

Articles

- 金 善映 147
「2ちゃんねる」と「イルベ」電子掲示板を通して見た日韓のヘイトスピーチ現象
- Anya HOMMADOVA 171
Phases of Cultural Adjustment of East Asian Students: Intercultural Communication and Integration into American Culture
- Takakazu YAMAGISHI 193
Health Insurance Politics of Japan in the 1940s and the 1950s: The Japan Medical Association and Policy Development

Research Notes

- Paul CAPOBIANCO 205
Bridging the Gap between Japanese and Foreign Communities through Communication and Critical Reflection
- ショリナ ダリヤゲル 223
カザフスタン人日本語教師の教育観形成
—大学教師のライフストーリーから—
- Marta Elzbieta SZCZYGIEL 237
Sociology of Waste in Christian Europe and Japan: Comparative Analysis of the Notion of Human Waste
- 大塚 香奈 251
韓国語母語話者における日本語長母音の知覚と教育効果

論文

「2ちゃんねる」と「イルベ」電子掲示板を通して見た 日韓のヘイトスピーチ現象

Hate Speech between Japan and Korea in the “2 Channel” and “ILBE” Internet Bulletin Boards

金 善映 (Sunyoung KIM)

筑波大学人文社科学研究科 博士後期課程

インターネット空間は新たな文化形成や意見表明の場を生み出すと同時に、集団極化が起こりやすいという、両義性を持つ。特に、こうした集団極化は「ヘイトスピーチ」や「右傾化」につながり、外部に存在する他の対象に向かって噴出されている側面が、日韓両国において共通に見受けられる。近年、日韓両国において可視化されているインターネット掲示板「2ちゃんねる」と「イルベ」がその例である。「この2つのネット右翼サイトは時間差を置いて生まれたが、日本のネット右翼の歩みを見れば、イルベに代表される韓国のオンラインの右翼勢力の未来を垣間見ることができる。このような分析は冷戦後、両国国民の社会・文化的経験が似ていることに根拠を置いているためだ」(週刊京郷 2014)。そこで本研究ではネット右翼サイトとして位置づけられている日本の「2ちゃんねる」と韓国の「イルベ」掲示板を研究対象として分析する。分析を通じ、「2ちゃんねる」と「イルベ」の思考体系において共有される「コード」を読み解くことが試みる。

Internet space creates opportunities for new cultural formation and opinion-sharing but, at the same time, it is also a space where group polarization is likely to occur, and that leads to an ambiguous identity. In particular, “hate speech” and “a right-wing shift” led by extreme group polarization with aggression toward outsiders can commonly be seen in Japan and Korea. The Internet bulletin board “2channel” in Japan and “ILBE” in Korea are examples of this phenomenon in recent years. “Although these two radical right-wing websites have a time gap in their establishment, the Internet extreme right-wing in Japan provides a glimpse into the future of the Korean online right-wing group represented in ILBE. This analysis is based on the similarities in social and cultural trends that the two countries experienced in the post-Cold War era” (Weekly Kyunghyang 2014). Therefore, this study analyzes these two representative online Internet spheres as research subjects to decipher the “code” that is shared in the framework of “2 channel” and “ILBE.”

キーワード：ヘイトスピーチ ナショナリズム 2ちゃんねる イルベ KH コーダー
Keywords: Hate Speech, Nationalism, 2Channel, ILBE, KH Coder

はじめに

2000年代に入る頃から日本では電子掲示板「2ちゃんねる」などで、日本社会における文化的他者とされる、在日韓国・朝鮮人に対して差別をあおる言説、いわゆる「ヘイトスピーチ」が目立ち始めた。2015年11月には3年半ぶりの開催となった日韓中首脳会談で最大の懸案であった従軍慰安婦問題をはじめ、歴史認識問題や領土問題に端を発した韓国人や在日コリアンに対するヘイトスピーチが「2ちゃんねる」

電子掲示板で行われ、社会に排外的な風潮が強まるのではないかという懸念も指摘されている。2013年の新語・流行語大賞にノミネートされた「ヘイトスピーチ」なる現象は、年を追うごとに重大なものになっており、社会的な問題として注目を集めている。このような情勢の中、2016年5月13日、参院本会議において、「ヘイトスピーチ(憎悪表現)解消に向けた推進法」が可決され、24日には衆院本会議で全会一致により可決、成立した。

ネット上の民族主義的な発言および発言者を示すヘイトスピーチ現象は、日本だけの話でなく韓国社会全般のナショナリズム強化現象としても議論されつつある。近年、韓国の2ちゃんねると言われる「日刊ベスト貯蔵所(以下、イルベ:2010年開設)」という電子掲示板が注目を集めている。ニールセン・コリアン・クリック(Nielsen Korean Click)によると、「イルベ」電子掲示板の2015年4月パソコン(PC)基準純訪問者(Unique Visitor:UV)数は、130万6365名に達し、モバイル基準純訪問者数は173万2420名を記録した。そして、月間総ページ・ビュー(Page View:PV)数は、2億6017万となり、全体のコミュニティー分野の中で2位を記録した。当初は単なるユーモア・サイトだったが、今では5.18光州民主化運動が激しかった地域の1つである全羅道地域をはじめ、左翼、北朝鮮、女性へのヘイトスピーチなどで社会的な議論の中心に立っている。

ならば、2000年以降、日韓両国のインターネット・コミュニティーにおいてリベラルなものが人々の感情を吸収できなくなった背景には何があるのだろうか。また、逆に、なぜこの時期に極右志向の思考が彼らを惹きつけたのだろうか。たとえば、2000年代中盤までリベラルの色彩を帯びてきた韓国のインターネット・コミュニティーが、2010年以降、徐々にリベラルの色彩が薄れ、一方日本では、戦後民主主義が日本のネット右翼層の愛国心を吸収できなくなった。また、思春期・青春期にバブルの崩壊やアジア通貨危機を経験した若者たちの右傾化が目立つようになったという(高原 2006, 安田 2012, Kang 2013)。なぜ、こうした層が極右志向の思考へと走ったのだろうか。日韓両国の社会においてこれらの極右サイトの思想と行動をどのような文脈で理解すべきかについても考える必要がある。

そこで、本研究の目的はこのような現状に着目し、日韓両国の社会問題の一つと言われるようになった、いわゆるヘイトスピーチ言説を事例に、これを生み出す要因を明らかにすることである。ネット空間におけるヘイトスピーチの問題は本来の意図を離れて大衆にとって重要な争点となり、ひいては社会的問題として浮き彫りになっているため、欧米の研究者の間でも大変注目されているテーマであるが、議論の流れやその要因について解明した研究は管見の限り見当たらない。本研究では、ネット右翼的な掲示板の形成土壌となる日韓の社会構造と問題点を指摘し、さらに日韓両国が対立する差別と偏見の問題を超え、「共生」を構築するための重要な示唆を与えることができると期待される。

1. 先行研究の考察

先行研究を考察するにあたり、まず、本論文におけるヘイトスピーチの定義を行う。ヘイトスピーチの定義に関して、「ヘイトスピーチとは、広義では、人種、民族、国籍、性などの属性を有するマイノリティの集団もしくは個人に対し、その属性を理由とする差別的表現であり、その中核にある本質的な部分は、マイノリティに対する「差別、敵意又は暴力の煽動」(自由権規約二〇条)、「差別のあらゆる煽動」(人種差別撤廃条約四条本文)であり、表現による暴力、攻撃、迫害である」(師岡 2013:48)という理解が一般であるが、堀田(2014)はヘイトスピーチの定義を人種、民族、宗教、性などによって限定するだけでは不十分であると述べながら、次のような注意をも加えている。

もし、人類、民族、宗教等でしか限定しないとすると、たとえば、在日朝鮮人に対するヘイトスピーチを非難し、罵倒するカウンター側の表現に対する「日本人差別」とか「日本人に対するヘイトスピーチ」などという表現を批判することはできなくなる。ある表現がある人々に対する敵意や憎悪およびその煽動の表現であるとする際に、単に人類等でその「標的」を限定するだけでなく、さらに、対象となる人々が、当該社会で歴史的にまたは現在において「マイノリティ」であるという文脈(context)が必要だということを示唆している。また、ある種の人々に対する「敵意の煽動」であると言うために、発話者の意図は必要条件ではないということを示唆している。(堀田 2014:2)

本研究では、堀田(2014)のヘイトスピーチの定義を参考にして研究を進めた。本研究の分析対象である「2ちゃんねる」掲示板では在日コリアンを「チョン」、「イルベ」掲示板では5.18光州民主化運動の犠牲者を「ガンギエイ」と呼んでいる。日韓両掲示板において彼らは、マイノリティとしてヘイトスピーチの対象となってきた。こうした日韓両掲示板で現れているヘイトスピーチの対象を、人種、民族、宗教、性などに限定して捉えることだけでは不十分であると考えられる。なぜなら日韓両国社会におけるヘイトスピーチ現象は、当該社会の歴史や社会的文脈の中で生まれたマジョリティとマイノリティの間で起きているためだ。

まず、日韓両掲示板においてヘイトスピーチ現象が生じた背景について、これまでの先行研究の流れを概観した上で、これらの研究の意義や限界を踏まえて研究課題を設定する。2000年以降の日本のヘイトスピーチの標的は韓国、北朝鮮、中国であった。特に、ネット上で嫌韓の流れが出来上がった事件としては、2002年の日韓ワールドカップが挙げられる。2002年の日韓ワールドカップの当時、日本のメディアの中で韓国への批判は一種のタブーとなってきた。それゆえ、メディアに対して何かしらの抗議をしようとする動き(「湘南ゴミ拾いOFF」と呼ばれる抗議行動)が当時の「2ちゃんねる」掲示板上で発生した。次に、2002年9月に小泉純一郎首相(当時)が北朝鮮の平壤を訪問した際、金正日総書記(当時)が日本人拉致の事実を公式に認め、謝罪した。それ以来、日本では反北朝鮮色が鮮明にし、いわゆる激しい北朝鮮バッシングが始まった。ネット上で対中感情が悪化の一途を辿っている背景には、尖閣諸島といった領土問題や中国脅威論の浮上などが挙げられる。最近の研究では、ヘイトスピーチの攻撃対象を在日コリアンに偏っているという報告がある(樋口 2015)。この報告によると、2013年5月に在日特権を許さない市民の会(以下、在特会)がホームページ上で実施した投票結果で、78%が韓国を「一番嫌い国」と回答し、続けて12%が中国、4%が北朝鮮であることが明らかにされている。

では、ヘイトスピーチの攻撃対象が在日コリアンに限定されたきた背景には何があるのだろうか。多数の先行研究では、その論拠として、特別永住資格、朝鮮学校補助金交付、生活保護優遇、通名制度という「在日特権」が在特会をはじめとする排外主義運動で最も重要な言説となってきた点が挙げられる(安田 2012, 樋口 2014, 野間 2015, 山崎 2015, 小倉他 2016)。その上に、「在日特権」という物語は神話あるいはデマに過ぎないという認識が、これらの研究の共通した見解であった。「在日特権」が論じられる際、よく取り上げられているのが「特別永住資格」である。「特別永住権」とは、平成3年(1991年)11月1日に施行された、「日本国との平和条約に基づき日本の国籍を離脱した者等の出入国管理に関する特例法」(平成3年法律第71号。以下「入管特例法」)により定められた在留の資格のことを言う。具体的には、日本国籍を離脱した者(在日韓国人・朝鮮人・台湾人出身者で、1945年9月2日以前より日本に在留する者と、その子孫)に対して日本での永住を認め、一般の永住資格と異なり入国審査時に顔写真の撮影や指紋採取が必要なく、証明書の携帯も求められない資格である。「特別永住資格」を付与した背景では、サンフランシスコ講和条約発効(1952年)により、これまで日本国籍を有していた旧植民地出身国者である韓国人・朝鮮人・台湾人は、自身の意思に関わらず自動的に日本国籍を離脱させられ、事実上無国籍状態に置かれることになった。それ以降、日本国籍を離脱させられた在日韓国人・朝鮮人・台湾人の法的地位の安定化を図る為、日本政府が様々な試行錯誤を繰り返し生まれたのが「特別永住権」である。前述した内容から「特別永住資格」は、歴史的経緯や時代的文脈から生まれたということがわかる。多くの先行研究では、こうした経緯にもかかわらず、在特会をはじめ、インターネット上では在日コリアンが一般的な外国人の永住資格とは異なり優遇措置を受けているという流言飛語的な主張が飛び交ったと指摘している。

次に、ヘイトスピーチが生じる社会的要因については、大きく二つの流れに大別できる。

一つの流れについて、最近の樋口(2014)、山崎(2015)、小倉他(2016)の研究では近隣諸国との「歴史修正主義」から在日特権という物語やヘイトスピーチ言説が生まれたという見解を示している。まず、樋口(2014)の研究では、今や大規模な移民や難民受け入れの問題でヘイトスピーチ現象は世界的に広く見られる現象であり、在日コリアンが日本社会においてヘイトスピーチの標的となってきたことについて着目した。樋口はこうした現象を解明するため、在特会をはじめとする排外主義運動の活動家に対する聞き取り調査を実施した。彼は在日コリアンへのヘイトスピーチ現象を「日本型排外主義」と命名し、以下のように解説している。

日本型排外主義とは近隣諸国との関係により規定される外国人排斥の動きを指し、植民地清算と冷戦に立脚するものである。直接の標的になるのは在日外国人だが、排斥感情の根底にあるのは外国人に対するネガティブなステレオタイプよりむしろ、近隣諸国との歴史的関係となる。その意味で、外国人の増加や職をめぐる競合といった外国で排外主義を生み出す要因は、日本型排外主義の説明に際してさしたる重要性を持たない。(樋口 2014: 204)

次に、山崎(2015)は、「歴史的文脈」がマジョリティとマイノリティを規定する重要な要素であると指摘しながら、以下のように解説している。

〈マジョリティ＝強者＝日本人/マイノリティ＝弱者＝在日朝鮮人〉を攪乱・無効化する言説実践であった。その際の要となっているのは、日本と在日朝鮮人との歴史的関係を無視した形で「議論」を提起することである。たとえば、在日特権としてやり玉に挙げられる通名制度や、生活保護受給率などは日本の植民政策およびその後の対応の不適切さに由来するものであるが、その歴史的経緯を無視することで「在日特権」というイメージが作り出されているのである。すなわち、現代日本での排外主義勢力によるヘイトスピーチを可能にしている土台となっているのは、意識的/無意識的な歴史否認論(歴史修正主義)である。(山崎 2015: 70)

上述した論議から、ヘイトスピーチ言説が生じる背景と関連し、近隣諸国との歴史的関係ということが重要な要因であることが示唆された。

もう一つの流れは、1990年代以降高度経済成長期の安定的な社会構造が喪失したことによる雇用不安や労働条件の悪化、所得格差、将来不安といった要因によるものである(高原 2006, 安田 2012)。高原(2006)と安田(2012)は「在日特権」という物語と関連し、「不安要因説」や「生きづらい社会」仮説を中心にヘイトスピーチ言説の背景を考察している。在特会などの団体やヘイトスピーチをする人を長年取材してきた安田は在特会が主張する「在日特権」は「特権」というよりは、「在特会やその賛同者が従来の制度を思いっきり拡大解釈した上で、彼ら独自の見解や根拠の怪しいデータを付け加えた、いわば彼らが後から、「発見」したものといったほうが正解だろう」(安田 2012:210)という見解を示した。

また、ネット事情に詳しいフリーライターの渋谷哲也の言葉を安田の『ネットと愛国』(2012)から引用すると以下の通りである。

今世紀に入ってから非正規労働者の割合が急増した。正社員の座をめぐる過酷な椅子取りゲームが始まったわけです。椅子が余っている時代であれば外国人のことなど気にはならないし、寛容でいることもできました。しかし椅子の数が少なくなれば、まず、椅子に座るべきは日本人からだろうといった声が出てくる。それがいつしか外国人は出て行けという罵声にも変わる。(中略) ネット言論では早い時期から在日コリアンが攻撃対象とされてきました。それは歴史的な経緯だが、あるいは直接的な被害をうけたことからくる憎悪なんかではなく、「守られている」「保護されている」といった勝手なイメージが、いわゆる「在日叩き」を生み出してしまったのです。(安田 2012:349-350)

こうした渋谷の指摘から、グローバル化の進行や競争の激化、経済格差の拡大などにより、社会の周縁に追いやられてきた人々が自己不全感と鬱積する不満のはけ口を「在日叩き」という形で現したという論点を読み取れる。安田は、渋谷の指摘を加え、在特会の過激な言動の背景には、「タブー破りの快感」であると同時に「所属の欲求」や「誰かに認められたい」という「承認欲求」が根底にあるという。中でも「タブー破りの快感」について、安田は、経済生活の不安さ、政治体制に対する不安さによって何かを「奪われた」と考える人達には、しっかり守ってくれたと確信していた既存の価値観や常識が単純な権威に過ぎないものとみなされたと説明した。しかし、安田の研究から、なぜ在日朝鮮人がヘイトスピーチの標的となったのかについての説明が十分だとは言えない。これは、他国の社会にも見られ、例えば、イギリスではユーロ危機をきっかけに、移民排除することを目的とする極右勢力の台頭が目立った現象と同様の傾向を示しているためである。

次に、ヘイトスピーチ現象と関連する、韓国の先行研究はそれほど多くない。韓国のインターネット・コミュニティは2000年代中盤までリベラルの色彩が強かった。Park(2013)は、「2002年の盧武鉉ブー

ム、2004年の弾劾政局、2008年の狂牛病蠟燭デモの当時、インターネット・チャルバン(コメント入れ画像)は、既成政治権を戯画化すると同時に、若くりベラルなネットのユーザーの政治的価値を表現するのに有効な媒体であった」(Park 2013:59)と指摘している。しかし、2010年、「イルベ」掲示板が登場して以来、極右傾向の強いインターネット・コミュニティが注目を集め始めた。「イルベ」掲示板の誕生は、これまで目立たなかった保守傾向のコミュニティが世に出たという含意もあるが、韓国社会に蔓延している現象と同時に、一連の議論と言説作用をもたらしている「問題のある」サイトとして受け取られている。2016年4月30日、デーリー韓国では「ヘイトスピーチ言説が溢れているイルベは国内のヘイトスピーチの元凶」という記事を掲載した。このように「イルベ」掲示板は、社会現象または社会問題として公論化され始めており、最近2-3年前からヘイトスピーチ言説に関する研究が進められてきた。

Kim(2014)によると、「イルベ」掲示板ユーザーは自分たちを善意の被害者と位置づけており、加害者たちは一種のエリートあるいは特権階層であるという。ここでの加害者たちは、軍隊に行かない女性、米の支援を受けながらミサイル実験や核実験で脅かす北朝鮮、5.18光州民主化運動(1980年)とセウォル号惨事(2014年)の犠牲者や遺族たちなどとなる。「イルベ」掲示板ユーザーからみると、彼らは国家の税金あるいは補償金で贅沢をしている集団、かつ韓国社会を分裂させる集団となるのだ。Kimは、ヘイトスピーチ言説が生じる社会的要因と関連し、韓国社会で「IMF危機」以降に拡散された新自由主義の不安定な経済構造の中で多くの青年層が、社会から落ちこぼれたり、排除されたりする現実を指摘している。

次に、Na(2016)の研究においても、ヘイトスピーチ言説の背景を2000年代以降、韓国社会が露出している構造の問題を中心に考察している。

金大中・盧武鉉政権(1998-2008年)から李明博・朴槿恵政権(2008-現在)と続いてきたこの時期は、経済的、社会的には新自由主義的な変化が、政治的には政権交代が行われ、これまで既得権を奪われた保守派のイデオロギー攻勢が影響を及ぼしている時期と見受けられる。労働柔軟化と7次教育課程、大学の変化が本格化することにより、大衆には、いわゆる、「新自由主義的自己啓発」を内面化することが求められてきた。また、金大中政権の太陽政策と盧武鉉政権の4大改革立法の試行は保守の結集とニューライトの登場に決定的な影響を及ぼした。(Na 2016:16)

また、Naは、自分たちが十分に自己啓発を通じて一生懸命に頑張っているにも関わらず報われないといった、自嘲混じりの声がヘイトスピーチの対象に向かってしていると指摘している。

以上の内容をまとめると、2000年代を基点として日韓のネット上でヘイトスピーチ現象が台頭し、これを受け、ヘイトスピーチ現象を生み出す背景に着目した研究が多数生まれた。しかし、樋口(2014)、山崎(2015)、小倉他(2016)を除いた多数の先行研究では、ヘイトスピーチ現象と関連し、「不安要因説」と「生きづらい社会」仮説を中心にヘイトスピーチ言説の背景を考察しているため、ヘイトスピーチ現象を多面的に探り出せないという限界があり、ネット上におけるヘイトスピーチの現象や極右主義現象に関する日韓間の比較研究はほとんど行われていないという状況である。最近の報告では、日韓両国におけるネット右翼の平均年齢層が30代男性ということが明らかになった(古谷 2013, 東京ブレイキング・ニュース 2015, 東亜日報 2013)。なぜこの世代がネット上で保守的、国粹主義的な意見やヘイトスピーチを正当化させる言説を流布しだしたのかについて、日韓両国の社会政治的視座を視野に入れながら、ヘイトスピーチ現象を分析した研究は、未だ十分になされているとは言い難い。

本研究では、日本の「2ちゃんねる」掲示板と韓国の「イルベ」掲示板において、主に現れているネタと他者化されている対象を調べる。次に、「2ちゃんねる」と「イルベ」の思考体系において共有される「コード」(code)、つまり、これらの掲示板の思考体系を動かす「心理的なメカニズム」が何かを考察していく。本研究において、「コード」という概念が重要な意味を帯びる。「コード」という概念は、辞典上で複数の意味を持っているが、ここでの「コードとは、現にそこに存在するものを不在の単位と結び付ける…背後に存在する規則に基づいて…意味作用が成立するのである」(エーコ 1980:10)。同様に、Park, Jung-Sun(2009)も「コード」を「一定の規則により支配される記号体系または、意味作用の体系として、その規則は、それを従っている文化の構成員の間で暗黙的または明示的に共有されること」(Park 2009:215)と定義している。すなわち、「コード」とは人々が無意識のうちに共有している暗黙の規則体系を指す。このような正義を記号学の観点からみると、私たちが他者に向けて発するメッセージには、最初の意味作用に関する「デノテーション(denotation)」(直接的・明示的意味)と、二つ目の意味作

用に関係する「コノテーション(connotation)」（随伴的・潜在的意味）という意味作用の二重構造を持っている。例えば、大量生産や大量消費、大量廃棄で運営される現代の消費社会をロラン・バルトの記号論によって捉えると、自由・繁栄・幸福を実現する消費活動は外見上のデノテーションであるが、高度消費社会の繁栄の背後には労働搾取、人間性の喪失、環境破壊、貧富格差、女性差別というコノテーション、つまり現代の消費社会の支配「コード」が潜んでいる。このような点から、「2ちゃんねる」と「イルベ」掲示板上で他者に向けて発するメッセージや交わす談論の中には外見上ヘイトスピーチ言説(デノテーションで)のように見えるが、そのメッセージの中には構成員の間の価値体系または行動様式が内包されており、これが「2ちゃんねる」と「イルベ」の「コード」(コノテーション)となる。ここにおいて「コード」は憎悪言説の要因と、極右傾向の考え方の根底にある問題を解き明かし、ひいては「2ちゃんねる」と「イルベ」の思想を理解する上で重要なキーとなり得る。

そこで、以下のリサーチ・クエスチョンを設定し検討を進めていく。

リサーチ・クエスチョン1：日韓の両電子掲示板において顕著に現れている「ネタ」は何であり、その中で不満のはけ口は誰に向かっているのか。

リサーチ・クエスチョン2：日韓両国においてヘイトスピーチ現象を生み出す要因と共に、「2ちゃんねる」と「イルベ」の思考体系を動かす「コード」(code)、つまり「心理的なメカニズム」は何か。

2. 分析方法

(1) 分析対象

本研究では「2ちゃんねる」掲示板と「イルベ」掲示板を対象とする。まず、日本の研究分析の資料として、「2ちゃんねる」掲示板の中でも、「ハングル板」を分析対象として選定した。「2ちゃんねる」掲示板の中、「ハングル板」と「東アジア news+板」はヘイトスピーチや嫌韓厨の論調が蔓延している板としてよく知られている(Kim 2011, Park, Su-Ok 2009)。「東アジア news+板」はキャップを持つ記者(☆が投稿者名の尾に付いている記者)のみがスレッドを立てられるという特徴があることから、本研究の分析対象から排除した。

「ハングル板」は2000年1月18日に開設し、開設当時は「韓国・朝鮮板」であった。「ハングル板」の特徴は大きく分けて三つの特徴がある。第一に、カテゴリは「学問・文系」に含まれており、板名から考えれば、韓国語(朝鮮語)に関する学問的な見地から議論をする板と思われる。しかし、語学的なテーマのスレッドはわずかで、全体的に韓国や北朝鮮やその国の人々(在日コリアン含む)の行動を非難する書き込みが溢れている。また、日本のメディアやマスコミでタブーとされてきており、ほとんど取り上げ論じたことがなかった、韓国起源説問題、竹島の領土問題、反日を国是とする韓国とそれに呼応する国内の反日政治家・マスメディアを主に扱っている。一例としていわれる余命スレという余命三年時事日記について語るスレがある。余命三年時事日記(2015)とは、余命三年を宣告されたブロガーが、残された人生をかけて、左翼や在日に関する様々な問題を暴露した内容が書籍化されたものである。第二に、「ハングル板」では、スレッドと書き込みは誰でも立てることができる。第三に、開設当初から10年以上継続しているスレが存在するほど、固定スレが多いので、前スレに続いて書き込みを行う場合も多いことが挙げられる。上述した三つの特徴から、本研究では「ハングル板」を分析対象として選定した。

韓国側の資料としては、「イルベ」掲示板の中、「政治日刊ベスト板」を分析対象として選定した。「政治日刊ベスト板」は、左派支持率の高い全羅道、左翼などが常に叩きネタとされているため、本研究ではこれを選定し分析を行った。

(2) 分析期間

2015年10月25日から11月14日の期間のスレッドを「過去ログ倉庫」から収集した。この期間は韓国のソウルで日韓中首脳会談が開催されており、日韓間での最大の懸案の一つである慰安婦問題をはじめとする領土問題や歴史問題などが取り上げられた。この週と重なってネット上で特定の対象(個人、団体)の話題で膨大な「書き込み」(レス)が殺到する、いわゆるネット上の「祭り」が起こった。これは日韓中首脳会談の談論が政治家やメディアだけではなく、ネット右翼層にも重要な懸案であることを如実に

示した。書き込み数のランキングによると、2010年1月から2016年6月までの期間で「東アジア news+板」のレス数が最も多かったのは、2015年11月1日から11月7日まで(平均値30,912件)であり、スレッド数(平均値68件)も他の週間より多いことが判明した¹。「東アジア news+板」における「祭り」現象は、キャップを持つ記者によるゲートキーピング(gatekeeping)が影響を及ぼすのではないかと考えられる。換言すると、キャップを持つ記者はアジェンダ・セッティングを担う者として、「2ちゃんねる」ユーザーの重要な争点の認識に影響を与えとも見受けられる。それでは、キャップを持つ記者のみスレッドが立てられる「東アジア news+板」と誰でもスレッドが立てられる「ハングル板」において表象された「ネタ」にはいかなる差を示すだろうか。また、誰でもスレッドが立てられる「ハングル板」においても日韓中首脳会談の談論が重要な争点として浮き彫りになるのだろうか。本研究ではこのような問に答えるために、「ハングル板」の分析時期を「東アジア news+板」で「祭り」現象が起こった週(2015年11月1日から11月7日)を基軸にして、その前週と翌週を含んだ2015年10月25日から11月14日の期間で設定した。次に、「ハングル板」では多様なトピックを扱っており、嫌韓的な言説を扱っているスレッドである、「余命三年時事日記」、「韓国経済動向」、「高木大姐研究」などを中心にデータを収集した。スポーツ、芸能等のスレッドを除外し、22個のスレと12,153個の書き込みを分析対象とした。

韓国側の資料としては、「イルベ」の掲示板における「政治日刊ベスト板」を分析対象とした。分析時期を設定するにあたって、前述した「2ちゃんねる」掲示板とは異なるアプローチを用いて分析を行った。「イルベ」掲示板は「2ちゃんねる」掲示板に比べ開設時期や歴史が短く、「イルベ」掲示板を対象として、特定の対象(個人、団体)の話題で膨大な「書き込み」(レス)がある週間のいつ頃最も殺到したかを示す、いわゆる週間「祭り」ランキング調査が現在までのところ、行われていない状況である。本研究では、ユーザーから推薦数が多いスレに着目し、分析を行った。推薦数は各板の右横に赤い色で表示されている。ユーザーから最も推薦を受けていたスレは、最上位に自動並べ替えが行われており、順位が更新されるたびに自動的に並べ替えられる。スレの右横に推薦数値が多ければ多いほど、ユーザーから「イルベロ」ボタンを最も多く押されたことを意味する。換言すると、「他のユーザーもそのスレについて共感している」とか、「いいね!」をするということの意味する。ここにおいて、ユーザーから推薦数が多いスレは、ユーザー間でどのようなネタが最も多く消費され、共感されているかを把握するだけでなく、ユーザーの思考体系が読み取れる有効な指標だと言える。そこで、「政治日刊ベスト板」でもより多くのユーザーに推薦数を受けた上位22個のスレと16,480個の書き込みを分析対象とした。

(3) 分析方法

本研究では研究方法としてテキストの計量分析を採用しており、そのため無料公開ソフト「KH Coder」を使用した。また、集まったデータに対して量的分析と質的分析の2つの方法を用い、量から質の順で分析するミックス法を採用した。量的分析と質的分析をミックスする手法とは、両者の利点を活かし、分析の妥当性と信頼性においても非常に有効であることが実証されている。質的研究とは、「現象の新たな側面を発見したり、実証的なデータに基づいて新たな理論を生み出したりすること」(フリック 2002:9)を目的とした研究方法である。本研究では、共起ネットワーク分析の結果から得られたデータだけではテキストデータの文脈を明らかにすることができないことから、このアプローチを採用した。

量的分析として用いたのは「共起ネットワーク」である。本研究における出現頻度が高い語と共起する確率が高い共起関係による結果は、最終的な結果ではなく、あくまでも質的分析に入る手がかりとして使用するという点を強調しておく。分析を進めるにあたって、半角文字のチェック、複合語のチェック、辞書未登録用語のチェックをし、「タグ」として登録した。強制抽出する語の指定では「タグ」という特殊な品詞名が与えられる。KH Coderは語を確認するための辞書を内部に持っているが、強制的に抽出した語として指定した、「慰安婦」「少女像」「南シナ海」「人工島」「安倍晋三首相」「朴槿恵大統領」のような用語は、そこに含まれていない場合がある。したがって、一度形態素に分けた結果を参照しながら、正しく抽出されていない用語を集めて、強制的に抽出すべき語として登録した。

次に、本研究における分析の妥当性(validity)と信頼性(reliability)を高めるために、本研究では質的分析として、「ハングル板」と「政治日刊ベスト板」における膨大な書き込みを分析した。これは、ユ

¹ <http://merge.geo.jp/history/count7r/?date=2015-11-01&mode=r>

が挙げられる。今回首脳会談で、安倍首相が少女像の撤去を要求し、「少女像」は「撤去」「大使館」「市民」「団体」という語句とつながっていることから、ソウルの日本大使館前に設置されている、いわゆる従軍慰安婦問題を連想させる少女像(少女のブロンズ像)をめぐる問題が、この時期議論されていたことがわかる。少女像をめぐる問題は首脳会談が終了した後でも取り上げられているため、独立したクラスターを形成していたと考えられる。第二に、「南シナ海」「李首相」「日中」「外相」などが特徴的な語句として表れていた。最近アジア太平洋地域の安全保障問題として浮上した「南シナ海」問題は、今回の首脳会談においても最大の懸案の一つでもあった。これを受け、「ハングル板」においては、南シナ海に対する中国の領有権主張や人工島の建設をめぐる問題が取り上げられていた。第三に、「昼食」という語句が目立っており、共起ネットワークの分析から表れた特徴語をもとに、関連書き込みを確認してみた。韓国側は日本政府が求めた会談後の昼食会開催を拒否した事と関連して、ネットユーザーから興奮の声が漏れていたことがわかる。

日韓首脳の昼食会が見送られたことについて、次のような書き込みを寄せた。

- ・今朝の朝日によると今回の会談は韓国に振り回された上に、日本から希望した昼食も拒否されたことになってるそう。日本を翻弄するだなんて、朴大統領は凄い外交巧者だったんだね。
- ・中国の李首相よりも冷ややかな待遇で迎えそうだ。
- ・予想するに今回の冷遇っぷりは、日本外交の歴史に残る1ページとなるでしょうね。

(「2ちゃんねるのハングル板」)

首脳会談後の昼食会を行わないとしたことについて、ネットユーザーは大きく反応しており、特に安倍首相が中国の李首相に比べて冷遇されているという論点が読み取れる。

グループ2は「在日朝鮮人」に関するネタである。「在日朝鮮人」という語句を中心として、「特別永住」「人種」「差別」「国籍」「制度」「犯罪」「不法」「難民」など多くの語句とのネットワークを有している。ここで、注目したいことは、「特別永住者」という語句を使い、「在日朝鮮人」のイメージが表象されていたという点である。在特会が在日朝鮮人に対してヘイトスピーチをする際、しばしば俎上に載せられる議論に、特別永住者制度の議論がある。「2ちゃんねる」掲示板においても「特別永住」という語句が特徴語であることを考慮すると、「特別永住」という物語はヘイトスピーチを煽る物語として根深く位置づけられていたということが読み取れる。同様に、在日朝鮮人を卑下する際、よく使われる「チョン³」という語句が「バカ」と共起ネットワークが見られた。

グループ3は「ユネスコ」に関するネタである。「ユネスコ」「遺産」「世界」などの語句が目立っていた。関連特徴語を参照しながら書き込みを確認してみた。ユネスコ(国連教育科学文化機関)による「明治日本の産業革命遺産」を世界文化遺産に登録する過程で韓国や中国から反発を受けて以来、「2ちゃんねる」ユーザーから袋叩きになっていた。朝鮮人強制労働問題をめぐる日韓間の確執が浮き彫りになった時点は2015年7月であったにもかかわらず、ネチズンの怨嗟の声は収まらず、嫌韓ムードが一層広がったということが読み取れる。

グループ4は「経済」に関するネタである。「金融」「スワップ」「危機」「通貨」という一連の語句がつながっている。関連特徴語を参照しながら書き込みを確認したところ、この時期に全国経済人連合会(以下、全経連)と日本経団連が日韓通貨スワップの再開問題を含めた両国の経済協力案を議論したことがわかる。全経連が日本側に求めた「日本通貨スワップ再開」に対し、2ちゃんねるの「ハングル板」では、次のような書き込みが相次いでいた。

- ・今さら虫がよすぎるのではないかな？
- ・断固拒否すべきだ。
- ・韓国が慰安婦問題や竹島・独島問題などで対日強硬姿勢を続けているのに、困ったときだけ日本に泣きついてくる姿勢に正直、あきれかえった。

(「2ちゃんねるのハングル板」)

³ 「チョン」という言葉は、在日韓国・朝鮮人に対する蔑称である。「チョン」は「チョンコ」「チョン公」などと同一視されて使用されている。

グループ5は「世代」は「障害」という語句と共通するグループを形成していた。関連特徴語を参照しながら書き込みを見ていく。首脳会談が開かれた時期に日本の安倍首相と鳩山元首相が相次いで訪韓した。民主党の鳩山元首相は、韓国・ソウル大学で「日韓国交正常化50周年に日韓関係を再び見つめ直す」というテーマで特別講演を行った。講演会での鳩山元首相の発言が2ちゃんねるの「ハングル板」で話題を呼んでいた。2015年11月5日の講演会で鳩山元首相は安倍首相が8月に発表した戦後70年談話にも触れ、「安倍首相は反省と謝罪について繰り返し言及しながらも、自ら反省と謝罪の気持ちを伝えていない」と批判する一方、「敗戦国は、戦争の被害に対し事実上『無限責任』を負う」とした内田樹氏の言葉を引用し、「安倍政権は慰安婦問題などについて、この言葉を心に留め、応じることができる方法を講じなければならない」と力説した。鳩山元首相の発言と関連し、2ちゃんねるの「ハングル板」では首脳会談の当時安倍首相の発言を引用しながら、鳩山元首相に対する強い不信感を抱いたレスで溢れかえった。今回の首脳会談の際、安倍首相は慰安婦の問題について、「未来志向の日韓関係を構築する上で、将来世代に障害を残すことがあってはならない」と表明した。二人の首相の発言について、「相次ぎ訪韓した安倍首相と鳩山元首相—将来に禍根残すのはどっちだ?」とコメントをつけた。また、別のユーザーは次のようにコメントを寄せた。

リップサービスのようにも聞こえるが、本人は心から反省の意を込めて語っているのだろう。韓国の聴衆は安倍首相の主張を塗り替え、修正するような言葉に「やはりそうか。安倍は間違っているのだ」と安心、納得したような表情を見せていた。鳩山氏が韓国で何を話そうか、それは基本的に鳩山氏の自由だ。しかし、韓国側が主張する歴史認識に一方的に同調する鳩山氏の発言は、日本に反省を求め続ける韓国世論を勇気づけ、火に油を注いでいるかのように映る。安倍首相が言ったとおり、「将来世代の障害にならないように」しなければならない。現首相と元首相がソウルで発した言葉。どちらが将来の世代に禍根を残すことになるのだろうか。

(「2ちゃんねるのハングル板」)

現在の日韓関係をめぐって鳩山元首相の一連の発言が2ちゃんねるの「ハングル板」で批判的に議論されていることが読み取れる。また、「民主党」と「政権」が独立したクラスタを形成している。「ハングル板」では「民主党」の出現頻度が他の政党より相対的に高く表れていた。2ちゃんねるの「ハングル板」において民主党がどのように表象化されているのかについては後述する。

これまでの分析結果を通じて2ちゃんねる掲示板の「ハングル板」における顕著なネタを整理すると以下の通りである。まず、当時最も重要な社会的アジェンダの中の一つであった首脳会談に関するネタが大きな比重を占めていた。次に、「在日朝鮮人」と「特別永住者」という語句が互いに近くに配置されていることから、「在日朝鮮人＝特別永住者」というイメージとして位置づけられてきたことが読み取れる。また、「在日朝鮮人」と「特別永住者」という語句を中心として「差別」「犯罪」「不法」「難民」など多くの語句と関わっていることから、「在日朝鮮人＝犯罪者あるいは不法難民者」というイメージが「2ちゃんねる」掲示板の「ハングル板」で広がってきたということがわかる。

(2) 「ハングル板」において他者化されている対象

1) 在日朝鮮人・朝鮮人

以上の分析結果から特徴的な点を挙げると、在日朝鮮人のイメージは「特別永住者」というイメージに、「犯罪」「不法」「難民」といった否定的イメージが混在している様相を示していると言える。本研究では、在日朝鮮人と朝鮮人という物語が「ハングル板」でどのような形で構成され、再生産されているかをより明確に把握するため、KH Coderの「関連語検索」機能を用いた。図2⁴は「在日朝鮮人」と「朝鮮人」に対する共起ネットワークを示したものである。

第一に、「在日朝鮮人」という語句を中心として、「日本人」「強制」「犯罪」「反日」「バカ」「チョン」「差別」「歴史」「政治」など多くの語句とのネットワークを有している。次に、「特別永住」という語句は「権利」「制度」「難民」「テロ」という一連の語句がつながっていた。共起ネットワークの関連語結果から得られた特徴語をもとに、関連書き込みを確認してみた。

⁴ Jaccard 係数 0.1 以上のリンクを共起関係として分析した。

2007年11月20日、日本に入国する外国人に指紋採取と顔写真の撮影に応じることを義務付ける改正出入国管理・難民認定法が施行されたが、在日韓国・朝鮮人ら特別永住者は対象外である。いかなる理由があってもこのように、在日韓国人だけを特別優遇するのか。韓国では殺人やレイプや窃盗などが非常に多いため、満17歳以上の全国民は住民登録する際、両手のすべての指の10指紋を登録することが義務付けられている。しかし、在日韓国人は韓国籍であるにもかかわらず、韓国に10指紋の登録をしていない。また、在日は外国人であるにもかかわらず日本は指紋を登録しないことを容認している。国際環境がテロゲリラとの闘いに協調する中、犯罪の温床ともいべき指紋押捺制度の特例は犯罪テロ国家と名指しされかねない悪法である。即刻、特例廃止を要望する。

(「2ちゃんねるのハングル板」)

上述した書き込みから、「特別永住者」という言説の根底には、この用語と緊密に照応する一連の暗黙の表現が含まれている。すなわち、他の外国人には与えられない「特別優遇」あるいは「特権」という資格のため、むしろ日本人が逆差別を受けているということである。また、在日朝鮮人のイメージの中で「犯罪を犯しやすい」というイメージが根強く混在していることがわかる。

第二に、「民主党」「自民党」など政党に関する語句が目立っていた。まず、「民主党」という語句は「法案」「国益」「要因」など一連の語句とつながっていることがわかる。共起ネットワークの関連語結果から得られた手がかりをもとに、関連書き込みを確認してみた。「民主党」が2ちゃんねるの「ハングル板」に袋叩きになっており、これは、民主党が在日朝鮮人と結託し、在日朝鮮人に国民の税金を流す政策、すなわち、生活保護受給・不正受給、外国人参政権など、在日朝鮮人に融和的な政策を進めたためである。また、大半のユーザーは「生活保護制度＝在日朝鮮人を対象に与えられた特権」「生活保護制度＝在日朝鮮人優待政策」とみなしていた。その背景では、生活の困窮した自国民が多いはずなのに、在日という理由だけで国民年金が無条件に免除されることは「無賃乗車」または、「税金泥棒」という認識が根強く存在していたからである。その他、民主党政権の経済政策に対して失望し、懐疑する書き込みが散見されたことも特徴として挙げられる。ある物は、次のような書き込みを寄せた。

円安による物価高で庶民の生活は苦しいってよく聞くが、民主政権時代の超円高の時は生活楽だったのか？株価は間違いなく上がったし、企業の収益力も上がった。民主党政権では就職氷河期だった上、公務員の採用2割削減するとし、学生の就職機会を奪うと批判された。若者から職を奪ったのが民主党政権。そもそも、ミンスは、韓国と支那の経済政策の忠実な実行者で日本の政党じゃないからね。

(「2ちゃんねるのハングル板」)

上の書き込みから、安倍政権下における経済政策「アベノミクス」と比較しながら、民主党政権時代の経済政策を評価していた。民主党政権時代の円高政策により、日本経済の低迷や就職難がより一層激化したという論点を読み取れる。次に、「自民党」という語句が目立っていた。「自民党」という語句を中心とし、「政策」「リスト」「事件」「参政権」などの語句が破線で結ばれていることがわかる。語句間の関係をもっと明確に把握するため、出現パターンの似通った語句、すなわち共起の程度が強い語句を線で結んだネットワークを参照してみた。「自民党」という語句を中心とし、「参政権」「事件」「政策」「反日」「リスト」という一連の語句がつながっていることが分かる。共起ネットワークの分析結果から表れた特徴後を下に、関連書き込みを確認してみた。自民党を擁護し続けた「2ちゃんねる」掲示板では自民党や安倍首相を支持する書き込みもあるが、批判の声も散見された。これは、慰安婦妥結をはじめ、韓国に対する安倍政権と自民党の対応が「予想外に」融和的であったため、自民党批判に対するレスも集まり始めたと解釈できる。

第三に、「左派」という語句は「NHK」「特権」という語句間に共起関係が見られた。共起ネットワークの関連語結果から得られた特徴語を参照しながら、関連書き込みを確認してみた。

現状のNHKの有り様は日本の政治経済軍事すべてにおいて、日本という国の立場が全く見えてこない。特に政治における論説、解説は異様というレベルである。すでに特権的企業に成り下がり、公共放送という偽看板を掲げた営利企業になっている実態では、NHKに受信料支払強制の大義名分は

ユーザーが好んで使っている「ガンギエイ」は隠語の一種として通用されている。すなわち、ガンギエイは特有の臭いのきつさと製法から、全羅道の人々を蔑む際によく使用されている。また、「イルベ」掲示板において「民主化」という語句は本来と異なる意味で使用されていた点に注目する必要がある。ここで、「民主化」とは、「反対」「NO」「押さえ込む」という意味で使われている。民主化という言葉をあらゆる否定的意味に転用して使うというルールが「イルベ」ユーザーの間で定着してきたためだ。これは、民主化を業績とみなす左派と民主化勢力に対する反感と解釈できる。「イルベ」掲示板においては「金大中」＝「民主化」というレッテルを貼って金大中元大統領を他者化することがうかがい知ることができる。もう一つのレッテルは、「金大中」＝「イイダコ」である。「イイダコ」は足を引きずって歩く金大中元大統領の姿を嘲弄する際、よく使用されていた。

第四に、「朴元淳」という語句がネットワークの中心になっている。「伝統市場」「大型スーパー」「規制」「息子」「告発」など多くの語句とつながっていた。朴元淳は現在、韓国ソウル市長として「共に民主党」に所属している。伝統市場活性化のために大型スーパーを規制すべきだというトピックがある一方、朴元淳ソウル市長の息子、パク・ジュシン氏の兵役忌避疑惑に対するトピックもあった。

第五に、「記念館」と「業績」という語句が見られ、これは「朴正熙」元大統領の軌跡と功績を称えるために建立された記念館に関するトピックが言及されたことがわかる。また、「4大河川」と「再生事業」という語句も見られ、抽出語上位100語において「4大河川」という語句は196件として集計された。それらを考慮すると、李明博元大統領が始めた4大河川(漢江・洛東江・錦江・榮山江)再生事業に関するトピックに関心が高まっていたことがうかがえる。

グループ2は「地域感情」に関するネタを形成している。「全羅道」と「ガンギエイ」の語句が非常に強く配置されていることが分かる。また、「ガンギエイ」と「民主化」語句間には強く関連し合うことが目立っていた。上述した通り、「民主化」という語句は本来の意味とは異なり、否定的な意味が含蓄されていることを考慮すると、「全羅道」＝「ガンギエイ」＝「民主化」という構図が形成されていることがわかる。

グループ3は「反北朝鮮」に関するネタを形成している。「全元策」という語句がネットワークの中心になっていて、「金日成」「金正日」「金正恩」「放送」「自由」「パルゲンイ」「従北」「勢力」「雲芝」など多くの語句とつながっていた。これは、2012年5月26日KBSの「深夜討論」という番組で全元策弁護士が出演し、「金正日は畜生である」と発言したのがマスコミだけでなく「イルベ」ユーザーの間でも話題になっていたことがうかがい知れる。まず、用語の一部整理した上で検討していく。「パルゲンイ」という語句が見られ、韓国では親北朝鮮系や左翼的な考え方を持つ人々に対して「パルゲンイ(アカ)」と呼んでいる。また、「従北」とは、「親北」との語句と同様な意味であり、北朝鮮の思想や政治理念などに従うことを言う。次に、「雲芝」とは、盧武鉉元大統領の逝去を皮肉る言葉であり、2009年、自宅裏山の「フクロウ岩」からの飛び降り自殺を雲芝泉(ウンジジョン)という名前の栄養ドリンクCMでパロディされたことから始まっていた。「イルベ」掲示板における「雲芝」という語句は「死ぬ」という意味で主に使用されている。「イルベ」掲示板においては北朝鮮に親しい、擁護する人や団体を「従北」または「パルゲンイ」というレッテルを貼っており、彼らを「雲芝」ということになぞらえて表現したことがわかる。

グループ4は「独裁政権時代へのノスタルジア(郷愁)」に関するネタを形成している。「朴正熙」という語句は「経済」や「独裁」という語句と破線で結ぶことが分かる。実際、朴正熙元大統領に対する評価においても、「漢江の奇跡」と呼ばれる超高速経済成長と同時に軍事独裁政権による人権弾圧や自由抑圧という二つの評価で克明に分かれる。共起ネットワークの分析結果においてもこうした傾向が現れているため、グループ4においてはこの二つの語句が特徴語であると言える。

第一に、「経済成長の神話」に関する共起ネットワークである。「経済」という語句を中心として、「中小企業」「大企業」「輸出」「産業」「発展」「開発」「成長」などの語句のつながりがあることがわかる。共起ネットワークの分析から表れた特徴語について関連書き込みを参照しながら確認してみた。当時、朴正熙元大統領は周囲の強烈な反対にもかかわらず、「経済発展5カ年計画」や「京釜高速道路」など経済成長を推し進めたという書き込みが多数を占めた。また、朴泰俊会長の建設に関するトピックも目立っていた。当時、朴正熙政権の最重点政策は重化学工業であり、中でも浦項製鉄建設(現在、ポスコ)は朴正熙元大統領が国運を掛けて推進してきた重化学工業のシンボルであると言える。朴泰俊氏は浦項製鉄建設の創立者であり、朴正熙元大統領の経済神話の功績及び業績と関連して取り上げたと考えられる。

第二に、「独裁」に関する共起ネットワークである。「独裁」は「独裁者」「時代」「英雄」「革命」「クーデター」「民主主義」「共産主義」といった語句と結びれていることがわかる。関連書き込みを確認してみた結果、朴正熙元大統領を貧困と混乱の中の英雄として表象していた。グループ4においては、朴正熙元大統領の神格化を強調する傾向が読み取れる。共起ネットワーク分析の結果をもとに考えてみると、朴正熙元大統領へのノスタルジアの背景には経済成長に関する神話が大きな影響を及ぼしていることが示唆された。

グループ5は、「産業化」と「世代」が独立したクラスタを形成している。「イルベ」掲示板において「産業化」という用語も上述した「民主化」という語句と同様に、本来と異なる意味で使用されていた。ここで、産業化は朴正熙元大統領が成し遂げた経済業績として、彼らが志向すべき価値ということから、産業化という言葉は「成功」「賛成」など肯定的なニュアンスで使われる。また、リベラル傾向の意見などをネットで論破して保守傾向に転向させたという意味でも通用されていた。書き込みを確認したところ、ここでは後者の意味で使用されていることが分かる。

(4) 「政治日刊ベスト板」において他者化されている対象

1) 金大中大統領

「イルベ」掲示板において表れたネタを通じて他者化されている対象が左派勢力や全羅道、北朝鮮だということが確認できた。特に、「イルベ」掲示板において「朴正熙・李明博元大統領」と「金大中・盧武鉉元大統領」という二項対立が最も顕著に表れていることが分かる。以下では、金大中・盧武鉉元大統領のイメージはどのような形で構成され、再生産されていたかを究明するため連語検索を行った。「金大中」元大統領と関連語との共起ネットワークでは、図4⁶のような結果となった。

第一に、「左派大統領」というネタである。「金大中」元大統領と関連語との共起ネットワークから、「左派」「大統領」「盧武鉉」などが目立っていた。周知のとおり、1998年、金大中政権が登場して韓国に左派リベラル政権が初めて誕生した。金大中政権を引き継いだ盧武鉉政権もリベラル的な政権と言われている。そこで、「左派」といった語句が特徴語なものとして位置されたことがわかる。

