like this (t. 29)." Her justification was extended to the difference that she realized about herself, although she did not mention it exactly.

> "I do not worry or insecure about being different from others. I do not want to do same thing as other people do. It did not happen long time ago. It is OK to have different opinions from others, I think. Whatever other people say, I do not care. I think it is dangerous to have same opinions." (t. 32)

In addition to the area of usage or difference in speaking in English, Mrs. Kobayashi described other areas such as gender participation in non-traditional occupations and activities such as PTA. However, it seemed contradictory when she said that she accepted her different position in gender participation, but she also started changing her surroundings by suggesting more participation of fathers in the PTA activities. Suggesting a change does not seem to be an acceptance of difference. She used the term, "acceptance," and it seemed to mean that acceptance is the social nature, or her hope to be accepted socially. Unlike Mrs. Aoki who foresaw obstacles in financial as well as role constraints, the nature of the obstacles to be accepted socially was not specified by Mrs. Kobayashi. However, what appeared in her descriptions is that, Mrs. Kobayashi blamed herself for not making clear suggestions about fathers' participation in the PTA: "I wanted to suggest that fathers participate in the meetings. Current schedule allows only mothers who do not work during the day time. So, I said, 'how about having a meeting twice in the evening time out of five times?' But I do not attend the meeting regularly, so I can't say it loudly (t. 30)."

Here, what she pointed out was the expected role as a PTA member. On the one hand, her descriptions appeared to express a desire to be accepted socially; on the other hand, she blamed herself for that she did not do to fulfill her social obligation as expected. Mrs. Kobayashi said that her change didn't happen long time ago and that was an answer to a question, "Did you gain confidence after you returned from the United States?" It appeared that she was well aware of her situation, that she was caught in the middle between her new sense of expectation for herself and the old one that she retained, although she did not point out the jeopardizing factors.

Mrs. Ishida was the one who used to be bothered by the neighborhood relationship. She described her change as "being a perfect neighbor," to less than perfect, or the one that accepted the limitation. She said that those frictions with other women in her neighbors "used to touch her nerve (kan), but now I became able to ignore, or not to let others bother me (nagasu) (t. 12)." She also said that she became the opposite of a phrase, kininaru that means a concern becomes ki itself, or the state that she became obsessed by such a concern. "It is OK not to step into (relationship with other women) further (t. 12)." "I did not do muri (unreasonable things, or things that required more than an ordinary effort) (t. 12)." "It is OK with me if everyone is not my friends (t. 12)." It seemed that Mrs. Ishida psychologically became better able to manage her neighborhood relationships. On the behavioral level, she seemed to maintain what she used to do such as talking to her neighbors outside of the apartment. The expectation for herself seemed to have changed to become more limited, but within a realistically manageable range.

Similar changes seemed to have appeared to Mrs. Yamada. Mrs. Yamada was living with her parents-in-law. When I asked her if their complaints became harsher after her return from the United States, and she said "yes." However, she said, she became able to nagasu (drain, or not to let others bother) their complaints after she returned from the United States. Mrs. Yamada expected her role as daughter-in-law of a traditional farm family before the sojourn. The expectations to her before the stay in the United States, were expressed as "the one on whom all the family members could heavily depend (nani shitemo ii, or "it is OK to do anything to her") before the marriage (t. 14), "the one who takes care of children (t. 14)," "jitto shiteinakereba ikenai (the one who has to stay home) with letting her ki be in work in the surroundings (t.18)," and the one who

has to check mother-in-law's mood, ask her, and thank her (t.19)." Mrs. Yamada's expected her role after the United States as more relaxed: "when other people called on me, I would go anywhere (t. 22)." She said that she began knowing other mothers of the children's friends and PTA. This in turn to indicate her ba(one's place) enlarged compared to once it used to be. Mrs. Yamada used to say, ikiba ga nai (no place to go) before the sojourn, and seemed to have realized that her ba (place) to meet other people was limited by saying "ba ga kagirareteita (place was limited.) Because she stayed in the United States, she described that she met other families in Japan who have been there through the same university exchange program. Thus, her role and ba were expanded after she returned to Japan.

Before the sojourn, Mrs. Mori expected that she would do "osandon (meal preparer three times a day)". She described her role as "back-up of the family (t. 2)." She was a full-time shufu in a traditional house where her mother-in-law visited and stayed every half a year. Upon her return to Japan, she said that she realized that she became more active, "aggressive," and independent. For example, she said that she used to go out shopping with her friends before the sojourn, and now she be laughed at those people who did that. Rather, she said that she behaved alone. She said, "I began to think that I had nothing to fear or worry (kowai koto) (t. 17)." "I do not need someone to accompany me for the hobby lessons and sports clubs (t. 17)." "I used to think that I had to buy a piano because my neighbor bought a piano. And this kind of thinking disappeared (t. 17)." About her role, she said that she actively participated in the PTA and fulfilled what was expected of it. Before the sojourn, she said she hated such committee roles of the PTA, and avoided an appointment as much as possible.

(3) In what way and to what extent do these women associate what they experienced in the United States with the activities they currently engage in and plan?

I did not hear any of these women say clearly they started new social activities after returning to Japan. However, their mode of behavior and attitudes seem to have changed. For example, Mrs. Sato accepted wider alternative life options. Her vital experience in the United States was the encounter with a Japanese who had been to Zimbabwe. Before seeing this person in the United States, Mrs. Sato thought that she was following the predicted life course that seemed to be "created by an insurance company." Through the discourse with this person who had been to Zimbabwe, she realized there were alternative life options. In the child rearing, Mrs. Sato decided to tell herself if her child does not want to go to the university, it is OK, or if she wants to go abroad to study, it is also OK.

Mrs. Sato's other crucial experiences such as the University secretary having lost her application form, the Koreans' manner at the party, and hardship in academic class do not seem to be directly associated with activities or thinking that she described. However, some underlying issue of multiculturalism seems to add to her issue of life options. According to her, she found the TV program titled "Barney" presented a variety of types of children, such as Hispanics, African Americans, Caucasians, Physically Disadvantaged, and a boy who wore a hearing aid. Mrs. Sato said that the song that was used in this children's program about the family showed a variety of types of family, such as the single family, and the children living with their grand parents. This awareness by Mrs. Sato showed a partial and indirect support for her new life options. It seems to be the same diversity, but from the different angles. She found the

Barney Show which accepts diversity; and the Barney Show was the desirable world for her child whom she wanted to be capable of choosing her own life course.

It is difficult to point out exactly which experience led to which of her philosophical directions in Mrs. Kobayashi's case. In Mrs. Kobayashi's descriptions, some issues emerged such as alternative occupational options for women; women's roles, and diversity. She described the headline about the female union leader that appeared in a local magazine. She also said that she saw woman welders, bus and truck drivers in the United States. She also observed that the party in which American professors split into gender groups and all the males were in the kitchen cooking, and all the females were sitting on the sofa and talking. She described it as very fresh to her eye, but she was "shocked" by that scene. Mrs. Kobayashi wondered whether "A reverse is OK. However, don't they mix?"

After reviewing what she described about her experiences, Mrs. Kobayashi's choice of work for the Asian immigrant workers seemed to be the philosophical answer to her critical reflections, although a one-time trip to the foreign country was not the only thing responsible for her experiences. Probably, the fact that she continued working as a part-time worker at the non-profit organization was backed with her continuous reconfirmation of her critical reflections. Besides Mrs. Kobayashi's employment, she started suggesting that the PTA create more activities that include men. This would be the same direction toward more egalitarian participation in the social sphere, and that seemed to be rooted in the experiences she had in the United States.

Mrs. Mori said that she started going out alone after she returned to Japan. She described that she became active, "aggressive," and assertive. She also said that she came to say "yes" and "no" clearly. She also told me that she started participating in

volunteer activities in Japan after returning to Japan. She said, "I don't want to hurt other people, anyone (t. 19)."

Her crucial experiences in the United States included participating unknowingly in a petition to set a school teacher to resign, and a girl who visited her at the door and claimed that this girl's brother was hurt by Mrs. Mori's son. Regardless of the content of what this girl said to her, Mrs. Mori was surprised by the fact this girl showed up to confront her, and to claim that her son did the wrong thing. This experience seemed to have led Mrs. Mori to become more assertive about what she believed is right. Upon her return, she said she practiced her belief with her daughter when she was in trouble at school.

Mrs. Mori reflected and said, "When I had been there (the United States), I learned the way to mamoru (protect) myself and family. A new behavior to Mrs. Mori is the fact that this girl showed up at the door and made an assertion of justice. To Mrs. Mori, "assertiveness" means "to say 'yes' or 'no' straightforwardly ("chanto," or "kichinto") after having clear (kichinto) opinions. Upon her return, she began to nod vertically more often when she believed it was just. Thus, Mrs. Mori made an association between the experience of that Asian girl who said she would forgive her because she was from the same Asian countries, and a change in her attitude toward injustice.

Mrs. Aoki experiences of community college life in the United States were important ones. Going abroad was a dream because she once turned down the opportunity given by a college long time ago. Her father didn't agree with her going abroad then, and she gave in to his opinion because she was the oldest child who was supposed to have special responsibility in the family in Japan. She managed her busy

life as a mother, wife, and a student in the United States. Upon return to Japan, Mrs. Aoki said that she was able to say it was all right to be different from other women(t. 41): One such area of difference was her change in taste in clothes after she returned from the United States.

Another area for Mrs. Aoki was expressing her own opinions at the PTA meetings. However, she said that she did not want to express her opinions at the meetings. She said, "(Japan) is the society in which anyone who wants to stick out will be struck back." Therefore, she said, "I always think of inaori (change of posture) to be assertive, but . . . I gave up asking other mothers' understandings(t. 41)."

Another area of Mrs. Aoki's change is that she became able to admit that she was not a perfect mother. Mrs. Aoki told her children that she sometimes felt that she did not want to cook meals for them. She also told her children, "you didn't clean up what you made a mess, but why your mother has to do it?" Mrs. Aoki's ideal mother and father used to be that of Sazae-san, the popular comic created by Machiko Hasegawa. After Mrs. Aoki returned from the United States, she said that she started using the language of war comrade to describe her relationship with her husband. Things that Mrs. Aoki began to tell her husband extended to various things about the housework, such as a preparation for a meal, and replacing bathroom tissues,

Mrs. Aoki wanted to teach Japanese language to foreigners in Japan. However, she realized that money and time are needed and she couldn't make them. She said that she wanted to find an ikigai, something that is worth living for. Mrs. Aoki noted that all the systems in Japan indicated that women should not leave their house for work. She pointed out all the difficulties associated with women who would like to come back to work after child rearing: degrees, taxes, and societal hospitality.

In the United States, Mrs. Aoki went on a field trip in a group. She described the story of an argument with another Japanese person over offering a turn to an American who cut the line. She said that if she offered a turn to the person who cut the line, their instructor loses her tachiba (social position, one's place, or face). Offering a turn is a recognition of denial of a person who tried to fulfill democratic expectation. That is, giving a turn to someone who behaved undemocratically implies her approval of such a behavior. Her instructor's position was supposed to carry out the democratic rule as a teacher of societal morals. Thus, Mrs. Aoki seemed to recognize the democratic implication of her words, but her expression, tachiba (one's place), reflects more like an empathic expression. This expression was not what Mrs. Aoki felt, but it was her interpretation of how the instructor might feel.

In the above experience, Mrs. Aoki seemed to show her opinions assertively. This assertion seemed to be the inaori (change of position) to accept the fact that she had a different opinion from her group member. It is notable that she expressed as "fog" to indicate that condition that she couldn't express herself as she wished in the United States. The "fog" meant the condition in which she couldn't reach the itchy place. Mrs. Aoki then rephrased the sentence as "I couldn't express myself in English as I wished (t. 6)." This frustration seemed to have emerged because there was a willingness to express in Mrs. Aoki's mind, which she used to give up doing it.

Another experience contributing to her becoming more accepting of herself as different and assertive may be the various difficulties that she had in the United States. There, she said that she had to explicitly demand what she wanted. One such experience was the incident of locking herself out of her car and having to call someone for help.

> "However, I was asked very specifically if I would like to go back to the car . . . I had to communicate and express my willingness clearly all the time. Otherwise, no one helped me. If I say, 'I am in trouble.', no one helps. I have to tell Americans that I am in such and such trouble and ask them how they can help me specifically. In Japan, you never say that."

Contributing to a more egalitarian relationship with her husband, was Mrs. Aoki's observation of an interaction between daughter-in-law and mother-in-law in the crafting class. This seemed to influence Mrs. Aoki's thinking. She said that the mother-in-law and daughter-in-law have a completely different relationship from that in Japan.

> "In the United States, you don't have honorific in language. Only 'please' could function the same way as in Japanese honorific. Then, that daughter-in-law wanted to sit across from her mother-in-law, and asked other attendants to squeeze a little. That's outrageous. You don't say such things to your mother-in-law, do you?"

Mrs. Aoki probably saw the egalitarian nuance in the interactions between these American daughter-in-law and mother-in-law. She said that she liked such relationship.

Mrs. Ishida said that after she returned to Japan she began to be able to nagasu (drain) the tedious relations between housewives who surround her. Before going to the United States, Mrs. Ishida's most crucial concern was the eyes of the others (seken no me). One of neighbors criticized when Mrs. Ishida wanted to have her child receive two year's of nursery school education. She said, "In Japan, people really walk into your life in that sense (t. 17)." In the United States, Mrs. Ishida found no such seken for her.

She drove 10,000 miles in 34 days and visited various places in the United States. She said that she found a good tutor for English but whose neighbors did not show favorable attitude toward Japanese. Her observation in the United States included the attitudes of Japanese friend toward African Americans (t. 3), separation of children's world from that of adults (t. 20), prejudice received against Japanese in English class (t. 3), and uncomfortable yelling by an American against a Japanese child who walked barefooted on the white carpet (t.13). She also described two types of Americans: wet and dry. Mrs. Ishida tried golf, ski, quilting, and embossing all for the first time in the United States. She also described "power" as her motivation to do them.

