

Performing Foreignness:
Subjectivities in the Workplace among Foreign Residents of Tokyo

by

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Abstract

This thesis examines the ways in which Western expatriates working in Tokyo businesses in Japan position themselves and are positioned by others in “foreigner” subject positions. I will argue that in post-Lehman-shock corporate Japan, this foreignness is performative and displaces other subjectivities. Foreignness can be understood as a fluid position on a flexible continuum between *nihonjin* (honourary Japanese) and *gaijin* (foreigner). This subject position describes the lived experience of translocal subjects, but also reflects larger global flows of capital, culture, and national identity. In the realm of international finance, Japanese corporations are also vying for positions with their outsiders seeking to find advantageous subject positions. This thesis also aims to contribute to an understanding of translocal subjects and the ethnographic methodologies required to decipher their positioning. This thesis is based on ethnographic observant participation in three corporate settings concurrently over a period of ten months, supplemented by semi-structured interviews, informal field notes and archival research.

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Dedication

For H.L.

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Chapter 1: An Informal Introduction

To be an alien in a particular nation, is to hesitate at a different border: the alien here is the one who does not belong in a nation space, and who is already defined as such by the Law. The alien is hence only a category within a given community of citizens of subjects: as an outsider inside, the alien takes on a spatial function, establishing relations of proximity and distance within the home(land) (Ahmed 2000:3).

Until 2012, all foreign residents of Japan were legally required to possess and carry at all times a Certificate of Alien Registration (*gaikokujin tōroku shōmeisho*). Aside from the requirement to present the card to any police authority on request, the card was required for a variety of tasks from accessing government services and receiving health insurance to renting an apartment, opening a bank account and signing-up for a cellphone. Often colloquially called a “*gaijin card*” (foreigner card) or an “ARC card” (Alien Registration Certificate card), possession of the card both proved one’s temporary legal acceptance in Japan while explicitly and clearly articulating the outsider position that one occupies as an alien. The card itself manifested both inclusion and exclusion or as Ahmed (2000) identifies above “an outsider inside”. Possessing and showing the card are performative acts that punctuate the lives and experiences of my participants who live and work in Tokyo. In 2012 the resident alien system was “abolished” (Immigration Bureau of Japan 2011) and replaced with a new resident registration system and a new Resident Card (*zairyō kādo*). At the time this research began in 2013, a number of my participants had yet to update their cards and renounce their alien status.

Since 2006, I have also held an ARC card and worked for Japanese corporations. These experiences inspired this project. In 2010 as a graduate student, taking courses in ethnographic research methods and alterity, I was strongly motivated to return to Japan and do a research project on the experience of foreign workers working for Japanese corporations. I had theorized that these individuals were being taken advantage of by these corporations and were being forced to perform a type of foreignness as props in a corporate drama that would translate into corporate capital. In this narrative, these unfortunate travellers were being pressured into assuming the role of the foreign “other” in a corporate act of dominance and a display of sympathetic magic. I suspected that they might have been hired to provide an image of modernity and global-integratedness through a leveraging of the sign-value of white skin.

In the end, the evidence did not substantiate this claim. Instead of being excluded, I found that they were in fact, actively included. And, it was their *resistance* to this inclusion, and their fear of losing a valorized exotic identify, that seemed to cause their internal struggles. The sort of inclusion individuals experienced was part of an established colonial pattern of Japanese ethnic marking, according to which, assuming the correct behaviour would avail one of the opportunity to become Japanese - regardless of racial origin. Membership in Japanese mainstream culture operates expansively by assimilation, as opposed to exclusively by rejection. Also, many of my participants were far from hapless dupes or heroic actors in this Japanese drama. They were often calculating, selfish and dishonest and had clearly unrealistic imagined expectations of their positions as transnational

foreigners in Japan. My research changed my perceptions and also challenged a prevailing view of workplace subjectivity.

A number of different approaches have previously been applied to examine workplace subjectivities. The most prominent of these is gender analysis. The gendered aspects of workplace subjectivities have been well-researched, showing (among other things) that organizations themselves are gendered (Acker 1990), how uniquely gendered identities are crafted through work (Kondo 1990) and how gendered (and presumed heteronormative) subjectivities inform workplace ideologies (Allison 1994; Dasgupta 2013; Gill 2003, Ishii-Kuntz 2003; McLelland 2005). When considering the Japanese workplace these works have highlighted the impact of gendered subjectivities, however they have not established gender to be an exhaustive quality – many other identity attributes possess powerful explanatory capabilities in the processes involved in fomenting a foreigner subject position. In the context of increasing global flows of knowledge and capital (Appadurai 1996; Hannerz 1996; Ho 2009), I assert that our understanding of expatriates in the workplace is enhanced by carefully considering the elements that inform one's transnational positionality.

This question is not entirely new. Writing to a business audience, Adler asserts that "our assumption of the greater salience of gender (male/female) [sic] over national (foreign/local) has led us to make inaccurate predictions as to [female expatriates'] potential to succeed as managers" (1987,188). Adler's conclusion is interesting specifically because of what she sees as displacing gender: "Asians see female expatriates as foreigners

who happen to be women, not as women who happen to be foreigners” (1987,188). This was (much) later followed up by Tung, who conducted interviews with Japanese business people (2004). Tung referred to female expatriates as a "third gender" because they were effectively outside of the Japanese binary gender division (2004,245). These authors are not suggesting that gender is unimportant. Rather, they are underlining the nuances of foreignness as a key construct that structures relationships in the workplace.

This thesis seeks to understand the lived experience of non-Japanese employees in corporate Japan by considering foreignness as a non-essentialist performative subjectivity. In the corporate workplace there are a number of competing discourses and as Dasgupta notes, “certain discourse have more power and exert greater influence than others” (2000,191). In Japanese corporations discourses of diversity and globalization often guide management decisions and hiring practices. In this setting being foreign may in itself be a form of cultural capital that leads to offers of employment that may otherwise be out of reach for those expatriates who take them.

In the context of global flows of knowledge and capital, deterritorialization and the pre-supposed weakening influence of the nation state, the working lives of these employees provide a counter-narrative. This counter-narrative serves to re-assert the importance of national identity, albeit one that is non-essentialized and flexible.

To understand the daily working lives of these expatriates, participant observation is the most effective way to gather the deep understanding required. Based on ethnographic participation in three corporate settings concurrently over a period of eleven months,

supplemented by semi-structured interviews, informal field notes and archival research, this thesis argues that by considering foreignness as performative we are able to better understand the lives of expatriates and also gain insight into the hegemonic discourses of globalization and diversity within corporate Japan.

Chapter 2: Literature Review

The Literature Review section aims to critically position this thesis within current anthropological discussions. As many of the terms and concepts referred to are historically contingent and disputed, identifying their intended use and meanings comes first. This means that some concepts will be discussed prior to others and that some points mentioned in explanation of another will not be fully unpacked until later in the thesis. The decision for which to explain first is purely editorial and is an attempt to provide structure to the document.

Globalization and Transnational Flows

To consider an anthropology of transnational actors and companies we will begin with a look at globalization, to understand more about the evolving thought on the relation between individuals and groups at a global scale.

In order to understand the current meaning of globalization it is valuable to consider how the idea has come to be and changed over time. Globalization has become a common term in popular language that is widely understood but often vaguely defined. The Merriam-Webster website defines globalization with a lens on business saying “the development of an increasingly integrated global economy marked especially by free trade, free flow of capital, and the tapping of cheaper foreign labor markets”. In anthropology the meaning is

broader: “globalization is the development and proliferation of complex, interdependent international connections created through the movement of capital, natural resources, information, culture, and people across national borders” (Gullette 2012,1) but is still historically bounded.

An assumption, though not often explicitly stated, in anthropological thinking from the early 20th century was an idea of the center and periphery and that culture was transmitted across geographic boundaries by diffusion (Handler 2006). In this view, complex societies were centers and culture would flow outwards towards the peripheries through contact and exchange, or diffusion. Malinowski captures the spirit of the thought in the following quote: “The anthropology of the changing savage would indeed throw an extremely important light upon the theoretical problem of the contact of cultures, transmission of ideas and customs, in short, on the whole problem of diffusion.” (1929,36). Not long after that quote, and potentially at the time it was published, the currency enjoyed by diffusion began to fade. The term diffusion fell out of favour and many anthropologists took special interest in finding opposite flows to problemize the concept (Hannerz 1997).

Outside of anthropology, in economics the concepts of center and periphery were important in dependency theory, which in the 1950s rose from observations that - contrary to ideal expectations - economic activities in wealthy countries lead to economic problems in poorer countries (Ferraro 1996). For economists, periphery countries exported raw materials to centers, who in turn, manufactured and re-sold the products to the periphery (Ferraro 1996). This thinking also served to inspire Wallerstein in 1974 to create his

sociological economic history *The Modern World-System*. In the book he described a capitalist world-system, comprised of center, periphery and semi-periphery which exist in economic relation to each other (1974). His book was popularly well-received but was criticized for an extensive list of reasons including the fact that he was not an economist, that the book was either too Marxist or not Marxist enough, and that it was too materialistic and did not consider the spread of ideas (Wallerstein 2011; Ortner 1984). The book did however inform the political economy school of anthropology which shifted its focus away from studying discrete cultures to larger regional and political economic systems (Wolf 1982; Ortner 1984).