第二に、金大中元大統領を嘲弄・揶揄する際、使われているネタである。「イイダコ」「杖」「足」「自由自在」「スイッチ・ヒッター」といった語句が目立っていた。この五つの特徴語は金大中元大統領が普段足を引きずって歩く姿を嘲弄するものである。スイッチ・ヒッターとは、野球やソフトボール等において、左右両方の打席で打てる選手のことである。「イルベ」掲示板における「スイッチ・ヒッター」とは、杖を左側についたり、右側についたりする金大中元大統領を皮肉る意味である。「銅像」「コンベンション・センター」「業績」といった語句が目だっていた。「スイッチ・ヒッター」「足」という修飾語が付け加えられることから、金大中元大統領の業績を称えるために建てられたコンベンション・センターについて皮肉のニュアンスが込められていたことがうかがえる。

第三に、「経済政策」に関するネタである。「IMF」という語句を中心として、「病身」「仕業」「金泳三」「経済危機」「リーマン・ショック」という語句に共起関係が見られた。1997年7月よりタイで始まったアジア金融危機の拡大は、韓国にまで危機が飛び火し、同年12月ではIMFの緊急資金救済を受けるに至った。IMFと共に出帆した金大中政権は金泳三政権に代わってIMF事態の収拾に精力を傾けた。共起ネットワークの分析結果から、アジア通貨危機をもたらした既成政治家に対する強い失望を抱いていたことや、1997年のIMF事態から「失われた十年」、そして2008年のリーマン・ショックによって「失われた二十年」を経験しており、経済破綻の背景をめぐる議論が取り上げられていたことがわかる。次に、「庶民」「経済」「政治」「自殺」「扇動」という語句も目立っていた。共起ネットワークの結果から、既成政治家への不満と怒りの根底には国民の体感景気が影響を及ぼしていると解釈できる。この時期はアジア通貨危機の直撃を受け、企業の倒産やリストラが相次ぎ、失業者が増加しており、さらにセーフティネットもほとんど整備されていなかった。当時金大中政権はIMFが要求した高金利・緊縮政策、公企業の民営化と規制緩和、労働市場柔軟化、資本・貿易の自由化などに伴い、新自由主義的な構造調整政策を行った。それに続いて盧武鉉政権においては新自由主義的な経済政策をより一層強化された。「イルベ」掲示板では新自由主義路線を標榜した金大中・盧武鉉政権時代は「失われた10年」と言われている。あるユーザーは「金泳三の時代にIMFが起きて、金大中・盧武鉉の時代には経済成長率底入れ」と書きこんでおり、他にも、左派政権10年が韓国経済を滅ぼしたという書き込みが多数見受けられた。

⁶ 図4のJaccard係数は0.1以上であった。

第四に、「対北政策」に関するネタである。「北朝鮮」「米」「税金」「核兵器」「平和賞」「受賞」「先生」「検証」「侮辱」という語句間には強い共起関係が見られた。特に、「金大中」元大統領と関連語との共起ネットワークにおいて「北朝鮮」が最も濃いピンク色となったことから、この語句がここでの特徴語だと言えるだろう。韓国社会の中で保守とリベラルの差異を最もよく表す指標が対北政策であり、「イルベ」掲示板においてもこうした争点を強調する傾向が読み取れる。特に、金大中政権が発足し、対北朝鮮融和政策（いわゆる「太陽政策」「包容政策」と呼ばれる対北政策が実施され、その政策は盧武鉉政権に継承された。「イルベ」掲示板においては過去金大中、盧武鉉両政権が続けてきた対北朝鮮融和政策を全面否定している様相を呈していることが分かる。次に、共起ネットワークの関連語結果から得られた特徴語をもとに、関連書き込みを参照しながら検討してみた。

- ・失われた10年間で経済力をはじめ何も解決できていないのに、北朝鮮を崇め奉っている。
- ・金泳三のせいで国家がめっちゃくちゃにされて、IMFに介入される羽目になって、さらに金大中が米の支援をした結果北朝鮮は核を作った。
- ・国民の税金を不法に北朝鮮に不法に供給し、その対価としてノーベル平和賞をもらって、恥かしくないのか？

（「イルベの政治日刊ベスト板、筆者による日本語訳」）

こうした書き込みから、国内経済の悪化や北朝鮮政策に対する非難の感情が読み取れるだろう。近年韓国内では北朝鮮による核実験と弾道ミサイル開発をはじめ、2010年3月に発生した天安艦爆沈事件と同年11月の延坪島砲撃事件などで、対北政策をめぐる保守とリベラル間の理念対立が一層先鋭化している。このような、文脈から考えれば、北朝鮮に関する議論は韓国社会内の理念的な選択を強要する定番ネタと見受けられており、これは分断国家という韓国的な特殊性に起因するところが大きいと考えられる。

第五に、「5.18光州民主化運動」に関するネタである。「5.18」という語句を中心として「従北」「政権」「武装」「反乱」「勢力」「民主主義」という語句に強い共起関係が確認された。共起ネットワークの分析結果から「イルベ」ユーザーは「5.18光州民主化運動」を「民主化運動」ではなく「武装勢力による反乱・暴動」とみなしていることが分かる。そして「イルベ」ユーザーの視線での「5.18光州民主化運動」は「暴動」あるいは、5.18光州民主化運動の犠牲者に対して「ガンギエイ」というフレーム(frame)が形成されていることがうかがえる。こうしたフレームがユーザーの頭の中に形成される基底には、「地域主義」または「地域感情」といったもう一つのフレームが潜んでいると解釈しうる。このことから、韓国政治を語るにあたって地域主義現象と保守対リベラルという先鋭な対立構図は極めて大変重要な要因であるといえるだろう。韓国では伝統的にリベラル派が強い全羅道と保守派の牙城、慶尚道の対立が続いている。「イルベ」掲示板では左派支持率が高く、民主化を求める全羅道や光州市民を嫌悪する傾向が顕著である。それゆえ、全羅道出身の金大中元大統領は攻撃の対象となり、「5.18光州民主化運動」の犠牲者を侮辱する言説が絶えず出回っていると言える。もう一つ注目したい点は、「イルベ」掲示板ではイルベ会員であることを判別する思想検証を行うという点である、その大半の質問は金大中・盧武鉉など歴代民主化政権を否定し、光州民主化運動を貶める内容ということだ。左派の色を帯びたと疑われるユーザーに対しては魔女狩りのような行為が横行している。

第六に、「朴正熙元大統領と京釜高速道路」に関するネタである。「朴正熙」「京釜高速道路」「反対」「地域感情」「全羅道」などの語句に共起関係がみられた。書き込みを確認した結果、当時、朴正熙元大統領の京釜高速道路の建設について金大中が反対していたことが関連しており、具体的に金大中が反対の理由としては高速道路の建設より農業政策に力を入れるのがより効率的であり、地域不均衡発展をもたらすというものであった。このことに関連して朴正熙元大統領の高速道路の政策に反対した金大中元大統領を嘲弄する内容が多数見受けられた。

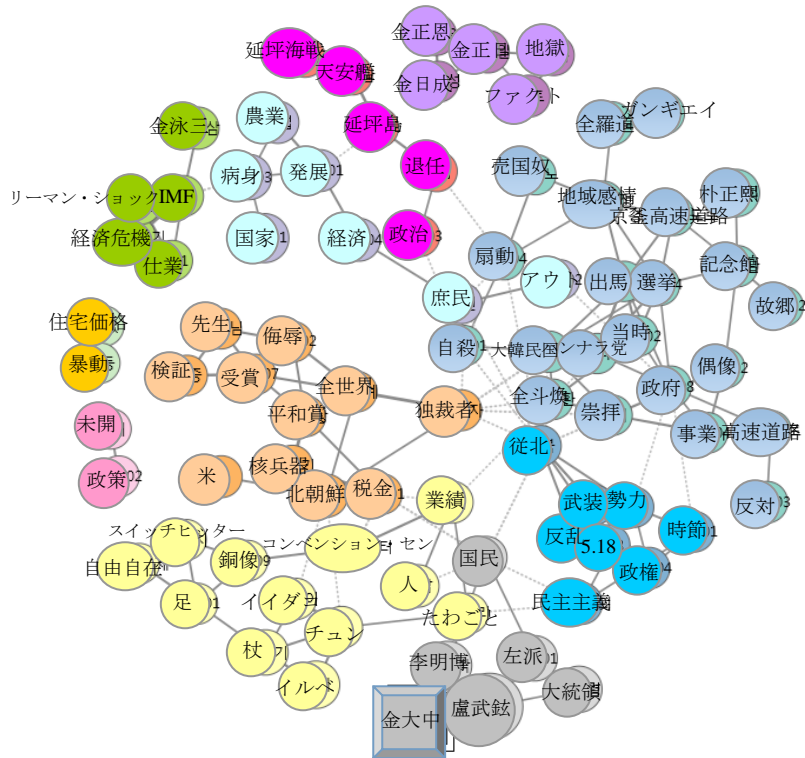


図4 「金大中」元大統領に対する政治日刊ベスト板の共起ネットワーク

2) 盧武鉉大統領

第一に、「全羅道＝民主党＝未開」に関するネタがあげられるだろう。「盧武鉉」元大統領と関連語との共起ネットワークでは、図5⁷のような結果となった。「盧武鉉」という語句は「李明博」「金大中」「朴正熙」「朴槿恵」「大統領」「左派」「全羅道」「民主化」「未開」「民主党」などの多くの語句とのネットワークを有している。語句間の関係をより明確に把握するため、ここでは出現パターンの似通った語句、すなわち共起の程度が強い語句を線で結んだネットワークで表した。「未開」という語句を中心として、「全羅道」「民主党」「政策」などがつながっていることから、「全羅道＝共に民主党(旧・民主党)」という極めて明確な「地域政党」の構図が形成されただけでなく、これらの集団が嫌悪の対象となっていたことが分かる。また、「全羅道」という語句は「光州」「暴動」「延坪海戦」という語句とつながっていた。共起ネットワークの分析から表れた特徴語をもとに、関連書き込みを確認してみた。「盧武鉉や金大中は延坪海戦⁸の追慕式は出席しないで、暴動記念日には参加した」という書き込みが多数あった。ユーザー間では「5.18 光州民主化運動」を暴動記念日として扱われていることをうかがい知ることができ、これは、イルベの大半のユーザーが1980年に軍事独裁政権に反対した「5.18 光州民主化運動」を否定的に評価しているためである。他のユーザーは「6.25に参戦した勇士らの恩恵は雀の涙程度なのに5.18 暴動に参加した奴らの恩恵はいっぱいある。まったく湖南(全羅南北道の呼称)出身の奴らは即刻入れ替えるべきだ」と述べている。「イルベ」掲示板の書き込みを考察すると、韓国に起きた一連の事件などを二項対立的に組み込む構図が一般化されていたことがわかる。「5.18 光州民主化運動」をはじめ、2014年の「セウォル号事件」などを貶めようとする動きが露骨に現れた。その反面、1950年の「6.25 戦争(朝鮮戦争)」や2010年の「天安艦爆沈事件」と「延坪島砲撃事件」など北朝鮮に対抗する戦いのネタは頻繁に取り上げられ、その重要性を伺うことができる。

第二に、「経済政策」に関するネタである。「経済」という語句は「不動産」「地価」「物価」「上昇率」「公企業負債」「弾劾」「話」という語句と共起関係がみられたため特徴語を通じて、関連書き込みを確認してみた。盧武鉉政権の不動産政策は全国のいたるところで不動産ブームを起し、土地や住宅価格を高騰させ、中間層や庶民をさらに苦しめているという内容であった。次の書き込みは盧武鉉政権にお

⁷Jaccard係数0.1以上のリンクを共起関係として分析した。

⁸延坪海戦は2002年6月29日に黄海延坪島付近で発生した北朝鮮と韓国の艦艇による銃撃戦のことである。

ける経済政策の最大の失敗が、新自由主義政策の採用であったという論点が観察される。

盧武鉉は新自由主義政策を実施した。代表的な例が医療保険の民営化、水道の民営化、ガスの民営化、鉄道民営化、韓米FTA、米収入、牛肉の輸入、住宅価格上昇、大学の授業料2倍値上げ、物価の2倍値上げなどだ。退任後には、庶民のコスプレをしたが、任期中には中産層を庶民にして庶民は貧民にしたのが盧武鉉だ。国をダメにするし、経済破綻するし、政治は混乱し、任期末の支持率は5.7%台まで落ちた。退任後、賄賂を受け取ったことや、不正疑惑がかかって、貰ったピアジェの時計を田んぼに捨て、ミミズク岩から飛び降りた盧武鉉や盧武鉉の分身の文在寅。

(「イルベの政治日刊ベスト板、筆者による日本語訳」)

上述した書き込みから、盧武鉉政権になってから韓国の経済はますます冷え込んでいき、中流層や庶民の暮らしが一層疲弊したという論点をうかがうことができる。また、盧武鉉の支持率が低下した背景には、格差拡大と経済の不満があるという論点も読み取れる。

第三に、「退任後の贈賄事件と自殺」に関するネタである。「任期末」という語句を中心として、「退任」「賄賂」「支持率」「不正」など多くの語句と共起ネットワークを有している。また、「任期末」という語句は「ピアジェ」(スイスの高級時計)「田んぼ」「名品」「自転車」「市民」「非難」といった語句と近くに布置されている。自転車というものは庶民のイメージを指す指標的(indexical)記号であり、同時に、盧武鉉元大統領のイメージを表象する記号であると解釈できる。2002年大統領選で盧武鉉元大統領は「正直」「クリーン」「庶民的」といったイメージで当時旋風を巻き起こした。退任後にも孫を自転車に乗せて田舎の村でサイクリングを楽しんでいる姿がよく映された。しかし、退任後に朴淵次泰光実業会長から不正資金を受け取ったことが明らかになり、盧元大統領の政治的資産であった道徳性も崩れ去った。これを受け、盧元大統領を非難する書き込みが相次いでいたと解釈できる。また、「ゴミ」と「評価」という語句が独立したクラスタを形成し、これは盧元大統領の評価が最悪という表現を「ゴミ」に当て付けて使用していた。

次に、「支持率」という語句は「感性売り」(同情票)「自殺」といった語句とつながりを有している。2009年、盧武鉉元大統領の死去は、韓国社会に大きな衝撃を与えた。当時盧元大統領の死去について李明博政権と検察の厳しい捜査が原因であったという世論が一般的であった。「イルベ」掲示板では盧元大統領の死去は同情票を狙っていると受け取られ、「不正」という語句は「地獄」「三人兄弟」といった語句とつながりを有しているから、金大中・盧武鉉・金正日に三人兄弟としてレッテルを貼り激しい嫌悪感を抱いているということがわかる。

第四に、「弁護士」に関するネタである。北朝鮮の政治行為者をはじめ、従北、国家、民主主義などの語句が目立っている。盧武鉉政権においても金大中政権の対北朝鮮政策を継承し、これと関連した議論がとりあげられていたことが分かる。次に、「事件」と「弁護士」という語句間には独立したクラスタを形成している。「弁護士」は盧武鉉元大統領の青年弁護士時代の逸話をモチーフにした映画であり、これと関連したトピックが持ち上がっていたことがうかがえる。

他に注目すべき点として「保守」「NO答」(どうしようもない)という語句が表れていたことで、保守勢力が集うネット掲示板「イルベ」でこうした共起関係が現出されたのは興味深い。語句間の関係をもっと明確に把握するため、共起の程度が強い語句を線で結んだネットワークを対照してみた。「保守」「NO答」(どうしようもない)「北朝鮮」「その時」「心」「仕業」など多くの語句とのネットワークを形成していることがわかる。関連特徴語を参照しながら、書き込みを確認してみた。朴槿恵大統領と「朴サモ(朴槿恵を愛する会)」に対する批判の声が読み取れる。これまで朴大統領を擁護してきた様相とは対照的であると言える。以下では関連書き込みの一部の抜粋したものである。

- ・あまりにもガンギエイたちに振り回されすぎていて、カリスマと決断力も足りないんだよな。さらに親中政策もよくなかった。共に民主党の左派奴と同じ親中政策なんて呆れちまうよ。
- ・左派の顔色を執拗にうかがってやがる。
- ・父親の顔に泥を塗った。
- ・人事の問題で最近のはがっかりさせられてばかりだ。
- ・決断力も見えなく、とんでもない福祉政策ばかり、もう「NO答」(どうしようもない)。李明博みたいに押し通すんだ。正直に李明博時代が懐かしいな。

チ現象は、歴史修正主義の台頭や東アジアの情勢が複雑に絡み合っている。「ハングル板」における主なネタは、首脳会談後の昼食会をめぐる韓国側の態度、日本の世界文化遺産問題をめぐる日韓の歴史認識の対立、南シナ海や竹島・獨島の領有権をめぐる紛争などで明らかになった。このような近隣諸国との歴史的関係をめぐる問題はナショナリズムを煽るようなネタとなっており、それに在日特権というレッテルを貼り、インターネット上で朝鮮人・在日朝鮮人を他者化している形で表出されていた。その意味で「2ちゃんねる」掲示板のヘイトスピーチの現象は、日本国内の労働市場問題ではなく、近隣国との歴史的な観点から把握した樋口(2014)が指摘した通り、「日本型排外主義」に立脚し、生み出したものであると言える。換言すると、日本国内のヘイトスピーチの現象は、自分たちの仕事を外国人に奪われている、といった趣旨で特定の民族や国籍に対して公然と誹謗中傷する欧州のそれとは異なる特殊なものであると見受けられる。

もう一つは、日本におけるヘイトスピーチ現象は既存の大手メディアへの反作用として誕生した。「ハングル板」におけるヘイトスピーチの標的は在日朝鮮人だけではなくて、日本国内の左派勢力や既存メディアも定番となる標的であることが明らかになった。中でも本研究で特に注目すべき点は、反マスメディアの空気が「ハングル板」を中心に広範に形成されてきたということである。本研究の結果から、長年韓国について日韓友好ムードを壊してはいけないという雰囲気大手メディアにあり、在日朝鮮人の犯罪報道に手心を加えたり、在日の犯罪者報道で通名のみを報じたりすることに対する不信感が根底にあるということが示唆された。その上、「メディア」という語句は「左派」「特権」という語句との共起ネットワークを形成していたことから、「2ちゃんねる」掲示板のユーザーは「メディア」を「左派」「特権」と結びつけて認識していることも読み取れた。

次に「イルベ」掲示板で蔓延しているヘイトスピーチ現象は、単なる感情の発露というよりも、長年にわたって続いてきた分断体制と地域主義という共通の土台の上に、2000年代以降一層強化したグローバルと新自由主義という時代的・社会的文脈が混在して生まれたものと言える。まず、分断体制と地域主義という土台から形成された「リベラル」と「保守」という二項対立的な構図は、韓国社会でのみ通用されることができるとの特殊性が反映されている。例えば、慶尚道＝セヌリ党(保守)、全羅道＝共に民主党(リベラル)という極めて明確な「地域政党構造」、親北＝リベラル、対北強硬＝保守という「対北政策観」、分配・福祉優先＝リベラル、自由・成長優先＝保守という「経済政策観」がある。こうした明確な理念間の対立軸が形成された上で、1997年のアジア通貨危機と2008年のアメリカ発の金融危機以降の韓国社会の構造的変化が起爆剤となって、今の「イルベ」掲示板が誕生したと考えられる。その意味で、「イルベ」掲示板で表出されているヘイトスピーチ現象は、従来のヘイトスピーチ現象では捉えられない新しい現象であると言える。

第三に、日韓両国においてヘイトスピーチ現象を上で取り上げられた無賃乗車や被害者意識、歴史問題や理念対立のみで把握することは限界がある。日韓両掲示板におけるヘイトスピーチ現象は、表面的に「在日朝鮮人・朝鮮人」「戦後民主主義」「メディア」「左派」「エリート主義」「北朝鮮」などを他者化するように見えるが、その本質は国家権力及び制度に対する広範な怒りが潜んでいたり、逆に過剰で偏った愛国心に向けられていたりしていると解釈できる。

「イルベ」掲示板の本質の把握において、韓国社会を二分する二つの軸は「政治民主化」と「経済民主化⁹」である。1987年6月抗争で市民は「独裁打倒」「自由と人権」「民主主義」などと書かれた横断幕を手を持ち、街頭デモを行った。民主化を要求する市民の熱望で大統領直選制実現を主とした制度的な民主化がなされたが、彼らが切願した「真の民主化」は「虚妄」したことであった。「政治的民主化」は制限された形式的民主主義とはいえ、ある程度実現したが、「経済的民主化」は失敗したことに対する「虚妄」であろう。その「虚妄」は民主主義と政治改革の象徴である金大中と盧武鉉大統領をはじめ、民主化運動で中心的な役割を果たした386世代に対する怒りの表出として現れた。その一方で、民主主義とは何であり、はたして民主主義は我々に何をもたらしてくれるのであろうかということに対する問いが提起され始めた。その反動として、「民主化」という言葉が「イルベ」掲示板において「非推薦」という意味で使われるのは示唆することが大きい。本研究の分析結果でも「民主化」は聖なるものとして捉えるのではなく、ただの冷やかしの対象にすぎないということがわかる。

次に、「イルベ」掲示板の思考体系で際立った特徴の一つが反民主主義的な価値観に立っているとい

⁹ 「経済民主化」とは、憲法119条2項に登場する概念で、①社会の格差を縮小する、②公正に競争できる環境を作る、③財初・大企業から自営業者までさまざまな企業が提供できる環境を目指す、というものである。

うことである。こうした反民主主的な価値観は理想的な国家実現や国家再建を阻む対象をこらしめ、社会秩序を正すということにつながっている。しかし、「我々と彼ら」と「友と敵」を分かち境界線はグローバル化と新自由主義が到来することにより曖昧となった。現代の民主主義の本質は、たとえば女性や若者、移住労働者、障害者、貧困層などマイノリティを包摂しており、これは結局、国民が税金を納めるがゆえに可能なものである。しかし、新自由主義体制が展開される過程で、既存の福祉国家体制の中に包摂されていなかった集団が受けられた様々な恩恵は一種の「特権」であるという認識が広がった。「民主化」と対比される「産業化」の対象にリベラル勢力や全羅道、女性、北朝鮮、5.18 光州民主化運動・セウォル号の遺族、朝鮮族(韓国系中国人)をはじめとする外国人、移住労働者、ゲイ、障害者などが含まれており、「イルベ」掲示板のユーザーの観点からみると、彼ら彼女らは社会的弱者ではなく、国家の発展の足首をつかんでいる対象となる。

もう一つの例を挙げよう。セウォル号の惨事がユーザーの哀悼と悲しみを超えて怒りを買った根本的な原因は、乗客を見捨て逃げた船長をはじめとするセウォル号事故を起こした船の運航会社の実質的なオーナーである俞炳彦一家ではない。それは「国家に対する怒り」である。その国家は、政府の危機対応能力に対する信頼の墜落と国家統合システムの不在・不法・脱法・不正を知っていながら目をつぶった官民癒着、セウォル号事故の報道に関連し「人間的興味」というフレームを多用したメディアなど、総体的な意味における「国家」を言う。

同様に、「2ちゃんねる」の場合でも「日本人」というアイデンティティの確立やプライドの回復を阻害する対象、すなわち、日本人の誇りと尊厳を取り戻すため清算すべき対象は在日朝鮮人・朝鮮人やメディア、民主党、エリート主義、憲法と戦後民主主義まで幅広い。「2ちゃんねる」掲示板で在日朝鮮人が不当な特権を享受していると暴露することで、日本の利益を損なうために存在する左派政党やマスコミ、戦後民主主義の不正を告発して社会正義を実現するという点から「2ちゃんねる」掲示板の思想と体系を動かすコードには「反知性主義」が内在していると考えられる。

山崎(2015)は「2ちゃんねる」ユーザーは在日特権という物語を通じ、既存の大手メディアに対して挑戦していると、以下のように述べている。

在日特権というアジェンダは2ちゃんねらーにとって、対抗的メディアの担い手としての彼らの自意識を満足させることのできるアジェンダだった。いわばマスメディアという巨大な敵手に立ち向かうゲリラ戦の戦士、権力批判に尽力するジャーナリストとしてのその姿勢を際立たせ、たとえ一部の保守論壇に特有の権威主義的な議論の中にあっても、彼ら本来の反権威主義的な構えを引き立たせることのできるアジェンダだったわけである。(山崎 2015 : 59)

山崎は、在日特権というアジェンダを「2ちゃんねる」文化の中に定着させ、反マスメディアフレームにおける反権威主義的な言説実践の一環として作用したと主張している。ある意味で、たとえ在日特権というアジェンダが虚構であっても、実はその裏面には既存の大手メディアのみならず戦後民主主義に対して抑圧された感情が「2ちゃんねる」掲示板で噴出されていると言えよう。これらの抑圧された感情が何に由来するかといえば、それは総体的な意味における「国家」に対する感情の発露である。その総体的な意味における「国家」は固定的なものではなく可変的であると考えられる。最近、安倍首相や朴槿恵大統領を擁護し続けてきた「2ちゃんねる」と「イルベ」掲示板では、安倍首相や朴大統領を非難する書き込みが目立ってきたのがその例である。安倍首相が慰安婦問題と関連し「意外に」融和的な姿勢を見せていたため、ネット上の保守層による「裏切られた」という反応が見られた。同様に、女性部の支援、多文化政策などを標榜した朴大統領の政策とも左へ動かされているため、朴槿恵離れを起こしていると解釈できる。

4. 結論に代えて

本研究では、日韓両国の社会問題の一つと言われるようになった、いわゆる「ヘイトスピーチ」言説を「2ちゃんねる」と「イルベ」掲示板を研究対象として検討を行った。そこから、次のような結果と含意が導き出された。

本研究ではリサーチ・クエスション1として日韓両国のインターネット掲示板で顕著に現れているネ

タは何であり、ヘイトスピーチの対象が「2ちゃんねる」と「イルベ」の空間を介し、どのような形で発現されているのかを究明した。リサーチ・クエスチョン1の結果から得られた知見は以下の通りである。「2ちゃんねる」掲示板では「在日朝鮮人」「民主党」「マスメディア」を他者化していた。

「イルベ」掲示板の場合は、ミクロな観点からみると、「左派」「民主党」「全羅道地域」「北朝鮮」を他者化しているが、マクロな観点からみると朴正熙の「経済成長の神話フレーム」と金大中・盧武鉉の「政治民主化の神話フレーム」の間で克明な対峙を示している。アジア通貨危機以来、金大中・盧武鉉政権が10年続く中で、韓国経済は低成長、青年失業、所得不平等などが蔓延したため、「イルベ」掲示板のユーザーの間には金大中・盧武鉉政権の時期を「失われた10年」と評価していた。その反動として、民主化を打ち出す層に対する強い不信と共に、民主主義を犠牲にしてでも経済を取り戻すという考え方が拡散されつつ、朴正熙の成長神話が一段と広まっていると解釈できる。

次に、リサーチ・クエスチョン2では、リサーチ・クエスチョン1をもとに、これらの掲示板の思考体系において共有されている背景には、どのようなメカニズムがあるのかを解き明かした。日韓の両掲示板を読み解くキーワードは様々なものがあるが、ここでは「国家」という要因に注目したい。「2ちゃんねる」と「イルベ」という極右サイトと他者化されている対象との間には「こっち側」と「向こう側」の「境界」が強固であり、その境界に横たわっているのが「国家」である。問題は、極めて一方的に偏った愛国心の発露が反民主主義的・反知性的な方向へと流れているということである。「2ちゃんねる」掲示板では、日本における戦後民主主義を否定し、戦後民主主義の価値を擁護する立場に立つ集団を「左翼」「反日」「売国奴」とレッテルを貼って攻撃していた。「イルベ」の場合も、民主化などを否定してまで独裁政権時代へ回帰したいというメカニズムが読み取れた。また、「民主化」や「産業化」という命名の方式を通じて、内集団と外集団の区別がより明確化されたことが分かる。特に、インターネットの空間における断片化された情報の共有は、多様性への不寛容さを高め、内集団と外集団間の境界をより強固なものとし、結果としてヘイトスピーチ現象を煽っていたと言える。

最後に、リサーチ・クエスチョン1,2の研究結果を通じて、冒頭に述べた問いに対する見解を模索する。「日韓両国の社会においてこれらの極右サイトの思想と行動をどのような文脈で理解すべきか」という問いについて、若干私見を述べるならば、これらの極右サイトは表面的には民主主義とは相容れない異質の集団のように見えるが、日韓両国の政治社会的な文脈やその中で蓄積されてきたものに対する反動として生まれており、同時に、時代の落としとも言える。すなわち、冒頭に述べた一連の問いに答えるために、再帰的(reflexive)な視座からヘイトスピーチ現象と向き合う必要がある。本研究はこのような思考の延長戦上でヘイトスピーチ言説を考察したが、日韓両国の極右掲示板から右傾化といった考えの根底にあるものを解き明かすことには限界があった。

今後では日韓社会が直面している多様な社会問題意識をより厚く、詳細に読み解きながら、日韓両国のヘイトスピーチ言説を考察する必要があるだろう。また、先行研究によると思春期・青春期にバブルの崩壊やIMF経済危機を経験した若者たちの右傾化が目立つようになったという。それを考慮すると、高度経済成長からの恩恵を受けた世代とその恩恵を受けられなかった層との境界線に「世代の区分」という要因が大きく関わっていると考えられる。そこで、社会流動化の過程で派生した「世代間の格差」という要因が、今のネット右翼の思考体系とヘイトスピーチ言説にどのような影響を及ぼしたかを検討することは、重要な課題であるが本研究では扱っていない。この点は研究の余地があるだろう。

参考文献

日本語文献

- ・ウヴェ・フリック著, 小田博志・山本則子・春日常・宮地尚子訳(2002)『質的研究入門:「人間科学」のための方法論』春秋社
- ・ウンベルト・エーコ著, 池上嘉彦訳(1996)『記号論I』岩波書店
- ・小倉紀蔵・大西裕・樋口直人(2016)『嫌韓問題の解き方:ステレオタイプを排して韓国を考える』朝日新聞出版
- ・高原基彰(2006)『不安型ナショナリズムの時代-日韓中のネット世代が憎みあう本当の理由』洋泉社
- ・野間易通(2015)『「在日特権」の虚構: ネット空間が生み出したヘイト・スピーチ』河出書房新社
- ・樋口直人(2014)『日本型排外主義: 在特会・外国人参政権・東アジア地政学』名古屋大学出版会
- ・樋口直人(2015)「日本型排外主義: 在特会・外国人参政権・東アジア地政学」『大原社会問題研究所雑誌』675号 86-90

- ・古谷経衡(2013)『ネット右翼の逆襲-「嫌韓」思想と新保守論』 総和社
- ・堀田義太郎(2014)「ヘイトスピーチ・差別・マイノリティ」「女性・戦争・人権」学会2014年度大会シンポジウム「表現・暴力・ジェンダー」報告資料 1-5
- ・師岡康子(2013)『ヘイト・スピーチとは何か』 岩波新書
- ・安田浩一(2012)『ネットと愛国-在特会の「闇」を追いかけて』 講談社
- ・山崎望(編)(2015)『奇妙なナショナリズムの時代：排外主義に抗して』 岩波書店
- ・余命プロジェクトチーム(2015)『余命三年時事日記』 青林堂

韓国語文献

- ・강정석(2013)「일간베스트저장소, 일베의 부상」『문화현실분석』 75호 273-302 [Kang, Jung-Suk(2013)「日刊ベスト貯蔵所、イルベの浮上」『文化現実分析』 75号 273-302]
- ・ 김학준(2014) 인터넷 커뮤니티 ‘일베저장소’에서 나타나는 혐오와 열광의 감정동학」『서울대학교』 석사논문 [Kim, Hak-June(2014)「『日間베스트스토아』で現れる嫌悪と熱狂の感情動学」ソウル大学校修士論文(未刊行)]
- ・ 김효진(2011)「기호로서의 혐한과 혐중-일본 네티우익과 내셔널리즘」『일본학연구』 33호 31-56 [Kim, Hyo-Jin(2011)「嗜好としても『嫌韓』と『嫌中』-日本のネット右翼とナショナリズム」『日本学研究』 33号 31-56]
- ・ 나영(2016)「한국 사회 혐오표현의 배경과 양상-2000년대 이후를 중심으로」서울대학교 인권센터 주최『혐오표현의 실태와 대책이라는 주제로 토론회보』(2016년 1월 28일) 13-28 [Na, Young(2016)「韓国社会嫌悪表現の背景と様相-2000年代以降を中心に」ソウル大学校人権センター主催『嫌悪表現の実態と対策に関する討論会プロシーディング』(2016年1月28日) 13-28]
- ・ 박가분(2013)『일베의 사상』 오월의 봄 [Park, Ga-Bun(2013)『イルベの思想』 五月の春]
- ・ 박정순(2009)『대중매체의 기호학』 커뮤니케이션 북스 [Park, Jung-Sun(2009)『大衆媒体の記号学』 コミュニケーション・ブックス]
- ・ 박수옥(2009)「일본의 혐한류와 미디어내셔널리즘-2ch와 일본 4대 일간지를 중심으로」『한국언론정보학보』 47호 120-147 [Park, Su-Ok(2009)「日本における嫌韓流とメディア・ナショナリズム-2chと日本4大日刊紙を中心に」『韓国言論情報学報』 47号 120-147]

ウェブサイト・新聞

- ・デーリー韓国「人格殺人、ヘイトスピーチ(Hate Speech)」2016年4月30日
(<http://daily.hankooki.com/lpage/society/201604/dh20160430080342137780.htm>, 2016年9月8日閲覧)
- ・東亜日報「どうして国家情報院は今日のユーモアサイトにスレを立てるのだろうか」2013年5月10日
(<http://news.donga.com/InfoGraphics/View/3/all/20130509/55044420/9>, 2016年1月10日閲覧)
- ・東京ブレッキング・ニュース「2ちゃんねるの高齢化、老舗サイトが続々閉鎖...WEB業界に異変が」2015年12月11日
(<http://n-knuckles.com/media/mass/news002128.html>, 2016年1月10日閲覧)
- ・『週刊京郷』「日本のネット右翼を見れば韓国のイルベの未来が見えてくる」1060号(2014年1月21日)
- ・ニールセン・コリアン・クリック (Nielsen Korean click) 2015年
- ・書き込み数ランキング・インターネットホームページ「書き込み数ランキング」
(<http://merge.geo.jp/history/count7r/?date=2015-11-01&mode=r>, 2016年1月10日閲覧)

Article

Phases of Cultural Adjustment of East Asian Students

Intercultural Communication and Integration into American Culture

Anya HOMMADOVA

University of Tsukuba, Graduate School of Humanities and Social Sciences, Ph.D. Student

There is a growing population of international students in the U.S. and although previously only elite or scholastically advanced students were able to study abroad, this experience is now becoming more accessible to a more diverse population. As this new demographic grows, questions arise on how to make the experience for international students in the U.S. more positive and less stressful. Asian students make up the largest demographic of students studying in U.S., and though there is a plethora of literature on Asian students studying in major cities in U.S., researchers have somewhat neglected the experiences of students in rural areas. This study looks at the process of cultural adjustment through ethnographic inquiry, exploring the process of adaptation through five phases of adjustment. Utilizing an ethnographic approach, one year of fieldwork was undertaken at a small-sized university in the rural U.S. The researcher examined the lives of 38 students from East Asia through observations, interviews, open-ended surveys, and other means. The students' interactions with the local population are analyzed using the Interpersonal Adaptation Theory. Practical suggestions were made based on the students' experiences and reflections on possible ways for sojourners to not only adjust, but to integrate into the local culture.

Keywords: Cultural Adjustment, Adaptation to American Culture, East Asian Students, Interpersonal Adaptation Theory

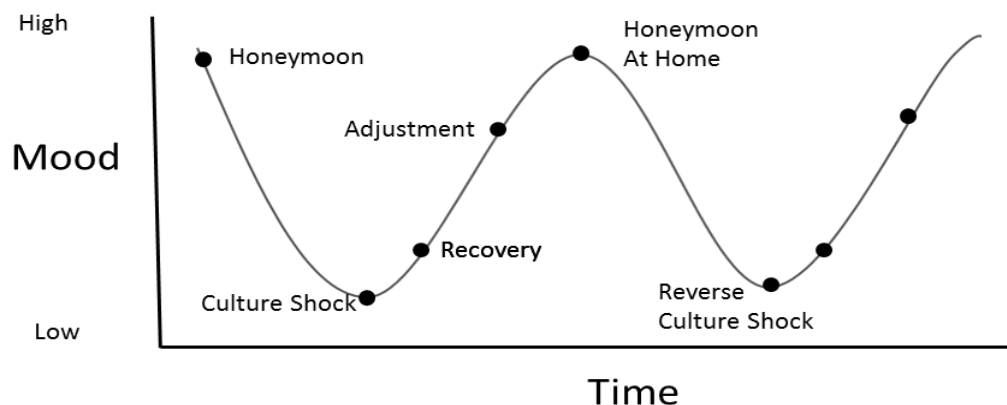
Introduction

The United States hosts the largest share of the world's international students, serving as a temporary home to 1.23 million international students (SEVIS, 2016). This figure represents over a million stories of students struggling to adapt to a new environment. This adaptation process is especially enthralling in its extremity when the host environment is tremendously different from the native environment. The more cultural differences there are between the home and host countries, the more difficult it becomes for international students to adjust (Lin & Yi, 1997; Mori, 2000). In the U.S., these students not only have to overcome the same challenges as American students, but are additionally faced with language barriers, culture shock, unfamiliar social norms, adjustment to the consumption of foreign food, different educational expectations, isolation, and inability to establish social networks (Church, 1982; Furnham & Trezise, 1983; Leong & Chou, 1996). Asian students make up the largest percentage of international students studying in the U.S., and the number of Asian students studying in the U.S. has continued to grow. Many studies focusing on student adjustments take a quantitative approach, and few studies look at the adaptation of students from urban areas to rural areas of the U.S. Furthermore, the international students' experiences rely heavily on their interactions and communication with other people. The United States is highly diverse and Americans in metropolitan cities are different from Americans in rural areas. This paper focuses on the interactions between East Asian students and the local populace in a rural U.S. city in the mid-west. The fundamental problem addressed by this article is examining the process of adaptation that East Asian students go through in a rural American environment.

Various scholars describe stages of adjustment in different ways. For example, Berry et. al. (1987) identified five distinct categories of acculturation as 1) physical changes (location), 2) biological changes (nutrition), 3) cultural changes, 4) social relationships (in-group/outgroup), and 5) psychological changes. Berry et al. (1987) focus on stress associated with learning a second culture firsthand; however, these categories do not fully capture the complexity of the process, and many of them can be grouped under the term ‘culture shock.’ Berry’s model was developed for immigrants, not sojourners, as the sojourners are in a foreign culture temporarily. Sojourners face additional challenges in negotiating their identity and are also faced with reverse culture shock once they return to their homeland. Another scholar, Chen (1992), identifies the phases as 1) culture shock, 2) psychological adaptation, and 3) interaction effectiveness. Chen focuses on psychological adaptation, overlooking other types of adaptation that the sojourners have to go through such as physical, social, and cultural adaptation needed to fully adapt to the host culture. However, the importance of interactional effectiveness cannot be ignored, as many scholars agree that interaction with the local population plays a major role in the integration of foreigners to their host environment.

A pioneering scholar in this phenomenon, Kalervo Oberg (1954), described cultural adjustment in four phases: 1) honeymoon, 2) culture shock, 3) gradual adjustment, humor, and perspective, and 4) “Feeling at Home”—adaptation and biculturalism. The previously mentioned issues in the differences between models for immigrants and sojourners were addressed by Gullahorn and Gullahorn (1963) with the emergence of the W-Curve Model (Figure 1).

Figure 1. W-Curve Adaptation Model



Source: Based on the U-curve (Oberg 1960) and extended by (Gullahorn & Gullahorn, 1963)

However, Oberg does not discuss what happens before the honeymoon phase. He does suggest that in the gradual adjustment phase, some of the key factors are the perspectives and sense of humor of the foreigners. Gebhard, a scholar in the field of education, describes the phases of the students’ adaptation consisting of the following: 1) getting ready to leave, 2) initial experiences, 3) increasing interaction 4) culture shock, and 5) adaptation (Gebhard, 2010). The students go through the phases in a non-linear way and often skip a phase or go back to a previous phase.

The East Asian students that were able to study in the U.S. twenty years ago are not from the same demographic as today. Currently, it is no longer elite nor exceptionally smart students who study abroad. Studying in the U.S. with in-state tuition prices and more easily available student visas are viable options for more people. Asian students are the largest group of students studying in U.S. (IIE, 2016), and are not often singled out in their adjustment; they are grouped together with all the other international students. The problem is the lack of studies on the process of cultural adjustment of East Asian students to the rural U.S. from the perspective of these students. The sense-making process and accounts of their experiences in their words are nowhere to be found. This study attempts to fill this gap by answering the following research questions:

RQ1. What is the process of adaptation that East Asian students go through when adapting to the rural U.S. in their perspective?

RQ2. In the interactions of East Asian students with the local populace, what helps students form intimate relationships?

1. Conceptualization of the Stages of Cultural Adaptation and Integration

In constructing a more comprehensive view of the cultural adjustment of East Asian students in the rural U.S., phases of adjustment need to be tailored to sojourners. As suggested by Gebhard (2010), a pre-arrival stage is important for students, as preparation for their studies affects their academic success. Kim (1988) also suggested that “adaptive predisposition,” which consists of pre-departure preparations, has an impact on the outcome of cross-cultural adaptation. However, it is not only the preparations but the expectations and perceptions of the place they are going to that also formulates in this stage, as is pointed out by Black et al. (1991). Black also suggests that previous experience plays a role in the expectations of sojourners. Therefore, based on the literature, the first stage should focus on what happens before the departure, which includes predispositions of the students towards the host country and people, previous experiences abroad and the preparations that were undertaken for their travel abroad.

The next phase is upon arrival, and looking at the literature, a commonly suggested accuracy upon arrival is the honeymoon stage. Although it is true that many of the students feel exhilarated about their first experiences upon arrival, they are not necessarily always positive experiences. Gerhard (2010) provided an example of a negative first experience when the students were deprived of their belongings on the train in New York. The phase upon arrival will be defined as the initial experience phase and consists of the first impressions of the rural area, university, and the experiences of East Asian students. The third stage is culture shock, when many sojourners for first time realize some of the negative points in living in the host culture compared to home country. The definition of culture shock used in this study is similar to Oberg’s (1960) and is described as the feeling of inadequacy, frustration, anxiety, and anger caused by the clash of host and home culture ideas. The fourth stage is the adjustment phase, where the students negotiate their identity and can adapt or integrate into the host culture. There is a clear difference between coping with the environment and becoming part of it. Adjusting to the environment means coping through various ways, such as withdrawing, communicating exclusively with co-ethnic nationals, and rejecting the host culture, but still being able to live in the host environment. Integrating into the host environment is becoming part of it, and requires interacting with it on a much deeper level.

Kim’s Intimacy Model of Cultural Adjustment (Kim, 1988) suggests that foreigners integrate into a host society by increasing the number of intimate relationships with the local populace compared to the number of intimate relationships with co-ethnic nationals. Therefore, an individual whose intimate relationships are only with co-ethnic nationals ends up being unable to integrate, though he or she might be well adapted to the environment by coping with it through the haven of the interactions with co-ethnic nationals. Conversely, individuals with an equal amount or more intimate relationships with locals integrate into the local society through these relationships. Berry et al. (1987) also suggested the in/out group relationships are paramount in the process of adjustment. The overall plethora of literature suggests that, in the process of adjustment, the interactions and social support the students receive is a major factor in how well they adjust to their new environment (Adelman, 1988; Chavajay, 2013; Poyrazli, Kavanaugh, Baker, & Al-Timimi, 2004; Watters, 1999). The final stage is reverse culture shock and it is missing in the acculturation models and other adaptation models designed for immigrants. During this phase the students can find it difficult to re-adapt to their home culture after prolonged exposure to a foreign culture. Re-adapting to one’s own culture at times can be more difficult than the culture shock of adapting to a foreign culture, particularly for Asian students, as they face a process of reconstruction of their identities and roles. An example of this was provided by Gebhard (2010) in a story of how a Japanese female student, who had gotten used to independence and equal treatment, was asked to do menial tasks and serve tea when she returned to Japan and started working. However, on a more positive side, a Japanese scholar who explored the cultural adjustment of Japanese students in the U.S. (Nakagawa, 2013) discussed the effects of studying abroad on the identity of the

Japanese students upon their return. In her findings, she discovered that studying abroad resulted in an increase in self-esteem and confidence of students once they returned.

As can be seen from the previous studies, successful integration and adaptation are dependent on interactions between international students and local students. Therefore, it is essential to look next at social interactions and consider a working model to explore the intercultural communication occurring in the phenomenon of cultural adjustment.

2. Role of Intercultural Communication in Integration and Interpersonal Adaptation Theory

Loneliness has been shown to be a negative predictor of sociocultural adaptation and psychological adaptation (Wang & Sun, 2009). Furthermore, recent research done in the area of social interactions demonstrates that interaction with more people helps students cope with their process of adjustment (Miyazaki, Bodenhorn, Zalaquett & Ng, 2008; Wei, Heppner, Mallen, Ku, Liao & Wu, 2007). This does not only include communication with family and friends back home, but also includes interactions with the local population, which is a major contributing factor to the students' adjustment to the host culture. Numerous studies show this to be true; the more frequently the international students interact with friends from their host country, the better they adjust (Furnham & Bochner, 1982; Heikinheimo & Shute, 1986; Perkins, 1977). For example, the classic study by Sellitz and Hook (1962) showed that international students felt a stronger connection to the United States if they had at least one close American friend. The results of a more recent study also suggest that social support available to international students, even today, plays a major role in making the adjustment to a new cultural context (Chavajay, 2013; Watters, 1999). A study done by Toyokawa et al. (2002) suggests that extracurricular activities are positively related to Japanese students' experiences in the U.S. by increasing life satisfaction, as well as better academic performance. One of the theories germane to the study of interpersonal communication is undoubtedly the Interpersonal Adaptation Theory, commonly known as the Interaction Adaptation Theory, and hereafter referred to as the IAT. The IAT attempts to explain dyadic interactions through a formula, where the combination of expectations, desire, and needs yield to the interaction position (IP). IP is "a net assessment of what is necessary, anticipated, and preferred as the dyadic interaction pattern in a situation" (Burgoon, Stern, & Dillman, 1995, pg. 266). Individuals in interactions try to minimize the gap between predicted behavior and actual behavior to stabilize the interaction. The theory predicts that if there is a gap between IP and actual behaviors, then one of the partners in the interaction will adjust their IP, which minimizes the gap and can signal to the other person to change their actual behavior. An obvious example of this is in the interactions surrounding the discussion of washing dishes between husband and wife. The wife needs the husband to help around the house. She desires him to do it without her saying anything, but expects that he will end up doing it once she explicitly tells him. However, if the husband comes home and goes to watch TV and the wife tells him to wash the dishes, but he says, "Do it yourself," this will create a gap between the predicted behavior and actual behavior. As a result, the wife will have to adjust her IP or the husband will have to do so, and as the interaction continues, the IP will adjust, and the actual behavior can change. This can also be applied to explore the interactions between East Asian students and local Americans.

The IAT theory derived from theories and models of four distinct approaches. First, the authors looked at biological approaches, looking at models such as interactional synchrony, mirroring, and mimicry. These biological models showed that individuals would share similar patterns that are universal and involuntary. Furthermore, these adaptation patterns have an innate basis of satisfying the needs of bonding, safety, and social organization. The second approach was arousal and affect, which analyzed the affiliative conflict theory (ACT), the arousal-labeling theory, Markus-Kaplan and Kaplan's bi-dimensional model (BM), the discrepancy-arousal theory (DAT), and the dialectical model. The commonality found among these is that internal emotional and arousal states are the driving forces in people's decisions to approach or avoid others. For example, ACT states that when the stability is disturbed in an interaction, there will be pressure to compensate by restoring it intra-personally or inter-personally. BM works similarly, but the approach and avoidance tendencies are attributed to individuals' personality traits and attempts to predict conjoint interaction patterns through individual predispositions. DAT predicts that moderate arousal is caused by discrepancies in expected behavior patterns and will produce reciprocity, while high arousal is negative and causes avoidance. Dialectic models focus on the changes in people's behavioral patterns and the cyclical pattern

poles of approach/openness and avoidance/closeness. The third approach consisted of the social norm approach, which is mainly looking at the norm of reciprocity, social exchange and resource exchange theory, couple interaction, and the "dyadic effect," as well as the communication accommodation theory. The standard of reciprocity states that people feel a social obligation to reciprocate what other people do to them. CAT states that convergence and divergence strategies depend on in-group and out-group status, motivation to identify with one another, and other factors. Finally, the last approach is the communication and cognitive approach, and the models that were used were Patterson's Sequential-Functional Model (SFM), the Expectancy Violations Theory, the Cognitive-Valence Theory, and the Motor Mimicry (MM) revisited. SFM looks at pre-interactional and interactional factors that regulate the stability and degree of accommodation in interactions. MM shows that matching is functional and may be deliberate. EVT and CVT are a combination of many similar elements from the previously described models, and for EVT, the behavior change needs to be identified as a positive or negative violation and predict a number of outcomes. Based on the above theories and models, Burgoon et al., identified nine principles that guide the IAT. The first four principles include innate pressure to adapt, biological inherent pressure, variance in approach and avoidance drives, as well as social pressure toward reciprocity and matching. Reciprocity and compensation can also transpire at a communication level, however despite people's predisposition to adapt there are various factors that can limit conscious adaptation. These limitations include: (a) individual consistency in behavioral style, (b) internal causes of adjustments, (c) poor monitoring of self or partner, (d) inability to adjust performance, and (e) cultural differences in communication practices and expectations. The combination of the various forces that are present set up boundaries that largely produce the behaviors of matching, synchrony, and reciprocity. The last two principles state that although many variables may be salient moderators of interaction adaptation, predictions about functional complexes of behaviors should be more useful and accurate than predictions about particular behaviors viewed in isolation of the function they serve (Burgoon, Stern, & Dillman, 2007).

This theory is becoming more popular among scholars, but still, very few studies have tried to test it empirically. The two studies published by empirically testing it were done by Floyed and Burgoon (1999), and another by Le Poire and Yoshimura (1999). Floyed and Burgoon did one of the most extensive studies by applying the IAT to an experiment to predict nonverbal expressions of liking ($n=96$). The results of the experiment show that when individuals desire being liked by their partners, they will enact liking behaviors. Conversely, consistent with the IAT, they will show less liking behavior if they do not desire the same from their partners. Interestingly, when a person has a desire to be liked, s(he) will act in an attractive way, regardless of expectations and received behavior. Somewhat counterintuitively, findings suggested that expressions of liking can be considered negative, rather than positive, events. The studies that tested this theory include Le Poire and Yoshimura (1999), with results suggesting that the strongest desire to continue communication was when the participant expected an unpleasant communication, but in fact received highly involved communication. Despite these studies, the biggest criticism this theory faces is a lack of empirical evidence.