In the United States, Mrs. Ishida's physical absence from the seken no me (eyes of others) that is characterized by hierarchical consciousness, relieved her from intensive stress she used to receive in Japan. At the same time, Mrs. Ishida seemed to have learned how to nagasu (drain) or manage the psychological inclination to be concerned about what other people say about her. She said, "I had no time for that (to concern eyes of the others) in the United States (sonna koto yatteiru baai ja nai.) (t. 6)." This sentence shows her psychological detachment from concerns that bothered her when she was in Japan.

Mrs. Yamada also became able to nagasu (drain, or not letting others bother her) upon her return to Japan. She used to listen to her mother-in-law's complaints and criticisms before the sojourn. "Shufu (housewife) had no place to develop," said Mrs. Yamada. She had strong resistance from her mother-in-law against accompanying her husband who went to the United States. Her responsibility as a mother of two children was strongly questioned by her mother-in-law. In the United States, Mrs. Yamada actively participated in various things such as English classes and cultural demonstrations

sponsored by several organizations. In the small episodes, she described her surprises: her child was asked by his teacher where he would like to put his name tag. This offer of a small choice made Mrs. Yamada feel that children in the United States were truly respected to practice their preferences. Her observation of the preschool also made her feel American education was based on recognition of individual difference. She said;

> "Those children (in the preschool) were from 2 years old to 4 years old. Not all children did the same thing in the class. I found drawings that were hung and dried in the hall way. However, I couldn't find the one signed by my child. When I asked my son, and he told me that he didn't draw. So I asked what he did then. He said that he was playing with Lego. Such a thing has never be allowed in Japan." (t. 6)

Thus, to her, individual students in the United States seem to be truly respected in what he/she wants to do in a classroom.

In the United States, Mrs. Yamada took lessons such as swimming and quilting. She described how her husband changed in his role of taking care of his wife and children:

> "It was I who wanted to take swimming lessons. My husband couldn't swim at all. My husband became a driver on the day of swimming. He gave a ride to three of us whose swimming classes started at different time and place. It was unthinkable for my husband to give us a ride to swimming pool in Japan!." (t.8)

On a different occasion, Mrs. Yamada's husband let his wife go to a party when their child became ill. The fact that Mrs. Yamada mentioned his kindness seemed to imply that Mrs. Yamada was expected to be with their child in Japan. There, Mr.

Yamada's understanding of his role seemed to have changed, and Mrs. Yamada acknowledged this change.

Mrs. Yamada visited a host professor's father who lived by the lake alone. She said, "such things never happens in Japan." In Japan, senior citizens seemed to depend heavily on housewives. Mrs. Yamada also said that she observed public facilities in various parts of town that accommodate these senior citizens and handicappers: part-time employees at a supermarket held these people's hands and walked with them in a shop. Mrs. Yamada indicated that she had to take care of them if her parents-in-law become senile. However, she said that when she talked with her husband about their future, they hope that they do not want to depend on their children (t. 11). This is an awareness of dependent relationship that is followed by a decision not to become the one who has to depend on others.

In summary, in the United States, these women saw and experienced what they did not have or what they had differently in Japan. Upon their return they showed subtle, less visible, but substantial psychological changes that made these women release from what they used to think as a binding force. Some significant themes appeared: accepting alternative life options (Mrs. Sato), accepting diversity (Mrs. Sato, and Mrs. Kobayashi), social acceptance of alternative occupational options for women (Mrs. Kobayashi), social acceptance of women's roles (Mrs. Kobayashi), becoming more active (Mrs. Mori), becoming more aggressive (Mrs. Mori), becoming more assertive (Mrs. Mori, Mrs. Aoki), accepting being different from other women (Mrs. Aoki and Mrs. Kobayashi), giving up to be a perfect mother (Mrs. Aoki), egalitarian relations with husband (Mrs. Aoki, and Mrs. Yamada), egalitarian relations of mother-in-law and daughter-in-law (Mrs. Aoki), social position or democratic manner (Mrs. Aoki),

inaori(Mrs. Aoki), nagasu (Mrs. Ishida, Mrs. Yamada), less dependent relationship with mother-in-law and daughter-in-law (Mrs. Yamada), less dependent relationship between parents and children (Mrs. Yamada).

Some of them are psychological in nature, such as inaori, and nagasu, acceptance of alternatives, diversity, and giving up. Some others seemed to be behavioral descriptions but they seem to require some psychological conditions prior to them. For example, they are, becoming more active, aggressive, assertive, (expecting and having) egalitarian relations with others, democratic manner, and dependency.

(4) What are the perceived changes in norms due to living in the United States? Why and Why not?

Norms about how they should behave have shown some changes in these women's lives. For example, Mrs. Kobayashi said, "I am no longer afraid of being different. My opinion is different from others, and it is OK. I think it is reasonable. Furthermore, I think that the idea that 'everyone is the same' is dangerous." Mrs. Kobayashi expressed concerns about some areas in which her sense of a norm is applied. They include accepting diversity such as seen in her employment related to the Asian women and her opinion relating to correct pronunciation of English, alternative occupational options for women such as in her description regarding woman welder, bus and truck driver, and women's roles such as in finding a head of female union leader. Throughout these issues, her sense of what is a norm seems to begin more loosely bound. Mrs. Kobayashi appeared to widen the acceptable range of applicable norms in her concerns.

This acceptance was also described by others, such as Mrs. Mori: "I used to

follow what other people do and buy. For example, when my neighbor bought a piano, I thought I also had to buy one. However, now I tend not to think that way." Before the sojourn, her sense of norms seemed to be determined by the criteria of other people. After the sojourn, she became more assertive to say "yes" and "no" clearly, more aggressive in helping her friend who was ill, and more active in going out alone. It appeared that she became less dependent on other's judgment or norms, and began to establish her independent sense of norm that did not need others' advice. Mrs. Mori's issues included assertiveness in relationships with her friends, and independent behaviors.

Mrs. Sato spoke of her acceptance of life options for her daughter such as the idea not going to the university, or going to the university overseas is all right. She gained this perspective after she met a person who had been to Zimbabwe. In addition, her sense of norms appeared in the issues such as being a full-time housewife is unforgivable, questioning classroom manners that did not allow students to eat in Japan, and an awareness of educational opportunities for all ages who are willing to learn. A minor but still important change in her norm appeared in her description regarding the local program for children that was well prepared by mothers. After the sojourn, she began questioning such adult's involvement in setting up the children's playground. In contrast, the unchanged norm appeared in her sentence, "On Saturdays, I *am permitted* to go to English school." Her apologetic attitude is seen here. However, this apology seems to be her unfulfilled desire to work full-time, and thus an inevitable dependence on her husband's income. Furthermore, she is sorry for asking her husband to take care of their child because she was supposed to take care of her as a full-time housewife. In summary, Mrs. Sato showed some changes in her norms in issues such as a role as a mother, full-time housewife, relations with husband, and classroom manners and

educational opportunities. The picture of this norm change is toward the range of wider and more extended, but at the same time she shows some respect for the independence of her children.

Mrs. Ishida also told me that she now accepted not being a perfect friend to everyone. She became able to nagasu (drain, or not letting others bother her) the complains and criticisms of others. She said "These days, I do not do muri (unreasonable things)." Her norm in the relationship with her neighbors seems to be less rigid than before the sojourn. Mrs. Ishida gave a reason for such change: "I thought it looked stupid. I began to see things clearly after the stay in the United States in which I was able to keep some distance between those people and I." She interpreted that this distance made the "liberation from seken (eyes of others) possible."

Mrs. Ishida's other norm change was about her expression of her own desires which used not to be accepted before the sojourn. For example, she said that it would be late for her if she gave a ride to her daughter, so her husband did (t. 4). Another example of such expression is that she said that it would be inconvenient for her (komaru) if her son would not go to the nursery school. Her son was in culture shock and refused to go to the nursery school. Finally, Mrs. Ishida said that she behaved in the United States based on what she wanted not what other people expected of her. She added that, "In Japan, I used to feel guilty about these things (t. 15)." Although reviewing what she did in the United States, she regretted and said, "I may have sacrificed my daughter (because I kept her at the nursery until 3 o'clock.)." In this example, her change in her norms appeared in the United States, but it did not continue back in Japan except her psychological state of letting go, nagasu (not letting others bother her). Mrs. Ishida's issues included the relationship with her neighbors and a

concern about playing her roles as wife and mother. Norms of both of these issues appeared to be more flexible in the United States, and thus she began to feel in control. Back in Japan, only the psychological state appeared as a subtle change, but it seems vital enough to influence her decision making, especially in the relationship with her neighbors and her children.

Mrs. Yamada told me about a different type of norm change. It is a change regarding her reaction to the people who are ethnically different in Japan.

> "(Before going to the United States), I withdrew myself from the foreigners. Nowadays, I tend not to be hesitant about being with them on various occasions. For example, there is a Brazilian Assistant English Teacher in my son's school. I used to withdraw when I saw such a person. He is big and looks powerful. However, nowadays, I don't kamaeru (get nervous or being formal)" (t. .23)

In the same direction, Mrs. Yamada began to suggest that the PTA include international lecturers for their programs. Another area that Mrs. Yamada showed her change in norms is her role as wife that is seemingly submissive or subservient in Japan has changed in the United States. Mrs. Yamada described the scene in which she had an argument with her husband in the United States: "We had arguments even at the party where other people were present." Mrs. Yamada told me that she told her husband how she was amazed by other married men who were helping their wives, such as kitchen staff. Then at the first party they hosted, Mr. Yamada vacuumed the room, and cleaned the bathroom. Upon their return to Japan, Mrs. Yamada told me that Mr. Yamada did not help her household chores except taking out and putting back the bedding from the closet on weekends.

Before the sojourn, Mr. Yamada told his wife that he had no way of persuading his parents about going abroad. It appeared a significant shift in roles and the decision making power that was assumed between Mrs. and Mr. Yamada. This shift showed more significantly in the United States, and returned in lesser degree when they were back in Japan. It is notable that Mrs. Yamada's norm about how she deals with her mother-in-law has also changed with her expression of nagasu (drain, not letting others to bother). This change also showed the direction toward the acceptance of being a less perfect daughter-in-law than was expected to accord with her mother-in-law, or to be a more independent daughter-in-law that allowed more freedom to decide to go out.

Mrs. Aoki's significant norm change was in the rigid ideal model of mother, wife, and herself. For example, she told her children to accept the limitation of mother simply because she is a human being: "Your mother does not want to cook sometimes (t. 42)." She also talked about the new war-comrade-like relationship with her husband. Mrs. Aoki also mentioned the "egotistical (t. 33)" life style that she had in the United States, but admitted that she came to be different from other people, and it was OK (t. 41)." She changed direction toward being more egalitarian, and accepting and admitting her honest desire to be an individual which did not seem to be perceived so in Japan.

The reasons for their norm change were not usually clearly recognized by these women except Mrs. Ishida who pointed out the physical and psychological distance for a period of time. The psychological management such as nagasu of Mrs. Ishida and Mrs. Yamada appeared to be the way they coped with the surroundings they found unchanged when they returned to Japan.

(5) What was the ki energy of the Japanese woman like after they returned to Japan?

(6) What were the dyadic relations that concerned the Japanese women the most after they returned to Japan?

(7) What was the context such as outer/inner, front/back, and tatemae/honne that concerned them the most after they returned to Japan?

I have already mentioned in previous sections that the above three questions have to be dealt with together.

Mrs. Sato demonstrated that her ki became more tightened and she wanted to do something for herself: "Everything that I do for my child and husband is not for me. They have their worlds. If I don't have such a world for me, I lose myself (jibunn ga nai). I think being a housewife is unforgivable. I can't bear doing nothing and it creates stress."

Mrs. Sato's dyadic relation with her husband did not become notably stronger or weaker after the stay in the United States. She indicated her honne (true feeling) that she looked for a chance to breath someday. Mrs. Sato started a part-time job without letting other people know, she said, and an English class that is offered downtown every Saturday. It seems that for her, the strength of her ki is already "lighted (karui)," or loosened.

Mrs. Yamada cried when she returned Japan. She said she often cried for half a year. Then, she learned how to deal with the original problem that she had with her mother-in-law who was in the power position. She learned to go out frequently. It was her outer world. By doing so, she was able to manage the amae relations that were

formally directed from her mother-in-law against her. "I stopped paying attention (ki ni suru) to those things." said Mrs. Yamada. Her ki became peaceful.

Mrs. Mori described the experience that was similar to an existential experience in the United States. After returning to Japan, she spoke of her returning to the life that she used to have before the sojourn. However, her descriptions showed inconsistencies from the state of becoming more traditional and at the same time the state of showing her independent thinking. In one aspect, she admitted that she came to cherish more traditional artifacts and manners of Japanese. In another aspect, she said that she became more assertive, unfearful, and independent. Her ki seemed to become stronger and appeared in her newly acquired assertiveness, but she seemed to become careful about selecting the context in which she exhibited this strength. In a traditional Japanese situation, she never seemed to be assertive. She said firmly, "I don't want to hurt other people these days."

Mrs. Aoki showed more honne, that is, her true feelings, after she returned to Japan. Mrs. Aoki said to her children, "Your mother is merely a human being." This inaori (change of posture) showed her acceptance of her natural self. Thus, her ki seemed to be relaxed after she returned to Japan. One notable thing is that she didn't touch upon her father at all when she returned to Japan. Her dyadic relation with her husband seemed to be working without problems as seen by her expression about him as "war comrade."

Mrs. Ishida said that she seemed to handle her neighbors, or her concerned context, better than ever. "I stopped going further into other people's lives. I do not do muri anymore." Muri was translated as "unreasonable things." However, it may fit if we understand this term as "things that are beyond one's capacity." This way, Mrs.

Ishida's relations with her neighbors became closer to her honne than ever. She indicated that her ki seemed to be in excessive tension when she was in Japan before she went to the United States. While in the United States, she seemed to regain the strength of her ki as a result of driving 34 days for 10,000 miles.