For political economists like Wolf, humankind has always been interconnected and there have always been flows between people, cultures and nations (1982). He felt however that this was widely ignored by those who “take separate nations as their basic framework of inquiry” and also anthropology which he says “divides its subject matter into distinctive cases: each society with its characteristic culture, conceived as an integrated and bounded system, set off against other equally bounded systems.” (1982,4). Wolf saw these divisions as a problem for anthropology as a whole, a point he made explicit in an Op-Ed piece for the New York times (1980). Wolf’s criticism that the connections *between* nations were not being seriously considered would be addressed directly by a number of key anthropologists. In her summary of *Theory in Anthropology since the Sixties*, Ortner provides a fairly comprehensive and critical outline of the state of anthropological theory, including criticism of the political economy school (1984). Appadurai, building on this theoretical reflection

wrote an article in response, explicitly detailing what he thought was missing – namely, the importance of *place* (as opposed to space) in anthropological theory (1986). He wrote:

Place is so much in the foreground of anthropological consciousness that its importance has been taken for granted and its implications have not been systematically explored. Whatever else might be in dispute, the idea that culture is a *local* dimension of human behavior is a tenacious and widespread assumption (Appadurai 1986,356).

He suggests that anthropology has “inescapably been tied to the journey elsewhere” (1986,357). This has a number of implications. Firstly, he says, “some others are more other than others” (1986,357). By focusing on certain forms of sociality or exchange and neglecting others, anthropologists privileged certain concepts and disqualified others. As a result, certain places, which are more other than others, can become reduced to symbols of a particular concept or social configuration. They are rendered as caricatures or props of usually West-centred social and historical narratives. Another challenge attending ill-thought notions of place occurs when anthropologists attempt to engage in comparison and generalization (1986,359). Comparison, he says, may work in the case of objective and structural concerns, but becomes more difficult when considering the subjective experiential aspects of social life (1986,359). According to Ortner, Appadurai identified the priority of the local but also the trend in political economy to look for large-scale regularities (1986). This serves as an example of what he considers to be the contradictory relationships that place has to theory. In some cases, place becomes removed from theory, which masks its influence. In others, theory comes from large-scale regional, and multidisciplinary ethnographically-based, comparative studies (1986:361). Appadurai argues strongly for the latter.

Appadurai's 1990 article *Disjuncture and Difference in the Global Cultural Economy* was a seminal article in globalization studies. He proposed that the world we are living in today is "strikingly new" (1996,27) and it involves "interactions of a new order and intensity" (1996,27). Cultural transactions in the past were impeded - if not completely blocked - by geographic and ecological factors or specific political intentions (Appadurai 1996).

Appadurai's work is dense and my goal is not to summarize the specific paper so I will only cover the specific analytical constructs relevant to the current thesis.

The first is to understand the complexity of the global economy through fundamental disjunctures between economy, culture and politics (Appadurai 1996,33). To examine these disjunctures, he introduces his now famous five scapes: ethnoscapas, mediascapas, technoscapas, financescapas and ideoscapas (1996,33). To briefly summarize; ethnoscapas refers to the people, technoscape refers to technology (both mechanical and informational), financescapas refers to global capital, mediascapas refers to the distribution and production of disseminated information, ideoscapas refer to ideologies of states (1996,34).

Mediascapas and ideoscapas are closely related, but the five scapes follow "increasingly nonisomorphic paths" (1996,34). This, he concedes, is not entirely new, but he emphasizes that the current speed and volume of the flows is new. All of these scapes combine to create the multiple "imagined worlds" that are made of/by people around the world (1996,37). Imagined worlds are an extension of Anderson's concept of imagined communities (1983). For Anderson, the nation is an imagined community, in which the members will never meet but in their minds they are connected (1983).

Appadurai's next key contention is that of deterritorialization, which he sees as one of the "central forces of the modern world." He describes this in the form of poor migrant workers moving to wealthier nations (1996,37). Deterritorialization also points us to the fractured relationship between nation and states, whereby imagined nations seeks to capture state power, while states try to capture imaginaries of nationhood (1996,39). Lastly, in the face of such rapid cultural changes, Appadurai wonders about the processes of cultural reproduction (1996,43). If the stability that was afforded by past limits on cultural exchange is removed, the challenges of enculturation increase (1996,43-44).

By theorizing a number of scapes, but positioning them as disjunctures, Appadurai effectively enables a number of new ways to study movement (Heyman & Campbell 2009). Marcus (1995) summarizes some the implications for anthropology especially as it relates to conducting fieldwork, by laying out the idea of multi-sited fieldwork, a concept which I will revisit in the methodology section.

By theorizing widely, Appadurai was praised as well as criticized across disciplines. Hannerz (1997) disagrees with the premise that the global flow of culture can no longer be understood as a multiple center-periphery model, a point which Appadurai explicitly stated (1990). Hannerz offers "some rather unexciting caution here" (1997,6), by pointing out that though there are cultural flows across the world, there is still the issue of the relative weight of those flows (1997). He acknowledges that there may be a point when it becomes impossible to identify centers from peripheries but maintains that overall asymmetries of flow remain real and important (1997).

Transnationality

Ong also felt that some aspects of Appadurai's theorizing were inadequate. She disagrees with his notion of the global production of locality - in which the global movement of people and ideas becomes the imagined resource used to create a local community – and faults this view as being too “top-down” (1999,4). For Ong, this view is inherently inadequate, because it sees culture as residing at a local level, being acted upon by disembodied global political economic forces. Ong says that this view does not quite grasp the “horizontal,” the “relational,” and the “embeddedness” of the interconnection between the economic, social and cultural (1999,4). Ong wants to further dynamicize the view of the interaction between the global, the local and individuals. She states that her goal is to “place human practices and cultural logics at the center of discussions of globalization” (1999,5). She is focused on understanding the rationalities, or how one comes to think it's a good idea to be in a particular place, for a particular reason, with a particular goal in mind, and all of this still needs to be considered alongside the economic consideration. Ong proposes that we consider the economic drivers for a particular action, but also the “cultural logics” that make such an action conceivable or ideal in the first place (1999,5).

Ong presents transnationalism as refocusing global studies on human actors and their interactions with and between states in the context of late capitalism. Transnational is an earlier term used by Hannerz which he invoked in contrast to the term “international,” implying that it is not between nations as it can involve actors of different levels

(individuals, groups, etc.) as well as flows of different size and scale (1996). Ong expands on this meaning and recommends the term transnationality as “*Trans* denotes both moving through space or across lines, as well as changing the nature of something” (Ong 1999,4).

She outlines a number of key extensions of this position. The first main point is one that was mentioned above that political-economic forces must be attached to some human agency. For Ong, there is a need to “analyze people’s everyday actions as a form of cultural politics embedded in specific power contexts” (1999,5). Understanding the relation between individuals and the larger systems in which they operate is imperative.

Secondly, Ong believes that transnationalism is not about “unstructured flows” but instead “tensions between movements and social orders” (1999,6). The point here is that there needs to be a new focus on the interaction between different forces on the individual. Ong names state, family and economic forces as having an impact on individuals in dynamic and potentially conflicting ways (1999). Ong supports this by describing how mobile participants are able find space between the different forces and use this space to their individual advantage (1997). She notes that those who lack mobility must unfortunately bear the brunt of all three forces at the same time (1997).

Ong argues that “in the era of globalization, individuals as well as governments develop a flexible notion of citizenship and sovereignty as strategies to accumulate capital and power” (1999,6). This is a core idea among Ong’s view of transnationalism and one that impacts subsequent positions. In reference to this she refers to multiple-passport holders from Hong Kong who acquire passports from countries like Canada or the US but also Fiji

or Tonga as a way of avoiding state control (1999,123). One key part of this flexibility that should not be overlooked is how states themselves develop a certain flexibility as well – flexibility is not just an attribute of individuals. Ong references an interview with an official from Quanzhou who’s concern was “Policing not sexual freedom but political ideas and economic norms that might weaken the power of the nation...” a view which in itself represents a shift from earlier views of state regulation and further “...destabilize[s] a coherent national imagery” (1999,63).

This is extended in her fourth main point that it is problematic to assume in the globalized world that states are weakened or losing power and influence. Though she recognizes that transnational forces have “strained” governments, she believes that nations have become increasingly flexible in exerting their sovereignty (1999,214). Despite her rejection of concepts that are too macro and don’t fully consider the local, Ong asserts that sovereignty as an ultimate final power over people and places remains important to understanding the relations between actors in the globalized world (1999,215).

Japan - A Brief Historical Understanding

First, to provide context, a brief summary of recent Japanese history will be helpful as this background knowledge, in varying levels of detail, is shared by my participants and the locals they work with. It should be noted that most histories are problematic and are not representations of consensus. This is not meant to be a critical examination of the history, but instead, a recounting of the generally accepted timeline.

Historically, from the mid-16th century, Japan as an island was moving away from a fractured *daimyō* (feudal warlord) system towards a being unified nation (Aoki 1994). In what is called the Azuchi-Momoyama period (1568-1600), Japan was unified under the feudal *daimyō* Nobunaga then Hideyoshi (Aoki 1994). This was a period of “gold, grandeur and openness to the outside world” (Aoki 1994,77). During this period Hideyoshi sought to continue to expand his now unified nation, by invading Korea and expanding his empire (Aoki 1994). Hideyoshi made two attempts before his death in 1598, however both were failures (Aoki 1994). Following his death, his heirs were usurped by a rival *daimyō*, Tokugawa Ieyasu, who in 1600 installed himself as the Shogun and moved the capital Edo (Aoki 1994).