One of the limitations of the IAT is the concept of IP, which might be unnecessarily more complicated than needed. IP is a combination of variables that show the position of expectancies. There is high variance among the three elements that make up the IP, making it hard to be sure of what it is in different interactions, which in turn makes it hard to predict the outcome. The fact that people constantly influence each other in communication and, with reactions, can change the behavior of the people they are interacting with, is not new. Although the IAT explains this process, it is not clear how well it can predict the outcome. For the theory to be empirically tested, expectations need to be operationalized, which is hard to do, as stated by Le Poire and Yoshimura (1999). Furthermore, the variance among individuals' expectations is also hard to measure. As the theory states, behavior can be involuntary and unconscious; people do not calculate their IP, and often struggle to identify personal desires, needs, and expectations. Therefore, it is also hard for scientists to manipulate these variables. Another limitation that was noted by Burgoon et al. (1999) is regarding the ability of the IAT to predict patterns of interaction, as little empirical data testing is available. The limitations of the EVT are covered by the IAT. However, the boundary conditions are not clear; situational factors, cultural factors, and variance among needs, desires, and expectations could all affect the likelihood of compensation and reciprocity. This theory is well suited to exploring phenomena in intercultural communication, as it can help explain the discrepancies and, in an exploratory manner, it has not been applied to

explain interactions. However, the IAT has not been used pragmatically and has only been experimentally tested in laboratory settings.

3. Methodology

This study implements an interpretive qualitative paradigm and adapts ethnography as a research strategy. The subject of inquiry is the adaptation process of East Asian students to a rural American culture from the point of view of the participants. With ethnography being, by definition, a systematic study of people and cultures, it was the most suitable approach. Ethnographic research is designed to view various cultural phenomena from the point of view of the participants, matching the objectives of this study. The data described in this study was gathered through numerous in-depth interviews, and the data was verified and enriched through triangulation by combining surveys, semi-formal interviews, and participatory observations. This study explored the following five phases of adjustment: 1) pre-arrival phase, 2) the initial exposure phase, 3) the culture-shock phase, 4) the adaptation phase and finally 5) reversed culture shock of the East Asian students. In this study, East Asian students are non-U.S. born students holding student F-1 visas who have come from East Asian countries and identify themselves as Chinese, Japanese, or Korean. The sample population was selected from a university in the mid-west United States, located in the rural city of M. with a population of fewer than 40,000 residents. The data gathering process started on May 2, 2015 and ended in August 2016. The summary of the data used is provided in Table 1.

Table 1: Data Collection

Data Collection Table			
Data Collection Method	Quantity Collected	Time of Collection	Output Data
Semi-Formal Interviews	6 students	May 2015	Phases 2-4
Initial Asian Students Survey	23 surveys	September 2015, January 2016	Phases 1-3
In-Depth Interviews	Over 160 single space pages	August 2015 to May 2016	Phases 1-4
Focus Groups	2 (total of 13 students)	September and December	Phases 1-2
Observation Notes	Numerous	August 2015 to July 2016	Phases 1-5
Online Survey	17	June to August 2016	Phase 5

To be able to look at the students' experiences from fresh perspectives, without any restrictions, the patterns were allowed to emerge freely. The sensitivity and the nature of the topic as well as the desire to generate new knowledge, pointed to the implication of interviews as one of the main tools of gathering data. Two focus groups were conducted about the students' initial experiences in the U.S. The semi-formal interviews lasted 30 to 45 minutes and the data collected was in the form of extensive notes. All of the in-depth-interviews, which were much longer, were recorded and transcribed. The scripts went through two cycles of coding. The first cycle includes descriptive, in vivo and causal codes. The descriptive and in vivo codes were chosen because they help understand the lives of the students using the participants' words. The causal coding was used to underline the possible causes of progress in adaptation or what caused the adaptation process to not go so well. The second cycle of coding was comparing the data and making more analytical codes to bump up the level of generalization. Mostly, the second cycle of coding used axial and longitudinal coding where it was relevant. The coding process analyses followed Saldana's (2009) coding manual.

The richest data was provided through in-depth interviews with 37 participants, and their demographic information is provided in Table 2. In reporting the results of the interviews, pseudonyms are used for the students to protect their identity, which also helps the reader to differentiate among the students' different personal experiences and opinions. The most commonly used strategy to improve validity is triangulation, which means using different sources of data to build a rational justification for the themes (Creswell, 2014). In this research, triangulation was used to improve the validity by looking at secondary sources that reported similar findings around the United States and by using the surveys and observations to ensure that the emergent data accurately captured the experiences of the students. Participant checking was used during all of the interviews and the data from the

surveys was also verified with the participants who volunteered for follow-up interviews. Reliability, or the consistency of researcher’s analysis, for this project was systematic and focused on specific codes. In this research project, the transcripts were double checked, and the coding was done in cycles. The transcripts were partially cross-checked with another coder.

Table 2: Demographic of In-Depth Interview Participants

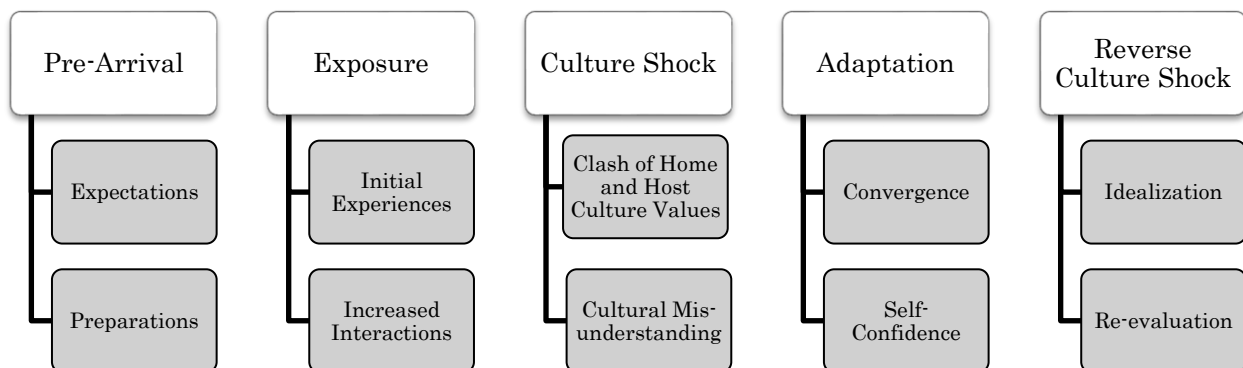
Ethnicity	Number of Students	Sex	Age	Major	Status	Duration of stay
Korean	6	2 male 4 female	22-34	English, Business, Computer Science	3 International 3 Exchange	5 months to 4 years
Japanese	15	5 male 10 female	20-23	Sociology(2), Physics, Comm, Business(3), Intl. Studies, Chemistry, English (3), Design, Psychology	5 International 10 Exchange	5 months to 3 years
Ethnically Chinese	16	10 male 5 female	20-28	Business (4), Computer Science (2), Economics (2), Engineering, Project Management, Marketing, East Asian Studies, Chemistry	13 International 3 Exchange	5 months to 6 years

Overall, qualitative research focuses on “discovery”, of new information, categories, and relationships, while canonical science makes prediction its ultimate goal. Although the sample might not be representative of a larger population, it is representative of East Asian student experiences in the rural U.S. The author would like to argue that it is not a stand-alone case, instead it looks at the general phenomenon of how perception, cultural background and experiences influence the cultural adaptation of East Asian students.

4. The Process of Adaptation to the Rural U.S.

The results are reported in this section through the conceptualized phases of adjustment, displaying the categories that emerged from the data analyses according to the stage the students were at during their study abroad. Each student moved through the stages at a different pace and few were able to achieve integration; while the majority were able to adapt, two international students quit their studies due to various circumstances. The overall process of adaptation is visually displayed below.

Figure 2. Phases of Adjustment



(1) Phase One: Pre-Arrival

Phase one is the phase that usually only lasts a few weeks for some students, while it could last for many years for others. In the pre-arrival phase, the motivation for coming, the expectations and their formation, as well as fear, anxiety, and preparations for study abroad that the East Asian students went through are examined. This phase is accompanied by many different feelings, and focuses on the personal circumstances of individuals and their personalities.

(1.1) Motivations for Studying Abroad

The reasons or motivation to study abroad for East Asian students varied greatly. The number-one reason was related to learning English, but other causes included wanting to experience a foreign culture, better college education, or failing the university exams at home. Four students (three from China, one from Korea) indicated that they had no choice; it was their parents' decision. Student status was a major factor that affected their choice for studying at M. University. Many of the international students that were enrolled in regular bachelor degree programs came to the U.S. because they failed their university entrance exams back home and were looking for an inexpensive university in the U.S. Exchange students chose M. University based on the results of their tests in English as a foreign language (hereafter referred to as TOEFL) score and major. For Chinese students, parents and relatives played a major role in the decision, while for Japanese students, there were instances where not all family members supported the decision for the student to go abroad.

Some students were inspired by people in their lives or by other aspects of American culture. One Japanese student came to the U.S. wanting an education in English to further her future career. In a survey she wrote, "In the future, I want to work at a research facility in physics, and I need good English and high skills in Physics, so I need this. I want to access the new information firsthand, not translated. All the information must be in English in conferences too. I want to go to graduate school." Another student said her English teacher told her a story about her experience of studying abroad, and it made her interested. Many students also mentioned that since childhood they wanted to go overseas. In this category, their study abroad was long awaited, well pre-planned, and highly anticipated by the participants. Students in this category had their pre-arrival phase begin years in advance, as they dreamed about their lives in the U.S. However, other students had little desire to go to the U.S. One extreme case is of a Taiwanese student who was not aware that his parents applied to M. University for admission on his behalf. Two weeks before his departure his parents informed him that he would be studying in the U.S. for the next four years. They simply handed him his acceptance letter and his airplane ticket. For this student, when asked about his expectations, he said he had no expectations or any preparation about his life in the U.S.; he was indifferent. This was not the only student for whom the parents made the decision that they should go to the U.S., and the parents chose M. University as the destination. Other students wanted to go to the U.K., Australia, or big cities in the U.S., but ended up studying at M. University because it was less expensive or because their TOEFL scores were not high enough to go to other universities. One Korean exchange student wrote, "I came because I wanted to learn English, and in Korea, English skill is important for our career. Because of my TOEFL score, there were few choices, so it was because of this score I had to go to M. University." M. University had a low minimum TOEFL score requirement, making this university one of the few places that would accept them. Some international students have studied at other American universities where they took English preparation courses and then transferred to M. University. This was not an option for the exchange students because of the short length of their program abroad.

Some students mentioned that the U.S. was not their first choice for learning English, while other students indicated that the U.S. was the best place to learn English. Factors such as enjoying studying English since middle school or a sound knowledge of English needed for the students' careers were the inspiration for this group. One exchange student majoring in English wrote, "I want to be an English teacher for the future, and I wanted to study at the country that English is spoken. In addition, English taught in Japan is American English, not British English, so I decided to go to the U.S. I chose M. because there is the subject in which I can join the fieldwork at elementary, middle or high school in the U.S. In addition, there are some classes that I'm interested in." Most of the students from Korea indicated that learning English was their main goal for studying abroad, and one student from Seoul, Korea, wrote, "I wanted to study in the U.S. because my major is English, and my family told me to go abroad."

The majority of Japanese and Chinese international students, unlike the exchange students, came to study in the U.S. because they were not able to obtain acceptance to the university of their choice in Japan or China, and decided to study abroad instead. None of the Korean students who were studying in the U.S. at the University of M. as international students mentioned not being able to gain acceptance into a Korean university. However, the Korean sample was the smallest and the majority of Korean students on campus were on short-term exchange programs. Not being able to gain access to a university education in their home country is a common reason why East Asian students come to American universities, however not all students admit this fact. Chao¹ wrote, “I failed in the university exam in China, so decided to go abroad. My family encouraged me to go abroad. Without their support, I could not come here, but I am always worried about money.” Student like Chao, who come from a less affluent economic background are faced with additional pressure to succeed as they depend on their families financial support.

Students mentioned being influenced by American pop culture, which made them interested in studying in the U.S. This appeared to have influenced their expectations of the U.S. Overall, all students received support and encouragement from their family. Only one student mentioned that his family was against it in the beginning. Many exchange students chose this particular university because it had an established exchange program with their Japanese university, and also had classes in which they were interested. For privately supported students, low tuition fees became the reason they chose M. University. One Korean student said, “I Googled ‘Cheapest University.’ Well, at first, I got into the university in Minneapolis, but their tuition was \$40,000 to \$50,000. I couldn’t burden my family [that much]. My dad was [like], ‘It is too much for two years.’ It could be even through three years. I tried to research again, and I found two universities, and one was in Cleveland and one was here. I asked my friend at the time, [he said], ‘Cleveland is more countryside and M. University is [good for the] field of education and safe and with wealthy people.’ That is what he said, anyway; [it had] better circumstances to study. I decide to come here, and he was from here too.” When asked why they chose this particular university, many students wrote the same thing: “I chose M. University because it was cheap.” One Chinese-Malay student wrote, “I chose the U.S. because it was the land of opportunity to explore more things, and also the American culture intrigues me, and I would like to know more about it. M. University was an easy choice for me due to the low tuition cost, and also the opportunity to know more about the American culture by beginning in a small city.” Another underlying reason for the exchange students was the university being located in the countryside. One of the Japanese students wrote, “One of the reasons I choose M. was that it is in the countryside. There are two reasons I prefer countryside. First is safety. The countryside is safer than the city. Second reason is that I wanted to study in quiet place. I believed it made me concentrate on studying because there are not so many places to have fun. Another reason that I chose M. is that I thought there were few Japanese people compared with another university.”

(1.2) Expectations of the U.S. and Americans

When asked how he imagined Americans, one Korean student wrote only three words: “Blonde and pretty.” He added that he expected more racist people. A majority of the East Asian students said they expected Americans to be friendly, positive, fun, interested in other cultures, talkative, kind, good at making friends, open-minded, skinny, tall, and fashionable. Students expected their life in the U.S. to be of fun, partying, hanging out with many friends, and stated that the Americans they imagined were eagerly waiting to talk to foreigners. One Korean student wrote, “[I expected] if I go to America I get freedom. I imagined I can do whatever I want to, and I can get a lot of chance[s] to meet many foreign friends and improve my English skill and go to many places and want to experience party in U.S., but I haven’t. I think Americans will have an open mind to international people so I can make many friends, but most important are experience with another culture. In reality it is pretty hard for me, and many international students have [the] same problems.” Another Japanese student wrote, “I expected that American people are more fashionable because my favorite cloth[ing] companies are from America and there are American celebrities fashion

¹ Pseudonyms are used to protect the identities of the students who were observed during the fieldwork and participated in interviews. The surveys were anonymous and only basic demographic information could be reported, however, for the group of students that were observed and interviewed in depth, background information and their experiences are reported in a more personal and individualized manner.

magazines in Japan.”

The image of an easy-going and friendly American was the same among Chinese, Japanese, and Korean students. Most students said this picture came from the television dramas and movies they watched. A few students stated that they had met Americans back home and those Americans (who were in Korea and Japan) were very friendly and interested in the country. There was one student from Korea who did not have an image of a friendly and outgoing American. Instead, he wrote, “I watched many American TV shows, so I thought it would be very busy, much drinking and drugs and scary people. Americans always look serious and don’t smile. Because of the TV shows. I watched *Prison Break* and *Gossip Girl* and some Hollywood movies. And *CSI* too.”

The image of the U.S. as a country was most commonly described by the word “freedom” and “big”. The U.S. is a place where many people from various countries come together, and many students wanted to experience communicating with foreigners from many countries, which is an opportunity they did not have back home. Overall, the students had high expectations for their lives in the U.S. With the exception of a few students who were completely indifferent following their parents’ instructions, most of the students were excited. However, the students from Japan especially expected America to be dangerous, leading to the next section of worries and fear prior to arrival in the U.S.

(1.3) Fears, Worries, and Anxiety

Everyone was worried about something, and out of over 40 students who participated in interviews or did the survey, not a single student said that (s)he had no worries at all or that (s)he was confident in general or with his/her English ability. The main anxiety was unsurprisingly caused by language ability, as more than half of the students indicated English as their main concern. A Korean student wrote, “Language is the biggest concern and lifestyle is a little concern. Most scary is the language.” Besides the language barrier, other worries included economic issues, weather (among the ones who researched the area), safety, integration, making friends, academic ability, being able to get along with their roommate(s), ability to communicate, gaining weight, being homesick, and facing discrimination. One female student from Tokyo wrote, “I am a chicken, so I was really afraid. I thought people said no [she was worried about the embarrassment of having a request denied]. What if I can’t understand what they say? In Japan, foreigners are still rare, so we do not talk a lot with them. Americans are not worried about details and are powerful. And discrimination by white people is common. I was worried about many things, like academic performance, my English ability, safety, and discrimination. I was worried and anxious.”

The image of America as a place of drugs, crime, sex, and violence were vivid in the minds of many Japanese students. During a focus group, one student described her surprise that her dictionary was not stolen when she left it in the classroom. Other students seemed concerned about Americans carrying guns and shootings. In reality, the crime rate of this particular city is very low. Safety was the main concern for Japanese students. One student in the survey wrote, “Mostly my concern was safety, since shooting incidents were often on the news.” Another student was concerned with public safety in relation to American law enforcement officers, she clarified that the image of American police officers she has seen on TV was different from the Japanese police boxes “Koban”. Other concerns included discrimination. Somewhat contradicting to the images the students had of friendly, outgoing, and blonde Americans, they encountered Americans who they perceived as racists. A Chinese student wrote, “Prior to my arrival in the States, my concerns were that the hostile reception I might get because I am a foreigner that is living in their country. I was also concerned for my safety as I am aware that Americans love their right to bear arms and due to the many reported shootings in the States, I had [sic] concerned that I would be caught in an unfortunate situation.”

The few students who did research the area well were not concerned about the crime rates, but instead were worried about the lack of transportation. One student from China who did extensive research on the city where M. University was located found out ahead of time about how uneventful the city was and that there was no public transportation on Sundays, which made her somewhat concerned. This brings us to the actual behavior of preparing during the pre-arrival phase.

(1.4) Preparations

Over 90% of the students said that they prepared either by studying English or by not doing anything in

particular. All of the students took either the TOEFL or International English Language Testing System (IELTS), as part of a requirement to study at all American universities unless applying for an ESL program. Some students studied English by watching American television dramas, while other students tried to read books to improve their English. Some students also took English classes through Skype or talked to Americans online. Very few students did any research on the location of the university. Most students did research the university itself, looked at the beautiful website and numerous appealing undergraduate programs. One student from Korea did say she Googled the state where M. University was located, and the first thing she saw was the skyscrapers and modern images of the U.S. However, the images she saw were of the largest city in the state, which is located over 500 kilometers from M. University. Overall, the students did not have any clear ideas of how they could prepare in order to increase their chances of academic success in the American education system.

Out of the four students who did do research on the university and the area, one student decided to transfer after two years and go to a larger research-based university. She set a goal to get high marks and to transfer. This helped her have a clear goal, and she knew from the beginning that a rural area was not for her and that she was there temporarily. Students who did some research moved into the second and third phase of adjustment with fewer difficulties, most likely because they had more realistic expectations compared to other students.

(2) Phase Two: Exposure and Initial Experience

Phase Two is accompanied by an array of emotion, which is referred to as the honeymoon stage in the literature or, as Gerhard (2010) calls it, the initial experience stage. It is usually filled with elation, gratitude, fear, anger, frustration, and confusion, as well as happiness. In this phase, the students have changed their physical location, started consuming the local food, and are now experiencing numerous “firsts”: first time to ride on a subway, going to class, listening to a lecture, or going to a party. In this phase, the students went through physical adjustment, which is quick and is often accompanied by excitement, as everything is new. There was a shock about the “rural-ness” and “nothingness” of the area, but the week-long orientation, beautiful campus, and moving into the dorms while waiting for arrival of roommates overshadowed the absence of the expected skyscrapers, malls, etc.

Upon arrival, the students attended a special orientation at M. University. This orientation was for international students only. This, caused some confusion among the newly arrived students, giving the impression that the only Americans in the whole school are the staff and the few students acting as guides. One student from Japan described how surprised she was that there were so many international students at the orientation, and she got the impression that the university was made up of mostly international students. However, when classes started, she was constantly the only foreigner in her class and only later realized that the international and regular students had different orientations. The fact that the regular students arrived and moved into the dorms a week after the international students did not help. During the orientation, international students learned how to pay their tuition online, how to do volunteer work so their tuition stays low, reviewed the laws and regulations prohibiting students from working off campus, as well as filled out documents and got vaccinations if needed. This kept the jet-lagged students busy for the first week. The following week was marked by class registration, the arrival of American students and, just as the East Asian students got used to the idea of rural America being made up of “nothing,” the next shock came in the form of rural Americans, who were not what was expected.

The local American students were not all skinny and blonde, and many of them wore yoga pants, sweatshirts, and sandals. Most surprising to the East Asian students, they were not all friendly, outgoing, and eager to learn about Japan, China or Korea.

The local students came from areas that are much more rural, and it was not uncommon to meet an American student whose hometown only a few hours away or had a population of fewer than 1,000 people. Many of these students have never met foreigners. American students, just like the East Asian students, had expectations of foreigners not being able to speak English, and with no previous experiences in dealing with foreigners, local American students did not rush to welcome the Asian students, and were perceived by East Asian students as cold and distant. Some of the East Asian students directly stated that they had expected Americans to be different from what they had experienced during the first two weeks. One student wrote, “I imagined Americans interested in other

countries, but actually not so many [are],” while another Japanese stated, “I thought everyone would be more friendly.” Other differences in expectations were about physical appearances, as one student said he did not expect to see so many overweight Americans.

Students also felt a lot of stress and insecurity about their academic performance. They were not sure if they were studying the right material, how to study, how to behave in the classroom, and had trouble understanding the lectures. During the first week of classes students said they do not understand much at all, but just after a few weeks, students were able to be more precise and point out that they did not understand the professor's humor or the professor's accent. As they had more interactions and after a few weeks of classes, the insecurity diminishes, but the stress and anxiety levels of students should not be underestimated during their first two weeks of classes in the U.S.

(3) Phase Three: Culture Shock

The third phase is culture shock, and though it can occur at any time, it is often caused by an increased amount of interactions during the third phase. Culture shock is commonly accompanied by feelings of uncertainty regarding social norms, loneliness, anger, and isolation, and is experienced in the U.S. from noticing the differences and confronting expectations. Culture shock is the stressful feelings that inevitably occur and is caused by social difficulties experienced by international students in the host culture. Often, the students anticipated some difficulty in their adaptation to the new environment, but not the extent. For example, students were aware of the colder weather, language difficulties, and food differences, however, it might be colder than they predicted, harder to understand the professor than they thought, and the flavor of the food stronger than expected. Furthermore, there are challenges in micro-behaviors described by Hall (1998) in nonverbal cues and personal distance, which often act as a guide to human behavior, varying across different cultures. Symptoms of culture shock include anxiety, homesickness, helplessness, boredom, depression, fatigue, confusion, self-doubt, paranoia, and physical ailments (Gebhard, 2010). Furthermore, according to the results of previous studies, there is a positive relationship among communication adaptability, interaction involvement, and the ability to cope with social difficulties (Chen, 1992). This might help explain why Chinese students, who are more direct in their style of communication, avoid some of the challenges that are faced by some Japanese students. It is impossible to draw clear lines between the phases of adjustment other than for phase one and phase five, where it is clear that the pre-arrival phase ends once students arrive, and reverse culture shock only begins once the sojourner has returned to the native culture. Furthermore, not all sojourners go through all phases, and with that said, the difference between the initial experiences of the second stage and the culture shock phase is due to the outlook and attitude of the East Asian students. The awareness of cultural differences starts upon arrival to the country, but culture shock influenced the students in a more long-term way. This varies considerably from student to student. For example, a majority of Japanese students quickly accepted the fact that some Americans are overweight and unfashionable and, by the second and third interview, focused entirely on the differences in communication and interactions between Americans and Japanese. However, for one student, it was not just an initial experience. The topic of Americans being overweight, especially girls, was a continuous discourse after seven months in the U.S. For him, in the interview, he kept asking, “Why can't American girls be skinny like in Japan?” It is stated that in culture shock, some foreigners will genuinely look for an explanation of a phenomenon, trying to gain an understanding of why certain things are done a certain way, accepting it, and adapting to the host culture, while others will reject the host culture, expecting it to change and adjust to the “correct” or “best” way, which is like their native country (Gebhard, 2010, pp. 108-115).

Many East Asian students were shocked at the American students' attitude towards time in school settings. Once the class is over, everyone leaves right away, students do not sleep during class, and during group work, the activity of the group is task based but time oriented. If the students agreed to meet from 5 PM to 7 PM, the students would all leave at 7 PM, despite the progress, or if the task was or was not completed. Rini was shocked at this behavior of not finishing the assignment of the group work because the time of the meeting was finished, and despite not finishing, everyone dispersed at 7 PM. Other students noted that it is hard to approach American students because they leave so quickly. However, in the U.S., most students schedule one class after another, and many local students have part-time jobs. The American educational system is set up in a way that there are high chances you will never have a class together again in the future unless you are in the same major.

When asked about culture shock, the most important points were the unfriendliness of Americans, as well as Americans not being impartial toward foreigners. This was not only during the initial experiences but throughout the length of their stay. As can be expected, examining the interviews of students who were in the U.S. for over ten months, the overall attitudes toward the U.S. and Americans were much more critical. The students who were in the U.S. for longer had more stories about negative interactions of being ignored or discriminated against, both inside and outside of the classroom.

Some interviewees felt comfortable enough to discuss their romantic relationships, and two girls said that they found courtship etiquette prior to dating in the U.S. very different and that American males were more aggressive in their advances. This was a common opinion among the Japanese female students, but not among the Chinese and Korean students who thought that although American males might be direct, they did not find them aggressive or overly invasive. One of the Japanese girls had a relationship with an American and said that she thinks that Americans are too different in the way they think, and she would prefer not to date an American again. A majority of the Japanese females reported unwanted persistent attention from the local opposite sex. In the online survey, one Japanese female student reported her worst experience in the U.S. as being raped. A Taiwanese female student complained about not knowing the difference between dating and being a girlfriend. She described her previous relationship with an American young man, and she was under the impression that they had been dating for six months when suddenly he asked her to be his girlfriend. She said, "If you want me to be your girlfriend now, what was I for the last six months?" He explained that they were kind of dating, but the boundaries were not set for it to be exclusive. If she were to become his girlfriend, this would mean that they are not allowed to date other people. She was extremely frustrated with the situation. Interestingly, one of the male students who had a girlfriend in Japan was frustrated with other Japanese students commenting about his relationship, saying, "They have Americanized, and not in a good way" (Interview #Sh13). Two other students, Sa and K, were not in a relationship but were attracted to and starting to go on dates with international students from other Asian countries.

Another surprise to the students was that some of the university events lasted late into the night, finishing at 11PM or midnight. The students agreed that there is a lot more discussion in the American classrooms than in their native countries. T. commented, "Students raise their hands and participate in answering questions, but some students talk without even raising their hand." Manners were another point of heated discussion. Students said that their classes started punctually, while one student complained that his professors were always 5 to 10 minutes late. The students went back and forth, discussing that American professors are punctual, while one music-major student insisted they are always late and stated that people were even late to the international student orientation. There was a consensus, however, that all of the classes ended on time, and students started packing up their things regardless of what the professor was doing one minute before class ended. One minute after the class ended, the classroom was empty. It was noted that, in Japan, students slowly pack up and hang around and chat after class, while in the U.S., the students rush out of the classroom. Most of the students had not yet had any personal interactions with their classmates. However, they noted the difference in manners, such as taking up too much space. The students who had roommates said that it was not easy to get along at times. K.S. said, "My roommate is always hot. He opens the windows and turns on the fan even when it is cold." Another student from China complained that his roommate would have parties and smoke marijuana inside the dorm room, which frustrated him, but he still continued to live with him because, "He was not a bad guy, just had bad habits."

Other interactions with people included an account of an unpleasant incident where three Japanese students became scared of a local citizen. They recall the incident: "So, we were just walking around on the sidewalk in downtown when this black man started yelling at us. He got out of the car and came very close to us just swearing for no reason." When asked what exactly the man was yelling, the students felt very uncomfortable and just said it was "racial insults." Despite some negative experiences some of the students had, overall, all of the students said that their time in the U.S. thus far was positive.

(4) Phase Four: Adjustment and Integration vs. Adaptation

The fourth phase consists of adaptation, integration, and negotiation. Students can conform to the expectations of host cultures, resulting in feelings of confidence, self-assurance, and an increase in self-esteem.

However, not all of the students reach the stage of integration, and although some students might be able to adapt well to local culture, not many are able to integrate.

The most difficult question is how to measure adaptation in terms of what is or is not a successful adaptation. Adaptation is coping with the environment, but the ultimate goal is integration. All of the students adapted, as no one left in the middle of the year during which the fieldwork for this project was conducted, but very few became integrated into the local culture. The air of segregation was there between each of the groups observed, however, within the groups, there is a degree to which some students were able to negotiate their cultural identity and approach a healthy middle ground of having an equal number of close American and co-national friends. A majority of the students became used to living in the rural U.S. Students in this study were able to adapt to the harsh weather, and no one returned home due to the weather, however the level of cultural adaptation and integration is harder to determine. Some might argue that there is no clear distinction, and the experiences of a majority of participants in this study could be plotted on a broad spectrum from full assimilation or complete seclusion.

A student named Ho, who seemed to integrate well into the local American culture, was born in a big city but grew up in a rural area in Korea. Her parents owned a Korean restaurant and were very busy, so she spent a lot of time with her elder brother who took care of her. When the restaurant was not busy after lunch but before dinner time, her father often spoiled her by bringing delicious food home. Like many other children, Ho studied piano and played saxophone in elementary school. She had many happy memories with the school band members. In middle school, she was elected as a student council president. Ho graduated from a language-oriented high school majoring in English with a Japanese minor. Although Ho liked Japanese dramas and culture, she found it difficult to study the language, so she decided to focus on English. Her high school had many foreign teachers. They made her interested in going abroad and seeing the world. In 2013, accompanied by her parents, she arrived at the city where M. University is located. She was expecting America to be like New York and with a lot of racism, but instead she met nice people in the countryside. Ho said, "What was difficult was the language and [being] homesick. When I first came here, I couldn't speak any English. I just, like, shut my mouth and then sit, and then just listen when the friends talk to each other. I just listen, listen, listen, listen. Then after, like, three months, actually like for one month, I didn't say anything. After one month, I started talking, and then start to hang out. English was hard to me. Right now, it's okay" (Interview H2-16, Lines 132-136). Currently at M. University, she has an equal number of American and international friends, and is the leader of one of the school organizations that has more than 20 members. Although her best friend is Korean, she does not spend too much time with the Korean group. Her boyfriend, who is not Korean, and her best friend live together in an apartment nearby. She drives a car, just like a majority of American students, and goes to bars and on outings with her boyfriend, her best friend, and a few close American friends. What makes this case a success story is that Ho is happy with her life in the U.S. and that she took up certain behaviors of Americans but did not abandon her native culture. She is able to keep a healthy balance between Korean friends and American friends; she goes to bars and American restaurants and cooks Korean food, along with food from her boyfriend's home country. She can see the good points of both Korean and American culture, and she said, "I came to experience individual life. Americans don't care about other people's life. Koreans want to know everything." Ho mentioned that she met many Americans interested in Korea, and her American friends were from the Korea Club. Looking at the example of Japanese students, none had friends from Japan Club and none joined the club either.

One Japanese student who recently came to the U.S. adapted quickly to her new life. She is from a single-parent family and had spent a year earning enough money and applying for scholarships to come study in the U.S. Her dream is of academia and research in the field of physics. She had avoided all contact with Japanese students, explained that she missed home a lot, and was afraid that if she started hanging out with the Japanese students, she would not learn English at all. Instead, she surrounded herself with American and international students so that when she felt lonely, she could talk to them. Her American roommate helped her integrate, and after only two months of staying in the U.S., she had more American and international friends than many students who had stayed for many months or years.

Ima, a female student from Kanagawa Prefecture in Japan, had less luck in making close friends. She was positive, interacted with many Americans, and she successfully adapted to cooking food for herself, even though she lived in the dorm. Academically, her grades were also very high, however, she had very few interactions with

Americans or other international students outside of school. She said she had made friends in class, however, they never met outside of the classroom, and that Americans see classmates as fleeting encounters a majority of the time. Ima also identified her Resident Assistant or RA as a close person to her; they have cooked food in their dorm together on two occasions. Other than that, Ima hangs out with the RA during the desk hours. Ima said that after spending nine months in the U.S., she feels she learned a lot and has had a positive experience.

Conversely, some students see their time in the U.S. as a time that they must serve to get their degree and nothing else. Students like Shane, who has spent more than three years in the U.S., have not made a single American friend, and socialize only with other Chinese students and some Asian students. As Shane is majoring in Japanese and has a Japanese girlfriend, he is interested in Japan but has little interest in the U.S. He describes local people as, “The people here, they are a little bit, not racist, but I think they are cold. They do not want to talk to you unless you talk to them. I'm the kind of person who doesn't just talk to other people by myself, so for people like me, I don't have many American friends” (SH1-17, Lines 74-77). Jack is another case of someone who has little to no interaction with Americans. Interestingly, he calls himself a “playboy,” as he often switches girlfriends, all of whom are Chinese. During his friend’s birthday, he was devastated because his girlfriend broke up with him. According to him, “She said I was immature and too childish.” He was upset and ended up drinking a lot. The party ended with all the Chinese students very drunk, singing Jay Chou’s songs, and Jack got a different girlfriend two days later. He majors in computer science and lives with Shane. Jack commented on Americans, saying, “The people are not that open-minded, not as I was thinking. There are still many people who are conservative; it depends because each country has different people. Some people are open-minded, some are not” (J1-18, Lines 63-65). Jack, during his initial phase, did experience a few American parties with his American roommate, who was not a good roommate, and drank and used controlled substances. However, in the one year of observing Shane and Jack, they had no interactions with Americans. Shane and Jack both had an image of California when they arrived at M. University, and although it was not explicitly said so, it seems they both were disappointed with the reality of what the rural U.S. was like. They both play an online computer game called *League of Legends*, and a majority of the interactions they have with Americans is online.

Bob, from China, has little desire to interact with Americans and tends to avoid such interactions. He describes them as too different and hard to understand, even though he does think they are polite. Though his family in China seems well off financially and he goes home every year, including last year when he visited his parents and also went traveling around China, he did at one point have a part-time job. A few days a week he worked illegally delivering Chinese food. Bob’s boss paid below minimum wage and did not reimburse him fully for the gas fuel that was used to make the deliveries. Bob described one experience on the job: “I do not have American friends. When I deliver the food, some people are pretty terrible. One guy gave me the money not enough for the food. He said I delivered very late, so I throw the food away in front of him, He wanted to punch me and I told him I have a knife in the car. He went back then. He said some swear words. You see many terrible people when you deliver the food. They are silly because they don’t even remember their address. It was hard for me to find their address. Some people live in the poor place can be polite, some live in a rich place but can be really rude. I worked three times around 15 hours. I quit the job then; I worked over half a year. I quit it because the boss is terrible. The boss’s son is terrible, but not as bad as the boss. They don’t give me enough gas fee. The food is better, but compared with the food in China, that restaurant’s food is just so-so” (RB3-5, Lines 88-98). Bob seemed to have many friends in China, but in the U.S., he has just a few Chinese friends and no American friends. He worked with Chinese people and had limited interactions with his classmates. He wanted to go back home to China. For the 2016 fall semester, he planned to live in an apartment with another Chinese student, and each summer he traveled back to China. In September 2016, it was observed that he was suspended from school, and over the summer holidays he had no access to his school email from China. Upon return, he was confronted with the harsh reality of not being able to register for classes and his visa being revoked. After over three years of struggle in the U.S., Bob boarded a plane back home. The only person to send him off was his roommate, who was complaining about not knowing what to do with the apartment and all of Bob’s stuff. There was no farewell party, or a group of students sending him off; it was a silent event that very few people knew about. After this study was completed, Bob indicated that he was not planning to return and wanted to use his money to buy a fake certificate. He was done with the U.S.

(5) Phase Five: Reverse Culture Shock

Upon returning to their home countries students face various re-adjustment difficulties. Ima was the first student to return back home, but she was in the U.S. on a short-term exchange and was away from Japan for only five months. For her, what stood out the most was that all the people around her were Japanese, meaning unlike in the U.S. there were few foreigners in Japan. The second reverse culture shock was the Japanese politeness, which included the “*irashyaimase*” and other pleasantries and greetings. Another Japanese student described a bad experience in the supermarket in Japan. She gained some weight during her one year in the U.S. and felt that the people around her were judging her appearance. She broke down in tears at the market. She said this was most likely caused by many of her Japanese college classmates telling her she gained weighed every time they saw her.

Students from China sometimes have difficulty readjusting to the pollution and the car traffic back home. There are many cars and E-Bikes on the streets in China that do not follow the traffic rules and rather communicate through honking their horns. Another reverse culture shock is the uncleanliness, where people spit on the streets and also sometimes on the bus. One student reported after spending one week back in China he started having stomach problems. Sam from China reported that after being in the U.S. for three years, he felt disgusted at everyone at restaurants using their own chopsticks to take the food from the shared plates in the middle of the table. Prior to living in the U.S., it was normal and there were no second thoughts about it. But now, just imagining the saliva from the mouths of other people touching the food everyone shares is very repulsing.

One student who returned to Korea and was in the army complained that the seniors around him were absurd. The hierarchical organizational structure at universities and in the workplace made him uncomfortable. He wished to return back to the U.S. He wrote, “I really didn’t like the part that I had hated when I was young. I am serving a mandatory service back in Korea right now. If I have a chance to get out of here, I will not live in this country ever. I will come back to see my family and friends, but the culture up here is quite messed up.” This problem also confronted students in daily life upon their return to Korea. Another student wrote, “The age is very important in Korea. For instance, I cannot eat until the oldest person starts to eat. I get yelled at eating first... It just I forgot a lot of things about Korean culture, but there is no tolerance about that.” It is common for sojourners to get no sympathy from people back home while readjusting to home culture. It is expected that once you return home you will naturally fit in, but it is not always possible for students who have spent a long time abroad. Furthermore, the process of readjustment is not instant; it takes time.

(6) Students Perceptions of Rural versus Urban Areas

It is difficult to make a direct comparison between the experiences of Asian students in rural versus urban areas since the data of this study was mainly obtained from field work in a rural area. However, some comparison is possible based on the findings from two sources. First, the perceptions of the students in this study often reflected a belief that the major factor of the dissatisfaction of their experiences in the U.S. stemmed from studying in such a remote area. Secondly, some of the students have spent time in metropolitan areas of the U.S. and were able to compare their experiences between the rural and urban U.S.

(6.1) “My image of America was California.”

In many adaptation and culture shock models, the process starts with the honeymoon period; however, this experience is somewhat different for Asian students in the rural area. The first thing upon arrival that they were confronted with is the countryside they did not expect. Most of the students had a mental image of America equating to the “Big City” or the sunny state of California. One student from Japan said her first impression was, “Nothing, like, it is so, so countryside that like, wow. My imagination is [that] it [is] like New York. I have been there, or Los Angeles, but I have never been here in America and I was so surprised. I thought there would be more stores, more... more... [pause] but this city has nothing.” (Interview #SA11-11 Lines 9-14). Another student from China said, [My first impression] like in my mind were those movies and cities should be a metro area, but M city is a very, very rural area so it’s like, [pause] how can I say. I felt kind of sad. Like, I thought it should be much better than Hangzhou but that’s just my feeling at the beginning. After I lived there for 2 years, I felt it was a great place to live. The environment is much better because Hangzhou has very severe air pollution, and it’s quiet here and

[there are] many activities like fishing and hiking.” (Interview #Yu12-15, Lines 67-73).

A female student from Korea also described the initial surprise: “Actually, before I came here, I watched *Gossip Girl*, the drama. I kind of imagined it like that. Luxury life. New York. Handsome, that kind of stuff.” While she likes her life at M. University, she did feel a little disappointed when she first arrived. “Actually, I didn't know this M. [city] is a rural area. I just said, “Okay, X state? Okay, fine.” I came here and then as soon as I arrive at the airport... Yeah, this is rural.” (Interview #H2-16 Lines 40-59). Another Korean student said, “People in Korea think America is the top one. When I was young, I was learned that American is big cities, everything is big, bigger than us, then when I growing up, I know America has famous schools.” (Interview # OJ22 Lines 21-22). However, when he arrived, he felt, “There were just fields and fields, it was not what I imagined.” (Interview # OJ2-22 Lines 40-46). One of the Chinese-Malay students described her feelings when she arrived in the rural city as, “Dead. It is so quiet. I came here in early August; I knew no one here. I felt a little bit sad. I miss home, food, and my parents. I think people at M. City is the same as the people from other cities.” (Interview #HW3-15, Lines 76-79). One of the few students who did expect the area to be rural said, “I heard it is countryside, but I never thought it is so inconvenient like this, because America is still broad and strong. First, we need a car to do everything.”

There were a few students who were happy about the small town, but even they were initially surprised by the American countryside. The positive sides of living in a rural area for the East Asian students were different for each group; for the Chinese students, it was the quietness and the lack of pollution, for the Japanese students, it was the safety and lack of crime, one Korean student thought that local Americans were nicer than those in bigger cities. There was one student from Japan who had a choice to go to a metropolitan area, but instead chose M. University because of the countryside. She was on a short-term exchange, lasting only one semester, and explained her decision: “Because if I go to [the big] city, maybe I cannot study a lot. Because it has many fun places there, so... And I just want to go [to a place] where there is not many Japanese students. I don't wanna be with Japanese students, but many American people, and I wanna concentrate on studying. And people in the countryside might be very kind, and it's cheaper than city. I've been to New York for four days before I came there thought everything is big” (Interview #KEI11-25 Lines 22-30). However, at M. University, she spent the majority of her time with other Asian students, and her closest friend was from Taiwan. She actively sought interactions with local students and had some American friends, but no deep, meaningful relationships were formed with the local American students, while the relationship with her Taiwanese friend continued even after going back to Japan.

(6.2) Students' Perceived Experiences in Urban versus Rural Areas

Some of the students visited or spent time studying in metropolitan areas. These students perceived life in a big city as much better than in the countryside. One student from Taiwan noticed a difference between Americans in California and the local Americans: “I think they [local Americans] don't look at things the same way; they have different perspectives, I guess, and it's because they have different life experiences. For example, they're not too familiar with foreign cultures, or they're just not interested here, [but] in California it's different. Even though you're not interested, there [are] many immigrants and you can see people from all over the world walking next to you... [there are] so many international students. However, here, some local students have never met Chinese student in their whole life. It's like one in 20 people, maybe an occasion person who met one here, but in California, there is many Asians and Little Tokyo, and there's, like, so many Asians there, and they have to just know them.” (Interview # LI2-12 Lines 34-41). Another student from Japan who studied in California prior to transferring to M. University described how California was different: “So different. Way better. People are different, and way more open. They are more racist in California, when I was walking once, someone just started screaming, [racial derogatory term, profanity]. Here [M. City] they pretend to be nice, fake nice. And [in California] when I wear a nice T-shirt, they talked to me a lot and would say, “Nice T-shirt,” but here, no one talks to me. In California, people are more friendly and active... more interesting.” (Interview #YA9-19 Lines 176-182).

There is a tone of reminiscence and some regret when the students talk about their time in the major cities. Many students thought that their interactions with Americans would be much better if they were in California. One student from Taiwan who spent time in California described his experience and stated that due to being in a rural area, he played many video games: “I think American students here are not like the students in California; I do not

think they like international students, some part. Because I have been to California several times, [I] expected people to be like the people there, which is friendlier, but not really here. For example, in California when I go to the festival in the summer, [some] people ask me, "Do you want to join?" They respect you, you know like I said before... You know I wear eyeglasses and when I play basketball here [at the gym at M. University] people call me "glasses," something like that. I don't care; maybe I don't care right now but I can [care] later. Because, I'm from the city so I didn't expect such a rural area, not that rural, but I think around here, and there is nowhere to go. Maybe that's why I play a lot of video games, and mostly I'm friends with Chinese." (Interview #SH1-17 Lines 73-87). Another student from mainland China expressed a similar sentiment: "I would say so the people in that [rural] city are more conservative. Probably because they are in the middle of the country, there are not many foreigners there compared to other major cities. So, people were not that open-minded." (Interview #J1-18 Lines 63-64). Few of the Korean students mentioned big cities or had the experience of studying in other parts of the U.S. Two of the students mentioned traveling on vacation to major cities, but they did not have much interaction with the local Americans there, so they could not comment. One student said she thought there were no differences, and in her opinion all Americans are equally pleasant and friendly.

5. Interpersonal Adaptation Theory and its Role in Integration

The IAT looks into the needs, desires, and expectations of two people in their interactions. Therefore, based on the gathered data, the needs, desires, and expectations of East Asian students and the local Americans, along with the nature of interactions, is explored in this section. Firstly, majority of the American students attending M. University are from the same or neighboring state, and from rural towns. The population in these areas range from 500 to 5,000 people. Many students are from families that come from an agricultural background, and when they arrive to M. University, it is very urban for them. These students have had little to no interaction with any foreigners and are often unsure of how to communicate with them. When observing the interactions of local American students, they keep a greater physical distance between each other, compared to the Asian students who come from highly populated areas. The local students and local population have a strong sense of sports culture. Particular attention is paid to American football, baseball, and to some degree basketball. When going to a grocery store, the cashier often will ask the customer, "You going to the football game this weekend?" Answers such as, "I don't follow sports," are always met with a frown. Supporting the local teams, watching the games, and cheering for the local stars was cultural norm and resembled a second religion in the area. Many Japanese and Korean students were unaware of the rules of American football, and many mainland Chinese students did not understand the point and rules of baseball. The American students, therefore, mostly interacted with East Asian students on a need-to-need basis. Also, as was demonstrated, they often only engaged in interactions in the classroom based on the teachers' instructions to do so. Therefore, a majority of the students did not have a true desire to communicate with East Asian students due to them expecting the East Asian students to be unable to communicate in English. According to the IAT, the formula would look like this: the expectation that this person does not speak English + desire to avoid awkward situation + need, which there no need to interact (unless it is forced upon by the instructor), leading to a somewhat negative interactional position. When that need arises, then the expectation changes after the East Asian student can demonstrate a certain level of competency in the English language. However, for the desire to interact to rise, other means are necessary for the East Asian students to overcome this initial negative predisposition or this shyness of American students from rural areas. There are certainly rural American students who are curious and are genuinely interested in other countries. However, those interested in East Asian countries are, by far, a small minority. Many East Asian students did not know the rules of American football and knew nothing about the local teams or games. Conversely, in the semi-formal interviews, American students showed low competence in telling Japan, China, and Korea apart. Furthermore, students from Taiwan reported that some local students did not know where it was, similarly to Chinese-Malay students, who were often asked where Malaysia was located.

Looking at intercultural interactions from the perspective of East Asian students, the initial interaction position was positive, as they had much desire to interact with American students. They expected the American students to be friendly, outgoing, and interested in their respective cultures. To integrate into American culture, they needed to form friendships or intimate relationships with Americans to receive the social support that is necessary

to cope with a foreign environment. Upon the discovery of discrepancies between expectations and reality, many students described Americans as unfriendly and cold. The need for social support remained, but with East Asian students no longer expecting American students to be able to fill that need, many students turned to a more familiar co-ethnic group. When the interactional position became negative, many students like Bob avoided contact with American students. However, students with a positive attitude like Ho found Americans that were friendly, interested in Korean culture, and wanted to form intimate relationships by joining Korea Club. This led to the formation of intimate relationships between this Korean student and local students. Another anomaly other than Ho was a Japanese student, Hiro. He found Americans very friendly and formed intimate relationships with his American roommate and his roommate's friends, which was based on a mutual interest in film studies and American comic books. Hiro loves American movies and Marvel comic books, and this interest gave way for a lot of interaction with American students who also had the same hobby. Hiro took classes in film studies, where he met more Americans with the same interests. Although he faced some difficulty in group work, he concluded that some people make better friends than work partners. Interestingly, once the local Americans became more intimate and interested in Hiro, they developed an interest in Japan, often searching YouTube videos about Japan. Hiro recalled an incident when his American friend ran to Hiro's room excitedly and asked whether or not it was true that Japanese people eat Kentucky Fried Chicken for Christmas.

6. Conclusion

There is a mutual exchange between the attitudes of the host nationals and ethnic groups, and this is often moderated by the popular opinion (Berry & Kalin, 1979). This suggests that the attitudes held by the local population toward the Asian sojourners can act as a mirror and reflect back the way East Asian students view their classmates, professors, and other local populations. Developing intimate relationships and increasing the interaction between sojourners and local students is imperative to the process of adjustment to a foreign culture. Loneliness has adverse effects on the sojourners (Wang & Sun, 2009) and social support is necessary for the students to cope with their process of adjustment (Miyazaki, Bodenhorn, Zalaquett & Ng, 2008; Wei, Heppner, Mallen, Ku, Liao & Wu, 2007). Interactions with the local population is a major contributing factor to the students' adjustment to the rural U.S. Numerous studies suggest the more frequently the international students interact with friends from the host country, the better they adjust (Furnham & Bochner, 1982; Heikinheimo & Shute, 1986; Perkins, 1977). Sellitz and Hook (1962) showed that international students felt a stronger connection to the United States if they had at least one close American friend; however, a majority of the students in this study had very few close American friends.

The results of this study demonstrated a large gap in the expectations and a lack of preparation of the East Asian students to their lives in the rural U.S. One of the major discoveries in this study is the initial disappointment of the students in the rural area and the increase of culture shock because of the gap between the expectations and reality. Another major finding is that some of the students who were not able to integrate well into their new environment indicated that the cause of their loneliness was the rural area and the local Americans. The students believed if they were in California they would integrate better. The international student orientation at the host university failed to give any hints regarding cultural differences or provide information on the values upheld by the local populace. The local students were seen as lacking an international perspective by the majority of East Asian students, and were described as cold, unfriendly, and somewhat ignorant of matters outside of the U.S. A majority of East Asian students adapted, but failed to integrate into the local culture, and chose to interact with co-ethnic or other international students. The students that were able to integrate more into the American culture did so by forming intimate relationships with local students through common interests or school organizations. This finding is consistent with the conclusions from the study done by Toyokawa et. al. (2002), which also suggested that extracurricular activities are positively related to Japanese students' experiences in the U.S. through increasing life satisfaction, as well as resulting in better academic performance.

Based on these findings, a few suggestions can be made to institutions and students. There seems to be a lack of cultural empathy on both sides. American students do not empathize or try to understand the situation from the perspective of international students. On the other hand, East Asian students also did not understand that

Americans from rural areas might be unaccustomed to communicating with foreigners. It is strongly suggested that students take the time to think about the situation from the perspective of the other side to improve the intercultural communication. Furthermore, home institutions that send students abroad need to educate the students about the differences in the education system, as well as encourage the students to learn about the local culture that is specific to the town where they will be going. Preparations also need to be done by the students. One student found it beneficial to take free online classes from American universities prior to departure. It can also help to learn about cultural norms. For example, when Americans ask, "How are you?" they are not actually asking about your current status in life, but it is a common synonym to "Hello," serving the purpose of a greeting. The host institutions are suggested to give more support to East Asian students in the form of explaining cultural differences, and institutions must realize that the support systems available to American students, such as counseling and other support groups, are unlikely to be visited by East Asian students, as it has negative connotations. Another viable option that was shown to be effective is a peer-support system (Westwood & Barker, 1990), a system where the international students are introduced to a local student who provides support in the process of academic and social adaptation. As the Japanese female students were often made uncomfortable by the sexual advances of male students, training on sexual harassment is necessary to protect the minority group that is not familiar with the cultural norms of the U.S. A system where the differences are pointed out and local students are educated on intercultural competency and the international students on campus would also be beneficial.