Mrs. Kobayashi did not report any obvious changes in her ki, amae dyadic relations, and the context in which these concepts play out. One complication is that she did not seem to realize what consequence was brought about by the experience of the specific stay in the United States. Sometimes, it is reasonable that people change without knowing the cause of the specific changes. In addition, she had multiple numbers of experiences of contacting Americans in and outside of Japan. Therefore, the impact of that one particular sojourn may be difficult to distinguish from other foreign experiences.

(8) What new perspectives did these women attain?

Mrs. Mori told me that she returned to the Japanese traditional thinking and values after she returned from the United States. She said that she didn't want to hurt other people because she thought that every behavior turns around and comes back to herself. This is believed and recognized by Mrs. Mori to be a traditional Japanese view. It is not clear if this belief is associated with her change to be active in volunteers. For example, she said she went to help her ill friend, and she described that it is because that she saw a volunteer spirit in the United States (t. 15). Her above changes appeared to center around the issue of relationship. One of the areas of relationship was with her daughter who helped her bullied friend. Mrs. Mori told her daughter to be assertive, and she admitted that she had never been like that before the sojourn. Finally, Mrs. Mori

said that she began to host parties with her neighbors. This was not traditional Japanese practice because she said that the parties included couples. Therefore, Mrs. Mori's change of perspectives was in the issue of her relationship with her daughter, friends, and neighbors. The direction and degree of the change appeared to be more toward independence because she did not need to consult or be influenced by others' opinion when she advised her daughter and her friend. However, having parties in couples may not indicate strong individualistic independence.

Mrs. Ishida gained new perspectives in two major areas of relationships: one with her neighbors and other mothers, and another at an ethnic level. For relationship with neighbors, Mrs. Ishida described distanced relations that was characterized in her expression of nagasu (not letting others to bother her, or drain). With other mothers, she described what she saw in the United States: "In America, I didn't have the relationship with my friends that required the presence of children. When we had teas together (with other mothers), or went to play golf, children did not come into play, because we took them to kindergarten, preschools, or the places of baby sitter (t. 20)." Mothers appeared to have more independent relationship when Mrs. Ishida was in the United States. However, the word "independent" means physical separatedness from their children. It does not indicate the physical presence of married couple as usually considered in the United States.

Another new perspective that Mrs. Ishida described was the discrimination to which she appeared more sensitive after the sojourn. The incident of a child walking on the white carpet and was yelled at (t. 13), another Japanese woman who called an African American "blacky" contemptuously (t. 17), and being told not to let her child play with African Americans (t. 3). Mrs. Ishida also went to Cancun and described how she felt

guilty about visiting the poorest area (while she was from the rich country). Finally, she described the TV show in which an African man pointed out the Japanese provincialism and a prejudice against them. Through these experiences, Mrs. Ishida appeared to be more conscious about labels of ethnic groups, economic levels among different ethnic groups, being prejudiced against, and prejudice toward other ethnic groups. She appeared to be an anti-prejudice advocate even before the sojourn, but it became intensified after the sojourn. She said that she felt close to America after she returned to Japan (t. 20). Therefore, Mrs. Ishida's new perspective appeared to be that she widened and deepened the existing anti-prejudice perspective with actual experiences. It was widened because she included the people from Africa who were on TV. It was deepened because she realized that Japanese themselves had prejudices and expressed it.

Mrs. Aoki's new perspective appeared in various areas: children's rights, Japanese education system, woman's career advancement, and the relationship with her husband. In the children's rights, Mrs. Aoki described, "children are not an auxiliary entity (fuzoku-hin) (t. 9)." "They have their own ideas and claim their opinions (t. 9)." Mrs. Aoki said that she used to respond to her children's claim by saying her children were selfish, but after the sojourn, she began listening carefully to what they complained about. It appeared that she started respecting them more and dealing with them as not an auxiliary to her, but as independent thinkers.

For the Japanese education system, Mrs. Aoki described how it is resembled a military system: "There is a school yard in front of my apartment. In June, they had a sports festival (undokai). In May, students practice walking for many hours in the yard. It is a type of child abuse. I wonder if children had a rights to refuse such a practice (t. 26)." She mimicked the voice of teachers who conducted the practices in the school

yard, "Stand at ease! 'shun! (t.26)" Mrs. Aoki said that she was told by her husband that her new perspective on education was not desirable, because she might have seen only the positive side of the American education for people who belong to a middle class.

For women's career advancement, Mrs. Aoki pointed out the career of Mrs. Albright whom she knew was just a housewife before she became the Secretary of States. However, back in Japan, she realized that her sister could not come back to her teaching job after she raised her child for two or three years. Mrs. Aoki said, "After all, Japanese society as a whole claims that women should not work outside (t. 31)." Therefore, her new perspective on the women's career advancement in Japan was a critical one. However, her criticism did not seem to lead to the strategizing that was seen in the case of Mrs. Sato.

In the relationship with her husband, Mrs. Aoki said that she came to have a relationship of "war-comrade." The new perspective on the relationship that she saw in the United States in daughter-in-law and mother-in-law did not become actualized upon her return, but she said that it was simply because she did not have a mother-in-law (t. 8). Based on what she described about her relationship with her husband, her new perspective on the relationship appeared more egalitarian than hierarchical. The area to practice this egalitarian principle is housework and children's education. The housework is indicated by Mrs. Aoki in her description on preparing for a bath. The children's education showed up only once, "My husband is the kind of person who wants to show up at the schools of our children (t. 29)." She criticized that Japanese schools because they do not offer opportunities for fathers to participate.

Mrs. Sato's new perspectives are about the issues of life options for her daughter,

classroom manners, learning opportunity, and mother's role. Through meeting with the person who had been to Zimbabwe, Mrs. Sato said that she found more life options are available, and decided to let her daughter choose her own. This new perspective is the change from the only choice model that was indicated by insurance companies to wider options. Mrs. Sato actually took some academic courses and observed classroom manners that she found were very different from that of Japan. Then, she reflected, "What was so wrong about eating and drinking in the classroom in Japan? (t. 39)" Her newly acquired perspective is wider than the one she had before.

Mrs. Sato's perspective on learning opportunity became also wide. While she was attending formal school, she described, "(In America), you can learn if you want to even if you are 40, 50, or 60 years old (t. 40)." Such an educational opportunity became a comparable category across cultures when Mrs. Sato actually took some classes at a graduate school. For mother's role, Mrs. Sato questioned the intensive involvement in setting up the place and equipment for children to play. However, she said that she did not criticize. As she indicated, the pressure from other people is very strong (t. 26). However, a question that Mrs. Sato held was an indication of her newly emerged perspective about to what extent mothers should be involved in indulging the children's sphere.

Mrs. Yamada's new perspective was in relationship with her mother-in-law, independence in one's old age, and the role of wife and husband. Mrs. Yamada said that she became able to nagasu (drain or not letting others to bother) her mother-in-law's complaints after the sojourn. Her new perspective was the acceptance of a less perfect model of being a daughter-in-law than before. This new perspective about the daughter-in-law's role is not the one of traditional housewife's role that expects women to stay

home all the time. On the contrary, Mrs. Yamada said that she went out frequently when she was offered such opportunities.

Mrs. Yamada appeared to gain a new perspective about the independence of senior citizens in the United States. She saw an old man living alone but independently, and she hoped that her parents-in-law would be independent, and not requiring her care. It is her new perspective because she does not want to reproduce the cycle. She did not want to be dependent on her children when she became old.

Mrs. Yamada appeared to gain another perspective about the role of wife and husband. In the United States, the couple argued over the roles (t. 33), and her husband participated in domestic sphere including helping in children's swimming lessons. The traditional Japanese view on roles of wife and husband usually do not allow such flexible roles. However, this new perspective did not continue when they returned to Japan, except her husband helped her to take out and put back the bedding (futon) into the closet. Nevertheless, it is a perspective once practiced in the United States, and still remembered by Mrs. Yamada.

Mrs. Kobayashi's new perspective from a single sojourn is difficult to determine. However, through her concrete experiences, some fresh perspectives were drawn. First and foremost, she appeared to gain her new perspective on herself: "It is OK to be different from others (p. 32)." The old perspective was that a person has to follow what other people say and order. It seems something that Mrs. Ishida also used to be bothered by. Mrs. Kobayashi's solution was not the change of herself, but to assert that she was as she was. The next new perspective was about the absolute correctness of English pronunciation. She claimed that there is no single correct pronunciation of English. It seems to resemble the some perspective that she took as a position of about herself.

Principally related to the above issues, Mrs. Kobayashi also appeared to accept that there should be more options in various areas of life, such as occupations for gender, and fathers' participation to PTA. For her, acceptance of diversity was rooted in her experience of observing her child who did not want to play with an African American, and always played with other Oriental male friends. Mrs. Kobayashi wondered if there is such an instinct in human beings. She described this finding as shocked her (t. 21). However, expecting her son to play with an African American seemed to be the expectation of seken (public) which she did not approve of, and finally departed from it to gain her own self difference.

In summary, the new perspectives that these women gained or revised include areas of their concerns such as Japanese traditional thinking; volunteerism; relationships with children, neighbors, husband, mother-in-law, other mothers, other ethnic groups; prejudice, children's rights; Japanese education system; woman's career advancement, life options for daughter; classroom manner; learning opportunity; role of wife and husband; mother's role; independence in one's old age; asserting the difference of oneself; correct English pronunciation; and diversity of gender related occupation. Some general themes appeared among the various issues above including widening their roles and expectations, increasing their personal flexibility, and accepting and asserting diversity.

(9) What types of international activities do these women participate in?

Mrs. Yamada started participating in international activities in the PTA. She said that she tried to promote asking international persons to talk about foreign cultures to the PTA. Mrs. Ishida told me that if her son wanted to go to the United States to study,

she would support that idea. Mrs. Aoki still wanted to go back to the United States to stay, but she found no support. Mrs. Kobayashi did not think that she wanted to go back again, but she thought that if money were available, it should be used for young people to go abroad. Mrs. Mori did not seem to want anything to do with internationalism at all. Mrs. Sato, on the other hand, started going to an English School on Saturdays in which she said she learned to debate.

These women demonstrated various activities and thinking about "internationalism." Mrs. Yamada actually started promoting opportunities to include persons from foreign cultures into Japanese scenes, and others want to have them or their children go to the United States again. However, some of them appeared to reject international activities. Mrs. Kobayashi, for example, did not mention any negative reasons for not wanting to go to the United States. She is participating in Asian women's issue for her employment, and this fact shows high involvement in internationalization. Some reasons could be speculated in her description regarding why she had to accompany her husband to the United States? Complicated issues appeared there, such as her future job opportunity, and power relationship with her husband. From the view point of learning, Mrs. Mori described the highest intensity among these women. However, she did not show any interest in going abroad again.

DISCUSSION

In the following section, noticeable categories and themes will be organized into three areas of (1) cultural assumptions of women's ideals in Japan, (2) cross-cultural learning, and (3) the Japanese concept of self. Their learning was found in their descriptions that were about the changes after the United States stay. In each section, I

will deal with episodes or critical incidents that they had in the United States that may have contributed to their learning.

(1) Cultural Assumptions of Women's Ideals in Japan

a. Assertiveness

Assertiveness as a category was noticed when reviewing the descriptions that these women gave up some of their behaviors or certain ideas. The highlighting of this concept was based on not only the frequency of usage, but also the importance in the context. Examples of these behaviors or experiences are provided.

Being assertive means "saying 'yes' and 'no' clearly (Mrs. Mori)," "a person has her own opinions about a matter (Mrs. Mori and Mrs. Yamada)," "saying what one wants to say (Mrs. Mori)," and "shucho (advocating or demanding)(Mrs. Sato)." The reason for becoming assertive is "to become strong (Mrs. Mori)," and "ki became strong (Mrs. Yamada)."

These women felt that they became assertive about the mother's role, i.e. "mothers are human beings, so they may not feel up to cooking sometimes (Mrs. Aoki)," "mother has a limited care for her daughter (Mrs. Mori), or " one's existential awareness, i.e. "I am what I am, and all right to be different from others (Mrs. Aoki)," "It is all right to be different from others (Mrs. Kobayashi),"

Mrs. Mori told me that she tried to discipline her child based on what she believed: "When my daughter supported a victim of bullying at school, she became isolated. I told her to keep her opinion straight, and to advocate what she believed was right. I told her to say 'Yes' and 'No' clearly.' I told her to use a democratic way to appeal everyone."

However, many women told me that they refrained from being assertive in a public place. For example, Mrs. Kobayashi said (in response to the question 'do you say your opinions?') "No, not in the PTA meetings. However, when teachers visited our home, I tried to hint what I wanted to say."

Mrs. Aoki also pointed out the difficulty of being assertive in a public place: "At PTA gatherings, I don't find meaningful topics to discuss. So, I don't want to go there. If I express myself, I will be struck back (such as the proverb, 'a nail sticks out will get struck back.'). If I miss the meeting, someone asked me why I didn't go."

The question such as above, "why did not?" is one of the forms of being "struck back" by others. Mrs. Yamada told me that she would get "chilly" reactions. Mrs. Kobayashi told me that a person may not be recognized in a meeting although she is physically attending. One way of ignoring such a person in a meeting is to choose a topic that a particular person may not favor to talk about. Mrs. Kobayashi told me that her husband was struck back in the PTA meeting although he didn't express his opinions but his "sticking nails" were conveyed in various ways.

How did these women learn to become assertive in the United States? Mrs. Mori had an experience in the United States with an Asian girl who confronted her and said that she forgave Mrs. Mori's son for hurting the girl's younger brother. Mrs. Mori also said that she had another experience of feeling guilty for not knowingly participating in a petition to get a school teacher to resign. These two experiences seemed to have left Mrs. Mori thinking of becoming more assertive.

Mrs. Yamada told me that the nursery school teacher asked her son about his favorite place to put his name label. She told me that she was surprised about his being offered a choice, because in Japan, it was a rule to put it on the left-side of his chest.

It didn't seem that Mrs. Yamada had experiences that made her reflect about her assertiveness, but occasions such as that mentioned above seemed to provide her with opportunities to express assertively her (or her son's) choices.