This began what is called the Edo period, which lasted from 1600 until 1868. During this period, the Tokugawa shogunate established a new political order -- the caste-like *bakuhān* system, which further strengthen his power and diluted the power of the *daimyō*. His power was further protected by eradicating Christianity (which had arrived from Portugal during the 1540s) and by limiting contact with areas outside Japan, specifically the West, by enacting a policy of seclusion. This exclusion is one specifically mentioned by Appadurai as an example of cultural transactions being actively restricted to resist cultural imperialism (1990,27). By the mid-19th century there was external pressure from Russia, Britain and America for trade with Japan. This pressure hit a peak in 1853 when the American Commodore Perry sailed a small fleet to Japan and demanded that Japan be opened for trade. During the negotiation, Tokugawa Ieyoshi (the 12th Tokugawa Shogun) died suddenly of a heart attack and his son Tokugawa Iesada (the 13th Tokugawa Shogun)

took over the office. Tokugawa Iesada was perceived as sickly and weak and left political work to his advisors. He soon signed the Convention of Kanagawa, which opened two ports to American vessels. In the years that followed he signed a number of unequal treaties which opened other ports and further facilitated trade with the outside world. Trade brought instability and the Shogun was perceived as weak for being unable to “expel the barbarians” (Aoki 1994,78). In 1868 a number of regional domains overthrew the shogun and reinstated the emperor as the symbolic political head of Japan, in what was called the Meiji Restoration.

The Meiji period (1868-1912) was lead by the slogan, “Enrich the Country, Strengthen the Military.” Japan did both and after a period of rapid industrialization became a regional military power. A constitution was adopted in 1889 enabling a parliamentary system. To protect its interests in Asia, Japan defeated China in 1895, Russia in 1905 and annexed Korea in 1910 -- something that Hideyoshi was unable to do 300 years prior. Japan was recognized as a major power on the global scene, established a democratic party system, and joined the League of Nations (1920). Japan continued its military aggression and invaded Manchuria (1931) and soon after, left the League of Nations (1933). In 1937, Japan invaded China starting The Second-Sino Japanese War, which would eventually become part of the Second World War and result in the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor in 1941. Japan unconditionally surrendered in 1945 and under a period of Allied Occupation, demilitarized, renounced the divinity of the emperor, and adopted a new constitution. This was followed by a period of stable economic growth through the 1960s and 1970s based on a move towards export-based business (Aoki 1994,77).

The Japanese “economic miracle” (Sedgwick 2007,10) continued and in the 1980s, based on increased domestic demand, the economy was considered a world success. The economy continued to grow rapidly and asset prices climbed steadily creating what is now called, “The Bubble.” The bubble burst in 1991 and led to a period of economic stagnation called “The Lost 10 years” or the post-bubble which was characterized by economic stagnation and bankruptcy (Abidin 2013). Towards the early 2000s, the economy was beginning to recover, however in 2008 the Lehman Shock -- the bankruptcy of the Lehman company -- led to the Global Financial Crisis. Bankruptcy, increasing part-time contract work, and decreasing job security became central features of the Japanese economy (Kobayashi 2010).

Japaneseness

Building on Anderson’s ideas of imagined nations (1983), and Appadurai’s concept of the ideoscape (1990), I would like to specifically discuss the imagination of Japanese ethnicity and national identity and a few related concepts. My goal here is not to make explicit a discussion about the relationship between the imagined and the historical, but rather to separate concepts that will be useful later during data analysis by situating historical Japan as well as Japaneseness within anthropological thinking.

Japan is often depicted by the Japanese themselves as being a “small island country (*shimaguni*), [and as] a homogenous place” (Ivy 1995,1) that has been this way since “time immemorial” (Askew 2001,112). Alternatively, it is depicted as a nation protected by a moat-like ocean, which has allowed “little infusion of other ethnic groups” (Hayes 2005,6).

This discourse is still the accepted popular opinion, despite the fact that it has been successfully challenged by numerous scholars (Askew 2001; Oguma 1995,1998; Sedgwick 2007).

Through extensive study of the minorities of Japan, and their shifting position as the boundaries of the Japanese (Askew 2001) it can be shown that: “When they have been needed, minorities have been defined as Japanese and assimilated. When not needed, they have been rejected as non-Japanese.” (Askew 2001,113). Prior to World War II, during the time of the expanding Japanese Empire, the dominant discourse was that of a mixed nation resulting from a melting pot of various Asian peoples (Askew 2001,113). At this time the Japanese Empire included Taiwan, Korea, parts of China and nearly 30% of its population was not on the Japanese mainland. After the end of the Second World War, after Japan lost most of its colonies, the view became that Japan “was and had always been ethnically homogenous” (Askew 2001,115). This meant a nearly instant loss of political rights for a number of minorities, most notably the Korean-Japanese, who continue to this day to seek political representation and equal treatment (Segwick 1985;Yamanaka 2004).

In a more current example during the 1990s the *nikkeijin* or returnees -- second or third generation Japanese mostly from Brazil -- were encouraged to return to Japan to provide labour for the struggling Japanese manufacturing industry (Yamanaka 2004,86). This category of foreign workers with Japanese ancestry was codified in immigration law in 1990. They received special visa conditions compared to other foreigners but were still considered foreigners (Yamanaka 2004).

The flexible idea of Japaneseness can be understood as loosely based on cultural purity, but this notion of purity has been invoked in response to specific political climates at particular historical junctures (Segwick 2007,24). This has meant that on the periphery of Japan, in colonial times, people who were “incomplete Japanese” (Morris-Suzuki 1997:175) but still Japanese, could be found (Segwick 2007). To become Japanese they would only need to adopt the appropriate habits, dress and language use (Segwick 2007,24). Other writers have referred to those on the periphery as “Japanese but not Japanese” (Askew 2001,113) or “inferior Japanese” (Yamanaka 2004). For many, Japaneseness was not about race or birth, but could be gained by adopting certain customs (Kawai 2015; Morris-Suzuki 1997).

I will expand upon this flexibility of Japaneseness and its implications for those I studied later. Despite the colonial discourse and that among academics, popular opinion depicted in news media and by most of my participants reflects the idea that Japan is ethnically homogeneous.

Chapter 3: Methodology

To answer the research question, of the lived experience of foreign expatriates working in Japanese companies, I decided to use an ethnographic approach as the main strategy, supported by unstructured interviews, notes from informal interactions and pre-fieldwork as well as literature and archive research. Ethnography is both theory and method. It includes both a systematic way of collecting data but also includes ideas about what types of data should be collected. For this thesis, theory and method are best understood together and thus will be considered in tandem.

The study itself was conducted from October 2013 to July 2014 in Tokyo, Japan and it was preceded by four months of pre-fieldwork. The analysis phase and writing-up of results occurred over a three-year period following the formal completion of data collection.

Ethnographic Approach

In order to fully understand the lived experience of my participants at work, working alongside them was the most effective way to capture their experience in depth and create “thick description” (Geertz 1973,15). In order to focus on my participants’ performativity it was critical to observe their behaviours at their places of work and supplement the observations with follow-up interviews. This permits a researcher to triangulate results, identify any disconnection between their perceptions of their actions and what they actually do, and how they are viewed by others (Madison 2012; Madden 2010). Observing subjects

directly also decreases the opportunity for them to provide an “idealized image” of themselves as they would if only presented with an interview or questionnaire (Fetterman 1998,56). Moreover, Butler describes performativity as something that is never enacted alone. Performances always occur “with or for another, even if the other is imaginary” (2004,1). As performativity occurs among others, the subjects of the performances may not themselves be conscious of their own performances. This strengthens the need for observation (Madison 2012). Thus, given the specific subject of this project, to collect the type of data required to answer the main research question a participant observation approach is required.

The experiences of Westerners living and working in Tokyo are not homogenous and this project does not attempt to describe everyone’s experience. As Marcus has argued, ethnography offers only partial truths (1986). This means that ethnography does not presume to provide a complete and impartial account, and is instead a methodology that shapes the sorts of results it can produce.

Sampling and Selection

According to the Japanese Ministry of Justice which oversees immigration, the total number of registered foreign residents in Japan is over two million (2006). However, I have focused on a relatively small sample within a very narrow network and this had meant my research is purposefully biased. Ethnography is unique from such disciplines as Psychology, Sociology and Criminology insofar as it deliberately seeks out authoritative

sources from within the subcultures under study, holding to the principle that biased samples are often more illustrative than random ones. To make generalizations about certain types of data, such as demographics, wide-sampling provides increased reliability however “cultural data are different” (Bernard 2006,146). For in-depth labour-intensive studies of this type of data, biased samples of experts are most appropriate (Bernard 2006).

To select participants for biased samples there are a number of methods such as quota sampling, judgment sampling and snowball sampling (Bernard 2006,210). As the relevant population of Westerners in Japan is geographically scattered, I deemed snowball sampling to be an ideal way to find participants (Bernard 2006). This approach was further supported by others who have conducted research with transnational subjects (Amit 2011; Hindman 2009b; Strauss 2000).

Following Fetterman, to further refine the sample I made a number of deliberate decisions about “who and what not to study” (1998,32). First I made the decision to focus on Westerners, which also served as a way to exclude other minorities in Japan. I am calling them Westerners and using this category for two main reasons. Firstly, I use the term because it represents a term used by local Japanese peoples. Korpella found this a helpful way to classify subjects in her study of transnational backpackers in India (2010). For the local residents in her work, “differences between various nationalities seemed irrelevant in opposition to the Indian ‘other’ (Korpella 2010,15). The term Western here, does not neatly correspond to a set list of countries, but rather represents a flexible category. Secondly, the term Western in a Japanese context also specifically excludes other Asians in

Japan. As identified earlier, there are sizeable minorities of Korean and Chinese peoples in Japan who have experience as past colonial subjects (Segwick 1985; Yamanaka 2004).

Lastly my participants did not often use this term to refer to themselves, however if asked they agreed that it was demographically accurate. As I wanted to focus on workers who were working in Japan as their main activity, I decided to exclude students, working holiday-makers, or those otherwise in part-time employment. Also, as I wanted to focus on white-collar office workers, I further excluded restaurateurs, bar owners, entertainers and others outside this subculture. Lastly, I further excluded anyone who worked for a non-Japanese company, which I defined as a company that was formed in Japan but which had the majority of its ownership (public or private) held outside Japan.