The suggestions for East Asian students are to be more persistent in pursuing friendships with the local students. None of the students in this study attempted to learn about American football, even though the students who went to the basketball and baseball games did so with other international students, and reported it being highly satisfying. Initiating conversation instead of waiting for the Americans to do so would also benefit the international students, as well as understanding that students from rural areas are not accustomed to communicating with foreigners, and might be under the incorrect assumption that international students cannot speak English. Increasing the interactions between students will be beneficial for both local and foreign students.

References

- Barratt, M. F., & Huba, M. E. (1996). Factors related to international undergraduate student adjustment in an American community. *College Student Journal*.
- Berry, J. W., & Kalin, R. (1979). Reciprocity of inter-ethnic attitudes in a multicultural society. *International Journal of Intercultural Relations*, 3(1), 99-111.
- Berry, J. W., Kim, U., Minde, T., & Mok, D. (1987). Comparative studies of acculturative stress. *International Migration Review*, 491-511.
- Black, J. A., Mendenhall, A., & Oddou, G. (1991). Black, J. S., Mendenhall, M., & Oddou, G. (1991). Toward a comprehensive model of international adjustment: An integration of multiple theoretical perspectives. *Academy of Management Review*, 16(2), 291-317.
- Burgoon, J. K., Stern, L. A., & Dillman, L. (2007). *Interpersonal adaptation: Dyadic interaction patterns*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Chen, G. (1992). Communication adaptability and interaction involvement as predictors of cross-cultural adjustment. *Communication Research Report*, 33-41.
- Cheng, D., Leong, F., & Geist, R. (1993). Cultural differences in psychological distress between Asian and Caucasian American college students. *Journal of Multicultural Counseling and Development*, 21(3), 182-190.
- Church, A. T. (1982). Sojourner Adjustment. *Psychological bulletin*, 91(3), 540.
- Floyd, K., & Burgoon, J. K. (1999). Reacting to nonverbal expressions of liking: A test of interaction adaptation theory. *Communications Monographs*, 66(3), 219-239.
- Furnham, A., & Alibhai, N. (1985). Value differences in foreign students. *International Journal of Intercultural Relations*, 9(4), 365-375.
- Furnham, A., & Bochner, S. (1986). *Culture shock: Psychological reactions to unfamiliar environments*. London: Methuen and Co.
- Furnham, A., & Trezise, L. (1982). Social difficulty in a foreign culture: An EMpirical analysis of culture shock.

- Furnham, A., & Trezise, L. (1983). The mental health of foreign students. *Social Science & Medicine*, 17(6), 365-370.
- Gebhard, J. G. (2010). *What do international students think and feel? Adapting to college life and culture in the United States*. Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press.
- Gebhard, J. G. (2012). International students adjustment problems and behaviors. *Journal of International Students*, 2(2), 184-193.
- Gullahorn, J. T., & Gullahorn, J. E. (1963). An extension of the u-curve hypothesis I. *Journal of social issues*, 19(3), 33-47. *Journal of Social Issues*, 19(3), 33-47.
- Han, E. (2007). Academic discussion tasks: A study of EFL students' perspectives. *Asian EFL Journal*, 9(1), 8-21.
- IIE. (2016, November 28). "Top 25 Places of Origin of International Students, 2014/15-2015/16." *Open Doors Report on International Educational Exchange*. Retrieved from Institute of International Education: <http://www.iie.org/opendoors>
- Kawaguchi, K. (2006). Daigakusei no i bunka tekiō to shinri-teki fuan no henka ni kansuru kenkyū. [Study on the cross-cultural adaptation and change in the psychological anxiety of college students]. *Aomori University of Health and Welfare Journal*, 7 (1), 37-43.
- Kim, Y. (1988). *Communication and cross-cultural adaptation: An integrative theory*. Clevedon: Multilingual Matters.
- Le Poire, B. A., & Yoshimura, S. M. (1999). The effects of expectancies and actual communication on nonverbal adaptation and communication outcomes: A test of interaction adaptation theory. *Communications Monographs*, 66(1), 1-30.
- Leong, F. T., & Chou, E. L. (1996). *Counseling international students*. Sage Publications, Inc.
- Lin, G., & Yi, J. (1997). Asian international students Adjustment: Issues and program suggestions. *College Students Journal*, 473-479.
- Mori, S. (2000). Addressing the mental health concerns of international students. *Journal of Counseling and Development*, 137-144.
- Nakagawa, N. (2013). Nihonjin ryūgakusei no i bunka sesshoku to aidentiti [Intercultural Contact and Identity of a Japanese College Student : Image Analysis of Pre-departure, On-site and Post-study Abroad]. *Kobe: University of Marketing and Distribution Sciences, Faculty of Human, Social and Natural Science*, 25(2), 53-75. Retrieved from <http://www.umds.ac.jp/profile/pages/documents/053-075nakagawanorikosensei.pdf>
- Poyrazli, S., Kavanaugh, P. R., Baker, A., & Al-Timimi, N. (2004). Poyrazli, S., Kavanaugh, P. R., Baker, A., & Al-Timimi, N. (2004). Social support and demographic correlates of acculturative stress in international students. *Journal of College Counseling*, 7(1), 73-83.
- Redmond, M. V., & Bunyi, J. M. (1993). The relationship of Intercultural Communication Competence with Stress and the Handling of Stress as Reported by International Students. *International Journal of Intercultural Relations*, 235-254.
- Saldaña, J. (2009). *The coding manual for qualitative researchers*. SAGE Publishing.
- SEVIS. (2016, December 30). *Mapping SEVIS by the Numbers; Mapping SEVIS by Number reports*. Retrieved from Department of Homeland Security, U.S. Immigration and Customs Service: <https://www.ice.gov/doclib/sevis/pdf/byTheNumbersDec2016.pdf>
- Tanaka, K., & Takahama, A. (2013). Cross-cultural Adaptation and Use of Social Skills by Japanese Students Studying Abroad. *Longitudinal Study of Students Who Participated in Pre-departure Social Skills Learning Session*, 65-80.
- Toyokawa, T., & Toyokawa, N. (2002). Extracurricular activities and the adjustment of Asian international students: A study of Japanese students. *International Journal of Intercultural Relations*, 26(4), 363-379.
- Wakefield, C. (2014). *Aommunicating with Americans: Chinese Internationa Students' Experiences and Perceptions*. ProQuest Dissertations and Theses.
- Wang, K. T., Heppner, P. P., Fu, C. C., Zhao, R., Li, F., & Chuang, C. C. (2012). Profiles of acculturative adjustment patterns among Chinese international students. *Journal of Counseling Psychology*, 59(3), 424-435.

- Wang, Y., & Sun, S. (2009). Examining Chinese students' Internet use and cross-cultural adaptation: Does loneliness speak much? *Asian Journal of Communication*, 19(1), 80-96.
- Westwood, M., & Barker, M. (1990). Academic achievement and social adaptation among international students; A comparison groups o. *International Journal of Intercultural Relations*, 251-263.

Article

Health Insurance Politics of Japan in the 1940s and the 1950s:

The Japan Medical Association and Policy Development

Takakazu YAMAGISHI

Nanzan University, Faculty of Foreign Studies, Professor

Health care reform has consistently been a heated political issue in Japanese politics. Japan began to take gradual steps to expand its health insurance system after it enacted the Health Insurance Law in 1922. It finally adopted the basis of the current legal structure of universal health insurance in 1958. The 1940s and 1950s were an especially critical period during which Japan solidified its health insurance system.

Adopting the viewpoint of historical institutionalism, this paper demonstrates what institutional and political contexts existed for stakeholders, especially the government and the Japan Medical Association (JMA), to pursue their interests. Then it will help us to rethink what kind of political role the JMA played in the policymaking process and to understand how the Japanese health insurance system has grown as it has.

Keywords: Health Insurance, Japan Medical Association, Ministry of Health and Welfare, Historical Institutionalism

Introduction

Health care reform has consistently been a heated political issue in Japanese politics. Japan began to gradually expand its health insurance system after it enacted the Health Insurance Law in 1922. It finally adopted the basis of the current legal structure of universal health insurance in 1958. The 1940s and 1950s were especially critical periods during which Japan solidified its health insurance system.¹

Policy development did not take place in a political vacuum. Reform-minded bureaucrats tried to expand the government's power while creating and rationalizing health insurance programs. On the other hand, the Japan Medical Association (JMA) made efforts to maintain doctors' autonomy from the government and secure their financial stability. This political conflict should sound familiar to many of those who study the development of health insurance policy in other countries. But the timing and structure of health insurance policy changes in Japan need to be explained not only by the relationship between the government and interest groups but also by historical, institutional and political contexts in which political actors advocated particular policy stances.

Some scholars have studied the relationship between the government and the JMA in the 1940s and 1950s. William E. Steslicke focused on how the JMA developed and became a powerful interest group against the government in health care reform.² Nomura Taku is another scholar who pays special attention to the JMA's political role.

¹ For the structure of the Japanese health care system, see John C. Campbell and Naoki Ikegami. *The Art of Balance in Health Policy: Maintaining Japan's Low-Cost, Egalitarian System*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1998.

² William E. Steslicke, *Doctors in Politics: The Political Life of the Japan Medical Association* (New York: Praeger Publishers, 1973).

Unlike Steslicke, however, he indicated that despite the JMA's hostile attitude toward the government on the surface, the JMA often cooperated with the government.³ Steslicke and Nomura have provided different and rather conflicting perspectives on the political role of the JMA. This paper does not involve itself directly in this argument, but it demonstrates why the relationship between the government and the JMA appeared as it did and how it affected the path of health insurance policy by paying attention to the institutional and political development in health care during the 1940s and 1950s.

I have adopted here the viewpoint of historical institutionalism, a perspective which helps us to understand institutional and political development. Historical institutionalists suggest that institutions provide "a potentially inchoate world"⁴ with some sense of order. To understand policy development, I focus not so much on how politics leads to new policy but more on how a new policy produces a new political context. What causes drastic policy changes then, according to historical institutionalism, is exogenous shocks, such as wars. Lastly, the paper focuses on the timing and sequence of historical events by paying attention not only to whether a certain sequence of events occurred, but also when and why it occurred. Within the analytical framework of historical institutionalism, we can comprehend how institutional and political contexts in Japan shaped the interests and political strategy of the JMA and the policy trajectory to consolidate the foundation of the health insurance system Japan has now.⁵

This article first describes how health policy development after the Meiji Restoration affected health politics before World War II. The second section demonstrates how WWII, considered to be a critical exogenous shock, empowered the government to push for health care reform and achieve drastic changes in 1942. The third section shows how the wartime policy legacy, together with the result of the war and the U.S.-led occupation politics, shaped the policy alternatives in the postwar period. The last section demonstrates what institutional and political developments by the 1940s affected the movement toward universal health insurance. To highlight the unique aspects of historical contexts, this article uses the American case as a shadow comparison.

1. Health Insurance Politics before World War II

After the Tokugawa Shogunate collapsed, the Meiji government played a leading role in creating new health care institutions. A major objective of the new government was the westernization of medicine. The Tokugawa Shogunate had officially endorsed Kanpō, which was originally introduced from China, as its official medicine, but the Meiji government pushed for a legislation to officially admit and develop western-style medicine, *seiyō igaku*. By the end of the nineteenth century, the government had almost completed its mission to firmly establish western-style medicine. But it began to consider the introduction of public health insurance, which also originated in Europe.

As the number of doctors who practiced western-style medicine increased, they began to mobilize themselves in fighting against the traditional Kanpō doctors. Then, western-style doctors had to deal with the government that tried to introduce a new public health insurance program for workers. These events led them to form the JMA in 1923. The government and doctors worked together to form and develop the national medical association.⁶

(1) Transformation from Kanpō to Western-Style Medicine

By the time the Tokugawa Shogunate ended in 1868, Kanpō medicine had been recognized as having

³ Nomura Taku, *Nihon Ishikai* [Japan Medical Association] (Tokyo: Keiso Shobō, 1976). Major works which study the development of Japanese health care in general include Kawakami Takeshi, *Gendai Nihon Iryōshi* [History of Modern Japanese Health Care] (Tokyo: Keisō Shobō, 1965); Sugaya Akira, *Nihon Iryō Seisakushi* [History of Japanese Medical Policy] (Tokyo: Nihon Hyōronsha, 1977); Mizuno Hajime, *Daremo Kakanakatta Nihon Ishikai* [An Untold Story of the Japan Medical Association] (Tokyo: Sōshisha, 2003).

⁴ James March and Joan Olson, "The New Institutionalism: Organizational Factors in Political Life," *American Political Science Review* 78 (September 1984): 743.

⁵ For historical institutionalism, see Paul Pierson, *Politics in Time: History, Institutions, and Social Analysis* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 2004).

⁶ For the history of the Japanese medicine from the ancient time to the Shōwa period, see Sakai Shizu, *Nihon no Iryōshi* [The History of Medicine in Japan] (Tokyo: Keiso Shobō, 1982).

official status. It was imported from China in the tenth century and modified into a Japanese style.⁷ Kanpō medicine stressed that people got diseases because energy (*ki*), blood (*ketsu*) and body fluid (*sui*) were ill-balanced. However, the newly created government made efforts to replace Kanpō medicine with western-style medicine.⁸

While Kanpō medicine tried to make the condition of the entire body better to alleviate the symptoms of disease, western-style medicine tended to focus on getting rid of the sources of a disease. The Meiji government stressed the effectiveness of western-style medicine partly because of leaders' experiences during the Boshin conflict with the Tokugawa Shogunate. Surgeon Major General Ōmura Masujirō noted, "(Japanese) medicine has to be westernized; Kanpō is useless in military hospitals."⁹

In 1869, the government issued its Authorization of Western-Style Medicine (*Seiyō Ijutsu Sashiyurushi*). In 1877, moreover, the Meiji government established a medical faculty, which was based on western-style medicine, at Tokyo University. This institution played a major role in leading the westernization of Japanese medicine, while other medical schools had to hire Tokyo University graduates to be officially recognized by the government.¹⁰

Although existing Kanpō doctors were allowed to continue their practice, new doctors had to be trained in the western-style medicine. The government issued the Medical Regulations Law (*Isei*) in 1874. This law stipulated that new doctors had to be graduates from an official medical school or medical vocational school and must have passed the examination that was based on western-style medical system in order to be able to start practicing. The law vigorously advanced the government's push for the westernization of Japanese medicine.¹¹

However, Kanpō doctors took the lead in establishing a national association before western-style physicians did so. To respond the government's new medical education policy, Kanpō practitioners formed *Onchisha* in 1879. *Onchisha* made strong efforts to block the government from further pursuing the westernization of medicine.¹²

As part of the response to this movement by Kanpō doctors, in 1886, western-style doctors established the Tokyo Medical Society (*Tokyo Ikai*), and similar regional medical associations began to be formed in other prefectures.¹³ The movement by western-style doctors and the government's policies to promote western-style medicine went hand in hand to diminish the power of Kanpō doctors.

However, the relationship between the government and western-style doctors was not always friendly. Western-style doctors faced a serious challenge when the pharmacist groups pushed the government to separate the sale of medicine from the medical treatments. During this time in Japan, doctors usually offered both medical treatments and medicine, and charged only for the cost of medicine. In the Tokugawa Era, people called them *kusushi*, which meant specialists in the prescription of medicine.¹⁴ To imitate the way of western-style medicine, the government was planning to have medicine sold only by pharmacists. To many western-style doctors, however, the prohibition of medicine would mean a significant loss of income; and they furiously opposed the government.¹⁵ This fight contributed to the formation of the first national association of western-style doctors, the Greater Japan Medical Association (*Dainippon Ishikai*: GJMA) in 1906.¹⁶ It was the first, if not a legal organization yet, national medical association in Japan. This new national association soon faced the government's efforts to pass a legislation to provide health insurance for workers.

⁷ There were some doctors who practiced western-style medicine during the Tokugawa Era. They typically went to Nagasaki and learned it from the Dutch doctors.

⁸ Kawakami, *Gendai Nihon Iryōshi*, 91.

⁹ *Ibid.*, 92.

¹⁰ Sugaya, *Nihon Iryō Seisakushi*, 38.

¹¹ *Ibid.*; Hidehiko Kasahara, *Nihon no Iryō Gyōsei: Sono Rekishi to Kadai* [Japanese Health Care Administration] (Tokyo: Keio University Press, 1999), 15-18.

¹² Kawakami, *Gendai Nihon Iryōshi*, 155.

¹³ *Ibid.*, 231-2. Also see Steslicke, *Doctors in Politics*, 38.

¹⁴ Kōseishō Gojūnenshi Henshū Iinkai, *Kōseishō Gojūnenshi: Kijutsu Hen* [Fifty-Year History of the Ministry of Welfare, Documentary Volume] (Tokyo: Chūō Hōki Shuppan, 1988), 62.

¹⁵ For the history of the JMA's resistance in this issue, see Japan Medical Association, *Nihon Ishikai Sōritsu Kinenshi: Sengo Gojūnen no Ayumi* [A Commemorative Issue of the Japan Medical Association: Fifty-Year History after the War] (Tokyo: Nihon Ishikai, 1997).

¹⁶ Kawakami, *Gendai Nihon Iryōshi*, 242.

(2) Health Insurance Law of 1922

Enactment of the Health Insurance Law (Kenkō Hoken Hō: HI) in 1922 had a big impact on health politics. While the leaders in the national medical association cooperated with the government to plan and implement the law to expand their power among doctors, the HI gave a considerable venue for the government to increase influence the medical community.

Historically, Japan lagged behind European countries in the development of health insurance. Under the leadership of Chancellor Otto von Bismarck, Germany introduced public health insurance for workers in 1883. Great Britain enacted the National Health Insurance in 1911. To learn social policy administration, in 1890 the Japanese government sent Gotō Shinpei to Europe. After coming back to Japan in 1892, Gotō started to work on legislation regarding workers' health insurance. Although this proposal did not pass in the Imperial Diet, Gotō's plan was the first serious government's push for health insurance legislation. However, part of Gotō's proposal was adopted finally when the HI, which targeted manual labors, was to be enacted in 1922.¹⁷

Two political and social movements helped this law to be passed in the Imperial Diet at that time. First, there were strong demands for male suffrage. To appeal to the new voters, the Keiseikai Party, a large minority party, began to promote a public health insurance program for manual workers. Then, the Seiyūkai Party, a conservative majority party, advanced a similar proposal. Secondly, the health insurance proposals became entangled with the rapid rise of the labor movement which itself was related to greater industrialization. The government came to see the health insurance legislation as a means to mediate labor conflicts.

As a result of these pressing circumstances, the HI was passed in the Imperial Diet by "surprising speed."¹⁸ The Law established two programs: the Association-Managed Health Insurance for large companies with more than 500 employees and the Government-Managed Health Insurance for smaller company employees. For the former program, the government gained power to regulate what health insurance plan large companies offered. For the latter, the government had much tighter control by becoming the single insurer.

The HI was decided by the government's top-down approach despite the fact that the GJMA had formal and informal negotiation channels with the government. Kitahara Ryuji points out that the GJMA was more reactive than proactive in the policymaking process.¹⁹ In addition, Kawakami Takeshi concludes that the GMJA underestimated the impact of the HI on doctors and that in effect the government unilaterally advanced the policymaking process.²⁰

However, it was not that the GJMA did not gain anything from the HI. The law gave the GJMA leaders to make the fee schedule and a means to expand their power over individual doctors. More importantly, the creation of the HI gave an opportunity for the GJMA with a particular legal status. In November 1923, the Greater Japan Medical Association was dissolved and the Japan Medical Association came into being.²¹ Kitazato Shibasaburō, who had been the president of the Greater Japan Medical Association, became the first president of the JMA.²²

The elite doctors' hope to find a venue to influence the policy-making process and individual doctors matched the government's desire to have a stronger cooperative relationship with the medical associations in order to implement health policies. However, the power distribution was tilted more toward the government. The government, for example, had the power to control the budget. The government controlled the sum total of the budget although the JMA had large discretion on how to distribute the insurance payment.²³

Medical associations, in general, are to improve the quality of medicine, to promote the professionalization of doctors, and to secure their financial success. But in comparison with their American counterparts, such

¹⁷ Kawakami, *Gendai Nihon Iryōshi*, 226, 348-9. See also Gotō Shinpei, "Shitsubyō no Hokenhō [Sickness Insurance]," in Shakaihoshō Kenkyūsho ed., *Nihon Shakaihoshō Zenshi Shiryō: Shakaihoken* [Pre-history of Japanese Social Security: Social Insurance] (Tokyo: Shiseidō, 1981), 6-12. In 1892, Gotō became the Chief of the Hygiene Bureau, recommended by Nagayo Sensai who was the first Chief.

¹⁸ Kōseishō Imukyoku, *Isei Hyakumen* [One-Hundred-Year History of Medicine] (Tokyo: Gyōsei, 1976), 222.

¹⁹ Kitahara Ryuji, *Kenkōhoken to Ishikai: Shakaihoken Sōshiki niokeru Ishi to Iryō* [The Health Insurance System and the Doctors' Association in Japan: Doctors and Medicine at the Beginning of the Social Health Insurance] (Tokyo: Tōshindō, 1999), 70.

²⁰ Kawakami, *Gendai Nihon Iryōshi*, 358.

²¹ The Health Insurance Law was originally planned to be implemented from April 1924, but the Great Kanto Earthquake occurred in 1923 and the implementation was delayed until January 1927.

²² Kawakami, *Gendai Nihon Iryōshi*, 242. Steslicke, *Doctors in Politics*, 43-44.

²³ Nomura, *Nihon Ishikai*, 29-31.

associations in Japan played fewer roles in medical education and licensing because the central government had the authority to intervene in the health care system.

In the United States, because the federal government had limited power in domestic affairs and because state governments had limited administrative capacity, the American Medical Association (AMA) and regional medical associations got involved more actively in developing the medical education and licensing system during the same period.²⁴ When the JMA was created, on the other hand, it essentially became an organization for the government to implement its first public health insurance policy. The JMA elite wished to be independent of the government, but it was in fact partly absorbed in the government's health care system nearly from its inception. This status became more obvious in the 1930s as Japan expanded overseas military activities.

2. WWII and Health Insurance Politics

When the government began to mobilize the entire nation for total war in the 1930s, the government gained more power to push for radical health care reform. On the other hand, the JMA was effectively turned into a state organization that was subordinate to the government. The JMA then lost its autonomy when the government redefined medicine, including health insurance, as a part of its war mobilization policy.

(1) Expansion of Health Insurance

International events, including the Manchurian Incident in September 1931 and Japan's withdrawal from the League of Nations in March 1933, isolated the country from much of the international community. The Japanese government now began to prepare for a possible future full-scale war with China. The government saw health policy as a means to boost the health of soldiers, workers and the rest of the population in winning such a war. After the Marco Polo Incident in July 1937 took place and Japan started a war with China, the government made efforts to expand its power in health care and expanded public health insurance. The creation of the National Health Insurance Law (Kokumin Kenkō Hoken Hō) in 1938, the White-Collar Workers Health Insurance Law (Shokuin Kenkō Hoken Hō), and the Seamen's Insurance Law (Sen-in Hoken Hō) in 1939 could not have been achieved, at least at the timing, without the escalation of Japan's war with China.

The military thus played a great role in supporting the government's intervention in health care. In the mid-1930s, rural Japan was experiencing long-term economic depression. In these circumstances, the Army began to ask for relief measures, including health care improvements for rural areas not only because it sought to expand its political influence in the government but also because it conscripted young men in rural areas; 85 percent of servicemen came from rural areas.²⁵ Koizumi Chikahiko, a career army officer and director of the Army's Medical Care Bureau, was the leading figure in the Army to push for health care measures for rural areas.²⁶

The breakout of the Marco Polo Incident in July 1937, which started the Second Sino-Japanese War, gave the Army even more incentive to achieve these goals. Prime Minister Konoe Fumimaro and "progressive government bureaucrats," *kakushin kanryō*, expressed their support for the Army's aspiration. Accordingly in April 1938, the National Health Insurance Law was passed in the Imperial Diet. It was initially a voluntary program, targeting farmers and other self-employed persons. The JMA tried to kill the bill but could not because of pressures generated by the war.²⁷

The war with China was first seen as a short-term conflict. But Japan's forces soon got bogged down, just as the government was trying to enact two other health insurance measures in 1939: the White-Collar Workers Health Insurance Law and the Seamen's Insurance Law. In particular, the White-Collar Workers Health Insurance proposal came with two new institutional mechanisms. First, unlike the preceding HI, it required a copayment of twenty percent of the cost of care. Second, which was more damaging to the JMA's political power, it set up a fee-

²⁴ Paul Starr, *The Social Transformation of American Medicine* (New York: Basic Books, 1982), 90-91; Martin Kaufman, *American Medical Education. The Formative Years, 1765-1910* (Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood Press, 1941), 127-30.

²⁵ "Donzoko no Nōmin Kyūsai: Kyūbō ni Mikanete Rikugun mo Tsuini Tatsu [Relieving Farmers: The War Ministry Finally Got Involved in the Relief Project]," *Yomiuri Shimbum*, June 7, 1932.

²⁶ Kōseishō Gojūnenshi Henshū Iinkai, *Kōseishō Gojūnenshi*, 379.

²⁷ *Ibid.*; Kawakami, *Gendai Nihon Iryōshi*, 428.

for-service payment system based on an official point system (*kinrō teigaku shiki*). This was quite different from the HI in which the payment to doctors was based on how many enrollees the particular doctor had (*jintō ukeoi shiki*). This change in the fee schedule, according to Kawakami Takeshi, allowed the government to maintain the upper hand in setting the fees and thus reducing the power of the JMA.²⁸

When Konoé presented the geopolitical scheme of the Greater East Asia Co-Prosperty in July 1940, the government began to seek a more drastic reform in health care in connection with the war mobilization. To make more drastic reforms, Koizumi was appointed as the Minister of Health and Welfare in July 1941. He introduced the slogan “healthy soldiers, healthy people,” *kenmin kenpei*. To him, what was making Japanese medicine inefficient was the existing health care system which lacked strong official leadership and relied too heavily on private doctors.²⁹

Koizumi pushed for a radical expansion of public health insurance. In February 1942, the Health Insurance Law was amended to include workers’ dependents. Meanwhile, the government amended the National Health Insurance Law to make the establishment of the National Health Insurance associations mandatory.³⁰ These reforms were led by Koizumi who proposed that “all people should have health insurance (*kokumin kaihoken*),” a phrase adapted from the wartime slogan “all people are soldiers (*kokumin kaihei*).”³¹ In this way, the health insurance coverage increased to more than 70 percent of the population by the end of the war.

The government took this wartime opportunity to expand its power in setting the national health insurance fees. In February 1943, the government standardized the fee calculation for the HI, the Seamen’s Insurance and the NHI. The Ministry of Health and Welfare (MHW) became responsible for deciding the common medical fees of these programs with advice from the JMA, the Japan Dental Association and the Japan Pharmaceutical Association. In June 1944, the Committee on Health Insurance Medical Fees (Shakai Hoken Shinryōhōshū Santei Iinkai), located in the MHW, began to institutionalize the fee-setting process. The Committee was composed of 11 members from the JMA, the JDA and the JPA, 11 from public hospitals, the national health insurance associations and others, and 11 representatives from the central government.³² Even though the committee included representatives of medical interests, the balanced member allocation was nominal, as Sugaya Akira points out, because the government took control in this committee.³³

(2) Nationalized JMA

In addition to the expansion of public health insurance, Health and Welfare Minister Koizumi pushed for a drastic proposal to change medical providers that relied largely on the private sector. He urged the JMA to reform itself and meet the government’s demand saying, “Of course, the reform is urgent. We are in a new era. We have to change the old system. Reform! Right now! The JMA must immediately have its own reform in adjusting to the new era. Otherwise, the government will impose reform on the JMA.”³⁴ In the intensifying nationalistic mood, again, the JMA could not resist.

Then, major reforms came to the JMA. In February 1942, first, the National Medical Treatment Law (Kokumin Iryō Ho) was passed to restrict the construction of private hospitals, increase the number of public hospitals, and educate and reallocate medical professionals. As part of this law, in April 1942, the Japan Medical Corporation (Kokumin Iryō Dan) was established to lead the policy implementation. Inada Ryōkichi, professor at Tokyo Imperial University, was appointed by the government as its president.³⁵

To advance the reform of medical providers, in August 1942, the government issued an ordinance stipulating that the JMA was to be reorganized as a new state entity, which all doctors would be compelled to join and cooperate with the government’s war activities. The MHW nominated the president of the reorganized JMA with the concurrence of the Prime Minister. The Japan Medical Corporation president Inada was appointed as the

²⁸ Kawakami, *Gendai Nihon Iryōshi*, 440-41; Kōseishō Gojūnenishi Henshū Iinkai, *Kōseishō Gojūnenishi: Kijutsu Hen*, 532, 543.

²⁹ Kawakami, *Gendai Nihon Iryōshi*, 438-9.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, 440-41; Sugaya, *Nihon Iryō Seisakushi*, 200-1.

³¹ Gregory J. Kasza, “War and Welfare Policy in Japan,” *The Journal of Asian Studies* 61 No. 2 (2002), 424.

³² Kōseishō Gojūnenishi Henshū Iinkai, *Kōseishō Gojūnenishi: Kijutsu Hen*, 552-3.

³³ Sugaya, *Nihon Iryō Seisakushi*, 200.

³⁴ As quoted in Nomura, *Nihon Ishikai*, 45-6.

³⁵ Kōseishō Gojūnenishi Henshū Iinkai, *Kōseishō Gojūnenishi: Kijutsu Hen*, 423; Takei, *Kōseishō Shōshi*, 91-7.

new JMA president. At that time, the JMA lost its autonomy. As Miwa Kazuo puts it, the JMA's "liberal tradition, inspired by Fukuzawa Yukichi, Kitazato Shibasaburō and Kitajima Taichi, died out."³⁶ The JMA was turned into the government's tool to fight the war.

In these ways, the war led Japan to expand its power in health care. But the Japanese wartime policy and political development were significantly different from the American case. On one hand, Japan adopted a near universal health insurance system and the JMA almost completely lost its voice to the government. On the other hand, the United States expanded the private health insurance and the AMA maintained more autonomy and successfully blocked reformers' proposals to introduce a universal health insurance system. This contrast resulted not only because the JMA was already enmeshed in the implementation of the HI, but also because the Japanese government was able to gain more power by experiencing longer and more devastating conflict than the war which the United States experienced.³⁷

The timing of events also has to be taken into consideration. World War II came "too soon" for the JMA whereas the AMA had functioned as a powerful professional interest group since its formation in 1847. The JMA had far less time (about twenty years after the creation of Greater Japan Medical Association) to establish as a full-fledged interest group. More immature JMA could not resist the government's initiatives. The war radically changed the institutional and political contexts, and they constrained what the government and the JMA could do after the war.

3. Postwar Health Insurance Politics and the JMA

Japan lost the war and the U.S.-led occupation began in September 1945. Although the occupation authority introduced drastic policies to demilitarize and democratize Japan, it did not change much of the basic health insurance system. That is because the occupation politics maintained the strong power of the government and made the JMA powerless, which helped Japan to solidify the existing system.

While the occupation authority conducted a purge of public officials, it had little impact in the MHW. The occupation authority also had cooperative relations with Japanese bureaucrats in planning or implementing increment health care reforms. On the other hand, as part of democratization policy, the occupation authority ordered that the JMA be reorganized and become a voluntary organization. But this had little effect on the new JMA's power. It was only after the occupation ended and the government had nearly completed preparations for the establishment of universal health insurance that the JMA tried to be a full-fledged interest group in earnest.

(1) GHQ's Health Insurance Policy

After the war was over, movements to expand public health insurance intensified in many other war participants. In Great Britain, the National Health Service was created in 1948 based on the Beveridge Plan that was released in 1944. In the United States, immediately after the war, Harry Truman proposed that the country introduce a universal health insurance system and commenced a political battle against opposing forces such as the AMA.³⁸

A similar movement for public health insurance also occurred in Japan. During the war, reform-minded officers had sought to expand the public health insurance for war mobilization by cooperating with the Army. After the war, they worked with GHQ to expand the public health insurance for democratizing and stabilizing the Japanese economy and society. Serious study about health insurance reform began when the Social Insurance Investigation Committee (Shakai Hoken Seido Chōsakai) was established in March 1946. It later submitted the Social Security System Outline, which advocated "not patchwork but a progressive, comprehensive social security system."³⁹ The

³⁶ Miwa Kazuo, *Mōi Takemi Tarō* [Fighting Doctor, Takemi Tarō] (Tokyo: Tokuma Shoten, 1995), 171.

³⁷ For the detailed description about the development of the health insurance policy during the war, see Takakazu Yamagishi, *War and Health Insurance Policy in Japan and the United States: World War II to Postwar Reconstruction* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2011); Gregory Kasza, "War and Welfare Policy in Japan." *The Journal of Asian Studies* 61 No. 2 (2002): 417-35; Shō Kashin. *Nihongata Fukushi Kokka no Keisei to Jūgonen Sensō* [The Fifteen-year War and the Formation of Japanese Welfare State] (Kyoto: Minerva Shobō), 1998.

³⁸ Monte M. Poen, *Harry S. Truman Versus the Medical Lobby: The Genesis of Medicare* (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1979).

³⁹ Shakai Hoshō Kenkyūjo, ed., *Nihon Shakaihoshō Shiryō I* [Material for Japanese social security, part 1] (Tokyo: Shiseido, 1988), 163-67.

Beveridge Report earlier released in Britain also encouraged the Japanese bureaucrats and scholars in the committee to make this proposal, which some called the “Japanese Beveridge Plan.”⁴⁰

GHQ also favored reorganization of health insurance programs. The Public Health and Welfare Section (PHW) was created and social security reform, including health care reform, fell to Crawford Sams, the head of the PHW. In April 1946, the Labor Advisory Committee, which was established in GHQ, released an interim report to make recommendations to the PHW. It concluded that “a comprehensive reform of social insurance can and should be undertaken.”⁴¹ The Committee was also inspired by the new policy development in Britain.⁴² In June 1947, GHQ made a more concrete recommendation that the National Health Insurance be strengthened by increasing national subsidy and proposed that several health insurance programs be integrated into a single program.⁴³

To advance discussion of social security reform, the Social Security Mission was dispatched from the United States. The Mission reflected the occupation government’s goal of the comprehensive reform of Japanese health care. The mission was composed of officials of the Social Security Administration, including William Wandel, who led the mission. The mission issued a report to make the health insurance system financially stronger and achieve universal coverage in the future.⁴⁴

Although these moves did not achieve a British-style health service, most Japanese did not question a strong role for the government to strengthen the public health insurance system.⁴⁵ The bureaucrats institutionalized and enhanced its control in the health care finance which they had gained during the war. In 1950, the government created the Central Social Insurance Medical Council (Chūō Shakai Hoken Iryō Kyōgikai) that incorporated insurance administrators, representatives of the public interest, and health care providers into a centralized fee-setting arrangement for all national health insurance programs.⁴⁶ Although the fee-setting organization included representatives of doctors, the government retained enough power to exert a large influence on the health insurance finance.⁴⁷ Thanks to the fee-setting mechanism, the government succeeded in controlling health care costs after the war even while inflation was underway. In contrast, the JMA members suffered financially from lower insurance fees, but the JMA did not have the political power to resist the government.

(2) Reorganized JMA

In due course, the occupation authority decided to break up the nationalized JMA as it did to *zaibatsu* (big business conglomerates) as part of the overall strategy of demilitarization and democratization of Japan. Accordingly, the JMA was dissolved in October 1947. The newly created JMA was to “be established based on the free will and self-awareness of doctors” and “dedicated to promote medical ethics, to improve and propagate medical knowledge and techniques, and to advance public health as a means of improving the social welfare.”⁴⁸

While the GHQ successfully reorganized the JMA, it did not empower the new JMA in the policy-making process. The GHQ did not see the JMA so much as a new democratic group to advance its initiatives but, in many cases, as an obstacle to the introduction of American-style reforms. When it was to be reorganized, the JMA proposed a list of new executive members to the GHQ. But the GHQ refused it because it had people who served as high-ranking government officers during the war. The GHQ aimed to sweep away wartime leaders of the JMA.⁴⁹

⁴⁰ Takashi Saguchi, “Bebarijji hōkokusho to wagakuni shakai hoshō keikaku: Nihon shakai hoken shi no issetsu [Plan on Japanese Social Security and Beveridge Report: A History of Japanese Social Insurance],” *Waseda shōgaku* 143 (January 1960): 71.

⁴¹ SCAP PHW, “Advisory Commission on Labor First Interim Report,” 2, April 5, 1946, RG 331, Records of Allies Operational and Occupational Headquarters, World War II, 1907-1966, Box 9382, File 8, NACP.

⁴² SCAP PHW, “Report on the Japanese Social Insurance Programs by the Labor Advisory Committee,” 5, May (no date) 1946, RG 331, Records of Allies Operational and Occupational Headquarters, World War II, 1907-1966, Box Com 2-Japan, NACP, 5.

⁴³ Shakai Hoshō Kenkyūjo, ed., *Nihon Shakaihoshō Shiryō I*, 10.

⁴⁴ Sugiyama Akiko, *Senryōki no Iryōkaikaku* [Medical Reform in the American Occupation] (Tokyo: Keisō Shobō, 1995), 101-4.

⁴⁵ For the background of health insurance policy reform in Japan during the American occupation, see Adam D. Sheingate and Takakazu Yamagishi, “Occupation Politics: American Interests and the Struggle over Health Insurance in Postwar Japan,” *Social Science History* 30 No.1 (Spring 2006): 137-64.

⁴⁶ Nomura, *Nihon Ishikai*, 67-8; Yoshihara Kenji and Wada Masaru, *Nihon Iryō Hoken Seidoshi* [History of Japanese Health Insurance] (Tokyo: Tōyō Keizai Shinpōsha, 1999), *Nihon Iryō Hoken Seidoshi*, 125.

⁴⁷ Nomura, *Nihon Ishikai*, 56.

⁴⁸ Nihon Ishikai Sōritsu Gojussunnen Kinen Jigyō Suishin Iinkai, *Nihon Ishikai Sōritsu Kinenshi: Sengo Gojūnen no Ayumi* [Anniversary of foundation of the Japan Medical Association: Fifty-year progress after World War II] (Tokyo: Nihon Ishikai, 1997), 10. Meanwhile, the 日本医療団 was also dissolved.

⁴⁹ Nihon Ishikai Sōritsu Gojussunnen Kinen Jigyō Suishin Iinkai, *Nihon Ishikai Sōritsu Kinenshi*, 9.

There were other conflicts. For example, Crawford Sams, head of the Public Health and Welfare Section, took the leadership to get rid of German-style academic factions and introduced an intern system in Japan.⁵⁰ Sams also tried to clarify the division of labor between doctors and pharmacists; he believed that all doctors cared only about selling drugs and did not pay attention to the advancement of medical technology. In resisting the PHW in 1950, the only thing Tamiya Takeo, the JMA's president, could do was just to resign.⁵¹ The GHQ insisted that the JMA be a more democratic organization, but on many occasions, it did not allow the new JMA to make its own decisions in many occasions.⁵²

One should note that the JMA was in a defensive position not only because of wartime cooperation with the government, but also because the new Constitution empowered the government to intervene in health care. Article 25 of the new Constitution, which was written under the strong leadership of the occupation government, stipulated, "All people have the right to maintain the minimum standards of wholesome and cultured living. In all spheres of life, the state shall use its endeavors for the promotion and extension of social welfare, and of public health."⁵³ This provision helped to create an environment in which the government and the GHQ worked together to oppose the JMA representation of private interests.

Contrasting the American case helps us further to highlight the situation that the JMA faced in the postwar period. With the war victory, the AMA was not blamed for its cooperation with the government's war activities; rather, it could claim that its contribution to winning the war helped to protect Americanism, particularly the idea of freedom. In addition, the AMA did not have to reorganize itself and it could retain its capacity to defeat Truman's universal health insurance plan. Because of Japan's war, on the other hand, the JMA was forced to reorganize and had only limited opportunity to influence on the policy-making process. While the JMA was put into a defensive position, the government continued to consolidate the health insurance system that was developed in accordance with wartime policies.

4. The Path toward Universal Health Insurance

The first half of the 1950s was the period when the Japanese government began to push hard for universal health care. As described, bureaucrats had gained considerable power in health care by this time while the JMA was still struggling to recover influence and authority. Takemi Taro was elected as the JMA president in 1957 to take strong leadership and began to press the JMA's voice in policy-making process, but he was too late for making drastic change to existing institutional settings.

(1) The Offensive Government

In December 1948, the Japanese government created the Advisory Council on Social Security (Shakai Hoshō Seido Shingikai) as a cabinet-level organization. With 40 members, it played role in studying, planning, and recommending policies. A report the Council submitted to Prime Minister Yoshida Shigeru in October proposed to reform workplace-based programs and require the uninsured people to join the National Health Insurance, which was a residence-based program.⁵⁴ The report to Yoshida set forth an outline of Japan's future health insurance system.

In 1950, the government took a step to reconfirm its power in health care finance by replacing the Committee on Health Insurance Medical Fees, created in 1944, with the Central Social Insurance Medical Care Council (Chūō Shakai Hoken Iryō Kyōgikai, called Chūikyō). The new Council met every two years to determine the national fee schedule which applied for all national health insurance programs with the advice of medical

⁵⁰ Sugaya, *Nihon Iryō Seisakushi*, 494-97.

⁵¹ Takemi Taro, *Jitsuroku Nihon Ishikai* [A True Story of the Japan Medical Association] (Tokyo, Asahi Shuppan, 1983), 33. Takemi Taro was then the Vice President and resigned with Tamiya.

⁵² See also Akira Sugaya, *Nihon Iryō Seidoshi* [History of Japanese Medical Institution] (Tokyo: Hara Shobō, 1976), 494.

⁵³ Deborah J. Milly, *Poverty, Equality, and Growth: The Politics of Economic Need in Postwar Japan* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Asia Center, 1999), 101.

⁵⁴ Kōseishō Gojūnenishi Henshū Iinkai, *Kōseishō Gojūnenishi: Kijutsu Hen*, 837; Sugita Yoneyuki, "Universal Health Insurance: The Unfinished Reform of Japan's Healthcare System," in Mark E. Capiro and Yoneyuki Sugita eds., *Democracy in Occupied Japan: The U.S. Occupation and Japanese Politics and Society* (New York: Routledge, 2007), 164.

providers, insurance providers, and representatives of the public.⁵⁵ The new mechanism reconfirmed the government's strong power in health care finance. The government had health insurance costs under control in face of post-war high inflation. The end of the war did not mean that fee-setting power returned to the JMA.

The government continued to press for a radical reform. An urgent issue was that the Government-Managed Health Insurance program had been in deficit, and the deficit rose to six billion yen in 1955.⁵⁶ In response, in the same year, a Seven-Member Committee was created in the MHW to study how the health insurance system should be changed to solve the financial problem.⁵⁷ In October 1955, the Committee submitted a report to the Minister, which included a new fee structure and tighter regulations on doctors who accepted health insurance payments. The report justified stronger government control over doctors on the basis that they had a "public" role.⁵⁸ The government passed the Health Insurance amendment in March 1956 to advance many of the proposals by the Seven-Member Committee.

The Special Committee in the Advisory Council on Social Security submitted a recommendation to the government that Japan should achieve a universal health insurance system by 1961. Dazai Hirokuni, Executive Director of the Advisory Council and the MHW official, declared, "The recommendation included the five-year financial plan by 1961, but I did not personally think universal health insurance would be realized in 1961. I felt that the time flew by very fast but that a strong national mood for social security existed."⁵⁹ His statement suggests that the movement toward universal health insurance was even stronger than bureaucrats themselves might have felt at that time.⁶⁰ In December 1958, the Diet passed a National Health Insurance amendment to realize the proposal by making all municipalities cover their residents.

(2) Too Late for the JMA's Comeback

In the early 1950s, the JMA presidents worked hard to be influential in the policy-making process but they could not do much to counter the government which was intensifying its control over health care. Takahashi Akira and Tamiya Takeo, both well-known Tokyo University professors, tried to make the JMA recognized as a prestigious and powerful group.⁶¹ In 1951, opposing that the government did not allow the fees to increase in proportion to inflation, Taniguchi Yasaburo sought to ask for doctors not to see health insurance patients. Obata Korekiyo also tried to resist the government's efforts to amend the Health Insurance Law from 1955 to 1956. But none of these efforts brought the JMA much success.⁶²

In this circumstance, Takemi Taro was elected the president of the JMA in April 1957.⁶³ Because of his intense performance to the government, particularly the MHW, Takemi was called "Belligerent Taro," *kenka Taro*.⁶⁴ His aggressive, bombastic and provocative personality was well known to the JMA members. He had run for the presidency three times in the past, but never gained enough votes in earlier elections. Hido Shuichi argues that this was because of his strong personality. However, the election in 1957 was different: the same personality helped Takemi get elected.⁶⁵ Many of the JMA members realized that a different and strong leadership would be needed in face of changing political realities.

In addition to his strong personality, the JMA members had a hope that Takemi would use his personal connections in politics to influence the policy-making process. His clinic in Ginza was the perfect place to promote

⁵⁵ Yoshihara and Wada, *Nihon Iryōhoken Seidoshi*, 125.

⁵⁶ Nihon Ishikai Sōritsu Gojūshūnen Kinen Jigyō Suishin Inkai, *Nihon Ishikai Sōritsu Kinenshi: Sengo Gojūnen no Ayumi* [Anniversary of foundation of the Japan Medical Association: Fifty-year progress after World War II] (Tokyo: Nihon Ishikai, 1997), 47.

⁵⁷ Kawakami, *Gendai Nihon Iryōshi*, 285-6.

⁵⁸ Jiro Arioka, *Sengo Iryo no Gojūnen: Iryōhokenseido no Butaiura* [Fifty-Year of Postwar Medicine] (Tokyo: Nihon Iji Shinposha, 1997), 86-87.

⁵⁹ Quoted in *ibid.*, 95.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*

⁶¹ Taro Takemi ed., *Tamiya Sensei wo Shinobu* [In Memory of Professor Tamiya] (Tokyo: Medicaru Karuchua, 1964), 273.

⁶² Kawakami, *Gendai Nihon Iryōshi*, 510-512.

⁶³ The former president Obata was removed from office in March by an extraordinary House of Delegates.

⁶⁴ For Takemi's background, see Takakazu Yamagishi, "A Short Biography of Takemi Taro, the President of the Japan Medical Association," *Journal of the Nanzan Academic Society Social Sciences* 1 (January 2011): 49-56.

⁶⁵ Hido Shuichi, "Itansha Takemi Taro [A Heretic Takemi Taro]," *Chūōkōron* 79 no. 7 (July 1964), 254.

acquaintance with political figures. His relationship with Makino Nobuaki was especially helpful in this regard.⁶⁶ Makino was the son of Okubo Toshimichi who had played a leading role in the Meiji Restoration.⁶⁷ Takemi's connection with Makino was strengthened by his marriage to Makino's granddaughter. Through this marriage, Takemi also became a relative of Yoshida Shigeru who served as Prime Minister for about seven years after World War II. By serving as Yoshida's personal physician, Takemi became very close to him and began to play an important political role for Yoshida.⁶⁸

In April 1957, Takemi was elected as the JMA's president, receiving 104 representative votes out of 152 votes. Steslicke writes of Takemi's impact on the development of the JMA, "It was not until after the election of Takemi Taro as president in April 1957 that the JMA began to attract widespread attention and condemnation as an *atsuryoku dantai* (pressure group). It is only since Takemi's election and forceful leadership, moreover, that the JMA [became] of key importance in medical care administration and politics."⁶⁹ Mizuno Hajime also notes, "It was Takemi who, for the first time, blundered through discussing and making policies themselves and began to fight [against the government]."⁷⁰

His inaugural speech already demonstrated his strong intention to challenge the government. Takemi said, "When we see the present condition of social insurance, I think that there are many contradictions and other things are needed for reform. The health insurance reform proposal, which we have recently fought against, was out of step with the necessary process of academics and democracy. I recommend a reverse course against police-like authoritarian administration."⁷¹ He was strongly convinced that bureaucrats distorted the health care system in Japan.⁷²

Takemi was elected to recover from the JMA's "lost twenty years." He had to break through the organization's stagnation and he knew that it would be extremely difficult to reverse the path of institutional and political development. Part of his inaugural address affirmed this. He said, "We have a responsibility to offer the technological and social cooperation needed to create a universal health insurance system."⁷³ He also later wrote, looking back at the 1950s, "I was thinking that the road toward universal health care was irresistible."⁷⁴

What Takemi could do to the existing institutions was more limited than commonly believed. Although the JMA members saw Takemi as an influential political figure, the Takemi presidency was born into a system in which he forced many institutional barriers to change. While he used his political connections to get some compromises from the government, such as issues of doctor's right to sell drugs, fees, preferential tax code, he could not obtain fundamental policy change.

Takemi had to assume a much more defensive position vis a vis the Japanese government than did his AMA counterpart in the United States. It was evident by 1950 that Truman's health care reform proposal would not go anywhere. Meanwhile, private health insurance expanded during and after the war. The AMA made a decision to push for the expansion of private health insurance while President Dwight Eisenhower's administration did the same. The federal government had very little direct involvement in health care.⁷⁵ On the other hand, in the 1950s the Japanese government retained much of the power it acquired during the war and the occupation which allowed it to shape health insurance policy and take steps toward universal health insurance. The JMA had "lost twenty years" and it took a long time to recover its influence. The JMA's comeback with Takemi was too late to make any drastic changes to the existing system and could only maximize benefits of the JMA members within the existing system.

⁶⁶ Mizuno, *Daremo Kakanakatta Nihon Ishikai*, 24.

⁶⁷ Hido, "Itansha Takemi Taro," 252.

⁶⁸ Takemi Taro, *Senzen Senchū Sengo* [Before, during, and after WWII] (Tokyo: Kōdansha, 1982), 218. For the details of Takemi's background, see Takakazu Yamagishi, "Short Biography of Takemi Taro, the President of the Japan Medical Association," *Academia Social Sciences* 1 (March 2011), pp. 49-56.

⁶⁹ Steslicke, *Doctors in Politics*, 46.

⁷⁰ Mizuno, *Daremo Kakanakatta Nihon Ishikai*, 64.

⁷¹ "Rinji Daigiin Kai ni okeru Takemi Kaichō no Shūnin Aisatsu," *Nihon Ishikai Zasshi* 37 no. 9 (May 1957), 579.

⁷² For Takemi's thoughts about the government's role, see Takemi, *Jitsuroku Nihon Ishikai*.

⁷³ "Rinji Daigiin Kai ni okeru Takemi Kaichō no Shūnin Aisatsu."

⁷⁴ Takemi, *Jitsuroku Nihon Ishikai*, 59.

⁷⁵ Jacob S. Hacker, *The Divided Welfare State: The Battle over Public and Private Social Benefits in the United States* (New York: Cambridge University Press 2002).