Mrs. Aoki told me she experienced communication breakdowns with Americans. She said that she had to spell out her requests in English so that Americans could help her. She also had an argument with another Japanese who told her that she should have given her turn to an American who cut the line in the public bathroom. Mrs. Aoki said that she, not the program staff, should have said "no" to the American who cut the line. In Mrs. Aoki's case, a person who "struck the nail" was the Japanese who argued with her.

Mrs. Sato learned how to be assertive with a help of her husband. She experienced the case of the university secretary who said that Mrs. Sato's application materials had not arrived. She learned to make copies that helped her to shucho (assert) herself.

General concepts such as assertiveness may be examined from various angles. For one thing, the concept of "assertiveness" did not appear alone in the women's descriptions. Some surrounding concepts showed up. Adjectives and adverbs included "urusaku (noisily)(Mrs. Sato)," "hakkiri (clearly)(Mrs. Aoki)," "chanto (clearly) (Mrs. Aoki)," and "kichinto (exactly and accurately)(Mrs. Aoki)."

Other expressions that came with assertiveness included "zuzu-shii(impudent)(Mrs. Mori), jishin (confident)(Mrs. Mori, Mrs. Yamada), and "kakushin (firm belief)(Mrs. Aoki)," "jiritsu (being independent)(Mrs. Mori)," "kogekiteki (aggressive)(Mrs. Mori)," and "sekkyoku-teki (pro-active)(Mrs. Mori)."

Mrs. Mori told me that she became assertive and behaved more independently:

"I started doing things alone to participate in sports and art clubs. I used to do things with friends whom I met through my children's activities. For example, if my neighbor bought a piano, I thought I had to buy one. When I had these friends, I thought that I had to do things with them. However, now I don't do things like I used to do."

Mrs. Mori's independent behavior extended to her communication mode: "(Before I went to the United States), I couldn't express my opinions and behave based on what I said. Not only that I couldn't, but I didn't even have that kind of thinking." Mrs. Mori described an episode to illustrate how she became pro-active:

"My friend became seriously ill, and she had to be hospitalized. She was divorced and had a son. I knew that this person did not get any help from her relatives. I found the thing that I could do for her. I let her child stay in my house for three months. This boy was 15 at that time and had to take an entrance examination for high school. I also saw her at the hospital very frequently because I thought that it was very important to be with her."

Mrs. Ishida's and Mrs. Yamada's "nagasu (drain)" concept seems to be a replacement for assertiveness, and it seems to be utilized only to avoid confrontation. For example, after returning to Japan, Mrs. Yamada told me that she started not paying attention to her mother-in-law's complaints, or not "making into ki (Garrison and Kimiya, 1994).

"(After I returned from the United States), my mother-in-law became harsher. Before (the sojourn), I couldn't nagasu (drain, or not making into ki) her complaints. Nowadays, when I hear such complaints, I tell her that I will go out for grocery shopping. I get out of the house. While my children are not at home during the day time, I try to stay outside of the house."

Mrs. Ishida told me that she also began not to pay attention (ki ni suru) to what was nerve-wracking before. The word, nagasu (drain) also came up in Mrs. Ishida's transcription:

> "I tended not to ki ni suru (making into ki) about the matters between housewives. Nowadays, I nagasu (drain) things like that . . . That kind of stress disappeared compared to the time before I went to the United States . . . I accept that I do not need to step into (stressful housewives' relations) further. I started not to force myself. I used to think that everyone has to be my friend. However, nowadays, I do not think that I have to be that way. I do not think that I have to accept muri (unreasonable things)."

For some women, there is a middle position between being assertive and nagasu. For example, Mrs. Kobayashi took a soft tactic to make her opinion known:

> "I won't say it straight forwardly, (that's no good, so) I said something like, 'Let's ask fathers' group to participate (to the PTA activities).' . . . I think that if we plan things that will take place in the morning of weekdays, only mothers or housewives can come. So I wanted to suggest that two out of five times some activities be held on Saturdays or in the evening. However, I am not attending all the meetings so I can't say it loudly. By offering such activities on Sundays, for example, we can include men in the PTA activities. I think that child rearing can also be a joy for men."

As seen above, personal opinions are not usually expressed by many women, or at least they are socially discouraged from doing so. Frequently, they may face obstacles if they become assertive in Japan. However, it should not be assumed that many of these women did not have personal opinions. Mrs. Mori, for example, said,

"(Before I went to the United States), I couldn't express my opinions and behave based on what I said. Not only that I couldn't, but I didn't even have that kind of thinking." However, Mrs. Mori did not say that she did not have her opinions she simply didn't believe she was able to express them.

b. Changing an Ideal

It is the Japanese concept called inaori (change of posture or attitude) that seems to illustrate the time for a woman to change her ideal. The frequency of this word was not high, but it seemed to play a crucial role in their psychological transition. First, there is Mrs. Kobayashi who changed her attitude toward trying to be a perfect English speaker:

> "It is important for a Japanese to be confident in pronouncing English words with Japanese accent. If two persons' cultural back grounds are different, it is reasonable for them to have a communication breakdown. Therefore, if Americans demand what they possess (qualities or cultural behaviors) to other nationalities, they are arrogant. I think that it is important that we feel others' disabilities (she used the word, 'handi.')."

Mrs. Aoki's inaori was existential: "I began to tell others 'this is what I am.' After returning to Japan, I started not to cherish brand-name dresses, for example." She wore sneakers and jeans on the day of the interview. She told me that before she went to the United States, she used to wear brand-name dresses and go to a beauty shop every two weeks.

Mrs. Aoki's other inaori was about to play a role of an ideal mother. She said that she told her children, "Your mother does not feel up to cooking sometimes. Your

mother is a human being, the same as other people." It is an admittance of being imperfect.

She had another inaori about being an ideal wife. She said that her ideal couple was the senior parents that appeared in the comic book called Sazae-san. Sazae-san is a married woman living with her family and her parents in a house. According to Mrs. Aoki, Sazae-san's mother uses honorific terms to talk to her husband. For example, if the bath is ready, Sazae-san's mother would say, "Father, would you like to take a bath before you have dinner?" However, she would never say, "Do you want to take a bath?" After Mrs. Aoki returned from the United States, she started saying, "Can you take a bath now?" "I have to clean up the bathroom today. If you can clean it yourself, you can take a bath later." Mrs. Aoki used a word "war-comrades (senyu)" to show her new relationship with her husband. It indicates an egalitarian and friend-type relationship with her husband.

Mrs. Ishida had an inaori about being an ideal neighbor. As it appeared for the concept nagasu, Mrs. Ishida told me as follows:

> "I accept that I do not need to step into (stressful housewives' relations) further. I started not to force myself. I used to think that everyone has to be my friend. However, nowadays, I do not think that I have to be that way. I do not think that I have to do muri (unreasonable things)."

The episodes that seemed to have contributed to Mrs. Kobayashi's inaori included various English language learning while still in Japan, and she seemed to have reached a saturated level or the level that did not seem to improve her proficiency. In the United States, Mrs. Kobayashi attended two university courses on Southeast Asia and

Women's studies. She said, "(In the United States), various people come and go . . . If I hear a strange accent, I go blank. I understand probably 50 percent of what is said." She also said that she had many opportunities to meet people but she had no clue what they were thinking. Meeting with people in various settings including university classes seemed to help her draw a more realistic line about understanding people who are culturally different.

Mrs. Aoki's relevant episodes in the United States to inaori include her community college education, the church's English school, and being a wife and mother at the same time. However, a crucial factor in Mrs. Aoki's case was her strong determination that started before she went to the United States. It concerned her original regret of turning down the opportunity to study abroad when she was a college student in Japan, and a pessimistic estimate of her future.

> "When I was going to the community college, I told myself it is alright because it will be only for one year. I was egotistical. I sacrificed my children. I couldn't be with my children all the time. I stayed up to 9 o'clock in the evening and read books at their bedside. If they stayed up later, I often told them to go to bed because I had to study. . . Then I studied until 2 or 3 o'clock in the morning."

Mrs. Aoki also foresaw that she would never have the chance to study again: "After my children were born, I could see my future. I can't use money and time for myself. I didn't want to repeat what I missed when I was in the university. I didn't want to pass up the opportunity (of living abroad)."

Mrs. Aoki's decision not to be an ideal mother and wife can be explained by the above conditions. How can we trace her existential inaori? Or, it may not be

existential, but just a change of taste in clothing. One noticeable phenomenon is her change in her relationship with her husband from the ideal wife to an egalitarian war-comrade. Mrs. Aoki seemed to have extended this inaori to the outer world of her friends. There, I find a less clear boundary between her omote (public) and ura (private) worlds than before. If a change in these concepts exists, rather than a single experience, different cultural conditions and relationships in the United States from that of Japan can be found to be contributing. These conditions and relationships were described by other women such as Mrs. Ishida's absence of sekentei (in her case, it is an ideal presentation of herself to the eyes of neighbors) and Mrs. Yamada's absence of relationship with her mother-in-law.

c. Deviance from Other Women

Mrs. Kobayashi accepted her difference when she returned to Japan. "It is alright if my opinion is deviant. I no longer become uneasy when I find that I am not like others. I do not want to be like other people any more." In these descriptions, Mrs. Kobayashi did not specifically indicate what her opinions were about. From her descriptions, several areas were found such as women's occupation, relationship between men and women, mother's role, and group inclusiveness. She seems to have learned in the United States that people treated her as a distinct person.

Mrs. Kobayashi remembered that American colleagues of her husband tried to remember her name, and showed sincere interest in what she was doing:

> "In Japan, such things never happened . . . When Japanese friends of my husband visited our house in Japan, wives are not involved . . . If they show some interest, it will be interpreted differently. Wives should be smiling at the party, or

carrying dishes. Therefore, I was glad because I was asked."

Women would express diverse ways of being from other women. Mrs. Kobayashi found diversity in the ESL classes:

> "I find the church's ESL classes very interesting. Rather than knowing that my English became better, meeting various people and talking to them were real joys. I often talked about countries such as Korea that I visited some time ago. I also listened to wives from other countries."

Mrs. Kobayashi had a baby at an American hospital and told me how she compared that experience with what she had in Japan for the first baby.

> "In Japan, they don't consider privacy important. In Japan, hospitals were available anytime to anyone. The cost was not expensive. However, I don't think that I was treated as a human being in the Japanese hospital. Nurses didn't explain to you when you visited for routine examination of the baby's weight, etc. No one told me for the first time, so I had to ask other patients where to go. Other patients were waiting only a yard away with a divider of a thin curtain or something when I had an examination. What if doctor has to tell me something serious? Anyone can hear it."
>
> "In America, nurses may be attending with the doctor. However, when the doctor wants to talk to you, they disappear. When the nurse needs a doctor's help, she calls him/her."

It seemed that Mrs. Kobayashi's concern over privacy is related to the diversity she found in the ESL class, and individual recognition that she received from her husband's colleagues. She seemed to hope that her individuality would be recognized and respected more in Japan. Her differences, based on her description, seemed to be in

her experiences of going abroad such as other Asian countries, and jobs she had. She had her perspective about the relationship between men and women, and ideal interactions. However, when she suggested that men be included in the PTA activities as seen above, her idea was not well received by other members. While she learned that her individuality was recognized in the United States, she found various obstacles in Japan. Her statement, "It is alright if my opinion is deviant." could be interpreted as a defensiveness and not being welcomed by others. Her sentence also suggests broader things such as that once a person developed her sense of difference, it is difficult to go back to see the similarity on which sense of sharing stood.

d. Alternative Life Options

Mrs. Sato was one of the respondents who discussed the development of different life option. She talked about life options as follows:

> "I now realized that many more life options exist in the world. Ninety percent of the people who surround me went to colleges and universities. We live life as if it were created by an insurance company's life plan. However, after I met a person from Zimbabwe who lived very differently, I realized that there were many options. Options of the way to study and live. I think I knew about this long time ago. However, I didn't think these options were available . . . When this life plan is no longer feasible, I now expect that I am saying that it is OK, I can handle this . . . I now have kokoro gamae (mind preparation) (to accept any difficulties in my life)"

Mrs. Sato's relevant experience was the encounter with a Japanese who lived in Zimbabwe. Mrs. Sato told me that this person was "ooraka (broad minded)." She told me that for that person all sorts of small things did not seem to be worth concern. Mrs.

Sato told me that to him, taking examinations to enter junior high, high school, and college is not a big deal.

Mrs. Kobayashi's findings about life alternatives is concerned about work for women.

> "In America, I saw female welders, bus and truck drivers. I thought that even women were capable of doing such work. In Japan, certain occupations are for women. The division between female work and male work is very clear. However, there is, in fact, no actual difference between them. To some extent, some occupations were suitable for women, probably. However, we can't determine the division definitely."

Both Mrs. Sato and Mrs. Kobayashi told me that they began accepting alternative modes of living. Such acceptance may not indicate that they would follow what they saw. However, we could anticipate that they would say it is alright when their children and surrounding people try to go in a different direction. Furthermore, they would refrain from becoming "watchful eyes of neighbor" who give pressures to other women who try to step out of the traditional women's course.

(2)Cross-Cultural Learning

a. Taylor's Model

Taylor (1994) introduced a model of the learning process of becoming interculturally competent. "Intercultural competency" is certain types of skills and attributes which can predict successful inter-cultural experience (Hammer, Gudykunst, and Wiseman, 1978). Taylor offered a model which contains a series of experiences, events, and/or strategies. These components are "setting the stage, cultural

disequilibrium, nonreflective orientation, reflective orientation, behavioral learning strategies, and evolving intercultural identity (p. 160).

The first question for the analysis based on my study is to see if the respondents talked with fit what Taylor called "successful inter-cultural experience." He listed five criteria to select people who have intercultural competency. They are (1) primary culture, (2) age of intercultural experience, (3) duration of stay in the host culture, (4) primary language usage, and (5) positive feelings about their intercultural experience. Among them, (5) positive feelings about the intercultural experience was difficult to measure.