In the end I followed the advice of Bestor and started my snowball sample with an old acquaintance who had been working in Japan for many years (2003).

Positioning

Taking Madison's call for the need to be extremely reflexive and critical regarding ethnography very seriously, I would like to further identify how I positioned myself in the field (Madison 2012). Reflexivity has always been an aspect of respectable fieldwork, however with critical ethnography, the responsibility to be this way has intensified. Critical ethnography is so called because it puts being accountable for power relations at its core (Madison 2012). I can not and will not claim that my field of study is a random result of academic interest, and as such would like to be as explicit as possible. As Amit noted in

the collected volume *Constructing the Field*, “my ‘field’ would be defined in terms of a social category that I have singled out” (2000,14). My field has been very much constructed by my own past experiences and I would like to lay them out. Ethnographic fields can be thought of as “frankly autobiographical” (Amit 2000,8) as with fieldwork as a form of autobiography in disguise (Cohen 1993). Hastrup and Hervick take the analogy further saying “anthropology and autobiography merge in the process of knowledge production when ethnographic experience is actually recognized as experience” (1994:1). I would further note that as a self-funded researcher I had a further autobiographical framing of location, something which Knowles (2000) acknowledges as having an important impact on her own research. I would make a distinction between acknowledging the impact of my self on the project and conducting autoethnography, which is not what is being done here. The former is an extension of reflexive thinking while the later is a completely different approach to ethnographic observation. Autoethnography has been criticized as “narcissistic” or “post-modern excess,” however it can potentially be valuable in identifying self-biases (Fetterman 1998:131). My own transnational identity of expatriate, student, researcher is relevant to how I conducted the research because it is this positioning that enabled me to do the research itself.

Firstly, prior to starting my Master’s program I spent four years living and working in Tokyo. I worked initially as an English teacher, then as a corporate trainer and lastly as a talent development consultant. While doing my Master’s course work in Canada I was employed remotely on a contract basis for a number of Japanese companies related to talent

development. This meant that prior to beginning, I had an existing social network of friends and business contacts in Tokyo. In contradiction to Marcus and Fischer who claim that personal and professional roles can create “messy, qualitative experience” (1986,22), I believe that these existing networks were requirements for me to conduct my research. I take inspiration from Pink whose fieldwork among Spanish migrants was characterized by “a deconstruction of personal/professional boundaries” (2000,96). Like Pink (2000), some of my first points of contact were friends, who later introduced me to others or became involved in my project. As Wulf’s (2000) previous professional dance experience was key to her conducting fieldwork on the international ballet circuit, my previous friendships and business connections were a strong enabler of completing this project.

Secondly, when I arrived in Tokyo to conduct my fieldwork, I was in possession of a Spouse of Permanent Resident Visa. This meant that I was able to freely enter and leave Japan, but most importantly, legally enabled me to obtain employment, to study, or to do research required for this project. Without this visa, the obstacles to conduct the study in its current form would have been prohibitive. Work visas allow employment within a specific industry, but the visa is tied to one employer. With the new visa system mentioned in the introduction, visa holders must notify the government if their place of employment changes, and if they do not have a new employer, their visa will be rendered invalid. This requirement aside, most places of work have contract stipulations which prevent working for another company while employed. Student visas don’t allow employment except within a narrow field of part-time jobs related to, or associated with, an academic institution, hence their earlier exclusion. Again, without a spouse visa, I would not have been able to

secure employment at multiple companies at the same time, which has been the main research vector.

Thirdly, I am a younger middle-class Western university educated male, which helped me gain access to expatriate spaces and also short-term white-collar employment in Tokyo. In many ways, I was remarkably similar to those whom I studied. If I had cancelled my student status and abandoned my thesis, I would simply have been a foreigner working in Japan and occupied the same status as my participants. This can be positioned within the wider discussion of ‘insider anthropology’ as well as to the “a hierarchy of purity of field sites” (Gupta and Ferguson 1997,13). The context of the discussion of native or insider anthropology revolves more around ideas of the postcolonial subject, Said’s Orientalism (1978) or Spivak’s subaltern (1985) but I feel it is useful to evoke here. Hastrup states that one can’t be both a native and an anthropologist, because this is a contradiction in terms (1996,75). This view was disputed, however, as it seemed to privilege the anthropologic authority of the ethnographic gaze (Hastrup 1995). Hastrup later published clarifications which state that the ethnographer has a different perspective and a need to be reflexive, and as such, can not be considered an insider because they are engaged in different projects (1996). I agree with this assessment and have found it best describes the position I had in the field. In many ways I was demographically identical to my participants and was potentially involved in similar life projects. However, my need to take notes, analyse and reflect on the situations which I found myself in daily, as well as the biases and theoretical assumptions that I carried with me, meant that my view was fundamentally different. This,

I feel, also needs to be addressed in regards to the hierarchy of field sites. If the measure of ethnographic authenticity is “cultural, social and spatial distance” (Amit 2011,4) then travelling to Japan to study other middle-class Westerners is a miss on two and potentially three of those requirements. Jackson has collected a number of works which highlight the possibility of doing anthropology that is close to home (1987). Caputo criticizes what she considers to be a continuing requirement of a field, namely, to be made up of discrete places (Caputo 2000:19). I take discrete places to mean remote and culturally different places. The reason, I point this out is that given my similarity to those with whom I studied, I feel this in no way makes the project less anthropological. Following Okely and Amit, I would argue that what “makes ethnographic fieldwork anthropological is the commitment to a process of utter social immersion” (Amit 2011:5) and employing Anthropological constructs to ask and answer questions.

Multi-sited or Single-sited ethnography

Discussion of space and place brings us to another ethnographic topic that needs to be further unpacked. Following Appadurai and Hannerz, we have been presented with a decrease in the eminence of territories and instead a focus on the movement through and between them. Such concepts impact the ethnographic tradition of “being there” and replace it with the hairier imperative of “being there... and there... and there!” (Hannerz 2003). In order to address this, Marcus proposes an approach for multi-sited ethnography (1995). For Marcus, who leverages Appadurai’s scapes, to study the flows of culture through the world-system and the influence and relations between them a traditional

approach to single-sited ethnography is not enough (1995). The ethnographer needs to conduct research around the “chains, paths, threads, conjunctions, or juxtapositions of locations” with an “explicit, posited logic of association or connection among sites” (Marcus 1995,105). Marcus then outlines a number of ways in which this can be done; following people, things, metaphors, stories, biographies or conflict (Marcus 1995,106-110). These approaches have been widely adopted by ethnographers, especially those interested in transnational subjects (cf Amit 2007).

Despite the value of these types of ethnographies for my subject, I have decided to use the last type of ethnography identified by Marcus, the strategically situated (single-sited) ethnography (1995,110). This type of ethnography “attempts to understand something broadly about the system in ethnographic terms as much as it does its local subjects, it is only local circumstantially” (Marcus 1995,111). Thus by studying locally situated subjects, within their wider global contexts, it is possible to gain insight into the participants as well as wider global flows. This is the same approach that was used by Segwick for his ethnography of a French subsidiary and its Japanese parent company (2007). Segwick has been critical of Appadurai and less so of Hannerz and what he considers “anthropology’s tendency to name, rather than analyse, the effects of globalization.” (2007,6). Segwick acknowledges that the categories such as *scapes* can be a helpful starting point, but they are just a starting point (2007). In the focus on flows, the “flow is valorized, but not the carving of the channel (Tsing 2000:330). Segwick identifies that to conduct fieldwork within a global company problematizes analytic divisions of local-global (2007,7). Segwick’s then argues that in “mundane day to day, local activities, we are all global

actors” (2007,7). He posits that if those who are displaced or transnational, can shed a light on the global, then those who are not, surely do as well, albeit in a different way. Instead of focusing on macro-systems which are beyond the control of individuals, or focusing on the forces without regard for individuals, we should simultaneously do both. Borrowing Hannerz’s phrase of “organizing diversity,” Segwick identifies what he feels is the best solution to create an analysis of the global -- it is to study organizations (2007,9). Segwick’s position is that the global is experienced in local activities that can be examined through the subjects’ own engagement with organizational contexts (2007,9).

Research Flow

Given challenges with access (as will be covered below) and of sampling (as identified above), my initial research challenge was to identify a number of key informants with whom I could eventually gain employment in order to be able to observe them fully. Applying the snowball sampling method, initial contact with new participants was generally made by e-mail. The e-mail provided a brief overview of the project and encouraged participants to participate. If they were willing the next step was to meet and conduct an interview. During this meeting a more detailed description of the research process was explained, informed consent was obtained and the initial interview took place. This first interview aimed at collecting initial impressions of the participant’s current situation, identifying the intended level of participation, building rapport, and getting a cursory impression of the experience of being a foreigner in Japan. A copy of the interview questions, which were designed following recommendations from Madison (2001), can be

found in the appendix. During the first interview, the nature of the observation process itself were negotiated with the participant. Specific types of observation were dependent on the participant's ability and willingness to participate. Three main options would be discussed. One: observing the participant in the workplace or taking a tour of the workplace. Two: observing the subject in work related public occurrences, the commute, lunch break, after work drinks with colleagues. Three: observing the participant by gaining part-time employment with their organization. Participants were free to choose all or none of the options, and were able to negotiate their own level of involvement. After I had secured enough key-informants, I continued to seek out others for interviews, but ceased scoping the feasibility of shared employment. These unstructured interviews were used to broaden the data collected, specifically by including perspectives from those who I was not able to physically work with. These interviews provided excellent data in their own right, but also provided a fertile source of new insight. I relied on my key informants after the end of formal employment, to ask further questions and follow-ups during the analysis phase.