5. Conclusion

Legislation to achieve universal health insurance in 1958 was major turning point in the history of the Japanese health insurance system. This article demonstrates that the path toward universal health insurance was largely set during the war and solidified after the war. The government's top-down policy to westernize, improve, and rationalize the Japanese medicine discouraged the JMA to participate in the policymaking process. During the war the JMA further handed its power over the government that sought to make war mobilization more efficient. It did not get its power back during the occupation period. This institutional and political development impacted what the JMA could do and could not do in the later period. Takemi appeared to be a strong political actor in the postwar policymaking process, but his presidency was born into a robust institutional setting that he could not drastically change.

This article also reminds us that the institutional and political development in Japan was not linear. There were no determined orders: the Japanese health system was what historical institutionalists would call an inchoate world. Japan could have adopted different policy paths. This article with the comparison with the American case should make us wonder what if the westernization of medicine had been more advanced under the Tokugawa regime, what if the Health Insurance Law had not passed in 1922, and, more importantly, what if WWII had ended differently. It is often said that there is no "if" in history. But without thinking of "ifs," we cannot fully understand how institutions and politics interact to shape policy paths.

To advance this project, it is important to look closely into how institutional and political developments in health care affected interest groups other than the JMA, such as hospital organizations, business groups, and labor unions. By studying them, we can understand the political context of the postwar period more comprehensively.

This paper also has implications for the current health care reform debate. In the face of the recent discussion of *iryō kiki* (health care crisis), the government has not been able to offer fundamental reform. On the other hand, the JMA has not been able to react effectively to the problem, either. Neither has offered more than hodge-podge reforms to the existing health care system and without much engagement in public debate. This paper hopes to help us rethink how the Japanese health insurance system has grown as it has and what the system needs to change.

The research was supported by JSPS KAKENHI Grant Number JP26380192 and the Pache Research Subsidy I-A-2 for Academic Year 2016 of Nanzan University.

Research Note

Bridging the Gap between Japanese and Foreign Communities through Communication and Critical Reflection

Paul CAPOBIANCO

University of Iowa, Department of Anthropology, Ph.D. Candidate

This paper examines the changing nature of interpersonal relations between Japanese and foreign residents of Japan. Due to various domestic and international mechanisms, Japan's demographics have changed substantially in recent decades and are expected to change even further in the immediate future. One effect of these changes has been an increased presence of foreigners living and working in Japan, which is engendering newfound contexts through which Japanese society engages with diverse forms of cultural Otherness. Previous scholarship has shown that Japan's relationships with different foreign and minority populations have been largely problematic in nature and that foreign populations have formerly been relegated to the social peripheries. Majority-minority relationships have tended to be conceptualized in a predominantly volatile fashion that reinforces a rigid dichotomy between Japanese and outsiders. However, given Japan's changing demographics and the corresponding diversification of interactions presently taking place within Japan, it is worthy to investigate more meticulously the conceptual and material products of these intercultural encounters.

Utilizing qualitative ethnographic data, this paper suggests that the interpersonal dynamics between foreigners and Japanese are changing in ways that lead some Japanese to adopt a more positive image of foreigners. Drawing on theoretical insights from intercultural communication studies and applied linguistics, this paper elucidates how Japan's socio-demographic changes are creating new opportunities for Japanese and foreigners to reconceptualize themselves with greater orientations towards the other party, which results in allowing more positive forms of interpersonal relationships to emerge. This paper shows how these novel relationships develop and explains the important role that critical reflection plays in reconsidering the categorical constructs of Japanese and Other. These encounters and critical reflections materially manifest in emergent identities that allow Japanese and foreign residents of Japan to reorient themselves with greater proximity to the other party. However, despite these reorientations, barriers continue to exist that prevent more constructive relations from developing.

Keywords: Intercultural Communication, Identity, Foreigners, Interpersonal Relations

Introduction

Japan is presently positioned to experience a considerable demographic change as a result of a low birthrate, an aging population, and large numbers of young Japanese eschewing particular sectors of the nation's labor market. One effect of these changes has been the emergence of nationwide labor shortages, which thus far have in part been filled by foreign laborers. Despite the pragmatic difficulties foreigners may experience living in Japan, the nation remains a destination country for foreign workers who continue to enter Japan from a myriad of countries. Presently, foreign nationals comprise just over 2% of Japan's population. However, this proportion is expected to increase dramatically in future years; so much so that some experts estimate the composition of foreigners in Japan could

rise to 8 to 27% by 2050.¹ Such a diversification would have profound implications for the nature of Japanese society and the forms of intercultural relations that develop within Japan's borders. This is particularly true for the way that foreign-Japanese relationships unfold. Because Japan's diversification has been underway for some time, we may look to the encounters already occurring for clues as to how this future demographic change might proceed.

Although scholars have tended to focus on the problematic relationships that Japan maintains with its various foreign and minority populations,² others have suggested that there also exist alternatives to minority-majority relations whereby interpersonal encounters between these two parties lead to more positive and diversified outcomes.³ These latter writers stress the fact that although foreigners continue to experience difficulties, barriers, and prejudices in Japan, economic mobility and social integration remain contingent upon numerous variables and are not limited to an all-or-nothing acceptance-exclusion dichotomy. Therefore, it is important to recognize and consider the ways alternative forms of minority-majority relations develop, to understand how they affect the ways Japanese and foreigners interact, and how the actors involved in these processes reconceptualize themselves in relation to each other and to their host society.

This paper will address these questions by examining how critical reflection can induce changes to the ways foreigners are conceptually positioned within Japanese society. Drawing upon ethnographic data collected from 2013-2015, this paper will demonstrate how, through the vehicles of intercultural communication and critical reflection, foreign and Japanese actors reposition themselves with greater orientations towards one another as these intercultural encounters occur.⁴ In doing so, this paper draws from communications studies and applied linguistics to elucidate how critical reflection, induced materially by intercultural encounters themselves, leads to a more dynamic understanding of the experiences of foreigners in Japan. This paper suggests that as such increased understandings continue to materialize in accord with Japan's ongoing demographic changes, Japanese actors will be further compelled to reconceptualize the positionality and role of foreigners within Japan to a much greater extent. The following sections of this paper will provide a brief overview of the concept of reflexivity in relation to intercultural communication and then proceed to present ethnographic vignettes from foreign and Japanese actors to explain how these changes materialize in practice. It will then analyze this data and explain the implications of these reflections and changing positionalities.

1. Reflexivity, Identity, and Intercultural Communication

There has been a great deal of interest from disparate academic disciplines in discussing individuals who possess heightened levels of intercultural awareness and competence. These works have argued that individuals are capable of acquiring capabilities that transcend their own cultural milieu and allow them to navigate fluidly across real and imagined cultural barriers. One concept that aims to explicate the dynamics of such an individual is Peter Adler's idea of the "multicultural man." Adler suggests that "a new type of person whose orientation and view of the world profoundly transcends his indigenous culture is developing from the complex of social, political, economic, and educational interactions of our time" and that the parameters of this person's sense of self are neither

¹ David Blake Willis and Stephen Murphy-Shigematsu, "Transcultural Japan: Metamorphosis in the Cultural Borderlands and Beyond," in David Blake Willis and Stephen Murphy-Shigematsu eds., *Transcultural Japan: At the Borderlands of Race, Gender, and Identity* (London: Routledge, 2008), p.4

² See John Lie, *Multicultural Japan*, (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2001).

³ Edmond Akwasi Agyeman, "African Migrants in Japan: Social and Economic Integration," *Asian and Pacific Migration Journal* 24, no. 4(2015): 463-486; Leiba Faier, *Intimate Encounters Filipina Women and the Remaking of Rural Japan* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2009); Tsu Yun Hui, "From Ethnic Ghetto to 'Gourmet Republic': The Changing Image of Kobe's Chinatown and the Ambiguities of Being Chinese in Modern Japan," in David Blake Willis and Stephen Murphy-Shigematsu eds., *Transcultural Japan: At the Borderlands of Race, Gender, and Identity* (London: Routledge, 2008), pp. 135-158.

⁴ This paper uses the term "orientation" to describe a process through which disparate groups of social actors – in this case, Japanese and foreign residents of Japan – understand their social and conceptual relationship towards one another.

fixed nor predictable.⁵ Essentially, it is a multilingual and multiculturally-competent person who is not bound by cultural constraints. Other terms have similarly been utilized to describe individuals possessing higher degrees of intercultural competences. Michael Byram has suggested that becoming “bicultural” involves a process of critically reflecting upon one’s own beliefs and convictions, which subsequently allows people to develop a greater sensitivity towards members of other cultural groups. In doing so, Byram implies that there may in fact be two disparate forms of an individual existing in the same body that possess intimate knowledge of two distinct cultures: “a person can hold within themselves two cultural, ethnic identities and...it seems that being two people is not difficult.”⁶ Relatedly, Christina Bratt Paulston utilizes the term “bicultural” to explain an individual that is somewhat “eclectic” in their cultural identity and possesses an idiosyncratic comprehension and fluency of other cultural practices.⁷ This sense of being “bicultural” is characterized by highly personalized attitudes towards the other cultures one engages with, as well as a somewhat precarious sense of social belonging. Nonetheless, this “bicultural” person maintains a heightened awareness of other cultures and is capable of successfully navigating cultural boundaries. Although different in their content, each of the above authors postulate that individuals are not confined to their native cultural milieu and are instead able to develop skills to fluidly communicate across cultures without problems. Such postulations suggest individuals are capable of acclimating themselves in dynamic ways to different types of cross-cultural environments and that there is no cultural paradigm too difficult to transcend.

While it may be overly-optimistic to suggest that an individual such as Adler’s “multicultural man” has already emerged, there are undeniably individuals who possess superior intercultural competencies. It is therefore worthy to consider what processes have led to such competences and what factors have fostered their development. Most germane to this paper are three particular forces that can allow individuals to develop this augmented competence: learning a new language, engaging in intercultural communication, and critical self-reflection. Although these are not the only mechanisms through which increased competences can develop, these have been shown to have important effects on the outcomes of individual learners and intercultural communication interactants. Thus, it is worthy to succinctly explain how these processes function to influence an individual’s (inter)cultural experiences.

However, before doing so, it is worthy to first embark on a slight detour to discuss the concept of “identity,” which lies at the core of many of the processes mentioned below. In its most basic sense, identity reflects how individuals perceive themselves, how they are perceived by others, and how individuals understand these two competing perceptions.⁸ Identity has long been conceived as related to language learning and it has been noted that learning a language also affects the ways one thinks of themselves in relation to others.⁹ Although scholars have recognized the connection between language learning and identity, there have to date been a multitude of ways scholars have operationalized the term “identity” and correspondingly structured their analyses of identity in relation to language acquisition.¹⁰

This understanding of identity suggests that people may possess numerous identities at any given time and that former notions of identity that see identity as fixed, stable, and essentialized – existing as a concrete given – are typically abandoned for understandings of identity that are more fluid and allow for a wider range of applications.

⁵ Peter Adler, “Beyond Cultural Identity: Reflections on Cultural and Multicultural Man,” in Richard Brislin ed., *Culture Learning* (Honolulu: East-West Center Press), pp. 24-41.

⁶ Michael Byram, “On Being ‘Bicultural’ and ‘Intercultural,’” in Geof Alred, Michael Byram, and Mike Fleming eds., *Language for Intercultural Communication and Education* (Clevedon: Multilingual Matters, 2003), p. 54.

⁷ Christina Bratt Paulston, *Sociolinguistic Perspectives on Bilingual Education* (Clevedon: Multilingual Matters, 1992), Chapter 5.

⁸ Bethan Benwell and Elizabeth Stokoe, “Introduction,” in Bethan Benwell and Elizabeth Stokoe eds., *Discourse and Identity* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2006), pp. 1-13.

⁹ H. Douglas Brown, *Principles of Language Learning* (White Plains: Pearson, 2000); Zhu Hua, “Intercultural Communication,” in Li Wei ed., *Introduction to Applied Linguistics* (Somerset: Wiley & Sons, 2014), pp. 112-128.

¹⁰ Julia Menard-Warwick, “Both a Fiction and an Existential Fact: Theorizing Identity in Second Language Acquisition and Literacy Studies,” *Linguistics and Education* 16 (2005): 253-274.

Scholars have actively sought to adopt a more flexible usage of “identity” so as to obtain more nuanced understandings of how it operates practically. A number of “post-structural” scholars have been especially enlightening for underscoring the function of identity in relation to language learning. These scholars have posited that rather than seeing identity as fixed and static, it is instead viewed as inherently complex, malleable, overlapping, and dynamic. Individuals construct and assert identities based on highly contextual and subjective variables that more often than not lead to comprehensions of identity that do not ascribe neatly onto extant identity categories.¹¹ Such an understanding asserts that identity “is not a static, preexisting entity but rather evolves through a dialectical relationship between different ways of interacting and speaking in the world.”¹² Identity can therefore be viewed as a multifaceted and discursive phenomenon, which is affected by a wide range of stimuli. It also asserts that although individuals may consider themselves as part of various collective bodies, no two individuals will understand their identities in precisely the same way. Recognizing these facts are important for fully understanding the types of identity transformations that unfold as a result of contemporary interactions.

There are numerous ways that language learning and intercultural communication affect such idiosyncratic constructions of identity in the contemporary world and in relation to diverse casts of multicultural actors. First, scholars have explained that learning a new language and its corresponding cultural components can compel perceptual changes within learners and in effect alter the ways they understand themselves in relation to others. H. Douglas Brown states that “meaningful language acquisition involves some degree of identity conflict as language learners take on a new identity with their newly acquired competence.”¹³ As individuals struggle to acquire novel cultural and linguistic competencies, they also develop abilities that transcend the language acquisition process and enter into the realm of wider intercultural knowledge. Jean-Marc Dewaele notes that “multicompetent multilinguals seem more aware and appreciative of the diversity in the world, [and are] able to consider it through the prism of their different languages and cultures.”¹⁴ Cem and Margaret Alptekin note that learners will develop an identity that is “able to transcend the parochial confines of the native and target cultures by understanding and appreciating cultural diversity and pluralism thanks to the new language, while not losing sight of native norms and values in the process.”¹⁵ Thus, the language learning process impacts how we conceptualize ourselves and cultural Others. Regardless of one’s intercultural understandings at the outset, because language involves a new way of interpreting the world around us culturally, lexically, and abstractly, learners are likely to undergo some form of identity reorientation as they persist in their endeavors.¹⁶

Second, the act of utilizing one’s learned skills and communicating with members of the target language community (i.e. engaging in intercultural communication) has also been shown to impact how individuals perceive themselves in relation to cultural Others.¹⁷ Chang In Shin and Ronald Jackson note that self-identity “emerges and

¹¹ Bonny Norton, *Identity and Language Learning: Gender, Ethnicity, and Educational Change* (Harlow: Pearson Education, 2000); Aneta Pavlenko and Adrian Blackledge eds., *Negotiation of Identities in Multilingual Contexts* (Clevedon: Multilingual Matters, 2003).

¹² Andrea Simon-Maeda, *Being and Becoming a Speaker of Japanese: An Auto-Ethnographic Account* (Clevedon: Multilingual Matters, 2011), p. 117.

¹³ Brown, *Principles of Language Learning*, p. 147.

¹⁴ Marc-Jean Dewaele, “Second and Additional Language Acquisition,” in Li Wei ed., *Applied Linguistics* (Somerset: John Wiley & Sons, 2014), p.51.

¹⁵ Cem Alptekin and Margaret Alptekin, “The Question of Culture: EFL Teaching in Non-English Speaking Countries,” *ELT Journal* 38, no.1 (1984): 19.

¹⁶ See also Jane Jackson, *Language, Identity, and Study Abroad: Sociocultural Perspectives* (London: Equinox, 2008).

¹⁷ Geoff Alred, Michael Byram, and Mike Fleming, “Introduction,” in Geoff Alred, Michael Byram, and Mike Fleming eds., *Language for Intercultural Communication and Education* (Clevedon: Multilingual Matters, 2003), pp. 1-13; Young Yun Kim, *Becoming Intercultural: An Integrative Theory of Communication and Cross-Cultural Adaptation* (London: Sage, 2000); Young Yun Kim, “Intercultural Personhood: Globalization and a Way of Being,” *International Journal of Intercultural Relations* 32 (2008): 359-368; R.S. Zaharna, “Self-Shock: The Double-Binding Challenge of Identity,” *International Journal of Intercultural Relations* 13 (1989): 501-525.

is constructed from relationships which are negotiated through communication.”¹⁸ Leiba Faier has stated that “encounters cannot but change the ways people see the world and how they move through it. They interrupt, if even ever so slightly, the paths that brought us to them and set us in new directions.”¹⁹ Young Y. Kim further notes that “cross-cultural adaptation is viewed as occurring as long as the individual remains in interaction with the host environment” and that “this interactive, communication-based conception...conceptualizes cross-cultural adaptation not as an independent or dependent variable, but as the totality of an individual's personal and social experiences vis-à-vis the host environment in and through a complex system of communicative interfaces.”²⁰ In this, Kim argues that communicating across cultural boundaries, with cultural Others and in an environment that possesses various stressors for the participants, can compel transformations within these participants in ways that allow them to emerge with a greater understanding of and orientation towards cultural Otherness. One need not be restricted to defining themselves solely in terms of their own personal cultural group and instead can reconstruct an identity and sense of being that maintains a greater orientation towards diverse actors from different cultural backgrounds.

Kim presents a dynamic model of how individual interactants in intercultural communication arrive at their identity revelations. She discusses this in detail²¹ and has outlined numerous variables that potentially influence this process.²² In brief, she argues that individuals acquire intercultural skills through a “stress-adaptation-growth” dynamic whereby they develop adaptive strategies that allow them to better function in their sociocultural context as they grapple with the stressors presented by their particular environments. The end products of these stresses and adaptations can ultimately manifest as a “growth” in personal understandings of home and host culture in ways that permit more dynamic and inclusive forms of sociality and sentiments of personal identity to emerge. This is important because it provides a comprehensive and fundamental way to understand the transformations that individuals experience as they participate in intercultural encounters in different social contexts with diverse actors.

Third, critically reflecting upon one’s intercultural interactive experiences can also provide an impetus for transformative changes to occur. This paper suggests that this reflection is an essential component of the identity transformation process. While both language learning and intercultural communication can lead to transformations in how one thinks of themselves and others, the process of critical reflection provides an intensified element through which identities can be renegotiated and reasserted. This is because interactions with members from other cultural groups can help individuals arrive at heightened understandings of who they are through comparisons.²³ It has been suggested that people experience more profound perceptual changes after they have undergone such reflections: “It is when they have some kind of experience which leads them to question these given conventions and values...that they become to become 'intercultural.'”²⁴ Everett Kleinjans described several “affective” variables that can facilitate greater intercultural understandings. These variables include “perception, appreciation, reevaluation, reorientation, identification, and outward actions.” Speaking of “reevaluation” and “reorientation,” he notes that reevaluation may comprise “a shift in priorities, the giving up of certain values for new ones, or an enlargement of one's own value system” and he describes reorientation as a “means changing the direction of one's life as a result of embracing new values internalized in the revaluation process.” For identification, it involves “becoming one with the people of the

¹⁸ Chang In Shin and Ronald L. Jackson, “A Review of Identity Research in Communication Theory: Reconceptualizing Cultural Identity,” in William J. Starosta and Guo-Mind Chen eds., *Ferment in the Intercultural Field: Axiology/Value/Praxis* (London: Sage, 2012), pp. 212-231.

¹⁹ Lieba Faier, *Intimate Encounters*, p. 25.

²⁰ Young Yun Kim, *Becoming Intercultural*, p. 23.

²¹ See Young Yun Kim *Becoming Intercultural*; Young Yun Kim, “Intercultural Personhood,”; Young Yun Kim, “Finding a ‘Home’ Beyond Culture: The Emergence of Intercultural Personhood in the Globalizing World,” *International Journal of Intercultural Relations* 46 (2015): 3-12.

²² Young Yun Kim, “Beyond Cultural Categories: Communication, Adaptation, and Transformation,” in Jane Jackson ed., *Routledge Handbook of Intercultural Communication* (London: Routledge), pp. 229-243.

²³ Michael Byram, *Teaching and Assessing Intercultural Communicative Competence* (Clevdon: Multilingual Matters, 1997); Michael Byram, “On Being ‘Bicultural’ and ‘Intercultural.’”

²⁴ Geoff Alred, Michael Byram, and Mike Fleming, “Introduction,” p. 3.

other culture," understood broadly. Here, Kleinjans is suggesting that through interacting with members of other cultures, and critically thinking about these interactions and their relationship to one's own culture, individuals can arrive at heightened understandings of themselves, their native culture, and the culture with which they are engaging.²⁵ Thus, becoming an intercultural person may inherently involve some greater degree of reflection and criticalness towards existing forms of identity that enhances and expands one's extant worldview.²⁶

The extent to which reflection is or is not necessary for transformations to occur is not the primary focus of this paper; rather the purpose here is to underscore that reflection is an important mechanism through which individuals can and do arrive at transformations regarding their relationship to other people and especially to cultural Others. It is essential to recognize that, like language learning and intercultural communication, critical reflection can also induce identity transformations. This is important for comprehending the wider sociocultural context in which the actors below experienced their respective personal changes.

Intercultural understanding is marked by a heightened sense of awareness and sensitivity towards other cultures. Language learning and intercultural communication provide platforms upon which perceptual changes that induce greater intercultural sensitivity can occur.²⁷ Reflection upon one's intercultural encounters can further compel individuals to reconstruct the meanings of their encounters in ways that engender new ideas about interpersonal and intercultural relationships. The proceeding section will provide ethnographic vignettes into the lives of Japanese and foreigners in Japan that elucidate how exactly these theoretical points play out in everyday practice.

2. Intercultural Encounters in Japan

An important overarching factor that influences the nature of intercultural encounters in Japan is the way Japanese identity has formerly been constructed and asserted. During Japan's postwar period, a particular identity emerged that was founded upon notions of ethno-racial homogeneity and cultural uniqueness that perceptually differentiated Japanese from other Asian and western populations.²⁸ The proliferation and pervasiveness of this identity and its accompanying discourses have since led to the marginalization and exclusion of foreigners and social minorities within Japanese society.²⁹ For example, prejudices that suggest it is impossible for foreigners to learn Japanese and participate in Japanese culture (re)produce sentiments that rigidly divide foreigners and Japanese, and relegates Japan's foreign residents, regardless of their actual capabilities, to spheres of alterity. Foreigners and domestic minority populations have thus been precluded access to mainstream Japanese identity and have in many ways been placed in Japan's social peripheries.

One reason that such ideas have remained so widespread for so long is because Japan has, for the most part, actually remained relatively homogenous. Although scholars have taken issue with the assertion that Japan is "homogenous," and have made efforts to bring attention to Japan's current and historic diversity,³⁰ the fact remains that Japan is still a very homogenous nation, especially so in comparison with other industrialized societies.

²⁵ Everett Kleinjans, "A Question of Ethnicity," *International Educational and Cultural Exchange* 10, no. 4 (1975): 23-24.

²⁶ Marc-Jean Dewaele and Jan Pieter van Oudenhoven, "The Effect of Multilingualism/Multiculturalism on Personality: No Gain Without Pain for Third Culture Kids?" *International Journal of Multilingualism* 6 (2009): 1-17.

²⁷ David R. Byrd and Catherine A. Byrd, "The Role of Dissonance and Harmony in one L2 Learner's Identity Development during a Language Camp Experience Abroad," *The Journal of Language Teaching and Learning* 2 (2013): 40-57.

²⁸ Harumi Befu, *Hegemony of Homogeneity: An Anthropological Analysis of Nihonjinron* (Melbourne: TransPacific Press, 2001); Eiji Oguma, *Tanitsu Minzoku Shinwa no Kigen* [The Myth of Homogenous Japan] (Tokyo: Shinyosha Press, 1995); Kosaku Yoshino, *Cultural Nationalism in Contemporary Japan* (London: Routledge 1992).

²⁹ Harumi Befu, *Hegemony of Homogeneity*; John Lie, *Multiethnic Japan*; Stephen Murphy-Shigematsu, "Multiethnic Japan and the Monoethnic Myth," *MELUS* 18, no. 4 (1993): 63-80; David Blake Willis and Stephen Murphy-Shigematsu, "Transcultural Japan: Metamorphosis in the Cultural Borderlands and Beyond."

³⁰ Mark Hudson, *Ruins of Identity: Ethnogenesis in the Japanese Islands* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1999); Murphy-Shigematsu, "Multiethnic Japan and the Monoethnic Myth"; Eiji Oguma, *Tanitsu Minzoku Shinwa no Kigen*.

“Minority” populations are believed to comprise around 5% of Japan’s population overall and when considering the number of minorities and foreigners who are indistinguishable from the mainstream population, the societal composition of conspicuously non-Japanese persons becomes even lower.³¹ This ultimately means that Japanese encounters with cultural Otherness have heretofore been comparatively limited in scope. By and large, they have mostly been confined to particular sectors of Japan’s society and labor market, outside of which they have not occurred to considerable extents. Thus, although Japan is undoubtedly more diverse than former constructions of identity and conventional discourses lead one to believe, the fact remains that up until very recently intercultural relations were still very constrained.

However, considering the aforementioned demographic changes Japan is presently experiencing, the overall nature of intercultural encounters within Japan can be expected to change accordingly. As greater numbers of foreigners from increasingly diverse backgrounds enter Japan, the contexts of intercultural relations between Japanese and foreigners can likewise be expected to become more diverse and dynamic. Although such profound demographic changes have not yet materialized in full, the past several decades have nonetheless brought foreigners and Japanese into contact with one another in ways never before experienced. Therefore, we can observe some of the already established Japanese-foreign relationships to obtain insights into how the future trajectory of Japanese-foreign relations may proceed.

This section will present ethnographic data that demonstrates how, *upon critical reflection after engaging in regularized intercultural interactions with foreigners, Japanese actors reconstructed their understandings of Japan, the role and positionality of foreigners within Japan, and their own senses of personal identity*. The data presented below marks a discernable shift in the ways Japanese-minority relations have heretofore been conceptualized. The following ethnographic vignettes depict how this has occurred and what Japanese informants have said happened to them as a result of their intercultural interactions. This section will demonstrate how different settings and types of intercultural encounters compel Japanese actors to reconstruct their understandings of Self and Otherness in particular ways but all of which generally lead to the same end result of a more intricate and dynamic understanding of Japan’s diversity.

Data for this manuscript was gathered between 2013-2015 through interviews and participant-observation. Interviews were conducted formally and informally, were largely unstructured, and involved a variety of open-ended questions, which included: “What have your experiences interacting with Japanese/foreigners entailed?” “How do you feel that engaging in intercultural interaction has changed the way that you relate yourself to foreigners/Japanese?” “In what ways has living in Japan and experiencing Japan’s demographic changes altered the ways you perceive yourself and wider Japanese society?” In total, over 100 interviews were conducted with Japanese and foreign informants. Interviewees were procured using snowball sampling and nonrandomized convenience sampling, and were conducted in English and/or Japanese.

Interviews were supplemented by participant-observation that occurred at various locations throughout Japan in which Japanese and foreigners came into regular contact with one another. These included foreign-owned and -operated establishments, religious institutions, and civic organizations, as well as various sorts of workplaces.

³¹ Scholars often make categorical distinctions between minority populations in Japan. These groups are often divided into three overarching categories: Japan’s “domestic” minorities, Japan’s long-term resident minorities, and “newcomer” minorities. “Domestic” minorities include groups indigenous to Japan – such as Ainu, Burakumin, and Okinawans – who are today in many ways indistinguishable from the mainstream population but retain a distinct identity based on cultural and historic conditions of exclusion. Long-term resident minorities include former colonial subjects from other parts of Asia, mostly Korea and China, that migrated or were forcibly brought to Japan during Japan’s colonial empire. The phrase “newcomer minorities” is typically used to describe those who migrated to Japan during the 1980s or later. It is important to note that these categories maintain markedly different experiences and attitudes towards Japanese society. For example, a Korean who arrived in Japan to study during the 2000s and has since stayed will have a very different experience than an ethnic Korean who was born, raised, and educated in Japan and whose family has resided in Japan since the early twentieth century. Japan’s “domestic” minorities and long-term resident minorities have become in many ways indistinguishable from the mainstream population due to cultural assimilation.

Interview and observation data were qualitatively coded to ascertain broader, more generalizable themes that could speak to larger patterns within informants' responses.

The vignettes below have been selected because they most lucidly depict the ways individuals experienced changes as a result of their intercultural encounters. Much of the sentiment expressed here has been echoed by other informants as well. Thus, the data here is in many ways representative of wider societal attitudes that are developing throughout Japan today. However, it is also important to acknowledge the highly subjective aspects of these experiences and note that the subsequent discussion is meant to provide details about broader developing patterns that are emerging from intercultural encounters; they should not be seen as hard truths that one should expect all participants engaging in intercultural communication to experience. There will be diverse ways that people experience such encounters and thus there are some limitations on this paper's generalizability. Nevertheless, this does not detract from the fact that palpable patterns could be ascertained that bespeak the current situation that exists on the ground in Japan today.

(1) Koji

Koji³² is a bar worker in his mid-thirties who works in a popular nightlife neighborhood in Tokyo. For the past several years, he was employed by Nigerian bar owners in two separate establishments. While working these jobs, Koji regularly interacted with Nigerian bosses, co-workers, and customers. He also engaged regularly with foreigners and businesses associates from other non-Japanese backgrounds. Through these encounters, Koji was unexpectedly made aware of the diverse nature of Japan's foreign community and emerged from his work experience with a more refined comprehension of the true scope of Japan's diversity, as well as a broader conceptualization of foreigners and their experiences in Japan.

In his own words, Koji explained: "Never in my life did I imagine I would be working for a Nigerian boss! Before I started working in Shinjuku, I was not aware there were so many foreigners in Japan, especially Africans."³³ He also noted that he has gradually become more aware of the differences between African nationalities and ethnic groups. Before working in these bars, Koji professed that he didn't know anything about Africa's diversity, but his work made him aware of it and he departed from his work experiences with a more intricate understanding of the scope of Africa's diversity. He explained: "After working in bars owned by Africans for six years, I now appreciate the difference between Nigerians and Ghanaians, between Igbo people and Yoruba people, and between African Christians and Muslims."³⁴ Koji believed that this knowledge put him a unique position because he said that most other Japanese would not likely be able to recognize these important ethno-national differences between Africans, either in Japan or abroad.

Koji explained that his direct encounters with Africans raised his awareness of the experiences of foreigners in Japan in a number of ways. For one, he came to better understand the Africans that he regularly engaged with and began to more accurately comprehend their experiences living and working in Japan. Before these experiences, Koji said that he was largely unaware that there were so many foreigners in Japan and was especially surprised to learn of the existence of so many Africans in Japan. By establishing interpersonal relationships with his bosses, co-workers, and clients, Koji observed that many of them were honest people trying to make a living. This repudiated some of the negative things he had formerly heard about foreigners, especially with regards to Nigerians and other Africans. He notes: "I had heard negative things about Nigerians. Some people said they were involved with crime and scams. But, after I worked for them and served them in my bar for some time, I realize that many of them are

³² All names appearing in this paper are pseudonyms.

³³ Paul Capobianco, "Confronting Diversity: Africans Challenging Japanese Societal Convictions," *Contemporary Japan* 27, no. 2 (2015): 195.

³⁴ Paul Capobianco, "Confronting Diversity: Africans Challenging Japanese Societal Convictions," *Contemporary Japan* 27, no. 2 (2015): 195.

honest people and are not criminals. There are some bad ones, but most are just looking to make a living like me.” Thus, by regularly engaging with Africans and other foreigners in this particular work environment, Koji expanded how he understood the diversity that existed within Japan and conceptually repositioned foreigners with a greater orientation towards ethnic Japanese.

Koji explains that this awareness subsequently led him to reflect on what this meant for Japan’s future: “I didn’t realize this earlier but I now see that Japan is changing. It is changing in a complicated way. Many people like to describe Japan in one way and don’t like to see it from different perspectives, but we have to do that. It is not enough to just say that Japan is home to Japanese and that there are criminal foreigners in Japan. We need to really think about Japan and who lives here. That is the only way that we can have a better future for everyone.”

Through his encounters with foreigners via his workplace, Koji became more aware of the experiences of Africans and other foreign populations that reside and operate within Japan’s borders. Correspondingly, this provided a somewhat surprising depiction of the present nature of contemporary Japan itself. Koji’s reflection on the broader implications of his intercultural work and communicative experiences permitted him to arrive at a more constructive comprehension of foreign Otherness and Japan’s newfound diversity. Although Koji states that he was not particularly xenophobic before working in said bars, he also noted that he really did not have any feelings, positive or negative, about the existence of foreigners in Japan. It was only after his actual encounters with foreigners and his subsequent critical reflection did he ultimately come to better understand their experiences and impact on Japanese society.

(2) The Nakamura Family

Another interesting channel through which foreigners and Japanese are establishing relationships is through homestay programs organized by universities, schools, and private companies. While there is nothing fundamentally novel about this practice, what is noteworthy are the increasingly diverse backgrounds of students that study in Japan and who correspondingly participate in such homestays. Data I have obtained from Japanese host families demonstrates how interacting with their host children have effectively transformed their sense of identity at the personal and collective levels, as well as the ways that they conceptualize the scope of diversity that exists within Japanese society.

A vignette from the Nakamura family explains how these changes unfold in everyday practice. This family consists of two Japanese host parents and their two host children from Nigeria. The local university that the two Nigerian “children” attended was responsible for arranging the homestay. The Nakamura parents initially offered to host one student but later, upon meeting and establishing a strong connection with one of their original children’s friends, agreed to host a second. The parents developed a close relationship with their children; their own children having grown and started their own families elsewhere, they enjoyed the company of their host children and enjoyed learning about their home country and continent. Their children likewise enjoyed the relationship that developed and were appreciative of the assistance their parents offered them and their families while in Japan.

As the relationship with their host children evolved, the Nakamura parents were made aware of the difficulties their children faced living and studying in Japan. Since they believed that both of their children were sociable and linguistically competent, they were surprised to learn of the difficulties they both experienced. The Nakamura host father stated: “It was troubling to hear of the problems [our children] faced. Our own children never had such problems and if they were not our [host] children, we would have never known about such issues.” The Nakamura mother added: “It is very disheartening. Knowing that people you care for struggle because of your own culture’s practices makes you feel sad and makes you want to help however you can.” The Nakamuras vowed to offer help to their children, their families, and any friends that they might have and, according to their host children, have genuinely done so whenever the chance presented itself.

Such a change in attitudes occurred despite the fact that these parents were already somewhat oriented towards and accepting of foreign cultures. If they had possessed xenophobic or prejudice attitudes, it is highly unlikely they would have volunteered to act as host parents in the first place. However, having been made aware of the difficulties faced by their children, who they came to sincerely care for, the Nakamura parents were compelled to reflect critically on extant Japanese cultural practices and social norms that have not always been accommodating to foreigners. The Nakamura mother explained: “My [first son] complained that Japanese people were too insincere to him and didn’t understand his perspective. At first I didn’t believe him but when [our second host son] said very similar things, we began to take them more seriously. We talked with both of them about these issues and it was shocking to hear that they were treated so badly.” The father also noted: “I don’t think we would have believed them if we weren’t so close to them. But because we think of them our own children, we [had] to take them seriously.”

Being made aware of the difficulties their host children experienced compelled the Nakamuras to critically reflect upon who they are and what type of society they actually live in. They took their children’s claims with great concern and reflected on the practices that brought their children such stress. This challenged their own perceptions of Japan and led them to reconsider their own cultural identity. The mother stated: “Hearing [our son’s] struggles living in Japan really opened my eyes and made me sympathize with his difficulties. We promised to always offer him help when he needed it and he really became like a son to us.” The parents recognized that although Japan was not a place particularly accommodating to outsiders, they nonetheless believed that their children would be able to abate any difficulties living in Japan because they were so linguistically functional and culturally accepting. However, when this proved not to be the case, the Nakamuras reconsidered their understandings of Japanese society and through critical reflection about the difficulties their children and other foreign residents encountered, reconstructed how they envisaged Japanese society, as well as the foreigners who exist within it. The Nakamura mother explained: “For us, it was difficult to learn that your society is causing so much pain for people that you care about. We cannot change this, but we can change ourselves and offer our help to those who need it. Meeting my [host] children was a very important experience that made me think more seriously about who I was as a person.”

Although it can be said that the Nakamuras possessed an orientation towards foreign Otherness at the outset, they nevertheless arrived at revelations about themselves, Japan, and the experiences of foreigners through their relations with their host children. From their intercultural interactions, they were compelled to reflect upon their own identities and the experiences of cultural Others living and operating in their native culture. These intercultural encounters and the critical reflections that accompanied them thus induced further identity changes regarding the ways that Japanese actors conceptualized themselves in relation to foreigners (i.e. changes to their orientation towards cultural Otherness within Japan). The Nakamuras ultimately emerged from these encounters with a greater sensitivity to and understanding of what the experiences of foreigners in Japan entailed. With regards to the problems foreigners faced in Japan, the Nakamura parents realized that Japan was not how they had formerly envisioned it, which led them to reconsider their former constructions of Japan, as well as what Japan is presently comprised of.

(3) Suichiro

Intercultural encounters between Japanese and people of non-Japanese backgrounds are not only occurring in Japan but also abroad. As Japanese tourists, students, and professionals continue to move across national borders for various reasons, the number of channels through which Japanese and foreigners come into contact with one another further expand and diversify. One such example of how travel experiences and subsequent intercultural interactions *within* Japan can lead to changes in the way people conceptualize themselves and their identities can be seen in the case of Suichiro, a young Japanese man who spent time abroad. While he reported that his experience abroad was transformative in itself, he also professed that he continued to experience self-identity changes after

returning to Japan. Upon closer analysis, these changes emerged due to a critical and comparative reflection of his experiences abroad and his experiences engaging in intercultural encounters within Japan. Specifically, Suichiro came to realize that Japan is a more intercultural space than he had formerly acknowledged and that some of his experiences abroad were shared by foreigners living in Japan. This subsequently compelled him to reconfigure his own perceptions of himself and his home country with greater consideration for the experiences of foreigners.

Suichiro is a Japanese graduate student who recently completed a post-graduate study program in the United States. He spent about eighteen months abroad and I met him six months after he returned to Japan. Studying in the United States was Suichiro's first experience living in a foreign country and he confessed that he didn't know what to expect before embarking on his trip. He was forced to put his English language and intercultural communication skills to the test during his study program and at first he experienced many of difficulties. His lack of prior communication experience in English especially proved to be a burden that emotionally distressed him. He even thought at one point to abandon his studies and return to Japan. However, despite such struggles, he persevered and made efforts to work past the language, communication, and cultural barriers he faced.

As Suichiro's study abroad continued, he began to see his growing possession of intercultural capital as something positive and something that set him apart from other people. He started to understand himself as a more multicultural individual and realized that this experience might prove especially vital for him when he returns to Japan. He elaborated: "In America, I gained some skills and confidence that I think can help me to grow as a person. I realized that I can understand problems from both Japanese and American perspectives. By the time I left, I felt that I had become much comfortable in America and felt like I was leaving a place that way my home. It was very sad." At the conclusion of his study program, Suichiro had constructed an image of himself vis-à-vis Japanese who lacked such international and intercultural experience, which ultimately led him to think of himself as a more interculturally oriented person: "Going to study in the U.S. is something that not many other Japanese can do. I think they really lack the ability to understand foreign culture, but I now I can. I think this is something that is important that [distinguishes me] as a more unique Japanese [person]." Thus, his study abroad experience affected how he thought of himself in relation to both Japanese and non-Japanese persons.

After he returned to Japan, Suichiro made efforts to preserve his language skills by befriending foreigners living in Japan. After successfully doing so, he realized that much of what foreigners told him was similar to his own experiences abroad. He explained: "Foreigners I meet in Japan have had a lot of similar experiences. They struggle with language, culture, and communication problems and say that they have a hard time finding people to help them. One foreigner told me that he was sick but couldn't visit the doctor because he wasn't confident in his [Japanese] communication skills. This was the exact same experience that I had my first month in America! I remember very clearly how I was sick and looking on the internet for [remedies] I could make at home to cure my sickness because I didn't want to visit the doctor and have to communicate." Suichiro also cited numerous other similarities between himself and foreigners he met in Japan and explained that he was surprised such problems occurred in his home country: "It seems stupid but I really didn't think foreigners experienced these things in Japan. I know foreigners live and work here, but since I really only had limited experiences with them, I never knew what they were experiencing. Only after I heard what difficulties they faced *after experiencing such things myself* was I able to relate to their experiences."

Through establishing relations with foreigners in Japan and critically comparing his own experiences abroad to theirs, Suichiro reformulated his sense of self-identity and his perceived role of foreigners in Japan. Specifically, foreigners became more relatable to him and the parallels he drew between his experiences in America and theirs in Japan allowed him to perceive them as conceptually closer via their shared experiences. He explained: "The shared experiences that we had seems like more than just a coincidence. I think these are difficulties that all people moving abroad have to face at some point and because of that I think we need to help each other and really think

about what we can do to improve the experiences of others in our home country. I was lucky that America had many foreign people there. Many were willing to help me and most Americans were usually patient with me. According to my foreign friends, that is not always true in Japan. Since Japan is mostly all Japanese, there must be some instances where they have had very hard times just like me.” Here, Suichiro implies that efforts need to be made to improve the quality of intercultural communicative experiences within Japan and that he now possesses better capabilities that may allow him personally to do so. Such revelations were only possible after critical and comparative reflection induced by both Suichiro’s experiences abroad, as well as his experiences interacting with foreigners from different countries within the context of Japanese society.

By shifting the locus of his intercultural encounters from abroad to home, Shuichiro reconceptualized his own identity and his experiences as they related to those of foreigners residing in Japan. He also acknowledged that his experiences abroad greatly shaped the way he thought of himself in relation to other Japanese, which substantiates the literature above that discusses the transformative capacity of intercultural encounters and positive experiences growing out of environmental stress. Once the location of intercultural encounters changed from outside Japan to within Japan, Suichiro further experienced identity and perceptual changes due to the content of his intercultural encounters. Upon discovering that he shared many of the same experiences abroad as foreigners had in Japan, he was compelled to reconsider the ways foreigners were perceived and positioned within Japanese society and in relation to himself.

(4) Foreigners

While Japanese informants have been crucial for underscoring the conceptual changes that can emerge from intercultural encounters, foreigners are also acknowledging the multifaceted ways that their presence and participation in Japanese society work to reconfigure interpersonal relationships and intercultural understandings. As Japan’s diversification continues, such channels of Japanese-foreigner interaction will only further diversify accordingly. It therefore appears inevitable that the geographic distribution of foreigners, their professions and workplaces, and the forms of sociality they engage in will likewise become further variegated. It is then noteworthy to mention a few foreign voices who see themselves as participating in this changing of interpersonal relations between foreigners and Japanese.

First, it is important to recall the work of Leiba Faier, who has identified the changing nature of interpersonal relationships between rural Japanese residents and Filipina wives who move into rural localities. Due to an outward migration of young women into urban areas, many Japanese rural localities are left with an inadequate number of younger females and, as a result, rural areas have experienced an influx of migration from foreign women.³⁶ In her detailed ethnography, Faier demonstrates how, through localized intercultural encounters between Japanese and Filipina wives, these actors “create new meanings of Japanese and Filipino culture and identity through their shared daily lives.”³⁷ She focuses explicitly on the forms of sociality that emerge from the intercultural encounters between these parties and shows that they provide a fertile ground upon which new meanings are formulated. One outcome of this process is that Filipinas negotiate their identities and social positionality as embedded in a larger web of identity politics but also in a position that is locally grounded to the particular geographical and cultural context.³⁸ Although Faier argues that these identities remain shaped by unequal power dynamics, the ultimate product is a more culturally amalgamated sense of belonging exhibited by both Filipina and Japanese actors. Her ethnography makes an important contribution to understanding the ways local intercultural interactions are leading to the

³⁶ Leiba Faier, *Intimate Encounters*, p. 15.

³⁷ Leiba Faier, *Intimate Encounters*, p. 1.

³⁸ Leiba Faier, *Intimate Encounters*, Chapter 1.

emergence of novel forms of identity and interpersonal understanding within Japan, which also alter the conceptual and material positionality of foreigners within Japanese society.

Second, there is the voice of a foreign teacher in Japan, Kennedy, who is worthy of mention. Kennedy is from east Africa and has been teaching in Japan for several years while his wife, also east African, attends a local university. Kennedy is not the only non-western teacher in Japan nor the only African teacher. However, Kennedy is the one who I have become closest with and who has provided the most revealing data. His accounts provide a window into understanding the ways that foreign teachers' interactions with their students are changing interpersonal dynamics in multifaceted ways.

Kennedy explains:

“Coming into my classes, new students don't know much about me. Sometimes they are curious or maybe confused. I tell them ‘Don't be shy! We will have fun in here!’ Then they start to laugh and be happy or warm up to my teaching. It is in my classes that students can experience and learn about Africa. But they are also teaching me things. I learn so much about Japan and Japanese culture from my students, especially the older ones. I don't think I can ever fully be a part of Japan because I am not Japanese, but teaching my students helps me to understand Japan and myself a lot better. I like to see the commonalities I share with my students and then compare how we are different. I think this is the best way for us to grow as people.”

In effect, Kennedy believes that his experiences teaching his students and learning the norms of Japanese culture have affected him in many ways. Other foreign teachers of non-western backgrounds have noted similar things of their teaching experiences as well. The diversification of foreign teachers in Japan is a little known but important component of the mechanisms that lead to changes in the ways that interpersonal relations are conceptualized. By exposing Japanese students to teachers from a wider range of backgrounds, there is a greater likelihood that students will depart from their study experiences with a greater understanding of their teachers' native culture. For example, one Nigerian teacher explained that in his English classes, he would often incorporate pictures and information about his home country that were unexamined in his students' textbooks, which he believes modified and enhanced his pupils' understanding of Nigeria. Such occurrences are becoming increasingly common as more and more foreign teachers from diverse backgrounds engage their Japanese students.

One final foreign voice worthy of mention is that of an east African student named Jonathan who is completing his doctorate in Japan. He has studied Japanese for many years and has passed the highest level of the Japanese Language Proficiency Test. When speaking with him about his experiences, he explained:

“Living in Japan has made the country a part of me. I have language skills and I am able to communicate without problems unlike other people. One thing that I believe I do differently from other foreigners is that I try to adapt to Japanese culture *all the time*, not just when it is convenient for me. Many foreigners take this kind of *chūto hanpa* [half-measures] way of adapting to Japan and they usually get frustrated with it. Well, it is because you are not fully committed and you don't realize the ways that you have to adapt yourself! You have to be ready for the adaptation and the following change.”

Jonathan additionally noted: “Of course I have changed. There is no way that I can look at my home country the same way. I love [where I am from] but living in Japan I see the world differently. I sometimes feel out of place

back home even though it is where I am from.” Still further, he too mentioned indirectly the role that reflection played in his development of an intercultural identity: “Dealing with people from other cultures is challenging. I think most of us would avoid it if we can. But sometimes we can’t and we can’t expect the places we move to will change for us. We need to make the effort too. We can’t sit back and let them do all the effort. It *is when we really think about ourselves and our relationship to the place we live can we realize what we need to do to survive.*” This is especially interesting in that it embodies many of the changes that Japanese experienced through their encounters with foreigners except from the opposite perspective. Jonathan is not alone in his feelings; many other foreigners have professed to me similar sentiments. The pervasiveness of such sentiments implies that there exists a dialectic process by which intercultural encounters engender identity transformations and lead individual actors to reconstruct their relationship to others.

The disparate examples above demonstrate that as Japanese and foreigners engage with one another on a regularized basis, individuals may be compelled to reconstruct notions of themselves, cultural Others, and the society of which they are all apart. As more Japanese participate in interactions with foreigners from increasingly diverse backgrounds, these situations can be expected to likewise further diversify and intensify in the near future. These experiences and intercultural encounters have often developed in highly specified contexts that are idiosyncratic to the particular actors involved. Despite this high degree of particularity, however, the end results have been similar in that many Japanese have developed from these encounters a more dynamic understanding of Japan’s foreign populations and vice-versa.

(5) Communicative Failures

Before moving on to discuss the implications of these intercultural interactions and critical reflections, it is first useful to recognize that such encounters do not represent the entirety of relationships that have developed between foreigners and Japanese. Throughout data collection there were also several examples in which intercultural interactions *did not* lead to more positive perceptions of cultural Others and greater intercultural competence but instead worked to establish and reinforce negative sentiments towards the other party. Although such individuals comprised a minority of all the data collected, it would be negligent to entirely overlook such voices.

From the Japanese perspective, some complained that their engagements with foreigners have led to more hostile sentiments towards diversity. For instance, one Japanese airport worker said that her experiences with Chinese co-workers and travelers have led her to develop a discernably negative attitude towards Chinese and foreigners more broadly. She arrived at the conclusion that it was difficult for Chinese to integrate well because they have such different attitudes and behaviors. In similar fashion, a number of scholarly works on Latin American populations in Japan have shown that various levels of interactions with Latin Americans have led some Japanese to develop more negative attitudes of them for reasons that they attribute to irreconcilable cultural differences.³⁹ Although intercultural encounters carry transformative capacities, the fact that they are merely occurring is not enough for them to engender positive cross-cultural relations.

There have also been many foreigners who have likewise been disappointed by their experiences in Japan and have accordingly developed negative sentiments. One Ethiopian student who studied in Europe before coming to Japan suggested that the pragmatic difficulties of living in Japan were just too much for an outsider handle. He believed that Japanese are not willing to help foreigners to any considerable extent, which makes regular activities such as visiting doctors or banks a major burden for those short on linguistic and cultural fluency. Another western teacher explained that although she was fluent in Japanese, she never felt accepted and believed that she was treated

³⁹ See Joshua H. Roth, *Brokered Homeland: Japanese Brazilian Migrants in Japan* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2002); Takeyuki G. Tsuda, *Strangers in the Ethnic Homeland: Japanese Brazilian Return Migration in Transnational Perspective* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2003).

differently from her colleagues in both positive and negative ways. Because she was an outsider and new to the work culture, she stated that she was not treated as a full member of her school but rather, as she describes it, a “disposable person” who lacked the collegial embracement her co-workers enjoyed amongst themselves. Thus, foreigners too do not always develop positive attitudes from their intercultural encounters and it is important to recognize that intercultural interactions can, for many different reasons, unfortunately lead to more hostile attitudes rather than more accepting ones.

Other examples abound with similar relational failures. With the exception of a few sources,⁴⁰ most scholarly analyses have highlighted the problematic nature of intercultural encounters and there is no dearth in literature on these issues. Scholars have discussed in great detail the problematic relations that exist between Japanese and minorities in general,⁴¹ as well as between Japanese and specific groups of minorities, such as long-term resident Koreans,⁴² Latin Americans and Japanese-descent persons from Latin America,⁴³ African-Americans,⁴⁴ and others.⁴⁵ Such a wealth of literature establishes that sociocultural and communicative problems between foreigners and Japanese do exist. However, rather than once again revisit these problematic encounters, or depict an idealistic forecast for future relations, this paper describes how there are also emerging alternatives to Japanese-foreigner encounters that are quite different from those which have been heretofore discussed. The aforementioned positive intercultural and reflexive experiences are intended to provide an alternative to these negative interactions, which have taken up so much space in the existing literature. In short, one should not overlook or downplay these communicative failures but they should also observe that there are feasible alternatives to them that are in many cases unfolding on the ground.