In my study, almost all of the six women had some mixed feelings about intercultural experience. The question is about the possibility of generalizing various experiences they had in the United States. For example, Mrs. Ishida enjoyed the trip very much, but she had negative feelings about the apartment she lived in. Mrs. Mori did not like the manners of Americans because she felt they lacked sensitivity, but she enjoyed how they expressed their opinions. Mrs. Aoki liked educational opportunities that were available to anyone, but found it was costly if she had to hire several baby sitters.

The evaluation they received from surrounding people when they returned to Japan is another factor that contributed to their "feelings about the intercultural experience." When Mrs. Yamada's child was called amerika-gaeri, and he told her that he did not like to go to English conversation class to maintain his English, Mrs. Yamada wondered if the United States experience was good for him. When Mrs. Kobayashi talked about America to her co-workers in the non-profit company to support Asian women, it was taken as American Imperialism. Mrs. Kobayashi wanted to give a

younger person a chance to go to the United States if such opportunity becomes available. Mrs. Yamada felt "chilly reactions" in the PTA meetings when she talked about America.

For Taylor's first step, setting the stage, that sets the learning readiness of a person, includes (1) former critical events, (2) personal goals, and (3) previous intercultural experience and training. In my study, the former critical condition for Mrs. Yamada's and Mrs. Ishida's cases, were a major factor for them to be ready. Four women had no concrete personal goal: two women had some goals to pursue formal learning. However, these factors do not seem to be necessarily directly connected to "cultural learning" that extends formal learning. Previous intercultural experience and training do not seem to be a definite determinant for these women to feel the experiences in the United States positively. For example, Mrs. Aoki had been to Korea, Taiwan, Shanghai, Singapore, China, Britain, and the United States before she stayed in the United States. This study reflected her fifth time. It doesn't seem to play a major role in determining her intercultural identity compared to Mrs. Kobayashi who had been to Korea and Southeast Asia and showed some changes in perspectives. Therefore, it may not be just a previous intercultural experience and training, but quality and evaluation of them that seem to play a crucial role.

Taylor's second component, cultural disequilibrium, was not apparent in my interviewees except the case of Mrs. Mori. Some stresses were present in the matters, such as about time and money, and communication (Mrs. Aoki), no enough opportunity to meet other people (Mrs. Kobayashi), quality of university and commercial services (Mrs. Sato), and unkind Americans (Mrs. Ishida).

Taylor writes that cultural disequilibrium was muted by previous experiences of marginality, host language competency, and by experience in the host culture. In my

study, marginality could be speculated from what they described as types of occupation, and how they conceive that occupation is evaluated. It is because as Nakane (1972) pointed out, Japanese society is characterized by a hierarchical nature of organizations and occupations. The Japanese values ranks among companies and occupations, and marginality is considered as the one who belong to a company that is ranked lower, or the occupation that is socially ranked lower than other. A problem exists because a full-time worker and a housewife such as Mrs. Sato thinks that she is not at marginal but in the main stream of society as a worker. However, she is a minority in the housewives' community and treated as marginal. Mrs. Kobayashi, a part-time worker, showed marginality from both the larger society and the housewive's community. However, her cultural disequilibrium does not seem to be particularly muted when compared to other full-time housewives. Mrs. Mori, however, expressed strong cultural disequilibrium. Her difference showed that marginality could be caused by her educational background. She was the only high school graduate among the six interviewees. In her case, marginality in Japan did not seem to lighten the cultural disequilibrium.

Descriptions of cognitive orientations were difficult to obtain for these Japanese women. Topics expressed were not often what the cognitive orientations indicate. Mrs. Aoki hinted at communication differences between Japanese and Americans in the episode in which she had to ask a person to pick her up because she was locked out. She said it is a "shame" to spell out all the requests. Likewise, admitting uneasy experiences in the foreign culture means their ignorance about the cultural process. Therefore, obtaining such descriptions from Japanese women was extremely difficult. However, it does not indicate that such a cognitive process is absent from Japanese women. An indication is found when I asked about their concerns. Logically speaking,

when they were concerned about school education for their children, for example, they had some views and questions about it. Therefore, it may be that they were not sure what particular aspect of their concerns was important to share.

As I touched upon in the description, learning strategies were another component that Japanese women found difficult to select one from the other. Mrs. Sato told me that there was no time and yoyu (room to spare). That is, conscious selection was absent. Taylor pointed out that "the context of a particular intercultural experience determined the strategy or strategies employed by the participant (Taylor, p. 172)."

Some interviewees described the association between the intensity and duration of learning English in Japan, and the learning strategies taken in the United States. Mrs. Yamada told that it has been more than a decade since she graduated from school, so she was not confident in communicating in English. Children's illness and accidents were the main concern in which Mrs. Yamada worried if she couldn't speak English. When in the United States, Mrs. Yamada said that it was her role to negotiate and ask questions when the couple wanted to know something:

> "My husband said he did not want to talk (to Americans). He is better at speaking (than I), but he told me that he did not want to talk to the strangers. Because I can't understand English when things become complicated, my husband (signed) 'OK, OK.' I didn't mind (heiki) doing asking a person to push a shutter of a camera. My husband and children told me that they are ashamed of my doing it (hazukashii)." (t. 12)

She pointed out the association between her English education and the role of a cultural negotiator with the term, heiki (not to mind, or literal translation is 'flat ki'). This seems her strategy to cross-cultural challenges.

Mrs. Mori called herself "Helen Keller," because she couldn't read, speak, or listen to English. She also had minimum English education in Japan. This means about 6 years in junior high and high school learning grammar and reading. In the United States, she drove her daughter to school by herself, and she called herself "a person of instinct (t. 8)," because she did not know the street to reach there, but she did. Her strategy was to have someone help her: her husband, daughter, a tutor, host professor and his wife, other mothers. It is what Taylor pointed out as "friends." Did she have a sense of association between what she learned or how she was in Japan, and how she survived in the United States? It does not seem to be a conscious selection of solutions to cultural challenges or a conscious reasoning in her selection. While she had challenges in the United States, she said that she has learned that she could communicate with limited English proficiency (t. 7). It seems that she realized that she previously assumed an association between English language learning and communicability in the United States, and that became invalid after the sojourn.

The above point was also mentioned by other women. For example, Mrs. Yamada said, "Now I think that I am capable of living anywhere (t. 23.)," Mrs. Aoki, "One year of stay in the United States did not produce as much (as she expected for her English proficiency) (t. 48)," Mrs. Kobayashi, "If one's culture is different from others, it is common (futsu) not to be able to understand each other. I had to inaori (change of posture, or to accept as it is)(t. 29)."

The strategies to "bring their lives back into balance (Taylor, 1994, p. 172)" that these women took in the United States include all the items that Taylor presented, such as listening when other mothers visit for a petition (Mrs. Mori), watching a daughter-in-law and mother-in-law's relationship (Mrs. Aoki), reading an Amish story (Mrs. Kobayashi),

talking to other mothers (Mrs. Ishida), socializing at a party (Mrs. Yamada), dressing kimono to a party (Mrs. Mori), eating at an ethnic food restaurant (Mrs. Aoki), shopping in the Christmas town (Mrs. Yamada), committing to take care of an American student (Mrs. Ishida), risking signing on petition (Mrs. Mori), and sharing the sentiment of being in a hard time (Mrs. Ishida).

In contrast, Mrs. Sato, for example, learned English for years and took TOEFL examinations "numerous times" before the United States stay. She did not rely on one strategy, nor consciously chose one over the other. Her uniqueness is that she continued learning English upon her return. It seems that she had a long-term perspective, and did not employ one strategy to solve any particular cultural disorienting dilemma in the United States. Taylor assumes that people employ learning strategies to solve problems or attain some goals, but Mrs. Sato did not seem to use her strategy for that particular purpose. She seems to have longer term desire, rather than goals, than just to cope with cultural disorientation.

Over all, the Japanese women's case contributed to Taylor's model to some limited extent. What would seem more contributing to their intercultural experiences?

Based on what the Japanese women claim to have learned in the United States, the quality and quantity of individual interactions were the key factors for them to become interculturally competent. Taylor looked into a visitor's characteristics and his/her strategies, but his study did not include critical experiences in the host culture as well as individual interactions. In a simple form, Taylor points out that it is all the visitor's responsibility to become happy or unhappy. My interviewees do not agree with Taylor; individuals in a host culture might also be responsible for it. More precisely, it is the interaction with host individuals that becomes crucial in intercultural experiences.

b. Learning

In the various learning theories presented in the literature review, the one that is relevant to this study is Ausubel's (1963) concept of the transfer of knowledge to connect new learning materials with familiar ones. For these Japanese women, in order to transfer new learning such as assertiveness to the familiar situation back home, first they have to see if the context is relevant because that was the first and predominant factor for them to decide their manners and communication mode in Japan. With their existing knowledge, contextual relevancy between the United States and Japan is scrutinized and judged. It shows that in many cases, the public sphere (omote) fails personal examination but the private (ura) sphere passes. Mrs. Aoki told me that she couldn't be assertive in the PTA meetings, but she developed a war-comrade like relationship with her husband with whom she could talk frankly. Mrs. Kobayashi also tried to be moderately assertive in the PTA meetings as she developed strong opinions that she seemed to be willing to push. This seems to indicate the difficulty of unlearning contextual differentiation once a person has developed it.

Another significant finding in this study is related to learning theories is the confirmation of discovery learning (Good and Brophy, 1995, p. 182). Many scenes and episodes of their learning experiences reach unexpected conclusions. For example, Mrs. Mori described an Asian girl who showed up at her door and told her she would forgive her because Mrs. Mori was from same part of the world. Mrs. Mori told me that she learned that she had to be assertive about what she believed was right. Instead, I thought she would comment on race relations in the United States. Mrs. Aoki's lesson on democratic manners in the public bathroom line also failed my expectation. She said

that the program instructor would lose "face" if Mrs. Aoki offered a turn to an American who cut the line. I expected that she would defend the Japanese who tried to discipline her by claiming that it is not democratic. These examples demonstrated that some episodes are not necessarily interpreted by the people from other cultures as they are meant to be taken in the host culture.

(3) The Japanese Concept of Self

a. Managing amae (dependency or indulgence) relationship

Mrs. Yamada told me that her "ki" became strong after she returned to Japan. She also said that she was capable of nagasu (draining) her mother-in-law's complaints. From her description, her mother-in-law, and father-in-law to some extent, showed heavy amae relationship. As previously mentioned, amae is psychological dependency or indulgence (Doi, 1974).

The major episode to illustrate the excessive amae of Mrs. Yamada's mother-in-law appeared when they were told about their son's sojourn in the United States. Mrs. Yamada's physical absence from the Japanese scene was of great concern to her mother-in-law: "They told me that I would be irresponsible for not letting my children attend the festival for seven, five and three years old while in the United States." (t.2)

In addition, amae appeared in the following sentence more clearly: "What if parents-in-law have some critical thing?" said her mother-in-law. "Critical thing (moshimo no koto)" means some life threatening events. As this sentence indicated, Mrs. Yamada told me various complaints she received from her mother-in-law. Mrs. Yamada's observation in the United States also gives a hint of her mother-in-law's amae expectation: "Many senior citizens are independent in the United States." " . . . In Japan,

(those people) can't get out of the house. . . (In the United States), senior citizens also come to the supermarket by driving themselves. These things won't happen in Japan (t. 10)." "In Japan, there is an expectation for senior citizens to be taken care of, and the surrounding people to take care of them. In the United States, an individual person takes care of him/herself." (t.10)

> "When the world becomes full of senior citizens, we can't depend on the surrounding young people. In old times, a couple had seven or eight children. When some critical things happened to the parent, children took turns. Nowadays, a couple has two or three children. It is better for them to live nearby, but if one goes away, another child becomes responsible . . . My husband can't take time off. His brother lives far away, and his sister may leave home someday. That means everything will be on my shoulders." (t.10)

The fact that "everything" was currently "on her shoulders" was seen in her expression such as "oukagai wo tateru (respectively asking mother-in-law's direction)" even though a thing is a lot easier if Mrs. Yamada takes care of it alone. Mrs. Yamada told me that she became capable of handling such expectations from her mother-in-law by nagasu (draining) and going out grocery shopping. It seems a learned skill to manage heavy amae expectations from her mother-in-law based on the experiences she had in the United States in which she did not rely on verbal communication methods simply because her proficiency level did not accommodate a full range of communication.

What did experience in the United States contribute to such learning? It seems to be a different condition, or mere physical absence of the mother-in-law in

the United States. Absence of negative experience does not always seem to direct a person to actively create a similar environment in the original situation. The alternative action such as "going out grocery shopping" or some other activities have to be hinted from her observations in the United States. That is, Mrs. Yamada told me that she met many Japanese women who did "fly" a lot. "In the past, I was told by my parents-in-law that they did such and such things in certain ways because they were always done that way. In the United States, my husband and I met many women who did "fly" more than I did."(t.33)

The way to "fly" includes being "unbound" by ie (house, family system). The other Japanese women Mrs. Yamada met in the United States went out frequently while hiring a baby sitter, and asked their husband to "clean up the bathroom before a party." Mrs. Yamada, as described before, went out for parties, craft clubs, and swimming classes in the United States.

b. Managing "ki"

Mrs. Ishida told me that she became capable of managing ki: "(When I returned to Japan), I began not to ki ni suru (making into ki) about the matters between housewives . . . I accept that I do not need to step into (stressful housewives' relations) further. I started not to force myself. I used to think that everyone has to be my friend. However, nowadays, I do not think that I have to be that way. I do not think that I have to muri (unreasonable things)."(t.12)

As opposed to other usage of ki as a subject of movement, an expression such as ki ni suru (or not "making into ki) (Jeff Garrison and Kayoko Kimiya, 1994) is the expression that indicates a person who makes an object into ki. That is, an ordinary

matter that is not usually paid attention to can become something that is worth paying attention to. It assumes a will of an actor and that ki is something that one can control. Therefore, Mrs. Ishida's description showed that she became capable of managing her ki.