Analysis and Language

As the introduction states, my initial assumptions were not borne out in evidence, and I needed to take a different approach. The analysis phase was characterized, by reading, coding, and re-reading, and re-coding of interview and observation notes and when available, transcripts. Concurrently, I was reading anthropological literature, to try to identify relevant theory which touched on similar thematic problems and knowledge areas.

At the advice of my participants, I would seek out knowledge from individuals that they identified as being relevant and authoritative. This phase of ongoing analysis and writing was a lengthy process of three years, which I conducted while working a full-job and juggling other material responsibilities. This explanation is meant to cover why some sources in this thesis appear to have dates much more current than the research itself. All of the interviews were conducted in English. However Japanese language ability was required for the employment aspect of the research. English language was required to gain access to participants while Japanese was necessary to gain employment.

Privacy

In order to preserve the anonymity of my participants, when describing them or their company, pseudonyms are used. In describing them or their stories none of these characteristics or experiences have been embellished nor altered in any substantive way, nor are they fictive or invented.

Access

Accessing the field and participants required a number of different types of permission. The question of access can be looked at on three different levels. Firstly, there is access to Japan. Secondly, there is the question of gaining access to participants themselves. Lastly we have the challenge of gaining access to the participants' workplaces.

Looking at access from past ethnographic work in Japan there is a similar trend. Embree, for his classic ethnography of Japanese village life, contacted government officials, presented letters from universities and started with the highest level of “permission” and carried it down through levels of bureaucracy until he was at a village level (1939). Bestor for his urban ethnography of Tokyo describes how the initial test was whether locals would indeed speak to him and allow him into their lives (6,1989). For Campbell, who did fieldwork among bureaucrats in Japan, formal permission was the required key to entry (2003). Though barriers to entry need to be overcome in all areas, a dividing line seems to be that ethnography based on “personal life” requires consent, while ethnography based on “work life” requires external permission. The local fishmonger can talk about his business, the economy, and the community, in a way that a local “salaryman” may be unwilling to (Bestor 1989).

For access to Japan, I was much aided by my Spouse of Permanent Resident Visa, which enabled me to freely enter and leave the country. A standard tourist visa is 90 days, and research visas requires university sponsorship, both of which would not have enabled me to secure the employment required to conduct the project. This in a small way serves to confirm Ong’s (1999) assertion that despite the supposed waning influence of the nation to exert power over flows, they can still control people, and in my case, access to field sites. For access to my participants, I relied heavily on what Ho calls pre-fieldwork (Ho 2009). In her comprehensive Ethnography of Wall Street, Ho used a year of pre-fieldwork, in which she worked for a bank and built a network while also observing and taking informal

notes (2009). She describes this experience as enabling her to be in touch with the right people to enable her to do her research, but also gave her an awareness of the field that allowed her to navigate it smoothly (2009). As I had four years of working experience in the country, and had an additional four months of pre-fieldwork, I was able to point my snowball sample in a direction that would increase its likeliness of finding people who met my criteria and avoiding those who did not.

For access to the work place of participants, different occupations required different approaches. For some, expanding the field of observation to include a broader range of work related activities to include the workspace was one solution. Public situations such as the daily commute, using an iPad during a coffee break, lunch breaks, drinking with colleagues and/or clients are all directly work-related and are also considered by participants to be part of their work. This meant that for those who wanted to participate but could not secure access to the workplace, the workspace itself was used.

For my key participants, whom I aimed to get employment next to, the task was slightly more involved. Ethnographic work on businesses often entails the study of the organization, not individuals. This is owing to the fact that corporations are themselves often the contractors for such research and tend to provide blanket access but have specific objectives in mind (Ugai et al. 2010). Research on elite individuals sometimes involves shadowing an individual for a period of time, but usually at a CEO level (Bryman and Bell 2007). These gatekeepers are able in these situations to grant “permission” on behalf of all those encountered (Bryman and Bell 2007). Instead I opted for a different approach, I

would apply through regular channels at companies which employed my participants and be completely transparent about why I was seeking contract or short-term employment -- a process which I detail below.

Richard, who works at a global finance company was interested in participating in the study. After the initial interview and subsequent informal conversations, he felt that the workspace approach would be insufficient and as he put it “We need to get you inside.” He proposed that I be hired as a short-term external vendor to support him on a project he would be working on. The project required a native English speaker to transcribe interviews and help with creating English language reports. Richard positioned this as a win-win opportunity. He needed some extra help and I wanted to be able to work with him. I was happy at this opportunity but was concerned about the convenient timing and his enthusiasm. With consideration there were a number of contextual factors that made me identify the interaction as low risk. Firstly, my involvement was beneficial but not essential to the successful completion of the project, so Richard was under no undue pressure to participate in my research or secure my participation in his project. Secondly, I was working with a number of other participants, so I was not dependent on his participation or the salary of the position. In order to further minimize any potential conflict of interest we agreed to the following: I would be explicit at the time of project contract signing about my role as a researcher, the identity of the company and details of the project would be confidential and not used in thesis, and either of us could choose to discontinue Richard’s participation in the research project at any time. With all of the above considered, I decided

it would be safe to proceed. As an external vendor, I was able to work alongside Richard, but did not gain blanket access to the entire office space as a whole. As such, I was given access to certain working and meeting spaces but limited from those which were exclusively for the use of employees. Lastly, despite my initial suspicion, this proved to be a lucky break in terms of access and the project as a whole.

Connor, works in a corporate training company and was interested in participating in the study. He offered to introduce me for a short-term part-time position and stressed that his company was always hiring. I applied through regular channels and came to learn that the hiring manager was a friend from my previous experience working in Tokyo. We met and I outlined my project and clearly stated my purpose for being there and seeking to join. As above, I made explicit that I would not reference the company, but otherwise they expressed no particular concerns. This gave me access to job shadow Connor and also gave me access to the wider office space itself. In this position I was also able to encounter some of his colleagues and recruit them as well to participate in the project.

Susan, works for a private university and was interested in participating in the study. As a professor, most of her work is done in an effectively public setting, even her office which she shares with two other professors is perpetually open. We met with her colleagues to explain the nature of the project and they seemed open to have someone else around. Also, I was able to volunteer at a number of events she hosted, at the beginning of which she

would formally introduce me and my purpose for being there. Far from being undercover, I was explicitly open but able to access places at my discretion.

Ethics

The issue of employment can bring up a number of ethical complications into the process of fieldwork. Segwick believes it is a conflict of interest and makes it a policy to be admitted into spaces without other obligations on his time (2006). I understand why he believes this, but given my goal to broadly study the work experience of a number of different individuals, the idea of some type of short-term employment was best. Potential conflict of interests arose in a number of different situations, which I will outline below.

Sneaking into a Bank

The first example related to one participant named Jim who was eager for me to come observe his workplace under the guise of being his nephew. His financial trading firm, he assured me, would never let in an anthropology student, but, if I were to pretend to be his nephew, I could spend a few hours touring the building and his office floor. I was interested in gaining access to a trading company, but ultimately I felt that despite his confidence, the potential downside for him was more than he was acknowledging. Bringing someone past security into the office of a financial institution under false pretenses is likely grounds for dismissal, also in case of an audit, could potentially lead to problems with the Financial Services Agency of Japan. I informed him that I would not be able to visit his company in such a situation.

The Pyramid Scheme

Stuart was introduced to me by a colleague at the corporate training company, who had met him before while working at a different company. He was eager to have me observe him at work, and took our interview as an opportunity to attempt to recruit me into what seemed like a multi-level marketing company selling human resource management technology. He proposed that I leverage my research contacts to introduce them to this new technology and when they signed up (he was very confident they would) I would be able to claim the commission on the sale. I had to inform him that regrettably I could not disclose the names of the other people in my project, and that the focus of my project was people who worked for Japanese companies. Because he was his own boss, I felt that the workplace observation portion would not be required. He was noticeably unhappy at this response, but quickly recovered and offered to support me in the project in any way he could, an offer which I graciously declined.

Dealing with Participants

At the outset of the project, I had positioned my migrants as what Amit (2011) would refer to as “privileged travelers.” As a result, while I was initially preparing I believed I was following what Nader would consider “studying up” (1972). That is to say I would be studying those in a significant position of power and that specific techniques would apply. As a result I prepared by closely reading Kezar and her work on interviewing elites (2003). After meeting a number of potential participants, I found that this approach was not helpful

and that they did not fit into the category of elites. The position that was helpful was Hannerz's idea of "studying sideways" (1988). By this he means "others who are, like anthropologists, in a transnational contact zone, and engaged there in managing meaning across distances, although perhaps with different interests, under other constraints." (1988:109). This equality of position, helped me to position myself as more or less an equal with the participants. However, it did open me up to one experience that I was not expecting. In other research experiences, I have been able to follow one of the basic tenets of field-work and that is managing my bias and being non-judgmental (Fetterman 1998). Because of my similarity and what I would consider equal footing with my participants, I began by thinking of them as people who could be like friends. As a result, I was not prepared to deal with participants that I did not like or respect. Madison briefly touches on how this is an inevitable part of fieldwork (2000) but did not provide any additional advice on how to handle the situation. I was personally surprised at how much I disliked a number of my participants, however, as a professional I did my best to ignore these feelings and get on with the task at hand.