3. Discussion

Through examining the evolving nature of Japanese-foreign relations, we can ascertain several important conclusions and implications moving forward. As Japan continues to diversify, the frequency of such encounters can only be expected to intensify and compel further changes to the way these groups are positioned in relation to each other and wider society. These findings also have pragmatic implications for understanding interpersonal relations and the positionality of foreigners in Japan, as well as theoretical implications concerning the transformative capacities of these particular transpirations.

First, and most relevant to this paper, is the important role that critical reflection plays in allowing these intercultural communicative patterns and identity revelations to manifest. It is not merely the platform of interpersonal communication that engenders changes in the positive but rather these changes also seem to require some degree of critical reflection or comparisons. In the above vignettes, critical thinking about one’s dominant/native cultural tendencies compelled individual actors to reconstruct their understandings of Self and Other, as well as conceptually reconfigure how they are positioned in relation to the other group.

⁴⁰ Lieba Faier, *Intimate Encounters*; Hui, “From Ethnic Ghetto to ‘Gourmet Republic.’”

⁴¹ David Blake Willis and Stephen Murphy-Shigematsu, “Transcultural Japan: Metamorphosis in the Cultural Borderlands and Beyond.”

⁴² John Lie, *Multiethnic Japan*; Sonia Ryang, *Koreans in Japan: Critical Voices from the Margin* (London: Routledge, 2000).

⁴³ Roth, *Brokered Homeland*; Takeyuki G. Tsuda, *Strangers in the Ethnic Homeland*. Ayumi Takenaka, “Paradoxes of Ethnicity-Based Immigration: Peruvian and Japanese-Peruvian Migrants in Japan,” in Roger Goodman ed., *Global Japan: The Experience of Japan's New Immigrant and Overseas Communities* (London: Routledge, 2005), pp. 222-237.

⁴⁴ John Russell, “Consuming Passions: Spectacle, Self-Transformation, and the Commodification of Blackness in Japan,” *positions* 6, no. 1 (1998): 113-177; John Russell, “Race as Ricorso: Blackface(s), Racial Representation, and the Transnational Apologetics of Historical Amnesia in the United States and Japan,” in Yasuki Takezawa ed., *Racial Representations in Asia* (Melbourne: TransPacific Press, 2011), pp. 124-147.

⁴⁵ See David Blake Willis and Stephen Murphy-Shigematsu eds., *Transcultural Japan: At the Borderlands of Race, Gender, and Identity* and Roger Goodman ed., *Global Japan: The Experience of Japan's New Immigrant and Overseas Communities* for more comprehensive examples.

In the above examples, critical reflection occurred in diverse ways but often produced similar results: a broader understanding of Self and Other that in subjective ways transcended the personal milieu of contemporary Japan. These reflections were idiosyncratically and uniquely experienced by each of the informants respectively. The material outcomes of these experiences proceeded similarly. Via their interactive experiences, Koji and the Nakamuras were exposed to facts that compelled them to reconsider their preconceived views and in turn empathized with the feelings and difficulties foreigners were forced to confront in Japan. Suichiro also arrived at his transformations via contrasting his personal experiences with those of foreigners in Japan. In each of these cases, informants came to perceive foreigners differently – more positively – as a result of these events. In other words, by establishing relations with foreigners and considering what their experiences in Japan entailed compelled these informants to make conceptual alterations that affected their views of the experiences of Japan's foreigners.

It can also be suggested that this critical reflection occurred in the examples that engendered negative outcomes as well. The failures at communicating interculturally and the lack of perceptual changes seem to have also involved varying degrees of reflection, which ultimately resulted in the differing ways informants holding such ideas established and maintained them. For example, the Ethiopian student critically compared Japan to his experiences in Europe and arrived at the conclusion that there must be greener pastures elsewhere. While he did not mention specifically what this comparison entailed, it is obvious that comparing the difficulties experienced in both locations led him to arrive at these conclusions. Therefore, one must realize that not all critical reflections will arrive at more positive understandings of Self and Other, and on the contrary may in fact work to reinforce negative images of cultural Others

These outcomes beg the question of what exactly the process of this critical reflection entails. How did informants critically reflect to arrive at their particular positions? When did these reflections occur? Because these reflections were recognized *post-hoc*, the author was unable to inquire into the mechanisms of informants' reflections specifically. However, reflection can be defined as a highly personalized process that can occur consciously or subconsciously at any stage during intercultural interaction. It was also uniquely experienced in each of the cases above. For example, Koji's reflection came through the realization that Nigerians and other Africans were not in fact troublemakers or people dangerous to Japanese society. His everyday experiences challenged and ultimately repudiated any negative stories he may have heard prior to actually engaging in intercultural interaction. Although Koji did not specify that he consciously contemplated mentally the ramifications of his work experiences with Africans, it is hard to deny that his firsthand interactions destabilized any ideas he may have had before he started working for Nigerian bosses.

For the Nakamuras, reflection came through the relationship they established with their host children. By hearing the difficulties their children faced in Japan, the parents were compelled to reconsider their ideas and reformulate how they perceived foreign experiences in Japan with a greater sensitivity to what foreigners actually experienced. The Nakamuras suggested they probably would not have believed what their children had told them if the information had come from a different source. They thus felt genuinely compelled to reconsider their preconceptions because these issues were raised by people that they cared about. Suichiro, after realizing that he shared many experiences with those of foreigners in Japan, similarly reconstructed his notions of Self and Other in a way that likewise bridged the gap between himself and cultural Others. These examples exemplify how critical reflections upon extant identity constructions and cultural practices can be understood as an important component of intercultural processes and induced through direct relationships with cultural Others.

On the other hand, for the Ethiopian student, a comparison of life in Europe to life in Japan led him to reflect critically upon his experiences. A similar process of engaging cultural Others had occurred but a critical comparison led him to perceive these experiences negatively. While the data presented here is limited, it can nonetheless be suggested that intercultural encounters engendered critical reflective processes, which occurred in diverse fashions.

Such evidence portrays the multifaceted ways that reflections may unfold in practice; they may be compelled by everyday encounters; they may occur through establishing intimate relations with people from different cultural backgrounds; they may occur through genuine comparisons between personal experiences; or they may in fact be compelled by some other, highly personalized, interactive processes. However they occur, the end results have ramifications for interpersonal relations that transcend the nature of the particular interactions themselves.

Such diversity in experiences suggest that no two reflective experiences may be alike and that there may be a multitude of ways through which individuals arrive at and maintain their critically reflected standpoints. It also demonstrates that these processes may occur consciously or subconsciously and engaging with cultural Others serves as their impetus. While individuals may not realize that they have undergone this reflection, the material outcomes are difficult to ignore. Recognizing the impact that critical reflection can have on interpersonal and intercultural relations is important for understanding how cross-cultural dynamics develop not only in contemporary Japan but also in diverse environments across the world.

Secondly, these vignettes demonstrate the transformative capacity of intercultural communication and corresponding reflection. As the context of interpersonal encounters takes on a discernably different dynamic when it involves actors from different cultural backgrounds, it is important to see that the participants involved in the aforementioned interactions epitomize the capacity for constructive changes to emerge out of them. As Kim has noted, “the process of crossing cultures challenges the very basis of who we are as cultural beings. It offers opportunities for new learning and growth. Being ‘uprooted’ from our home brings us understandings not only of the people and their culture in our new environment, but of ourselves and our home culture.”⁴⁶ The changes that the Japanese and foreign participants indicated above show lucidly the ways that interpersonal intercultural interactions are capable of transforming the parties involved. Recognizing this helps contextualize the macro-level social processes that compel such changes to occur.

Relatedly, it is important to acknowledge the role that language learning and communicating in a second language plays in this process. Although not the primary focal point of this paper, if the Japanese and foreign actors mentioned above did not share some common capacity for communication, it is highly unlikely these perceptual changes would have unfolded in the particular ways they did. This suggests that future studies investigating the transformative capacity of intercultural communication should examine more meticulously the language acquisition process, as well as how it shapes the ways that different actors utilize language to position themselves in relation to one another.

Third, this data also underscores the materiality of intercultural interactions and critical reflections. These critical and comparative perspectives allowed individuals to reconstruct images of themselves, cultural Others, and the societies in which they live in more dynamic and comprehensive ways that are more capable of grasping the realities they contain. Emerging from these encounters were reformulated understandings of Self and Other, which play out in different ways among the disparate actors involved. Although qualitative data is naturally anecdotal in nature, the professed attitudinal changes expressed by the informants above emphasize how greater intercultural competence and bicultural characteristics can emerge through cross-cultural communicative encounters. Both Byram and Paulston have suggested that “bicultural” individuals are capable of critically reflecting on their communicative experiences in ways that lead to more dynamic and accepting cultural understandings. While it would perhaps be a stretch to identify the Japanese informants above as truly bicultural persons, their reflexivity and growth in personal and cultural dimensions demonstrate that the roots of bicultural personalities are to some extent coming into being.

Through establishing intercultural relationships, the informants above acquired at the least a heightened sensitivity towards cultural Others and at most a closer orientation and acceptance of them. For the Japanese actors,

⁴⁶ Kim, *Becoming Intercultural*, pp. 9.

interacting and establishing relationships with foreigners changed the way they perceived foreigners within Japan, as well as the nature of foreign Otherness more broadly. Koji, for instance, recognized that African Otherness was not one homogenous entity but instead was comprised of diverse ethnic, national, linguistic, and religious groups, who often did not fit into stereotypical images and media portrayals. The Nakamuras and Suichiro realized that foreigners in Japan experienced considerable difficulties, which they heretofore had not acknowledged despite their previous experiences with and orientations towards foreign Otherness. Similar sentiments can also be seen by foreigners. As Jonathan explained, he believes he has become more oriented towards Japan – if not, more culturally Japanese – from his experiences and has come to appreciate the positive aspects of life in Japan to a much greater extent. His reference to reverse culture shock when returning home resonates profoundly through many foreign voices in Japan and is thus not an anomaly. This suggests that through their experiences, Japanese and foreign actors deconstruct their former self-perceptions and can potentially recast themselves a new with more consideration of their intercultural experiences in Japan.

4. Conclusion

This paper highlights patterns and anomalies of intercultural communication between Japanese and foreigners in Japan. The informants discussed in this paper experienced growth and/or perceptual changes as a result of their intercultural experiences. They did so in ways that allowed for more dynamic and versatile understandings of personhood and interpersonal relations to emerge. However, these individuals arrived at their intercultural growth through their varied and unique experiences. Although discernable patterns were ascertained, the discussion shows that to truly grasp how identities and perceptions develop through intercultural communication and critical reflection require careful attention to the particularities of the actors involved. Nonetheless, particular exceptions notwithstanding, more positive intercultural encounters, such as the ones described in the previous section, can play a crucial role in reshaping Japanese-foreign relations.

Engaging in direct and “prolonged” contact with people from different cultural backgrounds compelled Japanese and foreign residents to effectively reformulate how they conceptualized themselves and the other party, as well as towards the society in which they live. For many, both parties emerged from their experiences with a more positive understanding of cultural Otherness and recast their own senses of Self in more inclusive ways with a greater openness towards the other. This was achieved through the use of a common medium (language) of communication and critical reflection that was induced by intercultural encounters. Without having partaken in such encounters, these actors would likely not have been capable of reforming their understandings of the other party in the particular ways that they did. As Japan continues to change demographically, and the paths through which Japanese and foreigners cross become more diverse and pervasive, it will serve well to examine how intercultural encounters, critical reflections, and reconstructed identities factor into the ongoing sociocultural realities of twenty-first century Japan.

研究ノート

カザフスタン人日本語教師の教育観形成

—大学教師のライフストーリーから—

Educational Perceptions of Japanese Language Teachers in Kazakhstan: An Analysis of Life Story Interviews

ショリナ ダリヤグル (Dariyagul SHORINA)

筑波大学人文社会科学部 博士後期課程

カザフスタンの日本語教育は 24 年の歴史を経て、発展してきた。本稿では、2 名のカザフスタン人日本語教師のライフストーリーを通して、教育観形成の過程を考察する。ライフストーリー・インタビューを通じて、教師自身の言語学習者経験から教師に至るまでの経験について語ってもらった。そして、教師のライフストーリーから、転機の経験を取り上げ、語りの様式に着目し、分析した。分析の結果、教育観は教師の内省的なプロセスにおいて、教師が所属している社会と囲まれているコミュニティの文脈によって変容し、形成されていることが明らかになった。

Japanese language education in Kazakhstan has expanded since its early days more than two decades ago. This paper inquires into the formation of teachers' perceptions of their educational ways and values by analyzing the life stories of two Japanese language educators in Kazakhstan. Life story-type interviews were employed to collect data on the teachers' learning and teaching experiences, and the analysis conducted is based on the turning points and pinnacles of the recorded experiences.

キーワード：カザフスタンの日本語教育 ライフストーリー 教育観 転機

Keywords: Japanese Language Education in Kazakhstan, Life Story, Educational Perceptions, Epiphany

はじめに

カザフスタンにおける日本語教育は 1992 年にアルマティ市（元首都）のカザフ国立大学に日本語コースが開設されたことから公式に始まった。当時は、専門のカザフスタン人日本語教師がおらず、日本語母語話者の専門家やボランティアが使用教材や日本語コースのカリキュラムを設定する中核的な役割を果たし、日本語教育を実施した。1997 年に卒業した第 1 期生の卒業生の数人が日本語教師として、大学に残り、母語話者の日本語教師に指導を受けながら、日本語を教え始めた。その後、現地の非母語話者の日本語教師が年々増え、教師の日本語能力と教授力を向上させるため、国際交流基金派遣の日本語教育専門家による、教師養成クラスが開かれるようになり、現在では、日本国内で教師研修を受ける機会の増え、ほぼ全員の教師が日本滞在の経験を持っている。こうした教師の増加に伴い、教師のネットワークの必要性が生じ、1998 年に「カザフスタン日本語教師会」という組織が設立された。杉浦 (2007) は、2007 年時点においてカザフスタンには、43 名の日本語教師がいると報告しているが、2016 年の「カザフスタン日本語教師会」の報告によると、カザフスタン国内における日本語教師の人数が 33 名であり、日本語教師の人数が減少していることが分かる。学習者の人数に関しても、2016 年のデータでは、日本語学習者が 339 名であり、減少傾向にある。カザフスタンは日本語学習環境として、日本との接触が多いとは言えないことから、孤独な学習環境であり、教育機関以外での日本語に触れることは非常に少ない状況であった。以前と比べれば、インターネットの発展等で日本文化への接触も容易になり、日

本語母語話者と交流する機会も増えてはいる。しかしながら、カザフスタン国内において、日本語を活用する就職場が限られていることが、学習者数の減少原因の一つであると考えられる。

現在、大学生を対象にした教育機関は旧都アルマティと首都アスタナの2つの都市に集中しており、2002年にカザフスタン日本人材開発センターが設立され、一般成人をも対象にした日本語教育講座が開設されている。なお、カザフスタンの日本語教育はほとんど大学で行われており、教育は大学の教師が中心である。

24年の歴史を経たカザフスタンの日本語教育は社会の変化と共に変容し、教師にはどのような教育力が求められるかということが様々な場面で議論され、現在、教師の資質は言語に関する知識及び能力に加え教育、社会・文化の領域も求められている。教師は一般的に、「教える人」に位置付けられているが、大学という教育現場は人間の行為によって動くメカニズムを持ち、特に教師の主観的要素に影響される。大学において教師が行うことを具体的な行為としてみると、その「教える」という行為には、学習内容を決める、会議に参加する、授業の準備をする、説明する、質問する、褒める、宿題を与える等の行為が含まれる。社会的な変化を受けながら、教師は、その教師がもつ「意味」に沿って、教室内外で行為を行う。行為はある現象の意味解釈から生まれる行動であり、伊藤(2009)が指摘しているように、人々は多くの場合、程度の差こそあれ、意味解釈を行いつつ、行動し、既に確立した社会的意味を単に適用するだけでなく、個人の側でも意味修正、変更、創造を含んだ解釈活動を行う。その行為の源は信念である。教師が行う行為には、そこに影響を与えている教師の信念があり、その信念は個人の経験から発生するものである。そのため、社会から教師が持つべき信念と求められている信念に不一致が生じることも考えられ、本研究は、教師がいかにかこの乖離を乗り越えていくべきかを追究することが、筆者の研究の最終目的で、そのための調査報告である。

1. 本稿の立場

信念は教師が持っている教育観というより広い現象の一部であり、その教育観は教師が行ってきた経験や囲まれている環境等という様々な側面から成り立っている。教師の教育観はある要因に刺激を受け、変化しつつ、形成されているプロセスとして捉える必要があると考える。

言語学習に関する教師・学習者の信念を把握するために、Horwitz(1987)の質問紙を用いたピリーフ調査が用いられることが多い。しかし、そのアンケートは回答が選択肢で定められ、量的な結果しか提供できないため、教師個々の現状を把握できないという問題点がある。特定の項目について自由記述を加えた研究もあるが、信念を含む教育観の形成プロセスが見えず、調査実施時点という限られた段階の現象しか捉えていないとも言える。さらに、ピリーフ調査は、調査時点の一定期間に限定されているため、各教師により異なる教育観の変化を促したり、あるいは挙行く信念の固定化や強固される要因が見えにくい。また、教師自身の言語学習経験も重要になり、さらに教師が置かれた社会および所属しているコミュニティの影響も強いと思われ、その両者を視野に入れなければならない。そこで、より長期的に教師の人生を参照しながら、教師の教育観をプロセスとしてみることで、カザフスタン社会およびカザフスタン日本語教育の文脈の中で、教師個々にとって、何が教育観を検証する刺激となり、教育観を修正しているのか、変化させる要因は何かを把握することができる。

以上を踏まえ、本稿では、教師の教育観を環境の変化に応じて、個人的な経験を重ね、形成されていく過程として捉える。教師のライフストーリーの語りから、日本語学習者としての経験から教師に至るまでの経験が教育観形成においてどのような意味をもつ経験となっているのか、その経験がいかにか語られているかを観察する。

2. ライフストーリー研究

ライフストーリーとは個人のライフ(人生、生涯、生活、生き方)についての語りで、一人一人の教師の事情を映し出し、教師の個人史および教師自身の視点を抽出する調査方法である。

桜井(2005)は、ライフストーリー研究法を語り手の経験や見方の意味を探究する、主観的世界の解釈を重視した研究法と定義している。

(1) ライフストーリー研究の概要

ライフストーリー研究は元々「社会学の方法論としての『ライフヒストリー』1920年代に着手されたシカゴ学派による都市研究の方法に起源をもつ」(浅野 2004: 85)。手紙等の生活記録を検証し、特定の個人の行動を促す要因を探る研究方法である。その後、社会学においては主流が統計的調査法に移る傾向があり、ライフヒストリーの方法を用いた研究は急速に減少したという。しかし、1950年代に再評価され、さらに、言語は語り手の経験を意味付ける、語り手の自己像を構成する過程において、媒介的な役割を果たしているという立場から、「特定の個人が他者との対話をとおして提示する「セルフ・ナラティブ」(自己自身についての語り)に注目することで、その人物が自らにとってリアルな世界を再構成していく過程を捉えることができる」(浅野 2004: 86)とされている。ライフヒストリー研究は生活記録よりも、個人の語りを重視し、そこからライフストーリー研究法が派生した。

桜井(2012)は日本でのライフストーリーという用語について、人類学、心理学、歴史学の領域において使われ始めてわずか10余年の短い歴史で、まだ定まった研究方法がないと述べている。語りの解釈について、「語りの分析と解釈に標準的な方法があるわけではない」(p.79)と述べているが、ライフストーリーの分析には、何が語られたかという語りの内容とともに、どのように語られたかという語りの方法を分析の範囲に入れる必要があると強調している。

日本語教育においてなされてきたライフストーリーの分析には、三代(2015)が指摘しているように、手順が明確であるコーディングやカテゴリー化等を採用し、調査協力者の語りの内容のみに着目する研究が多い。このコーディングやカテゴリー化等の方法は内容を抽象化してしまうため、語りの生の声が消えてしまう恐れがあり、「語られた内容の意味を深く理解するためにこそ、いかに語られたか」(p.97)ということも考察の目を向ける必要があると主張している。

(2) 分析方法

語りの内容を理解するために、語りがどのように語られたかについて、語りの構造に着目する。三代(2015)は語りの構造には「苦難」があって、その次に「転機」が起こり、苦難が「解決」されるという3つの要素があると説明している。構造の中心である語りの転機に注目することで、語り手が何を重視しているかがわかるとも述べている。

ライフストーリー研究法は主観的世界の解釈を重視した個人についての研究である。ただし、語り手は単なる個人のみではなく、ある所属しているコミュニティ及び社会に位置付けられているため、語り手の語りには、コミュニティに流通しているストーリーと全体社会を支配しているストーリーが含まれている。桜井(2012)は語り手を独特な人物ではなく、「平均的」、「標準的」で、ある社会的なカテゴリーの成人とすることで、ライフストーリー・インタビューで語られる経験のストーリーは、単なる個人的な経験ではなく、語り手が囲まれている様々な社会文脈が読み取れると言う。語り手が属するコミュニティに流通しているモデル・ストーリーがあり、さらにそのモデル・ストーリーの背景には、全体社会の支配的なマスター・ナラティブがある。そして、語りの方法には三つのモードがあるという。その一つ目は語り手自身や私的な関係の「パーソナル・モード」、二つ目には語り手が所属するコミュニティを背景にする「集合的モード」、三つ目として、政治、国制、文化、イデオロギー等の「制度的モード」である。これらの、三種のモードに基づき、語りの様式が構成され、「語りの様式とは、個人の「パーソナル・ストーリー」、コミュニティにおける「モデル・ストーリー」、全体社会(国民社会や地域規模の国際社会など)の「マスター・ナラティブ」に分けられるとする(桜井 2012: 104)。このように語り手がどの程度モデル・ストーリーとマスター・ナラティブに対して同調しているかが、語り手の独特なライフストーリーとして成立するのである。

本稿では、語りの転機に着目し、語りの構造を分析する。さらに、社会的側面を語りのモードに基づき、考察する。

3. 調査手続

カザフスタン人の大学の日本語教師のライフストーリー研究を行うため、2015年7月から9月にかけて、12名のカザフスタン人日本語教師を対象として、ライフストーリー・インタビューを行った。教師の教育観形成をカザフスタンの文脈で把握し、また、日本語学習を、学習者として経験した教師のスト

ーリーとして認め、現地の非母語話者日本語教師を対象にした。調査協力者は全員が筆者とは個人的面識があるが、それは、知り合いの教師に協力を依頼したということではなく、カザフスタンの日本語教育の世界は狭く、現地教師の互いの関わりが強いためである。

調査協力を依頼する際には、筆者が協力者の職場を訪ね、口頭で、また電子メールで協力の依頼をした。協力の承認を得て、インタビューの日程と場所を協力者の都合に合わせた。インタビューの場所は協力者の職場の会議室等を利用し、自由に話せるスペースを確保した。

インタビュー当日に、インタビューの方法とインタビュー後のデータの扱いについて改めて説明した。非構造化インタビューであったが、調査者から、調査協力者の日本語学習動機、学習方法など、日本語の学習経験について尋ね、次に教師としての経験について語ってもらった。基本的には、語り手に自由に話せるように配慮した。語りの途中で、調査者からの確認の質問もあった。

インタビュー内容は、協力者の許可を得て、録音した。文字化に当たっては、桜井(2013)の指摘するように、文字化は会話分析で行われている詳細なものではないが、インタビュー状況や語りの特性が明確に分かるレベルで、筆者が文字化し、教師の発話の先頭には、各教師を表すアルファベット文字を、筆者の発話にはQをつけ、全ての発話に通し番号を付けた。調査対象者の教授歴が5年から12年までの幅がある。そこで、12名の教授歴の平均に近い8年の教授経験のある教師2名(AとZ)に絞ることとする。2名は異なる所属教育機関で、教師A、教師Zの2名のライフストーリー・インタビューのデータを扱う。

インタビューでの使用言語はロシア語およびカザフ語であったが、途中で日本語の「先生」、「考えさせる」等の日本語が発話されることも多少あった。文字化されたトランスクリプトの和訳作業は筆者が行った。なお、翻訳による意味のズレを避けるため、作成したトランスクリプトの内容を調査協力者に確認してもらった。

4. 分析

本稿では、収集したライフストーリーのデータを語りの構造及び語りの様式に着目し、分析を行う。桜井(2002)は、語り手が転機と捉えている出来事の重要性を強調し、「経験をもとにした主観的なリアリティの変化のことであり、新しい意味体系の獲得過程のことである」(桜井2002:236)と述べている。語りの構造に関して、教師Aと教師Zの語りから、転機の出来事が読み取れる部分を取り出し、教育観形成をプロセスとして考察するために、教師の語りには、どのような転機があって、その転機がどのような変化を促し、教育観形成にどのように意味づけられているかを分析の対象とした。

(1) 教師Aの転機の語り

以下に、教師Aのライフストーリーからの転機の出来事を取り上げ、①日本語学習開始のきっかけ、②成績低下と学習意欲の関係、③母語話者教師と学習意欲の関係、④日本語教師になったきっかけ、⑤初期段階の教師、⑥教師としての反省点、⑦教師の役割を振り返る、に分けて記述する。①から④までの出来事は日本語学習者としての語りで、⑤から⑦までが日本語教師の視点である。

① 日本語学習開始のきっかけ

教師Aは言語を学習したいという要望があって、日本語学習を開始した。入学した段階では、日本について「発展している国」といふ大雑把なイメージしか持っていなかったと言う。日本があまり知られておらず、よく分からない国のように捉えていたため、具体的な学習目標を持たないまま入学した。また、日本語専攻に入学することで、国費学生として学べるという経済的な面が言語を選択する優先的なファクターとなっていた。この日本語学習者になったという転機の刺激が日本や日本語に直接な関係が薄い。別の問題を解決するために、起こったエピソードである。

A1：文学が好きで、言語に興味を持っていました。日本についてあまり知りませんでしたが、日本という国を尊敬する気持ちがありました。日本は私にとって、ミステリアスで、よく知らない世界でした。そして、同時に英語も勉強できるのが気に入りました。もちろん、さらに、奨学金があるのは、一番大きい理由です。日本語はロマンチックで、面白い趣味という感じでした。最初は、日本語を勉強すれば、これができるとか、全然考えていませんでした。例えば、このレベルになったら、この仕事ができるとか、具体的な計画は全くありませんでした。

② 成績低下と学習意欲の関係

教師 A は日本語学習開始から 1 年目は熱心に学習に取り組まず、趣味として、軽く捉えていた結果、成績が悪くなった。しかし、そのことが自分の日本語学習に対する態度を見直すきっかけとなった。自分の日本語能力が低く評価されたことが、日本語学習に取り組もうという決意となった。日本語を身に付けたいという気持ちになり、日本語との関わりが強くなる。

A2：1 年生は日本語がファンタジイのような世界で、ただの時間の過ごし方という感じでした。ちょっと恥ずかしい話ですが、日本語の試験でぎりぎりの C をとってしまって、しかもおおまけの C でした。そのせいで奨学金がもらえなくなりました。その時、ファンタジイのような世界から、目が覚めました。よく考えはじめました。私は誰なのか、私は何をやっているだろう！

Q3：やる気がなかった理由は？

A3：やる気がありませんでした。何というか、勉強より、他のことに夢中になっていました。初恋とか、友人関係です。私たち、クラスのみんなは仲がよくて、とても楽しかったです。こんなに、たくさんの友達ができしたのは、初めてでした。友達の方が優先で、勉強には障害となりました。

③ 母語話者教師と学習意欲の関係

教師 A は日本語母語話者の教師に日本語を教えてもらった。教師 A は母語話者の授業に対して、不満の気持ちを有している。その原因は母語話者の教師が日本語教育を専門としている教師ではなく、教師が使う日本語が難しく、授業の内容も難しかったことである。しかし、ちょうど日本語学習に真剣に取り組もうと決断したとき、新しい母語話者の教師が来て、学習成果が得られたと言う。新しい教師は他の教師と異なり、学習者のことを見て、対応していた。さらに、自分の日本語の初級レベルのギャップを埋めるために、現地の教師に依頼し、個別に学習したと言う。「その先生のおかげで」と自らの日本語学習成果を関連づけている。

A5：大学は 10 人の日本人の教師がいました。しかし、その中で、一人も外国人に日本語を教えるという専門ではありませんでした。私は 7 人の日本人の教師から授業を受けてきました。とても難しかったです。例えば、2 年性の時、一人の先生が経済についての新聞記事を持ってきて、それを授業で読みました。先生はすごく面白そうで、1 時間ぐらい記事の内容を一生懸命説明していました。でも、私たちは何も分かっていないということが分かっていなかったようです。その状況が良くなったのは、新しい先生が来たときです。その先生も日本人でしたが、私たちの反応を見て、分かったか分からなかったかをよく見て、細く、詳しく、詳しく説明してくれました。それは、3-4 年の時でした。ちょうど私が日本語の勉強に集中しようと決めたときです。その先生のおかげで、卒業した時はある程度のレベルでした。

④ 日本語教師になったきっかけ

教師 A は大学を卒業し、大学に日本語の教師として残った。それと同時にある日本企業ของบริษัทに入った。しかし、職場では、日本語を使う必要があまりなく、日本語を忘れてしまうのが心配で会社をやめ、日本語教師として活躍することを決断したと言う。教師になったという転機は、学習者に日本語を教えたいという目的より、自分のものとして身につけた日本語を失いたくないという気持ちが強いと述べる。

A12：大学を卒業して、日本語教師になりました。同時にある会社で働いていました。会社の方が経済的によく、安定した会社でしたが、結局大学での仕事を選びました。その時、社長はすごくがっかりしましたが、私は地位ではなくて、日本語と直接は関係がある仕事をしたいと言いました。会社の方は書類だけの業務で、会社に残っていたら日本語を忘れていたと思います。

⑤ 初期段階の教師

教師Aは教師になったばかりの頃は、自分が受けてきた授業のモデルではなく、コミュニケーション能力の養成を中心とした英語コースでの教え方を参考にしたと言う。また、情意的な面としても、学習者を教師に感情的に依存させ、学習者にとって最も重要な人物になりたかったと語っている。つまり、「印象に残る授業」を目指し、工夫したと言う。自分の授業を学習者がどの程度感動しているかについて、とても気になっていた。

A21：日本語を教え始めたとき、英語のコースに興味があって、英語コースと同じ教え方で日本語を教えていました。学生のアウトプットが重要だと思っていたので、学生がたくさん話すように授業をやっていました。決まっている表現を何回も言わせました。私の教え方は当時の日本人の教え方とずいぶん違っていました。英語のコースで教えてもらった教え方が気に入って、同じようにやっていました。

A22：また、もう一つの要素があって、私は感情的で、演じて、感動させるのが好きです。授業の時も学生を感動させて、私に憧れて欲しかったです。それは、私の生きがいでした。結局、学生は私に憧れていて、私は神様のような存在でした。そういう学生の反応は私にとって当たり前のことでした。そういう感情に依存していました。学期が終わって、私が別のクラスを担当することになった時は、学生が泣いていました。今では、それは愚かなことだと分かっています。

⑥ 教師としての反省点

教師Aは自分の教え方について、学習者が全く自律していなかったという問題に繋がったと言う。その気づきは日本に留学し、日本の大学で受けた指導法を経験した時である。言語学習に成功するためには教師が主導するのではなく、学習者自身の努力が必要だと考えるようになった。教師が日本語の能力を向上させるという役割だけではなく、言語学習において教師と学習者、それぞれの役割について考え直す契機となった。

A26：猛練習は最初の段階ではいいかもしれませんが、いつもそのやり方ではだめだと思います。日本語は英語とまったく違うので、英語学習のような練習では日本語の文法を覚えることができません。漢字などがありますから、日本語を勉強している学生は自分の努力と意欲が必要です。自分のビジョンが必要です。つまり、日本語を学習させる刺激が教師への憧れや好きな教師に言われたことだけでは、不十分で自分の内発的な刺激が必要です。教師がやってほしいことをするだけではなく、つまり、学生は自分を観察して、自分がいる環境を評価して、成長するために自らの努力がないといけません。もちろん、教師にもらうリソースも使いながら、つまり、私は学生にとって一番重要な存在になりたくて、やりすぎました。他の教師がクラスに入ると焼き餅を焼いて、子供みたいでした。そういうこともありましたが、それも多分成長のプロセスで、その段階を経験することも重要です。

⑦ 教師の役割を振り返る

教師Aは日本留学後、大学の教師は言語の知識を与え、練習をさせるだけではなく、学習者個々の全体的な成長を支援することであると教師の役割について考え直した。日本語の授業は知識を与えるだけではなく、学習者の個性を尊重し、学習者を社会の1人として力を伸ばすことが重要だと語った。

A28：日本で修士過程に入ったときは、びっくりしました。私を感動させる教師が誰もいなくて、自分から積極的に勉強に取り組まないといけない環境でした。あなたのことを誰も心配していません。その時、教師として、自分の5年間を振り返ってみると、私のスタイルは言語コースのような教え方だったと思います。でも、言語コースの教え方はコースの教え方だと分かりました。大学は教育がもっと深くて、学生の人間形成も重要です。

Q7：人間形成というのは？

A29：猛練習はもちろん効果がありますが、そればかりだとよくないです。最も重要なのは、学生を普通の人間、個人として見て、話をして、将来したい仕事とか、自分のレベルの評価とか、計画、趣味、気持ちについて聞いて、でもそれに対してははっきりした対応をするのではなく、霧のような状況のままにして、学生が自分で解決するようにさせています。

教師Aの日本語学習者としての語りは、日本語学習をある事情によって始め、日本語の成績が低下したことが刺激になり、日本語を熱心に学習するという決断の結果、大学を卒業する時、必要な日本語能力があり、日本語に対する愛情を持ったという転機の出来事から成り立っている。そして、教師としての教師Aの語りは教師が演技者で印象に残る授業を目指したという立場から学習者を支援する教師になったという変化が起こった。教師Aにとって、②の成績低下と③の日本語母語話者の教師の経験が中心的な転機であった。さらに、教師として留学した時、また学習者の立場に戻り、新たな日本語教育環境の経験が教師Aを大きく変えた。

（2）教師Zの転機の語り

次に、教師Zの転機の出来事を、①日本語学習開始のきっかけ、②日本語学習の楽しさ、③教師になったきっかけ、④-1 初期段階の教師の授業、④-2 初期段階の教師の情意面、⑤留学経験、⑥学習者の学習意欲低下に対する対応、⑦学習者の自律性、に分けて記述する。なお、①から③までの語りは学習者としての語りである。

① 日本語学習開始のきっかけ

教師Zは高校で、将来の専門について経済を学ぶという考えを持っていた。しかし、国費の試験には合格できず、急に日本語を学習することを決めたとする。教師Zは日本語学習を選択した理由について、具体的な理由があまりないようであった。その一方で、子供の時の日本と関連する出来事も語られた。

Z2：高校までは日本語を習うとは考えもしませんでした。私は数学が得意で成績もAでした。でも、一番大切な試験の結果が1点足りなくて、Bになってしまいました。その時すごく落ち込んでいました。それまでは、いつもAでしたから。それで、2週間ぐらい考えて、日本語を習うことにしました。それまでは、日本語についてなんとも思っていなかったんです。

Q3：それは、どうしてでしょうか。日本について何かを見たとか？

Z4：いいえ、経済学部に入學しないと決めるときは、何か人文系のものを習おうと思って、日本語にしました。理由はよく分かりませんが、そう決めるとき、お父さんが、お前は子供の時、箸のようなスティックを持って「私は日本人です。日本人です。日本語を勉強するよ」と言っていたねという話を教えてくれました。また、日本語で話している振りをしていたそうですが、私の周りには日本語を使う人が誰もいませんでした。テレビやラジオで日本語を聞いたかもしれませんが、その時、4歳ぐらいでしたが、その後、日本語と全然関わることがありませんでした。

② 日本語学習の楽しさ

教師Zは日本語学習が容易ではなかったという例として、入學した学習者の人数が2カ月後急に減ったことを挙げている。しかし、教師Zにとっては、母語との共通点があるので、日本語の文法は分かりやすかった。また、若い母語話者の教師と仲が良く、日本語をコミュニケーションの手段として使う機会が多くあったことが日本語学習に好影響を与えた。

Z14: 私たちが入学した時、学生はたくさんいましたが、2カ月後に難しいと言って辞めた人がたくさんいます。結局5人だけが残りました。でも、私には日本語の文法が難しくなかったです。母語にとっても似ていますから。漢字はもちろん、覚えるのは大変でした。一生懸命書いて、暗記しました。また、若い日本人の教師がいて、その日本人も寮に住んでいたの、よく一緒に遊びました。若い女性で、たくさんの日本人の知り合いがいて、毎週末はみんなで公園に行ったりして、遊びました。いつも日本語を使っていて、授業の時もジェスチャーで教えてもらって、私たちはその説明を聞いてみて、簡単な日本語で理解したことを伝えようとしていました。とても面白かったです。とても楽しい時期でした。

③ 教師になったきっかけ

教師Zは5年間大学で日本語を習って、高成績で大学を卒業したと言う。当時別の都市に行き、いい就職につきたいという希望があった。しかしながら、日本語を活かす仕事が全くなく、大学の先生に呼ばれて、卒業した大学に戻り、日本語教師を始めた。

Z9: 卒業して、成績が全部Aでした。**市に行って、そこでいい仕事を探そうと思いました。大学の先生に教師として大学に残るように言われましたが、私は「いいえ、他の仕事をしたいです」と言って断りました。

Z11: 何かある組織、大使館、外務所など、そういうところで働きたかったです。一週間**市にいて、いろいろな会社からの募集がありましたが、5年間日本語を勉強して、仕事で日本語が使えないのはもったいないと思いました。そして、毎日大学の先生から「仕事を見つけたか。戻ってくれないか」というメールが来て、結局先生から「そこは、もう仕事がないから、戻ってきて。ここは担当できるクラスがあるから..」という連絡が来て、戻ってきました。日本語を教えることは、何をすればいいか全く分かっていませんでした。

④-1 初期段階の教師の授業

未経験者の教師Zが初めて担当したクラスはゼロから日本語を学習し始めるクラスでなかったため、それを困難に感じたと言う。具体的にどのように教えればいいのか分からなかったし、さらに、自分は日本語話者ではないので、いい授業ができないという悩みもあった。教師Zは自分が受けてきた授業を参考に、授業中日本語だけを使うように努力し、学習者が理解できたかどうか心配であったが、お互いに慣れてきた時には、その問題を解決できた。

Z29: 教える経験がない人はいつも第二外国語のクラスで教え始めますが、私もそうしたかったです。しかしながら、先生にすぐ2年の総合日本語を担当するよう言われて、大変でした。私のレベルではできないでしょう!と思って、どうすればいいか全く分からなくて

Q10: 何が大変でしたか。

Z30: 私は母語話者ではなかったので、教師として認めてもらえるかと心配でした。私は母語話者の授業を受けてきましたから、私の前にそのクラスを担当した教師はもう教授能力があって、学生は他の教師、母語話者の教師の授業の方が気に入っていたと感じました。

Q11: そのように言われたことがありますか。

Z32: 言われたことはありませんが、学生は授業の時、**先生の授業でこのことをやったとか、生花について説明を聞いたとか言っていました。でも、私は日本に行ったことがなくて、その知識が不足していました。それは自分でも分かっていました。

Z34: 授業の準備で徹夜していました。最初から母語を使わないで、全部日本語で説明するように頑張りました。学生がまだ私のやりかたにまだ慣れてれていないと感じていましたが、一カ月後にはもうお互いに自由に話せる雰囲気になりました。学生は分からなかったところをすぐ自由に言えるようになりました。

④-2 初期段階の教師の情意面

教師Zは学習者の授業に対する適切な態度を確保するために「厳しかった」と語っている。その厳し

さで効果がなかった時は、自分より権威のある母語話者の教師に頼み、学習者のマナーを直していた。また、自分が日本語母語話者ではないことで、学習者が損していると思いながら、授業を担当した。

Z37：私は厳しかったけど、学生はそれが好きでした。でも、最初は大変でした。時々、日本人の先生に頼んで、遅刻と欠席する学生に注意するように。私たちは日本人と考え方が違うので、日本人の先生にそうしないように頼んでいました。私も厳しかったですが、いつも私は母語話者ではなくて、学生のことを可哀想に思っていました。いつも自分が受けた母語話者の教師の授業を思い出して、そのように説明できなかったのが、大変でした。

⑤ 留学経験

日本で教師研修を受け、母語話者ではないコンプレックスがなくなり、日本で経験したことを活かしたいという気持ちが強くなり、教師として、自分の活躍を楽しむようになったと言う。

Z42：日本で教師研修を受けて、帰国した時は、教えることが好きになりました。いろいろなことを自分の目でみたので、それを全部学生に伝えたかったです。自分の中も「自分が経験したことがないから、教えられるか」という不安なくなって、発表の仕方等、全部自分でやってみたことなので、自信を持って教えられると、やる気が大きくなりました。

⑥ 学習者の学習意欲低下に対する対応

教師 Z は学習意欲の低下の問題を解決する手法として、「学生と話す」ことを行っている。学習者の悩みや心配について話し、励ますことによって、学習動機を維持することができるという。また、動機減退の原因が、学習者の理解であるため、いつでも確認できる環境を提供していた。そのために、教師と学習者間の信頼関係が重要な条件になる。さらに、教師 Z は非母語話者の同僚にも、同じことを提案しており、リーダー的な立場になったという変化が見られる。

Z49：そういう学生はいますね。それで、私達は努力しています。同僚にも言っています、もし、動機がない学生がいたらもう一度みて、学生と話せるような関係を作って、学生の関心が戻るように何かをしないとはいけません。個別に話をしたほうがいいです。また、他の教師に頼んでチームで授業をやっています。ある教師の説明が分かりますが、別の教師の説明が分かりません、そうならないように二人で交代して授業に入っています。木曜日は私で、火曜日はもう一人、別の教師が入っています。例えば、学生が何か分らなかった場合、100回同じ教師に聞くのは恥ずかしいかもしれません。それで、次の授業で他の教師に聞こうと思うかもしれません。だから、何か分からないことがあったら、教師に聞いてくださいと言います。質問はいつでもいいと言っています。

⑦ 学習者の自律性

教師 Z は自律性について、教師の働きかけが不可欠のものであると考えている。特に初級レベルの段階では、教師の「努力」が必要である。教師が努力すれば、効果があると語り、学習者の自律性を育成するために、授業外の時間を使用し、「自律性」について話していた。

Z54：自分の学生は自律的だと思います。でも、そのために、1年のとき、説明しないとはいけません。私は説明しています。例えば、今日は土曜日で、授業がありませんが、朝8時に来るように言って、学生を集めます。「クラスの時間」を行います。その時「両親がみなさんのためにやっていることについて毎日考えなければなりません。毎日、ちゃんと勉強したか、両親はお金を払っていますから」等の話をします。そうすると学生は慣れてきます。学生は自律と責任感とは何か、分かってきます。一ヶ月ぐらい、このようにして、たくさん説明しないとはいけません。時間をかけなければなりません。そうすると、教師にとって後は楽です。学生はもう自分で分かります。でも、最初はたくさん指導しないとはいけません。

教師Zは偶然日本語学習を始めるが、仲のいい母語話者教師がいて、成績もよく、日本語学習を楽しんでいた。しかし、成績が高かった教師Zは、卒業後は就職の問題に直面する。日本語を使用し、カザフスタンと日本間の仕事に関わりたいという計画を持ち、日本語を教えることは全く考えていなかった。結局、日本語教師になったという転機は、努力し身に付けた日本語に対する価値観が強かったからである。初期段階において、教授法等に困難を感じた。さらに、日本語の授業が母語話者教師の方が望ましいという考えが強く、母語話者ではない自分に劣等感を感じた。⑤の留学経験が日本語の能力を向上したことより、実際に日本語や日本文化に接触し、自分の同じように非母語話者である学習者にそれを伝えられ強いやる気と教師としての自信に繋がった。そして、初期段階に比べ、何をどのように教えるかという教師の課題から、授業外の時間も使用し、学習者の視点を重視する環境について考えるようになった。

転機の語りには何らかの刺激があり、その結果、ある変化が起こるという流れであり、人間は様々な刺激によって、ものの見方を変えるものと思われる。教師Aと教師Zは経験してきた転機の中には、失敗という転機のエピソードであっても、それを肯定的に捉え、「それも多分成長のプロセスで、その段階を経験することも重要」という自らの人生において、より良い変化を促す重要な条件であることが分かる。

5. 考察

前節で取り上げた転機の出来事は教師の個人的経験でありながら、それに周りの環境が強く影響を与えていることが分かる。本節では、考察の方法として、語りの様式のモードに合わせ、個人に関わる語りをパーソナル・ストーリーと、語り手のコミュニティである日本語学習と日本語教育に関わる語りをモデル・ストーリーに分ける。さらに、語り手が所属しているコミュニティを超えて、全体社会に関わる語りをマスター・ナラティブとして取り上げる。それぞれの3つのモードを【 】に示しながら、教師の教育観形成との関係を考察する。

(1) 教師Aの語り様式

まず①では、教師Aは日本語学習開始のきっかけについての語りを【個人】のレベルで「よく知らない国」と語っているが、日本に関する「発展している国」という【全体社会】の背景があり、それについて、日本語に対して、「よく知られていない言語」というイメージを持ち、「ミステリアスな世界」であっても、日本や日本語を肯定的に捉え、好奇心を持っている。学費に関わる「国費学生」の要因も【全体社会】の状況に基づき、日本語を学習することを選択する。その一方で、「よく知られていない」という語りの背景には、当時のカザフスタンの【全体社会】は日本語を活用できる職場が非常に少ないという現状があり、教師Aは具体的な学習目標がない状態のまま入学したのである。

次の②では、日本語学習開始から、動機があまりなかった原因について【自己】の「遊び」が多かったとかたっているが、試験の結果では、【自己】の日本語学習に対する態度を見直す刺激となり、転機の語りでもある。

以上の転機の語りでは、【コミュニティ】雰囲気は学習に適切ではなく、日本語学習の障害となっている「仲間」以外にも、受けてきた授業が影響していると思われる。以上の語りでは、成績が低下した際、日本語学習に熱心に取り組む動機付けとなったという転機の語りであるが、③の転機以前の学習経験の語りは、日本語の教師についての【個人】ストーリーである。言語学習はネイティブ教師による授業を受けた方が、言語学習成果が高いと思われる傾向がある。このネイティブ教師に関するモデル・ストーリーは、特に日本人が少ないカザフスタンの日本語学習の【コミュニティ】にも当てはまる。日本人に接触する機会が少ない中で、教師Aは恵まれた環境にあり、ネイティブ教師の授業を受けてきた。しかしながら、教師Aは、母語話者の授業に対して【個人】の不満を語る。日本語母語話者であっても、日本語を教えることができるというわけではなく、かえって学習者に困難を与えると語っている。一方で、「いい先生」「努力する先生」と評価している母語話者の「新しい先生」が他の教師と異なる点は、学習者の理解を確認しながら授業を進めていたという点である。「新しい先生」という【コミュニティ】の変化が動機の表れにおいて転機になっていると言えよう。

④では、【全体社会】は外国語の習得は国際的な就職に繋がるというモデルが強く、多くの学習者が大使館や日本企業に就職することを目指した。【全体社会】においてそのような職種はステータスと給料

が高く、魅力がある。教師 A も、社会に支配しているモデルに沿って、卒業後、日本企業で働いたという経験を語る。しかしながら、日本語を活かしていないというファクターがあったため、会社を辞め、【全体社会】に反して、日本語教師を選択したという語りである。

⑤は教師になった頃、自分が受けてきた母語話者の授業とは異なる授業を目指した。言語学習は話す能力が重要する英語教育の【コミュニティ】のモデルを参照しながら、話す練習を中心に授業を行う。その時、学習者の動機付けのため、教師のパフォーマンス力に頼ったという【個人】を語っている。

⑥では、今の【個人】の立場から、自分の授業は問題点があったと語っている。以上の語りから効果的な教え方について、積極的に話す練習をさせ、コミュニケーション重視型の英語教育【コミュニティ】の影響が見られる。その英語教育の【コミュニティ】を反する転機には、別のモデル・ストーリーが流通している日本の【コミュニティ】および【全体社会】に囲まれた経験が影響している。その新しい【コミュニティ】には、学習動機は、教師による刺激に応じて、発生するものではなく、学習者の自らの「ビジョン」が必要である。学習者のいわゆる自己決定の姿勢が求められる。言語学習に成功するためには、学習者自身の努力が必要だと考えるようになった。

⑦は、さらに、教師 A は留学後、大学の教師は言語の知識を与え、練習をさせるだけではなく、学習者を個々の全体的な成長を支援することであると、【個人】の役割について考え直したという。今の職場において、その発想を中心に、授業に取り組んでおり、学習者主体の【コミュニティ】を作ろうとしている。

(2) 教師 Z の語り様式

①では、教師 Z は経済を学ぶ予定であったが、試験に合格できず、別の選択をせざるをえなかった状況になったという【個人】を語る。日本語学習は国費で入学できる専攻であったという【全体社会】の背景がある。さらに、日本語を学習するという転機以前は子供の時、日本に対する肯定的な【個人】があり、日本に接触する機会が少ない【全体社会】において、幼少期の日本文化との接触が印象的であった。

次の②は、教師 Z 【個人】にとっては、日本語は母語との共通点があることと、若い母語話者の教師と仲が良く、日本語をコミュニケーションの手段として使う機会がたくさんあったことが日本語学習に対して好奇心と楽しみを保持し、影響を与えた。

③では、教師 Z は 5 年間大学で日本語を習って、高成績で大学を卒業したと言う。外国語ができれば、いい就職に繋がるという【全体社会】の背景があり、教師 Z は積極的に就職活動に取り組む。一方で、日本語教育【コミュニティ】において、大学の方は教師不足で、優秀な卒業生を教師として確保する要望があった。大学を卒業し、全く違う分野で活躍する卒業者も少なくない。しかしながら、教師 Z は努力して覚えた日本語が使えないのは、非常にもったいないという気持ちで、【全体社会】に反して、教師になる決断する【個人】の姿がある。

④-1 では、未経験者の【個人】である、教師 Z が初めて担当したクラスはゼロから日本語を学習始めるクラスでなかったため、それを困難に感じたという。具体的にどのように教えればいいのか分からなかったし、さらに、自分は日本語話者ではないので、いい授業ができないという悩みもあった。自分が経験した母語話者の授業に対する肯定的な評価と学習者【コミュニティ】において「母語話者の授業がいい」というモデルがある。それは、言語能力に関わるものだけではなく、日本にあまり接触できない【全体社会】に対して、日本文化と社会について「説明できない」という不安もあった。教師 Z は自分が受けてきた授業を参考に、授業中日本語だけを使うようにしていた。それは、【コミュニティ】のモデルに対応する方法でもあった。そして、【コミュニティ】との信頼関係の重要性が語られた。

④-2 は、学習者の【コミュニティ】に対して、学習者が損していると思いがあったが、母語話者ではない教師 Z は学習者の授業に対する適切な態度を確保するために「私は厳しかった」という手法を使用した。しかし、自分の力が足りないときは、母語話者の教師に頼んで、学習者のマナーを直していた。

⑤は、学習者の【コミュニティ】では、留学経験がある教師は評価されているため、留学経験は教師として、【個人】の自身に繋がった。母語話者ではないというコンプレックスがなくなった。さらに、日本の【コミュニティ】で経験して得たことを教師として活かしたいという気持ちになり、教師として、自分の活躍を楽しむようになったと言う。

⑥は、日本語で授業を受けてきた教師 Z は、学習者の理解を得ることは、教師の務めである。「同僚に

もそう言っている」教師は【個人】の経験を重ね、若手の教師にアドバイスを与える立場になった。

⑦の自律学習は【全体社会】での教育の指針となっていることもあり、自律学習を肯定的に捉えており、学習者の自律性を育成したいという姿が見られる。しかし、【個人】としては学習者がすでに自律していないという前提で、自律性の重要性について「話をする」ことが必要であると語っている。教師からの指示がなくても、自発的に学習することを目指している。

(3) 総合考察

本稿では、「何を語ったか」とともに、「いかに語ったか」ということから教師の教育形成の過程を考察した。教師Aと教師Zは、日本語学習を始めたきっかけが日本・日本語に対する内発的な動機を持ってなく、社会的に流通している日本のイメージであった。人間は新しい言語を学習し始めるきっかけが偶然であることが多い。しかしながら、日本語学習を通して、日本語との繋がりが強くなり、卒業後は日本語を生かしたいという気持ちが強く、教師を職業として選択することから、習得した言語を使用できないことは、自分の損失として捉えてしまうことが分かる。

日本に留学した経験は教師Aと教師Zにとって最も転機的な出来事の一つである。しかも、留学中に得た知識が当然重要であるが、日本社会との接触が「自分が変わった」という変容に繋がった。初期段階の非母語話者教師は、日本語学習者の経験があっても、具体的な教え方に関して、知識と経験が不足している。そのために、教授法だけに固執することが多い。しかし、教授経験を重ねることに連れて、自分の役割がことばを教えることだけではないという教育観の変化がみられる。教師Aの場合は「人間形成も重要」という語りと、教師Zの場合は「学生と話をする」という語りから、教師と学習者間の信頼関係も重視し、現場の実践に取り組んでいる様子である。

教師のライフストーリーから、教育観は社会的に形成されていることが分かる。例えば、「今」の立場から教師Aと教師Zは社会的に流通しているモデルに沿って、自律性を重視した実践を行っていることが分かる。両者の異なりは、教師Aは学習者の個性を無視せずに、学習者に自ら対応する能力を育てたいようである。それに対して、教師Zは学習者に「毎日、自分で勉強する」という学習習慣を身に付けたいという観点で自律性の育成を捉えている。

6. 終わりに

本稿は、教師が持っている教育観の形成について、教師自己の言語学習者としての経験および教師としての教育実践を併せて考察した。

教育観の変容が教師の発達プロセスであり、教師の成長として捉えることを試みた。教師のライフストーリー研究は、日本語教育が求める教育改善との直接的な関わりが見えにくいかもしれない。しかし、教師の教育観の変容を「成長」という観点から捉えると、ライフストーリーは教師自身が自己の変化に気づく可能性を大いに与えるものとする。今後は教師にとって自己のライフストーリーを語ることで自分がどのような意味をもつかを明らかにしていきたい。

また、個々の教育観は個人の経験から派生するものであるが、その個人の経験には、社会的な文脈の影響が非常に大きいと確認できた。教師Aと教師Zのライフストーリーには、学習者に育成したい能力に関して、書く能力や聴解力等を向上したいという言語のスキルに関わる能力についてあまり語られていないという特徴が見られる。本稿は一般化を目指したものではないが、教師Aと教師Zのライフストーリーから、「教師」という自己像の役割を教授法だけに限定し、日本語を教えるという狭い範囲の捉え方から、教室と大学を超え、「日本語を教えるだけではない」という社会的な役割へ見方が広がったことが明らかになった。教師Aと教師Zは日本語教育の目的として、言語のスキルを習得することを目指す「道具主義的目的(instrumental goal)」より、人材の育成を目指す「教育目的(educational goal)」の側面を重視していることが分かる。その教育観の変化は、カザフスタンが日本語をあまり活用できない孤独な学習環境であるという要因で起こっているかもしれない。今後は、大学教育における日本語教育の目的にはどのような要素があるのかについて、分析を深めることで、カザフスタン社会において日本語教育の新たな位置付けができると思われる。

参考文献

- 浅野信彦 (2004) 「教師教育研究におけるライフストーリー分析の視点—学校の組織的文脈に焦点をあてて—」『文教大学教育学部紀要』38, pp. 83-93.
- 石川良子 (2010) 「分からないことが分かる」ということ—調査協力者への共感をめぐって『質的心理学フォーラム』1, pp. 21-31.
- 石川良子 (2012) 「ライフストーリー研究における調査者の経験の自己言及記述の意義—インタビューの対話性に着目して—」『年報社会学論集』25, pp. 1-12.
- 伊藤勇 (2009) 「質的インタビュー調査の再概念化」『福井大学教育地域科学部紀要: 第III部社会科学』64, pp. 1-31.
- 桜井厚 (2002) 『インタビューの社会学—ライフストーリーの書き方』せりか書房
- 桜井厚 (2012) 『ライフストーリー論』弘文堂
- 桜井厚・小林多寿子(編) (2005) 『ライフストーリー・インタビュー—質的研究入門』せりか書房
- 杉浦千里 (2007) 「カザフスタンにおける日本語教育の現状と課題」『筑波大学留学生センター日本語教育論集』22, pp. 121-128.
- 高井良健一 (1996) 「教師のライフストーリー研究方法論の新たな方向—ライフストーリート解釈正統化論理に着目して—」『学校教育研究』11, pp. 65-78.
- 塚田守 (2008) 「ライフストーリー・インタビューの可能性」『椋山女子園大学研究論集社会科学篇』39, pp. 1-12.
- 藤田美保 (2003) 「『転機』を視点とする教師の発達過程に関する事例研究—年配教師のライフストーリーの記述から—」『教育学論集』29, pp. 24-35.
- 平山満義 (2009) 「教授行為の語源および教師効果の研究」『教育方法学研究』16, pp. 45-62.
- 三代純平 (2003) 「「この私」を語る意味—「個の文化」実践としての総合活動日本語教育において—」『21世紀の「日本事情」』5, pp. 76-94.
- 三代純平 (2014) 「日本語教育におけるライフストーリー研究の現在—その課題と可能性について—」『リテラシーズ』14, pp. 1-10.
- やまだようこ(編) (2007) 『質的心理学の方法—語りをきく—』新曜社
- Horwitz, E. K. (1987) Surveying Student Beliefs about Language Learning. In A. Wenden & J. Rubin (eds.) *Learner Strategies in Language Learning*. 119-129. London: Prentice Hall International

Research Note

Sociology of Waste in Christian Europe and Japan:

Comparative Analysis of the Notion of Human Waste

Marta Elzbieta SZCZYGIEL

Osaka University, Graduate School of Human Sciences, Ph.D. Student

This essay examines sociological theories of waste, applying them to *human waste* in the contexts of Christian Europe and Japan. As the paper will show, notions of excreta in Christian tradition and Japan differ significantly, which sets perfect conditions for a thorough analysis of sociological theories of waste.