Her experiences in the United States made her learn to manage her ki seemed to be the trip of over 10,000 miles in 34 days. She seemed to have become confident about her ability to make reservations, have a schedule, and pay for the trip all by herself. It seemed to be the opportunity for her to be in charge of her decision making. She said that she had no time for housewives' relations in the United States. This is an indication of switching her ki from housewives' relations to other matters.

c. General State of Ki

As Rosenberger(1987) indicated, ki changes according to context. The state of ki moves every moment in one's immediate context, and it shows overall general level in three phases of pre-, during, and post- United States stay. Ki can be presented based on what these women indicated in the description. When these women talked about their ki, they usually assumed a specific context or a relation. For example, Mrs. Yamada assumed a relationship with her mother-in-law while she expressed her state of ki. The only exception among the six interviewees was Mrs. Kobayashi who did not indicate specific contexts or relationship and the state of ki.

Table 2 – General State of Ki

	Before	During	After
Mrs. Ishida	Low	High	Mid
Mrs. Kobayashi	Mid	?	?
Mrs. Yamada	Low	High	Mid
Mrs. Aoki	Mid	High	Mid
Mrs. Mori	Mid	Low	Mid
Mrs. Sato	Mid	High	High

Two women, Mrs. Ishida and Mrs. Yamada, shared the pattern, although their context and reasoning to bring about the "ki" differ. For Mrs. Ishida and Mrs. Yamada, the concept of amae (dependency or indulgence) appeared to be a strong concern. However, this was not applicable to all women. Likewise, for some women, the concept of ura-omote (informal and formal, private and public, and inner and outer) appeared strongly to determine their behaviors to show a new self. Again, this was not applicable to all women.

A chart of movement of their "ki" state should be interpreted as a presentation of individual movement rather than a comparison among them. Each of these women had unique circumstances. Therefore, a comparison was not possible because it usually assumes generalized assessment across different persons. Rather, the process of individual movement of their inner state gives us a more meaningful message. Presenting graphically such an individual process required attention to details, and it created additional problems. One of the problems is the starting point of their "ki" state.

With what specific expressions should we determine Mrs. Sato's "ki" state before the sojourn? How about the Mrs. Kobayashi's? Should we take the words to express unwillingness to go abroad as low "ki" state? However, Mrs. Yamada wanted to go abroad badly, but her "ki" was not a happy state. Relying on one category to determine their "ki" state, such as "willingness to go abroad," seems questionable about validity. In this study, general expressions as well as specific expressions were consulted.

d. Changes in Self Concept

As seen in the literature review, concepts surrounding self for the Japanese extends from Benedict's on (feeling of debt), giri (obligation), haji (shame), to Doi's amae, Hamaguchi's contexturalism, and Kimura's jiko. Suzuki (1973) pointed out that the Japanese uses terms to call self is the same term that the other referred to him/herself. The locus was always on the others. Rosenberger (1987) claimed that for Japanese, self cannot exist separate from the context or social environment. Mead (1934), noted the process of "becoming an object to himself" or the relational self, distinguished "I" from "me." Based on Mead's concepts, Plath (1980) claimed that the "Japanese lifelong struggle is to carry out one's responsibilities to others (1980, p. 217)." For Plath, others are "a special jury who evaluate and confirm the course of your being and becoming (p. 8)." Rosenberger (1992) suggests that the Japanese self could be visualized in the form of a "three-dimensional checker game with three layers of movement that interconnect both horizontally and vertically (p. 67)." These three dimensions are the psycho-spiritual energy known as "ki," the "amae" relationship, and the context of formality and informality known as "soto(outer)" and "uchi (inner)," "omote (front)" and "ura (back)," and "tatemae (on-stage meaning)" and "honne (off-stage meaning)." For Rosenberger,

the Japanese self is "a cyclical process that takes form and meaning from its position in relation to other people within changing contexts, groups, and ideologies."

This study showed various aspects of these concepts. Mrs. Aoki used the word, "shame" to express that she could not spell out what she wanted to request because it meant admitting her fault. Mrs. Mori said that she should not be ashamed of expressing her opinions. According to Mrs. Mori, expressing one's opinion in Japan is considered a "shameful" thing. This means that becoming assertive is indeed a change for her.

Mead's "becoming an object to himself" plays a significant role in changing the ideal these women had of themselves. These women take the attitudes of other individuals toward themselves within a social environment or context of experience and behavior to which they are involved (p. 138). Mrs. Ishida, for example, had a firm ideal about the attitudes and behavior of her neighbors. Mrs. Ishida thought that she had to be an ideal friendly neighbor. When this particular "other" disappeared in the United States, the attitudes and behavior became faded. New neighbors or others were "flying more than I (Mrs. Yamada)." Therefore, the mere absence of others changes one's attitudes and behaviors. Mrs. Ishida's neighbor seemed to be what Plath (1980) claimed was a "jury," and Mrs. Aoki's neighbors were Plath's "consociates" who share one's life for a long engagement. Both play the same role, but two individuals perceived the same "others" differently. If one has to explain why Mrs. Ishida had a negative perception about her consociates, it would be that Mrs. Ishida had a stronger sense "to carry out one's responsibilities to others." This "responsibility" is felt as an expectation called amae (dependence or indulgence). Mrs. Yamada's mother-in-law was the one who showed strong amae relations to her. In order to resist this expectation, strong ki is desirable as Mrs. Yamada told me. However, this ki has to be played differently in a

different context, what Rosenberger described as a three dimensional checker game. That is why Mrs. Kobayashi felt defensive about her deviancy, but not to challenge other women in the PTA meetings. There, the capability to delineate different context between omote (front) and ura (back) still exits and play very significant role in determining one's behavior when they return to Japan.

CHAPTER 5

SUMMARY: MAJOR FINDINGS, IMPLICATIONS, AND REFLECTION

SUMMARY

The previous chapters included an introduction; review of literature; design and methodology for this study, and data analysis and findings. This final chapter offers a summary, a discussion with implications, suggestions, and reflection.

This qualitative research focused on six Japanese married women's learning experiences in the United States and the effect of these experiences on their concept of "self" in Japanese terms. In order to establish a context, I obtained descriptions of their lives prior to and after the sojourn. The objective was to find categories as they emerged and identify critical experiences that contributed to their account of their changes in self concept.

The main research question for this study was: What kinds of cross-cultural learning occur as a consequence of a foreign experience, and how do these Japanese married women sojourners retain or revise their self concept?

In order to answer this question, three major questions were addressed.

1. How does a Japanese married woman describe what it was like to be a Japanese woman living in Japan prior to going to the U.S.?
2. How does a Japanese married woman, after returning to Japan, describe what it was like to be a Japanese woman living in a not-exclusively Japanese community in the

U.S.?

3. In what ways and to what extent does a Japanese woman who lived in the United States associate this experience with subsequent decisions regarding her activities and interactions with others after she returned to Japan?

In each question, 8-9 subsidiary questions were used to solicit the specific information to answer above questions. The approach was three 90-minute in-depth personal interviews with six Japanese married women who had been to the United States with their family for one year to 18 months. The community in which these women lived was predominantly white population.

MAJOR FINDINGS

(1) Cultural Assumptions of Women's Ideals in Japan

Assertiveness

In the review of literature, cultural assumptions about women's ideals in Japan revealed a change in the traditional ideals concerning shufu toward a more contemporary view of women's roles. In the traditional ideals, shufu as depicted by Yanagida (1969) and Segawa (1957) showed the high status of the woman occupant of this role and her power over foods, clothes, relationships, rituals, and financial matters. There seems to be one shufu, usually a mother-in-law in an extended family. The mode of communication for shufu can be speculated from her power. However, as Yanagida (1969) speculated, when family structure became small, a single shufu in a nuclear household became common. Their mode of communication seems to be influenced by that of Confucian

teachings which are depicted by McMullen (1993), and Onna Daigaku (The Great Learning for Women)(Kaibara Ekken or Token (Hironaka, 1983). The emphasis on "subordination to husbands, chastity, the cultivation of a forgiving nature, and the fulfillment of obligations to in-laws (Kornicki, 1993)" is indicative of this non-assertive nature.

In this study, Mrs. Yamada appeared to be the most traditional woman. She lived in the house in which her mother-in-law seemed to exert the power of shufu. Her traditional thinking appeared when she had to finish some jobs, even though she knew that it was faster if she did them all alone, she said that she had to ask her mother-in-law respectfully for permission to do them(t. 19). The least traditional women among the six appeared to be Mrs. Kobayashi and Mrs. Sato, who seemed not to be bothered by other figures such as a mother-in-law or neighbors. However, unlike Mrs. Kobayashi, Mrs. Sato who is in her thirties, has not finished fulfilling her dream of pursuing her study, although her traditional values are revealed in her description of being allowed by husband to go to an English school on Saturdays. Mrs. Kobayashi said that she wanted to give an opportunity to go abroad to next generation. This seems to reveal a trace of Confucianism that teaches women to obey the parent when they are young, the husband when they are married, and the oldest son when they are old. Mrs. Mori, appeared her traditional thinking in terms of perfecting full-time role of housewife who, according to her, is supposed to support other family members while putting her personal matters aside. She found that American housewives do their work perfectly (chanto), and further more they work outside. The order that she paid attention to about American wives showed that house-keeping work was more important to her, and how they do it matters as a wife. Mrs. Mori said that she learned to be assertive in the United States in expressing right

ideas that seemed to be based on traditional Japanese philosophy, shuren (training) to develop herself. This training, is to strengthen one's spirit to the extremes. In this shuren, one must not complain the hardship or be defeated by emotions. No talkativeness is welcomed by such philosophy. Mrs. Aoki's dream of Sazae-san relationship showed traditional Japanese family relationship. Upon her return, she now valued the relationships of war-comrade or egalitarian relations with her husband, but still wondered if American individualism really protects children from being overwhelmed by responsibilities. She also wondered if a married woman can express her desire to succeed in her career at the expense of her children. It is a clear case of Confucianism not to be egotistical as a mother, a woman, and a daughter in a family. Mrs. Ishida somewhat hated being a full-time housewife before the sojourn because of her relationship with her neighbors. However, the way she interacted with her neighbors are very traditional Japanese type of "neighborhood association (chonai-kai that stemmed from tonari-gumi in the War time.). Strong cohesiveness and intensive daily interactions were present. She seemed to be relieved after the sojourn that she cut off such intensity with her neighbors. Mrs. Ishida, in this regard, was caught in between the traditional community expectations and her desire to actualize herself in someway. Rather than becoming assertive, she seemed to came to manage her own expectation toward herself.

In summary, all six women revealed to some extent traditional Japanese women's values and thinking. However, the experience of staying in the United States appeared to influence them to become more nontraditional Japanese women. For example, one of the characteristics that they acquired was assertiveness. Traditionally, ideal women in Japan were not assertive, such as is seen in the Kaibara (Hironaka, 1983).

It is notable that this influence was actually not realized to the fullest extent by any of the women.

Another point is that such an assertiveness did not appear as a general characteristic in this study. As my interviewees described, they carefully chose the contexts in which they appeared to be assertive. Yanagida claims Fukuzawa's and Kaibara's (Kiyooka, 1988) suggestions to women were only known to upper class people. However, the current study on women with similar social status indicates that they do not manifest the same assertiveness everywhere. In other words, their acquired assertive behavior is manifested in carefully selected contexts. What is not known is whether this selective behavior is peculiar to this group of people.

The ideology of Ryosai Kenbo (good wife, wise mother) that was pervasive in women's education in Taisho era (1912-1926) taught women "diligence, frugality, orderliness, attentiveness, discipline, and cooperation" (Nagahara, 1982, p. 154). Based on this principle, then-Minister of Education, Kikuchi Dairoku (1855-17) preached that women needed to be virtuous, obedient, persevere, and be harmonious (Nagahara, 1982, p. 155). New types of shufu emerged in the Taisho period, and the shufu's power was lost.

However, the women's assertive behavior seems to remain the same without power. Women's economic participation in society after the debate on "shufu as a secondary occupation," and an Equal Employment Opportunity Law (1985) sought a way to women's liberation (Yoneda, 1993, p.267)." However, social policies such as the above might not have produced concrete measures for women to be liberated or become assertive about their desire.

This account does not seem to indicate the assertiveness is a characteristic of

modern behavior while it was considered so in the traditional Japanese Confucian ideology because it was opposing characteristics to what Kaibara or other writers thought. What appeared in the study was that these women attributed their newly acquired assertiveness to their living experiences in the United States and not to changes in Japanese culture.

Changing an Ideal

Changes in being an ideal English speaker as Mrs. Kobayashi wished, a mother, wife, and neighbor, to more being an "egotistical" one through the psychological transition called inaori appeared in the women's descriptions. Mrs. Kobayashi, in breaking down her ideal English speaker, gave the explanation of different cultural backgrounds. Mrs. Aoki defended herself by saying that she was (only) a human being. Mrs. Ishida implied that she used to do muri (unreasonable things) before the sojourn. Mrs. Aoki clearly stated that she felt that she was "egotistical." Exactly the same expressions actually appeared in Mrs. Ishida's description (t. 15). However, she did not feel guilty about it in the United States. Mrs. Ishida also said that she sacrificed her daughter because she let her stay at a nursery school until 3 o'clock so that Mrs. Ishida could enjoy other things. It seemed that guilty feeling or being "egotistic" appeared only in the context of Japan in which traditional self-devoting concept of ryosai-kenbo (good wife and wise mother) exists and is expected by people who surround these women. Nevertheless, this guilty feeling about adopting these new behaviors shows that they are not fully incorporated by Japanese women.

In the literature, Kanamori and Amano (1985) presented a "New Work Movement" in which women's volunteering experiences became a foundation for self-

actualizing paid part-time jobs. Their participation in the consumers' movement, local learning activities, volunteering, and workers' collectives, enriches women's psychological well-being while satisfying their needs to be "egotistical" and at the same time fulfilling the need to reject the negative nuance of it. Kanamori and Amano's report did not offer any inaori descriptions although both women in their report and the current study participated in local learning activities and volunteering. My speculation is that the women in the current study echo the dual-burden perspective that was pervasive in the debate on "Shufu as a Secondary Occupation." They did not seem to have fully liberated themselves from a sense of guilt consciousness that stemmed from not being financially independent. Women in Kanamori and Amano's report were financially supported by part-time jobs, and also were able to psychologically fulfill their needs to be self-actualized. In contrast, four women in my study were not in the paid work at all, and two women left the work when they came to the United States. To understand how the differences can be attributed between the women in the current study, and Kanamori and Amano's report, a further detailed descriptive study may be needed.