Chapter 4: Results

Accidentally Foreign

I met with Steve in an area of Tokyo that was close to embassies and famous restaurants and known for its expat population. He recommended a small craft beer place that would be quiet, not busy and a good place to have our interview. An American, now in his early fifties, he had come to Japan in the late nineteen eighties and has been here ever since. He seemed genuinely excited to tell his story and share his experiences with me. He was clean cut, freshly shaven, had short hair and wore glasses, a white dress shirt and some unremarkable slacks. After ordering a 1,300 yen pint of Japanese craft beer (about CAD 15), he began telling me about how and why he came to be in Japan. He said he grew up in a fairly average town on the east coast of the United States. He was interested in computers so went to a reputable State university to get a degree in computer science. A few years into his studies, he opted to do a year abroad in Italy, where he studied political science, which eventually formed his double major. After graduating with Honours, he applied to a number of large firms in the New York area. He said he had a number of offers but nothing that really called to him. At the same time, he said one of his friends was telling him about his plan to move to Japan in order to make some quick money. This was during “the bubble” he explained, so they didn’t actually have a lot of information about what was going on. He had heard that they could teach English and make a significant amount of money doing it. Thinking about how much he enjoyed his time in Italy, Steve said he made a five year plan to move to Japan, work for a few years to gain some

experience, and then return to the US. He then said that within 11 days of arriving in Japan he had found a roommate and a room and had found a job teaching English.

I met with Connor in a Starbucks in a 54 story, mixed-use office tower in central Tokyo. I was a little late for our meeting as I mistakenly was waiting at the wrong Starbucks (there were five in the complex) but Connor was un-phased and pleasant. He said he was studying for his GMAT, so extra time studying didn't hurt. Because he is a larger man, he did prefer the couch he was previously in to the small metal chair to which he moved to accommodate the interview. Connor is a mid-thirties Canadian national, who has been in Japan for almost ten years. He studied zoological sciences in university and had always planned to be a vet. After getting his BSc, however, he said he was tired of school. A friend who had just graduated told him about opportunities to teach English in Japan. Eager to move and excited about being able to quickly pay off his student loans, he contacted a company that his friend had recommended and went for an interview in a neighbouring city. A few days later he received a contract for a job in Tokyo and a plane ticket. After a few days of "training" and waiting for his work visa to clear, he landed in Tokyo and has been here ever since.

I met with Samantha in a park, near one of Tokyo's major stations. "I like the fresh air," she stated "and views help me talk." Samantha, a British woman in her mid-forties, has been in Japan for almost twenty years. She has a degree in Physiotherapy and after working for a year as a rehabilitation therapist with veterans in Britain, she knew she

needed a change. She began questioning her career path immediately upon graduating, but felt she should work for a while to see if she would like it. She said she was the youngest woman on staff and always felt out of place. She and a friend decided to go on a cycle tour of Asia. As the trip drew closer, her friend backed out. She decided to go anyway. She followed the planned route through Singapore and Hong Kong, and ended up spending about a month touring around Japan. In this time, she met new friends (mostly Australians and Americans) in hostels along the way who encouraged her to go to Tokyo. With no firm plan, she ended up in Tokyo looking for work. She taught English occasionally, but her main source of income was as a hostess in a bar.

I met with Richard in a large office building in the oldest and most prestigious business district of Tokyo. He met me on the ground floor but we went up to the meeting rooms on the 12th floor. We were greeted by bowing secretaries who motioned us to the correct boardroom. Richard is British, in his mid-thirties and has been in Japan for nearly fifteen years. He first came to Japan during his gap year, prior to starting his studies at university. “I wish I had a lofty idea but I really just wanted to ski,” he told me. He planned to study Japanese at university so thought the experience of being in Japan would help his career. After his year of volunteering and skiing, he returned to the UK and completed his university studies in business and Japanese. After graduating, he found what he considered to be an ideal position. He worked in London for a small but prestigious organization that helped make introductions between British and Japanese organizations and individuals. His boss (who was knighted) was a successful and influential man from whom Richard had

hoped he could learn a great deal. A few months into his position, his boss and mentor suffered a massive heart attack and died, ending his career plans. Richard claims he generally had contingency plans but could not have seen this coming. He found himself without a plan. He decided to move to Tokyo to work and to teach English for a few years.

Cultivating Locality

Steve said he quickly grew tired of working from 5pm to 9pm every night. Because of the bubble he said, he could make enough money to support himself just working nights. That was enough at first but eventually it started to wear on him. There weren't many foreigners around at the time, so he often met what he called, "interesting people." Through a student he met a man who was in the midst of writing a book and was seeking someone to edit it in English. Everyday he would go to this old man's house and sit in his living room and edit his book for him. The man is actually quite famous and is a global authority on Persian art which was the topic of the book. Steve would pick up jobs on top of the book editing. All were short term and related to English translation and instruction. Around 1990, after a few years in Japan, he 'decided to make it official.' After six months of intensive study acquired his *ikkyu* (Level One qualification on the Japanese Language Proficiency Test). He had heard of a demand for English speakers to work as ski instructors in the mountains and went to investigate. Upon arriving unannounced and after a very brief interview (in Japanese) in which the employer never asked if he had skied before, nor whether he could speak English, the manager offered him a job provided he could supply his own boots as their sizes were too small. This was a particularly enjoyable time for Steve because he got

to spend a season in the mountains. The combination of being foreign and capable of speaking Japanese allowed him to meet interesting people. He got a job in banking, for instance, after a ski friend informed him that a large bank was recruiting. He was hired as a ‘freshman’. Japanese corporations generally hire groups of new university graduates at the same time every year. These groups form cohorts and follow a set path of training and career development. It is important to understand, he wasn’t hired as a professional. He started at the ground floor. Steve said he was hired as a local and lived as a local, which for him were points of pride. The one exception was that instead of living in the freshman dorm (as is generally expected) he rented a very expensive apartment in a trendy area of Tokyo. He said he was spending about two thirds of his salary on a very classy apartment and was living a classy life. He began attending expat events and joined some expat clubs, where he met his present wife. When he informed me his wife was not Japanese, he used a tone that implied he expected listeners to be surprised by this. He lost interest in the expat clubs but still keeps contacts. He worked at a string of banks over the years, slowly getting promoted. He is now a Vice President, “head of global something,” he told me with a laugh. When I mentioned that it sounded quite senior, he told me he has been a Vice President for years. He explained that companies promote people to the Vice President level quickly, and not as a perk for the title or as a reference to responsibility. Instead, anyone ranked above a certain level in the organization, does not require legal notice nor due cause for dismissal. It may seem prestigious, but it is actually a sign of job insecurity, he chuckled. When I ask him about salary, he says he’d rather not say, but it is comparable to others in a similar position. He says his salary has fluctuated a great deal over the years,

based on bank and market performance. He says once in the 90s he asked for a raise and was turned down, but somehow it became clear that he was “hired as a local”, so he asked to be “hired as an expat” which was accepted. This gave him a modest increase in actual salary, but importantly gave him a number of additional (and considerable) monthly stipends to cover rent, transportation, and school for his children. Again, in good humour he said, “Those days are long over. Like anyone in finance, when the getting is good you do well. When the economy is slow you just do O.K.” Steve frequently used the word “expat” so I asked him if he thought of himself as one. He said, “No. I am a resident of Japan. This is home. I am not an expat.”

Connor taught English at the school that brought him to Japan for about three years. He said he lived mostly in a small apartment, and sent a lot of his money home to Canada to pay off his student loans. After about three years, with his loan paid off, Connor was tired of teaching English. I like helping people he said but I mean I think I can do a lot more in my life than just being a teacher. He left his teaching position and joined a small tech start-up with big business plans. After two years it really wasn't getting off the ground and by this time he was planning to get married and wanted more stability. He met his wife through a student at one of the school's Halloween parties. He started a new position doing corporate training for a human resource firm and has been in the same business ever since (for about 7 years now). “An expatriate? What? No. I'm just a guy who lives in Japan.”

Samantha worked at the hostess bar for a few months, but felt she was lacking in purpose, this after all was just an extended cycling trip. She knew she didn't plan on doing it

forever. On a call back to her family in the UK her uncle recommended that if she was going to be staying in Japan, she should pick up a useful skill or trade. From cycling through small towns she had developed an interest in some of the local craftsmen's trades, so made the bold decision to approach one and see if she could apprentice. She did this for a year, before returning to the UK for a graduate degree and then back to Japan for her doctorate, where she has been living and working ever since. As an apprentice she met a Japanese man and after what she calls a drawn out courtship, they were married. The marriage lasted about fifteen years, but Samantha said it was a struggle. Being a successful woman was too hard for him. Her in-laws would encourage her to "look small" and "stand behind him". She said she became interested in feminism after her divorce, which has influenced her academic direction. "I'm not really an expat because I work at a university. I think it is more of a business term," she told me. "But yes, I am gaijin [foreigner], I like to hang out with native [English] speakers and I don't watch Japanese TV anymore" she added.

Richard taught English for a brief period before being promoted to a managerial role. "I was the youngest manager ever" he bragged. "I was managing these bitter fifty year olds who had lived in Japan for 30 years. It was challenging but a real eye-opening experience for me" he said. From manager he went on to head up a new department and was doing well. He needed a career change he said, "You can't have English teacher on your resume for too long." Through a client he started building a relationship and says over a period of three years slowly ironed out the details until he eventually was hired to work in HR in human development at a very large and prestigious Japanese firm. After a year or so, he

moved from a full-time contract to a permanent contract. “I now have lifetime employment -- like tenure for a professor” he explained. “I was hired as a local. I am a salary man” he told me.

Strategic Essentialism - Resistance and Appropriation

Cal, a British national and journalist for a large Japanese media conglomerate expressed a strong distaste for the word ‘*gaijin*’ and equated it to the term “nigg**”. Coming from Northern Ireland, he was keenly aware of the divisive nature of some terms and felt that *gaijin* was a highly offensive word. He felt it was a racist term used by Japanese to describe foreigners as nuisances and contributed to the general negative impression of foreigners. Academic literature would agree with this interpretation. Yamamoto (2010) for example, has written extensively about how migrants are widely seen as a main source of crime in contemporary Japan. Cal says foreigners use the word “*gaijin*” to ghettoize themselves and that they do themselves a disservice without realizing it. In contrast Samantha insists, meanwhile, she is proud to be a *gaijin*. For her, *gaijin* is a term that positions one as a foreigner in opposition to Japanese culture, which she feels is oppressive, phallogentric and violent. Identifying as *gaijin* is a way for her to adopt her “feminist identity.” Being a *gaijin* is a way Samantha rejects traditional gender roles.