Although we all create waste in our everyday life, sociology has long ignored this topic. Recently though, we can see some increased interest in the problem. In order to establish a theoretical framework for the emerging field, some scholars seek inspiration in Mary Douglas's *Purity and Danger* (1966), but along the way, they have tended to transform her idealistic concept of dirt as a "matter out of place." Douglas argues that it is possible to analyze a culture through its primitive rituals and beliefs. With reference to her work, I first characterize the way excrement is portrayed in the religious beliefs of the two cultures analyzed in this essay: Christianity and the two main religious systems of Japan, being Shintoism and Buddhism. Then, inspired by O'Brien (2008), I explore three directions in which the sociology of waste followed Douglasian theory as reminder of death, pathogenicity and civilizing process. I analyze how each interpretation works in contexts of Christian Europe and Japan. As these notions were created based on Western examples, it is not surprising that they seem accurate in a European paradigm, but when seen through the lens of Japan, their validation proves problematic.

Keywords: Sociology of Waste, Excrement, Comparative Analysis, Mary Douglas, Religion

Introduction

Waste is unarguably a part of our everyday life. In recent years, caused by the population growth and rapid urbanization, it is becoming a more and more problematic, thus significant one. But as O'Brien argues it is widely ignored in contemporary sociology.

It is as if, for the discipline of sociology in general, and for sociological theory in particular, nobody ever throws anything away or ever carries out the bin-bags for a 'waste management authority' to deal with. It is as if, when you go to a shop, restaurant, club or place of work, you work, consume or take your leisure without ever producing rubbish or detritus of any kind. Sociology treats 'waste' as if it were literally immaterial, as if it existed in a world apart from the one we inhabit in our daily, routine lives (O'Brien 2008: 62).

Although we can see increased interest in the problem (Fagan et al. 2001; Murray 1999; O'Brien 1999; O'Brien 2008; Yearley 1995), waste is still understudied and lacks acclaimed theoretical frameworks. Here many scholars look for inspiration in Mary Douglas's famous book *Purity and Danger* (2003).

For Douglas dirt is a “matter out of place”, a matter of disorganization which “offends against order.” It means that it is not actually a physical entity, but a socially constructed concept. This claim “has inspired some of the finest scholars to dig into the cultural articulation of uncleanness and persuaded some ... that what is true for dirt is also true for waste” (O’Brien 2008: 125). But, when those scholars apply Douglas’s anthropological theory to modern sociology, they tend to modify her original idea so that in the end not much is left from her idealistic concept.

In this essay I examine sociological theories of waste applying them to the most familiar kind of waste to every human being – *human waste*. Inglis (2001) contends that in modern societies excreta are seen as dirty, thus “sociology of excreta and excretion may be oriented upon the same lines as a sociology of ‘dirt’” (Inglis 2001: 17). Influenced by O’Brien’s *A Crisis of Waste? Understanding the Rubbish Society* (2008) in which he describes five main directions in which Douglas’s theory of dirt was taken, I identify three paradigms through which the genesis of modern attitude toward excreta can be analyzed: as reminder of death, as pathogenicity and as standardization of bourgeois fecal habitus. As a point of reference for the above theories, I start from Douglasian analysis of human waste. For comparative purposes I offer analysis of the images of excreta in Christian Europe and in Japan. Social forces shaping the attitude toward human waste in both societies followed significantly different trajectories, which sets perfect conditions for evaluating the usefulness of prominent sociological theories of waste. As these theories are based exclusively on Western examples, it is not surprising that they are plausible in European paradigm, but when analyzed from Japanese perspective, they prove invalid. Therefore, this essay highlights the importance of considering non-Western cosmologies in order to create any comprehensive theory.

1. Theoretical considerations in the study of waste

First, I need to explain that in Douglasian terms there is one flaw in the framework proposed in this essay. According to Douglas, every “primitive culture is a universe to itself” (Douglas 2003: 4), therefore we can understand primitive cultures through their rituals and cosmological patterns. Modern culture, on the other hand, which she describes as a mix of “different fields of symbolic action” (Ibid.: 70) does not follow the same logic. Therefore, Douglas argues that it is possible to analyze a culture through its beliefs only when it is a specific culture. I, however, examine excretory customs across Christian Europe, arguing that we can trace the roots of Western ideas about excreta to beliefs and practices commonly shared across regions dominated by the Christian religion.

The Christian conversion of Europe was a thousand-year-long process, which formally ended in 1385 when the new grand duke of Lithuania was baptized in Krakow and later married the Catholic Princess of Poland. With this dynastic merger Lithuania joined the medieval Christendom and thus unified religious beliefs of the Old Continent (Hendrix 2004: 1). As in this example, conversion often came from the top down. When a ruler was baptized the whole country would automatically be converted to Christianity, but it does not necessarily mean that subjects would instantly change their folk beliefs. Research on the history of paganism shows that even when Christianity became the official religion, pagan practices proved difficult to eradicate (Dowden 2000; Jones and Pennick 1995; Milis 1998). For example Willibald, an 8th century bishop of Eichstätt in Bavaria, commented that “the devotion of the people to Christianity and religion” died out simultaneously with power of the dukes who protected them (Hendrix 2004: 4). Based on such accounts Hendrix contends that “Christianization was sporadic, not continuous and ... it was difficult to bring the campaign to the end” (Ibid.: 4). Therefore, in order to enhance Christianity, both leaders and missionaries of the early medieval Church decided to incorporate pagan beliefs and practices rather than repress them (Flint 1991). As a result, medieval laic Christianity can be characterized as a blend of folklore, superstition and Christian beliefs. Moreover, Hendrix (2004) persuasively argues that the sixteenth century Reformation in Europe actually aimed to “Christianize the Christendom”: people would get baptized, go to churches, and practice piety externally, but it was mostly out of fear of hell and hope for heaven. Reformers, by which Hendrix means not only Protestants but also Radicals as well as Christians, strived to “reform the rituals of late-medieval piety in conformity with sound doctrine” and to renew devotion to be “sincere and less tainted with superstition” (148) – in summary, to make European Christendom truly Christian.

My point here is that generalization of the whole continent is difficult because Christian conversion also

included the incorporation of varied local folk beliefs. Moreover, in Douglas's terms, Christian Europe falls into the modern culture category, thus making it impossible to understand through the culture's rituals and cosmological patterns. Nonetheless, Bayless (2013), in her analysis of medieval Christian scatology, shows that the attitude toward filth and excrement was generally standardized throughout Christendom. Moreover, Larrington (2006) reveals excremental metaphysics used in the process of Christian conversion of the Scandinavian north. Most of the practices associated with pagan beliefs, such as eating horse meat or animal sacrifices, were relatively easy to eradicate, but the Church could not stop the custom of listening to tales of the pagan past. To stigmatize such old heroic tales, the church reframed them, portraying pagans as the Devil's associates, and using scatological associations to induce aversion to the pagan stories. Therefore, although Christian practices remained varied between regions, when we consider excrement, prior research shows the negative attitude was universal in European Christendom.

Douglas's approach is a call to confute the ubiquitous Western ideas on dirt and pollution. Applying modern sociological theories of waste to concepts of excreta in Christian Europe, which was the root of the so-called Western civilization, and Japan, which remained relatively free of Western influence until 1853, I offer insight into what the Western-centrism Douglas argued against looks like in modern sociological theories. To sum up, I argue that including Christian Europe in my comparative framework allows this paper to theorize an overall image of excrement.

2. Excrement in religion: Douglasian approach

Douglas' groundbreaking work, *Purity and Danger* (2003) was the first one to pay attention to the way that notions of purity and impurity shape each culture's understanding of the world and how they are reflected in societal structures. Her interest in the topic sparkled when she analyzed purity laws of ancient Jews codified in Leviticus. It had been assumed that such laws were set to enforce proper sanitation and hygienic standards, but Douglas noticed they rather formulate distinctions between notions of clean and unclean. Thus, Douglas contends that humans' primal urge to separate clean from unclean reveals pollution symbols in each culture's "elaborate cosmologies" (Douglas 2003: 5) and not, how it had been assumed, unconscious pursuit of hygiene: "[i]f we can abstract pathogenicity and hygiene from our notion of dirt, we are left with the old definition of dirt as matter out of place" (Ibid.: 35). Cultures deem something dirty not because it essentially is, but because it functions as such in their cosmology; symbolic meanings of dirt precede the system – "they express it and provide institutions for manipulating it" (Ibid.: 114). Therefore, according to Douglas, what is clean and unclean is different across cultures, but she admits that there is a strong tendency to name bodily refuse as "a symbol of danger and of power" (Ibid.: 121). She argues that it is because bodily refuse comes from orifices of the body, thus destroying its integrity. "[A]ll margins are dangerous" (Ibid.: 122) as they represent social boundaries and systems of segregation. "Spittle, blood, milk, urine, faeces or tears" (Ibid.) traverse the boundaries of the body and become a matter that belongs neither to the inside, nor the outside – they stand in the middle as "the by-product of a systematic ordering and classification of matter" (Ibid.: 35). Thus bodily refuse destroys inside/outside boundaries of the body, but they also metaphorically symbolize inside/outside of society, as well as the ultimate distinction between me and the other. Excrement, urine or blood are dangerous because their transitionally has the power to "confuse or contradict our cherished classifications" (Ibid.: 36).

Moreover, as a Durkheim follower, Douglas contends that religion functions to support a certain worldview and to maintain social order and solidarity in complex societies. Therefore, by reading religion through the lens of rituals, symbols and bodily practice, we can understand "peoples' views about man's destiny and place in the universe" (Douglas 2003: 29). Following this structuralist approach I will analyze how excreta and practices for dealing with it are portrayed in the Christian tradition and Japan's two main religious systems, Shintoism and Buddhism.

First, let us see what the Bible says about excrement.

Deut. 23:12 You shall have a designated area outside the camp to which you shall go.

Deut. 23:13 As part of your equipment have something to dig with, and when you relieve yourself, dig a hole and cover up your excrement.

Deut. 23:14 *For the LORD your God moves about in your camp to protect you and to deliver your enemies to you. Your camp must be holy, so that he will not see among you anything indecent and turn away from you* (NIV 2011).

Whenever people start living in groups the problem of what to do with human waste arises. It is not surprising then, that such guidelines are in the Bible, but it is clear that the above extract deals not only with where to defecate, but more than that defines excreta as something “indecent” that might make God turn away.

Moreover, in Ezekiel of the Old Testament, we can see that human waste was symbolic of defilement for common people.

Ez:12 *Eat the food as you would a loaf of barley bread; bake it in the sight of the people, using human excrement for fuel. Ez:13 The LORD said, "In this way the people of Israel will eat defiled food among the nations where I will drive them."*

Ez:14 *Then I said, "Not so, Sovereign LORD! I have never defiled myself. From my youth until now I have never eaten anything found dead or torn by wild animals. No impure meat has ever entered my mouth."*

Ez:15 *"Very well," he said, "I will let you bake your bread over cow dung instead of human excrement."* (Ibid.)

Bread baked over human waste repulsed the Israelites on sight of it, the same way that God was repulsed by the Israelites' excreta. Ezekiel's strong reaction to God's plan portrays his disgust toward human excreta, but fortunately the merciful Lord decided to change it to cow dung, which proved to be lesser evil.

The Middle Ages were suffused with excrement, literally and metaphorically. Bayless (2013) points out that excrement has always been lowly, degrading and disgusting, but there is one difference between present attitude and the one in the Middle Ages: people used to take their shit seriously.

The essential dichotomy in Christianity is the body-soul dualism: humans are composite beings with an immaterial soul and material body, where soul is imagined as a pure entity, the core of the self, while the body is nothing but a profane, earthly container for the spirit (and shit). Claiming authority over and controlling corporeal areas of life such as eating, sexuality, burial and so on was the Church's innovation (Robb and Harris 2013: 160) and in turn it propagated and enforced the notion of sinful body. Although body is generally inferior, further division can be traced: the upper part as close to God, and the lower part as associated with Devil, is another common theme in the symbolic order of the body. This division is clearly seen in Sir John Harington's *Metamorphosis of Ajax*, published in 1596:

*To God my pray'r I meant, to thee the durt.
Pure prayr ascends to him that high doth sit.
Down fals the filth, for fiends of hel more fit.* (Bayless 2013: 1)

As we can see, God is associated with high and pure, while Devil encompasses low and sinful. Therefore Bayless convincingly argues that excrement “was not only a symbol of sin or a consequence of sin: it *embodied* sin” (Ibid.: xviii).

Excremental stigma is ever so present in literature outside the Bible and its exegeses of the time. In the Middle Ages, the Church was the unquestionable source of power and everyday life was dictated by it and Christian beliefs. It is not surprising then, that religious themes were predominant in medieval literature and art and that they carried negative attitudes toward excreta. For example, Dante in his 14th century *Divine Comedy* describes one of *bolgia* (ditches) of the Eighth Hell as steeped in human waste.

*Here we stopped; from it, in the ditch below
people I saw plunged in a stinking sty
whose filth from human privies seemed to flow*

*And while I scanned its bottom with my eye,
One I observed completely capped with shit-
If clerk or layman, could I not descry* (Torrance 2011: 231).

As excreta are synonymous with sin, some great minds dwelled on what will happen when our earthly body is resurrected. Thomas Aquinas hypothesized two options: intestines will not rise again, or if they do, “they will be full, not, certainly, of shameful superfluities, but of noble humors.” (Bayless 2013: 26) And who else is to blame for our earthly defecatory martyrdom than Adam and Eve? Franciscan Francisc Eiximenis explained that “if Adam had not sinned ... then he would not have the need to hide his shamefulness, because even though man would still have to empty his bowels through the natural opening, it would not stink nor would it have that shamefulness” (Ibid.: 27). A hundred years later Immanuel Kant elaborated on the ancestral sin. In *The End of All Things* he holds the whole world as a *cloaca* – a gigantic toilet.

As our first parents were overcome by lust after this fruit – despite the prohibition against tasting it – [sic], there was no other way to keep heaven from being polluted except to take the advice of one of the angels who pointed out to them the distant earth, with the words: “That is the toilet of the whole universe,” carried them there in order to let them do what they had to do, and then flew back to heaven leaving them behind. That is how the human race is supposed to have arisen on earth.” (Kant 1794 in Menninghaus 2003: 57)

Ultimately, the question of whether God defecates or not was also explored. Voltaire ironically commented that it is nonsense to believe that God created man in his image, as he has no body, thus he could not defecate (Corbin 1986: 29). Jung, the founder of analytical psychology, was haunted by a vision of God defecating on the Basel Cathedral and breaking its roof in, which left him on the verge of a mental breakdown. Young Jung (he was twelve at the time) felt shame because of such sinful thoughts and bottled them up, refusing to share them with anyone (Papadopoulos 1992: 197-198).

Christian condemnation of excreta created a social stigma around the topic, regardless of one’s religious belief. Even if a person is not Christian, but was brought up in a country suffused with Christian tradition and symbolism, there is a high chance that he or she will share such values ingrained in the everyday life. Even though the Church’s influence weakened with time, diffusion of Christian values into society and their presence until the present day is the legacy and undeniable proof of its power. That is why for 19th century Western “civilized men”, the toilet has become something that should not even be mentioned, as Freud notes in his 1913 foreword to the German translation of John G. Bourke’s *Scatalogic Rites of All Nations*.

For us there remains a trace of the Earth embarrassing to bear... [We] have chosen to evade the predicament by... denying the very existence of this inconvenient “trace of the Earth” [and] concealing it from one another, and by withholding from it the attention and care which it might claim as an integrating component of [our] essential being (Dawson 1998: 3).

Of course Freud means defecation, but his roundabout use of a quote from the angels in *Faust*, suggest that he also fell victim to this “trace of the Earth” anxiety.

In Japan, on the other hand, we cannot find similar condemnation of excreta either in Shintoism, Japanese ethnic religion, nor in Buddhism, practiced in Japan from at least the 6th century. The earliest source for the Japanese Shinto beliefs is *Kojiki* (712), the oldest extant historical chronicle of Japan. While in Christianity human waste is equated with sin and the Devil, in the Japanese creation myth gods are born from excreta.

Because [Izanami-no-mikoto] bore this child [the fire god], her genitals were burned, and she lay down sick. ... Next, in her faeces there came into existence the deity PANI-YASU-BIKO-NO-KAMI; next, PANI-YASU-BIME-NO-KAMI. Next, in her urine there came into existence the deity MITU-PA-NO-ME-NO-KAMI; next WAKU-

MUSUBI-NO-KAMI (Philippi 1969: 57).

The names of the feces gods mean “gods who protect the fertility of the earth”, while the urine deity is the “goddess of the propitious leaf” (Watanabe 1989: 28-29) – their names reflect the importance of excreta in Japanese agriculture, where it was used as fertilizer. Similarly, in Japanese folklore a toilet god (*kawayā gami*) was strongly associated with fertility. It was held that pregnant women should clean the privy so they would bear beautiful children. Furthermore, if you offer the toilet god *sekihan*, sticky rice steamed with red beans, you would have an easy and safe labor (Japan Toilet Association 2015: 160). Although it is highly questionable if people still believe in the toilet god, it continues to bring a nostalgic feeling about the older generation, which might be why Uemura Kana’s “The Toilet God” (*Toire no kamisama*), a song about Uemura’s grandmother telling her to clean the toilet, became one of the 2010 bestsellers.

Another connection between the toilet and childrearing in Japan is “privy worship” (*secchin-mairi*). In some parts of Japan, most notably in East Japan, parents would take a newborn child to the lavatory and pretend to feed waste to the baby. It was believed that this ceremony would make the child strong and beautiful (Ibid.).

Kojiki portrays further associations between toilet and fertility. The extract below tells one unconventional love story.

The daughter of MIZO-KUPI of MISIMA, whose name was SEYA-TATARA-PIME, was beautiful. [The diety] OPO-MONO-NUSI-NO-KAMI of MIWA saw her and admired her. When the maiden was defecating, he transformed himself into a red painted arrow and, floating down the ditch where she was defecating, struck the maiden’s genitals. Then the maiden was alarmed, and ran away in great confusion. Then she took the arrow and placed it by her bed. Immediately it turned into a lovely young man, who took the maiden as wife, and there was born a child named POTO-TATARA-ISUSUKI-PIME-NO-MIKOTO (Philippi 1969: 178-179).

Japanese Buddhism takes a more pragmatic look at excreta than Shinto. For example Dōgen, probably the most well-known Japanese Zen Buddhist priest and a prominent writer, described extensively how to act in the lavatory in one chapter of his *Shōbōgenzō* from the 13th century.

Dōgen holds that in temples it is absolutely necessary to establish “the eastern quarter” (*tōsu*), which is the Buddhist name for toilet. He gives very detailed descriptions how to use the lavatory, such as joining ones hands to honor *Ususama Myōō*, Buddhist guardian of the bathroom, snapping one’s finger three times before squatting, which hand to use to clean oneself after defecation and so on. He stresses out how important it is to keep oneself clean.

In the Procedures for Cleanliness in a Zen Temple it says, “If you do not wash yourself clean, you cannot truly take a seat in the Meditation Hall or bow to the Triple Treasure. Also, you cannot accept bows from others.” And in the Great Scripture on the Three Thousand Forms of Everyday Behavior for Monks it says, “If you do not clean yourself after relieving nature, you are committing an offensive act. You cannot truly sit upon a monk’s pure cushion, nor can you truly pay homage to the Triple Treasure. Although you may bow, you will have neither happiness nor merit from doing so.” On the basis of these quotations, you should put this matter foremost when you are training in the temple. (Dōgen 2007: 62, translated by Nearman)

As we can see, Dōgen acknowledges excrement as something materially dirty. Staying clean is very important in Buddhist tradition and we can trace beginning of bathing culture in the country to the spread of Buddhism to Japan in the Nara period (710-784) (Merry 2013). Therefore it is understandable that cleaning after defecation was seen as necessary and without it one could not “truly sit upon a monk’s pure cushion” – it would dirty the cushion, quite literally. But in the metaphorical sense, excreta are not defiling.

Those folks who are poorly informed fancy that the Buddhas have no forms of dignified behavior for using the lavatory, or they imagine that the forms of dignified behavior for the Buddhas in this world of ordinary beings are not the same as those for the Buddhas in the Pure Lands, but this is not what 'learning the Way of the Buddhas' means. (Dōgen 2007: 62)

Dōgen clearly states that those who think that Buddhas do not use the lavatory are mistaken as even the ones in the Pure Lands, the celestial realm or pure abode of the Buddhas, need to defecate. Thus excretion is not the line that distinguished sacred from profane – it is not *kegare*.

In Japanese culture, *kegare* is a state of pollution or defilement. The notion of *kegare* is present both in Shintoism and Buddhism, but what is defiling differs between the two. The biggest difference is in the handling of death, which in Shinto is probably the strongest pollutant, while in Buddhism it is just another step in the circle of life. Nevertheless, in Japan concepts from Shintoism and Buddhism have intermingled and equally shaped social practices. The best example is the division of religious rituals within one household and around one individual: Japanese traditionally take a newborn child to a Shinto shrine as a rite of passage, but rely on Buddhist temples for burial rites. It is because death is not defiling in Buddhism, thus it is adequate to hold the ceremony. But what I want to highlight here is that no religious system in Japan classified excreta as *kegare*. Feces are materially dirty and were treated as such, but, contrary to the Christian tradition, they were never seen as defilement nor pollution.

Thus, the attitude toward defecation in Christianity and Japanese religions is indeed quite different. As stated at the beginning of this essay, I am aware of the variety obscured by use of the broad category “Christian Europe”, and without doubt there are some important regional differences. One prominent example would be Germany. Dundes (1984), surprised by frequent mention of excrement in German culture, which he does not find in other Western cultures, suggests this phenomena is a trait of the German scatological character.

Dundes’s essay was not well received. First, he attempts to describe the German “national character”, which has mainly racist connotations, especially when put in the German context. But Dundes himself explains that he “[does] not believe that national character is biological or racial in nature ... [nor] geographically or climatically determined” (Ibid.: 4). To him it is “a cluster of specific personality traits which can be empirically identified” and he turns to folklore to find them (Ibid.: 4). I believe this should rebuke any critique, as national character, according to Dundes’s definition, can be said to equal the outcome of socialization. Socialization, as the process of inheriting norms, customs and ideologies dominant in a certain society, is an academically acclaimed process and one of its results is the knowledge of what topics can be mentioned and which should be avoided. In some societies people learn it is acceptable to talk about feces, while in others it remains taboo.

Second, as long as Dundes uses innocent children’s games or proverbs in his analysis, the research is deemed plausible, but as he moves to more serious examples, such as scatology in the Holocaust, he faces severe critique (Ibid.: vii). Personally, I am also wary of identifying scatological shaming and violence as a part of the “German character”, as it has been practiced by other nations to degrade “the Other” (for example Anderson 1995). Moreover, Dundes’s tracing the popularity of sausages and chocolate to their similarity to turds (108-112), although supported with some data, seems far-fetched to me. Still, I believe that Dundes is up to something in his analysis. When I asked a German colleague if people in Germany really call their infants “*Min lütten Schieter*”, which means “my little shitbag” (Ibid.: 18), I was told that it still might be so in some regions, but nowadays it is definitely not a mainstream way of referring to babies. But this is because, my colleague added, all that babies do is poop in their pants – well, no one is defying that. But, I would say, this is exactly the point Dundes is trying to make! Not only German babies poop, but the idea of calling them a shitbag does not seem to be a universal one, and at least so alien to some people that they would mention it in their book.

In addition to Dundes, other research also mentions German attitudes toward excrement. For example, Mead Skjelver argues that the Reformation era in Germany was abundant in scatological references and that it “bears much responsibility for the scatological bent to modern German culture” (Mead Skjelver n.d.: 6). The leader in this field, or borrowing from Schmidt and Simon, a “theological shit-spreader,” (Ibid.: 6) was Martin Luther. He is the author of many juicy quotes such as “I am like a ripe stool and the world’s like a gigantic anus, and so we’re about to let go of each other” (Gritsch 2009: 84). It is interesting to note that scatological references come mainly from

the Lutheran side. Mead Skjelver highlights that the Catholic part of the conflict also struck back with the scatological, but the volume or intensity were nowhere near that of the Lutherans. Although further research is needed, I suggest that looking at the process of Christianization of the Germanic tribes might provide some answers to their alleged scatological fascination.

Ricci (2015) points out three characteristics of the conversion of German tribes. First, pagan German beliefs were deeply connected to nature and just as in Greco-Roman religions, Germanic cults associated their divinities with features connected to everyday life (Innes 2007: 78). Second, medieval German tribes were extremely diverse, with different dialects and tribal laws. Moreover, those tribes were scattered across the countryside, without good connections, which made it even more difficult to introduce Christian thought (Ibid.: 36). Finally, as mentioned before, pagan beliefs did not die out instantly and missionaries had to incorporate them into the Christian religion to convert the people (Flint 1991). Based on the above, it is plausible that medieval German Christianity had significant regional differences and that, at least in some regions, strong connections to nature outlasted the conversion. This might explain why human feces became an economic good, just as it did in Japan. Night soil in Germany expressed the wealth and status of a household. It was collected in front of the house, so everyone could see it, and it even played a big role in seeking a marriage partner – the more shit in your house, the better catch you were (Dundes 1984: 12-16). Therefore, I suggest that the complicated process of Christian conversion in Germany did not eradicate the pagan affinity with nature, ergo manure could become a valuable good instead of condemned as dirt. Because of everyday contact with excrement, it naturally became a part of the German worldview, which Dundes calls the German scatological character.

Notwithstanding the above regional differences, the fact that an extremely negative attitude toward excrement pervades the Christian tradition remains unchanged. As stated before, the only difference between modern and medieval attitudes toward excrement is the seriousness with which the topic was handled: in the Middle Ages excrement was a serious concern for the people, but nowadays it is mentioned almost solely in vulgarized or satirical contexts. Stallybrass and White (1986) suggest that the symbolic “bourgeois world-view” was built around “high”, meaning refined and sophisticated, and “low”, for example dirty or noisy, discourses. Of course, the bourgeoisie attributed “high” discourses to themselves, while the “low” ones were characteristic of lower classes. But what is most important here is that the “high” discourses basically embedded the superiority of “Mind” and “Spirit” over the body with all its attributes (Inglis 2001: 50; Stallybrass and White 1986: 191). Thus, the bourgeoisie simply reproduced the Christian body-soul dualism, along with its scatological ideas, and, as the dominant class, standardized this concept. I argue that the reason for mostly vulgar, eventually comedic, connotations of excrement in modern times is the legacy of above-mentioned process.

On the other hand, scatological topics are widely present in Japanese culture, but similar condemnation of excreta cannot be found. On the contrary, in some cases long dependence on night soil resulted in a kind of glorification of excreta. Watanabe Shōichi, professor emeritus at Sophia University, links it with the feeling of security Japanese get from their ancestral roots:

Our parents were raised by their parents; by eating rice and vegetables fertilized by their excrement we live on the excrement of parents in our turn. We exist in the world as a result of our parents' bodily existence. We can say our own bodies exist as a result of the circulation of the excrement of our forefathers, or, as we would say now, its recycling (Watanabe 1989: 25).

The evidence presented above suggests that the striking difference between the image of excreta in the Christian Europe and Japan lies in the religious beliefs of these groups. Christianity arrived in Japan only in the middle of the 16th century and for a long time Christians were repressed. In 1871 the freedom of religion was introduced but Christianity never gained as much popularity as it did in the West. The lack of large-scale conversion, as well as the lack of Christian influence in politics, made the penetration of Christian norms impossible in Japan. Nonetheless, I do not mean to say that the positive image of excrement remains in Japan until this day. I argue that what shaped the present understanding of excrement in Japan are the influence of foreign norms and post-World War II social engineering, but as this phenomena goes beyond the topic of this essay, I will not elaborate on it further.

3. Sociological theories of waste

Above I have analyzed how Douglas's theory of waste works in contexts of Christian Europe and Japan. Now let us see how Douglassian theory has been transformed to create a theoretical framework for the sociology of waste.

O'Brien in his *A crisis of waste?: understanding the rubbish society* (2008) introduces five directions in which the idealistic Douglassian theory of dirt was taken: reminder of death, pathogenicity, civilizing process, socio-cultural value system and "post-modern reading of 'Western culture'" (O'Brien 2008: 133). Out of these five categories, three, namely reminder of death, pathogenicity and civilizing process, can be used to analyze human waste for the purpose of this essay. As for the other two, their theoretical assumptions disqualify excreta as the object of analysis. Therefore, let us see how notions of human waste in Christian Europe and Japan both conform to a broader framework of sociology of waste.

(1) Reminder of death

McLaughlin (1971) in his description of attitudes toward waste and concepts of cleanliness in Britain through the ages acknowledges Douglassian dirt as a "matter out place", but later elaborates on the theory. In support of his argument he gives a vivid account of 17th and 18th century Europe, which he calls a "stinking Hell" (McLaughlin 1971: 155) – streets were virtually open sewers and people used to throw their waste on the street which included emptying their chamber pots. After water closets became popular in London, people started to install them, but at first they were not connected to anything to take the filth away, and later improvements consisted of connecting them to the Thames, the main source of drinking water for the city. I will leave the obvious consequences unspoken to protect the faint-hearted. McLaughlin notes that this shocking difference in sensibility toward waste is the proof that dirt is a relative and culturally constructed notion, just as Douglas argued.

McLaughlin names bodily excretions as the ultimate dirt. Following Sartre (1993) he suggests we feel horror when we encounter bodily excretions because of their sliminess, which makes them hard to remove, thus blurring the boundary between self and other. He notes that people are relatively tolerant of their own waste, but when faced with waste of the other, they fear its polluting feature. For him, the reason humans see waste as dirt and try to distance themselves from it is because it symbolizes "degradation and decomposition of life", simply speaking: death. At this point his theory drifts away from Douglas's: McLaughlin advocates for a universal symbolism of death that turns waste into dirt – the idealistic relativism of separated symbolic cultures that is the basis of Douglas's theory is gone.

As McLaughlin points to bodily excretions as the ultimate dirt, ergo ultimate symbol of death, it is more than justified to use human excrement to validate the theory. As shown above, in Christian tradition there is a deep-rooted condemnation of excreta and the reason for it might be the fear of death as McLaughlin claims. Let us think of the digestive tract and the symbolic transformation food goes through from mouth to anus: humans consume food to stay alive, just as they breathe and defecate for that matter, but eating is the only physiological action that people do consciously. Thus, food becomes the symbol of vitality. Eating has become a social ritual and much attention is paid to the way food looks like, with some cuisines rising meals to the level of art. But as soon as food is consumed its transformation into a stinky brown pulp starts. Beautiful turns ugly, healthy gets pathogenic, holy (upper body) goes sinful (lower body) and finally life becomes death – this makes sense.

But if we look at Japan, finding similar association between excrement and death is difficult; quite the contrary, there are many examples where excreta are closer to the "life end". Describing religious beliefs in Japan I showed that in the creation myth gods come to life from excreta and I also mentioned some associations found between the scatological and fertility in the Japanese folklore. In Japan night soil was in popular use from the 12th century and by the 18th century it became an economic good that was even stolen by poor farmers (Hanley 1987)! Saying that Japanese agriculture developed thanks to night soil is not an overstatement, and even the Shogunate officially instructed its use in *Keian ofuregaki*, a proclamation issued by the Tokugawa Shogunate in 1649 to regulate farm life (Heibonsha sekai rekishi jiten henshūbu 1955).

Finally, there is no better example of excreta's life-giving connotation than a 1909 article from the *Journal of Japanese Agricultural Studies* stating that "Feces is created and depends on people and rice depends on feces.

Rice is excrement and in a way excrement is rice”, followed by the philosophical “If we think about the connection between the two, you are indirectly consuming feces when you eat rice” (Kushner 2010: 147).

(2) Pathogenicity

The second theory of why waste is seen as dirt is its pathogenicity. Van Loon (2002) in his interpretation of Beck’s risk society thesis names waste as the “most universal, vulgar and banal example of ecological risk in everyday life” (Van Loon 2002: 105). He sees it as an “uncontrolled matter out of place” (Ibid.: 106) that poses a threat to our life. Van Loon notes correctly that waste and disease are often linked and points out that it was the realization that microbes present in feces, not miasmata, caused cholera, typhoid and other diseases that plundered Europe, that became the driving force for building sewage system by the end of the 19th century and improving sanitary standards. Theorizing waste he argues that “[t]he excessive nature of waste returns to haunt the present as past-waste becomes present-toxicity” (Ibid.: 108).

The biggest change Van Loon posed to Douglasian “matter out of place” lies in the core of Van Loon’s argument – that is, its pathogenicity. Douglas argues that “[i]f we can abstract pathogenicity and hygiene from our notion of dirt, we are left with the old definition of dirt as matter out of place” (Douglas 2003: 36). She argues that the idea that notions of dirt and pollution originate in people’s comprehension of pathogenicity and hygiene is a faulty idea found only in the West.

First, as shown in the analysis of Christian attitudes toward excreta, it was common to avoid feces even before the connection between excrement and disease was known. Second, undeniably pathogens present in feces can cause disease, but if handled correctly excrement can be useful and even save life as fecal transplantations show. Japan supported the “handle with care” attitude toward excrement. In 1889, after the germ theory became a fact in medicine, Nagayo Sensai, the first head of the Sanitary Department of the Japan Home Ministry, and W. K. Burton, consultant engineer for the Sanitary Department, proposed the construction of a sewer network in Tokyo.

Night soil is a necessary fertilizer for farmers and as such night soil from the city of Tokyo can be sent to nearby prefectures for a potentially high price. Therefore we see no need to follow the example of Western cities and discharge it into the sewer pipes. (Tokyo Metropolitan Government Bureau of 1978: 82) [Author’s translation]

In the end the proposal was postponed while the funds that were available were focused on the water supply system instead. Moreover, in 1900 the first Filth Cleaning Law (*Obutsu sōjihō*) was established, but it excluded human excrement from the list of waste that was to be cleaned (Hoshino 2008). Nonetheless, the above proposal proves that even after the world became aware of possible dangers of excrement, in Japan it had too high value to simply dispose of it.

It is true that by the 1930s authorities voiced a strong need for a sewer system, but the construction cost was too expensive. Instead, in 1927 The Home Ministry-style improved toilet, which promised safe treatment of excreta, was introduced. In 1937 jurisdiction over toilets was transferred to the Ministry of Health and Welfare and it produced a slightly improved version, changing the name of the toilet to ‘Ministry of Health and Welfare-style improved toilet’ (Japan Toilet Association 2015). Earlier proposals and settling for toilets with primitive versions of septic tanks suggest that the push for sewer construction was motivated by the need to show the country as a modernized nation rather than fear of pathogenic properties of excrement.

(3) Standardization of bourgeois fecal habitus

Finally, Inglis (2001) inspired by Bourdieu and Elias explains the habits and attitudes toward excreta in the West in terms of the development and operation of the bourgeois fecal habitus. The first clash with Douglasian theory lies in the theoretical framework Inglis applied – he generalizes about the whole of Western culture, but for Douglas such an approach would make no sense as there is no cosmological cohesion in it.¹ Second, Inglis argues

¹ As mentioned at the beginning of this essay, at first glance my analysis shares a similar flaw, but the reason for it has already been explained.

that the present image of excreta in Western culture diffused from bourgeois ideas because the materially dominant class in society is always the symbolically dominant class. He sees the standardization of the bourgeois fecal habitus as manifestation of its power, while for Douglas dirt is definitely associated with power and a system, but in her terms spiritual powers and symbolic meanings precede the system – “they express it and provide institutions for manipulating it” (Douglas 2003: 114; O'Brien 2008: 140). Although Inglis links modern excretory customs with bourgeois dominance, he admits that purely ideological roots are not enough to explain the phenomena. He adds they stem from socio-cultural factors and developments in the medical and natural sciences, which had set the background for the diffusion of the bourgeois fecal habitus.

Borrowing Inglis's term, let us consider the fecal habitus of the dominant Japanese classes. The first variation in toiletry habits of the Japanese court took place in the Heian period (794-1185). The aristocracy started to use chamber pots, a new fashion that came from China in 700. While the aristocracy moved toward refining their excretory habits, the lower classes continued to defecate in the streets.

As mentioned before, Japanese agriculture strongly relied on night soil and by the 18th century night soil became an economic good. The high value of excreta created a night soil ranking based on the quality of human waste – the wealthier the household was, the higher the price owner could get. The reason lies in the diet in the households: wealthier ones could afford a better diet, thus night soil collected from them served as a better fertilizer (Yamaji 1994). Therefore it is no wonder that on top of the ranking was waste from the Edo castle. The status of the elite's waste was definitely higher than that of commoners', but what about the excretory etiquette?

The shogun's wife (*midaidokoro*) had her private toilet called *man'nen*, literally ten thousand years. It was a hole so deep it would not fill up even after ten years and when the shogun's wife died it would be buried. In case the shogun remarried, a new hole would be dug for the new lady (Japan Toilet Association 2015). Other women from the shogun's family had their maids wipe them clean after defecation. It was a privilege of women of the highest status such as the shogun's wife, daughter or mother, but it was a common practice. Maids accompanied the lady to the toilet to help with her layered clothing, but they also examined the lady's feces to check her health condition (Katō 2003).

Moreover, there are records of women from the upper class using a noise reducing pot (*otokeshi no tsubo*) outside. When a lady felt the need, her maid would remove a plug from the pot so the water would start to flow masking the associated noise (Yamaji 1994).

Common people, however, defecated into “normal” toilets without any refined etiquette, thus we cannot talk about standardization of the dominant class's fecal habitus in Japan. One might think that the noise reducing pot is the genesis of the sound princess (*oto hime*), a device present in many female toilets in Japan, that imitates the sound of flowing water to cover the sound of bodily functions. Indeed, both devices follow the same logic, but the sound princess is not a straightforward successor of the noise reducing pot – the latter one was invented in 1988 to stop women from consciously flushing water while using the toilet to mask the sound (Hayashi 2011). Furthermore, it is true that women from upper class were conscious of sounds that accompanied relieving themselves, but ordinary people had little if any reluctance toward urinating in public. The impression made by Kyoto women who urinated standing up resulted in many poems and mentions in literature, while the practice continued until the 1970s in the countryside (Sutō 1988).

Of course, in present day Japan we can assume that excretory customs are more or less the same: the public sewerage system covers 77.6% of population (Japan Sewage Works Association 2015), access to improved sanitation is universal and as of 2015 77.5% of homes in Japan have high-tech bidet toilet (Cabinet Office of the Government of Japan 2015). But the standardization of toilets was not a result of the diffusion of bourgeois fecal habitus, but rather a consequence of adjusting to the Western standards in the postwar period: Western-style toilets spread through the country when they became the standard type in condominiums from 1958 on (Japan Toilet Association 2015).

4. Non-Western cosmologies as a “matter out of place”?

In this essay I have analyzed the notions of human waste in the Christian tradition and Japan through the lens of the most prominent theories in the emerging sociology of waste. As each of these theories was inspired by Douglasian

“matter out of place”, following Douglas I first turned to religion – Christianity in Europe and the two main religions of Japan, Shintoism and Buddhism – to characterize the portrayal of excreta in Christian Europe and Japan with the assumption that they reflect respective cosmologies. Then I moved to analyzing sociological theories of waste, which state that the genesis of modern attitudes toward excreta lies in either death, pathogenicity or the standardization of bourgeois fecal habitus. These theories rely exclusively on Western examples, thus it is not surprising that human waste in Christian Europe fits into the overall framework. But applying the theories to Japan showed how their explanatory power is context dependent. In conclusion, none of the theories could be validated in Japan realm, which signalizes their universality should be reconsidered.

Two findings come from this: first, although many scholars feel the need to modify Douglas’s original theory of dirt as a “matter out of place”, her original formulation proves to be the most robust and useful of all of them. That does not mean that dirt as reminder of death, its pathogenicity or bourgeois fecal habitus make no sense. Every study criticized in this essay is well researched and insightful, but I suggest that we need to look at these theories as succeeding developments that build upon the original cosmological order, as Douglas suggested.

Analyzing human waste in Christian Europe and Japan we can see that in the old continent excreta have mostly been nothing more than dirt, and thus they were condemned, while in Japan they were reused as night soil and treated at least neutrally. Although I am not a fecal medical specialist, I doubt that differences between European and Japanese excreta are so substantial, as to preclude the use of either as fertilizer. But, even though night soil was used in Europe, it never became as popular nor commodified as it was in Japan and its use was seen as a necessary evil. I suggest the reason behind this lies precisely in each culture’s distinctive cosmology: deep-rooted condemnation of excreta in the Christian tradition resulted in aversion to night soil, therefore its use was never standardized. On the other hand, Japanese tradition of positive appreciation of excreta enabled the country to use night soil to its full potential. Of course, modern attitudes toward human and other waste cannot be straightforwardly traced back to primitive symbolism, and industrialization and medical progress have played great roles in their construction. Nevertheless, as this essay shows, it is important to understand that with the progress of medicine and technology, the original negative understanding of excreta was only justified in the Christian Europe. In Japan, on the other hand, medical knowledge surely influenced the understanding of excrement, but I argue that it was not until the postwar period, when the Allies and their social mores influenced the present Japanese fecal habitus, that it ultimately gained negative connotations. In conclusion, sociology of waste should first consider primitive cosmological systems before moving on to further theorizing, exactly as Douglas argued.

Second, this essay reiterates how Western-oriented major sociological theories are. Douglas’s idealistic approach was a call to concentrate on culture’s distinctive cosmologies and move to liberate anthropology from the ubiquitous West and constant intrusion of Western values. A sociology of waste that draws on Douglas’s dirt as a “matter out of place”, but modifies the theory along the way to fit the Western context is exactly what Douglas wanted to avoid. In order to create a comprehensive framework, instead of documenting a case, it is necessary to draw upon and analyze multiple diverse examples. In this essay I have revealed clear inconsistencies only by introducing the Japan realm – what other findings might come from adding a different Asian, African or South American country for further comparison? Although Douglas’s *Purity and Danger* is by no means flawless, her theory proves to be the only one of the reviewed ones here that prompts us to give consideration to various, non-Western cosmologies. Thus, this essay highlights necessary improvements in the emerging sociology of waste and suggests that stopping treating non-Western cosmologies as a “matter out of place” might be a good first step.

References

- Anderson, Warwick. 1995. "Excremental Colonialism: Public Health and the Poetics of Pollution." *Critical Inquiry* 21(3 Spring):640-69.
- Bayless, Martha. 2013. *Sin and Filth in Medieval Culture: The Devil in the Latrine*. New York: Routledge.
- Cabinet Office of the Government of Japan. 2015. "Shuyō taikyū shōhizai no fukyū; hoyū jōkyō [Survey on the Prevalence of Principal Consumer Durables]."
- Corbin, Alain. 1986. *The foul and the fragrant : odor and the French social imagination*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.
- Dawson, Jim. 1998. *Who Cut the Cheese?: A Cultural History of the Fart*. Berkeley: Ten Speed Press.