Deviance from Other Women

Traditionally, Japanese women were expected to become ryosai kenbo (good wife and wise mother), and this was expected uniformly as seen in the women's education. In addition, Nakane (1972) points out that Japanese society is a "frame" society in which individuals identify themselves with organizations. For married women, their organizations are primarily their husband's, and secondarily is their living district. Benedict (1946) points out that Japanese behaviors are controlled by other people. For example, "seken (public)" "hito no me (eyes of others)," and "hito no kuchi

(month of others)" all influence one's behavioral norm. From this context, no major deviance had been socially encouraged and expected.

Mrs. Ishida appeared to be strongly concerned about "eyes of neighbors." She also seemed to be relieved from them in the United States. However, she strongly regretted that she returned to the same place in which "eyes of others" were present. However, she appeared to manage her mental state, saying "I do not need to step further (into neighbors' relations.)" She knew that the "eyes of her neighbors" were still there, but she appeared to adjust herself so that she will not repeat the situation that made her obsessed with "eyes." However, Mrs. Ishida did not allow herself to be publicly deviant from her neighbors.

Sanctions to a person who is deviant from others is seen in the proverb, "When a nail sticks out, it will be struck back." For Plath (1980), others are "special jury who evaluate and confirm the course of your being and becoming (p. 8)." Our behaviors must be "recognized or validated by others (p. 8)." We can "continue to grow, . .but only to the extent that others allow or confirm that growth (p. 8)." For Mrs.Ishida, her behaviors in the neighborhood was "recognized" negatively, and she grew "only to the extent that" her neighbors "allow or confirm that growth" based on her "frame" or her husband's university prestige.

In this study, Mrs. Kobayashi strongly accepted her deviance from other women. She did not appear to be like Mrs. Ishida who was bothered by her neighbors' eyes. What appeared to be different was her "frame," and the fact of being employed before and after the living in the United States. Her "frame," or more precisely her husband's frame, appeared to be ranked socially higher than Kobayashi's. This fact seems to be the key factor in not letting "eyes of others" bother persons with high rank in the "rank"

conscious society such as Japan.

Mrs. Aoki also expressed her acceptance of being different from other women. However, her difference appeared to be in her taste in clothes, and the role of wife. There is still some resistance to such acceptance, such as Mrs.Sato who said that many people had experiences of travelling abroad, and it is not a unique experience. I speculated that her company-owned apartment in which strong community activities and responsibilities exist, allow strong "eyes of others." However, after she returned to Japan, her description also reflected that she started accepting alternative life options for her daughter. Her seemingly contradictory descriptions appeared to show on the one hand that her unsatisfactory state of being in the "eyes of others," and on the other hand a desire for her daughter, or her separate half, to choose the better options.

Alternative Life Options

Mrs. Sato indicated that she learned about alternative life options. She met a person who lived in Zimbabwe who did not see the deviance from predetermined life course as a crucial matter. In Japan, ninety percent of her surrounding people go to university or colleges. Before she met this person, she thought that she expected her daughter to have higher education and the employment at a prestigious company. Upon returning to Japan, she did not feel that she had to bind her daughter with such a limited expectation.

A debate on shufu as being a full-time professional housewife showed that traditional life options for Japanese women were not many. Ryosai Kenbo ideology showed only one life option based on the Confucian idea. Only recently, Matsumura (1990) presented multiple types of social participation that indicates different women's

life options: full-time employment, unstable employment, temporary workers, and self-employment. For those who are not employed, Matsumura classified them into two types: those who joined the activity out of their interests and purposes, and tried to fulfill the need of their own; and those who believed that their purpose can be attained through an organizational effort. These social participation types are indicative of different life options for women, and the case such as Mrs. Sato contributes to understanding the transition from one life course option to alternative ones.

Mrs. Sato attributed her newly acquired awareness of alternative life options to her living in the United States, more precisely, to the encounter with a particular individual. Such an encounter in Japanese society does not easily happen if we read Nakane right. Nakane points out that the devotion to one's 'frame.' " . . . kaisha is my or our company, the community to which one belongs primarily, and which is all-important in one's life(p. 3)." Such community "provides the whole social existence of a person, and has authority over all aspects of his life; he is deeply emotionally involved in the association (p. 4)." An ordinary Japanese male has only one such primary community in his life. His wife, as Nakane speculated, also considers this community as primary. In a same community, other members are not selected based on "attributes," but on another "frame" called universities. Thus, members of the same "frame" share similar background.

Such members may interact with members of different "frames." We do not know why such interactions may not produce such strong awareness of alternative life options. Those who participate in the volunteer work as depicted by Kanamori and Amano (1985) express self-actualizing experiences. Why in volunteer work? And why the United States in the current study? My speculation is an attempt to taste what

is expected in the social rank that is higher than one's own. And this attempt should be justified socially positively. In the current study, it might be the positive image of the United States that contributed to such attempt. In the volunteer work, the philanthropic nature justifies the movement.

(2) Cross-Cultural Learning

The sign of a "third cultural perspective" as noted by Hammer, Gudykunst, and Wiseman (1978) was indicated by some interviewees. This is the perspective of "being nonjudgmental, being accurate in perceptions of similarities and differences between cultures, and being less exclusive (p. 384)." For example, Mrs. Kobayashi seemed to have attained this perspective. Mrs.Kobayashi described "no such things called correct English pronunciation." However, she admitted from observing her son who only played with other Asian children, and concluded that there must be some instinctive "affinity" or "closeness (t. 21)." Mrs.Aoki's awareness of multiculturalism, and acceptance of alternative life options for her child seemed to provide another example of the third cultural perspective. On the contrary, Mrs. Mori did not seem to widen her horizon, but reevaluated the traditional Japanese culture when she returned to Japan. This indicates that not all the people who have been abroad attain an intercultural identity.

So-called "culture shock" was not described by the interviewees, although some stressful situations described as "fog" by Mrs. Aoki were mentioned such as cultural disequilibrium. However, the problem is whether a concept of culture is recognized as a causal factor for such psychological discomforts. For example, Mrs. Sato's complaints about the college secretary and store clerk, Mrs. Ishida's episode of a child being yelled

at when she walked bare footed on the white carpet, Mrs. Aoki's communication breakdown to ask specifically, and Mrs. Mori's participating in the petition not knowing what it was, all did not indicate that they claim these things happened due to American culture, or because Americans behave like this. These incidents were "shock" in a sense to them, but not recognized as uniquely "cultural."

They learned from these shocks as described in the previous section. Some of them learned to become assertive, changed their ideal images, accepted being deviant from other women, and accepted alternative life options. While Taylor's model did not seem to predict precisely for these women, many of its parts are relevant to their descriptions. The notable problem with Taylor's model appeared when these women did not provide a direct causal relationship among Taylor's components and the linear progress. For example, in Taylor's model, cultural disequilibrium seemed to cause behavioral learning strategies based on cognitive orientations of being reflective or nonreflective. Some women pointed out that such discomforts led them to reflect, but no clear associations were obtained that showed their acknowledgement of discomfort with their reasons, reflections, and strategies. For example, Mrs. Aoki had discomfort with other Japanese about an American who cut the line in the public bathroom. She reflected based on her own reasoning that this was the "losing face" of the program coordinator who told the cheater. However, her behavioral learning strategies were not clearly described as associated with this particular experience and she did not even specified what they were. Segments of experiences seemed to be randomly vocalized without conscious associations with other segments.

(3) The Japanese Concept of Self

In the interviewees' descriptions, all sorts of Japanese expressions appeared that indicated the nuances and movement of the concept of self. However, not all the interviewees indicated all the concepts that appeared in the literature review. Mrs. Aoki described only one concept such as "shame" in the communication breakdown, and indicated the contexts that showed the movement from a hierarchical relationship to a more egalitarian one as seen in her use of the terms from "Sazae-san" to "war-comrade." Mrs. Ishida strongly indicated the concept of seken that Benedict introduced. Mrs. Yamada indicated Nakane's group oriented hierarchical concept embodied in a mother-in-law and daughter-in-law relationship. As I explained, Doi's amae (dependency or indulgence) appeared in various relationships of these women. The women who showed least amae were Mrs. Sato and Mrs. Kobayashi who incidentally took some academic classes in the United States. The current study suggests that if Japanese women's academic participation is associated with some level of amae with their immediate family members.

Hamaguchi (1985) criticized the assumption of the concept of "individual" used in various studies as invalid. He suggested that Japanese concept of self is determined in a highly contextualized way. Thus, in the current study, the contexts were included, but the problem still remains: to what extent does a person take relevant context into consideration. For example, Mrs.Sato once gave up the opportunity to go abroad while she was in college because her own father disagreed and she was an oldest daughter. Mrs.Kobayashi did not indicate that such a context was relevant to her thinking. Her contextual categories included power relations with her husband and job opportunity after she returned to Japan. However, no personal context that is equivalent to Mrs. Sato's

father appeared. The current study asked for such details.

Rosenberger organized the use of frames to study the Japanese sense of self. However, some concepts such as ura (back side) did not appear in these women's descriptions. This makes the coding extremely difficult. A contribution of the current study is in the variety of ways of measuring degree of ki concept. Rosenberger only indicated the "loose" and "tight" degrees. In the current study, ki appeared to have other dimensions, such as "down" and "up"(kiga shizumu)(Mrs. Yamada, t.17); "formal" and "casual" (ki gamaeru)(Mrs. Kobayashi, t.12); "stable" and "changing" (ki ga ochitsuku) (Mrs. Yamada, t. 9); "fine" and "cloudy"(ki ga hareyaka) (Mrs. Ishida, t. 6).

While expressions that include ki vary, other expressions were used that do not include such a word but indicate the same meaning. For example, hikkakaru (being caught in, or remains on one's mind) (Mrs. Aoki, t. 3) means apparent ki that was not verbalized. Another example, tachikiru (to cut-off) (Mrs. Aoki, t. 3) without objectives also means ki that was cutoff. For both cases, Mrs. Aoki did not use the word, ki, at all. Therefore, the current study suggests a wider variety of ways of describing ki, and at the same time some alternative expressions that were used in place of ki.

FURTHER RESEARCH

Current study in an area in the Cultural Assumptions of Women's Ideals in Japan showed some contexts in which Japanese women were able to be self-actualized, and thus be able to find alternative life options. Characteristics such as assertiveness, changing an ideal, and accepting to be deviant from other women seem to be in the same direction toward self-actualization that includes firm awareness of self.

Both the current study and the Kanamori and Amano's report show contexts in

which some Japanese women acquire such an awareness. Kanamori and Amano presented the context of volunteering experiences. The current study shows the experience of living in the United States. Moving up among the social ranks seems to be the key for the women to learn and become aware of a new way of learning.

Further research may confirm this speculation if Japanese women who positively value the movement among social ranks learn to change their self-concept. Currently, a massive social movement is occurring in Japan; namely, restructuring in the business world. Many husbands are forced to leave the prestigious companies. Re-employment can usually be at socially less prestigious organizations than the ones where the men formerly worked. One of the populations for the possible study is about these wives to know if they learn to change their self-concept along with their husbands' transition. Another group should be the ones who successfully moved up to the social rank, and their wives can be studied to see if they change their self-concept.

Another area is to see how the women who have gone and lived overseas educate their children, or if they do so as they would like such as Mrs. Sato wished. This population can be found in various schools overseas such as private junior, senior Japanese schools with dormitories, international schools, or local colleges and universities. Mothers of these children would be the population for the study to find out how they end up by allowing their children to take untypical life tracks.

In the area of Cross-Cultural Learning, more studies are expected to find out if a person sees some fundamental values in various experiences and they lead him/her to reach new personal interpretations. It seems that a person has multiple incoherent experiences, however he/she chooses only one. Experiences and learning that seem irrelevant do not seem to come into play. In future study, tighter associations among

various experiences have to be sought. It is also valuable to see why certain experiences become more personally valuable than others. Cross-cultural learning is the best contexts to delineate the specific experiences because some experiences offer non-daily experiences.

Mezirow (1991) presents the process of transformation. The current study offers descriptions that confirm parts of the phases of his perspective transformation such as (1) a disorienting dilemma, (2) self-examination with feelings of guilt or shame, (3) a critical assessment of epistemic, sociocultural, or psychic assumptions. However, the rest of the phases appeared not to be well recognized by Japanese women. For example, (4) recognition that one's discontent and the process of transformation are shared and that others have negotiated a similar change. The "recognition" of one's discontent was not clearly known from the voice of the Japanese women. The "others" who have negotiated a similar change did not appear clearly, either. Mezirow's (5) Exploration of options for new roles, relationships, and actions, was almost impossible in Japanese context because of social norms and self-bound restrictions by the Japanese women. From this regard, the Japanese women in the current study ended at the stage of (4) of Mezirow's schema's. Perhaps a new study can find out if these women recognize discontent and how they express such discontent. How they share the process of transformation is another item to find out. It is also worth knowing if they are aware of others who have negotiated a similar change.

Another area for research concerns reflectivity. In the current study, it appeared difficult to know if these women showed reflectivity. It is partially because of Japanese language usage, and partially because these women's unwillingness to disclose their emotions. If a new study were designed to find out what types of reflectivity the

Japanese women discloses, it may be worth having a research population including those who are considered to have already become transformed by cross-cultural living experiences. Those who are in the volunteering experiences and also have been to overseas for a long period of time can become appropriate sample.

In the Japanese Concept of Self, various scenarios can be researched further to find out whether these new situations are conceivably influencing the Japanese concept of self. For example, women who started or stopped participating in various social activities, such as part-time jobs and full-time employment. Those who divorced are also another possible population which can be considered to have lost their dependent relationship. Likewise, those whose partners are deceased are also a possible research target. Who would they substitute for those whom they used to depend?