Richard said he wasn't really a *gaijin*. He said a *gaijin* is “an English teacher, who drinks beer in front of the *konbini* [convenience store], lives in a cheap share house and doesn't speak any Japanese even though he has been here for five years.” Conor has a “real” job and has Japanese friends. Generally the term is used to describe a low-class other, a stereotypical foreigner who embodies all of the undesirable qualities one can have in the

Japanese context. The foreigner who is drinking beer and being loud on the train is a *gaijin*. The *gaijin* is a classed other, which some foreign residents position themselves against.

Gaijiness however is occasionally strategically deployed when breaking a social norm, or taking a break from regular public behaviour -- a strategy commonly called “playing the *gaijin* card.” For example, if you don’t want to talk to the salesman who appears at your door, are being hassled by a peddler, want to avoid conversation with police and immigration or other authorities, you can “play the *gaijin* card” which involves pretending not to understand, walking away or just speaking in English in order to avoid a situation. The “*gaijin* card” can be deployed more directly than for simple avoidance and can be used proactively in situations like late movie returns or using tickets improperly. Whether they used the term “*gaijin*” or not, most of the respondents provided examples of how, on occasion, they used their foreignness intentionally for strategic gain.

I had a beer with Matthew, who is an American English teacher and a nine-year Tokyo resident. We sat with his colleagues in a basement pub in Tokyo. Initially we were taking up four seats in what was a very busy place. As the table beside us opened up, one of the other teachers appropriated the extra space, leaving us with two large tables, capable of seating eight. Given the premium on space and how crowded the pub was, this was clearly a somewhat obnoxious thing to do. When I mentioned it to him, he simply replied. "Yeah whatever, we are *gaijin*!" and laughed. This event also shed some light on a previous conversation I had with him when I asked him about the term *gaijin* and if he felt he was one, to which he responded “Sometimes.”

A management consultant from England called Tammy, posted this on her Facebook account in preparation for leaving Tokyo after about 5 years:

I have ill-advisedly decided to spend (and boy do I mean 'spend' - yikes) my last night staying in the Park Hyatt - the Lost in Translation hotel itself. We will catch the sunset in the New York Grill while sipping Suntory's finest, and then quickly scamper outside before the cover charge kicks in to spend the rest of the evening drinking *konbini chūhai* [cheap fruity alcoholic drinks from the convenience store] in the park, because, well, that's what *gaijin* life in Japan is really like.

Though there isn't a shared consensus on the word itself, a few distinctions are worth mentioning. In the Japanese context, the word refers to a person. The *jin* in *gaijin* is literally 人 - the Japanese character for person. When used by my informants it refers to a person who behaves a certain way, or even more specifically to a behaviour itself. This is what allows one to sometimes be a *gaijin*, or use it to one's advantage. It would also seem to imply, however a certain amount of hegemonic disciplinary power in that there is a general hesitance to break what are considered to be general Japanese rules of etiquette.

In the discussion above, I show how respondents assumed positions, and were positioned by others as expatriates, tourists, as members of a racial class, as spouses, locals, *Gaijin*, foreigners, and as educated outsiders, to strategic advantage depending not merely on the situations in which they found themselves, but also according to the length of their residency in Japan and according to their occupation. It is clear that their foreignness is not assumed, nor is it the first aspect of their identity they perform in every social situation.

Gaijin is a particularly interesting identity construct as it clearly serves in Japanese narratives as an unsavoury Other, against which proper Japanese etiquette is defined. However, as Prins has noted with regard to the “primitivist trope” applied to and by Indigenous North Americans, “*Gaijin*” is also employed by the respondents as a counter-hegemonic construct. These expats deliberately deploy a particular discourse which puts to work a theme created by the Japanese, for expat-defined purposes. *Gaijin* is a “strategic essentialization” (cf. Spivak) of tourists that is invoked to strategic effect when opportune. It seems to work for a number of reasons.

Firstly, it works because tensions with the Western world still resonate powerfully within Japanese society. The ‘obnoxious white tourist’ serves as a ready-made device to successfully obscure expat responsibility for knowing and properly performing the rules of Japanese etiquette. Secondly, it works because the image of the American entrepreneurial frontiersmen – whether red-necked magnates, marauding frat-boys, or gangster-like smoking white haired men in suits, has long reflected American corporate cultures’ self-understandings as entitled and unrepentant self-styled masters of the universe. *Gaijin* provides expat communities with an attractive image as innovative invaders and globetrotting trailblazers.

Finally, as the architects of the colonial enterprise, Western Europeans and their racially aligned settler colonies have marked out for themselves a collective identity. They actively employ this reified object of selfhood in distinction to a reified object of otherness, to unify and strengthen their own culturally heterogeneous force. In this way they rob the term of its power when used against them, and assert their own barbarousness, preemptively.

However, their use of the term also shows their familiarity with it and their knowledge of the appropriate time to invoke it to their advantage. This, in effect, renders them more local than tourists who are unaware of the term's meaning and intent.

Chapter 5: Conclusions

The Art of Cultivating Outside-Insiderness

As transnational subjects, non-Japanese business people can never completely abandon the Western European cultural baggage that attends their subject positioning as white workers in Japan's corporate culture. They can however perform varying degrees of 'insiderness' by cultivating certain demeanours, habits and behaviours and by performing these strategically when it counts. Certain foods, ways of drinking, leisure activities, and so on are considered more Japanese than others. Competently performing these behaviours and cultivating a sense of when it is opportune to do so are considered important to the development of one's professional cultural capital. These choices do not reflect mere matters of taste or craving. One does not simply act on a craving for sashimi nor for French fries and burgers. Instead, one must work to balance being a foreigner and taking out a colleague for a burger, with being Japanese and taking out a colleague for ramen. Being too foreign is undesirable, and being too Japanese means losing the value of foreignness. Foreigners are thus in a consistent balancing act. This, however, is not unique to outsiders. Japanese people in Japan must also engage in these balancing acts to retain their perceived "insiderness". This can be exemplified by those who are considered "half," a term Japanese people use to describe people of mixed race. Abu-Lughod describes "halfie" or culturally mixed anthropologists as lacking the "ability to comfortably assume the self of anthropology" and as burdened with "multiple accountability" (1996). Like halfie anthropologists, half-Japanese people may feel torn between the groups and subgroups within them to which they simultaneously belong and do not belong, and may feel

marginalized or misrecognized by the “white” and “Japanese” business people who create slots for, and position, them in ways most advantageous to the business at hand. Similarly, they are part of a larger world system and embody the positionings of Japan and Western worlds in the capitalist world market. To ease the tensions experienced by halfie anthropologists, Abu-Lughod encourages them to write *against* culture, by thinking carefully about how anthropologists came to be writing about “others” and by writing ethnographies of the particular, which focus on specific practices rather than generalizing wholes (1996). Halfie Japanese business people and foreigners are structurally ambiguous but not entirely alone in their “out of placeness.”

As we have seen in the literature, in the face of a declining island population which was and still is opposed to immigration, the definition of Japaneseness has in the past been extended to cover the Ainu and others on the margins. Two of the central concepts in the debate about where to draw the boundary between Japanese and non-Japanese are inclusion and exclusion. Various peoples located on the periphery of Japan were either accepted as Japanese (when it served the nation) or excluded as non-Japanese (when it did not). These peoples occupy the ambiguous status of what Oguma calls 'Japanese but non-Japanese'.(Askew 2001,113) It may be only a slight exaggeration to say that Oguma believes they were frequently defined as Japanese in terms of obligations, but as non-Japanese in terms of rights.

Japaneseness in this case is not necessarily about ethnic purity, but about the state’s ability to draw boundaries around fields of interest when it serves state interests. Businesses are similarly opportunistic. They will exploit foreign capital when it profits. Foreign

employees must buy into this arrangement and “play along” developing the ability to perform Japaneseness – to spend Japanese cultural capital - when the situation calls for it. In such a case, the knowledge of how to behave is a resource that a foreigner may exploit if business will benefit from it. By successfully miming Japanese habits and behaviours, however, the actor suspends whatever foreign capital s/he may possess. The sign value of foreignness is maintained, but the functional value is lost. In this dramatic role, the greatest feat of creative mimesis is undoubtedly the enactment of a self-presentation -- as one Japanese person to another.

Foreignness as a Commodity

In the context of global business in Japan, foreignness itself is a commodity. Following Marx, the value of a commodity has no direct relation with its actual physical properties and use value (1867, 48). The value of the commodity is identified by Marx as being a result of a “fetishism of commodities“, created in the “social character of the labour that produces them”(1867, 48). Marx borrowed the word fetish from anthropology describing religious objects that “appear as independent beings endowed with life, and entering into relation both with one another and the human race” (1867, 48). A further illustration of this fetishism can be seen in the example pointed first pointed out by Smith, that diamonds are more valuable than water, despite having few useable purposes (Buchanan 2010,93). This commodity fetishism served to inform Veblen’s “conspicuous consumption” for the wealthy leisure class, where by the owning of goods is a display of economic status, with “consumption as an evidence of wealth” (1899, 33). Baudrillard has extended this further

by arguing that such a view could now be taken beyond the leisure class and be extended to everyone in a consumer society (1998). For Baudrillard, the consumer society is “an era dominated by sign-values” (1998, 21). This society is posited to be organized around consumption and the display of objects for their “sign-value”, which is juxtaposed against their use-value (Baudrillard 1998,89). He provides the example of the washing-machine which “serves as an appliance and acts as an element of prestige, comfort, etc. It is strictly this latter field which is the field of consumption”(Baudrillard 1998,77). In the same way foreign employees may serve Japanese corporate interests as labour but they are more importantly acting as elements of prestige, displaying the status of their employers.