- Douglas, Mary. 2003. *Purity and danger : an analysis of concepts of pollution and taboo*. London, New York: Routledge.
- Dowden, Ken. 2000. *European Paganism*. New York: Routledge.
- Dundes, Alan. 1984. "Life is like a Chicken Coop Ladder: a Portrait of German Culture through Folklore." New York: Columbia University Press.
- Dōgen, Eihei. 2007. *Shōbōgenzō The Treasure House of the Eye of the True Teaching*. Shasta Abbey Press: Shasta Abbey Press.
- Fagan, Honor, Denis O'Hearn, Gerard Mc Cann, and Michael Murray. 2001. *Waste Management Strategy: A Cross Border Perspective*. Maynooth: National Institute for Regional and Spatial Analysis (NIRSA), NUI Maynooth, Ireland.
- Flint, Valerie. 1991. *The Rise of Magic in Early Medieval Europe*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Gritsch, Eric W. 2009. *Martin - God's Court Jester: Luther in Retrospect*. Eugene: Wipf and Stock Publishers.
- Hanley, Susan B. 1987. "Urban Sanitation in Preindustrial Japan." *Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 18(1):1-26.
- Hayashi, Ryōsuke. 2011. *Sekai ichi no toire. Uoshuretto kaihatsu monogatari [Number one toilet in the world. Story of how the Washlet was developed]*. Tokyo: Asahi Shimbun Shuppan.
- Heibonsha sekai rekishi jiten henshūbu (Ed.). 1955. *Sekai rekishi jiten 22 [World history lexicon 22]*: Heibonsha.
- Hendrix, Scott H. 2004. *Recultivating the Vineyard: The Reformation Agendas of Christianization*. Louisville: Westminster John Knox Press.
- Hoshino, Takanori. 2008. "Transition to Municipal Management: Cleaning Human Waste in Tokyo in the Modern Era." *Nichibunken Japan review : bulletin of the International Research Center for Japanese Studies* 20:189-202.
- Inglis, David. 2001. *A sociological history of excretory experience : defecatory manners and toiletry technologies*. Lewiston N.Y.: Edwin Mellen Press.
- Innes, Matthew. 2007. *Introduction to Early Medieval Western Europe*. London & New York: Routledge.
- Japan Sewage Works Association. 2015. "Gesuidō shori jinkō fukyūritsu [Population connected to wastewater collecting system]."
- Japan Toilet Association (Ed.). 2015. *Toiregaku daijiten [Lexicon of the toilet studies]*. Tokyo: Kashiwashobō.
- Jones, Prudence, and Nigel Pennick. 1995. *A History of Pagan Europe*. New York: Routledge.
- Katō, Mutsumi. 2003. *Ōoku, gundō sōdōki-Edo jidai arekore hanashi [Records from the shogun's harem, robbers riot – various stories from the Edo period]*. Tokyo: Bungeisha.
- Kushner, Barak. 2010. "Imperial Cuisines in Taisho Foodways." Pp. 145-65, edited by Eric C. Rath and Stephanie Assmann. Urbana: University of Illinois Press.
- Larrington, Carolyne. 2006. "Diet, Defecation and the Devil: Disgust and the Pagan Past." Pp. 138-55, edited by Nicola McDonald. Woodbridge: York Medieval.
- McLaughlin, Terence. 1971. *Dirt : a social history as seen through the uses and abuses of dirt*. New York: Dorset Press.
- Mead Skjelver, Danielle. n.d. "German Hercules: The Impact of Scatology on the Image of Martin Luther as a Man, 1483-1546."
- Menninghaus, Winfried. 2003. *Disgust: Theory and History of a Strong Sensation*. New York: State University of New York Press.
- Merry, Adam M. 2013. "More Than a Bath: An Examination of Japanese Bathing Culture." in *CMC Senior Theses. Paper 665*.
- Milis, Ludovicus (Ed.). 1998. *The Pagan Middle Ages*. New York: Boydell Press.
- Murray, Robin. 1999. *Creating Wealth from Waste*. London: Demos.
- NIV (Ed.). 2011. *The Holy Bible New International Version*: Biblica, Inc.
- O'Brien, Martin. 1999. "Rubbish-Power: Towards a Sociology of the Rubbish Society." Pp. 267-77, edited by Jeff Hearn and Sasha Roseneil. Basingstoke: Macmillan.
- . 2008. *A crisis of waste? : understanding the rubbish society*. New York: Routledge, Taylor & Francis Group.
- Papadopoulos, Renos K. (Ed.). 1992. *Carl Gustav Jung: Critical Assessments*. London: Routledge.
- Philippi, Donald L. 1969. *Kojiki*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Ricci, Luca. 2015. "Christian Success or Pagan Assimilation? The Christianization of the Germanic-Speaking Tribes in Late Roman Empire." in *Armstrong Undergraduate Journal of History*
- Robb, John, and Oliver J. T. Harris (Eds.). 2013. *The Body in History: Europe from the Palaeolithic to the Future*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

- Sartre, Jean-Paul. 1993. *Being and Nothingness*. New York: Washington Square Press.
- Stallybrass, Peter, and Allon White. 1986. *The Politics and Poetics of Transgression*. London: Methuen.
- Sutō, Isao. 1988. *Shashin de miru nihon seikatsu zuhiki 4. Sumau [Japanese lifestyle seen in pictures 4. Living]* Tokyo: Kōbundō.
- Tokyo Metropolitan Government Bureau of, Sewerage. 1978. "Tōkyōshi gesuidō enkakushi [History of sewage system of Tokyo]." Tokyo Metropolitan Government Bureau of Sewerage.
- Torrance, Robert M. 2011. *Dante's Inferno, A New Translation in Terza Rima*. United States of America: Xlibris Corporation.
- Van Loon, Joost. 2002. *Risk and Technological Culture : Towards a Sociology of Virulence*. London; New York: Routledge.
- Watanabe, Shoichi. 1989. *The Peasant Soul of Japan*. Basingstoke: Macmillan.
- Yamaji, Shigenori. 1994. *Toire zakkichō [Random notes on toilets]*. Kyoto: Keibunsha.
- Yearley, Steven. 1995. "Dirty connections: transnational pollution." Pp. 143-81 in *A Shrinking World?: Global Unevenness and Inequality*, edited by John Allen and Chris Hamnett. Oxford: Open University Press.

研究ノート

韓国語母語話者における日本語長母音の知覚と教育効果

On the Perception and the Training Effect of Japanese Long Vowels in Korean Learners

大塚 香奈(Kana OTSUKA)

筑波大学人文社会科学部 博士後期課程

本研究では、韓国語母語話者を対象に、日本語の短母音と長母音を弁別する訓練を行った。単語とキャリアセンテンス付きの短文とを混ぜて訓練すれば、先行研究よりも高い教育効果が得られるという仮説を立て、**High Variability Perceptual Training(HVPT)**という指導法を用いて検証した。HVPTでは、聞き手がより明確な知覚範疇を形成できるよう、豊富な音声環境を持つ刺激語を用いる(Pisoni & Lively, 1995)。本研究における訓練では、4名の日本語母語話者が、3種類の速度で発音した自然語を刺激語として使用した。長音の位置とアクセントの型も考慮し、刺激語を作成した。訓練群は、単語だけで訓練を受けるグループ(以下、**Single**)と、単語と短文で訓練を受けるグループ(以下、**Mixed**)とに分け、統制群(以下、**Control**)は訓練を受けなかった。

訓練の結果、本研究における**Mixed**では、全ての速度で正答率が有意に上昇し、**Single**よりも広い範囲で正答率が向上した。先行研究では、韓国語母語話者の日本語長短母音知覚に対するHVPTの教育効果が限定的であったが、単語と短文で訓練することによって、長短母音の明確な判断基準が形成されたと考える。

This study presents the results of training exercises for Korean native speakers to distinguish short and long vowels in Japanese. Study is based on the concept of High Variability Perceptual Training (HVPT), through the uses of a large set of conditions that are presented in various natural languages. It helps the students to mentally form new categories of sounds that they can clearly distinguish from each other (Pisoni & Lively, 1995). The training used the natural language of 4 Japanese native speakers, pronounced in 3 different rates. The recordings also considered different accent types and the position of the long vowels. The training group was divided into two sub-groups. One was trained by hearing single words only, and the other was trained by hearing both sentences and words. The control group did not receive any training.

The results of the experiment showed that, compared to the single word group, the group of both sentences and words showed improvements in a broader range of tested categories. The training of words and sentences is more effective in forming an accurate categorical perception. In conclusion, the results of this study confirmed the effectiveness of the HVPT method in the training of distinguishing length in Japanese vowels.

キーワード: 知覚範疇 日本語母音の長さ 高低アクセント HVPT 教育効果

Keywords: Categorical Perception, Japanese Vowel Length, Pitch Accent Type, HVPT, Training Effect

はじめに¹

韓国語母語話者の多くが、日本語の長母音と短母音を区別して発音するのに困難を抱えている。それは、二つの拍として認識される日本語の長母音は、短母音より2倍程度長く発音され、長さの対立があるが(Fujisaki 1973)、他の言語では母音の長短に対立はなく、部分的な弁別性のみをもつためである。さらに、ソウル中部方言では、若い世代を中心に母音の長さに弁別性がなく、日本語の長母

¹ 本稿は筆者の修士論文の一部を修正・加筆したものである。

音と短母音の区別に関して、意識が薄くなることも考えられる。また、韓国語母語話者だけでなく、外国語として日本語を学習する他の国の学習者も、長短母音をはじめとした特殊拍の知覚と発音に困難を抱えていると言われている(福岡2002、小熊2002、戸田2003、李2011)。学習者が、日本語母語話者と意思疎通を図る際、例えば「習慣の違い」を「主観の違い」のように、長短母音を区別せずに発音した場合、意思の伝達に支障をきたすことがある。それを防ぐために、教師が日本語を教える際は、必ず長さ音素について説明し、練習も繰り返される。長短母音の対立をはじめとした音素対立を練習する際には、最小対語(Minimal pair)が用いられることがあり、学習者は練習を通して長母音に対する概念を理解するようになると思われる。しかし、長短母音の区別は学習が進んだ段階でも、なかなか習得されることが報告されている(今田1990、大室他1996、李炯宰1998、李敬淑2003、恩塚2011)。韓国語母語話者による長短母音の弁別は、習得上の問題点として認識されてはいるものの、どのように練習すれば効果が得られるのか、その手法と教育効果に関する研究は未だ多くない。本研究ではHVPTに注目し、日本語の長母音と短母音の教育にも効果的であることを検証する。

HVPTの教育効果は、日本語母語話者の英語子音 /ɹ/ と /l/ の訓練や、英語母語話者による中国語の声調の訓練などで効果が認められている。日本語学習者に対する長さ音素の訓練効果に関しても、いくつか研究があり、なかでも鮮于(2012)では、韓国語母語話者に対して、日本語の長さ音素の訓練をしている。

1. HVPTを利用した日本語長短母音の知覚訓練

鮮于(2011、2012)では、韓国人の日本語初級学習者を対象にして、知覚訓練を行った。訓練群は、3種類の速度で訓練するグループ(Mixed)と、1種類の速度で訓練するグループ(Fixed)、そして統制群(Control)に分けた。訓練の結果、単語で訓練を行った場合に、訓練群の正答率に有意な上昇が観察されたが、グループ間の正答率には大きな差が見られなかったとしている。また、短文で訓練した場合にも同じく、訓練群において正答率が有意に上昇したが、グループ間の正答率には大きな違いが見られなかったという。これはHirata(2007)が行った、多様な速度を持つ短文で訓練したグループは、1種類の速度で訓練したグループよりも教育効果があるという結果と異なっている。しかし、般化の程度を見ると、発話速度の多様性が、教育効果に肯定的な影響を与えたとしている。Fixedグループによる単語の正答率を見ると、全ての速度で有意な上昇がみられなかったが、Mixedグループでは、単語の正答率が速い速度でのみ、有意に上昇したという。

また、単語で訓練した場合に、MixedグループとFixedグループの聴き取りテストで、短文の正答率は速度に関係なく上昇したが、単語の正答率は速い速度だけで有意な上昇が観察された。そして、3種類の速度で発音された短文で訓練しても、単語の知覚テストにおいては、速い速度でのみ正答率が有意に上昇するという結果となった。これらの結果から、孤立単語に含まれる長短母音の知覚には、HVPTの教育効果が限定的であると解釈することができる。

以上で述べたように、鮮于(2011、2012)では、刺激語の速度が多様なMixedでは、般化の程度は大きいですが、FixedとMixed間の全体的な正答率の上昇幅には大きな違いがないことが明らかになった(鮮于2012:118)。また、3種類の速度の単語および短文で訓練しても、単語に対しては教育効果が限定的であることも分かった。

この結果を踏まえて、本研究では文脈情報の多様性に焦点をあてることで、より高い教育効果が得られると考え、知覚訓練を行うことにした。鮮于(2012)では、単語と短文を個別に使用し訓練を行ったものの、単語と短文を一緒に用いて訓練を行ってはいない。本研究では、訓練期間や刺激語のアクセント型など、訓練の条件は鮮于(2012)と同一にし、刺激語の多様性に違いを持たせた。これらの刺激語の多様性には、高低アクセントや長音の位置も含まれている。

2. 刺激語の多様性

(1) 高低アクセントと長音の位置

前川・助川(1995)では、日本語母語話者と、韓国語を母語とする上級日本語学習者の、母音長の知覚を比較した。その結果、日本語母語話者が長短を判断する時と同様に、長母音にくる高低アクセ

セントの有無が、学習者の母音長の判断に影響を与えていることが分かった。英語圏の上級日本語学習者も、ピッチの変化が長音を知覚する際の端緒になるという(小熊2000)。一方、大室他(1996)は、アクセントの変化は日本語母語話者の長音の知覚には影響を与えるが、韓国語母語話者と英語母語話者には影響を与えず、音声の長さだけが長短の判断に影響を与えるとしている。前川・助川(1995)や大室他(1996)の見解には違いが見られる。そのため、本研究では、果たしてアクセントの有無が知覚に影響を与えるのか、またアクセントの型によって正答率に違いがあるのかについても、調査及び分析を通して、明らかにする。

皆川(2002)は、英語母語話者と韓国語母語話者(慶尚道方言話者)を対象に、日本語の長母音と短母音の聴き取り実験を実施した。その結果、長母音が語末に来る時に誤答が多かったものの、アクセントの型により、誤答率が異なり、HHよりもLLをもつ単語で誤答が多かった。また、語頭にくる長音を、短音として知覚する誤答率は、全て20%以下と低かった。長母音が語末に来る時、アクセントの型がLHLの場合、HLが語頭にくる場合より、誤答率が有意に高かったことから、語頭の長母音よりも語末にくる長母音の知覚が難しいとしている。

本研究では、以上の先行研究のような、アクセント型と位置別の知覚の特徴を把握することに加え、訓練を通して、学習者の知覚にどのような変化が見られるのかを明らかにするために、アクセント型と長音の位置ごとに、聴き取りテストの正答率を分析する。

(2) 発話の速度と母音の長さ

Hirata(2004a)は、日本語母語話者が母音を発話する際、発話速度によって、長さが違ってくることが報告した。早く発話する際の長母音と、遅く発話する際の短母音の長さが重なり、オーバーラップが起こるとしている。この研究から、発話速度により変化する母音の長さは、韓国語母語話者の知覚にも影響を与えることが予想される。

Omuro et al. (1996)は、韓国語母語話者と日本語母語話者に、音の高低がある長母音の長さを、短くして聞かせた。その結果、日本語母語話者だけが、これを二つのモーラとして認識したが、韓国語母語話者は、一つのモーラとして認識したという。日本語母語話者は、長音の長さが違ってても、安定的にモーラ数を認識できるが、韓国語母語話者は長さが違ってくるとモーラ数の認識も変化するため、安定的にモーラ数を認識できないとしている。

李敬淑(2003)では、ソウル方言話者に、意味がない単語の「ばあ」「ばあば」「ばばあ」「ばあばあ」を、速い、普通、遅い、の3速度で読ませ音響分析を行った。その結果、日本語母語話者は、速度が違ってても先行母音と後続母音の比率を一定に維持できた。しかし、韓国語母語話者は、母音の長さの比率が一定に維持されなかったとしている。

これらの研究から、韓国語母語話者は、長母音の知覚または発音で、長さの変化と速度に対応できていないことが見てとれる。すなわち、長母音を知覚する際に、長さが短くなればモーラ数も実際の発話よりも少なく認識され、発話においては、速度に合った母音の長さの正確な比率を維持できないということである。固定された発話速度でも、長短の知覚が正確ではないのに加えて、発話速度が変われば、さらに混乱を招くことが予想される。

(3) 文脈情報

Hirata(2004b)は、第二外国語の新しい音韻対立である長さ音素を、短文と単語のどちらで訓練したほうが効果的なのか調査した。その結果、日本語の学習経験のない英語母語話者にとっては、短文で訓練するよりも、単語で訓練したほうが、大きな向上が見られることを明らかにした。一方、鮮于(2012:73)では、韓国語母語話者は、長短母音の聴き取り訓練を受けることで、文脈情報を利用して、長短音素を判断していたことが推測されるとし、孤立単語は短文より文脈情報が足りないため、訓練を行っても適切な判断ができない可能性を示唆した。鮮于の研究の対象者は、日本に滞在する初級学習者で、Hirata(2004b)の研究とは異なり、短文と単語の境界を把握することができる能力があったと考えられる。Hirata(2004b)での英語母語話者のように、日本語の学習経験のない韓国語母語話者なら、短文に入れた単語を認識すること自体が難しいだろうが、日本語をある程度学習した学習者であれば、文脈情報が知覚端緒として作用することが考えられる。

長さ音素を訓練する際は、文脈情報が知覚端緒として作用する可能性がある短文と、文脈情報のない孤立単語も一緒に訓練することで、より正確な判断基準が形成され、学習効果が高くなると予想さ

れる。

3. 知覚トレーニング

(1)被験者(27名)

27名の被験者は、全員韓国の大学で、日本語を学ぶ初中級学習者であった。単語で訓練するグループ(Single)には9名、単語と短文で訓練をするグループ(Mixed)には10名が参加した。残りの8名は、訓練を受けなかった(Control)。学習期間が3か月でも、日本語に対する基礎的な知識があったことから、訓練に参加するには問題ないと判断した。また、出身地に関しては、制限を設けなかった。Mixed 9番の6年間日本語を学習したという被験者は、筆者が担当していた初級クラスの学習者で、日本語能力が他の被験者と同等程度であったため、訓練するグループに加えた。

表 1. 単語で訓練するグループの学習者 (Single)

	年齢	性別	日本語学習期間	出身地
1	20	女	9か月	水原
2	21	男	9か月	ソウル
3	25	女	1年	ソウル
4	24	男	6か月	広州
5	20	男	5か月	仁川
6	20	女	2年	仁川
7	25	女	2年	ソウル
8	20	女	1年	慶州
9	19	男	9か月	ソウル

表 2. 単語と短文で訓練するグループの学習者 (Mixed)

	年齢	性別	日本語学習期間	出身地
1	19	女	9か月	大邱
2	20	女	9か月	坡州
3	20	男	9か月	鎮海
4	19	女	9か月	東海
5	24	女	2年	富川
6	19	女	1年	仁川
7	23	女	1年	安山
8	25	男	3か月	広州
9	22	女	6年	仁川
10	22	女	3年	大邱

表 3. 訓練を受けないグループの学習者 (Control)

	年齢	性別	日本語学習期間	出身地
1	20	女	1年	江陵
2	23	男	9か月	仁川
3	19	女	5か月	広州
4	20	女	3年	済州
5	26	男	1年	一山
6	20	女	5か月	仁川
7	23	男	3か月	金泉
8	25	女	2年	釜山

(2) 刺激語

日本語母語話者の女性2名および男性2名が、3種類の速度で発音した単語²と短文を、刺激語に用いた。話者は、全員ソウル大学で勉強している日本人学生であり、出身地は東京都、愛媛県、静岡県、福岡県であった。録音は、ソウル大学言語学科録音室で行い、長短の対立を持つ81組(162語)の単語を読んでもらった(付録参照)。普通の速度で、全ての単語を1回ずつ読んだ後に、遅い速度、速い速度で読んでもらった。その後、単語を短文(キャリアセンテンス)に入れて、同じく3種類の速度で、1回ずつ読んでもらった。速い速度で読む際、筆者が普通の速度と違いがないと感じたら、さらに早く読むように促した。

般化テストで使用した刺激語は、前述した2名とは別の女性1名が、3種類の速度で発音した、長短の対立を持つ5組10個の単語であった。

本研究ではMoodle³を使用し、事前・事後テストと訓練に使う問題、2,064個(=86単語(43組×2)×話者4名×3速度×2提示方法)を作った。

本研究では、鮮于(2012)と同様に、刺激語を長音が語頭に来るものと、語末に来るものとに分けた。アクセントの型と位置の種類は、①語頭の長音または短音にHLL/HLのアクセントを持つ単語、②語頭の長音または短音にLHH/LHのアクセントを持つ単語、③語末の長音または短音にLL/Lのアクセントを持つ単語、④語末の長音または短音にHH/Hを持つ単語、⑤語末の長音または短音にHL/Hのアクセントを持つ単語という五つに分類される。

(3) 訓練の手順

具体的な訓練の手順は、鮮于(2012)のものを修正・補完した。訓練時間数と単語数は、鮮于(2012)に従ったが、学習の過程を見るため、前半部と後半部に分けて訓練を行った。前半部の訓練が終わった後、中間評価を行い、後半部の訓練に入った。訓練は、基本的に次のような順序で進めた(図1および図2)。後半部の事後テストで短文を使用した以外は、前半部も後半部も同じ手順であった。特にSingleにおいて、単語による訓練が、短文の知覚にも影響を与えるかどうか見るために、般化テスト(Gen3)を行った⁴。前半部の訓練は、2013年10月31日～11月11日、後半の実験は2013年11月15日～11月22日であった。

²長音を含まない単語を早く読んだ場合の平均は0.33秒、長音を含まない単語を普通の速度で読んだ場合の平均0.42秒、長音を含まない単語を遅い速度で読んだ場合の平均は0.54秒

³Moodle(ムードル)はオープンソースのeラーニングプラットフォームである。同種のシステムの中では比較的多くのユーザー数を持つ。教育者が質の高いオンライン学習過程(コース)を作ることを助けるパッケージソフトである。このようなeラーニングシステムは、学習管理システム、学習過程管理システム、仮想学習環境、オンライン教育システムなどと呼ばれる(「ムードル」)。

⁴ 鮮于(2012)でも、孤立単語による訓練が短文にも般化することを明らかにしている。

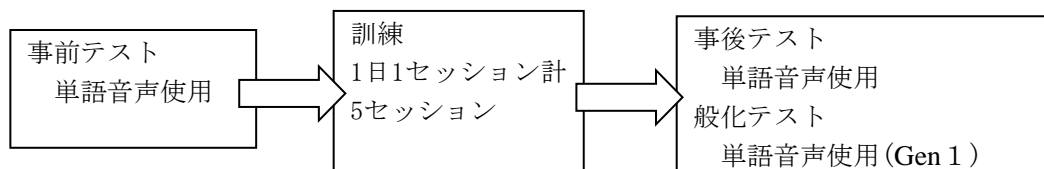


図 1. 訓練の前半部

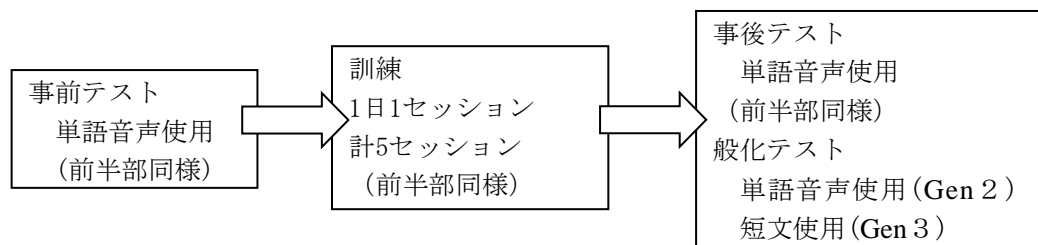


図 2. 訓練の後半部

(4) 事前テストの内容

初中級の韓国語母語話者 27 名を対象に、長短母音の弁別テストを実施した。被験者は、静かなコンピューター室で、パソコン画面に提示された問題を一つずつ再生し、ヘッドフォンから聞こえる単語音声、二つの単語のうち、どちらかを答える問題である。テストでは、1 名の話者が 3 種類の速度で発音した 5 組の最小対語を、ランダムに 3 回ずつ繰り返し、計 90 個の単語を提示した。フィードバックを入れずに問題を設計し、テストは 1 回だけ受けることが出来た。事前テストでは、のど／のど、しゅかん／しゅうかん、ここ／ここう、りか／リカー、さと／さとうの 5 組 10 単語を使用した。

(5) 訓練の内容

Moodle を用いて、2013 年 1 月 1 日から 5 日間、前半部の知覚訓練を行った。場所は特に限定しなかった。訓練では、一つの問題を解くたびにフィードバックを見て、正解かどうかを確認でき、問題の音声を何回でも聞くことが出来るようにした。

1 日に 1 セッションの訓練を、5 日間で計 5 セッション行うように指示した。1 つのセッションでは、同様のアクセント型を提示した。例えば、Mixed が訓練 1 日目に行うセッション 1 のアクセント型は、語頭に HL を持つ単語のみで、20 単語 (10 組) × 4 名の話者 × 3 速度 × 2 提示方法の 480 問である。Single では、短文は提示しないため、同じ単語の問題を 2 回繰り返して解かせた。各セッションで用いた単語は、同様のアクセント型で統一しており、セッション 1 は語頭に HLL/HL を持つ長音および短音を含む単語、セッション 2 は語頭に LHH/LH を持つ長音および短音を含む単語、セッション 3 は語末に LL/L を持つ長音および短音を含む単語、セッション 4 は語末に HH/H を持つ長音および短音を含む単語、セッション 5 は語末に HL/H を持つ長音および短音を含む単語であった。セッション 5 のアクセント型は、本来単語の数が少なく、2 組の最小対語で、96 問題 (4 単語 × 4 話者 × 3 速度 × 2 提示方法) のみの提示となった。刺激語には、3 モーラ 2 音節と 4 モーラ 3 音節の単語を使用した。前半部と後半部に、それぞれ 1,964 問あり、総 3,928 問の問題で、訓練を行った。鮮于 (2012) では、10 セッションの訓練を 5 日間連続で行ったが、本研究では、前半部 5 日間で 5 セッション、後半部 5 日間で 5 セッションに分けて訓練を行った。

Moodle は、インターネットで被験者の活動内容を確認することができるため、活動していない被験者には連絡をして、知覚訓練を受けるよう要請した。

(6) 事後テストの内容

事後テストも、事前テストと同様の単語・手法で行われた。事前テストで使われた問題を使用した、提示順序は異なっていた。

(7) 般化テスト

事後テストと一緒に、般化テスト(Generalization Test)も行った。般化テストは、事前・事後テストおよび訓練で使っていない、新しい単語を、新しい話者が発音した単語音声を用いた。聞き慣れない話者の音声でも弁別ができれば、知覚の正確性がより高いと言えるからである。般化テストでは、1名の日本語母語話者が、5組の最小対語を3種類の速度で3回発音した計90個の単語を、ランダムに提示した。刺激語には、さゆ/さゆう、ゆり(人名)/ゆうり、こてい/こうてい、ろば/ろうば、そこ/そこの10単語を使用した。

4. 訓練の結果—前半事前テストと後半事後テストの比較—

本稿では、前半で行った事前テストと、後半で行った事後テストの正答率を分析し、訓練を通して、日本語長短母音の知覚が、どのように変化したのかを観察する。まずは、全体的な正答率の推移を紹介し、速度別、アクセントの型と位置別に分析したものを報告する。

図3および図4は、前半部の事前テストと事後テスト、および後半部の事後テストの正答率を反復測定ANOVAで分析した結果である。図の縦軸は、正答率の平均値を示しており、横軸の1は前半部の事前テスト、2は前半部の事後テスト、3は後半部の事後テストを指している。

(1) 単語だけで訓練したグループ (Single)

全体的な正答率の推移について述べると、前半部の事前テストと、前半部および後半部の事後テストでは、正答率に有意な違いが見られたが、前半部と後半部の事後テストの正答率には、有意な違いが見られなかった(図3参照)。これは、HVPT教授法の訓練効果は初期に際立ち、ある時点を過ぎると、改善効果が緩やかになることを意味している。

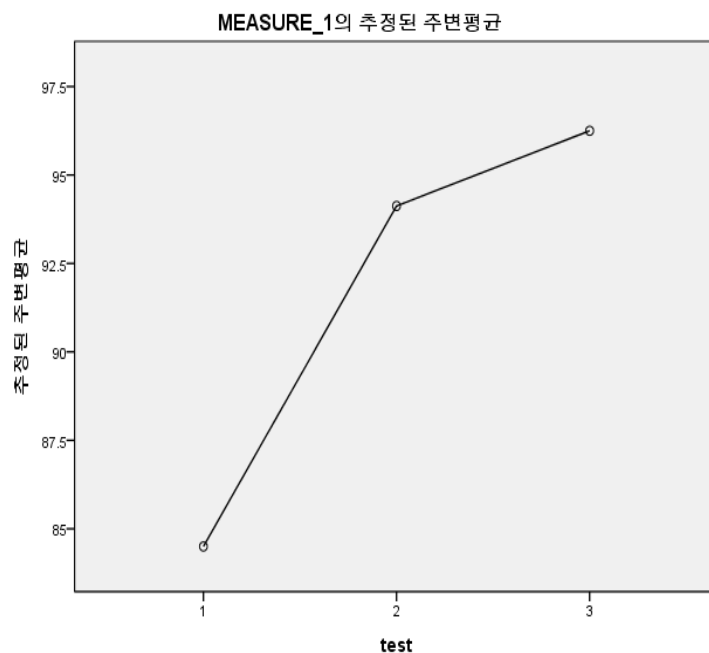


図 3. 単語で訓練したグループの聴き取りテストの正答率

前半部の訓練前と、後半部の訓練後の正答率を、速度別にペアードt検定した結果、速い速度のp値が0.00、普通の速度のp値が0.07、遅い速度のp値が0.00であった。速い速度と遅い速度で、正答率が有意に上昇した(表4参照)。

アクセント型別の正答率をペアードt検定した結果、語頭にHLをもつ単語のp値が0.23、語頭にLHをもつ単語のp値が0.02、語末にHHをもつ単語のp値が0.01、語末にLLを持つ単語のp値が0.0

0、語末にHLを持つ単語の*p*値が0.00であった(表5参照)。

表4. 速度別の正答率 (Single)

平均値 (%)				
速度	訓練前	訓練後	向上率	<i>t</i> 検定
速い	79	97	23%	**
普通	92	97	6%	n.s.
遅い	80	92	15%	**

n.s.: not significant, *: $p < 0.05$, **: $p < 0.01$

表5. アクセント型と位置別の正答率 (Single)

平均値 (%)				
アクセント型と位置	訓練前	訓練後	向上率	<i>t</i> 検定
語頭_HL	83	89	7%	n. s.
語頭_LH	88	98	11%	*
語末_HH	89	97	9%	**
語末_LL	81	97	20%	**
語末_HL	75	95	26%	**

n.s.: not significant, *: $p < 0.05$, **: $p < 0.01$

(2) 単語と短文で訓練したグループ (Mixed)

全体的な正答率の推移について述べると、前半部の事前テストと、前半部および後半部の事後テストでは、正答率に有意な違いが見られたが、前半部と後半部の事後テストでは、正答率に有意な違いが見られなかった(図4参照)。Singleグループ同様、HVPT教授法の訓練効果は初期に際立ち、ある時点を過ぎると、改善効果が緩やかになることが分かった。

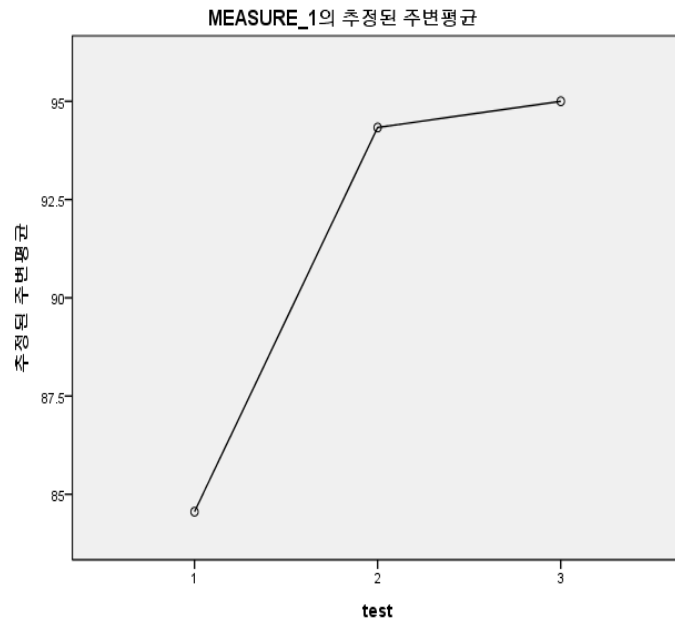


図 4. 単語と短文で訓練したグループの聴き取りテストの正答率

前半部の訓練前と、後半部の訓練後の正答率を、速度別にペアード *t* 検定した結果、速い速度の *p* 値が 0.00、普通の速度の *p* 値が 0.00、遅い速度の *p* 値が 0.00 であり、全ての速度で正答率が有意に上昇した<表 6 参照>。

アクセント型別の正答率を、ペアード *t* 検定した結果、語頭に HL をもつ単語の *p* 値が 0.02、語頭に LH をもつ単語の *p* 値が 0.01、語末に HH をもつ単語の *p* 値が 0.02、語末に LL を持つ単語の *p* 値が 0.00、語末に HL を持つ単語の *p* 値が 0.00 であった<表 7 参照>。

表 6. 速度別の正答率 (Mixed)

平均値 (%)				
速度	訓練前	訓練後	向上率	<i>t</i> 検定
速い	86	94	18%	**
普通	93	98	6%	**
遅い	73	92	25%	**

n.s.: not significant, *: $p < 0.05$, **: $p < 0.01$

表 7. アクセント型と位置別の正答率 (Mixed)

アクセント型と位置	平均値 (%)			t検定
	訓練前	訓練後	向上率	
語頭_HL	8.3	8.8	7%	*
語頭_LH	8.8	9.5	9%	**
語末_HH	8.8	9.7	1.1%	*
語末_LL	8.6	9.7	1.4%	**
語末_HL	7.7	9.5	2.0%	**

n.s.: not significant, *: $p < 0.05$, **: $p < 0.01$

(3) 般化テスト

本研究では、事後テストと共に、般化テストを実施した。Gen 1 は、前半部の訓練後に実施した般化テストの結果で、Gen 2 は、後半部の訓練後に実施した般化テストの結果である⁵ (図 5)。

般化テストの結果、Singleの平均値がGen 1 = 8.9%、Gen 2 = 9.0%で、Mixedの平均値がGen 1 = 9.0%、Gen 2 = 9.1%であった。

Controlの般化テストの平均値は、Gen 1 が 8.2%であった。

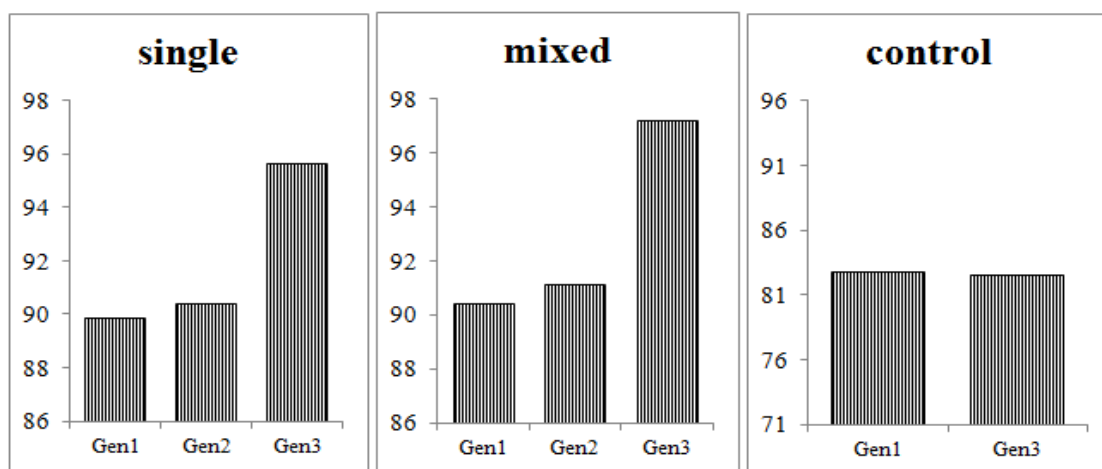


図 5. 般化テストのグループ別の正答率

5. 考察

訓練群において、前半部の事前テストと事後テストの正答率に、有意な差が見られたものの、前半部の事後テストと後半部の事後テストの正答率には、有意な差が見られなかった(図 3 および図 4)。これは、HVPT教授法の訓練効果は、初期に顕著に現れることを意味する。ある時点を過ぎると、改善効果が緩やかになるということである。つまり、前半部の訓練だけでも、母音の長短を知覚する能力

⁵ Gen 3 は、事前・事後テストで使用した単語を短文に入れたもので、特に単語だけで訓練したSingleグループの学習者の知覚が短文の知覚にも影響するのを見るために行った。Singleの平均値は9.5%で、Mixedの平均値はGen 3 = 9.7%であった。二つのグループのGen 3の正答率に違いがあるのか検定を行った結果、p値が0.18 ($t = 1.43$)で、二つのグループ間には違いが見られなかった。

は向上すると言える。また、後半部の訓練後の聴き取りテストにおける、正答率の平均値は、単語で訓練したグループのほうが、単語と短文で訓練したグループより1%高かった⁶。今回は、単語に含まれる長短母音の弁別能力を高めることを目的としていたため、事前・事後テストも単語のみで行った。Singleでは、単語のみで訓練を行ったため、単語で行った事前・事後テストの結果も、Mixed同様高くなったと推察する。聴き取りテストの結果を、速度別に分析すると、Singleでは、速い速度と遅い速度の正答率に、有意な上昇が観察され、Mixedでは、速い速度、普通速度、遅い速度の正答率が有意に上昇した。Singleでは、後半の訓練後にも、普通速度では有意な上昇が見られなかったが、Mixedでは、全ての速度で有意な向上を観察することができたのである。ただし、統計的には有意性が異なっていたが、実際の平均値の向上率は、ほとんど同じなため、事後テストの結果をみただけで、意味のある違いがあったとするのは難しい。多様性の低いグループとして設定したSingleでは、単語のみを使用し、訓練を行ったために、単語による聴き取りテストで高得点を取ったのだとすると、HVPTの効果を、聴き取りテストの結果だけで判断することはできない。般化テストの結果を見ると、Gen 1およびGen 2の平均値が、Mixedのほうが僅かに高かった。聴き取りテストや訓練では出てこなかった全く新しい話者が発音した、長短母音が含まれる単語音声を、Mixedのほうが正確に弁別することができた。Gen 3での短文を用いた聴き取りテストを行った際も、平均値はMixedのほうが高かった。これらの結果から、文脈情報のない単語と短文とを混ぜて訓練したほうが、判断基準がより明確になることが伺える。

鮮于(2012)では、訓練群での正答率に大きな差が見られなかったとしているものの、本研究のGen 1・Gen 2のような般化テストは行っていない。長短母音の聴き取り訓練が、促音・非促音への聴き取り判断にも影響を与えるかを調査し、学習者は長・短母音と促音・非促音の対立を、異なる範疇としてとらえている可能性や、学習過程が同じではない可能性を示唆した(鮮于2012:81)。促音・非促音と、長短母音を分けて聴き取り訓練をしたほうが、効果的であるとしているように、般化の有無を調べるのも、促音・非促音とは別に、長短母音を含む刺激語でも、テストする必要がある。

アクセント型と位置別の正答率では、Mixedでは、全てのアクセント型で、有意な上昇が観察されたが、Singleでは、語頭にHLを持つ単語でのみ、有意な上昇が観察できなかった。皆川(2002)は、語頭にアクセントの下降がある単語は、誤答率が低いとしており、語頭でのピッチの変化が、長音を知覚する際の端緒であることを示唆している。しかし、本研究では皆川(2002)とは反対に、多様な速度で発音した場合には、語頭でアクセントが上昇する単語よりも、下降する単語のほうが、母音長の知覚が難しいことが分かった。

鮮于(2012)では、3種類の速度で発話した孤立単語を使用し、訓練を行っても速い速度の場合にのみ、単語の知覚能力が有意に上昇した。これは、短文で訓練しても、同じ結果であった。本研究の単語と短文を混ぜて訓練したMixedでは、全ての速度で有意な上昇が確認された。鮮于(2012)と同じ条件下で訓練したSingleでも、速い速度と遅い速度で有意な上昇が観察された。本研究では、訓練群の速度の多様性は同じで、文脈情報の多様性のみ異なったが、最初から二つのグループ間の速度の多様性もかえていれば、さらに効果の差が大きかっただろう。

HVPTの先行研究では、統制群と訓練群間の効果の違いを観察しているが、本研究では訓練群のグループ内の違いを観察した。訓練群の中で、どのような違いが観察されれば、より効果的だと断定できるのか議論が必要である。例えば、訓練後、時間が経った後に般化テストを行うことが考えられる。SingleよりMixedの正答率が高ければ、教育効果が持続し文脈に焦点をあてたHVPTの効果があると言えるであろう。

6. 結論

本研究では、HVPT教授法を用い、前半部と後半部にかけて韓国語母語話者の日本語長短母音の知覚訓練を行った。訓練には、4名の話者が3種類の速度で発音した自然語を使用した。訓練群は、単語だけで訓練を受けるグループ(Single)と、単語と短文で訓練を受けるグループ(Mixed)、そして訓練を受けないグループ(Control)に分けた。

まず、前半部の訓練を通して、訓練群の全体的な正答率が有意に向上したことから、HVPT教授法の

⁶ Singleの平均値は96%で、Mixedは95%であった。

教育効果を観察することができた。後半部の訓練でも、正答率は上昇したが、前半部ほどの上昇は見られなかった。このことから、前半部の訓練だけでも、全体的な正答率は有意に上昇すると言える。

事前テストの結果により、韓国語母語話者は、日本語の母音の長さを知覚する際、発話速度の影響を受けていることが分かった。Mixedの事前テストに関しては、普通(93%)、速い(86%)、遅い(73%)速度の順に正答率が高かった。Singleに関しては、普通(92%)、遅い(80%)、速い(79%)順に、正答率が高かった。本研究で用いた刺激語に関して、一般人が、速度を正確に区別し発音することに難しさがあり、特に遅い速度では、どのように発音すれば良いか分からず、戸惑う場面があった。本研究では、短音を遅い速度で発音する際、伸ばして発音するように指示した。遅い速度で正答率が低かったのは、短音が長音のように発音されたため、長音と短音を混同したからだと考えられる。また、事前テストでは、語末にアクセントがある単語でも、正答率が低かった。これは、英語母語話者と韓国語母語話者は、語末の長音知覚の能力が低いという先行研究と一致する。固定された発話速度では、語頭のピッチ下降や上昇が、長母音の知覚に影響を与えて長短母音の知覚が易しくなる。しかし、発話速度が多様になれば、特に語頭にHLをもつ単語の知覚が難しくなることが分かった。

前半部の訓練後に、両グループで、全体的な正答率が有意な上昇をみせたが、前半部の訓練だけでは、両グループとも普通の速度に限っては、有意な上昇はなく、むしろ平均値が下がってしまった⁷。事前テストでは、点数が最も高かったものの、訓練を受けて、判断基準が揺れ始めたのだと考えられる。また、訓練前は、語末に高低アクセントがある単語の正答率が低かったのだが、訓練を通して最初にその効果が現れ、正答率が大きく向上した。これは、日本語の長短母音の知覚を教育する際は、アクセント型と位置も考慮することで、効率的な教育が可能であることを示唆している。

後半部の訓練後、Singleでは、速い速度と遅い速度で正答率が有意に上昇し、Mixedでは、全ての速度で有意に上昇した。Singleでは、普通の速度の正答率に有意な上昇が見られなかった。ただ、向上率は、両グループ共ほぼ同じであり、Singleにおける刺激語の多様性、つまり速度、話者、長音の位置とアクセント型を考慮した単語でも、十分な効果が得られていたと考えられる。前述したように、Single、Mixedの聴き取りテストの向上率は、ほぼ同じであったが、般化テストの正答率が、Mixedのほうが高かったため、HVPTの効果が裏付けられた。

以上の結果を総合すると、次のようにまとめられる。1) 3種類の速度で訓練することで、元々持っていた長さ音素の聴き取り判断基準に変化が現れる。訓練前は、Omuro et al., 1996が「韓国語母語話者は長さが違ってくるとモーラ数の認識も変化するため、安定的にモーラ数を認識できない」と述べているように、発話速度に合った母音の長さの正確な比率を知覚できなかったと考えられるが、HVPTに基づく訓練を通して、速度に合った母音の長さを知覚する判断基準が出来はじめる。2) 韓国語母語話者の日本語母音長の知覚は、アクセントの型と位置別で、習得の度合いが異なる。語末にHLをもつ単語から正答率が高くなりはじめ、語頭にHLをもつ単語に限っては、訓練効果が乏しい。3) Singleグループもかなり高い教育効果があったが、Mixedグループでは、速度とアクセント型の全ての項目で、有意な上昇が見られた。般化テストで、高い点数をとったMixedで、HVPTの効果がより大きく現れる。

Moodleを利用したHVPT教授法は、韓国人学習者における日本語母音の長短の知覚を、確実に向上させ、高い教育効果がある反面、この訓練が学習者に大きな負担をかけることも事実である。毎日大学で授業を受講し、また課題もしなければならぬため、学習者によっては1日1時間ずつ捻出することも難しいようであった。訓練にかかる時間も、それぞれ異なり、1時間以上かかる学習者もいた。

訓練により、学習者は速度の変化に関係なく、母音の長短を知覚できるようになったが、確固たる判断基準ができたとは言いがたい。日本人の知覚テストの結果と比較すると、やはりそのレベルまでは到達していなかったからである。訓練のなかの正答率であるため、日常生活で実際に母音の長さを弁別できるようになったかを見るには、追跡調査が必要である。追跡調査と、学習者にとってできるだけ負担の少ないトレーニング方法の開発に関しては、今後の研究の課題としたい。

参考文献

李敬淑(2003). 「調音速度の変化と韓国語母語話者(中級日本語学習者)による日本語の長母音

⁷単語で訓練したグループ(Single) : 訓練前92%、訓練後91%

単語と短文で訓練したグループ(Mixed) : 訓練前93%、訓練後82%

- 生成」『思考と言語』, 第103巻, 第307号, pp. 37-42.
- 李炯宰(1998). 『韓国人日本語学習者の日本語長母音の習得研究—生成と知覚に関する横断的および縦断的考察—』, 名古屋大学博士学位論文
- 李炯宰(2011). 「日本語の特殊拍の習得に関する横断的分析—韓国人初級学習者と韓国人中級学習者を対象に—」『日本語教育』, 第55輯, pp. 159-174.
- 今田滋子(1990). 「発音の誤用分析の試み」杉藤美代子(編)『講座日本語と日本語教育』日本語の音声・音韻, 明治書院.
- 大室香織, 馬場良二, 宮園博光, 宇佐川毅, 颯川裕一(1996). 「日本語長母音における拍数の聞き取りについて—日本語話者と韓国語話者と英語話者の比較—」『第10回日本音声学会全国大会予稿集』, pp. 71-76.
- 恩塚千代(2011). 「韓国語母語話者における特殊音素の認識—音韻認識と表記: 理論と実験からのアプローチ—」『日語日文學研究』, 第77輯, 1巻, pp. 231-252.
- 小熊利江(2000). 「英語母語話者による長音と短音の知覚」『世界の日本語教育』, 第10号, pp. 43-55.
- 小熊利江(2002). 「日本語の長音と短音に関する中間言語研究の概観」『言語文化と日本語教育. 増刊特集号, 第二言語習得・教育の研究最前線』, pp. 189-200.
- 鮮于媚, 田嶋圭一, 加藤宏明, 勾坂芳典(2011). 「日本語の長短母音の聴取訓練と学習効果の検証—文脈要素が与える影響を中心に—」『日語日文學』, 第52輯, pp. 87-104.
- 鮮于媚(2012). 『非母語話者による日本語特殊拍の聴知覚分析と学習』, 早稲田大学博士学位論文
- 戸田貴子(2003). 「外国人学習者の日本語特殊拍の習得」『音声研究』, 第7巻, 第2号, pp. 70-83.
- 福岡昌子(2002). 「日本語音声の中間言語研究の基本的課題—長母音と短母音の習得研究から—」『言語文化と日本語教育. 増刊特集号, 第二言語習得・教育の研究最前線』, pp. 186-188.
- 前川喜久雄, 助川泰彦(1995). 「韓国人日本語学習者による日本語長母音の知覚」『第9回日本音声学会全国大会予稿集』, pp. 40-45.
- 皆川泰代, 前川喜久雄, 桐谷滋(2002). 「日本語学習者の長短母音の同定におけるピッチ型と音節位置の効果」『音声研究』, 第6巻, 第2号, pp. 88-97.
- Hiroya Fujisaki, Kimie Nakamura, Toshiaki Imoto (1975). Auditory perception of duration of speech and non-speech stimuli. In: G. Fant and M. A. A. Tatham (eds.) *Auditory Analysis and Perception of Speech*, pp. 197-219. London: Academic Press.
- Hirata Y, Lambacher S.G (2004a). Role of Word-External Contexts in Native Speakers' Identification of Vowel length in Japanese. *Phonetica*, Vol. 61, No. 4, pp. 177-200.
- Hirata Y (2004b). Training native English speakers to perceive Japanese length contrasts in word versus sentence contexts. *The Journal of the Acoustical Society of America*, Vol. 116, pp. 2384-2394.
- Hirata Y, Whitehurst E, Cullings E (2007). Training native English speakers to identify Japanese vowel length contrast with sentences at varied speaking rates. *The Journal of the Acoustical Society of America*, Vol. 121, pp. 3837-3845.
- Omuro Kaori, Baba Ryoji, Miyazono Hiromitsu, Usagawa Tsuyoshi, Higuchi Masahiko (1996). The perception of morae in long vowels: Comparison among Japanese, Korean, and English speakers. Proceedings of the 1996 International Conference on Spoken Language Processing, pp.2474-2477
- Pisoni D. B, Lively, S. E (1995). Variability and invariance in speech perception: A new look at some old problems in perceptual learning. In: W. Strange, Timonium (eds.) *Speech Perception and Linguistic Experience: Issues in Cross-Language Speech Research*, pp. 433-459, MD: York Press.

参考URL

「ムードル」<https://ja.wikipedia.org/wiki/%E3%83%A0%E3%83%BC%E3%83%89%E3%83%AB> 閲覧日: 2016年9月24

<付録>

(1) 刺激語の録音に使用した資料

まずは、単語のみを普通 → 遅い → 速い速度の順に読んでください。

次に「となりに○○と書きなさい」に入れて読んでください。

ビル 伊勢 白湯 瀬戸 生徒 理科 角 凶書 有利 左右 当初 カード ルビ リカ
異性 ルビー 過渡 ビール 加藤 ゆり (人の名前) 跡 課税 東洋 孝行 声優 考古
世紀 土星 購読 増収 席 ジョーカー 投与 遺書 恋 同姓 衣装 孤独 風 製油
造酒 好意 城下 アート 大将 孤高 子機 銅像 おじいさん ここ おじさん 互角
夢 合格 後期 おば 祖語 個室 校長 地図 糧 過程 対処 大場 (さん) 皇室 個々
洋館 チーズ 土像 教授 好意 故意 ソゴ 誇張 有名 強大 巨大 予感 良好
おばさん 郷里 今日中 旅行 距離 処置 招致 星 欲しい 数詞 すし ハーブ 駆除
九条 工事 誇示 床 (とこ) 渡航 ハブ 王冠 白 シロー (名前) 虚無 教務 酔い
考古 塗料 棟梁 里 節 (ふし) 風刺 個展 好転 要素 ヨソ 容易 用意 良い 悪寒
釣 ツリー 砂糖 おばあさん 土 通知 鳥 通り 角 華道 席 世紀 買い手 改訂
部屋 一緒 黒 取る 苦勞 通る 一生 平野 のど 濃度 シール 補足 琴 主観
法則 習慣 校長 ロバ 強盗 後藤 校庭 固定 高級 呼吸 岡さん 老婆 おかあさん
誇張 汁 コート

(2) 録音で使用したキャリアセンテンス

- 1.そこは_____と書いてあります。
- 2.私は_____と言いました。
- 3.先程_____と読みました。
- 4.となりに_____と書きなさい。