A study of ki could be designed to explore. For ki study, the degree of this concept can further be researched if it carries two dimensions such as "existence" and "non-existence." In other words, it would be worth knowing if ki is understood in gradual form.

In the current study, Japanese women do not express ki sometimes, but is implied in various situations. What are the contexts for such cases? Is the classification of such contexts possible? What is the contextual significance that Japanese people decide when or when not to disclose themselves?

There is another area for further study in which how new mode of communication patterns and the new relationships with each other fit with the traditional ones. How are these phenomena treated in Japan? How do people cope with such changes? Are conflicts inherent in such situations? What are the solutions for such conflicts? These are some remaining questions for further study.

IMPLICATIONS

(1) English as a Second Language Class

These six women experienced a variety of learning opportunities during their stay in the United States. Some were forms of formal adult education or immigrant education. Others were less formal. The Church English Class was one of these formal programs. In the current study, there were two other types of programs for international wives, the Every Tuesday Class and the Faculty Folk Club. The Japanese women understood that some funding came from the government for the Church English School and the Every Tuesday Class, but not for the Faculty Folk Club. These women appreciated the free or almost free schools. They also told me that they met various people from all over the world and did various cultural activities through this school. However, these women had limited opportunities to meet Americans some of whom often were characterized as "busy (Mrs. Kobayashi)" and "dry (Mrs. Ishida)." As we see in these women's descriptions, their perception of Americans was based on an extremely limited number. They usually include the host professor, his wife, a teacher at the Church English Class, a volunteer at the Every Tuesday Class, and a tutor. These five people provided the women their dominant perceptions of Americans. Some of them, such as Sue, Mrs. Ishida's tutor, had no background in English training. However, Sue helped Mrs. Ishida understand the American perspective tremendously. This fact implies that the organized effort such as English as a Second Language Class backed by government support may not be functioning well to enhance intercultural understanding.

The argument is about the desirability and appropriateness of teaching a language as a means for these students to be capable of making their experiences

meaningful and worthwhile. It seems that an existing English as a Second Language program ignores such an aspect or assume that language mastery would take care of other aspects of cultural learning. Classes on American culture were usually about crafts and cooking. They seem fine as long as students also have some interactions and time to discuss, but often serious questions or issues do not arise in such groups.

(2) Learning Back Home

The interviewees indicated that they maintained their cognitive ability to differentiate contexts when they returned to Japan. That ability was the key for them to function in a socially acceptable way when they were in Japan before they left for the United States. The understanding of what they learned and how they could apply this learning in a different context required an innovative approach that they had not learned in Japan. The way they found for psychological coping was called "inaori (change of posture)" and it was acceptable to most surrounding women but created some frictions and some defensiveness. Mrs. Aoki's relationship with her husband was the first context in which she applied what she learned. This indicates that other women who have been to the United States may share similar learning, and they may become more tolerant about violating traditional Japanese rules. Some women found other women who have been to the foreign countries more comfortable to be with. There was one organized effort mentioned by several women in my study, but the attempt was only once when the host professor and his wife visited Japan, and the purpose was said to be to repay the on (debt) to them. If such an effort is encouraged at an organizational level, as Mrs. Yamada wished, their voices may be heard and shared. Thus, the creation of a new context in which these women could express their opinions may be the next step.

(3) Learning Opportunity

The lack of a flexible life track, as Mrs. Sato pointed out, means a lack of formal learning opportunities in Japan in which one's education almost determines the career for life. All the women in my study worked before and some women did so after they married. Some women held professional jobs such as a textbook editor and high school teacher. Some pursued further study such as Mrs. Kobayashi who went to a counseling school so that she could become a counselor. However, she gave up her study in the middle of the program because she decided to accompany her husband to the United States. Mrs. Aoki and Mrs. Sato started formal study in the United States, but they did not continue when they returned to Japan. Mrs. Sato continued her English study while she hoped someday to finish the Master's program she started in the United States.

This sheds light on the current Japanese educational system. Those who wish to change their life career have to start from scratch, and they face tremendous barriers. Going abroad and taking advantage of it gives wide opportunities. However, returning with such an educational background to Japan may not always be appreciated and valued.

Similarly, the American educational system usually does not have graduate level credit exchanges with foreign institutions. If lifelong education is truly advocated and respected, educational opportunity across geographical boundaries should be considered.

REFLECTION

My personal inquiry has been a long journey. The most difficult time was not the time when I was writing a proposal, nor when I was doing the library research. It was the interviews that gave me the most difficult time. It was the vivid movement of thoughts of the interviewees that gave me the feeling of not being able to follow their

thinking at every moment. Their accounts did not always appear to be in coherent forms. Their logic did not always run as I wished. When they present one episode, their concluding remarks may not be what I expected. Their descriptions were exactly what the real persons felt and thought. I regretted my academic background that commanded logical presentation of thoughts. Some of their thinking was very remote from what I anticipated.

Parts of the transcriptions that I did not choose include had some of these things in them. Some of the women were not able to give interpretation for their experiences. Concerns and interests for some included sun tans and dusty wind in Michigan. Eliminating some descriptions was not in the first plan. I anticipated that all the interviews would be useful. However, once I started, I found out that was not the case.

In order to come up with logically and academically meaningful descriptions, I had to overview various parts of the descriptions to find defeating and contradictory statements. It was tedious and time-consuming work. As I wrote before, the Japanese way of talking is not something that appears in the school textbook. A particle of a Japanese sentence, or "marker" that indicates the grammatical position of the words, is pronounced very softly, but it often indicates the psychological state. Very often, just a phrase with the words, "a little" is the only expressions to indicate one's feeling about a certain thing.

However, my transcriptions filled a huge volume. I made a summary, but it was useful only for indexing purposes. In the summary I wrote episode's titles and the outstanding psychological remarks. However, when I return to the original transcripts, I often find more details. They all come up here and there all the time. Probably, we are all living with all the experiences that we had in the past. I felt grateful that these

women shared their internal worlds with me. Some of their episodes still make me cry. I admire the strength and flexibility of these women. Mrs. Ishida taught me that a woman could change herself when others will not change. She was the most stressed among all of the interviewees. I sensed that she has to go out of the apartment complex and work full time. That would be the best cure for her stressed mind. I know that she is capable because she told me that she was a professional dietitian and a textbook editor. While she did not say much about her relationship with her husband, his participation in domestic matters was felt as she said, "I am a cold mother, but he . . ." Sometimes, I felt that these women who stay at home move various social aspects with stronger force than those who work outside and be considered participating in the social power, or those who openly challenge existing male dominant Japanese society. Mrs. Ishida told me that she changed her way of relating to other women. I assume that her relationships with husband and children also changed although she did not describe them.

Mrs. Kobayashi taught me that a woman needed courage to be independent. I know that she sat in a protest with other Asian women although that was not her job. She was a person of strength although she did not show it through her description. Here is another soft spoken person who does not openly challenge but is strongly determined to challenge quietly traditional Japanese customs.

Mrs. Yamada taught me that a woman could support her family members enormously. When I asked her to be the first interviewee, I did not expect that she would contribute to my studies extensively. I had a stereotype about what the Japanese housewife usually thinks and does. Mrs. Yamada broke my stereotype. She was talkative and full of expressions. She tried to make me understand her context. I hope that I now understand her world in her terms.

Mrs. Aoki explained that it was all right to say that a woman was limited in strength. She was caught in traditional Japanese values that were manifested in omiai (arranged marriage), and on to her father. Yet, she tried to test her limit by enrolling in the community college and studied until 2-3 o'clock every morning. Finally, she accepted her limited strength. Seken (eyes of surrounding people) bothered Mrs. Ishida extensively, but not Mrs. Aoki while they were living in the similar environments.

Mrs. Mori told how a woman has to let go of her children and depart independently from heavy amae relationship. I selected Mrs. Mori for an interview because I had heard her story from other people. Instead of the story I expected to hear, she presented deep, insightful descriptions of her history as a mother and a wife. She was honest and sincere. I understood what she intended to say through a particular vocabulary such as shugyo that was a Buddhists' term for training. She said that she wanted to be calm and kind.

Mrs. Sato showed how a woman needed to be prepared and that makes her dream come true. She enrolled in a graduate program and prepared herself extensively. Now she is in Japan, finding no way back to the program. She anticipates that when she wants to go back to work again, the only option will be as a cleaning lady or a store clerk at the Seven-Eleven. Without an education degree and a continuous career background, a woman in Japan may not have a good opportunity for a job. She is well aware of that. It will not be so long until the day that women are welcomed back to full-fledged careers because all of my interviewees showed positive attitudes toward that direction. Listening to what they said they have learned in the United States caused me to learn many important lessons for my own life.

APPENDIX A

APPENDIX A

PARTICIPANT CONSENT

You are being asked to participate in a study titled Cross-Cultural Learning of Japanese Married Women Who Lived in the U.S.

I, Hisako Inaba, have sent you a letter dated _____ which summarizes the purposes and procedures of this research. The letter includes my address and telephone number in case you have any questions or concerns about the study that you may wish to discuss. Your participation in this research entails three personal audio-taped interviews of approximately 1 and 1/2 hours, and a possible additional interview of 30 minutes, all of which will be conducted within a three-month period. The language for the interview will be Japanese.

During the interviews, you may feel free to show me various document that help me understand the meaning of your U. S. experiences, including pictures, journals, and/or videotapes. Once the interview has been transcribed, you will be given an opportunity to make additional comments or changes.

You may rest assured that all interview and documentary data will be treated with strict confidentiality and that your identity will not be disclosed in the final reports of the study. Your name will be disguised as well as other information that could be used to identify you. Public access will not be permitted to any recorded documentation in written, audio-taped, or any other forms containing any information that you choose to share. Your participation in this research is completely free and voluntary. You may choose not to participate at all. You may refuse to respond to certain questions or to provide any of the suggested documents. You have the right to have the tape recorder turned off at any

time during the interviews, and you may discontinue the research at any time without penalty.

By signing this form, I agree to participate in this research project.

Signature: _____ Date _____

Signature: _____ Date _____

APPENDIX B

APPENDIX B

Interview Questions

1. [In the United States]

   How did you spend your days in the U.S.? --(1)

   What kinds of kimochi (ki) did you have in the U.S.? --(1)

   What kinds of relationships did you have with other people while you were in the U. S.? --(1)

   What kinds of outside activities did you have? --(1)

   What kinds of things do you particularly remember? --(1)

   Was there any noticeable change in the pattern of your feelings or sentiments over time? --(1)

2. [In the United States]

   What did you find were the most different aspects between what you expected

and what you saw in the United States? -- (1)

What kinds of conflicts do you remember? -- (1)

What concerns, questions, or wonders did you have in the U. S. ? --(1)

How did you learn different ways of living in the United States? Were you primarily listening, watching, or reading? --(1)

How did you participate in the social activities? Did you like talking, socializing, dressing, eating, or shopping a lot? --(1)

3. [Back in Japan]

What were the challenges for you when you returned from the U. S.? --(3)

What did other people tell you about you when you returned from the U. S.? --(3)

How did you react to them? --(3) Have they changed over time? --(3)

Have your reactions changed over time? --(3) Why or Why not? --(3)

What kinds of kimochi (ki) do you have now--(3)

What kinds of relationships do you have with other people in Japan? --(3)

What kinds of outside activities do you have now? --(3)

What kinds of conflicts do you have now? -- (1)

What concerns, questions, or wonders do you have in Japan? --(3)

4. [Back in Japan]

Do you now engage in any activities or ways of doing things which are different from what you used to do before you went to the United States? --(3) What are they? --(3) Why those particular things or why not other things? --(3) In what sense, are they different? --(3)

Did you change in values? If so, how? --(3)

Did you increase in self-confidence? If so, how? --(3)

Did you change your world view? If so, how? --(3)

5. [Back in Japan]

Do you want to live in the United States again? --(1, 3) Why, or why not? --(1, 3) Under what condition do you think you would change your mind? --(3)

6. [Prior to the U. S.]

Would you please tell me a little about how your stay in the U.S. was planned and how you prepared for it? -- (2) What were your major concerns at that

time? --(2)

What kind of kimochi (ki) did you have before going abroad? --(2) What did you expect before going there? --(2) What kinds of personal goals did you have prior to going to the U. S.? --(2)

7. [Prior to the U.S.]

Tell me a little about your past life prior to living in the U.S.? --(2)

What kinds of conflicts do you remember? -- (1)

What concerns, questions, or wonders did you have in Japan ? --(1)

What kinds of kimochi (ki) did you usually have in Japan? --(2)

What kinds of relationships did you have with other people in Japan.? --(2)

What kinds of outside activities did you have before you went to the United States? --(2)

What kinds of cross-cultural experiences did you have prior to going to the U. S.? --(2)

What kinds of English training did you have prior to going to the U.S.? --(2)

* The bracketed numbers refer to the main research questions.

APPENDIX C

APPENDIX C

LETTER TO INTERVIEWEES

Date: _____

Dear _____ :

I am presently studying for a doctoral degree in education at Michigan State University. My research focus and proposed qualitative study concerns Japanese women's cross-cultural learning in the United States and the consequences of that learning back in Japan. The purpose of this study is to gather information to prepare narrative stories that focus on the association of your experiences in the United States with your decisions regarding everyday activities. I would like to ask you a variety of questions as a Japanese woman who has had the experience of living in the Midwest region of the United States of America.

This will entail three personal interviews of approximately 1 and 1/2 hours, each in a quiet place agreed upon by you and me. An audio tape recorder will be used if you agree. In advance of each interview, I will send you a list of questions written in Japanese that we will be discussing to assist you in recalling various memories. Once I have transcribed the interview, I will give you the opportunity to make additional comments or changes.

I hope you are willing to share your memories of what you experienced in the United States and how they relate to your later activities in Japan. Your participation will be very valuable and very much appreciated.

I will call you in 10 days to talk to you about the project.

Thank you.

Hisako Inaba

Address in Japan:
to be specified upon arrival.

Address in the United States:
1711 Chief Okemos Circle, Apt. 9
Okemos, MI 48864
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