In American advertising imagery, ethnic ambiguity among product ambassadors is increasingly actively sought after as a marketing device, likely for the reason that products branded without racial markers will appeal to the widest possible audiences. In Japan, on the other hand, businesses generally do not feature halfies in their staff photos. They strategically feature white men and women only. This has the effect to both essentialize foreign others and to lay claim to the capital that their reputation for business acumen affords. In this sense, one might argue that Japanese business inexorably reduces Western others to mere functions of its profit-making enterprise. This is achieved not with some more advanced technology, greater stores of capital or even political domination, but rather through 'consumption,' or, more specifically, through the 'desire' to consume these others as fetishized, commodified marginal utility-objects.

According to this logic, it is the Japanese market, not the business people or labourers, that determines the character of foreignness to be a commodity and consumption is the product

of desire as felt by individuals (purchasing) subjects. Production and selling as well as all of their specific relations and conditions are no consequence. This is a market-driven model wherein the products on offer are determined in form and content by their utility in satisfying individual consumers' subjective desires. Marginal utility, not social relations of production, or political economic forces, or indeed social forces of any kind, drives this “expansionist capitalism.” The problem with this assumption, however, is that it elides the possibility that Japanese business people might actually empower themselves through the appropriation of the very Western technologies of capital accumulation that are supposed to transform them into passive zombies of capital.

It seems clear that Japanese people are aware that the stories they tell about themselves as a nation of homogeneous or diverse peoples travel beyond their borders and influence their business affairs on a global scale. Inviting Western others into their businesses and capitalizing on the message of diversity and of domesticating the difference this communicates is one way that businesses assert some control over the narrative. It also seems clear that this narrative is rife with internal ambiguities and contradictions that pit nationalism against cosmopolitanism and homogeneity against diversity. In the theatre of international trade, the capacity to provide compelling enactments of the roles contained in this drama is a resource Japanese businesses find valuable. While it is true that Japan ‘exploits’ the sign value foreigners pack with them into Japan, the Japanese themselves are not immune to being exploited in the name of capital. It is telling that South Africa gave the Japanese an official racial designation as “honourary whites” gesturing toward Japan’s status as South Africa’s primary trading partner (Ivy 93,5). In this sense, Japan as a nation

cannot be theorized as being outside the West – rather, it is mutually constituted by its relationships with its others. Similarly, the notion that foreigners in Japan are easily essentializable as outsiders has little purchase in corporate dramas where players put on and take off *gaijin*, Japaneseness and Whiteness for technical, rhetorical, practical and ceremonial effect.

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Appendix 1

Sample Informed Consent Form

Informed Consent

Performing Alterity at Work: Workplace Subjectivities among Foreign Professionals in Corporate Japan

Principal Investigator Contact:

Evan McKenzie

E-mail:

Phone:

Address:

This consent form, a copy of which will be left with you for your records and reference, is only part of the process of informed consent. It should give you the basic idea of what the research is about and what your participation will involve. If you would like more detail about something mentioned here, or information not included here, you should feel free to ask. Please take the time to read this carefully and to understand any accompanying information.

The purpose of this research project will be to understand the experience of expatriates working in Tokyo, Japan and to understand how your position as expatriate plays a role in your daily work activities. Participants may participate in one or all parts of the research project.

This process will involve an initial 20-45 minute interview which will be digitally recorded.

Following the interview there will be a period of observation where the Principal Investigator will observe the participant as they engage in work and work related activities. The exact nature of the observation will be negotiated with the participant and will take place at a time and place convenient for them. The participant may also choose to submit photographs in lieu of participant observation.

After the observation a second follow-up interview will be scheduled to go into more detail about the subjects raised in the first and also to inquire about observed behaviours from the observation phase.

The results of this study will be used to create a Master's thesis to satisfy the Principal Investigator's degree requirements. The results may also appear in the form of an article that will be submitted for publication in an academic journal, as a conference paper or as a book or chapter thereof intended for a business or academic audience.

Risks to participants are minimal and all efforts will be taken to ensure privacy and security of confidential information. Benefits are also minimal and participants will receive no substantial compensation for participating in the research project.

Participants are encouraged to use pseudonyms and to avoid referring to particular people and organizations by name. The confidential recording will be kept under digital and physical lock and will be deleted after the transcription is made. The transcripts themselves will be anonymized and will be kept for a period of 4 years. If at any point during or after the research process participants would like to terminate their involvement they are entitled to do so without consequence and their data will be removed from the study. To withdraw participants can inform the principal investigator by phone at the number listed above or can simply send an e-mail to the principal investigator with the word Withdraw in the subject line.

I consent to participate in an interview that will discuss my experience working in Japan.	Yes <input checked="" type="radio"/>	No <input type="radio"/>
I consent to have the above interview digitally recorded.	Yes <input checked="" type="radio"/>	No <input type="radio"/>
I am interested in participating in a period of observation, the details of which will be negotiated between me and the principal investigator. (This item does not constitute consent and is only for the purpose of gauging interest.)	Yes <input checked="" type="radio"/>	No <input type="radio"/>
To facilitate a period of observation and subsequent interactions the concept of ongoing consent will be used. This means that formal written consent for the observation itself will not be attained and instead verbal consent will be used, but you are still free to withdraw at any time. I understand the concept of ongoing consent.	Yes <input checked="" type="radio"/>	No <input type="radio"/>
I consent to participate in a second interview that will discuss the observation period and my experience working in Japan	Yes <input checked="" type="radio"/>	No <input type="radio"/>
I consent to have the second interview digitally recorded.	Yes <input checked="" type="radio"/>	No <input type="radio"/>

Your signature on this form indicates that you have understood to your satisfaction the information regarding participation in the research project and agree to participate as a subject. In no way does this waive your legal rights nor release the researchers, sponsors, or involved institutions from their legal and professional responsibilities. You are free to withdraw from the study at any time, and /or refrain from answering any questions you prefer to omit, without prejudice or consequence. Your continued participation should be as informed as your initial consent, so you should feel free to ask for clarification or new information throughout your participation.

The University of Manitoba may look at the research records to see that the research is being done in a safe and proper way.

This research has been approved by the Psychology/Sociology REB. If you have any concerns or complaints about this project you may contact any of the above-named persons or the Human Ethics Coordinator (HEC) at 474-7122. A copy of this consent form has been given to you to keep for your records and reference.

Participant's Signature _____ Date _____

Principal Investigator _____ Date _____

Appendix 2

Interview #1 Research Schedule

The first interview is intended to get an understanding of the experience of foreigners who work in Japan. It will follow a conversational semi-structured approach so these questions will not be asked verbatim or in entirety. The questions will be limited to the four main themes listed below which are illustrative of the experience of work in Japan.

General Demographic Questions:

How old are you? Where are you from? Your background? Education? Relationship status?

Coming to Japan:

How long have you been in Japan? Why did you come? What was your initial experience like? Did you face any challenges when you initially arrived? What is your Japanese like? What are your plans for staying in Japan? In Japan there are a number of terms for people who come from abroad and work; gaijin, NJ, expat etc. are there any of these that you use to describe yourself? Are there any that you dislike? Why?

Work:

What is your role? How long have you been working there? How did you get the job? Why do you think you were hired? What kind of industry do you work in? What is your average day like? What are your hours like? What is your remuneration like? Do you like your job? Are you good at it? Why do you think that it? What are your career plans? Where do you see your business going?

Foreignness:

What does it feel like working in Japan? Are there many foreigners at your company? Do you think being a foreigner has an impact on how you do your job? How are you treated by the company? What do you think your company expects from you? Have you worked in another country? Similarities, difference? Is it hard being a foreigner? Is it an asset or a liability in your company? Has it been how you expected? What has surprised you?

Appendix 3

Research Ethics and Compliance- Approval Certificate



Research Ethics and Compliance
Office of the Vice-President (Research and International)

Human Ethics
268-194 Dakota Road
Winnipeg, MB
Canada R3T 2N2
Phone: (204) 975-7122
Fax: (204) 269-1179

APPROVAL CERTIFICATE

March 19, 2014

TO: Evan McKenzie
Principal Investigator

FROM: Kelley Main, Acting Chair
Joint-Faculty Research Ethics Board (JFREB)

Re: Protocol #J2014:035
"Performing Alterity at Work: Workplace Subjectivities among
Foreign Professions incorporate Japan"

Please be advised that your above-referenced protocol has received human ethics approval by the Joint-Faculty Research Ethics Board which is organized and operates according to the Tri-Council Policy Statement (2). This approval is valid for one year only.

Any significant changes of the protocol and/or informed consent form should be reported to the Human Ethics Secretariat in advance of implementation of such changes.

Please note:

- If you have funds pending human ethics approval, please mail/e-mail/fax (264-3325) a copy of this Approval (identifying the related UM Project Number) to the Research Grants Officer in ORS in order to initiate fund setup. (How to find your UM Project Number: http://umanitoba.ca/research/ors/umit-faq_humr#prc)
- If you have received multi-year funding for this research, responsibility lies with you to apply for and obtain Renewal Approval at the expiry of the initial one-year approval; otherwise the account will be locked.

The Research Quality Management Office may request to review research documentation from this project to demonstrate compliance with this approved protocol and the University of Manitoba *Ethics of Research Involving Humans*.

The Research Ethics Board requests a final report for your study (available at: http://umanitoba.ca/research/orcc/ethics/human_ethics_REB_forms_guide-lines.html) in order to be in compliance with Tri-Council Guidelines.

umanitoba.ca/research